

# Household Structure and Older Persons

**Working Paper No. 3**

March 2020



**Technical Division**

**Working Paper Series**

**Population and Development Branch**

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## Key messages

1. Analyses of harmonized census data from 76 countries show that household structures changed in all regions of the world between 1960 and 2015. Proportions of single-person households have increased while average household sizes have declined, albeit at different rates.
2. Among the countries analyzed:
  - a. Countries in Europe and North America experienced the most rapid increases in the proportion of single-person households and hence the fastest household structure change.
  - b. Countries in Latin America and the Caribbean also experienced significant and widespread changes in the proportion of single-person households, but not at the levels observed in Europe and North America.
  - c. As regions, Africa and Asia have thus far not experienced substantial changes in household structure, but some countries have seen shifts similar to those in Europe and North America.
3. The analysis presented here is crucial for supporting policy responses to the needs of older persons, including the special attention they currently require in the context of the COVID-19 crisis, as they are disproportionately more likely to be infected and die from the disease than younger persons.
4. The rise in the proportion of single-person households in countries has occurred alongside growing proportions of single-person households among older persons in Europe, North America, and Latin America and the Caribbean.
5. Due to longer life expectancies among women, it is normal to find more females than males at advanced ages. Sex ratios among older persons living alone, however, suggest that older women are disproportionately more likely to live alone for reasons beyond sex differentials in longevity. This is the case in all regions of the world.
6. The predictors of living alone at older ages include: the number of children ever born, child survival, age at marriage, and the proportion of people aged 60 years and above in the total population.
7. Older persons may live alone out of choice. If they do so involuntarily, however, they may be vulnerable and require targeted social protection.

# 1. Introduction

This booklet explores the life circumstances of older persons (aged 60 years and above), focusing on those who live alone, in the context of changing household structures in 76 countries from all regions of the world. The analysis is based on harmonized international census data obtained from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) at the University of Minnesota. The analysis presented here is crucial for supporting policy responses to the needs of older persons, including the special attention they require during the current COVID-19 crisis, as they are disproportionately more likely to be infected and die from COVID-19 related complications than younger persons. It also supports the operationalization of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) (United Nations, 2002) and the realization of United Nations Principles for Older Persons (United Nations, 1991), and within the broader framework of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD-POA).

The focus on older persons is due to all regions of the world experiencing population ageing, albeit at different rates. Globally, projections show that the proportion of older persons aged 60 and above will increase from 13.5% to 21.4% between in 2020 and 2050. Regionally, Latin America and the Caribbean and Asia and will experience the fastest growth in the proportion of older persons, from 13% to 24.9% and 13.1% to 24.1%, respectively. Africa will experience slowest growth, from 5.5% to 8.7% whilst in North America and Europe the proportions of older persons will increase from 23.1% to 28.5% and 25.7% to 35.0%, respectively.<sup>1</sup>

Older people living alone receive special attention in this booklet because they can require targeted social and policy support (United Nations, 2005). “Older persons that live alone are more likely to need outside assistance in the case of illness or disability, are at greater risk of social isolation and, even in countries with well-developed systems of social security, are disproportionately likely—especially older women—to be poor” (ibid., p. 16).

Alongside global population ageing, other megatrends include changing household structures, urbanization, globalization, increasing incomes and rising education levels, all which are reshaping the contexts in which older persons live (United Nations, 2017), and the amount and nature of the support they enjoy.

Household structures and relationships within households have become increasingly important for policy analysis because they have implications for support and welfare (Mberu, 2007). The United Nations defines a household as “a group of persons who make common provision of food, shelter and other essentials for living” (United Nations Population Division, 2017). A household is, therefore, a fundamental socio-economic unit in human societies. While there are critiques of this definition (see Kriel and others, 2014, and Randall and others, 2015, for example), this “housekeeping” conceptualization of a household is widely used in censuses (United Nations, n.d.) and international large-scale household surveys such as the Demographic and Health Survey. This makes it crucial to situate analyses of socioeconomic, demographic and cultural phenomena in the context of the household. Further, the household is the nucleus of demographic,

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<sup>1</sup> See *World Population Prospects: The 2019 Revision* for more details (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019).

socioeconomic and cultural processes, where decisions are made about childbearing, division of labour, education, labour force participation, migration, health care, child-rearing, and the teaching of core values and norms.

The same processes in turn shape the structure of households. The combination of fertility, mortality, nuptiality, and migration levels and trends, for example, affect the age structure of a population, and can define household structure, composition and size (Jamba and Mmatli, 2016, and Bongaarts, 2010). Cultural factors also determine the structure and composition of households, including the formation of new ones, within the context of life-course events such as marriage, divorce, widowhood, orphanhood, employment, etc. (Dommaraju and Tan, 2014).

The rest of this booklet is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a brief overview of concepts used to define household structures. It provides evidence of changing household structures across the world. Section 3 examines trends in the living arrangements of older people. Section 4 examines the sociodemographic characteristics of older persons who live alone and some of the correlating major socioeconomic characteristics. Section 5 offers brief conclusions. The analysis presented here is crucial for supporting policy responses to ageing, including under the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (United Nations, 2002) and the United Nations Principles for Older Persons (United Nations, 1991), and within the broader framework of the ICPD-POA.

## 2. Changing Household Structure

### *Defining household structure – overview of concepts*

The widely used typology of household structure characterizes families by type. This is not surprising because families and households are separate but related entities that describe how a population is organized within communities. Multiple criteria to define household structure include the relationships of household members to the head of household, characteristics of the household head (child-headed households, grandparent-headed households and female-headed households, for example); household size (single-person and multi-person households); or simply type of family household (non-family and family household).

The demographic transition theory postulates that, as a corollary to birth and death rates moving from higher to lower levels as societies modernize, populations also experience a shift from predominantly complex extended-family households to simpler nuclear and conjugal ones (Lesthaeghe, 2014). The latter are characterized by smaller household sizes and married couples living with their children, with fertility levels at around replacement level. This transition has been observed in most parts of Europe and North America. Since the 1970s, many countries in these two regions have, however, progressed to below replacement fertility. They have seen an emergence of new and diverse household structures that are not tied to familial or conjugal relationships, a disconnection between marriage and child bearing, and increasing proportions of one-person as well as single-parent households. This has been described as the second demographic transition.

### *Evidence of changing household structures*

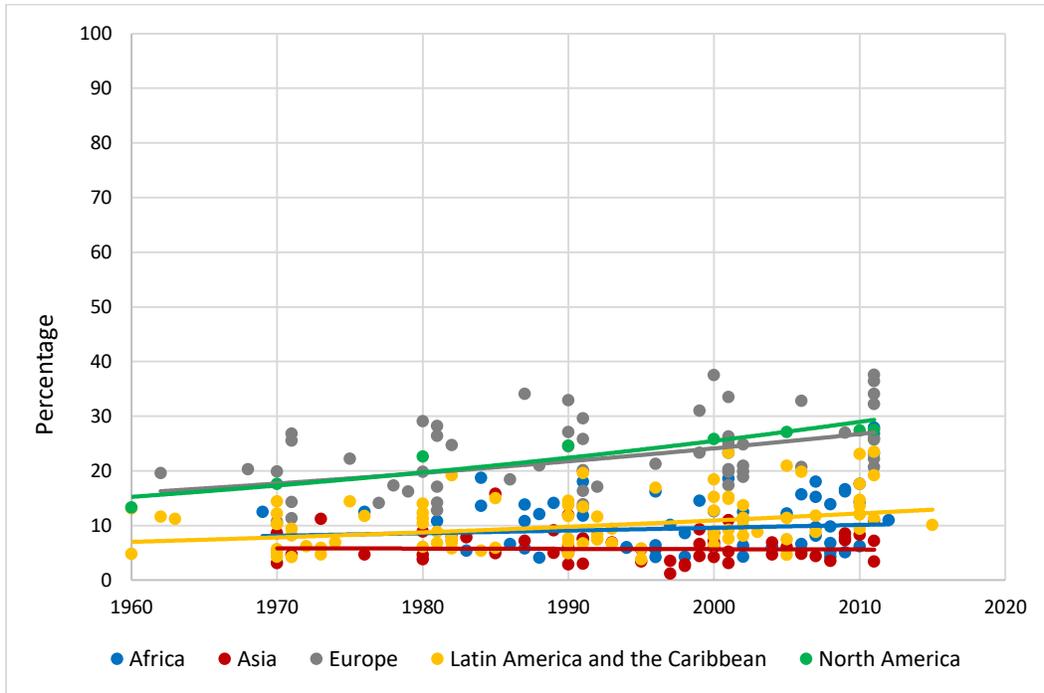
Figures 1 and 2 show evidence of a worldwide transition in household structure. The figures map regional trends in the proportion of single-person households and households with three or more people.

Figure 1 shows rapid increases in the proportion of single-person households in Europe and North America. Between 1960 and 2010, the share surpassed 20 per cent for a majority of countries analysed. The data also show considerable and widespread, but not as pronounced, increases in Latin America and the Caribbean between 1960 and 2015, albeit starting at lower levels. In most Latin American and Caribbean countries analysed, the proportion of single-person households was between 10 per cent and 20 per cent by 2010.

Country-specific analyses show that in Europe, nations experiencing the fastest growth in the proportion of single-person households included Hungary (the proportion more than tripled between 1970 and 2010), Poland (the proportion more than doubled between 1980 and 2010) and Switzerland (the proportion nearly doubled between 1970 and 2010). Figure A-2 in the annex presents all countries in Europe and North America included in the analysis that have experienced sustained and rapid increases in the proportion of single-person households since the 1960s.

Most African and Asian countries analyzed did not experience such rapid increases. Exceptions are Botswana and South Africa (Africa) and Israel (Asia), which have reached levels comparable to those in some countries in Europe and North America.

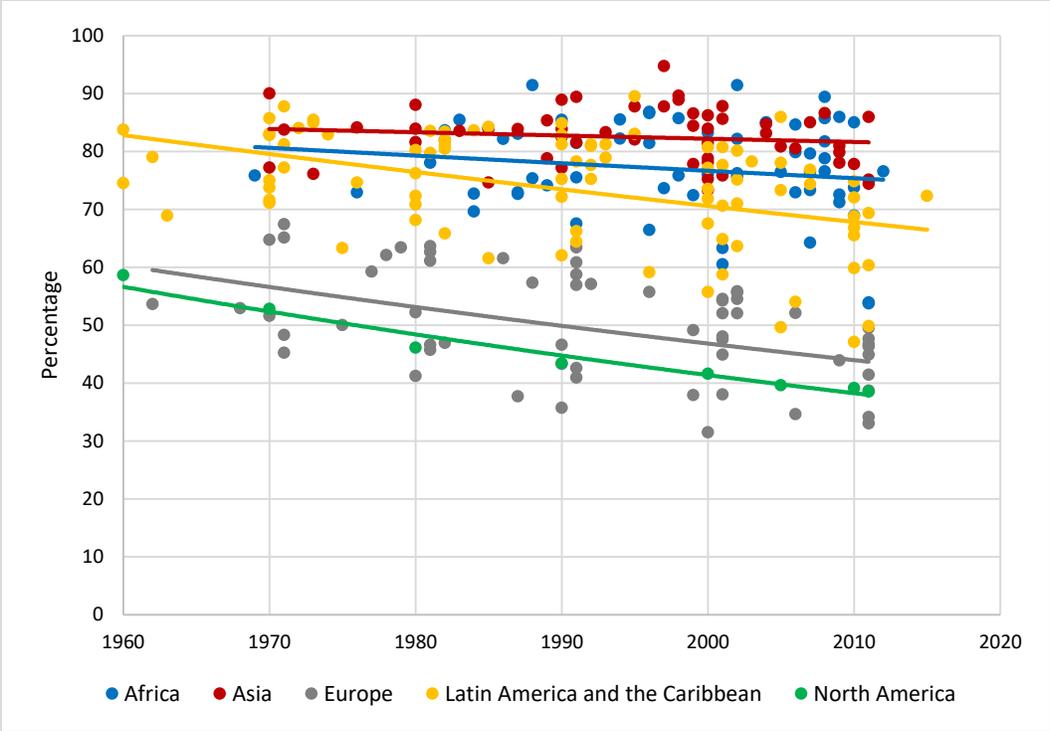
**Figure 1.** Regional trends in the proportion (percentage) of single-person households based on 76 countries with available data, 1960-2015



Note: Each dot represents a country at a point in time. The dots are colour coded by region. The trend lines – also colour coded by region – represent unweighted regional averages of the proportions of the two types of households at a point in time, calculated using available data for the countries included in the analysis.

Figure 2 shows general declines in the proportion of large households (with three persons and above) in all regions between 1960 and 2010. Declines are again more pronounced in Europe and North America, and not so much in Asia and Africa. This could indicate an incomplete fertility transition and the preponderance of extended-family households in the latter.

**Figure 2.** Regional trends in the proportion (percentage) of households with three persons and above based on 76 countries with available data, 1960-2015



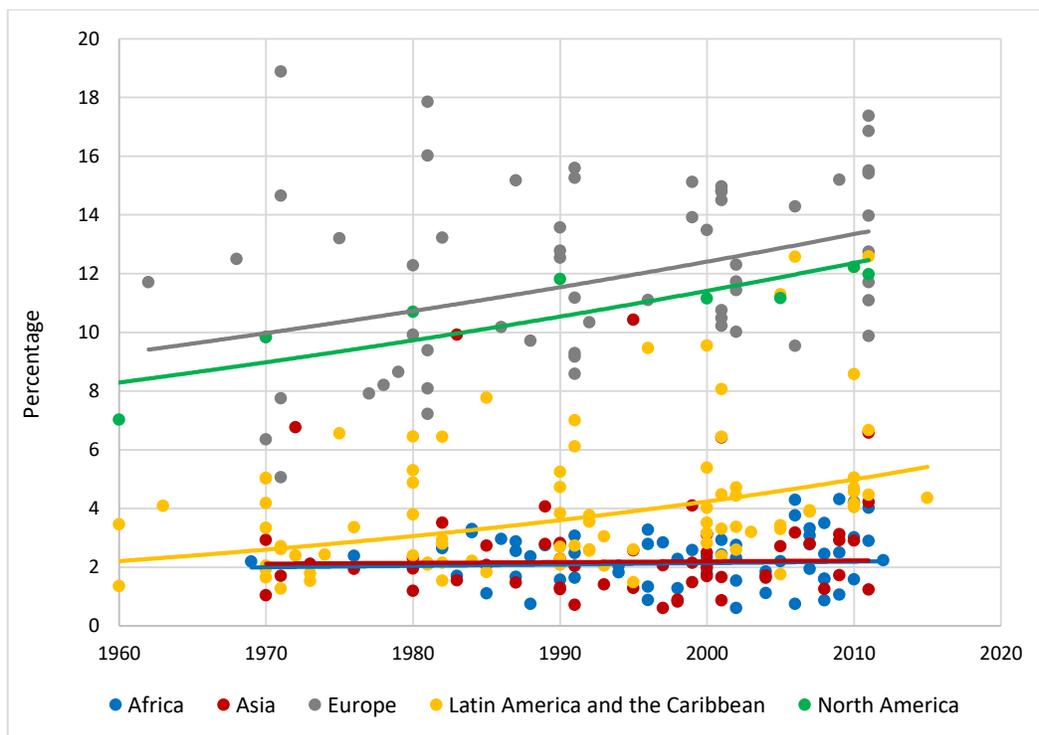
Note: Each dot represents a country at a point in time. The dots are colour coded by region. The trend lines – also colour coded by region – represent unweighted regional averages of the proportions of the two types of households at a point in time, calculated using available data for the countries included in the analysis.

### 3. Living Arrangements of Older Persons

Alongside the overall increase in the proportion of single-person households between 1960 and 2010, there was a corresponding rise in the share of older single-person households in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and North America (Figure 3).

In Africa and Asia, the proportion did not change, remaining below 5 per cent for most countries included in the analysis. Israel is an exception in Asia, having experienced an increase from about 5 per cent in the 1970s to 10 per cent in the mid-1990s.

**Figure 3.** Trend in the proportion (percentage) of older single-person households (aged 60-plus) in 76 countries with available data, 1960-2015



Note: Each dot represents a country at a point in time. The dots are colour coded by region. The trend lines – also colour coded by region – represent unweighted regional averages of the proportions of the two types of households at a point in time, calculated using available data for the countries included in the analysis.

Figure 4 shows that in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean, older persons predominantly live in households made up of three or more members, regardless of age group (60 to 69 years, 70 to 79 years, or 80 years and above). This reflects a high preponderance of extended family households in these regions.

In North America and Europe, on the other hand, older persons are more likely to live in two-person households (most likely with their spouses). In both regions, the proportion of older persons living in single person households is significant, ranging from about 2 in every 10 older persons (18 per cent) in the age group from 60 to 69 years, to nearly 4 in every 10 older persons (43 per cent) among older persons aged 80 years and above.

**Figure 4.** Percentage distribution of older persons by age group, region and type of household, 2000-2015

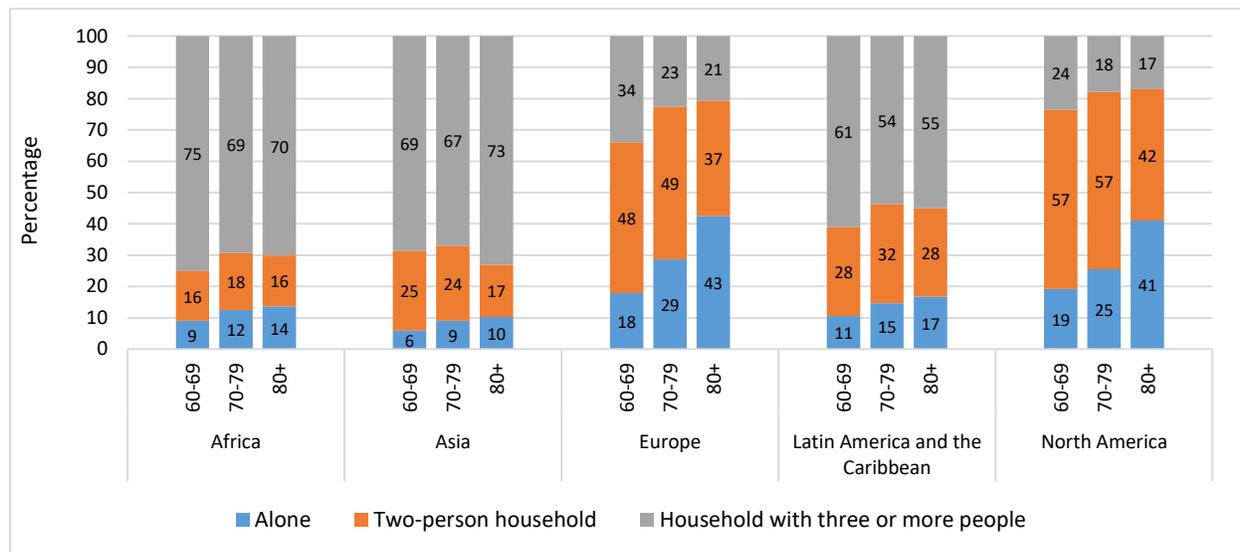
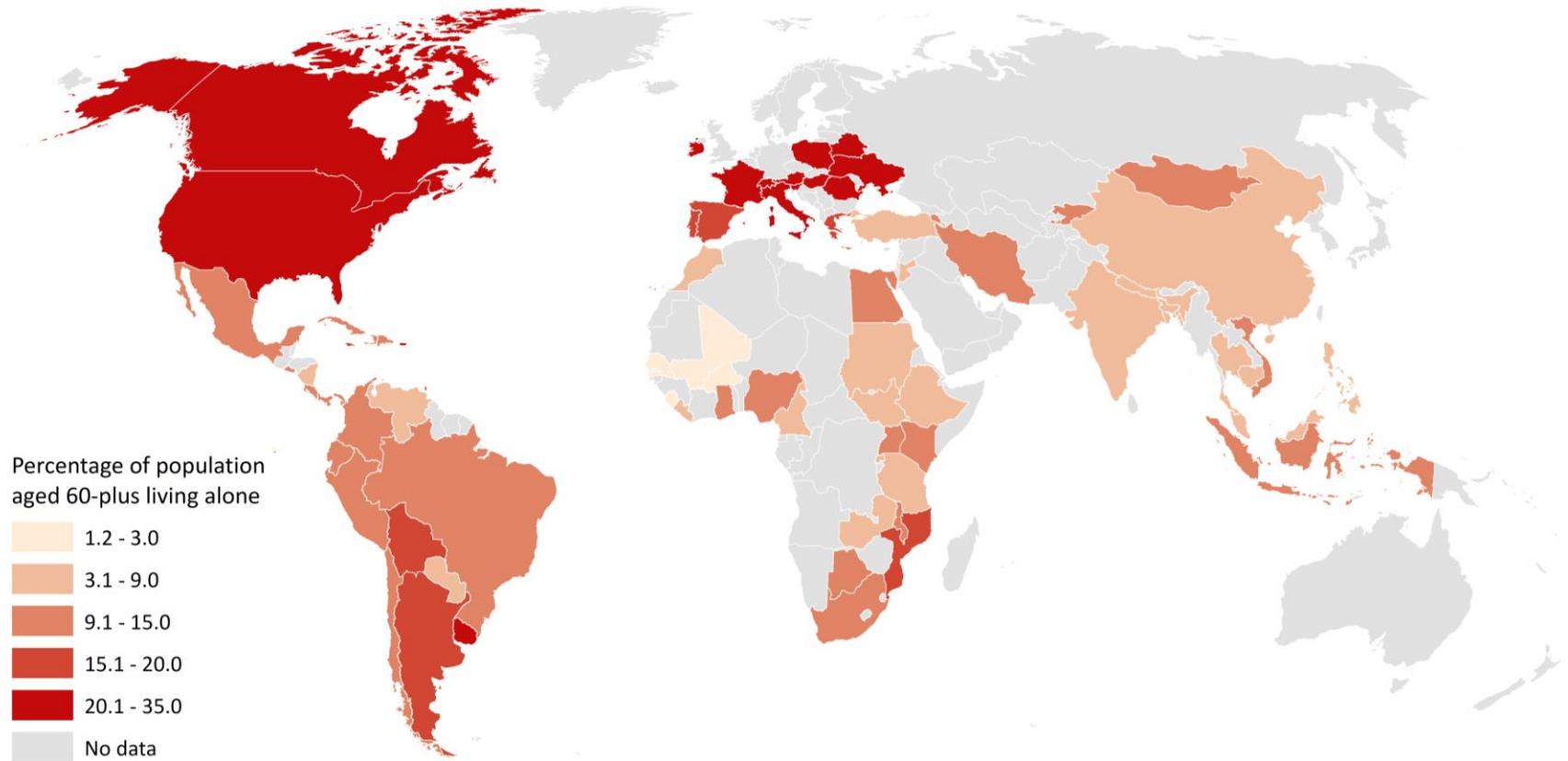


Figure 5 reveals significant variation in the proportion of older persons living alone across countries within regions.

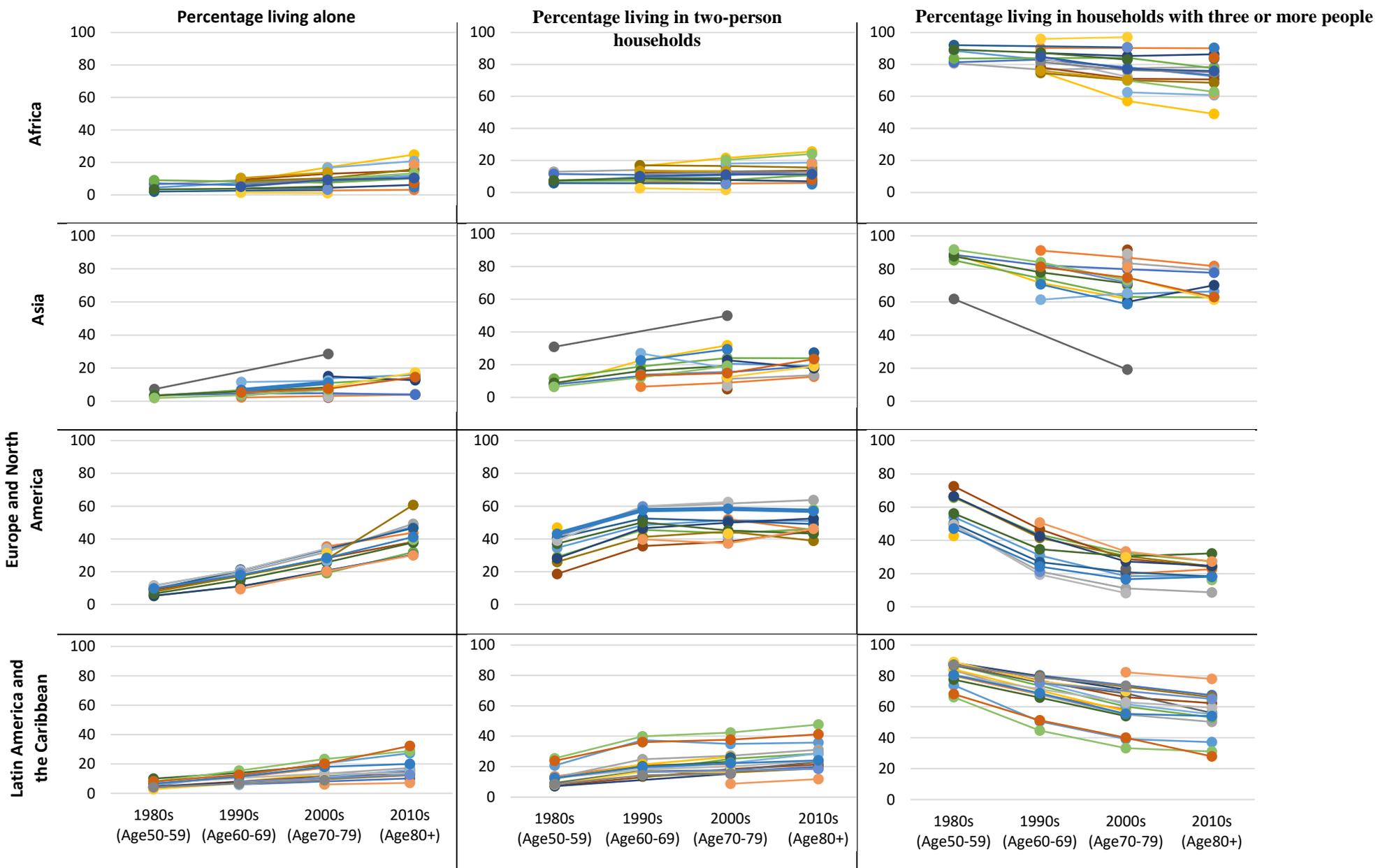
The variation is widest in Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean. Among people aged 80 years and above, for example, the proportion ranges from a low of 30 per cent in Spain to a high of 61 per cent in Poland (Europe), and from a low of 7 per cent in Nicaragua to a high of 32 per cent in Uruguay (Latin America and the Caribbean). See also Figure A-1 in the annex.

The regional cross-sectional aggregates of the distribution of older persons living alone by age group (Figure 4) hide country-level variations in the likelihood of living alone by age cohort. Figure 6 shows that in Europe and North America, the proportion of older persons living alone more than doubles as people progress from their 60s to their 80s.

**Figure 5.** Percentage distribution of older persons living alone, countries with available data after the year 2000



**Figure 6.** Age-specific trends in the living arrangements of older persons by type of household and region, 1980-2010

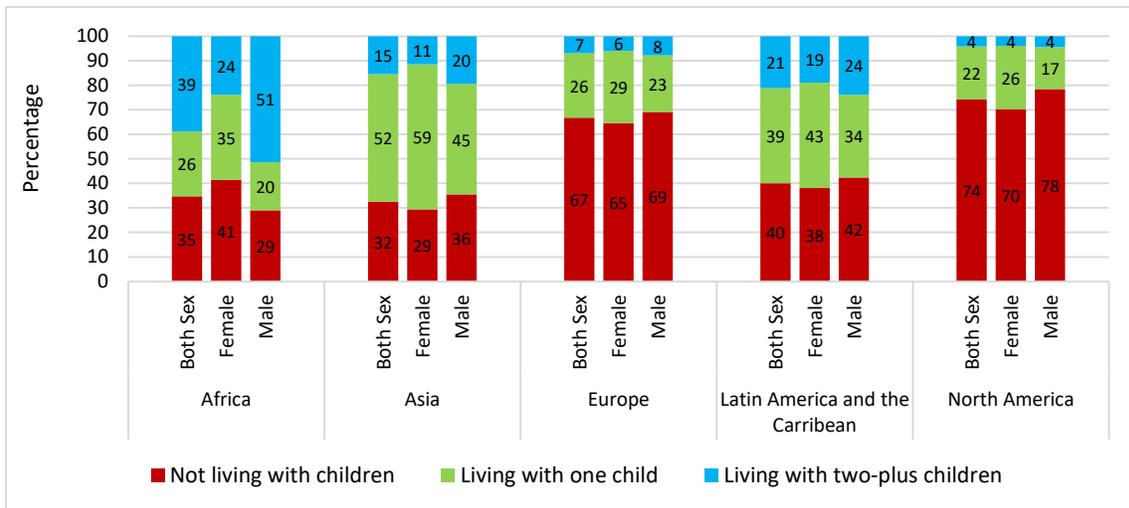


Note: Each line represents a country.

***With whom do older persons live?***

Among older persons who do not live alone, most Asians live with their children: 52 per cent live with one child, 15 per cent live with two or more children, and 32 per cent live with people other than their own children (Figure 7). Older women in Asia are most likely to live with their children. Seven in every 10 women aged 60 years and above live with one or more own children in the region. In contrast, North American women are the least likely to live with their children; only 30 per cent do so. Among men, co-residence with own children is highest in Africa, where 71% men aged 60 years and above live with their children, and lowest in North America where only 21% do so. Further sex disaggregation shows that in all regions, except Africa, women are more likely to live with their children than men. Patterns of living arrangements among older persons are likely associated with socioeconomic factors such as traditionalism, culture and attitudes towards older persons.

**Figure 7.** Status of older persons aged 60 years-plus living with their children, disaggregated by sex, among those who do not live alone, based on countries with data available after 2000



## 4. Characteristics of Older People Living Alone

Older women are more likely to be single-person householders than older men. Worldwide, 17 per cent of women aged 60 years and above live alone, compared to only 9 per cent of men of the same age (Figure 8).

The sex differential in the likelihood of older people living alone cuts across all regions, but the gap is widest in Africa and Europe. In both regions, the proportion of older women living alone is more than double the share of older men.

**Figure 8.** Percentage distribution of older persons aged 60 -plus living alone by sex, by region, 2000-2015

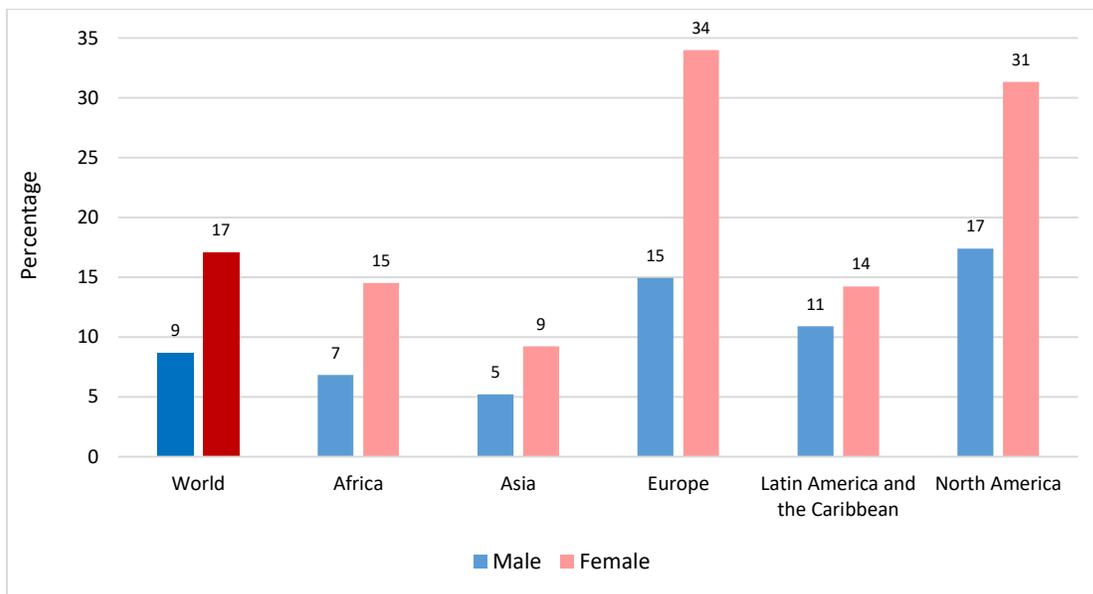
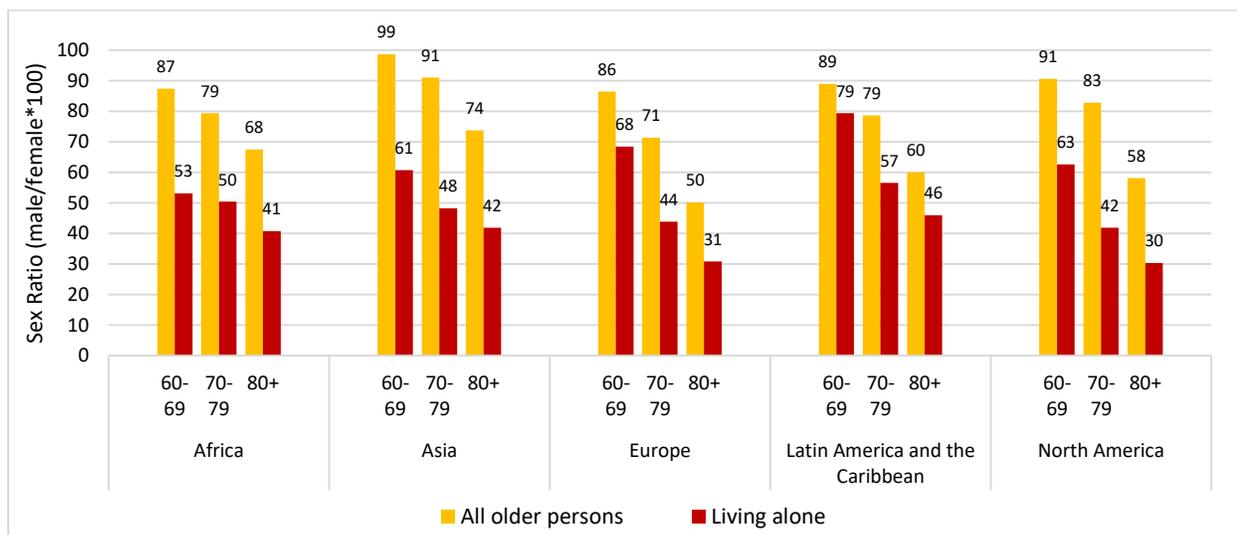


Figure 9 shows that while there are normally more females than males at older ages, given that women tend to live longer, older women are more likely to live alone for reasons that go beyond longevity.

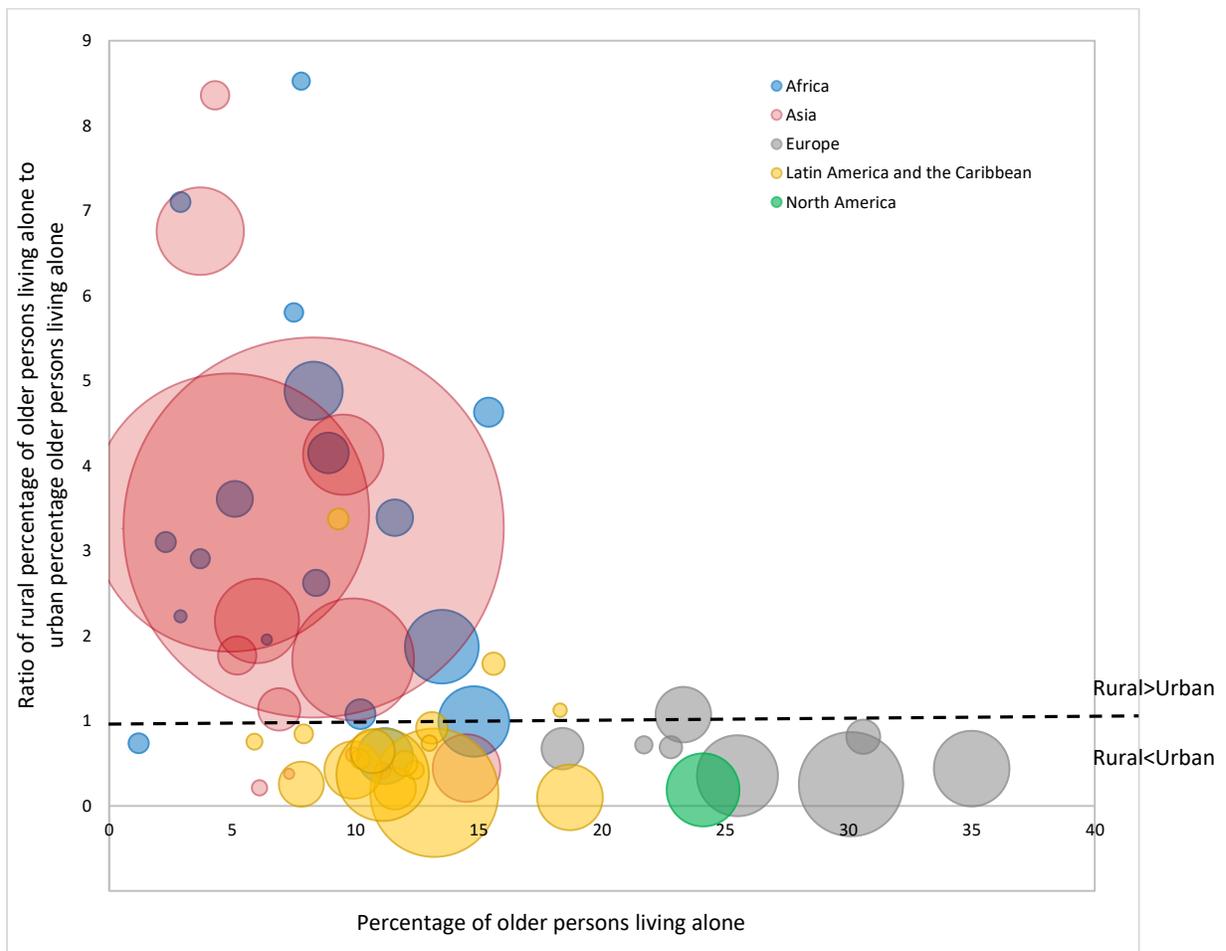
In Asia, for example, among older people living alone, for every 100 females aged 60 to 69, 70 to 79 and 80-plus, there are 61, 48 and 42 males, respectively. These sex ratios are significantly different from those observed for the general population of older people, where per 100 females aged 60 to 69, 70 to 79 and 80-plus, there are 99, 91 and 74 males. Among African countries included in the analysis, older men live alone at roughly half the rate of older women. For Europe and North America, male-female sex ratios among older persons living alone decrease rapidly as age increases.

**Figure 9.** Sex ratios among all older persons in the population and among older persons living alone, by region, 2000-2015



Analysis of data from a few countries with censuses after 2000 show that while the proportion of older persons living alone is low in Africa and Asia compared to other world regions, older people are more likely to live alone in rural areas than in urban ones (Figure 10).

**Figure 10.** Proportion of older persons living alone by place of residence, countries with available data after the year 2000



Notes:

- The size of the bubbles reflects the relative size of older persons aged 60 and above in each country.
- Rural/urban ratio above 1 means more than 50% of older persons living alone are in rural areas and vice versa

Older persons who live alone are more likely to be either divorced (particularly in North America) or widowed (particularly in Asia), as shown in Figure 11. This pattern is true for all regions and both sexes except older males in Europe, who are more likely to live alone even when married. Among them, 48 per cent are married. Never-married people account for the smallest share of older persons living alone. Never-married males in Latin America and Caribbean are a relatively higher proportion (22 per cent) of older males who live alone, compared to other regions.

**Figure 11.** Percentage distribution of older persons aged 60-plus by current marital status, living arrangement and region, 2000-2015

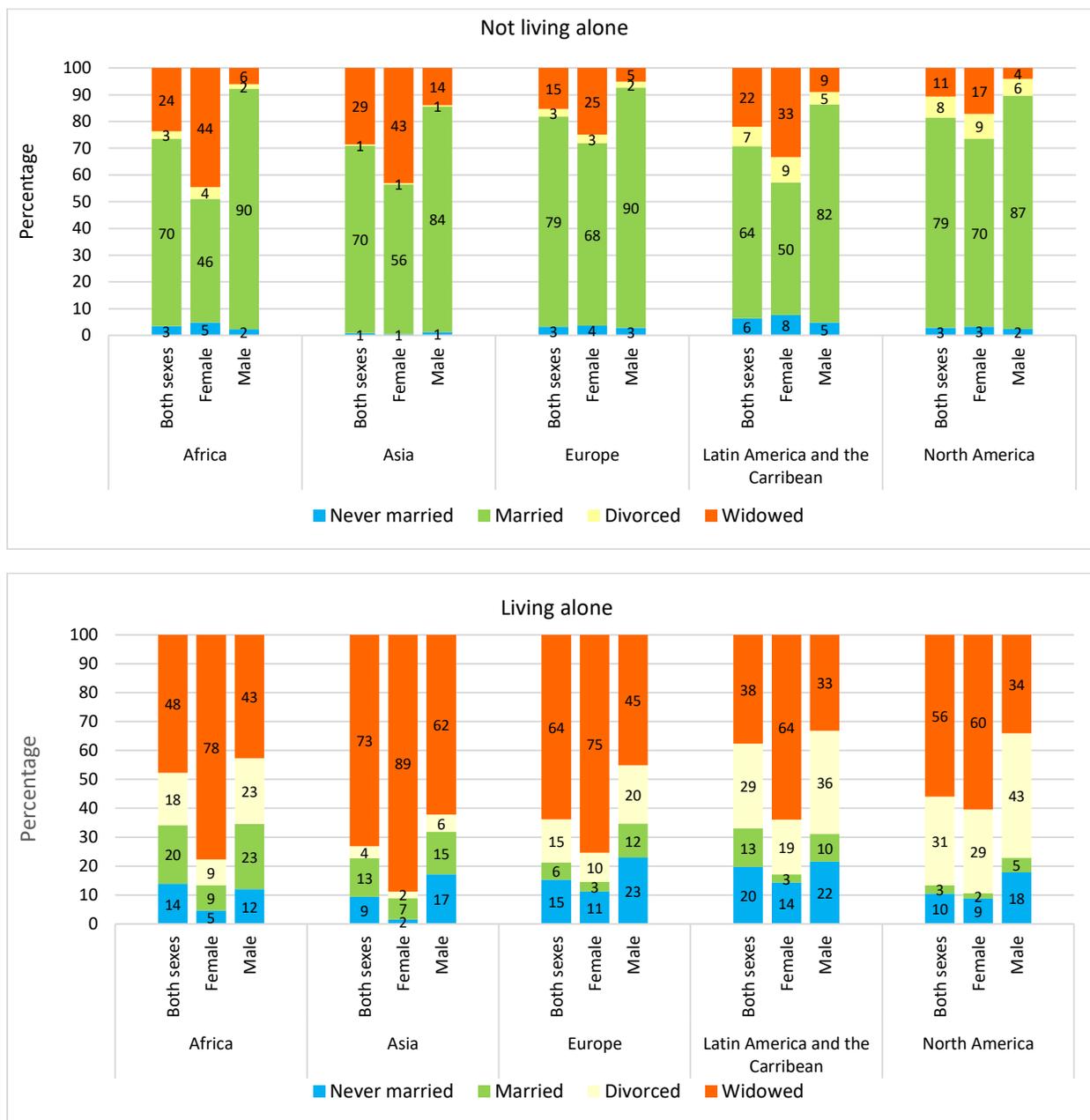
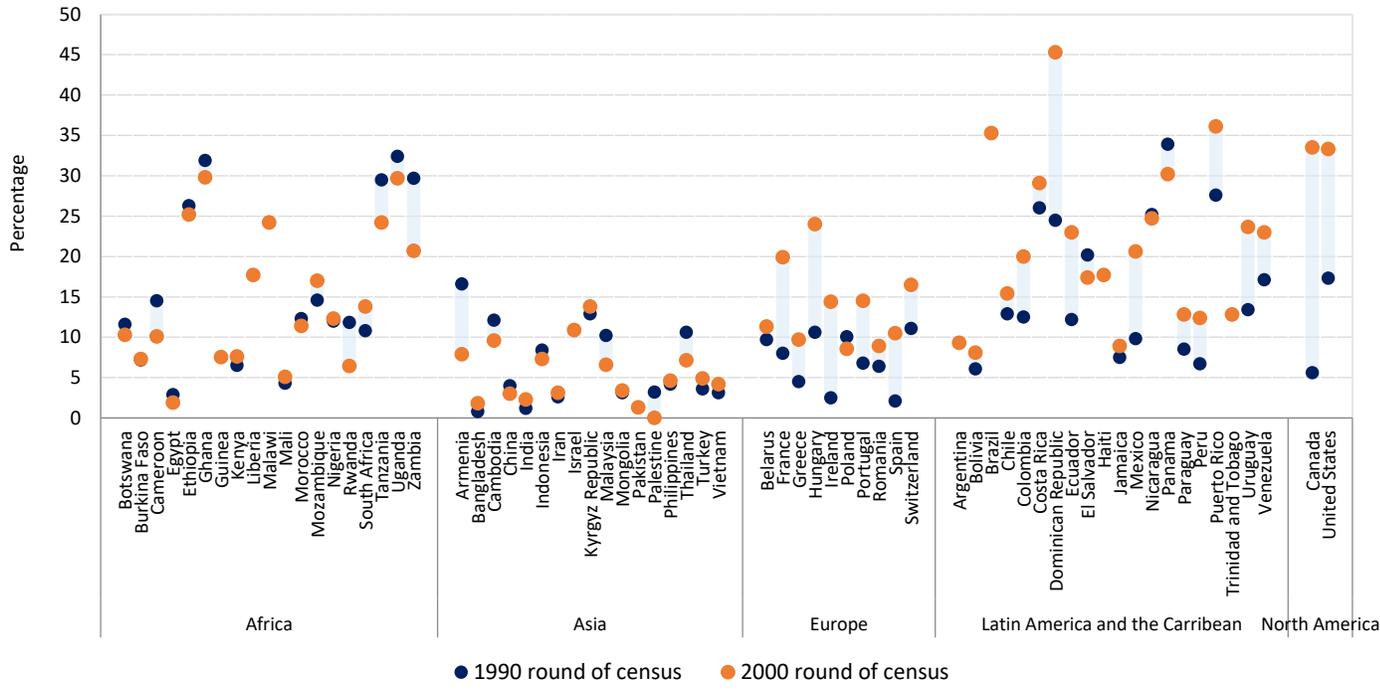


Figure 12 generally shows no change in the proportion of divorced older persons living alone in Africa and Asia between the 1990 and 2010 censuses, based on countries included in the analysis. In Africa, the exceptions are Cameroon, Rwanda, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, where the proportion decreased. In Mozambique and South Africa, it increased. Exceptions in Asia include Armenia, Cambodia, Malaysia and Thailand, where the proportion declined.

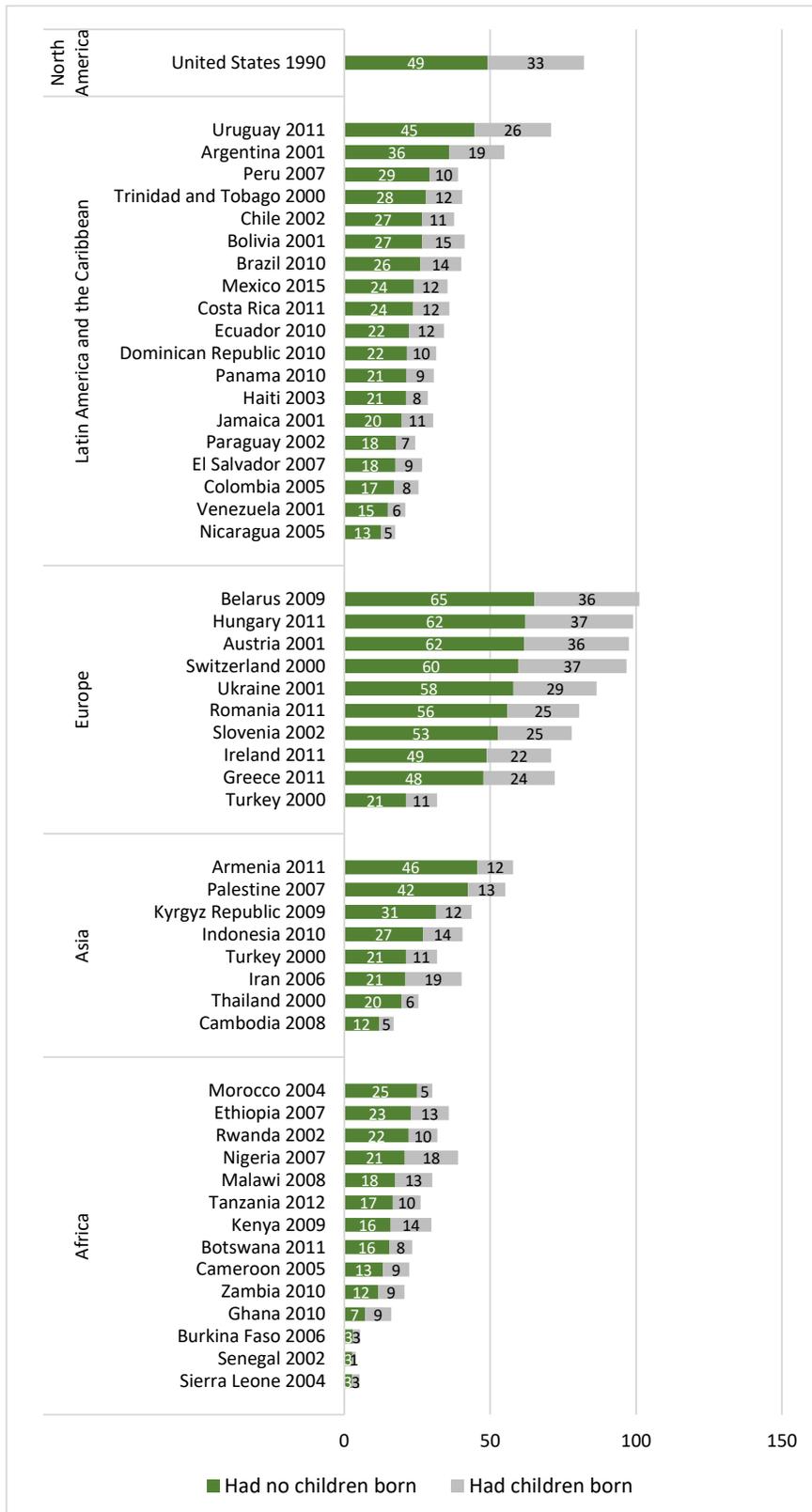
There was a general increase in the proportion of divorced older persons living alone in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and North America.

**Figure 12.** Comparison of earlier and more recent data on the percentage of divorcees among older persons living alone



Note: The graph compares two data points based on the 1990 and 2010 census rounds.

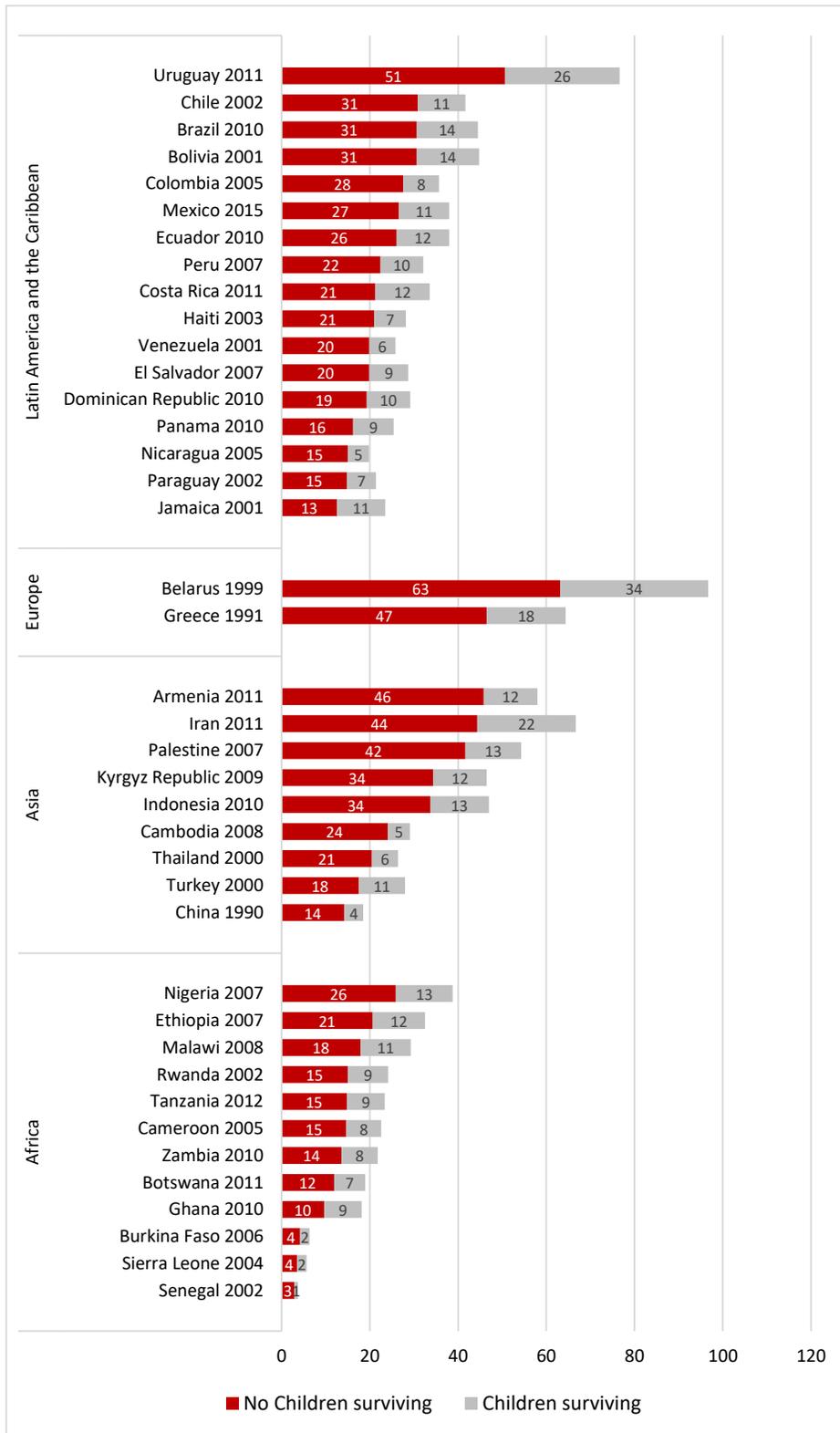
**Figure 13.** Percentage distribution of older women aged 60-plus who live alone, who had or did not have children, selected countries



In all regions of the world, the proportion of older women living alone is higher among those who never had children compared to those who have children.

Note: the bars do not add up to 100 because they do not represent the same universe of women. The green bars show percentages among women who have no children and the grey bars percentages among women who have children.

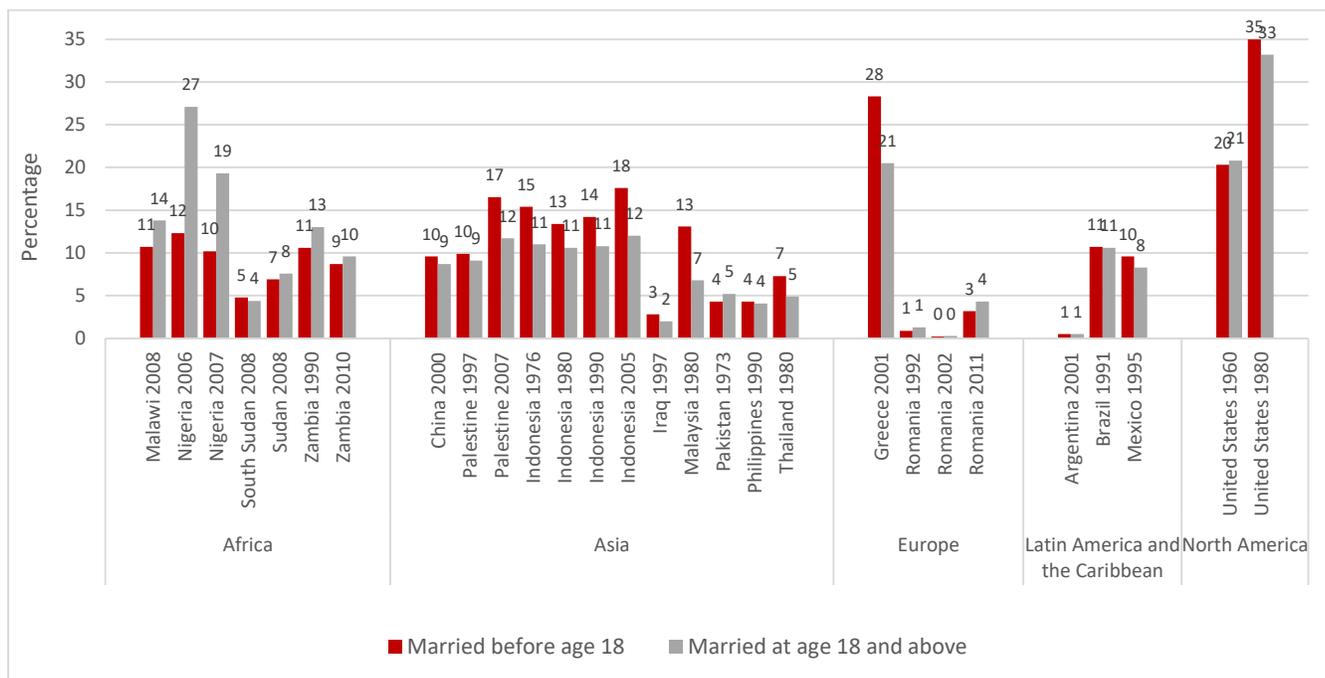
**Figure 14.** Percentage distribution of older women aged 60-plus who live alone by survival status of children, countries with available data



In all regions of the world, older women who do not have surviving children (among women who had children) are more likely to live alone compared to those who have surviving children.

Note: the bars do not add up to 100 because they do not represent the same universe of women. The red bars show percentages among women who have no children surviving and the grey bars percentages among women who have children surviving.

**Figure 15.** Percentage distribution of older women aged 60-plus who live alone by age at their first marriage, countries with available data



Among countries that have collected data on age at first marriage, early marriage (before age 20) is associated with a higher likelihood of living alone at older ages among older women in Asia and Europe. In Africa, late marriage is associated with a higher likelihood of living alone (Figure 15). Annex Figure A-3 presents data for Indonesia, and compares, by age at first marriage, the age-specific distribution of older women who live alone and who co-reside with other people. The graph shows that proportionately more women who married before age 18 are found among older women living alone, compared to those not living alone. Further research is needed to unravel the underlying causes for the relationship between age at marriage and living arrangements in old age, across regions.

Table 1 shows that even after controlling for parity (i.e. number of children ever born), women who married before age 18 are generally more likely to live alone after age 60 compared to women who married at the ages of 18 to 24, 25 to 34 and 35 years and above, in all regions except Africa, and regardless of the number of children they have.

The combination of early marriage and childlessness increases the likelihood that women will live alone in older ages.

**Table 1.** Percentage distribution of women who live alone by age at marriage and number of children ever born, countries with available data

Age at first marriage	No children				One to two children				Three children and more			
	<17	18-24	25-34	35+	<17	18-24	25-34	35+	<17	18-24	25-34	35+
<b>Africa</b>												
Nigeria 2006	46	68	16	54	9	26	19	17	9	37	37	18
Malawi 2008	19	18	20	19	20	18	20	21	10	13	15	15
Zambia 1990	18	28	33	7	14	12	12	12	9	9	7	6
Zambia 2010	9	13	13	5	11	11	7	9	9	9	8	5
<b>Asia</b>												
State of Palestine 2007	60	33	50	40	34	33	22	12	15	10	7	12
Thailand 1980	44	22	18	22	12	7	6	4	6	6	4	3
State of Palestine 1997	38	30	32	29	27	16	25	6	9	8	6	5
Indonesia 1980	30	29	23	22	13	11	7	4	12	9	7	9
Indonesia 1990	29	29	19	17	14	12	7	10	13	9	6	3
Indonesia 1976	28	29	26	19	17	14	19	9	14	11	9	9
Malaysia 1980	19	14	24	29	16	9	6	6	12	6	3	8
Pakistan 1973	19	20	23	3	6	7	8	8	4	4	3	4
Iraq 1997	12	10	9	8	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1
<b>Europe</b>												
Greece 2001	51	43	28	6	28	28	5	2	28	24	6	3
Romania 2011	6	5	6	7	3	4	5	6	3	3	4	4
Romania 1992	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	4
Romania 2002	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Latin America and the Caribbean</b>												
Brazil 1991	22	22	21	24	17	14	10	12	10	8	6	11
Argentina 2001	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
<b>North America</b>												
United States 1980	45	42	40	40	37	34	32	30	33	31	26	25
United States 1960	28	28	27	26	22	22	21	20	19	18	17	17

## 5. Conclusion

Population ageing is a global phenomenon. Shares of persons aged 60 and above are increasing in countries in all regions, albeit at different rates. Alongside age structure changes, all regions are also experiencing household structure changes. More people are living alone, and household sizes are shrinking.

The proportion of older single-person households has climbed in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and North America. The predictors of living alone in old age include age at marriage, the number of children ever born, child survival, current marital status and the share of people aged 60 years and above in the total population.

Although based on relatively dated data, the analysis presented here is crucial for supporting policy responses to the needs of older persons, including the special attention they require during the current COVID-19 crisis, as they are disproportionately more likely to be infected, and die from, COVID-19 related complications than younger persons. The greater vulnerability of older persons to the disease is related to their fragile health and suppressed immune system, on the one hand, and their living arrangements on the other. Available data show that countries and regions within countries where the number of older persons is high are high-risk areas for COVID-19 cases and fatalities, and should be among the regions that receive priority in crisis response. Older persons that live alone may not receive the support they need especially if they get ill; living in institutional care facilities they might get necessary care, but they also face a higher risk of falling ill. However, in the case of COVID-19, living with or in proximity to children and younger adults also poses health risks to older persons, as COVID-19 is less likely to show symptoms in children and younger adults.

The analysis presented in this booklet also supports the operationalization of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) (United Nations, 2002) and the realization of United Nations Principles for Older Persons (United Nations, 1991), and within the broader framework of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPA-POA).

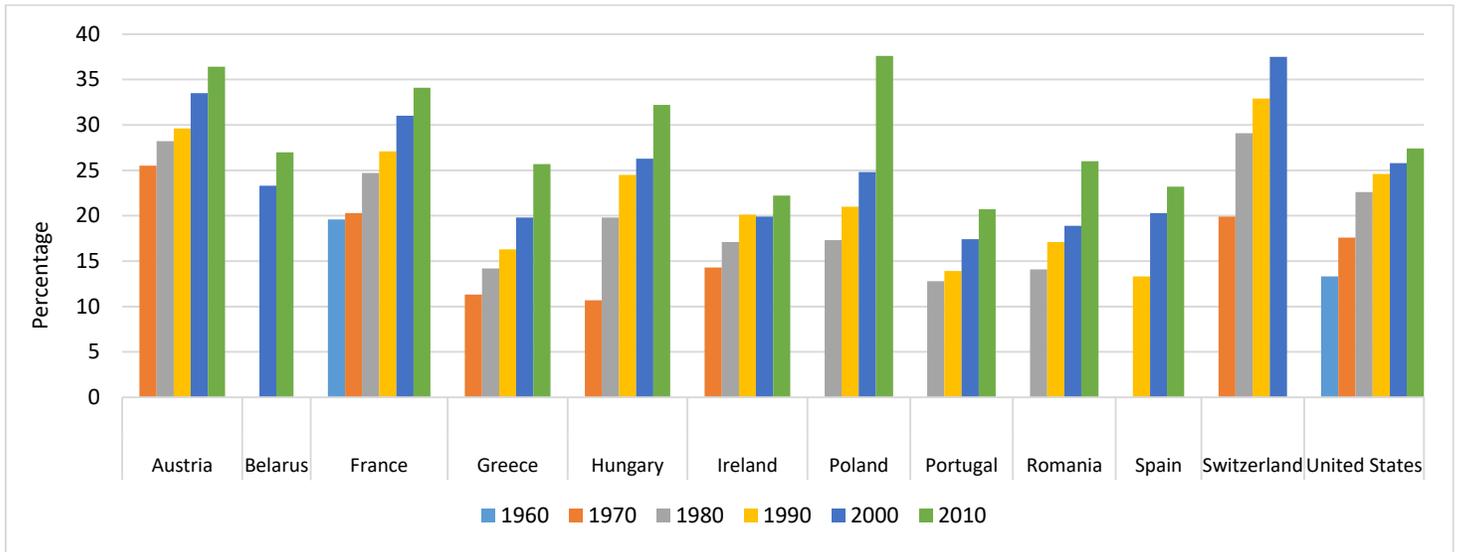
This booklet does not in any way suggest that lack of co-residence among older members of society is bad or automatically translates to a lack of support or care. While it is possible that a substantial proportion of older single-person households may be vulnerable, and therefore require some form of targeted social protection and support, especially in the context of COVID-19 as shown above. It is also possible that many older people live on their own out of choice. They may enjoy supportive interactions with family members even if they do not co-reside with them. In this light, the overall aim was not to portray living alone among older persons as an undesirable outcome, but to show the changing life circumstances and characteristics of older single-person householders as an increasingly important demographic group everywhere in the world.

# **Annex**

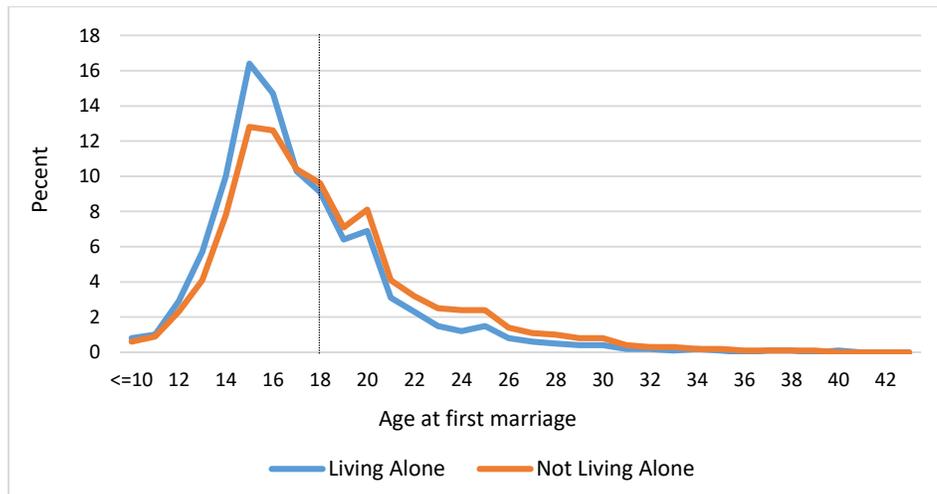
**Figure A-1. Percentage of older persons living alone by age, countries with available data after 2000**



**Figure A-2.** Countries in Europe and North America with consistent increases in the proportion of single-person households, 1960 to 2010



**Figure A-3.** Distribution (percentage) of women aged 60-plus by age at first marriage among those living alone and not living alone, Indonesia, 2005



**Table A-1.** Data list by country and years

Country	Years (IPUMS data)						
	2020 (2015- 2024)	2010 (2005-2014)	2000 (1995-2004)	1990 (1985-1994)	1980 (1975- 1984)	1970 (1965- 1974)	1960 (1955-1964)
Argentina		2010	2001	1991	1980	1970	
Armenia		2011	2001				
Austria		2011	2001	1991	1981	1971	
Bangladesh		2011	2001	1991			
Belarus		2009	1999				
Bolivia			2001	1992	1976		
Botswana		2011	2001	1991	1981		
Brazil		2010	2000	1991	1980	1970	1960
Burkina Faso		2006	1996	1985			
Cambodia		2008	1998				
Cameroon		2005		1987	1976		
Canada		2011	2001	1991	1981	1971	
Chile			2002	1992	1982	1970	1960
China			2000	1990	1982		
Colombia		2005		1993	1985	1973	1964
Costa Rica		2011	2000		1984; 1973	1963	
Cuba			2002				
Dominican Republic		2010	2002		1981	1970	1960
Ecuador		2010	2001	1990	1982	1974	1962
Egypt		2006	1996	1986			
El Salvador		2007		1992			
Ethiopia		2007		1994	1984		
Fiji		2007	1996	1986	1976	1966	
France		2011; 2006	1999	1990	1982	1975	1968; 1962
Germany				1987	1981	1971	1970
Ghana		2010	2000		1984		
Greece		2011	2001	1991	1981	1971	
Guinea			1996		1983		
Haiti			2003		1982	1971	
Hungary		2011	2001	1990	1980	1970	
India		2009	2004; 1999	1993; 1987	1983		
Indonesia		2010; 2005	2000; 1995	1990; 1985	1980; 1976	1971	
Iran		2011	2006				
Iraq			1997				
Ireland		2011; 2006	2002; 1996	1991; 1986	1981; 1979	1971	
Israel			1995		1983	1972	
Italy			2001				
Jamaica			2001	1991	1982		
Jordan			2004				
Kenya		2009	1999	1989	1979	1969	

Kyrgyz Republic		2009	1999				
Liberia		2008				1974	
Malawi		2008	1998	1987			
Malaysia			2000	1991	1980	1970	
Mali		2009	1998	1987			
Mexico	2015	2010; 2005	2000; 1995	1990		1970	1960
Mongolia			2000	1989			
Morocco			2004	1994	1982		
Mozambique		2007	1997				
Netherlands			2001			1971	1960
Nicaragua		2005	1995			1971	
Nigeria		2010; 2009; 2008; 2007; 2006					
Pakistan			1998		1981	1973	
Palestine		2007	1997				
Panama		2010	2000	1990	1980	1970	1960
Paraguay			2002	1992	1982	1972	1962
Peru		2007		1993			
Philippines			2000; 1995	1990			
Poland		2011	2002	1988	1978		
Portugal		2011	2001	1991	1981		
Puerto Rico		2010; 2005	2000	1990	1980	1970	
Romania		2011	2002	1992	1977		
Rwanda			2002	1991			
Saint Lucia				1991	1980		
Senegal			2002	1988			
Sierra Leone			2004				
Slovenia			2002				
South Africa		2011	2007; 2001	1996			
South Sudan		2008					
Spain		2011	2001	1991	1981		
Sudan		2008					
Switzerland			2000	1990	1980	1970	
Tanzania		2012	2002	1988			
Thailand			2000	1990	1980	1970	
Trinidad and Tobago		2011	2000	1990	1980	1970	
Turkey			2000	1990; 1985			
Uganda			2002	1991			
Ukraine			2001				
United Kingdom			2001	1991			
United States		2010; 2005	2000	1990	1980	1970	1960
Uruguay		2011	2006	1996	1985	1975	1963
Venezuela			2001	1990	1981	1971	
Viet Nam		2009	1999	1989			
Zambia		2010	2000	1990			

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