



IMPLICATIONS OF MODERNIZATION PROCESSES ON ELDERLY WELLBEING IN COAST REGION, TANZANIA

Bahati Deusdetus Mfungo¹ and Victor George²

¹ Local Government Training Institute, Department of Community Development, Dodoma

²(PhD) the University of Dodoma, Institute of Development Studies-victor.

Corresponding Author: bahatideusdetus@gmail.com

Abstract: Modernization processes are said to affect the elderly well-being. Studies have shown that modernization processes affect elderly well-being through the existing relationship between parents and their adult children. Although modernization processes are evident in Tanzania, there is a dearth of information regarding their implications on the elderly well-being. Therefore, this paper investigated the implications of modernization processes on elderly well-being in Coast region, Tanzania. A cross-sectional survey, coupled with mixed research methods comprised the research methodology. The survey, in-depth interview and focus group discussion were adopted as data collection methods. Probability sampling techniques were employed to draw a sample of 394 older people aged 60 years and above. The findings have revealed that adult children with secondary education, college and university showed a positive relationship with the likelihood of elderly parents reporting high well-being. The study also revealed that co-residing between adult children and their older parents was significantly predicting the high well-being of older people. Further, the study found that having many children who work in the informal economy or do not work anywhere has negative effects on the elderly well-being. Thus, this study recommends that parents should not fear educating their children but rather should invest heavily in their educational careers. Adult children should strive to co-reside with their older parents as this enhances their well-being. The government and private sector need to create more employment opportunities for adult children as a means of boosting the elderly well-being.

Keywords: *Modernization processes, adult children, elderly, wellbeing*

1. Introduction

Modernization is affecting the family in almost all societies (Chadha, 2013). Social scientists perceive modernization as an external force of change that characteristically involves urbanization, industrialization, scientific development, mass education and media (Mayer, 2013; Giarrusso et al., 2009). As part of the effects of modernization processes on families, the status of the elderly is said to diminish in the modern era (Keasberry, 2002). The elderly status includes their financial status, health status, safety, prestige and privileges (Knodel, 2014). More often, the debate regarding the effect of modernization processes and the decline of the status of the elderly has been inclined to the changing attitude and lifestyle of the young generation in the modern era (Muia et al, 2013). This is because in many societies adult children have been the mainstay concerning support and care provided to the elderly. The effects of modernization processes on the changing attitude, behaviour and lifestyle among adult children have been reported in both developed and developing countries (Ting, 2012)

Although modernization processes encompass various factors, there is a concern that not all factors have been at the fore in imparting new values, opinions and perceptions to adult children. This study looks at how mass education, urbanization and industrialization have been influencing the perceptions, opinions and beliefs of adult children towards their older parents. According to Donati (2014), there is a shred of evidence that the mentioned modernization processes have increased differences in opinions, tastes, and beliefs between older and younger age groups. For



example, regarding mass education, it is contended that adult children with superior levels of education tend to challenge parental authority while making parents less confident in enforcing their wishes (Tafere, 2013). Further, the industrialization process has increased income among adult children thus creating autonomy over their parents given that they have more resources to contribute to the household (Tavernier et al, 2019). Nonetheless, as a result of urbanization, adult children are said to migrate to urban centres in search of urban jobs while accelerating the separation of household members (Chadha, 2013).

Scholars argue that as a result of mass education, industrialization and urbanization unconditional material and emotional support from adult children to their parents is declining (Cheung & Kwan, 2009; Gopalakrishan, 2021; Tafere, 2013). Thus, adult children are said to be more individualistic while losing the touch of familial obligation (Gopalakrishan, 2021). Further, it is contended that the provision of support and care from adult children to their older parents is being negotiated instead of unconditional (Tafere, 2013). Moreover, it is argued that the advent of Information, Communication and Technologies (ICTs) has increasingly seen younger people becoming more attached to these technologies than are to older people (Donati, 2014; Muia et al, 2013). Although there is theoretical support for the proposition that mass education, urbanization and industrialization lead to the decay of unconditional material and emotional support for parents, the evidence about the nature of the process and the key influences is still sparse (Cheung & Kwan, 2009).

Despite the negative implications of modernization processes on older people, positive aspects are emanating from the processes as well. For example, while some scholars view increasing education among adult children as a negative outcome of the elderly status, however, some see it as an opportunity (Jiang, 2013; Phiri, 2019). Some studies have shown that children with higher education levels provide more financial support than children with less education (Lin & Yi, 2011; Pei & Cong, 2020). As Shi (2016) puts it, greater investment in children's education enhances elderly parents' life quality at old age. On the other hand, while industrialization is said to defy the elderly status, however, there has been an argument that it creates employment opportunities among members of the family which in turn helps the elderly. According to Bipula and Rana (2020), the employment status of a child influences the likelihood of a child providing support to an elderly parent. It is further said if there is a non-working child among the children, the likelihood of parents receiving frequent support decreases (Medgyesi, 2016).

The mixed feelings regarding the implications of mass education, urbanization and industrialization on older people's well-being have brought curiosity among scholars of family issues. According to Thornton and Fricke (1987), the effects of the modernization process may not bring similar effects on every society because of variations in cultural settings. Thus, there is no single developmental sequence or pattern that all societies will experience similarly. Indeed, Thornton and Fricke (1987) warned that any contemplation of family change must begin with a look at cultural definitions of family restrictions, the roles of family members, and the position of the family within the broader society. Thus, clarifications of elderly effects should not rely on "grab bags" concepts such as industrialization and urbanization or any other aspect rather careful attention needs to be devoted to specifying precisely causal mechanisms and processes. Similarly, Aboderin (2004) asserted that more theoretical and empirical research is needed to specify exactly how modernization processes influence elderly welfare given that levels of development are not similar in all countries.

By and large, the effects of modernization processes on the elderly have been felt also in most African countries (Ajala, 2006; Kpessa-Whyte, 2018; Wahab and Adedokun, 2012). For instance, Ajala (2006) pointed out that events such as increased education, urbanization and industrialization have changed the status of older people in Africa from being the guardians of the tradition of the society, custodians of the society treasures, upholders of cultural values, and the



institution of wisdom. In a similar vein, the study conducted by Okumagba (2011) in Nigeria revealed that old age traditional bond between the elders and younger members of the family is gradually becoming weak as a result of the forces of modernization and social change. There is a concern that some forces of modernization are indirectly affecting the provision of support to older people as adult children have lost familial obligations (Abanyan, 2013; Wahab & Adedokun, 2012). In that regard, most African scholars have a strong notion that modernization processes through adult children have negatively influenced the elderly well-being.

As is in other countries, there is an indication that Tanzanian families are also facing the effects of the modernization processes such as globalization, urbanization, rural-urban mobility, and mass education (Manyama, 2017; Mkenda, 2005; Rwegelera, 2012). This is true because Tanzania as a country does not operate in isolation. According to Mkenda (2005), Tanzania has over the years, witnessed a rapid integration of her economy into the rest of the world. For example, in 2019 the country's economic status advanced from being a least-developed country to a lower-middle economy country. The country also has been faced with a high rate of rural-urban migration among the young generation resulting from rapid urbanization (Agwanda and Amani, 2014). The perceived or actual lack of opportunities in rural areas is said to push young Tanzanians to urban centres (*ibid*). As of 2015, the urban population growth rate stood at 5.4% per annum putting Tanzania sixth in the world (Worrall *et al.*, 2017). The rise of modernization processes in Tanzania is coupled with unsatisfactory conditions that are continuing to face older people. Recent studies such as HAI (2011) and Spitzer and Mabeyo (2014) have indicated that familial support towards older people is declining in the modern era. The decline in familial support poses a challenge to the well-being of older people as most of them rely on it.

There is an indication that the forces of globalization are affecting Tanzanian culture and most likely adult children. The study conducted by Rwegelera (2012) revealed the integration of global culture in Tanzanian societies has brought new experiences with regard to behaviour and attitudes among adult children. Rwegelera (2012) noted that young people are feeling more prestigious using the English language than Kiswahili or native languages. Indeed, there is a tendency of young people to abandon indigenous food for sake of enjoying western food such as pizzas and imported drinks. Nonetheless, there is a shift from young people accepting indigenous songs to preferring western songs such as hip-hop music. Although there is a shred of evidence regarding the influence of modernization processes on the change of attitude, perceptions and behaviour among adult children, there is a dearth of information on the implications of that enigma on elderly wellbeing in Tanzania. Thus, this paper investigated the implications of modernization processes on elderly well-being in Coast region, Tanzania.

2.0 Theoretical framework

This study is built on the theory of modernization and ageing developed by Cowgill and Holmes in the 1970s. This theory is based on a major qualitative cross-cultural study of the effects of modernization on the process of ageing. From a modernization theory perspective, it is assumed that the status of the elderly declines as societies become more modern (Spitzer & Mabeyo, 2014). The theory postulates that the more advanced the economy of a society, the lower the status of its older citizens (Cowgill, 1986) as cited in Lowenstein (2007). The theory denoted different ways in which social and economic trends affect the elderly and various dimensions of their status, such as health, authority, economic independence and household situations. These social and economic trends included advances in health technology, application of scientific technology in economic production, urbanization, improved rate of literacy and introduction of mass education (Aboderin, 2000; Law, 1997).



The theory seems more relevant for this study because it gives a path on how modernization processes can influence the relationship between older parents and their adult children (Tavernier et al, 2019). First, as mobility and urbanization increase, the extended families which posed as the bedrock of the family fades away paving a way for nucleated families. The elderly who usually enjoy multiple support from the extended family realms will tend to suffer. Second, improved health technology would increase longevity among the elderly but the same technology would expel the elderly from the labour market, preferring young who are more educated than the elderly. Third, increasing education among adult children will give them the power to challenge the wisdom and knowledge rendered to the elderly. Thus, the status of older people as the bearers of wisdom and knowledge on how things should be done will decline (Lowenstein, 2007). Fourth, with the introduction of retirement, the welfare state took away the productive and reproductive roles of older people in society making them essentially obsolete. Ultimately the elderly lose authoritative roles whereby the state takes responsibility for their welfare (Knodel, 2014)

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Study location and sampling procedures

This study was conducted in the Coast region specifically in Mkuranga District Council (MDC) and Kibaha Town Council (KTC). According to Neuman (2014), the study area is selected by taking into account the availability of information that might logically suit the study objectives. The Coast region was selected because of having a substantial number of older people in its population. The United Nations (UN) agreed during the World Assembly on Ageing in Vienna in 1982, that 'older people' should refer to persons who are aged 60 years or above (UN, 2017). Currently, the region is one of the three regions with high proportions of the elderly (8.5%). The other two regions are Kilimanjaro (9.7%) and Mtwara (9.5%). Despite having a substantial number of older people the Coast region was also selected because it borders the city of Dar es Salaam in all of its borders. Dar es Salaam is Tanzania's most populous, modernized and, in recent years, the third-fastest growing urban agglomeration in Africa (ESRF, 2018; Wenban-Smith, 2014). In that case, the modernization processes can better be felt in Coast region than in the other regions with higher elderly proportions.

Table 1: The distribution of respondents per their Villages/Mitaa

LGA	Wards	Villages/Mitaa	Elderly population	Selected Sample
Kibaha TC	Kongowe	Ungindoni	180	20
		Mwambisi	260	29
	Tumbi	Boko Temboni	224	25
		Boko Timiza	287	32
	Picha ya Ndege	Mhalakani	350	39
		Lulanzi	224	25
Kibaha		Mwendapole A	135	15
		Mwendapole B	152	17
Mkuranga DC	Mwarusembe	Mwarusembe	344	39
		Kitonga	103	12
	Kimanzichana	Kimanzichana Kusini	153	17
		Kimanzichana Kaskazini	289	33
	Tambani	Nyatanga	275	31
		Tambani	201	23
	Mwandege	Mwandege	241	28
Mkokozi		73	9	
Total			1,679	192
Grand Total			3,491	394



Further, two councils (MDC and KTC) were selected because of having a huge number of older people compared to the other seven councils. From MDC and KTC, four wards were selected using a simple random sampling technique. Two villages/mitaa² were randomly selected from each ward providing a total of 16 villages/mitaa (8 villages in Mkuranga and 8 mitaa in Kibaha). Using a village executive officer a register comprising names of older people (people aged 60 years and above) was made accessible. Thereafter, using the percentage proportion, the number of respondents from each village/mtaa was randomly selected (see Table. 1). The sample size obtained was 394 respondents whereas 202 respondents came from KTC and 192 from MDC.

3.2 Study design and data collection process

The study adopted a cross-sectional research design. The study used a mixed method approach where data collection was done by using a triangulation of methods including Questionnaires, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). The questionnaires were subjected to older people who were aged 60 years and above while key informants were selected for the in-depth interviews and FGDs. This study conducted 34 in-depth interviews with key informants from the government and religious institutions (1 DCDO, 1 DSWO, 8 WEOs, 8 VEOs, 8 MEOs and 8 religious leaders). The selection of participants in the in-depth interview was merely based on their merits and not by chance. In addition, the study conducted 6 FGDs (comprising 8 people each) whereby three FGDs were conducted in KTC and the other three were conducted in MDC. The study opted to use this particular method to capture people's feelings, opinions, sentiments and thoughts about the issue in the study.

The questionnaires for older people captured data on (i) elderly socio-economic characteristics (ii) adult children's characteristics and (iii) elderly subjective well-being. The question about elderly subjective well-being was adopted and modified from the World Health Organization Quality of Life (WHOQOL-BREF) instrument. In-depth interviews and FGDs were conducted using an interview guide and FGD checklist. The data were collected from June 2020 to May 2021.

3.3 Measurements of Variables

The independent variables were the number of children born per person, levels of education of adult children (the number of adult children attained different levels of education), residence (the number of adult children living either in the same village with their parents or otherwise), the employment status of the adult children (the number of adult children employed formally or informally). The dependent variable was older people's subjective well-being which was adapted from the World Health Organization Quality of Life (WHOQOL-BREF instrument). The WHOQOL-BREF is a World Health Organization instrument that measures physical health, psychological health, social relationships and environment (WHO, 1996). It consists of 26 items, 24 of which are divided into four domains: physical health, mental health, social relationships, and environment. This study adapted with modifications to the facets/indicators of the environment. The facets under this domain seemed to cover many issues that older people were experiencing in the study area. The facets under this dimension included financial resources, freedom, health and home environment. Others are opportunities for information, participation in recreation, physical environment, and transport. According to Maniragaba et al. (2019), the WHOQOL-BREF instrument has been used on people from different cultures.

Each indicator/facet had one question in the form of a Likert scale with five responses. Questions emanating from the eight facets are as follows; 1) *"do you have enough money to meet your needs?"* 2) *"how healthy is your physical environment?"* 3) *"how safe do you feel in your daily life?"* 4) *"how available to you is the information that you need in your day-to-day life?"* 5) *"to what extent do you have the opportunity for leisure activities?"* 6) *"how satisfied are you with the conditions of*



your living place?” 7) “how satisfied are you with your access to health service?” 8) “how satisfied are you with your transport?”

Because the dependent variable was ordinal in measurement then the study opted to run an ordinal logistic regression analysis. Ordinal logistic regression is used to predict ordinal placement in the probability of category membership on a dependent variable based on multiple independent variables (Montgomery & Runger, 2003). Thus, it was found necessary to have one indicator/facet that could be used as a dependent outcome instead of using all eight facets. Hence the researcher decided to run Principal Component Analysis (PCA). Inspection of the correlation matrix revealed the presence of many coefficients of 0.3 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value was 0.764, exceeding the recommended value of 0.6 (Singh, 2018) while Barlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance, supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix. PCA revealed the presence of two components with *eigenvalues* exceeding 1, explaining 42.020 per cent and 14.695 per cent. An inspection of the scree plot revealed that only two factors had *eigenvalues* greater than 1 however, the researcher retained one component for further analysis which was explained at 42.020. The retained variable was *'how do you feel safe in your daily life'*.

Thus, the study used the facet *'how do you feel safe in your daily life'* to be an outcome with five levels such as *'not at all'*, *'a little'*, *'moderately'*, *'very much'* and *'extremely'*. To facilitate data analysis through ordinal logistic regression, re-categorization for the variables was carried out whereby the mean score was calculated. The mean score was used as a cut-off point in categorizing high and low well-being. The high well-being implied that respondents' scores were above the cutting point while low well-being indicated that respondents' scores were below the cutting point. In doing so, the mean scores of the elderly well-being were collapsed into three categories as follows, 1-2=low well-being, 3 = moderate and 4-5 = High.

The formula is given below:

$$W_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 bc + \beta_2 edup + \beta_3 edus + \beta_4 educ + \beta_5 eduv + \beta_6 eduno + \beta_7 empf + \beta_8 empnf + \beta_9 empno + \beta_{10} lsv + \beta_{11} lnsv + \epsilon_i$$

Whereby;

- Wi = well-being (1. Low, 2. Moderate 3. High)
- bc = number of children born per person
- Edup = Primary education of adult children;
- Edus = Secondary education of adult children;
- Educ = College education of adult children;
- Eduv = University education of adult children;
- Edun = Non-educated of adult children;
- Empf = Formal employment of adult children;
- Empnf = Informal employment of adult children;
- Empn = Not employed adult children;
- Lsv = Living in the same village with adult children;
- Lnsv = Not living in the same village with adult children

The goodness of the fit showed that the model fit the data well since the deviance and chi-square were non-significant which implies that the model fitted the data well. The omnibus test showed independent variables entered in the model jointly were good predictors for the dependent variables' well-being (*how safe do you feel in your daily life*) at a one per cent level of significance ($p < 0.01$). It is said that when the odds ratio of the particular independent variable is less than 1, then there is a negative relationship between that particular independent and dependent variable



(Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). Further, when the odds ratio is greater than 1, this indicates a positive relationship between dependent and independent variables.

3.4 Data Analysis

Descriptive statistical analysis was computed to describe the background characteristics of the respondents. Thereafter, ordinal regression analysis was run to find out the relationship between independent variables and dependent variables. The qualitative data collected from FGDs and KIs were analyzed through a content analysis technique. These data were filtered to get patterns of significant themes. After themes had been identified, data were merged into categories concerning the research objective. The analysis further involved the presentation of respondents' descriptions with verbatim quotations placed under respective themes backed up by some findings obtained from the literature review. Specifically, qualitative analysis was done to provide information on 'why' some variables of modernization processes were predicting or not predicting older people's well-being.

4.0 Findings and Discussion

4.1 Socio-economic characteristics of the older people

Table 2 shows the proportion of older people reduced with advancing age. The majority of respondents (35.4%) were aged 60 - 64 years, followed by those aged 65 - 69 years (23.4%). The participation of older people from each category in the study was fairly maintained. The age groups in the study were within a very broad scope representing different categories of older people with different needs, experiences and challenges. In terms of sex, the table indicates that more than half of the respondents (51.3%) were males compared to 48.7% of females. The data in this aspect (sex of respondents) contrast with the obvious myth that females tend to be many as compared to males. According to the national census of 2012, the sex ratio was 95 and for the Coast region was 96 meaning that in every 96 males, there were 100 females (URT, 2013). The issue of males outnumbering females can be attributed to the fact that during the field survey, males showed a huge interest to participate in the survey than females.

In the Coastal areas where the majority are Muslims, there is a tendency for females to feel shy to participate fully in an event where males are included as well (Spitzer et al., 2009). For the sake of marital status, the results revealed that the majority of respondents 230 (58.4%) were married followed by 116 (29.4%) who were widows or widowers. The number of respondents who reported being divorced was 43 (10.9%) while those who never married were 5 (1.3%). Although more than half (58.4%) of respondents were married, the level of widowhood was noticeably high. With regards to educational levels, the table indicates that the majority of the respondents 189 (48%) had no formal schooling followed by 173 (43.9%) who attended primary education. Respondents who had completed secondary education were (5.8%). Indeed, the data depicted that 9 (2.3%) respondents had attained a college or university education. Simply put, the above statistics revealed a high level of illiteracy among the studied populations.



Table 2: Socio-economic characteristics of the respondents (n=394)

Age	Frequency	Percent
60-64	136	35.4
65-69	93	23.4
70-74	59	14.8
75-79	51	12.7
80 and above	55	13.7
Total	394	100
Sex	Frequency	%
Male	202	51.3
Female	192	48.7
Total	394	100
Marital Status	Frequency	%
Married	230	58.4
Divorced	43	10.9
Widower/widow	116	29.4
Never married	5	1.3
Total	394	100
Levels of education	Frequency	%
No formal education	189	48
Primary	173	43.9
Secondary	23	5.8
College/University	9	2.3
Total	394	100

4.2 Predictors of Elderly Wellbeing

Results of the ordinal logistic regression model of factors influencing elderly well-being are presented in Table 3. The results show that an increasing number of adult children who have attained secondary education was associated with the likelihood of reporting high well-being among older parents (OR = 1.30, 99% C.I 1.11 – 1.52). Indeed, an increasing number of adult children who have attained college education was associated with the likelihood of reporting high well-being among older people (OR = 1.22, 95% C.I 1.00 – 1.48). Similarly, an increasing number of adult children who attained university education was associated with the likelihood of reporting high well-being among older people (OR=1.1, 95% C.I 0.8-1.4). The table further shows that an increasing number of adult children who never attended school was associated with reduced odds for older people to report high well-being (OR = 0.78, 95% C.I 0.62 – 1.00). Further, an increasing number of adult children who were living in the same village/mtaa with parents was associated with an increased likelihood of reporting high well-being among older parents (OR = 6.70, 95% C.I 1.13 – 39.614).



Table 3: Multiple logistic regression (n=394)

Variables		B	S.E	Wald Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Exp (B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Threshold	Low	-2.744	.2684	104.531	1	.000	.064	.038	.109
	Moderate	-.027	.2021	.017	1	.895	.974	.655	1.447
	High	1.297	.222	34.273	1	.000	.863	1.731	1.297
Born children		-.072	.0551	1.686	1	.194	.931	.836	1.037
Children primary edu		-1.725	.9079	3.611	1	.057	.178	.030	1.056
Children secondary edu		.264	.0795	10.986	1	.001	1.302	1.114	1.521
Children college edu		.196	.0987	3.963	1	.047	1.217	1.003	1.477
Children university edu.		.057	.1511	.144	1	.034	1.059	.788	1.424
Children never attended sch.		-.239	.1195	4.006	1	.045	.787	.623	.995
Children formal emplyd		-.039	.1177	.109	1	.741	.962	.764	1.211
Children informally emplyd		-1.386	.9095	2.321	1	.032	3.997	.672	23.761
Children not emplyd		-.051	.0679	.553	1	.007	.951	.832	1.086
Children same village		1.901	.9071	4.393	1	.036	6.694	1.131	39.614
Children not same village (Scale)		-1.552	.9176	2.862	1	.091	.212	.035	1.279

4.2.1 Adult children's education levels and elderly wellbeing

The findings indicate that older parents with adult children who were highly educated were in a position to report good well-being compared to those who had children who had attained primary or never attained any education. Other studies which have connected levels of education and parents' well-being have indicated that adult children with higher education provide more support (Kim, 2012). A study by Ocakli (2017) in Turkey concluded that educated people provide more support because when an individual possesses high education level he/she attracts a good job, hence substantial income. Although increased education levels were positively influencing elderly well-being, very few older parents were likely to have good well-being. This is because the majority of reported adult children had only attained primary education. Table 4 shows that the mean score for adult children who just attained primary education was 3.1 while for secondary education was 1.09, 0.3 for college and 0.21 for university education. This study asked respondents to indicate the number of their adult children based on their levels of education. It is hard in Tanzania for a person who has just attained primary education to be employed either in the public or private sector. Currently, basic education in Tanzania is secondary as per the Education and Training Policy of 2014.

The study noted that the issue of having few educated people in the Coastal areas relative to other areas in Tanzania is historical. First, it was revealed that, unlike in recent years, in the 1970s, 1980s and late 1990s the Coast region had few secondary schools. Second, despite having few secondary schools, for so many years, the people in the Coast region have been paying little attention to the issues of education but rather giving much attention to traditional rituals. This was rather amplified by one government official who during an in-depth interview had this to say:

"...People in this area are not very much interested in investing in the education of their children. They have been using a few resources that they have in traditional rituals such as 'ngoma' (dancing) and 'unyago' (traditional ritual of keeping an adolescent to prepare her for maturity). A woman in this area may find it difficult to buy her child a school shirt but she is likely to buy herself a new 'kanga'(a dressing mostly worn by women) if she finds there is dance around..."(An in-depth interview at Mwandege, September 2020)



Table 4: Mean scores for the number of adult children on various levels of education

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Adult children with primary education	394	20.00	.00	20.00	3.1294	2.72132
Adult children with secondary education	394	10.00	.00	10.00	1.0863	1.59122
Adult children with a college education	394	7.00	.00	7.00	.3223	.97300
Adult children with university education	394	8.00	.00	8.00	.2107	.75415
Never attend to school	394	8.00	.00	8.00	.1675	.80543
Valid N (listwise)	394					

The above narration reveals that most of older people in the area have not been rewarded with the education careers of their children. But this does not refute the idea that children with a promising education status were in a position to positively influence the well-being of their elderly parents. This finding refutes the premise which states that increased knowledge among adult children has negative effects on the status, privilege and position of older people. For example, in his theory of modernization and ageing, Cowgill believed that increased education among adult children would jeopardize the status of older people since educated adult children may tend to undermine the norm and values of familism (Aboderin, 2000). The theory also postulates that education reduces the amount of time that parents and other family members spend with young children. Instead of spending most of their maturing years with family members, children enter school at very young ages (Thornton and Fricke, 1987). Indeed, the theory contends that rapid increases in educational attainment create an educational generation gap whereby children tend to have more access to ideas and skills valued beyond the local context.

Similarly, there are some studies which have indicated that as adult children increase their knowledge they tend to undermine the value of their parents especially when they are old. In one way or another, these studies are conforming with the underlying assumptions of the modernization and ageing theory. For example, a study by Abanyan (2013) in Nigeria indicated that the introduction of formal education has neutralized norms of familism which revered older people as wise people, dispute settlers and teachers. Similarly, a study conducted in Ethiopia by Tafere (2015) revealed that increased schooling broke down traditional values and norms, including family values, which entailed a specific obligation for the children to support and care for their elderly parents. Nevertheless, in the study of Oluwabamide and Eghafona (2012) in Nigeria, it was shown that access to knowledge through formal education led to a reduction in the power and prestige given to the aged.

Although there might be a few educated individuals as indicated in other studies who despise their parents, this study has shown that older people with educated children are likely to have a better life. The study analysis has revealed that education should be viewed from a wider perspective by analyzing the opportunities that come after an individual has acquired it. During in-depth interviews and FGDs, the study learnt that there was sort of regrets among older parent concerning the failure to maximize the chances of



educating their children. This is summarized by the quotation taken from one of the respondents in the in-depth interview:

"...If had a chance to rewind the time I would do it now. This is because, by the time I needed to educate my children, I did not do it properly. In the end, my children lacked the needed education and most of them are with me in the village struggling with agriculture which yields nothing..." (An in-depth interview at Mwarusembe, August 2020)

The above narration shows the extent to which some older people were regretting not paying due attention to the education of their adult children. In a similar vein, some other studies have also indicated that proper education among adult children has a strong influence on the welfare of the parents (Jiang, 2013; Phiri, 2019). As Shi (2016) puts it, greater investment in children's education benefits elderly parents' life quality at old age. The main point is that children with higher education levels provide more financial support than children with less education (Lin & Yi, 2011; Pei & Cong, 2020). Through the financial resources that are provided by adult children, it is most likely that the well-being of parents is being enhanced.

4.2.2 Adult children's residence status and elderly wellbeing

The study found that adult children who were living in the same village/mtaa with older parents had significant positive effects on the well-being of the older parents (OR=6.7, P=0.036). This meant that an increase in the number of adult children who were living in the same village with older parents was associated with the increase in the welfare of the older people by a factor of 6.7 when all other factors are held constant. Further, the study found that adult children who were living not in the same village/mtaa as their older parents had no significant influence on the well-being of the older parents (OR=0.21, P=0.09). Different findings have shown that older people feel good when they are closer to their adult children (Lai et al., 2019; Kooshlar et al., 2012; Velkoff, 2001). These studies have indicated that key traditional virtues such as intergenerational co-residence and frequent face-to-face communication enhance older parents' well-being. Studies such as Banjare et al. (2015) and Mudege and Ezech (2009) revealed that when older people live with other relatives they feel cared for and respected.

In contrast, it can be interpreted from the findings that living a distance between parents and their adult children was negatively affecting the well-being of older people. These results from the inferential analysis corroborate the results from interviews. During in-depth interviews, the study noted that older people living alone were experiencing a lot of difficulties that hampered their well-being. Cementing on this idea, one local government official asserted that:

"...It is true that older people in my area lack intergenerational support. Sometimes, if I go to my office in the morning I find several older people waiting for me to ask for help. I regularly ask them if they have children who could help them, and they simply say they have children but are far away. I have been working here for almost five years but I have never seen those adult children coming home. So, I just ask myself how far are they?" (An In-depth interview at Kongowe, June 2020)



The above narration highlights that the separation of homes or living far between parents and children inhibits immediate care and support. As it was indicated in the script older people were roaming around to beg because there was no immediate child to provide support. During in-depth interviews and FGDs, it was indicated that even though older parents wanted to meet their adult children they could not afford given some children were living far away with a lot of money to cover the fare. In a similar vein, a study by the Centre for Policy on Ageing (2017) in the UK revealed that greater geographical separation of families affected the availability of care. Those people who were living far away from their adult children were lacking immediate support and care from their adult children. Another study by Geest (2016) in Ghana indicated that the act of older people living a distance from their adult children increased their loneliness. The study concluded that growing loneliness among older people indicates their marginalization and loss of social significance.

The findings from this study indicate that the separation of residences between parents and adult children affects the well-being of parents in later life conforms to modernization and ageing theory. The theory posits that the geographical mobility often necessitated by the search for white-collar jobs has resulted in the factionalization of the extended family system and the increasing isolation of the aged (Knodel, 2014; Tavernier et al., 2019). Other studies in Africa such as Oluwabamide and Eghafona (2012) in Nigeria and Muia et al. (2013) in Kenya have also shown that many younger people move to urban areas, leaving behind elders in rural areas without family support or involvement in their care.

4.2.3 Adult children's employment status and elderly wellbeing

The study found that adult children who were employed in informal employment (OR=4.0, P=0.032) and those who were not employed anywhere (OR=0.95, P=0.007) had significant negative effects on the dependent variable. This meant that an increase in the number of adult children who were working in the informal economy was associated with a decrease in the welfare of older people by a factor of 4.0 when all other factors are held constant. Further, an increase in the number of adult children with no jobs was associated with a decrease in the welfare of older people by a factor of 0.95. It can be interpreted that having many adult children employed in the informal sector or not employed anywhere rendered little support to older people. Informal economy or employment in the Tanzanian context refers to those jobs that generally lack basic social or legal protections or employment benefits and may be found in the informal sector, formal sector enterprises or households (URT, 2015; Spitzer & Mabeyo, 2014).

The finding from this study indicates that older people with children who were not employed anywhere were in a position to report low well-being. Generally, speaking, better employment among adult children was predicting high well-being among elderly parents. Although, the majority of the reported adult children were informally employed or non-employed this does not change the fact that few who had children formally employed enjoyed the support. These results refute the idea that children with good employment disvalue their parents because of having better opportunities. In the tenet of modernization and ageing theory, Cowgill had a notion that older people got much respect from their children because they were the source of resources and power in the family (Aboderin, 2000).



During in-depth interviews and FGDs, the study noted that older people in most cases lamented that they are not regularly receiving material support from their adult children because most of them live subsistent lives. This is amplified by the narration of one respondent in the in-depth interview who was quoted saying;

“... most of us parents in this village would want to have children employed in either the government or private sector. Although giving comes from the heart, having a child working in a recognizable corporation, factory or industry gives you the hope that at the end of the month, you can receive something. I envy my fellow older people who have working children because they are not living as I am living...” (An in-depth interview at Kimanzichana, September 2020)

The above narration signifies the fact that adult children who are employed or working in the formal economy form an integral part of the lives of their older parents. Similarly, a study by Medgyesi (2016) in Hungary revealed that, if there is a non-working child among family members the likelihood of parents receiving frequent support decreases. Indeed, according to Ocakli (2017), having adult children who are financially better off acts as a better opportunity to fend off the pains of poverty. Generally, old age is associated with poverty, whereby income drops dramatically, especially in countries where pensions are very meagre. In that case, many older parents in developing countries are more likely to live in poverty. Economic changes associated with high levels of unemployment among adult children have negatively affected the elderly well-being.

5.0 Conclusion and recommendations

The study concludes that there are some attributes of modernization processes which significantly predict high well-being among older people while others are not. The study revealed that adult children with secondary education, college and university showed a positive relationship with the likelihood of elderly parents reporting high well-being. However, despite education level being a good predictor, very few older people were likely to be well-off as the majority of their adult children were less educated. The study also revealed that co-residing between adult children and their older parents was significantly predicting the high well-being of older people. Further, the study concludes that having many children who work in the informal economy or do not work anywhere rendered little or no support to the older parents. Thus, this study recommends that parents should not fear educating their children but rather should invest heavily in the educational career of their children. Adult children should strive to co-reside with their older parents as this enhances older people's well-being. The government and private sector need to create more employment opportunities for adult children as a means of boosting the elderly well-being.

6.0 Acknowledgement

The paper acknowledges the Local Government Training Institute for funding the PhD studies of the researcher through which the findings of this paper emanated from. In a similar vein, the author is indebted thanks to the officials in the offices of the Coast Regional Administrative Secretariat, Mkuranga District Council and Kibaha Town Council.



References

- Abanyan, N. L. (2013). 'The changing privileges and challenges of older people in contemporary African society', *Global Journal of Art, Humanities and Social Sciences*, 1(4): 34–43.
- Aboderin, I. (2000). *Social change and decline in family support for older people in Ghana: an investigation of the nature and causes of the shifts in support*. The University of Bristol in.
- Aboderin, I. (2004). 'Decline in material family support for older people in urban Ghana, Africa: Understanding processes and causes of change', *Journal of Gerontology*, 59(3): 128–137.
- Agwanda, A. and Amani, H. (2014). *Population Growth, Structure and Momentum in Tanzania*. 61. Dar es Salaam.
- Ajala, A. S. (2006). 'The changing perception of ageing in Yoruba culture and its implications on the health of the elderly', *Anthropologist*, 8(3): 181–188.
- Banjare, P., Dwivedi, R. and Pradhan, J. (2015). 'Factors associated with the life satisfaction amongst the rural elderly in Odisha, India', *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes*. Health and Quality of Life Outcomes, 13(201): 1–13. doi: 10.1186/s12955-015-0398-y.
- Bipula, G. and Rana, K. B. (2020) 'Attitude of the youth towards the elderly people in the selected community in Lalitpur district of Nepal', *MED PHOENIX*, 5(1): 46–53. doi: 10.3126/medphoenix.v5i1.31399.
- Centre for Policy on Ageing (2017). *Changing family structures and their impact on the care of older people*. London.
- Chadha, N. (2013) *Intergenerational relationships: An Indian perspective*. New Delhi.
- Cheung, C. K. and Kwan, A. Y. H. (2009) 'The erosion of filial piety by modernisation in Chinese cities', *Ageing and Society*, 29(2): 179–198. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X08007836.
- Donati, P. (2014). *Intergenerational solidarity: old and new scenarios, challenges and prospects*. Vatican City.
- ESRF. (2018). *Tanzania Human Development Report 2017: Social Policy in the Context of Economic Transformation*.
- Geest, S. Van Der (2016) 'Will families in Ghana continue to care for older people? logic and contradiction in policy', *Ageing in Sub-Saharan Africa: Spaces and Practices of Care*, 41: 21–41.
- Giarrusso, R. (2009). *Ageing parents and adult children : New perspectives on intergenerational relationships*.
- Gopalakrishan, K. (2021). 'Changing scenario of the family system in India: An analysis against the backdrop of changing social values', *International Journal of Social Sciences*, 10(01), pp. 51–62. doi: 10.46852/2249-6637.01.2021.7.
- Jiang, N. (2013) *The Impact of adult children's education on elderly parents' health and old-age support: Evidence from the United States and China*. Columbia University.
- Keasberry, I. N. (2002). *Eldercare, old-age security and social change in rural Yogyakarta, Indonesia*. Wageningen University: Wageningen 2002.
- Kim, K. (2012) *Intergenerational exchanges and support in family contexts*. Pennsylvania State University.
- Knodel, J. (2014). 'Is Intergenerational Solidarity Really on the Decline? Cautionary Evidence from Thailand', *Asian Population Studies*, 10(2):176–194. doi: 10.1080/17441730.2014.902160.
- Kooshar, H. (2012). 'Living arrangement and life satisfaction in older Malaysians: the mediating role of social support function', *PLOS ONE*, 7(8). doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0043125.
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology-methods and techniques*. Second. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.
- Kpessa-Whyte, M. (2018). 'Reciprocity, mutuality, and shared expectations: The role of informal institutions in social protection in Africa', *Contemporary Journal of African Studies*, 5(2): 1–25. doi: 10.4314/contjas.v5i2.1.



- Lai, D. W. L. (2019). 'The Impact of intergenerational relationship on health and well-being of older Chinese Americans', *Journal of American Geriatrics Society*, 67(3), pp. 557–563. doi: 10.1111/jgs.15893.
- Law, K. W. K. (1997) *Positive effects of modernization on later life*. 59. Hong Kong.
- Lin, J.-P. and Yi, C.-C. (2011). 'Filial norms and intergenerational support to ageing parents in China and Taiwan', *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 20(1): 109–120. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2397.2011.00824.x.
- Lowenstein, A. (2007). *Determinants of the complex interchange among generations: collaboration and conflict*. New York. doi: 10.1057/9780230115484.
- Maniragaba, F., Nzabona, A., Asimwe, J. B., Bizimungu, E., Mushomi, J., Ntozi, J., & Kwagala, B. (2019). Factors associated with older persons' physical health in rural Uganda. *PLoS ONE*, 14(1). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0209262>
- Manyama, W. (2017). 'Dynamics in family patterns in Tanzania', *Journal of Sociology and Social Work*, 5(1), pp. 68–79. doi: 10.15640/jssw.v5n1a7.
- Mayer, B. (2013). 'Family change theory: A preliminary evaluation on the basis of recent cross-cultural studies, in Albert, I. and Ferring, D. (eds) *Intergenerational relations: European perspectives in family and society*. Cambridge, England: Policy Press, pp. 167–187. doi: 10.1332/policypress/9781447300984.003.0011.
- Medgyesi, M. (2016). *Help and care from children to elderly parents: Hungary in the European context*.
- Mkenda, B. K. (2005). 'The impact of globalisation on Tanzania's labour market: Evidence from the manufacturing sector', in *Policy Dialogue for Accelerating Growth and Poverty Reduction in Tanzania, held at the Conference hall, ESRF, on July 28th, 2005*, p. 27.
- Montgomery, D. C., & Runger, G. C. (2003). *Applied statistics and probability for engineers* (Third). John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Mudege, N. N. and Ezeh, A. C. (2009). 'Gender, ageing, poverty and health: survival strategies of older men and women in Nairobi slums', *Journal of Aging Studies*. Elsevier Inc., 23(4): 245–257. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2007.12.021.
- Muia, D. M., Maina, L. W. and Mwangi, S. M. (2013). 'Changing intergenerational relationships and their implications on family structure and functioning in Africa', *International Journal of Education and Research*, 1(10): 1–10.
- Neuman, L. W. (2014). *Social Research Methods; Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Seventh. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Ocakli, B. O. (2017) *Intergenerational relationships between adult children and older parents In Turkey*.
- Okumagba, P. O. (2011). 'Family support for the elderly in the Delta State of Nigeria', *Stud Home Comm Science*, 5(1): 21–27.
- Oluwabamide, A. J. and Eghafona, K. A. (2012). 'Addressing the challenges of ageing in Africa', *The Anthropologist*, 14(1): 61–66.
- Pei, Y. and Cong, Z. (2020). 'Children's education and their financial transfers to ageing parents in rural China: Mothers and fathers' strategic advantages in enforcing reciprocity', *Ageing and Society*, 40(4): 896–920. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X18001496.
- Phiri, D. T. (2019). 'Studying intergenerational processes in 21st century rural African societies. 1', *Barn*, 37(2): 81–93.
- Qamar, K. H. (2020). 'Role of modernization in changing cultural values in Pakistan', *Artech Journal of Art and Social Sciences*, 2(3): 53–58.
- Rwegelera, M. K. (2012). 'The effect of globalization on Tanzanian culture: a review', *Huria*, 12(1): 152–172.
- Shi, Z. (2016). 'Does the number of children matters to the happiness of their parents?', *The Journal of Chinese Sociology*, 3(1): 1–24. doi: 10.1186/s40711-016-0031-4.



- Singh, A. (2018). *Research methods in psychology: Psychological research – objectives and goals, problems, hypothesis and variables*.
- Spitzer, H. and Mabeyo, Z. M. (2014). *In search of protection: older people and their fight for survival in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota.
- Spitzer, H., Rwegoshora, H., & Mabeyo, Z. M. (2009). *The (missing) social protection for older people in Tanzania; a comparative study in rural and urban areas* (Issue July).
- Tafere, Y. (2013). *Intergenerational relationships and the life course: changing relations between children and caregivers in Ethiopia*. 99. Oxford.
- Tafere, Y. (2015). 'Intergenerational relationships and the life course: children caregivers relations in Ethiopia', *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, 13.4: 320–333.
- Tavernier, W. De, Naegele, L. and Hess, M. (2019). 'A critical perspective on ageism and modernization theory', *Social Inclusion*, 7(3): 54–57. doi: 10.17645/si.v7i3.2371.
- Thornton, A. and Fricke, T. E. (1987) 'Social change and the family: Comparative perspectives from the west, China, and South Asia', *Sociological Forum*, 2(4): 746–779. doi: 10.1007/BF01124383.
- Ting, C. (2012). *The impact of modernity on family structure and function: A study among Beijing, Hong Kong and Yunnan families*. Lingnan University.
- UN. (2017). *World Population Ageing 2017 report* (p. 124). United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- URT. (2013). *2012 Population and Housing Census*. Government Printer.
- URT (2015). *Tanzania Integrated Labour Force Survey - 2014*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Velkoff, V. a (2001). 'Living Arrangements and Well-Being of the Older Population: Future Research Directions', *Population (English Edition)*, p. 11.
- Wahab, E. O. and Adedokun, A. (2012). 'Changing Family Structure and Care of the Older Persons in Nigeria', *International Union for the Scientific Study of Population*, p. 25.
- Wenban-Smith, H. B. (2014). *Population growth, internal migration and urbanisation in Tanzania, 1967-2012: A census-based regional analysis* (No. 01).
- WHO. (1996). *WHOQOLBREF: Introduction, administration, scoring and generic version of the assessment* (Issue December, p. 17).
- Worrall, L. (2017). *Better urban growth in Tanzania: A preliminary exploration of the opportunities and challenges*. London and Wahington.