

Determinants of Income Security of Older Persons in Peninsular Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

This study explored factors determining income security of older Malaysians aged between 55 to 75 years, using a nationwide database on the economic and financial aspects of ageing. The sample comprised 1,841 older respondents in Peninsular Malaysia. Logistic regression analysis was performed (Nagelkerke R Sq. = 0.48) to test the likelihood of selected socio-demographic and economic factors contributing to income security. The results indicated that 53% of the elderly were in the income secure category, earning per capita income above the poverty level. The three strongest predictors were current work, being male and of Malay origin. The findings suggest that income security of older Malaysians can be strengthened by providing work opportunities with decent pay and self-employment opportunities to the elderly in informal urban and rural sectors. Such strategies are of paramount importance to help reduce poverty and vulnerability, increase income security and ultimately the quality of life of the elderly.

Keywords: Income security, old age, work, retirement

INTRODUCTION

Evidences from past research have revealed high incidence of old age vulnerability and poverty, especially in developing countries. Unlike the developed industrialised countries, which attain high income status before the population ageing phenomenon took place, developing countries have to face the double jeopardy of having to eradicate poverty while coping with the challenges accompanying ageing society at the same time.

Malaysia has been considered as a middle-income country with strong economic growth in the last two decades. With a rapid economic development, reduced fertility rate (2.3 in 2010) and longer life expectancy (72 for male and 77 for female in 2010), the statistics of those 60

years and older is expected to increase at a rapid rate from the current 7.4% out of 27.5 million to 15% by 2035, when the country becomes an aged nation. Unlike other developing countries, Malaysia dramatically reduced the poverty rate of its general population from a high percentage of 19.4% in 1987 to merely 3.8% in 2008 (9th Malaysia Plan Mid Term Review, 2010). From a few studies on ageing carried out in the last decade, however, there is evidence showing that poverty and economic vulnerability among older persons in Malaysia are on the increase (Hamid & Masud, 2010; Economic Planning Unit, 2001). Malaysia may have successfully reduced the poverty rate of the general population but there is lack of awareness, specifically on the increases in economic vulnerability and poverty amongst the older generations.

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The economic condition of older persons in Malaysia is mainly dependent on the income earned from the formal or informal sectors of employment (as in traditional agriculture, petty trading, or self-employment). Retirees from the public sector are provided with pension payments, while those from the private sector received a lump sum of their savings from Employer Provident Fund (EPF) upon retirement. According to the Government's reports, 40% of the working population have been earning low income, i.e. at an average of MYR3000/= (USD 937/= @ exchange rate of 3.2) and below per month since 1990s (New Economic Model of Malaysia [NEM] Report, 2010). The low earnings yield inadequate savings and pension payments to support living in retirement (as mandatory retirement takes place at an early age of 55 for private sector employees and at 58 years for public sector workers beginning 2008).

The current rate of rapid ageing continues to increase the proportion of vulnerable low income retirees and the aged poor annually, particularly from informal employment in the urban as well as the agricultural sector. Furthermore, past studies on older persons born prior to World War II have shown that majority who have minimal or no education, and were formerly engaged in low paying jobs, comprised between 22% to 30% of the aged poor (Hamid & Masud, 2010; 9th Malaysia Plan Mid Term Review, 2010; Pala, 2005). A high proportion is not covered under any forms of social protection, and is therefore likely to be exposed to vulnerability risks.

Policy makers may assume that the elderly who are poor come from poor households; therefore, eradicating poverty among the poor households will eliminate poverty in old age. Furthermore, the society generally assumes that upon retirement, the adult children are responsible and economically endowed to provide supports and care for their ageing parents. It is also society's assumption that old age and retirement are a phase in life where one withdraws from active work; a phase when one will live a leisurely life and a time to focus on volunteerism for charitable work as well as on

religious activities. It is also the stand of the government to encourage families to carry out their traditional responsibility in caring and providing support to the elderly parents. It is also the expectation of elderly parents that their children will provide them old age economic security.

In reality, and with the cost of living escalating annually, however, the livelihood of the bulk of the labour force in Malaysia who retire with earnings less than RM3000/= (USD 937/=) per month is threatened by economic insecurity. This is the emerging concern that needs to be addressed by the government. Income security of the elderly is of paramount importance as it will ensure that their daily basic needs are met. Hence, a study on the extent of income security of older retirees and self-employed workers in Malaysia is certainly relevant and timely. The output of such studies will provide input for policy makers to enact on providing opportunities for older persons to be gainfully engaged after retirement, and thereby, reducing their economic burden while encouraging them to continue contributing to nation building. Hence, the objective of this paper is to highlight the characteristics and factors contributing to income security of the retirees and other older persons in Malaysia. It is important for us to explore whether income security could be enhanced by the availability of external socio-economic factors such as work rather than age as biological factors.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Economic and Income Security

Economic security provides one with a feeling of being safe and protected, a freedom from worries of loss, and a sense of protection against loss, attack, harm or environmental catastrophe. According to the International Labour Organization, the concept of economic security indicates having the means to "limit the impact of uncertainties and risks people face daily while providing a social environment in which people can belong to a range of

communities, have a fair opportunity to pursue a chosen occupation and develop their capacities via what the ILO calls decent work” (ILO, 2008). With the availability of a “decent work”, one is ensured of a decent pay, an essential component of income security, which refers to “a state of income adequacy, whether actual, or perceived and/or expected current and future income, either earned or in the form of social security and other benefits.”

Several authors have used monetary income and non-monetary income as a measure of income security. According to Smeeding and Sandstrom (2005), in terms of poverty and income measurement, “the best current definition is disposable cash and near-cash income (DPI) which includes all types of money income, minus direct income and payroll taxes and including all cash and near cash transfers, such as food stamps and cash housing allowances, and refundable tax credits such as the earned income tax credit (EITC)”.

Findings from past research on ageing in Malaysia indicate a strong correlation between income security with a combination of economic resources, such as earned income, savings, assets and investments, accumulated during an older person’s working life as well as in retirement (Masud & Haron, 2008; Hamid & Masud, 2008; Ofstedal, Reidy & Knodel, 2003). Stable, consistent and adequate income is crucial to ensure economic security and well-being, especially when health situation deteriorates with advance in old age.

Economic Resources in Old Age

The theory of life cycle perspective on earning hypothesizes that income increases with age until one reaches retirement or decides to retire; dissaving occurs during the retirement period (Schenk, 1997-1998). On the contrary, older persons in developing countries do not have the income surplus to accumulate for savings or investment for old age. This is particularly true in countries where poverty is prevalent, and a large proportion of the workers are earning meagre income to meet their daily sustenance

since they are mostly engaged in informal employment in urban areas as well as in the traditional agriculture sector.

In Malaysia and other developing countries, savings and investments from the income earned earlier during one’s working life are not common practices among the workers. How much the elderly have for old age depends on many factors, mainly the economic environment of the country, work availability, wages from the different sectors of employment, ageism, prior savings and investment, knowledge on financial planning, as well as remittance from children. The characteristics of the workers, which include the level of education attained, as well as the financial knowledge and behaviour of the elderly in their pre-retirement days, also influence how much they can save and invest for old age. One of the contributing factors is the low earnings of the workers as a result of low skills due to low level of education.

The main source of income of the majority of the formal sector workers is generally the monthly salary, which will be cut off at an early retirement age of 55, thereby leaving very little time to accumulate savings for old age. Income security of the public sector workers is ensured as they receive monthly pension payment, albeit at a reduced amount (40-60% less of their last salary). On the other hand, the private sector workers receive a lump sum of their Employee Provident Fund (EPF) savings on the first day of their fifty fifth birthdays. In 2007, the median savings received by the Employee Provident Fund (EPF) members on the first day of retirement was MYR 50000/= (USD 15,000/=) as 80 % of the members earned wages at USD 923/= or lower per month. Data from a research conducted by the EPF revealed that 70% of the retirees exhausted all their EPF savings within 10 years of retirement (Othman, 2010; Serigar, 2010). Only 18% of EPF members would have adequate savings (Serigar, 2010). The income security of the retirees in Malaysia is at stake, unless jobs after retirement are available to supplement their daily household expenses and savings.

For the elderly workers in the informal sector, the concept of retirement does not actually exist, except for the rich plantation owners, smallholders, land owners and entrepreneurs, who will have savings and investments for their retirement. The traditional farmers in the rural areas, the landless, and the daily waged workers in urban areas, who earn minimal income, will continue to “work till they drop” old age. Their vulnerability to poverty is inevitable, especially in light of limited coverage of government social assistance programme for the elderly.

Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Elderly

The socio-demographic variables of age, sex, ethnicity, education and stratum are important indicators in studies on income distribution in Malaysia. However, in the case of older persons, their living arrangement as co-residents or non co-residents with their children is closely correlated with their well-being. Past studies have shown evidence, whereby the economic condition of older persons living alone or with spouse only is worse than those who co-reside with their adult children. In a study carried out by Masud (2011, in press), majority of the older persons in Malaysia, especially older women, are economically better off living with their children who provide them the financial, socio-psychological care and supports. The co-resident elderly may have minimal amount of personal income, but Masud’s analysis on total household income in her study (by adding older persons’ income to the total earnings of other family members) indicated that their economic status improved, with the majority of them no longer living below poverty line for 2002, at MYR 529 per month (at 2002’s exchange rate of MYR3.8 = USD139.21) or at MYR6348.00 (USD1670.53) per year.

Good health is imperative for an older person to be able to work, which in turn requires money and time to keep oneself healthy. It is well-acknowledged that with increased longevity, the vulnerable older persons are

exposed to diseases and disabilities, which consequently increase the costs of health care and treatment. Fortunately in Malaysia, basic health care services are available for free to the poor, while others can still access the services for a minimal fee.

With regard to ethnicity, past research and government reports (9th Malaysia Plan, 2006) have shown that the ethnic Malays and other indigenous ethnic groups (called Bumiputras), who are largely located in rural areas, are socio-economically disadvantaged than the Chinese and Indians, who reside mostly in the urban areas (Ng & Tey, 2006). Meanwhile, research on ageing (Hamid & Masud, 2008; 9th Malaysia Plan, 2005-2009) has shown that a high proportion of the older Malays have minimal or no education, are engaged in the traditional agriculture, and therefore earning lower income than those of other ethnic groups. The same disadvantages were also found amongst older women, who rarely work and have no other sources of income, except from their children (Haron, Masud, & Yahaya (2011, in press).

RESEARCH METHOD

Source of Data

The dataset used in this study was taken from a research on the economic and financial aspects of ageing, a project funded under the Intensified Research Priority Areas (IRPA), Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, Malaysia (2004). The data collection, using a multistage random sampling approach, was conducted nationwide in May 2004 among 2327 older persons aged 55 to 75 (Masud *et al.*, 2004, 2005). A total of 3000 older persons aged 55 to 75 were systematically selected from 75 *mukims* (a cluster of villages in a district) to participate in the survey. The data were collected through personal interviews conducted by trained enumerators using the questionnaires developed in four different languages (Malay, Mandarin, Tamil, and English) to facilitate interviews with the respondents of different ethnic groups in Malaysia.

In this article, a subset of older Malaysians living in Peninsular Malaysia (n = 1841) aged between 55 to 75 years were selected. The dataset contained very rich information on socio-demographic, income and expenditure of the elderly. Variables on the socio-demographic characteristics, employment status, and income from various sources and assets held were analyzed using descriptive and logistic regression procedures.

Measurement

The dependent variable in this study was income security, which was measured by computing the total income received by the elderly from various sources of personal income in 2004/2005 (work, pensions, allowance, savings, interests and dividends, monetary transfer from children and relatives, as well as income from government social security assistance programme). These sources were grouped together into three categories: (i) work related income, (ii) investment related income, and (iii) income transfer from children and other family members. The computed total income was compared to the per capita income demarcating poverty levels for 2004. Individuals with per capita income above MYR180/= per month (or USD 47.37/= at the exchange rate of MYR 3.8) were categorised as income secured, while those receiving per capita income below the poverty line were considered as income insecure.

The work variable was taken from older persons' responses to their work status, namely, "currently working"; "used to work before" and "never worked". From the living arrangement of older persons, "co-residents" was re-coded from the responses of the elderly indicating: (1) they lived together with spouse and children, or surviving spouse living together with children and grand children; and (2) "non co-residents" status for the elderly living alone or living with spouse only. As for home ownership, an indicator of asset owned, the responses on "own home (1)", "owned by family members (2)", "rent (3)" or "owned by relatives/friends (4)"

were taken into account. The three ethnic groups in Malaysia (Malays, Chinese and Indians), as well as other demographic variables, such as age, marital status, education level, number of children, urban-rural stratum and health status (good and bad) were included and recoded as 1 or 0 in the logistic regression.

Data Analysis

A logistic regression analysis model was used to assess the extent to which the selected independent variables explained the income security of older people in Malaysia. It was hypothesized that older persons who were categorised in the income secured group were younger than 65 years old, actively engaged in work, better educated, are likely to be male, living in urban areas, married and co-reside with their children, healthy and also financially better off as they have savings and investments to finance themselves in their old age.

RESULTS

Descriptive Analysis

In this study, the sample comprised 1,841 older respondents, and they were almost equally represented by gender. The mean age of the sample was 63.7%, whereby about 28% were in the "young-old" group (64 years and below) and 72% were in the "old-old" group (27% were 65 to 70 years, while the remaining 45% were 71 – 75 years). The respondents were mostly married (66%), while the remaining were either widowed (30%), divorced (2%) or never married (2%). A higher percentage of the elderly sample are Malays (66%), whereas the Chinese, Indians and other ethnic groups comprised the remaining one third of the sample. A slightly higher percentage of the older persons were living in the rural areas (55%), and 76% others were co-residing with their children and other family members. The non co-residing elderly were those living alone (6.2%, of which a higher proportion comprised of older women) and those living with spouses only (17.8%). A significantly high proportion of the elderly (80%) had low education level (29%

with no formal education, and 51% had primary education), while 18.4% had high school and 1.2% had tertiary education.

Income Security Status of Older Persons

The findings of the current study indicated that 53% of the elderly are in the income secure category, and this is slightly higher than those in the income insecure category (47%) who are vulnerable and living relatively under uncertain financial conditions (see *Fig. 1*). This is evidenced from the relatively low annual mean and median incomes from various sources (USD2342.89 per annum, at the exchange rate of MYR3.8 to 1 USD in 2004 as seen in Table 1), which are slightly above the household poverty line of USD1953.23 per year, based on the official poverty line index for 2004. The per capita income of the general population was USD5000. It was evidenced from the data that those earning additional income during retirement are inclined to be financially secured compared to the others who are not.

Overall, based on a sub-sample of the elderly respondents who were actively engaged in work (n=900; 49%), the findings revealed that work-related income (either from the current work or pensions) is the main source of income, yielding the highest mean value (USD2184.33

per annum) compared to the other two sources of income, namely, investment and income from family members/children. A substantial proportion of the elderly (68%) received monetary contribution from children and other family members. Nonetheless, both the annual mean (USD693.28) and median (USD315.79) incomes received from these sources were found to be the lowest compared to the mean and median incomes from the other two sources. On the other hand, only 9% of the total respondents have investments but the income received from this source is merely the second highest (USD562 per annum) in value.

When analysed by sex on the three categories of sources of income (Table 1), there is a significant distinction in the distribution and the amount of income received by male and female older persons. The mean and median incomes of elderly men were found to be higher than those received by elderly women in two out of the three categories of income sources. The only category where the income of older women is higher than men is in the income received from adult children and other family members, in proportion (55%), as well as in the value with the median of USD328.95 per annum compared to the median of USD328.95 for men annually.

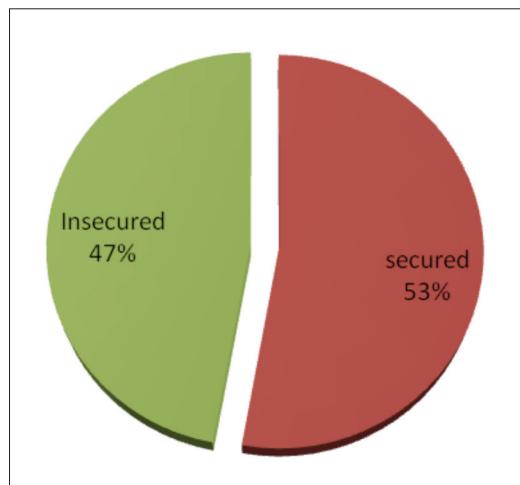


Fig. 1: Income security status of older Malaysians

TABLE 1
Distribution of the Mean and Median Income of Older Persons (USD\$)

Gender	Income Received per annum (USD)								
	Work-related			Investment			Children		
	N (%)	Mean	Median	N (%)	Mean	Median	N (%)	Mean	Median
Male	631 (70%)	2547.20	1578.95	91 (54.8%)	1089.13	526.32	553 (44%)	643.49	315.79
Female	269 (29.9%)	1334.50	947.37	75 (45.2%)	843.80	394.74	702 (56%)	732.56	328.95
Total**	900 (49%)	2184.33	1326.32	166 (9%)	978.49	473.68	1255 (68%)	693.28	315.79

Note: *Total mean income for n = 1841 is RM8903 (USD2342.89 at the exchange rate of MYR 3.8 in 2004)

** Multiple sources of income received

TABLE 2
Distribution of older persons by work status and gender

Work Status in Retirement	Male (915)		Female (926)		Total (1841)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Still working	354	19.2	119	6.5	473	25.7
Used to work	552	30.0	447	24.3	999	54.3
Never work	9	0.4	360	19.6	369	20.0

Work Status of the Elderly

It is generally assumed that older persons will retire from active employment once they reached retirement age. In this study, slightly over half of the respondents (54.3%) were retirees (responding to the question “Yes, have worked before but not now”). However, it is important to take note on the fact that a quarter of the elderly population (25.7%) were still working after retirement, with the percentage of men (19%) who continued to work after retiring is higher than women (6.5%). Meanwhile, one fifth of the elderly (20%) reported that they had never worked before; all were women except 0.4% were men. This is consistent with the findings from the previous studies in Malaysia which indicated that older women largely were homemakers, or they did not work since they were illiterate, or suffering from some form of disability or have minimal level of schooling to qualify for work (Masud, 2011, in press).

Most of the elderly worked in the informal sector (even with minimal returns) due to the ease of entry into this sector and the nature of their work as petty traders, farmers or fishermen. Some who ventured into business worked as self-employed proprietors, entrepreneurs, or traders in micro- and small-scaled business (Labour Force Survey, 2007). Others worked in casual employment or continued to work on their farms.

Factors Determining Income Security

The main purpose of the study is to explore factors that could predict income security of the older persons. Conceptually, this study aimed to examine whether income security of older persons is mainly an outcome of older persons’ capacity, due to the interaction of multiple factors such as education, availability of work, tradition (as seen in the filial obligations of adult children to their parents), or the financial factors that determine old age income security.

Logistic regression analysis was performed to assess the impact of a number of selected predictor variables on the likelihood that the elderly respondents would report that they were income secured. The results of the full model containing all the selected socio-demographic and financial predictors were statistically significant, with chi-squared =783.302 (df 11) = 76%; p<.001), and the model as a whole explained 48% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in the income security, and correctly classified 78.7% of the cases.

As shown in Table 3, 9 of the variables made unique statistically significant contributions to the model. The strongest predictor of income security is work, with an odds ratio of 23.66, indicating that the sample respondents who worked were 23.66 times more likely to report having sufficient income and were income secured than those who did not work, controlling for all other predictors in the model. It is interesting to note that even the respondents who

used to work before were 1.7 times more likely to report having income above the poverty level. This might be the group of retirees who received monthly pension payments from the government scheme for public sector workers. Savings and home ownership are among other economic factors predicting the odds ratio of 1.90 and 1.52 respectively, the likelihood of the elderly respondents to report having income security.

Among the demographic predictors, ethnicity emerged as a strong predictor, indicating 2.9 times more likelihood of Malays reporting to be income secured compared to non-Malays. This could be explained by the fact that a proportion of the Malays, who comprised 66% of the sample, might be from the pension receiving category, getting constant flow of income albeit low. They may have earned low income but owned assets such as land and houses (especially small traditional farmers). Another strong predictor is gender, whereby older males were found to be 2.87 times more likely than

TABLE 3
Logistic Regression results for the income security of older Malaysians.

	Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp (B (odds ratio))
Socio-demographic predictors	Gender: Male	1.055	.154	46.778	.000	2.871
	Age	-.030	.012	6.675	.010	.970
	Education: non-tertiary	-.888	.169	27.718	.000	.411
	Married	-.221	.160	1.894	.169	.802
	Ethnic Groups: Malays	1.069	.147	52.898	.000	2.913
	Non-coresidence	-.027	.155	.031	.860	.973
	No. of children	-.088	.035	6.435	.011	.916
	Location: Rural	-.051	.132	.150	.699	.950
Economic predictors	Health: poor	.084	.169	.248	.619	1.088
	Own home	.417	.140	8.841	.003	1.518
	Savings	.643	.128	25.383	.000	1.903
	Working	3.164	.250	160.664	.000	23.665
	Used to work	.533	.179	8.840	.003	1.703
	Constant	.515	.759	.459	.498	1.673

older women to have adequate income. This finding is consistent with the results from earlier studies on gender, poverty and ageing (Ofstedal, Reidy, & Knodel, 2003), which indicated that older women were the disadvantaged and the poorest among the older persons.

It is noteworthy that three very important indicators (namely, age, education, and the number of children) yielded significant and negative results, with the odds ratio value less than 1. As for age, the odds ratio value is 0.97 (with a negative co-efficient of - 0.30; $p < 0.01$), indicating that as older persons advance in age, they are .97 times more likely to fall into the income insecure category. As for education, the result showed the odds ratio of 0.41 times likelihood of the older persons with no education or with elementary and secondary education to fall into the income insecure group compared to those having tertiary education. The negative and significant odds ratio value for the number of children indicated 0.92 times likelihood of an older person who would fall into the income insecure group with additional child.

DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The findings from this nationwide study revealed the extent of income insecurity comprising almost half of the total elderly respondents. This proportion is huge and it reflects the severe state of vulnerability and poverty of older persons in Malaysia. This finding reiterates the government's concern over the bottom 40% of the households who continue to have very low income levels, particularly those in the rural areas (NEM, 2010). The Malaysian National Economic Advisory Council in a special report on the New Economic Model pointed out that:

“...the results of household income surveys over the years suggest that income growth has been strong only for the top 20% of Malaysian income earners, particularly since 1990. The bottom 40% of households have

experienced the slowest growth of average income, earning an average of MYR1,222 (USD382) in 2008.”

As indicated in this study, however, “work” after retirement emerges as a powerful determinant for the income security of older persons. This important finding implies that income security can be strengthened when appropriate, flexible or part time work with decent pay and self-employment opportunities are made accessible to the elderly, particularly women who are among the poorest, and with low education and low skills.

Among other significant socio-demographic determinants, gender and age are predictors that deserve special attention as inputs for gender sensitive policies for older persons. Demographic data revealed that many or a high percentage of older women in the oldest-old group, who have outlived their husbands, are living in poverty (Hamid & Masud, 2010). Past research has also shown evidence of extreme income insecurity among older women, and this is especially highest amongst the divorced, widowed, and never-married. With advancing age, the health of these women will also continue to deteriorate and disability starts to set in. Moreover, escalating costs in health care and treatment, apart from the high cost of living, will further erode any savings they have and drive a substantial proportion into poverty. The existing social protection programme in Malaysia, known as Old Age Assistance provided by the government, needs to be reviewed and expanded in its coverage with the increase in the number of specifically frail and poor elderly women and men.

The results indicating the low percentage of older persons having low and insufficient amount in savings and investments also implied the unpreparedness of these older persons to finance their long years in retirement. This is mainly due to the low earnings of the workers during their working years, as a result of the low skills and low level of education. Hence, the Malaysian

government has launched several economic transformation programmes to increase wages and productivity of workers through the New Economic Model (2010-2020), with the aim to bring the country out of the “middle-income trap” and become a high-income developed nation by 2020. These strategies, together with programmes on personal financial literacy, are hoped to ensure the future elderly cohorts to live in comfort and dignity.

Meanwhile, input on the macro development and employment policies for older workers at this point in time are relevant and timely, and these are specifically in line with the government’s 5-year development thrust on human capital investment in the 10th Malaysia Plan (2011-2015). The “inclusive for all” employment strategy should particularly take into account the stock of human capital of older persons. There should be an amendment to the current Employment Act 1955 to include elderly-friendly employment policies that offer appropriate and flexible work opportunities, training and re-training programmes to eradicate any form of discrimination against employing older persons. Investing in older workers is as important as investing in youths since such strategies will ensure increase in national productivity, with increased availability of qualified, experienced, skilled older human resources who could continue to contribute to Malaysia’s economic growth. These strategies are of paramount importance to help reduce poverty and vulnerability by enhancing capacity of older persons to strengthen their income security and ultimately improve their quality of life.

CONCLUSION

Based on the study on the determinants of income security of older Malaysians, work emerged as the strongest determinant of income security, whereby almost half of the older persons (48.9%) in the study derived post-retirement income from work and other work-related activities. Although majority of the older persons in Malaysia (68%) received remittances from their children, the

median values was the lowest compared to other income sources. Gender responsive employment policy is very much desired to cater to the needs of older women whose main income derived from children may not be sufficient. They need income from work and other permanent sources, such as Old Age Assistance programme for their economic security. Hence, measures to enhance the capacity of the current and future retirees to be economically active and productive are imperative if the government is serious in its commitment to ensure that older persons live healthy, productive and independent life. Thus, it can be concluded that the income security of older persons can be strengthened by having policies that remove discriminatory barriers to work and offer opportunities to invest in the productive capacity of older persons, both male and female, who are willing to work to improve their economic well-being in their later life.

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