SHIFTING SELVES: HOME BEYOND THE HOUSE

— A study of Ageing, Housing and Wellbeing of
Older Chinese Migrants to New Zealand

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WENDY WEN LI

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This doctoral thesis is dedicated to my late father, Li Xing Min, a Chinese philosopher.

ABSTRACT

Older Chinese immigrants are one of the largest ethnic ageing groups in New Zealand. However, people's everyday experiences of settling in a new and unfamiliar environment have been largely overlooked, particularly for older adults. This research explores the biographies, identities and everyday experiences of filial piety among older Chinese immigrants. Particular consideration is given to the role of filial piety in participants' housing and ageing experiences. This research is one of the first explorations of Chinese immigrant ageing in place, which also considers changing enactments of filial piety. The research is informed by a hybrid narrative approach that draws on episodic, go-along and *fangtan* interview techniques used with 32 older Chinese immigrants in Auckland and Hamilton. Findings support the importance of exploring positive experiences of migration and ageing. Older Chinese immigrants do often experience biographical disruptions and status-discrepancies when they move from China to New Zealand. However, in response, the participants engage in positive activities such as gardening and art as a means of cultivating a new sense of self and place in a new land that is compatible with their existing identities as older Chinese adults. The analysis explores the material-mediated basis for participant adjustment and acculturation. Through adaptive acculturation, older Chinese immigrants' abilities for both integrating into the host culture and maintaining their ethnic identities are realised. The analysis also demonstrates that traditional Chinese aged care models of family support with high level of intergenerational co-residence are evolving to encompass practices of filial piety at a distance and to encompass more pluralistic familial living arrangements. The analysis also demonstrates the importance of considering how ageing occurs beyond physical spaces and within cultural, social, relational and imagined landscapes. The analysis shifts away from the focus in existing literature on how older Chinese immigrants are passively transformed into minority subjects to how they are transforming themselves through migration and their efforts to age well in New Zealand.

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The above-mentioned scholars have all inspired me in different ways and I hope some of that inspiration is evident in this thesis. I have also been blessed with the support of my fellow PhD students: Dr. Amanda Young-Hauser, Dr. Dennis de Jong, Tian Li, Hannah Merdian, Shiloh Groot, Dave Snell, Derek Riley and Ruhaya Hussin from Waikato, Charlotte Bedford from the University of Adelaide, Cannis Tse from the University of Massey, Jane Lee from the University of Auckland, and Hong Wang and Hongjae Park from the University of Canterbury. Holding a glass of wine sitting at The Cook, sitting in a Chinese or Korean restaurant, or communicating via emails has always been an enjoyable way to discuss my research and to receive feedback from my fellow PhD students. In particular, I owe my deepest gratitude to Amanda who kindly read several chapters of my thesis and offered me invaluable and constructive feedback. With the wonderful support from my fellow PhD students, my journey has never been a lonely one.

Echoing Georg Simmel's remarks on Berlin where the metropolitan culture often provided the inspiration for his work, I would say, "Perhaps I would have achieved something that was also valuable in another university; but this specific achievement is undoubtedly bound up with the Waikato milieu."

It is extremely difficult to express the immense contribution my family has made to my PhD journey. I am especially indebted to Billy my husband, and Michael my son, for enduring both my absence and presence while writing this thesis, for having interest in my research and publications, for taking care of me, for being there for and with me throughout the PhD process.

Finally, I dedicate this doctoral thesis to my late father who was a Chinese philosopher and who brought me into the psychological research world and nurtured my academic ambitions. He passed away towards the end of the second year of my doctoral journey. In a terrible quirk of fate, I found myself writing a thesis on filial piety while coming to terms with not being able to fulfil my filial obligations when my father was seriously sick. When I left the hospital for the airport in May 2009, we both knew that this might be the last time we saw each other. As a very conservative Chinese father, my father held my hands in tears and gave me a good-bye kiss, the first and only kiss he had ever given to any of his children in his life time. Three weeks later, my father passed away. I was only on the phone to my father in the last half an hour of his life. I am struggling to fight back my tears when writing these words. As I assert in my thesis, "the greatest regret that a child could have is an eternally lost opportunity of serving his or her parents with medicine and soup on their deathbed and not being present when they die" (p.176).

In the last year of my PhD study, I have suffered from heart palpitations and insomnia due to stress. Inspired by my notion that "music is home, a virtual place people visit again and again" (p.139), I developed a therapy through which I could relieve my stress, and my heart palpitations and insomnia were cured. The background music to the photo montage of my father that I produced and played at my father's funeral, Chopin's *Nocturne in E-Flat major Op.9 No.2*, provided me with a "home". In this home, I was free to cry. In this home, I talked to my father about the difficulties I was facing. In this home, my father encouraged me when I lacked confidence, lifted me up when I was down, and strengthened me when I was weak. He was always there for his daughter.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The proportion of the world's population in older age groups continues to increase (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007). Because ageing is universal and inevitable, it is tempting for some of us to assume that experiences of "older age" are the same for everyone (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003). This thesis takes the stance that while many aspects of older age are shared, issues of culture, social class, place and ethnicity clearly shape our experiences and situations in life. People can age differently. This is particularly the case for those who migrate in later life from one cultural context to another.

The experiences of older Chinese people in Western countries have not been high on the agenda of academic research or policy (Bartlett & Peel, 2005; Blakemore & Boneham, 1994). What research there is on ageing and Chinese immigrants characterises these people as dependent, isolated and passive victims of broader migration processes (Ip, Lui, & Chui, 2007; Lee & Chan, 2009). Reconfiguring such stereotypes is a point of departure of this doctoral thesis. In contrast to the tendency to dwell on negative aspects of older migrant experiences, the ways of ageing documented in the thesis incorporate positive sentiments and achievements directly into the characteristics of later life. Rather than using fixed categories to convey what old age is like for older Chinese immigrants, I explore the everyday and culturally anchored experiences of members of this group.

In this thesis, culture is regarded as the inherent core of human psychological functioning, rather than an external causal entity that has effects on human emotion, cognition, and behaviour (Valsiner, 2009). Culture is a fascinating and omnipresent aspect of human life. It includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, customs, laws and any other capabilities and practices people acquire as members of groups and societies (Kim, Yang, & Hwang, 2006). Culture is not an abstract set of concepts (Li, Hodgetts, Ho, & Stolte, 2010). Instead, culture is embedded in our everyday life (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). Emphasising the cultural influences on ageing experiences, I consider the hybrid and shifting selves that older Chinese immigrants to New Zealand develop as they grow older in a Westernised culture. The social, cultural and material contexts of everyday life provide the basis for these considerations, as does my own journey as a Chinese migrant to New Zealand and training as a psychologist.

What we might term mainstream Anglo-Saxon psychology has expended considerable resources to demonstrate decontextualisable, mechanical, objective and universal principles of psychology (Li, in press). Proponents of this endeavor assume that current psychological theories are universally applicable (Kim et al., 2006). Many scholars have demonstrated the limitations of that approach. Research shows that psychological theories are culturally bound and value-laden, and that each culture should be understood from its own point of reference, including its own historical, philosophical, political and religious contexts (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010; Kim et al., 2006). It is these academic debates that have provided me with the impetus to examine the knowledge, skills, and beliefs older Chinese immigrants have about themselves and how they function in their familial, social, cultural and historical contexts. Through this PhD study, I have an opportunity to explore older Chinese immigrants' ageing and housing experiences through an angle of social and cultural psychologies.

This research topic, the positive orientation and the focus on culture and change resonate with my own academic development. As one of the first generations of psychology students after the Cultural Revolution in China, I entered the Department of Education at South China Normal University in 1984, majoring in psychology. In the first two years, we mainly studied Russian psychology. From the third year when the Department of Psychology was re-established, our focus moved to American psychology. "Chinese psychology" was a concept which was rarely discussed by my professors and did not appear in my own teaching and research in China. It was not until I started my doctoral research that I embarked on a journey to explore and develop Chinese psychology in New Zealand.

It is pertinent to stress at this point that, although I use a shorthand term "Chinese" (and sometimes Eastern and Western) throughout the thesis, the use of Chinese is not intended to understand Chinese people as discrete and categorical group that are "internally homogenous, externally distinctive objects" (Hermans & Kempen, 1998, p. 1113). Rather, Chinese people in this thesis refers to people participating in the ideas and practices that are pervasive in Chinese cultural contexts, which derives from the persistent engagement in a world that is structured in culture-specific ways instead of from some internal attributes or traits of the individual. Such a reference emphasises cultural contexts and the transaction between the individual and the context (Markus & Hamedani, 2007).

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Although I privilege Chinese cultural concepts in this thesis, I do not think there is an unbridgeable gap between what is obtained using cultural and cross-cultural approaches or from non-Western and Western studies. To bridge the East and West, I weave together social science and cultural concepts including filial piety, home and place, immigration, acculturation, community, ageing, and transnationalism. These are the concepts that this thesis is concerned with. It can be fruitful to employ these cultural concepts germane to a group when doing research with them.

This thesis draws on both Chinese cultural and Western social interactionist concepts of the self. This approach to the self is articulated via three themes that are threaded throughout the thesis. The first is the complex, multiple and hybrid nature of self, which manifests inside minds and bodies, human relations, and in places and objects (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). This theme allows me to adopt an orientation towards the self as a materially, socially, and culturally embedded being, which is distinct from the notion of an enclosed independent person who reasons and behaves in predictable ways. The multiple self also allows me to present a socially and culturally situated version of older Chinese immigrants. Hybridity is particularly significant to the process of immigrant adaptation and integration, and to the multicultural reality of host societies (Pieterse, 2001). The second theme is the changing self. Research has revealed that transnational flows of people, capital, and cultural forms have altered the process of identity formation (Espiritu, 2003). The title of the thesis, *shifting selves*, is meant to convey this transformation—culture and selves are moving and mixing (Hermans, 2001a). The third theme is the importance of culture in (re)constructing older Chinese immigrants' identities. This allows me to demonstrate that different cultures have different perspectives on the nature of the person and groups, which is important for understanding the experiences of older Chinese migrants from a hybrid Chinese-Western perspective. All the threads are woven into the subsequent chapters to build arguments which will address different aspects of older Chinese migrants' ageing and housing experiences.

The present study explores the everyday practices of filial piety among older Chinese migrants as they try to make a new home in New Zealand. Filial piety is a Confucian concept which refers to the traditions of respect, reverence, care, obedience, and fulfilling duty to one's parents and grandparents (Quadagno, 1999). I will review the concept of filial piety intensively in Chapter 3. The overall aim of the present research is to understand the role of filial piety in older Chinese migrants'

experiences of ageing and housing. To achieve the aim, four primary objectives are identified: 1) documenting older Chinese immigrants' everyday experiences of home-making in New Zealand; 2) exploring older Chinese immigrants' acculturation practices; 3) investigating the meaning and practices of filial piety within the context of acculturation; and 4) exploring older Chinese immigrants' cultural views and practices of ageing in place.

Thesis overview: Orientation towards the self

This thesis is organised in nine chapters around the notion of the self. The chapters provide the background of the research, expand the theoretical basis for the study, present the methodology, and outline core findings that are considered in the context of existing literature pertinent to migration, ageing and housing. Every individual chapter is unique in its approach yet a cohesive part of the whole.

Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical orientation of the thesis and reviews of the development of symbolic interactionism and the concept of self or identity. The themes of multiplicity, transformation, hybridity, and interconnectedness are central to the discussion of the self. These themes provide frameworks for investigating the issues of changing cultural practices and adjustment of self in making a home in a new country.

Chapter 3 offers a literature review on the conceptions of filial piety and ageing in place, and their relevance to the self. In this chapter, I explore the origins and contemporary practices of filial piety both in China and among immigrants to Western countries. I underscore shifts in the meaning and practice of filial piety, indicating that the shift from pre-industrial to industrial society has initiated profound changes in Chinese people's daily experience of aged care. I present a broad account of filial piety as a dynamic cultural concept that is adapted to changing socio-political, geographic and economic contexts. Following the review of filial piety, I investigate relevant concepts, such as place and home in which filial piety is practiced. Consideration of place-based identity and place attachment provides a window into emplaced ageing experience of older Chinese migrants.

Chapter 4 sets out the research methodology. As well as outlining the research process, I inform Western narrative research with a Chinese approach to narrative. Among other features of narrative interviewing and analysis, I propose an

indigenous Chinese approach to narrative interview—*fangtan（访谈），* which challenges the assumption that all Western and Eastern knowledge has the same origins and form. Through the discussions of the hybrid methodology, this chapter demonstrates that methodologies that are designed to identify issues in the Western culture are not necessarily suitable in researching with Chinese people. Throughout the chapter, the importance of culture in narrative research is foregrounded.

In the four chapters on findings, from Chapter 5 to 8, I interpret older Chinese migrants' ageing and housing narratives. Chapter 5 highlights the participants' experiences of home-making and cultivating a sense of self and place in a new social environment. This chapter offers insights into interactive and ongoing aspects of domestic life, and demonstrates that being able to resettle in a new country and cultivate a sense of place is crucial to the continued self-construction and self-development of older Chinese immigrants.

Chapter 6 explores how multiple identities are negotiated and managed in a complex multicultural milieu in which older Chinese migrants live. Despite challenges, older Chinese migrants survive and grow through processes of adaptive acculturation. Such adaptive acculturation demonstrates that older Chinese immigrants actively integrate into the host culture and at the same time strongly maintain their Chinese identities. Their acculturation is mediated by material objects that transcend language. Through the analysis of the complexity of human agents' involvements and efforts in the acculturation process, I demonstrate that dominant acculturation research offers an incomplete picture of acculturation.

Chapter 7 explores filial piety practices among the participants. This chapter demonstrates that when the participants become exposed to New Zealand culture, changes are produced in their filial piety practices. Six aspects of filial piety are explored: living arrangements, support, respect, children's achievements, ancestral worship and gender norms. This chapter shows that when the social and cultural contexts change, understandings and practices of filial piety develop; when the practices of filial piety evolve, identities shift.

Chapter 8 examines older Chinese immigrants' positive-ageing in a new place. This chapter is concerned with not only physical geographies, but also cultural, social, relational and imagined geographies. It illustrates that older Chinese migrants' "in-place" experiences of ageing are shaped by cultural, social, institutional and transnational negotiation in a new cultural and environmental environment instead of

merely physical locations. This chapter emphasises the analytic shift away from the focus on how older Chinese immigrants are "being made" into minority subjects to how they are "self-making" into the positive ageing self, showing that older Chinese migrants are not only parents and grandparents but also active community members.

Chapter 9 offers key conclusions of the research. In this chapter, I further integrate key findings of the research. I reinterpret, qualify and explore the conceptual, theoretical and methodological importance of the research. I discuss how the present research contributes to policy making and to the existing body of knowledge about identity-construction and immigration. I also consider limitations of the research and offer suggestions that future research could follow to overcome these limitations.

To set the stage for my investigation of older Chinese immigrants' ageing and housing experiences, the remainder of this chapter situates older Chinese immigrants to New Zealand within the macro-context of international and national population ageing and global movement of Chinese people across global spaces. I examine New Zealand's responses to population ageing and demonstrate that the New Zealand ethnic Chinese population is increasing and that older Chinese now comprise a significant proportion of the aged population in New Zealand. New Zealand policy frameworks have acknowledged cultural diversity. I argue that issues specifically experienced by older Chinese migrants have received little attention by researchers and policymakers.

International and national population ageing

The term "ageing population" denotes an increase in the proportion of older people. In currently developed countries, life expectancy has increased for more than a century, and many developing nations are now also following this trend (McCracken & Philips, 2005). The United Nations' report of *World Ageing Population 2007* points out that since 1950, the proportion of older persons (namely, those aged 60 years or over) in the world has been rising steadily, moving from 8 percent in 1950 to 11 percent in 2007, and is expected to reach 22 percent in 2050. In 2000, the world's population aged 60 years or over numbered 600 million, which is triple the number presented in 1950. In 2006, the number of older persons surpassed 700 million. By 2050, two billion older persons are projected to be alive, implying that the number

will once again triple over a period of 50 years (Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007).

New Zealand's population statistics also show a marked transformation in its age structure. The number of people aged 65 and over had doubled since 1970 to half a million in 2005. In comparison, the population as a whole increased by 44 percent over this period. The 65 and over age group is projected to make up over one-quarter of New Zealand's population from the late 2030s, compared with 12 percent in 2005. The number of people aged 65 and over is projected to increase from half a million in 2005 to 1.33 million in 2051 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The largest increase in the relative size of the 65 and over age group will occur in the decades ending in 2021 (an increase of 223,000) and 2031 (an increase of 276,000) when the large birth cohorts of the 1950s and 1960s move into this age group. The 65 and over population will itself age as well. Within the 65 and over age group, the number of people aged 85 and over has trebled since 1978 to roughly 55,000 in 2005. It is projected that there will be 320,000 people aged 85 and over in 2051 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

The population aged 65 and over is projected to increase for all four broad ethnic groups in New Zealand. The European ethnic group will provide the majority of the numerical increase between 2001 and 2021, projected to increase by 270,000 to 690,000. By 2021, the Maori population aged 65 and over is also projected to number 56,000, compared with 20,000 in 2001. By comparison, the Pacific population aged 65 and over is projected to increase from 9,000 to 26,000. However, the fastest growth in the population aged 65 and over is projected for diverse Asian ethnic groups. The number of Asian people aged 65 and over is projected to reach 56,000 in 2021—five times the 2001 population of 11,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Asian, and in particular Chinese, people have lived in New Zealand for over a century; however, they have been fairly small in numbers. In the 1990s, there was an influx of immigration from Asian countries (Ip, 2003). These people and their families have changed the cultural and demographic characteristics of the New Zealand population (Dunstan & Thomson, 2006). To set the stage for the discussion of New Zealand's policy responses to population and ethnic ageing, I next explore the international and national movement of the Chinese, followed by a discussion of ageing Chinese population in New Zealand.

Chinese people and ageing in New Zealand

Beginning in the 1960s, a number of countries liberalised their immigration policies, allowing immigration of people from a greater range of countries (Zlotnik, 1999). Since the mid-1960s, therefore, the world has witnessed a dramatic increase in human movement across international borders (Ma, 2003). From 1965 to 1990, the official number of people migrating to different countries grew from 75 to 120 million people, suggesting an increase rate of 1.9 percent per annum. During the same period, the total population of the world was increasing by a rate of 1.8 percent per year (Zlotnik, 1999). In other words, the worldwide rate of growth in migration is close to the rate of global population growth.

Throughout history, Chinese people have been involved in international migration (Ma, 2003). Outside of the People's Republic of China (PRC) itself, Chinese people can be found in almost every country in the world, comprising a majority in several and a significant minority in many others (Dion & Dion, 1996). In 2007, about 39 million ethnic Chinese people were settled in about 130 countries outside of PRC, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan (Li, 2009a). With regard to Chinese international migration patterns, Wang (1991) proposes four main patterns and broadly arranges them in chronological order. They are the trader pattern (*Huashang,* 华商), coolie pattern (*Huagong,* 华工), sojourner pattern (*Huaqiao,* 华侨) and descent or re-migrant pattern (*Huayi,* 华裔). The *Huashang* refers to merchants, miners and other skilled workers. The Huagong derives from the migration of large numbers of labourers. The *Huaqiao* refers broadly to all Chinese overseas. It applies to all those previously known as *Huashang* and *Huagong*. The *Huayi*, as Wang states, is a new phenomenon, referring to foreign nationals of Chinese descent who migrate or re-migrate from one foreign country to another. This group is strongly represented by well-educated professionals who are a more transnational kind of migrant than any other kind of Chinese. Pan (1999) supports Wang's patterns of the Chinese migration by adding student migration (where people enter a country on a student visa to receive further education without envisaging long-term residence), and clandestine migration which refers to people entering a country as undocumented migrants.

While Wang's and Pan's analyses place attention to the occupations and identities of Chinese international migrants, several scholars such as Skeldon (1996) and Ma (2003) analyse Chinese international migration periodically, focusing more

on historical and political events. Skeldon identifies three periods in the history of Chinese international migration. The first is from the nineteenth century to the foundation of PRC in 1949. The vast majority of Chinese migrants during this period were males who were goldminers in the Western United States, Southern Australia and Western Canada. The second period is from 1950 to 1978, during which emigration was strictly controlled by the Chinese Government. Meanwhile, gradually increasing emigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan occurred. The third period, from 1979 when the Reform and Opening Policy was carried out in China, has been an increase in the numbers, but also in complexity in terms of various types of migration. Skeldon proposes four types of Chinese migration since 1979: settler migrants, student migrants, contract labour and illegal migration. Similarly, Ma divides the history of Chinese migration into two broader periods to mark profound changes of migration policies since the 1960s. According to Ma, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chinese migrants went overseas as labourers, traders and farmers. Since the 1960s, this character has changed. Many recent Chinese migrants are well-educated and relatively well-off professionals or business persons.

Although there have been different perspectives of the analytic patterns of Chinese migration, one thing is clear. That is, there have been significant differences between the present Chinese movements and past migrations (Skeldon, 1996). The pattern of Chinese migration has shifted, from trade and labour migration to settler and skilled migration. The composition of Chinese migrants has varied from labourers to well-educated, skilled and business professionals (Li, 2009b). Those changes indicate a multi-directional and continuing movement incorporating both onward relocation and repatriation (Pan, 1999).

The general pattern of Chinese migration to New Zealand bears similarities to many of the historical features of international Chinese migration. It also has its own historical features. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mainly Chinese males came to New Zealand as itinerant labourers in the goldfields (Ho, 2006; Ip, 2003; Ip & Pang, 2005). From the 1880s, the New Zealand government passed a number of laws, such as the Chinese Immigrants Restriction Act of 1881 and the Asiatic Restriction Act of 1896, to restrict Chinese and Asian immigrants. The 1881 Act imposed a poll tax of ten pounds and limited number of Chinese immigrants. The poll tax was raised from ten to one hundred pounds in the 1896 Act. Legislation was also introduced against the Chinese residents in New Zealand in 1908. It was not until 1952 that the Chinese residents regained the right to apply for

citizenship. Those legislations resulted in the decline of the Chinese population in New Zealand, from 5,004 in 1881 to 2,000 in 1916 (Ip, 2003).

A significant change of Chinese immigration was brought by the World War II (Ho, 2006). During the Japanese invasion of China, the New Zealand government allowed the Chinese residents' immediate family members to come in temporarily as refugees. However, this humane gesture of the government did not involve any review of existing policies or a genuine change of attitudes towards the Chinese. Each Chinese refugee had to pay two hundred pounds as bond and sign a pledge that they would return to China once the war ended. In 1947, when the government prepared to repatriate the Chinese refugees, the Dunedin Presbytery ran a campaign to enable the Chinese families to stay (Ip, 2003). This event was crucial to the development of the Chinese community. Ip (2003) asserts that the 1947 event marks the transformation of the Chinese community from "an itinerant bachelor group into a settled community of families" (p. 341). This transformation gives rise to the growth of a locally born Chinese population. The Chinese population gradually rose from 6,731 in the 1956 Census to 10,283 in 1966 with about 60 percent locally born. The overall Chinese population constituted a self-contained and low profile group with a number of 19,000 people in 1986 (Ip, 2003; Ip & Pang, 2005).

The New Zealand 1987 Immigration Act was significant as it facilitated the entry of migrants from so-called "non-traditional" countries such as China (Ho, 2006; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Trlin & Spoonley, 1997; Ward & Lin, 2005). Since 1990, a larger proportion of immigrants have come to New Zealand from China (Bartley, 2004). Most Chinese people view New Zealand as a democratic society with an open economy, which welcomes skilled immigrants by providing a less competitive environment and good opportunities (Ip, 2003). The small base population of Chinese New Zealanders increased dramatically following the influx of new Chinese migrants after the changes to migration policies in 1987. At the 1991 Census, the number of the Chinese population rose by more than 100 per cent compared to that in 1986, to about 44,000. By 1996, the Chinese population increased to about 78,000 persons, almost doubling again (Ip, 2003). In 2006, the number of the Chinese population reached nearly 150,000, a rise of about 800 per cent over a period of 20 years.

Research has suggested that the age profile of the Chinese population is significantly younger than the national average (Ho, Au, Bedford, & Cooper, 2002; Ip, 2003). For example, in the 2006 Census, about 80 percent of the Chinese were

below 50 years of age. However, it is noteworthy that the Chinese population aged 65 and over has increased in the past decade. In 2006, for instance, there were 9,231 Chinese aged 65 years and over living in New Zealand, an increase of 60 percent from 5,769 in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002, 2007). Among the Chinese ageing population, immigrants comprised 91 percent of the total older Chinese population in 2006, compared to 26 percent of the total New Zealand population. Half of the older Chinese people in New Zealand have been in New Zealand less than 10 years, compared to 12 per cent of all other older New Zealand people.

Similar to their North American and Australian counterparts, New Zealand Chinese people are highly urbanised (Ip, 2003). Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Hamilton and Dunedin are the five most popular areas where Chinese people reside (Ho et al., 2002). Since the 1987 policy favours highly educated, middle-class and business persons, most of the new Chinese immigrants are young professionals who tend to settle in the big cities that offer better employment opportunities (Poot, 2009). The 1987 policy also allows parents of Chinese people who are New Zealand citizens or permanent residents to permanently enter the country through the parent category in the Family Sponsored Stream (Ho, 2006). The sponsors must sign a declaration that they will provide the sponsored parents with accommodation and financial support for the first two years of the sponsored parents' residence in New Zealand (Harkes et al., 2009). Those sponsored parents are therefore likely to reside in the same cities with their children. The 2006 Census provides evidence of this trend. Two-thirds of the total older Chinese population lived in Auckland and another 10 per cent lived in Wellington. The proportions of older Chinese people in Christchurch, Hamilton and Dunedin were approximately 7 percent, 3 percent and 2 percent respectively. The remainder of the 10 percent lived elsewhere in New Zealand. The migration practices of older parents entering New Zealand under the Family Sponsored Stream suggests that the parents are likely to migrate after their children have settled in New Zealand for some years. This phenomenon may impact on aged care practices and family relations, which will be discussed in later chapters.

To respond to population and ethnic ageing, New Zealand has launched the *New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy* that sets out the Government's commitments to positive ageing and reaffirms the value of older people in society (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001). The next section provides policy contexts of ageing and relevant issues in relation to older ethnic adults.

Policy responses to ageing and ethnic issues in New Zealand

The population trend towards ageing around the world has evoked intense debates with regards to whether ageing is a risk or an opportunity. From a negative view Socolovsky (2002), for example, considers the "greying of humanity" as a threat to world budgets. Socolovsky warns that gains in longevity could bring a worldwide economic crisis. There are, however, alternative views that suggest ageing should be celebrated. Kirkwood (2001) describes the ageing trend as the "greatest triumph that our species has arrived" (para, 9). Emerging from this more positive view are entreaties to promote "active" (World Health Organisation, 2002), "healthy" (Bartlett & Peel, 2005), "robust" (Garfein & Herzog, 1995), "productive" (Kerschner & Pegues, 1998), "successful" (Rowe & Kahn, 1998) or "positive" (Bowling, 1993) ageing. This positive perspective argues that older people have skills, knowledge and experience to contribute to society, and that the expected growth in the proportion of older people provides society with a valuable resource (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001). As a result, a more positive view of ageing is an important tool with which to counter the economic and social isolation some people can experience when they age (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2003).

In order to promote the value and participation of older people in communities, the New Zealand Government has reiterated a commitment to a society "where people can age positively, where older people are highly valued and where they are recognised as an integral part of families and communities" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001, p. 13). The concept of "positive ageing" adopts a number of factors, in pursuance of the *United Nations Principles for Older Persons* (The United Nations, 1999), including health, financial security, independence, self-fulfilment, community attitudes, personal safety and security, and the physical environment. Positive ageing is closely aligned with people's ability to age in place.

"Ageing in place" has gained dominance in policy worldwide for more than one and a half decades. In 1994, the health and social policy ministers of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries reached an agreement that people should be able to continue living in their own residence in their later lives. In the event that this was no longer possible, the alternative would be for older people to live in a supportive environment which is as close to their community as possible, in both the social and geographical sense (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1994). This has been

reflected in many countries in policy objectives expressed in such terms as "staying home", "staying put" and "ageing in place". In some countries such as the United Kingdom and Ireland, ageing in place has long been official policy (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1994). In Denmark, nursing homes are no longer built. "Staying home as long as possible" is the policy in Denmark, supported by flexible and efficient home help services and home nursing care, which is given to all according to their needs, free of charge (Lindstrom, 1997).

In New Zealand, ageing in place refers to "people's ability to make choices in later life about where to live, and receive the support to do so" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001, p. 10). The emphasis on ageing in place implies that older people would remain in the community, either in their family homes or in supported accommodation of some types, rather than moving into residential care (Davey, De-Joux, Nana, & Arcus, 2004). The major driving force for promoting ageing in place comes from the *New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy*. One of the goals outlined in the strategy is that "older people feel safe and secure and can 'age in place'" (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001, p. 21). In response to the strategy, the *New Zealand Housing Strategy* (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2005) formulates goals in relation to older people's living arrangements. One of the primary initiatives is to develop ways to support ageing in place, whether in homeownership, private rental or public housing. The *Health of Older People Strategy* (Associate Minister of Health and Minister for Disability Issues, 2002) calls for health-related services to be coordinated alongside housing services to meet varied and changing needs of older people. Such an integrative approach aims at supporting older people to remain in their own homes and reduces the need for institutional care.

Although the *New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy* acknowledges cultural diversity, ageing in place policies have a limited ability to respond to the needs of the ageing population in ethnic communities. This results in difficulties in translating ageing in place concepts into diverse and culturally textured situations since the concept of positive ageing is based predominantly on middle-class and Anglo-Saxon values (Bartlett & Peel, 2005). The cultural diversity in New Zealand requires much greater consideration in the formulation of policies and social services to address the different living arrangement patterns of the newer older immigrants and their housing experiences and issues.

A further challenge for the ageing in place policy relates to the "idealisation" of ethnic families in terms of their extended family networks and the roles ascribed to

elders. Such idealisation can lead to an over-reliance on the family as "the saviour" of older adults (Gee, Liu, & Ng, 2002). For example, although acknowledging that policy makers should not assume that traditional beliefs and practices are homogeneous or easily maintained in contemporary Western countries, the *Positive Ageing in New Zealand: Diversity, Participation and Change* (Ministry of Social Development, 2001) asserts that:

> the traditional ethnic family is characterised as being based on extended family systems with a strong emphasis on familial duty, cohesion, continuity between the generations, and interdependence of family members. A common perspective termed "ethnic compensation" suggests that traditional "age-honouring" cultures provide older people with a position of prestige within the family, thereby helping the ageing process. This is contrast to most Anglo-Saxon or modernised cultures in which the status of older people is reduced because of influences such as urbanisation, technology and education… Ethnic families often prefer to care for older family members in their home … and are more likely to live in extended families because of both convenience and cultural values. (p. 78-79)

This document issued by the Government is seen as the "baseline from which progress (of positive ageing) can be measured over the next decade and beyond" (Dalziel, 2001, p. 3). The passage above reflects a widely held assumption that ethnic families take care of their own dependants. For example, it is commonly believed that the Chinese culture places an exceptional value on filial piety and all families are obliged to look after their elderly parents well (Ip et al., 2007). The document implies that ethnic families need less policy support in aged care than families in "Anglo-Saxon or modernised cultures". Such assumptions may misinform policy-making and service provision. Research on different cultural beliefs and practices and how these affect the support for elders in families and communities is needed to provide more comprehensive insights to inform ageing in place policy and service delivery.

Through the exploration of New Zealand policy responses to ageing and ethnic issues, two research gaps have been identified: limited knowledge of living arrangement patterns and housing experiences of the new older immigrants, and a

lack of understanding of the evolution of cultural values and their roles in supporting older immigrants' ageing in place. This research seeks to provide better understanding of family relationships among Chinese families and the role traditional cultural values play in Chinese aged care. This research focuses on older Chinese migrants; many issues I raise and discuss are uniquely experienced by older Chinese people. More generally, however, some of the issues and experiences discussed in the thesis are more typical for older migrants. It is my hope that this research will also provide insights into ageing in place for other ethnic older immigrants.

In this thesis, I adopt a philosophical basis that is informed by both symbolic interactionism and Confucian philosophy. Such a philosophical framework provides the conceptual tools for understanding the self, which are central concepts in relation to the overall aim and objectives of the research. I use the concept of self to understand links between home-making, acculturation, filial piety and ageing in place, and older Chinese immigrants' interactions with the environment and others. In the next chapter, I will provide a review of symbolic interactionism and theories of the self.

2 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION: SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM AND THE SELF

Western social scientists have emphasised the importance of context for understanding the self (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). As is also noted by scholars from the East, the context in which the self is grounded is not simply a physical place; the self is cultivated within social, economic, historical and cultural settings (Espiritu, 2003; Yang, 2006). By exploring instances in which an individual is moving from one place to another, such as migration, we are in an excellent position to investigate how the physical, social, cultural and historical environment offers support to self (re)construction (Deaux, 2000). Moreover, identities are often grounded in the daily realities and lives of people (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). This idea is useful in understanding the importance of people, place and material objects in the construction of the self and identities. To comprehend the identity landscape of older Chinese immigrants, it is essential to explore everyday practices, contexts and situations in which older Chinese immigrants form and reform their identities. Deaux (2000) points out that identities are defined primarily by relationships set in specific locations, such as home.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this thesis is informed by symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism seeks to uncover meanings that people create and construct during social interaction. It is epistemologically embedded in constructionism (Hewitt, 2007). As an epistemological stance, constructionism is the view that all knowledge, and thus all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices and constructed in and out of reaction between human beings and their world. In other words, all knowledge is developed and transmitted within an essentially social context. In the constructionist view, therefore, meaning is not discovered but constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting (Crotty, 1998).

This chapter explores classical and contemporary symbolic interactionist theories of self and identity. I argue that societal contexts and social relationships shape who and what the person is. Aspects of self often change when contexts and relationships change. Identity is not only the individual's own construction of the self, but the social construction of the self (McAdams, Josselson, & Lieblich, 2006). This chapter presents a version of notions of interconnected selves that are informed by various theoretical traditions. The emphasis devoted to interconnected selves is

important because it offers a more pluralistic understanding of who the person is and what it means to be human (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). This emphasis is consistent with the notion of benevolence in Confucianism which highlights the totality of human beings. For Confucianism, benevolence is seen as the dynamic interconnectedness of one's self with other people. Benevolence represents a highly interconnected system where social relations are embedded in culturally defined cobwebbing practices (*cf.*, Liu, Li, & Yue, 2010). For the Confucians, the constant theme of the person is person-in-relations. The person is a social being who exists in a network of duties and obligations (Morton, 1971). Based on interconnectedness and relations, human beings develop understandings of themselves and other human persons (Shen, 1995).

To set the stage for a discussion of self and identity, I start by reviewing basic tenets of symbolic interactionism, and then explain the value of symbolic interactionism as a theoretical framework for the present research. I provide an overview of the conceptual development of notions of the self and identities. While there is extensive literature on these topics, I focus on classical interactionist theories of the self, and contemporary conceptions of identity which centralise social and cultural contexts within which the dialogical and cultural selves are shaped through social interactions. I also pay attention to self and acculturation, social and ethnic identities. The theory of the self developed throughout the chapter and as a theoretical underpinning for this thesis is one which attempts to grapple with complexities surrounding structure and agency, the personal and the social, and individuals and groups.

Basic tenets of symbolic interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is often traced back to the work of George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), a creative proponent of the pragmatic movement (Desmonde, 1970). Much of Mead's influence on the development of symbolic interactionism comes through the publication of his lectures and notes by his students, as well as through interpretations of his work by various social scientists, especially one of his students, Herbert Blumer (Charson, 1979).

The concept of symbol is the conceptual building block on which symbolic interactionists have based their analyses of human actions. A symbol is a "thing or event associated with some other thing or event" (Hewitt, 2007, p. 38). It signifies

"particular characteristics of the situation so that the response to them can be present in the experience of the individual" (Mead, 1934, p. 120). Utilising symbols, people can act purposefully in and towards a world of meanings instead of merely responding to stimuli. Individuals can define and redefine situations they encounter and purposefully interact with one another on the basis of shared meanings (Hewitt, 2007).

From the foundation of Mead's work, Blumer (1969) maintains that symbolic interactionism rests in three premises. The first is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. This premise suggests that the meanings are essential in the formation of human actions. The second is that the meanings of such things are derived from, or arise out of, social interactions between people and between people and the environment. In this way, meanings become dynamic social constructs that are formed in and through people's social activities. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he or she encounters. This premise highlights that the production of meanings involves an active interpretative process. These three premises reflect links between the self and the object-world. Such links between people and contexts are often referred to "subject–object relations" where people's perceptions and actions bind them to objects in the world and particular places (Jovchelovitch, 2007). As Cooley (1902) has noted, people and world are "twin born", and people know and construct themselves through ongoing interactions with and within the world. Such thinking takes the person beyond rigid distinctions between private minds inside individual bodies and the world outside. The world infiltrates people and people leak out and texture the world within which he or she lives, works and plays. People's things and places, which are commonly termed material culture, literally become part of them (Hodgetts, Stolte et al., 2010).

In this thesis, analysis of aspects of material culture, such as the body, gardens, vegetables, paintings, music and other meaningful objects and places, provide new insights into the ways older Chinese immigrants meld their New Zealand present and future with their past in China. According to O'Toole and Were (2008), material culture refers to the corporal and tangible objects constructed by human beings. These objects are used, lived in, displayed and experienced by individuals. People interact with material culture as a normal part of their daily lives.

Through such interactions, material culture and human beings are strongly influenced by each other (O'Toole & Were, 2008).

Briefly, for symbolic interactionists, to understand what people are and what they might become, attention is paid to the meanings of things that people establish themselves. As a social actor who interprets and acts in meaningful ways, the person is a producer as well as produced, shaper as well as shaped, influencing as well as influenced by the world as he or she interacts (Musolf, 2003). Social interactions are the vehicles by which people develop socially and culturally produced meanings that extend beyond the concrete reality of objects and things. The world changes when the objects that compose the world change in meaning. As such, to understand the world in which older Chinese immigrants live and have lived is to understand the meanings that objects have for them and how they create and transform meanings in their daily lives. In an attempt to deepen the understanding of the relationship between the person and the object-world, this thesis takes this proposition further. It focuses on both individuals in the world and the world in individuals. In Chapter 3, for example, I will show that it is not only the place gives the person an identity, but also the person gives the place an identity.

My research is shaped by the symbolic interactionist approach to situated social interactions which are embedded and given meanings in historical and cultural narrative structures through material objects and places. The symbolic interactionist notion of human-environment relations illustrates the links between people and the contexts in which they live. Symbolic interactionists propose that the physical space surrounding each of us operates as a local social world, with its own set of norms, practices and meanings built on the basis of background knowledge shared between persons (Scott, 2009; Weigert, 2008). For example, Goffman's notion of situation is, in its core, a spatial idea (Cetina, 2009). Goffman (1981) defines the situation as "any physical area anywhere within which two or more persons find themselves in visual and aural range of one another" (p. 84). Goffman emphasises the physical element of the interaction order, and provides an early formulation of concerns with the embedded and emplaced body and its accoutrements in social life. I consider immigration as a geographic expression of human interaction across global spaces. While immigration practices are localised, they are not permanently fixed in particular spaces. This does not mean that immigrants simply flow across spaces without developing deep connections. Rather, immigration is a dynamic spatial and place-based process (Ma, 2003). It involves spatially and materially mediated interactions

between individuals at home and in communities, and between the home and host countries. Immigrants also often impose new identities on places. For instance, signage for culturally orientated places such as ethnic food outlets and shops, as I will show in Chapter 8, weaves different cultural identities into a place.

Symbolic interactionists' involvements in cultural research and Mead's theory of temporality provide the theoretical basis for the narrative approach to this thesis. Since the 1960s, symbolic interactionists have engaged with ideas of socialisation, alternative lifestyles, youth culture and sub-cultural influences (Lewis, 2002). Using biographical methods developed through such previous research, I study meaning exchanges within families and among minority groups (*cf.*, Denzin, 2003) and enter the field of cultural research at the level of lived experiences (*cf.*, Denzin, 1992). According to Mead (2002), lived experiences are inherently temporal, and the present establishes the extent and span of temporal experience. The experiences involve a period of time and the process of reflection and self-indication, which are not mere arrangements of isolated moments (Maines, Sugrue, & Katovich, 1983). Instead, they comprise sequential events. These insights into lived experiences, biographies and narrative methodologically inform the present study that employs a narrative approach (see Chapter 4) to document the sequential events in older Chinese immigrants' daily lives.

Although I employ symbolic interactionism as a primary theoretical framework, symbolic interactionism also has limitations. Mead (1934), in his seminal work *Mind, Self, & Society*, has highlighted the importance of community, institution, environment and society in self development. Nevertheless, during the 1970s, symbolic interactionism was heavily criticised in that it failed to integrate conceptions of structure, power and institutions (Denzin, 1992; Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1975). In the past two decades, symbolic interactionism has attempted to accentuate aspects of social life that were previously overlooked. Many symbolic interactionists have placed emphasis on cultural domination and resistance, human agency, and the various ways power and inequality are (re)produced (Musolf, 2003). They examine history, power and structure in the actual lives of interacting individuals (Denzin, 1992). To develop a comprehensive view of the social lives of ageing immigrants, this research incorporates cultural, social and institutional factors in an attempt to contribute to an integration of micro- and macro-social and cultural psychologies.

As proposed previously, the self is a major symbolic interactionist concept (Musolf, 2003), reflecting the influence of William James (1890), Charles Cooley (1902) and George Herbert Mead (1934). Mead (1934) believes that "the self has the characteristic that it is an object to itself, and that characteristic distinguishes it from other objects and from the body" (p. 136). Each person can be an object in his or her own experience. The individual can name, image, visualise, talk about, and act towards the self. The next section considers the concept of self from an interactionist perspective. As I will show, the self emerges in social interaction within the context of a complex, organised and differentiated society. There are as many different selves as there are different positions that the person holds in society. Yet, people do not normally experience these multiple selves as fragmented or disparate. The concept of identity is a key to understanding how people reconcile their multiple selves with the unity self. The unity self is organised into multiple identities, each of which is tied to aspects of the social structure (Stets & Burke, 2003). The person has an identity, an "internalised positional designation" (Stryker, 1980, p. 60), for each of the different positions, roles and relationships.

The self and identities

The nature of identity has attracted significant interest from social scientists. The self has become a core construct within psychology, sociology, geography and related disciplines (Honess & Yardley, 1987). Key discussions of the self can be traced back to James (1890) who dedicated a chapter of his work *Principles of Psychology* to the consciousness of self. Not only did James lay a strong conceptual foundation for the study of self, he also foregrounded the importance of self for understanding human action (Collier, Minton, & Reynolds, 1991; Leary & Tangney, 2003). During the early and mid-twentieth century, several influential theorists also emphasised the importance of the self in understanding human behaviour. Cooley (1902), in particular, brought the concept of self to the attention of sociologists, and Mead (1934) extended and redefined Cooley's notion of self. Blumer (1937) further promoted the study of self, leading to the development of symbolic interactionism. Later, Goffman's (1959) seminal work on self-presentation and Strauss' (1969) notion of transformative self stimulated another wave of interest in the self. Inspired by these theories, this thesis explores human character, agency, adaptability and creativity in the contexts of history, culture, society and lived circumstance. Central to

this work was the recognition that people are collective and individual, unique and socially interwoven beings who come to understand others through social engagements (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010; Wertz, 1998).

James (1890) developed a productive theory of self that comprises notions of the self as subject and object, as knower and known, and as both *I* and *Me*. James conceives individuals as social beings with multiple *Mes*, including the material, social and spiritual *Mes.* The material *Me* consists of such things as body, clothing, house and accumulated property. The social *Me* is the desire to receive recognition from those who people encounter. The spiritual *Me* is the self at the most conscious reflection during one's most conscious activity. These *Mes* are unified by the *I* which is an active-self aspect, the conscious agent of an individual's actions. Drawing on James's definition of *I-Me*, Sarbin (1986) proposes that people, in the process of self-reflection, order their experiences in a story-form fashion. In the current research, the *I* represents the older Chinese immigrant as narrator who tells stories, whereas the *Me* stands for the actors in the stories. In this construction, the *I* can imaginatively construct a story with the *Me* as the protagonist in the narrative of immigration, home-making, filial piety and ageing.

With respect to the notion of self, Cooley is remembered for the looking-glass self. A looking-glass self is the process by which people develop self-image, self-concept, and self-esteem. Cooley (1970) defines the looking-glass self as "the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of the judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or modification" (p. 380). In that regard, the self that the individual constructs is based on their imagination of how others perceive them. Cooley expands the idea that the self develops in reference to other people in the social environment. The self cannot be separated from social influences and the self is built upon reflecting the views that others hold of the person (Tice & Wallace, 2003).

Largely influenced by James and Cooley, Mead (1934) argues that human beings are social organisms that have selves. The possession of a self converts the human being into a special kind of actor, transforms his or her relation to the world, and gives his or her action a unique character. In asserting that the human being has a self, Mead simply means that human beings are objects to themselves. Moving to a new country, older Chinese migrants can perceive themselves, have conceptions of themselves, communicate with themselves, and act towards themselves through their interaction with the new environment. According to Mead,

this human self can be viewed as a reflexive process through which migrants act towards their world, interpret what confronts them, and organise their action on the basis of their interpretations (Blumer, 1969). By so doing, migrants internalise and re-socialise new cultural norms and values. This process of normative internalisation and re-socialisation makes individuals moral beings. The process also distinguishes migrants as members of different cultures in the fullest sense, since not only is the self within the culture, but also the culture is within the self. Such self-culture relations lend theoretical support to the arguments underpinning this thesis. The self shifts when the culture changes and "people make society—society makes people" (Charson, 1979, p. 171).

Drawing on James', Cooley's and Mead's theories, a number of authors present diverse concepts of the self. For example, Goffman introduces the dramatising self, while Strauss develops a theory of transformative self. Elaborating Cooley's notion that human beings are actors, Goffman (1959) conceptualises the self as an impression manager from a dramaturgical perspective. Goffman portrays everyday interactions as strategic encounters in which the individuals attempt to dramatise a self that he or she wants the audience to accept. The audience constantly observes the self that the individual tries to legitimate. Applying Goffman's notion, migrants present selves, a near-theatrical performance, by which they dramatise everyday interaction in a multicultural milieu. Migrants act intentionally or unintentionally to express themselves; and other people from the same or different cultural backgrounds are in turn impressed in some way by them. In that regard, the individual manipulates his performances so as to control "the conduct of others, especially their responsive treatment of him" (Goffman, 1959, p. 3).

From a different point of view, Strauss (1969) offers a comprehensive theoretical analysis of identity change. Strauss contends that "the *I*, as subject, in reviewing its *Me*s continually moves into a partially uncharted future; thus new *I*s and *Me*s necessarily emerge" (p. 124, emphases added). The self and, consequently, the person's behaviour are capable of changing, of transforming over the course of the person's life. As Strauss claims, migrants' identity change is a process of reconceptualising their social roles, a change in their terminological framework that reorders their world and has marked effects on their social interactions. Such a transformation in identity involves a shift in perspective and world outlook. As migrants change their perspectives, they change their identities, their definitions of social reality, and, consequently, their behaviour. As migrants acquire new identities,

they respond to new realities (Musolf, 2003). A sense of identity, according to Strauss, is never gained nor maintained once and for all; it is constantly changed, lost and regained. Although Strauss emphasises transformations of self, he does not ignore the sense of identity continuity. Strauss argues that a person during his or her lifetime may seem to change considerably, but the essential person is assumed to be the same; he or she is, after all, the same person, even though he or she may experience substantial changes in transit.

More recently, Hermans (2002) developed the concept of the dialogical self as "a dynamic multiplicity of *I*-positions in an imaginal landscape" (p. 71). The *I* has the possibility to move from one spatial position to another in accordance with changes in situation and time. The *I* fluctuates among different and even opposed positions, and has the capacity to imaginatively bestow each position with a voice so that dialogical relations between positions can be established. The voices function like interacting authors in a story, who are involved in a process of question and answer, agreement and disagreement. Each of the authors has a story to tell about his or her own experiences from his or her own stance (Hermans, 2001a). Hermans (2001a, 2002) presupposes, moreover, that the multiple authors may enter into dialogical relationships with each other, consequently creating a highly dynamic, complex and narratively structured self. In that regards, the *I* is not to be understood as an isolated, sovereign subject, essential in itself, and having an existence apart from the flux of person-situation interactions (Hermans, 2002). Rather, *I* is conceived as being a multiplicity that bridges the relationships between the different *Me*s. The *I* is believed to be part of relationships with others. This implies a change in the experiencing *I* itself. In agreement with James' (1890) notion of the distinction between the *I* and the *Me*, Hermans (2002) describes the self as a mind-space. The *I* constructs a analogue space and metaphorically sees the *Me* moving in this space. The self functions as the space where the *I* observes the *Me*, and orders the movements of the *Me* in a story-like fashion.

Hermans (2002) proposes that the self is a dialogically created and socially and culturally sustained dynamic entity that emerges from the mutual transactions of internal and external positions over time. Contrasts, oppositions and negotiations are part of distributed and multivoiced human beings. The self that has different voices clustered around different *I*-positions is anchored in social interaction. Through social interactions, hybrid identities are constantly produced and reproduced through transformation and difference (Hall, 1990). Such a hybridised identity involves a

process of constructing identity integration through dialogues in which meanings are embedded in social and cultural spaces. This process leads to an *I*-positioning that is at the same time inside as well as outside, which involves an ongoing negotiation with multiple voices and positions that are connected to issues related to ethnicity, culture, place identity and power (Bhatia & Ram, 2001a).

The dialogical self is a useful concept for understanding older Chinese immigrants' self and identity constructions in a new culture. Older Chinese immigrants, through culturally dialogical negotiations, can dynamically move back and forth between cultural *I*-positions, and thus construct and maintain new selves (Chaudhary & Sriram, 2001). Over time, the dialogues become increasingly reflexive as older Chinese migrants interact in the world. New attachments, new stories, new voices and new identities develop as older Chinese incorporate their new and hybrid migrant selves within a cobweb of existing and former selves.

As formulated by such scholars as Hall (1992) and Bhabha (1994), hybridity refers to cultural mixedness. Much of the work on hybridity emphasises the post-colonial context as well as the relations of inequality and homogenisation that are often the result of globalisation (Brettell & Nibbs, 2009). Thus, Lowe (1996) defines hybridity as "the formation of cultural objects and practices that are produced by the histories of uneven and unsynthetic power relations" (p. 67). More recently, hybridity research places more emphasis on the element of human agency in identity construction and transformation (Brettell & Nibbs, 2009). As stated in Chapter 1, hybridity is especially significant to immigrants in that hybridity constitutes the practices and decision-making processes by which migrants bring together elements of their ethnic, racial, and cultures in host societies to form a distinctive way of becoming and being (Brettell & Nibbs, 2009). In this fashion, hybrid identities are mixing, emerging, fluid and dynamic (Plaza, 2006). Hybridity performs progressive cultural work which privileges multiplicity, heterogeneity, promising vitality, enrichment, survival and adaptation (Friedman, 1998).

The cobweb Chinese self

Chinese history and philosophy offer a specific conceptualisation of the self, which I draw on in developing the analytic frame for this thesis. Scholars such as Yang utilise a cultural lens to explore and develop the study of the Chinese cobweb self. Yang (2006) suggests that the original meaning of *Wo* (我,), as the main Chinese

character of *I* or *me*, is one's consciousness of oneself as a physical separate identity. Ideographically, the Chinese character of 我 depicts a bronze weapon on one side resembling a spear with an ornament on the other. Because ideographs are usually a reflection of the meaning of the character, the idea of *Wo* is understood as a person involved in a war (Jiao, 1991). It is worth pointing out that although *Wo* is the main character that means *I* or *me*, throughout Chinese history, there have been many characters used to convey the same meaning (I or me) as *Wo* (Jiao, 1991). These characters were used on different occasions by people of different social statuses and genders. This feature indicates that the different *Wo*s were considered variously depending on the social status of the person in society and the social context in which the person was situated.

Yang (2006) believes that the character *Ji* (己, self) comes into existence later than *Wo*. Originally, *Ji* means a centrally located house or place where consciousness and knowledge reside. It is where principle or regularity resides and it has to be understood with the term *Ren* (人, person or human being). *Ren* communicates two meanings: the person and human being. First, when *Ren* (person) speaks of *Ji* (self), he or she distinguishes himself or herself from others and describes a positional relationship between the self and others. The self is situated inside and in the middle of the house or place, and others are on the outside and peripheral. The concept of person demands the self to keep the person hollow and humble, always finding room for improvement (Yang, 2006). Second, when *Ren* refers to human being, it includes the self. In this sense, the self is not independent from others in the same way as the Anglo-Saxon and Judo-Christian inspired notion of the individual. Rather, according to Confucianism, the person is an indispensable vehicle for achieving societal goals and the self is a team player in society. The *Ren-Ji* relationship is a relationship between the human being and the self, which is a whole-part relationship. *Ren* is embedded in both individualistic and collectivistic contexts.

Yang (2006) proposes that the self is a cobweb. The web constitutes a dynamic field that connects the person to many other individuals, each of whom is also a web. The cobweb self is positioned "as the centre of a bundle of relationships that link a person's action with the environment and beyond" (p. 345). The concept of the cobweb self provides a cultural angle through which older Chinese immigrants' self is understood. As action-takers pursuing everyday life and adjusting to the environment, migrants in the cobweb have to think, act and interact affecting not only

the self, but also those people, both in China and New Zealand, who are connected to the web. Any action by the self will lead to reshaping the web and all other webs associated with it. When older Chinese migrants move from China to New Zealand, they need to re-cobweb themselves. Through the web, the actions of the (re)cobweb self are not distinct from but always influence and are influenced by others and the environment. Each person who is involved in the cobweb has obligations to particular others who are in his or her own cobweb. Society as a whole is woven together from many webs made of different social relations (Liu et al., 2010).

Yang's cobweb self can be linked to Cooley's theory of the looking-glass self. According to Cooley's (1902) looking-glass self, self-image is formed largely by messages people receive from others, and their interpretations of those messages. Individuals envision how their selves appear to others, imagining what others think of their appearances and developing self-feeling from their understandings of those perceived judgments by others. Similar to the looking-glass self, at one level the cobweb self also thinks, acts and interacts out of his or her understandings of the perceived judgments from people who are connected to the web, and develops self-definitions through interactions with others and environments that constitute the cobweb. The cobweb Chinese self can be taken further. In the Chinese conception, the person gradually relinquishes the private and individuated self (*Xiao Wo*, 小我, literally meaning the small self) in order to embrace a larger collectivity to which the person belongs (*Da Wo*, 大我, literally meaning the large self). The concepts of the small self and large self reflect the relationship between the individual and the community and society. The person is encouraged to cultivate the self by initially including family members into the large self, and then gradually friends and associates, the community, the country, and finally the world. By cultivating oneself through this route, one gradually sets the boundary of the individuated self to include all others. As I will show in Chapter 8, the concepts of the small self and large self are potent in the analysis of older Chinese migrants' volunteering.

Self and acculturation

If people are fundamentally woven into culture, relationships and place, as argued in previous sections, then when a person migrates to another societal context he or she will experience changes in the self. Cultural change is a central issue for migration research and this thesis. Migrants undergo changes in their original ways of living, in

particular when they originate from societies that are culturally different from the one to which they move (Berry, 1997). One consequence of such movements and cultural changes is the processes of acculturation.

Acculturation is a core and complex concept in migration research (Berry, 1990, 1997, 2006). Powell (1883) coined the term acculturation to describe the psychological changes brought about by cross-cultural transitions. Similarly, anthropologist McGee (1898) suggested acculturation as a process of exchange and reciprocal enhancement by which the societies evolve towards civilisation and enlightenment. Sociologist Simons (1901) defined acculturation as a two-way process of reciprocal accommodation which occurs between the members of two different cultures. Later, Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) defined acculturation as phenomena "which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p.149).

There are two approaches to understanding acculturation: cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). The cross-cultural approach focuses on similarities and differences in individual psychological functioning in various cultural and ethnocultural groups, the relationships between psychological variable and socio-cultural, ecological and biological variables, and ongoing changes in these variables (Berry et al., 2002). Cultural psychology emphasises "ethnic and cultural resources of *diversity* in emotional and somatic functioning, self-organization, moral evaluation, social cognition, and human development" (Shweder, 2007, p. 827, emphasis in original). Such ethnic and cultural resources include values, concepts, belief systems, methodologies, and other resources indigenous to the specific ethnic or cultural group (Hwang, 2006).

Taking Redfield and colleagues' definition as a starting point and employing a cross-cultural approach, Berry (1990) contends that the changes in people associated with migration take place at two levels. At the group level, the changes happen in the social structure of the group and the economic base or the group's political organisation. At the individual level, the changes take place in identity, values, attitudes and behaviour. Individuals may differ in terms of the rate at which changes in attitudes and behaviour take place. Berry (1997) proposes a four-typology model of acculturation. He distinguishes assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation as various ways in which acculturation could occur.

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Berry and colleagues (2002) maintain that these distinctions involve two dimensions, based on orientations towards one's own group, and those towards other groups. The first dimension is rendered as a relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity. The second is a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other cultural groups.

When individuals do not wish to maintain their original cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the assimilation process occurs. The strategy of separation refers to individuals prioritising their original culture, whilst also avoiding interaction with other cultures. Integration characterises individuals who are interested in both maintaining their heritage culture and at the same time having everyday interactions with other cultural groups. Marginalisation refers to individuals who are little interested in cultural maintenance and little interested in having relations with other cultures. In most studies of acculturation, integration is the most frequently expected way for immigrants to acculturate, followed by assimilation and separation with marginalisation being the least preferred (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2002; Chia & Costigan, 2006; Kim, Cain, & McCubbin, 2006).

Researchers have noted that acculturation is a complex and dynamic process (Ho, 1995; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Cross-cultural transitions are significant life events which involve unaccustomed changes and new forms of intercultural contact. These shifts invoke psychological and sociocultural stresses associated with adjustments to a new context (Ward et al., 2001). They raise concerns regarding the ability to fit in or negotiate interactive facets of life in a new cultural milieu (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Acculturation strategies vary across individuals, groups and societies. They also vary in terms of the interaction between the strategies of the two cultural groups in contact (Berry, 2006).

There has been a proliferation of studies on acculturation and the consequences for identity around the world. New Zealand scholars have made a substantial contribution to research into acculturation and identity among Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. Ip and Pang (2005) observe how in the 1950s-1970s Chinese immigrants adopted the strategy of marginalisation. The ongoing political and economic disorder of the Cultural Revolution in China generated negative views of China and Chinese people. In New Zealand, Chinese immigrants were expected to downplay their Chinese identity as this was viewed undesirably. Research suggests that cultural assimilation has taken place among Chinese migrants in the 1980s (Greif, 1974; Harrington, 1998; Ip, 1996). Many Chinese children had little

knowledge of Chinese culture, and had little to identify with about China. As Ip and Pang (2005) claim, in the 1980s the Chinese were accepted as "almost New Zealanders" according the extent they became "unChinese".

The 1990s were distinct, as integration occurred more widely and provided a more positive acculturation experience for Chinese immigrants in New Zealand (Boyer, 1995; Ho, 1995; Ip & Pang, 2005). Ho (1995) employed Berry's cross-cultural model to identify acculturation strategies adopted by Hong Kong Chinese adolescent immigrants in New Zealand. Ho found that after living in New Zealand for some time, many young Chinese immigrants were able to overcome the initial barriers which had prevented them from participating in social activities in the larger community. They obtained fluency in English, gradually understood New Zealand cultures and comfortably communicated with their neighbours and classmates. Many of them also maintained their Chinese culture, valued the Chinese language and enjoyed intimate relationships with their families and Chinese friends. Ho asserts that such young Chinese persons are living in two cultures. The findings of Boyer's (1995) study on Taiwanese immigrants and Li's (2001) research into immigrants from PRC are consistent with Ho's notion that the acculturation strategy of integration is endorsed by many of New Zealand's more recent Chinese immigrants.

New Zealand researchers have also touched on the topic of the construction of acculturative identities in the bicultural nation of New Zealand. New Zealand is a country of immigration which is built upon the tribal base of its indigenous Maori population (Ward & Lin, 2005). The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi gave the sovereignty to the British Crown and also established the partnership between Maori and Pakeha[1] (Ip, 2003). The arrival of Maori and Europeans, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the subsequent Land Wars between Maori and Pakeha have formed the core materials for a bicultural narrative of New Zealand (Liu, 2005). Ip (2003) maintains that the identity of the Chinese community is necessarily defined by the dominant majority of New Zealand in the context of biculturalism. Chinese and other non-British immigrants cannot be sure that they are included in the category of Pakeha (Ip, 1998). Ip (1998) argues that Chinese immigrants in New Zealand have a more marginalised position than their counterparts in the USA and Canada. In contrast, Liu (2006) claims that, as a Chinese-American-New Zealander who was born in Taiwan,

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[1] Pakeha is a Maori term referring to New Zealand European but mainly denoting the British in early settlement period.

grew up in America and now works in New Zealand as a culture-oriented psychologist, he feels more comfortable moving between cultures in New Zealand than he did in America. Liu asserts that he has rarely experienced unthinking prejudice from the majority groups in New Zealand. He believes this is because of the historical relationship between the majority group and Maori.

Biculturalism has laid the foundation for multiculturalism (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Although Ip and Liu discuss the Chinese identity within the bicultural context in New Zealand from different perspectives, they highlight that the salience of the Chinese identity is a product of globalisation. Globalisation and people's movements across countries bring people together from different parts of the world in both harmony and conflict (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh, & Teaiwa, 2005). I consider that bicultural relationships foundational to New Zealand become a basis for welcoming other multicultural groups into this multiculturally shared space.

Berry's model of acculturation strategies has been regarded as one of the most influential theories in the area of acculturation research (Bhatia & Ram, 2001b; Hermans, 2001a; Ho, 1995; Ward et al., 2001). Research on acculturation has an important theoretical and practical significance for social sciences and social policy development (Chirkov, 2009a). Whilst being informed by critical acculturation psychology (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Chrikov, 2009a, 2009b; Rudmin, 2010; Waldram, 2009), I propose that Berry's acculturation model has a number of limitations.

Although considerable variations in the life course of the cultural groups involved have been acknowledged, current studies on acculturation rely on a universalist perspective, where psychological processes that operate during acculturation are assumed to be essentially the same for all cultural groups (Bhatia & Ram, 2001b, 2009; Hermans, 2001a; Waldram, 2009). Consequently, culture is separated from individual psychological processes, and the self is assumed to possess natural properties that pre-date culture. If the self is a psychological given (Bhatia & Ram, 2001b), it can only exist as an independent, objective and universal reality. In other words, the universalist perspective, which typically treats self and cultural as variables, entails a self-exclusive concept of culture and a culture-exclusive concept of the self (Hermans, 2001a).

Acculturation research has also focused primarily on changes that have their origins in physical contact between individuals and groups. Such contacts are limited to those taking place within the same time, same space and using the same

language (Sam, 2006). Technological development has led to time and space compression (Harvey, 1989), which is envisioned as squeezing together of time and space. For example, media and internet are machineries of meaning that allow people to communicate without being in one another's immediate presence or using the same language (Hermans, 2001a). This technological complexity creates a challenge to acculturation research in which language serves as a key indicator of, and even a proxy for, acculturation (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Kao & Travis, 2005; Schnittker, 2002).

The emphasis on stress and coping in dominant acculturation research is problematic (Rudmin, 2009; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Acculturation research should shift its particular attention away from psychological stress to the broader feelings that arise from adaptational challenges (Lazarus, 1997). Such a shift offers a richer and more process-focused analysis than stress per se. It allows acculturation research to devote attention to the feelings of hope, happiness, pride, gratitude, love and compassion in the course of acculturation as well. In this way, individuals and groups are positioned as dynamic and not passive recipients of acculturative forces (Sonn, 2002).

Acculturation research contains the assumption that immigrants who move to a new country only have continuous and firsthand contact with one culture, namely, the mainstream culture (Sam, 2006). In the New Zealand context, this would imply that there is no difference between Maori and other New Zealanders, and that "all Kiwis [2] [are] sharing a national identity and way of life" (Nikora, 2007, p. 81). However, New Zealand does not have a single unified culture given the Maori world exists in parallel with majority New Zealand society. Many Maori accommodate the dominant New Zealand culture, yet maintain an equivalent and parallel reality with the Maori world (Nikora, 2007). When immigrants move to New Zealand, they will indeed have continuous contact with dominant New Zealand culture, but many also experience Maori and other cultures.

Finally, acculturation research has focused primarily on younger people (Ho, 1995; Ward et al., 2001). Little research has explored acculturation experiences amongst older adults. For older adults who move to a new culture in old age and have been exposed to their home culture for a substantial amount of time, their orientation towards their own culture of origin may be higher than that of other cases

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[2] Kiwi is a nickname used for people from New Zealand.

of immigrant groups (Jang, Kim, Chiriboga, & King-Kallimanis, 2007). The unique nature of acculturation of older immigrants needs to be better understood before categorising them into any typologies of acculturation.

To address the limitations of the cross-cultural approach to acculturation, I explore acculturation practices among older Chinese migrants using the framework of cultural psychology with an emphasis on indigenisation of psychology. This approach particularly highlights the culture-specific factors in acculturation process. This approach is appropriate and reflects the four underlying standpoints of indigenous and cultural psychology outlined by Sinha (1997). First, psychological knowledge is not to be externally imposed; instead, the cultural tradition should give rise to it. Second, true psychology lies not in experimentally induced behaviour, but in people's everyday experiences and practices. Third, human functioning is to be understood and interpreted not in terms of imported categories and foreign theories, but in terms of indigenous and local frames of reference. Fourth, indigenous and cultural psychology embodies psychological knowledge and culturally derived concepts, which are germane to the ethnic or cultural groups and reflect the sociocultural reality of the groups.

So far I have discussed self and identity on a more personal level. Next, I consider how social and ethnic identities operates when a person thinks of the self in terms of similarities to other members of an in-group and differences from members of an out-group (Deaux, 1996).

Social and ethnic identities

Unlike personal identity, social and ethnic identities are known primarily in the context of relationships with others, especially with other groups (Liu, 2005). These concepts were developed to explain group processes, intergroup relations that mediate the relationship between social structure and individual behaviour (Ali & Sonn, 2010; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995).

Social identity theory was developed and formulated by Tajfel and Turner in the 1970s (Hogg et al., 1995). Social identity refers to "that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63, emphasis in original). The basic idea of social

identity is that a social category to which a person belongs provides a definition of who he or she is in terms of the defining factors of the category (Hogg et al., 1995). The social categorisation is considered as a system of orientation which helps to create and define the person's place in society (Tajfel, 1978). Through self-categorisation, a person does not possess a stable or singular sense of self, but rather can have a repertoire of selves at different levels of inclusiveness from the individual to the group. These different senses of self are activated in response to diverse situations, so that the same person can respond differently in different situations (Liu et al., 2010).

Social identities are plural, because individuals often belong to many groups or categories, each of which supplies information about who they are and how they should (re)act (Liu, 2006). According to Turner and colleagues (1987), social identity is an enduring construct that changes with changing intergroup relations. It is dynamically responsive to immediate contextual factors. Different contexts prescribe different contextually relevant actions contingent on the same social identity (Hogg et al., 1995). Various aspects of social identity become salient in different situations as people adapt to situations and other people (Liu, 2006).

Much of social identity theorising has been based on groups which experience perceived threats to identity. This feature makes the theory particularly relevant in relation to immigrants and ethnic minorities (Ward et al., 2001) because culture and history provide the shared materials from which individuals draw on to construct their identities (Liu, 2006). Ethnic identity provides an important basis for understanding older Chinese migrants' cultural distinctiveness, such as cultural-based behaviour, customs, languages, values and practices (Bernal & Knight, 1993). For older Chinese migrants, immigration is a major transition, in which taken-for-granted social identities need to be renegotiated and adapted in the new social and cultural context, where there may be different systems of norms, values and meanings that provide sources for identity construction (Sonn & Lewis, 2009). Such a transition often evokes more emotional aspects of the social identity process (Deaux, 1996). In the process, ethnic identity serves as a key moderator for facilitating older Chinese migrants' self-categorisation at the ethnic level (Gong, Appiah, & Elias, 2008), resulting in a strong attachment to their Chinese culture (Liebkind, 2006).

Ethnic identity is a dynamic and multidimensional construct (Ali & Sonn, 2010; Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, & Cota, 1993; Phinney, 2003). Ethnic identity

involves older Chinese immigrants' sense of self as a member of and a sense of attachment to the Chinese community (Sang & Ward, 2006). Consistent with social identity theory, the emphasis in defining older Chinese migrants' ethnic identity is on their knowledge about their own ethnic group and on the membership of this group (Bernal et al., 1993). Ethnic identity is not a fixed categorisation, but rather is a fluid and dynamic understanding of the self and ethnic background. It is constructed and modified as older Chinese migrants become aware of differences among ethnic groups and attempt to understand the meaning of their ethnicities within the society (Phinney, 2003). Therefore, ethnic identity is not derived from objectively defined, shared, and uniform cultural values or common patterns of behaviour consistently adhered to, but from the social actor's subjective perceptions and the meanings attached to ethnicity. In that regard, we need to consider ethnicity in a way that reflects older Chinese migrants' lived realities as well as the environmental and material dimensions of identity construction situated in social, cultural and historical contexts (Ali & Sonn, 2010).

Ethnic identity is subject to change along various dimensions: over time or across generation in a new culture, within different contexts, and with age or development. Changes that occur over time when a person is in a new culture are related to the process of acculturation (Phinney, 2003). Unfortunately, studies on ethnic identities, conducted in the context of migration research, are also largely focused on younger people. Older immigrants have received limited attention in the literature. The present research builds on previous research, adding knowledge of older Chinese immigrants' acculturation and ethnic identity so as to better understand their identity (re)constructions.

Tying strands into a richer understanding of the self

The notions of the self are complex and evolving. My version begins with Confucius, James, Cooley, Mead and other influential scholars. These thinkers orient me towards particular features of everyday experiences of older Chinese migrants. The conceptualisation of the self that I have been developing in this chapter has four key elements.

First, the self is multiple as well as unified. Symbolic interactionists place considerable emphasis on multiplicity in the self across social, cultural and historical settings. For example, multiplicity in James' self relates to the different aspects of the

Me, whereas it is multivoicedness in Hermans' dialogical self. Although there are diverse facets of the self, an integrative self can unify this diversity. Such unity portrays the self as a unified and interconnected process of becoming (Foddy & Kashima, 2002). In James' work, the *I* is portrayed as a unifying principle that is responsible for organising the different aspects of the *Me*. In Hermans' conception, the *I* has the possibility to move from one spatial position to another in accordance with changes in situations and time, fluctuating among different and even opposed positions. The *I* has the capacity imaginatively to endow each position with a voice so that dialogical relations between positions can be established.

Second, the self is stable as well as transformative. Symbolic interactionists emphasise both the continuity of the self and its discontinuity. On one hand, the unified self not only keeps the various parts together, but also guarantees the person's identity through time and its continuity. The continuity connects the past, the present and the future. On the other hand, identity changes allow individuals to reconceptualise their social universe, to reorder their world and to recreate meanings in their lives. As stated by Musolf (2003), human beings are continuously socialised and re-socialised into new identities.

Third, the self is framed and shaped by relationships. The self can be assessed not only from the viewpoint of oneself, but also from the viewpoints of other people (Foddy & Kashima, 2002). In this regard, human beings are "interpersonal being[s]" (Baumeister, 1999, p. 2), and the self serves as an interpersonal tool that enables people to relate to each other (Baumeister, 1998). The Chinese culture carries this type of relation further. The Chinese self is embedded in an interpersonal, societal and collective cobweb context and thus the person is completed by others (Markus, Kitayama, & Heiman, 1996). For example, Confucian ethics require high standards for particular and committed social relations. In Confucianism, which is a highly inter-connected system, the family is the basic administrative unit of society (Liu et al., 2010). Hence, the person is thought to be inherently collective in his or her self-definition, "using self-in-relation-to-other as the basic unit of analysis" (Deaux, 1996, p. 781). As Kim and Park (2006) have noted, the word "human being" can be literally translated as "human between" in the Confucian culture. The self is not what happens within an individual, but between individuals—this is what makes the person human.

Fourth, contemporary notions of the self challenge cultural dichotomies. Despite global movements and the corresponding complexities and dynamics,

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mainstream academic psychologists continue to work from the premise that cultural differences can be conceptualised in terms of cultural dichotomies (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Typically, these dichotomies have been formulated as contrasts between Western and non-Western cultures and selves. However, the conceptions of the transformative self and ethnic identity, among other notions of self and identity, suggest that intercultural processes shift the existing cultural forms and practices towards new forms and practices, and consequently new selves. Acculturation processes offer new cultural practices and construct new cultural identities. The greater the interconnectedness is across cultures, the more these cultures begin to interweave so that complex mixtures and new selves can be constructed (Hermans & Kempen, 1998).

Briefly, identity is not only the individual's own construction of the self but also the social construction of the self. Societal contexts and social relationships shape who and what the person is (Gregg, 2006; McAdams et al., 2006). In the next chapter, I will offer a review of filial piety which is the most important concept that governs familial relationships in the Chinese culture, and place where the relationships are established and maintained. I will show the roles of filial piety and place in the construction of the self.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW: FILIAL PIETY AND AGEING IN PLACE

The previous chapters have proposed the concepts of self and acculturation as theoretical tools within a symbolic interactionist framework. Through the investigation of older Chinese immigrants' housing experiences in which filial piety and ageing in place are embedded, this research will add new insights into the role filial piety plays in older Chinese immigrants' ageing in place and their identity (re)construction. This chapter explores the concepts of filial piety and ageing in place which are central to my research. I will review the origins and contemporary practices of filial piety both in PRC and among immigrants to Western countries. I will also consider the implications of filial piety for the Chinese self. The review focuses on PRC because it is impossible to speak of one Chinese society. Indeed, the Chinese people in PRC, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and other countries and regions share a common cultural base. Nonetheless, their social, historical and political systems differ (Li, 2008). These differences have a substantial impact on individuals' everyday experiences and identity construction.

One distinctive feature of the family relationship in the Chinese culture is the centrality of the relationship between parents and their children, rather than that between the husband and the wife in many Western cultures (Gow, Balla, Kember, & Hau, 1996). The Confucian concept of filial piety has traditionally governed the parent-child relationships in Chinese families (Ho, 1996) and is a dominant feature of the Chinese culture and family life (Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004). A Chinese proverb, for example, declares that "among the various forms of virtuous conduct, filial piety comes first (*Baixing xiao wei xian, 百行孝为先*)". Confucius also emphasises that "among human practices, none is greater than *Xiao* [filial piety]" (cited in Chan & Tan, 2004, p. 1). The concept of filial piety serves to define the ideal relationship between parent and child, which helps to secure the place of family at the core of the Chinese moral worldviews. It is believed that the concern of filial piety pervades all aspects of Chinese culture, both in the past and present (Chan & Tan, 2004). Filial piety, therefore, is the natural backdrop and starting point for any discussion of ethnic dimensions of ageing, such as ageing in place, for Chinese older adults (Gee et al., 2002). Strongly influenced by filial piety, the traditional Chinese culture does not regard old age as negative, but rather, historically, elders are honoured as wise and contributing members of society who deserve, and are to be provided with, care

and respect (Chappell, 2005). A Chinese saying, "Family has an elder; as if having a treasure at home (*Jia you yilao, ru you yibao, 家有一老, 如有一宝*)", exemplifies the desired position of Chinese elders in the family. Within the filial piety context, adult children are traditionally expected to live with their ageing parents to provide financial and emotional support to the parents.

Despite such traditions, filial piety has become a complex and constantly evolving concept both in China and for Chinese migrants as a result of the rapid changes and pressures of modern life (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). For example, changes such as smaller family sizes, greater numbers of females in the job market, increased mobility and movements have influenced the meaning of filial piety for contemporary Chinese people (Sung, 1998). Moreover, immigration may erode the dominance of filial piety and modify the manifestation of filial piety in migrants' families (Lieber et al., 2004). For instance, younger generations appear to be developing more Westernised responses to filial piety.

In this chapter, I first explore five aspects of filial piety that have evolved over time and which illustrate both continuity and discontinuity in Chinese aged care practices. I present a broad account of filial piety as a dynamic cultural concept that is reshaped and redefined in response to changing socio-political, geographic and economic contexts. The notions of reciprocal support and community piety indicate that filial piety is no longer a concept that is merely focused on aged care that children provide to their parents, but practices that ageing parents and their children offer support and assistance to one another and that the community also provides aged care to elders.

This chapter also investigates the concept of place and home, and practices of ageing in place across ageing populations and Chinese immigrants in particular. The approach taken in this research is one that includes social and political environmental factors, and thereby posits that ageing individuals do not age in a vacuum devoid of cultural, social, political and societal contexts. In this chapter, the discussions about filial piety and ageing in place highlight a core idea in this thesis that when people move, their cultures change; and when their cultures change, their identities transform. In the process, filial piety and ageing in place are embodied processes embedded in particular places and relationships in people's everyday lives. The everyday knowledge of filial piety and ageing in place corresponds with Jovchelovitch's (2007) conception of "phenomenology of everyday life" which seeks to understand how ordinary people and communities produce knowledge about

themselves. In this sense, studying everyday knowledge of filial piety and ageing in place among older Chinese immigrants means to study the array of practices, relationships and concrete contexts in which social actions occur (*cf.*, Jovchelovitch, 2007). This approach will be demonstrated throughout the analysis chapters in this thesis.

The exploration of filial piety provides a cultural context within which older Chinese immigrants age in their homes and communities. In the second section, I will discuss the conception of place, followed by a discussion of ageing in place. I contend that filial piety can be viewed as a cultural framework for the discussion of ageing in place of older Chinese people, which connects the Eastern to the Western cultural practices with respect to aged care. Putting the ideas discussed in this chapter together, I will demonstrate that, to understand people, it is vital to understand cultural resources and places which shape who people are and what they do in everyday life.

Filial Piety

In the Chinese culture, the most predominant value relating to the care of older people is "*Xiao*" (孝), or filial piety. In Chinese, the character of *Xiao* (孝) is composed from two other characters: *Lao* (老, old) on the top and *Zi* (子, son) at the bottom. This ideograph is written from the top to the bottom, which indicates the continuation of the family line in which filial piety is embedded. The ideograph communicates multiple messages of which the responsibility of the young to support older family members is prominent (Ikels, 2004a). Another interpretation can be that the young are burdened by the old or even that the young are oppressed by the old (Hashimoto, 2004). Traditionally, filial piety prescribes the child's obligations to defer to parental wishes, attend to parental needs, and provide care and support to aged parents (Whyte, 2004). As practiced in the family, filial piety defines a hierarchical relationship between generations, particularly that of the parent and the child.

Filial piety was popularised by Confucius (551-497 BC) (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2006). When Confucians contemplate the ontology of the universe, they do not conceive a transcendent creator, as do Christians. Rather, Chinese cosmology holds that individuals' lives are the continuation of their parents' physical lives. The Confucian advocacy of filial piety is premised on the indisputable

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fact that one's body exists solely because of one's parents (Hwang, 1999). This belief affirms the greatest debt a child owes to a parent because the first and foremost gift that the child receives from one's parents is life itself (Sung, 1995). In Western cultures, filial duty is often understood as the practice of caring for ageing parents. This is a narrow interpretation of a much broader belief of filial piety in the Chinese culture. It hinders a more complex understanding of filial piety (Ho, 1996). Within Confucian culture, filial piety is not just about duty and caring; it is about authority, power, transmission of knowledge and values, and the continuation of the family lineage (Lee & Mjelde-Mossey, 2004). Turning from the early Confucian world to the present, in this section I explore shifts in the meaning and practice of filial piety. The shift from preindustrial to industrial society has initiated profound changes in people's daily experiences of aged care (Inglehart, 1997). Particular attention is given to living arrangements, support and care for parents, ancestor worship and the gender norms deriving from this cultural concept.

Living arrangements

In early Confucian texts, co-residence with one's parents has been paramount in practicing filial piety and provides a key indicator of filial piety. In the Confucian classical work *Li Chi*（礼记）, the family is conceptualised by the analogy of the human body:

> Father and son are one body; husband and wife, brothers, are all one body. The relationship between father and son is like that between head and feet. Husband and wife are a combination of two separate parts of one body. Brothers are the four limbs. (cited in Hwang, 1999, p.169)

Everyone plays several roles in a family system. For example, a male could be a son of his father, a husband of his wife, a father of his son and a brother of his siblings. Each role in the family represents a distinct part of the human body, and together they constitute an inseparable entity. The traditional Confucian configuration of ethical arrangements within a family also corresponds to the body structure. The relationship between head and feet refers to the superior and the inferior positions of father and son. Children's bodies are originated from their parents', just as four limbs

stem from the body. It is assumed that children will have their own families and that their children will also be oriented towards them (Hwang, 1999).

The principles of respecting one's superiors and favouring the intimate are thus the cornerstone of living arrangements and aged care in the Confucian culture. Because family members are conceived of as parts of a body, members of a family are expected to reside under the same roof, and they have obligations to share resources, and to honour, venerate and look after aged relatives (Hwang, 1999; Wang, 2004). Co-residing with one's parents is a proxy for demonstrating care (Mehta & Ko, 2004). Living separately from the parental household is socially disapproved of and considered unfilial.

Nonetheless, traditional extended family living arrangements are changing (Lam, Chi, Piterman, Lam, & Lauder, 1998). For example, Whyte's (2004) research into filial obligations in Chinese families revealed that for older Chinese persons the predominant family form in contemporary China is nuclear. Older people reside either with a spouse only, or with a spouse and one or more unmarried children who are dependent on them. More recently, a survey in China reveals that empty-nest households occupied solely by older couples are an emergent phenomenon (All-China Women's Federation, 2009). It is no longer obligatory for married adult children to live with their aged parents. However, this does not necessarily mean a total departure from cultural norms. Increasingly, "distant living" occurs when adult children living away from their parents cooperate in providing support and assistance to their parents (Sung, 1998; Yue & Ng, 1999).

A number of factors contribute to the changing living arrangements of people living in China. First, industrialisation is associated with younger people facing more choices in education and work (Castles, 2009). They may migrate to study and/or work in nearby or even distant towns or cities, and live economically independent lives (Ikels, 2004a). Second, current medical insurance policies in China do not encourage people to receive medical treatments outside their residential registered areas (All-China Women's Federation, 2009). This may prevent parents from moving to live with their children who live elsewhere. Third, housing policies over the last 60 years have contributed to changes in parent-child co-residence in urban China. Since 1949, when communist China was founded, urban housing had been supplied within a communist system under which housing was principally a social welfare and income subsidy (Huang, 2004). During the period from the 1950s to early 1960s, the private rental housing stock in urban areas was systematically transferred to local

governments. At the same time, local governments, state institutions and enterprises built large quantities of public housing through industrial expansion or urban renewal programmes (Wang, 1995). In the late 1980s, housing reforms were launched nationwide. These reforms aimed to increase housing consumption through privatising public houses. Homeownership has been promoted (Huang, 2004). From the late 1990s, the *Monetarisation of Housing Reform Policy* provided subsidies to assist young people to buy their own houses (Lee, 2000). These social policies have contributed to a substantial reduction in intergenerational co-residence in China (Whyte, 2004).

For Chinese families migrating to Western countries, parent-child co-residence appears to remain prominent. In the United States, for example, Himes and colleagues (1996) found that approximately 60 percent of Chinese elders live in extended family households, while Pyke (2004) observed strong parent-child co-resident patterns. At first glance, older Chinese immigrants' living arrangements appear to be similar to the traditional parent-child co-residence. However, homeownership trends reveal differences. Traditionally, parent-child co-residence refers to adult children co-residing with their older parents in the parents' house. For Chinese immigrants, parent-child co-residence involves the older parents co-residing with their adult children in their children's houses (Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Gee, 2000). While parent-child co-residence among older Chinese immigrants is related to filial piety ideals and norms, often it is also sought out of necessity, such as financial constraints and the need for practical assistance from children when older people move to a new cultural environment (Pyke, 2004). It is worth noting that apart from parent-child co-residence, distant-living arrangements also appear among older Chinese immigrants. For example, Ip and colleagues (2007) found that in Australia half of their survey respondents prefer distant-living arrangements over parent-child co-residence. This indicates that while significant numbers of older Chinese immigrants live in co-residence, there appears to be a growing preference for independent living arrangements alongside the maintenance of family relationships and responsibilities (albeit at a distance).

Briefly, Chinese living arrangements are evolving as families adapt to rapid social changes. Intergenerational co-residence is no longer the only way for children to demonstrate filial piety. For example, distant-living arrangements do not mean that adult children abandon their parents. As Yue and Ng (1999) propose, filial piety can

occur at a distance through children retaining regular contact with parents via telephone, mail, visitation, and email in a rapidly developing technological world.

Support to parents

Physical care for one's parents is considered as a key component of filial piety. In *Li Chi,* Confucius (1885) suggested the rule for children is that "in winter, to warm (the bed for their parents), and to cool it in summer; in the evening, to adjust everything (for their repose), and to inquire (about their health) in the morning; and, when with their companions, not to quarrel" (p. 67). This passage implies that physically taking care of one's parents includes providing good food, soft clothes, a warm room, comfort and peace to meet the parents' material needs. The following passage shows the extent to which children were expected to assist parents with their ablutions and daily routines:

> When a parent's nose is running, a son or his wife should wipe the parent's nose. One should not show this happening to others… In the morning, when a housekeeper makes the parents' bed and arranges their sitting places, younger family members should help the housekeeper and assist the parents in occupying their seats. (cited in Sung, 2009b, p. 49)

Physical support to parents is of essential importance in agricultural Chinese society as most people were farmers, and stayed in a particular area and functioned in a stable, family-oriented social network. This society comprised a multitude of family groups that formed basic units of societal structures. Few secondary organisations existed outside the family to serve an individual's needs. The Chinese family and its extended network of blood-related kin, operated as a self-sufficient, self-regulated and self-governing "little society", upon which one had to depend for work, education, support and assistance in times of difficulty and in old age (King & Bond, 1985; Leung, 2006).

Although material support to parents is still widely practiced in China today, it is less important than it was in agricultural society. For example, both older and younger participants in Yue and Ng's (1999) study rated financial assistance to parents lower than other forms of filial piety such as respecting parents, making them

happy, and maintaining regular contact with them. Similarly, Whyte's (2004) study found that the majority of older Chinese adults do not receive financial assistance from their children. A filial piety survey also found that about 85 percent of 3,144 respondents defined filial piety as providing parents with emotional care rather than merely providing material support (All-China Women's Federation, 2009).

Together with the shift from parent-child co-residence to distant-living arrangements, researchers highlight the existence of reciprocal exchanges with respect to caregiving and receiving support between children and parents. Yang (1996) asserts that while older parents receive monetary and other support from their children, they also help their children with either housework or child care. Reciprocity is not new in Confucian discourse. Confucius (1885) stated that "what the rules of propriety values is that of reciprocity. If I give a gift and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety; if the thing comes to me, and I give nothing in return, that also is contrary to propriety" (p. 65). The emphasis of support to the parents is constructed through continuities and changes, from physically taking good care of one's parents to financial and emotional support with an emphasis on reciprocal exchanges.

There are several factors contributing to such an evolution. First, in China, financial assistance to one's elders is required by law ("Constitution of the People's Republic of China", 1982). Second, most older people in China now have incomes of their own. Financial contributions from their children are often supplementary (Whyte, 2004). Third, the need for mutual exchanges and frequent interactions between generations can be understood from a cultural perspective. As discussed previously, in Chinese culture, children and grandchildren are an extension of one's body. Providing care to children and grandchildren is a form of embodied connection with one's offspring. Fourth, changes in family structures mean that children may not be able to support their aged parents financially. The one-child family policy limits a couple to producing only one child (Hashimoto & Ikels, 2005). This results in young couples, who are both only children, being required to provide support to four aged parents. Many young couples cannot afford to support four aged parents, and may instead, require financial support from their parents (All-China Women's Federation, 2009).

Reciprocity refers to equal or comparable exchanges of tangible aid, affection, advice or information between family members (Akiyama, Antonucci, & Campbell, 1997). Reciprocity is significant in Chinese migrant families. In the parent-

child co-resident migrant family, adult children provide language support, transportation and emotional support to their parents while their parents provide help with childcare and with other household chores (Leung, 2006). Forms of support for the migrant parents may change, for example, from financial to practical support (Lo & Russell, 2007). Nevertheless, the essence of support between children and parents remains unchanged. It is important that filial piety should not be understood only within the household regime, but also in the contexts of community and society. Apart from practical and emotional support from their children, older Chinese immigrants also receive support from their local communities (Lan, 2002; Lo & Russell, 2007). These communities often provide a range of services that assist older immigrants to cope with their everyday and cultural needs. Such community support for older immigrants is referred to as "community piety" (Park, 2009). In short, filial support in the immigration context is concerned with reciprocally practical and emotional support between the parent and the child, and community piety through which the community provides services to older Chinese immigrants.

Respecting parents

Material support to parents is regarded as being central to filial practice. However, what Confucius identified as the expectations of a filial child is not merely the fulfilment of obligations to meet their parents' physical needs. Material goods alone do not suffice. Traditionally, filial piety has to be imbued with respect (Sung, 1995). For example, when his disciple asked about attitudes towards parents, Confucius (1999) said, "Filial sons nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But even dogs and horses are cared for to that extent. If there is no feeling of respect, wherein lies the difference" (p. 13). Material support without reverence does not fulfil the dictates of traditional filial piety. Further, Confucius (1999) stated that "Filial piety does not consist merely in young people undertaking the hard work, when anything has to be done, or serving their elders with wine and food. It is something more than that" (p. 13).

The rules of filial piety presented in traditional Confucian texts exemplify how offspring should repay parents with love and care (Sung, 1995). These rules refer not only to one's external behaviour, but also to a child's inner dispositions towards showing respect for parents (Sung, 2000). According to Confucianism, respecting parents also means treating parents with obedience. For example, "when his father

calls, (a youth) should not (merely) answer 'yes', nor when his teacher calls. He should, with a (respectful) 'yes', immediately rise (and go to them)" (Confucius, 1885, p. 75). Several researchers have claimed that Confucius promoted absolute parental authority over children or unquestioned, blind obedience to the parent (Ho, 1996; Lieber et al., 2004). This view is supported by a Chinese old saying that "if a father wants the son to die, the son cannot disobey (*Fu yao zi si, zi bude bu si. 父要子死, 子不得不死*)". However, I propose that what Confucius advocated was "respectful obedience", rather than absolute obedience. This is evident in the following assertion in the *Analects,* "In serving his father and mother a man may gently remonstrate with them. But if he sees that he has failed to change their opinion, he should resume an attitude of deference and not thwart them; [he] may feel discouraged, but not resentful" (Confucius, 1999, p. 37). Such discrepancies in the understanding of obedience indicate that the concept of filial piety is subject to interpretation (Phua & Loh, 2008). The interpretation of absolute obedience communicates the expectation of parental authority and power, yet this may not accurately reflect Confucian's original meaning of obedience and respect.

As a core element, the value of respecting one's parents is embedded in the ideal of filial piety (Sung, 2009a). However, practices of respect and ways in which respect is expressed, such as obedience, are changing in China (Mehta & Ko, 2004). Interestingly, in the academic literature, filial piety is exclusively referred to *Xiao* (孝), which was used in the ancient Chinese language. Yet, in the contemporary Chinese language, people normally use *xiaoshun* (孝顺, literally means filial and obedient) to refer to filial piety in their everyday conversations. The use of *xiaoshun* implies that obedience is considered as a component of filial piety in contemporary China. However, research has shown that obeying parents, in particular absolute obedience (Lieber et al., 2004), has decreased in relevance due to urbanisation, modernisation, and mass education (Yue & Ng, 1999). First, literacy has become widespread with the development of compulsory education in China exposing people to a broader range of ideas (Ikels, 2004a). Second, the rural experience of many members of the older generation is now less relevant for solving life problems in the urban environment (Ikels, 2004a). Third, urbanised young persons, who are exposed to a broad range of ideas and new technologies, no longer have to uncritically accept the ideas and values of their parents, including ideas about the proper relationship between the older and the younger people (Ikels, 2004a). Fourth, the understanding and practice of obedience to the parents is changing. This reflects an increasing

need for independence, autonomy and self-reliance in family relations on the part of younger people and a growing sensitivity to the intergenerational conflicts on the part of older persons. Yue and Ng (1999) propose that "respecting the older but not necessarily obeying them" (p.224) appears to have emerged as a compromise and as a new cultural protocol for filial piety. This understanding permits more flexibility to filial dynamics. In short, the value of respecting parents remains unchanged in contemporary China. Nevertheless, the ways in which respect is expressed, such as obedience to the parent, has shifted to respectful, rather than absolute, obedience.

In the context of immigration, there seems to be generational dissonance between older parents and adult children and grandchildren (Gee et al., 2002). The younger generations tend to acculturate to the norms, values and language of the adoptive culture more quickly than older generations (Gee et al., 2002). Many children and grandchildren appear to be more independent and self-centred than their Chinese elders. For example, in a study of filial piety among Chinese immigrants in the USA, Lieber and colleagues (2004) found that participants from the older generation complained that younger generations resisted, ignored, or made excuses in response to their requests for obedience, and insisted upon equilateral discussions prior to deciding whether or not to comply with their parents' wishes. The families in the above-mentioned studies are families that migrate together as a unit. Those parents grow old in their adopted countries. Little literature has discussed the filial piety practices among older migrant parents who migrate at old age. When family members migrate at different times, the experiences of acculturation and filial practices can be even more diverse and complicated.

Ancestral worship

Paying respect to ancestors is incorporated within the filial piety belief system and manifested in mourning and ancestral worship rituals. On the attitudes towards parents, Confucius (1999) stated, "While they are alive, serve them according to ritual. When they die, bury them according to ritual and sacrifice to them according to ritual" (p. 11-12). The death of a parent entails a complex and demanding regimen of rituals. Mourning is considered a paramount expression of filial piety. A traditional funeral for the dead parent is regarded as a demonstration of love and respect to the parent and a way of teaching filial piety to the younger generation (Kutcher, 1999). Confucius (1885) viewed funerals as ceremonies that demonstrate that "we do not

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forget him to whom we trace our root" (p. 131). This concept is a reflection of the Chinese belief that individuals' lives are the continuation of their parents' physical lives. Paying respect to ancestors is a practice that connects individuals to their family histories, which ensures the younger generation memorises their origins and the favours they have received from ancestors (Sung, 2000).

In Confucian political philosophy, the State is required to encourage the filial piety of its officials by ensuring that they mourn their parents properly. By so doing, it could harvest an important benefit: filial devotion of officials for their parents would be transformed into loyalty to the ruler. Accordingly, loyalty to the State originates from devotion of the young to the old. This reflects a parallel conception between family relations and broader societal relations (Kutcher, 1999). This framework allows the State to harness, rather than compete with family bonds. The various devotions of people within the State to each other are parallel bonds to the mutual obligations of the family (Kutcher, 1999). This "parallel filial piety of society" is consistent with the concepts of the small self and the large self (see Chapter 2) in the Chinese culture (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). Accordingly, the individual cultivates the small self by incorporating family members, while the larger self contains broader social relations making up the State (*cf.*, Yang, 2006). Therefore, filial piety can also be understood in the contexts of community and society as a whole instead of being restricted within the household regime. The parallel filial piety of society also provides cultural support to the practice of community piety.

Ancestral worship in contemporary China has undergone considerable transformations. Wang (2004) proposes that ancestral rites were revolutionised when the Communist Party of China assumed power in 1949. Ancestral worship was regarded as contradictory to the State's demand for public adherence to Communism. From the Marxist theory of historical materialism, the State viewed mourning and ancestor worship as backward and superstitious rituals, and as constituting living representations of the feudal past. Consequently, the State disapproved of traditional mourning and ancestor worship practices. For decades the State attempted, with particular success in the urban areas, to reduce the Confucian elements of mourning and funerals. The State has maintained a monopoly on almost all aspects of death rituals, including corpse handling and transportation, viewing and memorial service, cremation, and final disposition in urban areas (Ikels, 2004a). In the past two decades some elements of the traditional ancestral worship have been restored. In 2009, for example, the Qing Ming Festival became a public holiday in

China because the State now recognises that ancestral worship is not only paying respect to ancestors and cherishing the memory of ancestors (Zhang, 2009), but also "serving the ancestor, serving the State" (Ikels, 2004b, p. 88). Such a view echoes the parallel filial piety of society. In this way, it can be argued that political forces have contributed to changes in the practice of ancestral worship in China, from being discouraged to being restored. The spirit of ancestor worship which is characterised as "honouring the ancestor, honouring the State" remains today.

Sporadic research has looked at the meaning of ancestor worship among Chinese immigrants. For Chinese immigrants, ancestor worship can be symbolic of cultural heritage (Tan, 2004), of China as the ancestral homeland (Pan, 1999) and of their Chineseness. Participation in such rituals provides some cultural continuity across countries. As people move away from home to settle in another country, the ties to their roots often grow fragile. Ancestor worship can function as a marker of Chinese identity, even when culturally thinned by local adaptation (Pan, 1999). For older immigrants, ancestor worship relates to the Chinese philosophy that life has come full circle—*"Luoye guigeng"* (*落叶归根*, literally means falling leaves returning to their roots) (Mah, 1999). The individuals have roots which reach back to their ancestral homeland, and these roots contribute to the cultural heritage that shapes the individuals' life in the present. At the end of their life, many people return to their ancestral home, as falling leaves, to reach the "full circle" of life. This philosophical belief with strong emotional elements perhaps explains why ancestral worship remains important to Chinese immigrants who are far removed from their roots (Pan, 1999).

Gender norms

Prior to the twentieth century, Chinese society was an extremely male-dominated world (Yuan, 2005). Infamous practices toward women included foot-binding, concubinage and female infanticide. Confucian texts claimed that women were born with a lower status than men, and therefore women were expected to obey and to remain in a subordinated position under the will of their fathers, husbands and sons (Yuan, 2005). The daughter was even not included as a family member when Confucius talked about family as a body, shown in the passage presented earlier in this section. There is a popular Chinese saying to express the influence of Confucian attitudes towards women: "Being untalented is a virtue in women." This ostensible

"virtue" promotes a Confucian notion of respectful men and humble women. In the Chinese philosophy of *Yin-Yang* (*阴-阳*), women are *Yin*; men are *Yang*. With *Yang*, *Yin* is presupposed; and with *Yin*, *Yang* is presupposed. Each is dependent upon the other for its completion. *Yin* and *Yang* do not mean anything when they are presented alone (Tung-Sun, 1970). Although *Yin* and *Yang* are interdependent, *Yang* is more primary and visible. According to *Yin-Yang* code, women should always be subordinate to their men since *Yin* should always correlate to *Yang* and not be allowed to develop itself independently. In a Chinese saying, "if a woman marries a chicken, she must stay with the chicken; if she marries a dog, she must obey the dog." Women are expected to obey the father before marriage, to obey the husband after marriage, and to obey the son after the husband's death (Yuan, 2005). These three principles of obedience are called Threefold Obedience (*sancong*, *三从*) which forms a specific moral obligation for women. Threefold Obedience appears in the *Li Chi, and* is explained in the following passage in conjunction with the marriage rite:

> In passing through the great gate of (her father-in-law's house), the man leads the woman and the woman follows the man. This is the beginning of the proper relation between husband and wife. Women are the ones who follow others: when they are little, they follow their fathers and elder brothers; when they are married they follow their husbands; and when their husbands die they follow their sons. 'Husband' denotes supporter. A husband uses wisdom to lead others. (cited in Rosenlee, 2006, p. 90)

Consequently, Chinese women were ascribed a marginal role in traditional family life (Zhou, 2003) because of the social norms that underpinned their roles as submissive and as "eternally oppressed, powerless, passive, and silent" (Raphals, 1998, p. 1).

Within a traditional filial piety context, the son carries out the filial duties of living with and looking after his aged parents. However, the responsibility of caring for older parents is culturally prescribed to their wives (Sun, 2005) because the wives are expected to obey their husbands under the rules of Threefold Obedience. A woman marries not only her husband, but also into her husband's family and inherits the obligation to care for her parents-in-law and other family members (Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). Once married, the daughter-in-law is supposed to serve and

please every family member, especially the parents-in-law, in order to conform to the social norms of a threefold-obedient daughter, wife, daughter-in-law, and mother (Ling, 1998). In a traditional setting, married women were not expected to take care of their own parents.

The gender norms appear to be changing in China. Nowadays, women provide as much support for their own parents as men do. For example, Whyte (2004) found married daughters in Baoding city provide as much support for filial obligations toward their own parents as do their married brothers. Zhan and Montgomery's (2003) study also found that despite the long-standing existence of cultural norms that would dictate direct parent care by a daughter-in-law, daughters in urban China provide care at a level nearly equal to that of daughters-in-law. A number of factors have contributed to the continuities and changes of gender norms in filial piety. First, the dictates of Threefold Obedience have been challenged in the May 4th Movement in 1919, which was initiated by a group of young scholars who returned to China from Europe and who aimed to reform the cultural system by devaluing Confucianism (Chan, 1956). Second, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China provides a legal basis for Chinese women and men have to the same rights in every sense and have equal personal dignity (Zhou, 2003). In theory at least, Chinese women are free to make their own choices about looking after their own parents. Third, Chinese women actively participate in social and economic activities. In general, many have also become family providers and are financially more able to support their own parents. Fourth, as a result of the implementing the one child family policy, many aged parents of one-child family have no sons, but only daughters (Miller, 2004). Those daughters and their husbands have to share the responsibilities to provide support for their own parents and parents-in-law (All-China Women's Federation, 2009).

Much less research addresses the gender norms of filial piety derived practice among the Chinese living abroad. Chappell's (2005) research among Chinese seniors in Canada suggested that these seniors are much more likely to seek help from their sons. However, daughters are increasingly contributing to the care of their own aged parents, while daughters-in-law are less involved in caring for their aged parents-in-law. Chappell and Kusch (2007) maintain that this pattern perhaps suggests that Chinese families are adapting to some elements of Western parental caregiving practices. Parental caregiving appears to largely depend on who lives locally.

In summary, for Chinese people filial piety has served as a set of guiding principles governing general patterns of socialisation, as well as providing specific rules for intergenerational conduct, applicable throughout the length of one's life course (Ho, 1996). Traditionally, filial piety has been treated in an abstract fashion (Ikels, 2004a). Studies of filial piety have placed emphasis on quantitative measures or abstract conceptual categories, such as filial piety scales (Ho & Lee, 1974; Ng, Loong, Liu, & Weatherall, 2000; Sung, 1995). The meaning of filial piety in everyday life has been largely neglected. My review has shown that filial piety is a conception which is developed and negotiated in people's daily living. People discover deeper meanings of filial piety through the process of reflecting and storying the events, experiences, memories and feelings that they have lived (*cf.*, Atkinson, 1998). Filial piety is not an abstract conception that is displayed in or measured by research instruments, rather, it is a concept that is coherent, established and well articulated in people's daily activities. Filial piety is something enacted and portrayed in people's everyday practices (*cf.*, Goffman, 1959).

Filial piety and the Chinese self

The approach I adopt in this thesis entails understanding the psychology of persons within their sociocultural contexts. This chapter is framed by a set of commonly shared meaning systems within which Chinese people make sense of their lives and their filial practices, and give out and derive meanings while interacting with each other.

I have illustrated that filial piety is fundamentally about relationships; relationships between the persons and their parents, but also their siblings, children, communities and society. These relationships play a central role in the construction and development of the Chinese self. As Ivanhoe (2000) holds, the debt of the kindness that children receive from parents goes beyond the duty of repayment. It can only be addressed by cultivating and maintaining an attitude of thankful filial piety throughout, even beyond, the person's life time, such as continuing to remember and revere his or her parents' spirit through ancestral worship (Ivanhoe, 2000).

Although the Chinese culture is significantly influenced by the philosophical traditions of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism (Cheng, Lo, & Chio, 2010), the self and filial piety in Confucian thought is essentially relational, whereas in

Buddhism and Taoism it is not (Smith, 2010). Confucians believe that one cannot successfully pursue the ethical life without fulfilling the familial and social obligations that are ascribed by filial piety. One cannot develop a moral sense without knowing what is to love and to be loved within a human family; one cannot love and care for one's family without a deep and abiding concern for society in which one lives (Gao, 1996). The Chinese self is thus defined by a person's surrounding relations. As noted in Chapter 2, the Chinese self involves a cobweb, of relations to others, within which the person tends to understand his or her positions as being above, below, or equal to others. A Chinese male, for example, would view himself as a son, a brother, a husband, but not solely as himself. Also, according to the parallel filial piety of society, the person should be a responsible self, aware of his or her own position in society and the world, and perform his or her duty accordingly. In essence, a person can never separate the cobweb self from obligations to others. The other-orientation hence is the key to a cobweb self which needs to be recognised, defined, and completed by others. The self orientation to others' needs, wishes, and expectations is essential to the development of the Chinese self.

The notion of value-based identity takes this point further. Theorists have contended that value systems are important sources of identity (Gecas, 2000). Values are "desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 21). Turner (1968) argues that "the self-conception starts with values and aspirations, and continues to be represented in value and aspiration terms" (p. 97). More recently, Gecas' (2000) notion of value-based identity emphasises that identities anchored in value systems are important elements of self-conception, perhaps among the most important, since values give meaning, purpose and direction to people's lives. Furthering Gecas' value-based identity, Hitlin (2003) argues more strongly that value is the primary phenomenon in the experience of identity and at the core of identity. For Chinese people, identities are not simply constituted by role obligations or self-comparisons with relevant others. Rather, identities are constructed through cultural value commitments such as filial piety. When Chinese people move from the Chinese culture to a Western culture, their cultural values evolve through the process of acculturation. When their cultural values change, the selves shift.

Informed by the notion of "[e]verything that we study is emplaced" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 466) and the fact that filial piety is concerned with relations in the household

and society, I contend that filial piety is a significantly emplaced construct which connects the person to others in specific locales and wider society. The fluidity and complexity of filial piety are grounded in people's everyday practices which are embedded in places, such as home, neighbourhood, community, city and country. Consideration of filial piety as an emplaced construct provides a window into narrative meanings, identities and social relationships that are bounded by filial piety. Places are made through older Chinese immigrants' practices in a filial piety mediated world. The only way humans can be humans is to be in place because "to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know *your* place" (Relph, 1976, p. 1, emphasis in original). In an echo of Relph's view, I assert that for older adults to age is to age in place where they feel being inside and know who they are. Without being in place, they would be only abstractions (Malpas, 1999). In the next section, I discuss the concepts of place, home and ageing in place, and their relevance in regards to immigrants and self-identity.

Ageing in place

As discussed in Chapter 1, the concept of "ageing in place" represents a policy ideal of the ability of older people to remain in the place to which they attach as they age so that they can maintain independence, and a continued competence and control over their environments (van der Pas, 2009). Social scientists have engaged in ongoing debates to extend the understandings of place in a more developed way which is beyond the common-sense level (Hodgetts, Stolte et al., 2010). For example, place has been explored within physical, social, relational and cultural contexts within which individuals' bond with places and their experiences are embedded (Heidegger, 1958). For many, the most familiar example of place and its significance to people is the idea of home (Cresswell, 2004). As Tuan (1991) argues, the making of place is seen as the production of a certain kind of homeliness. Home is a place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness. Migrants, more often than those who are well rooted in place, have to manage their identities in the process of moving across geographic and cultural borders, and in the making of new homes, both in psychological and material ways (Leung, 2008).

The remainder of this chapter foregrounds the special significance of place and home in which older people age. I first conceptualise place and integrate the

conception of place attachment and place-based identity with recent literature on the notion of home. I then focus on a review of emplaced ageing and immigration, examining the preference of (immigrant) older people's living arrangements, and the role family, community and policy play in their ageing in place. Notions of filial piety will be woven through the discussions of place and aging. This review presents a picture of the meanings of place in social life and the processes through which people mould and texture the physical world (Hodgetts, Stolte et al., 2010).

Places as sociocultural markers of experience and attachment

Harvey (1996) claims that "place, in whatever guise, is like space and time, a social construct" (p. 261). Place is socially and culturally constructed because the ways in which people experience the place and the meaning people ascribe to it come out of a social and cultural milieu, which is in turn dominated by cultural values. Social norms, values and practices give meaning to places. People's feelings about places which they inhabit are moulded by social ideologies as well as individuals' actions and relations to those social norms (Ahrentzen, 1992).

Research has revealed that, because place is socially constructed, contradictions are inherent in people's feelings of places. For example, in tracing the history of Chinatown in Vancouver, Anderson (1991) demonstrates how the socially constructed processes of the Chinatown in Dupont Street evolved from a marginal place (which was seen as a centre of vice and depravity), to a prime place which has become a tourist attraction. As I have foreshadowed in Chapter 2, the Chinatown reinforces the migrants' identities, but also the migrants texture the Chinatown by giving it an identity. Cresswell (2004) believes that despite the fact that the Chinatown is now safe and even attractive, it is still serves to socially reaffirm a moral order of "them" (Chinese migrants) and "us" (Canadians).

The Chinatown case also demonstrates that place is culturally constructed. The ties between the culture of people and the place are key to understanding collective human activities because cultural traditions and practices construct the place (Riley, 1992). Take gardens as an example. Francis (1990) investigated the meaning of garden in California and Norway. In both groups of people, the garden means a place to "be", to care for growing things, to control and to exert creativity. The garden is also a place that reflects personality and develops over time, a place for freedom, for productive work, of retreat and to own. In making gardens, people

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express their cultural values and their identities. People use gardens to culturally communicate with and to show others of how they feel about who they are and the world that surrounds them (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010).

Researchers have suggested that the garden, as a culturally constructed place, facilitates successful migration and the ability of people to make a new life in a new environment, whilst also reinforcing cultural ties with their homelands (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Alanen (1990) found that for immigrants the garden provides a link to their past and culture. In a similar vein, Giraud (1990) explored the meaning of gardening to Hmong refugees in California and claimed that the garden offers the refugee a social outlet as well as a place to use daily skills from their homeland. Further, Bulter (1987) found that the assembly of broken fishing boat parts, which is the focal point of migrant gardens in California, constitutes a saving of things that cannot be assimilated by the dominant culture. These objects are expressive of the situation of the immigrant. More recently, Graham and Connell (2006) explored the gardens of Greek and Vietnamese migrants in Sydney, revealing the importance of gardens in providing continuity between home place and Sydney, maintaining relationships, and crafting a sense of control and ownership. In short, particular places, such as gardens, encompass not only the idea of physical objects and events of the world but also ideas of the social and cultural activities that occur in and around them (Malpas, 1999).

Places provide contexts for human reflection, creativity and interaction, and are often about stopping, resting and becoming involved in one's life journey (Tuan, 1977). Important places are those in which events occur and that mark people's particular experiences in new or unique ways (Manzo, 2005). Those experiences, either the positive or the negative, are considered as growth experiences because they are events that help move people's life journey forward. As Manzo (2005) concludes, places serve as markers in the individual's journey and become significant because of experience. Subjective experiences within particular places shape, and are shaped by, people's relationships to each other, society, and particular settings.

Such subjective experiences with places also construct and are constructed by the development of place bonding (Vorkinn & Riese, 2001) in that "awareness of the past is an important element in the love of a place" (Tuan, 1974, p. 99). In this view, Low and Altman (1992) proposed the concept of "place attachment" which describes a complex phenomenon that incorporates several aspects of people-place

bonding. They suggest that the word "attachment" emphasises affections and the word "place" focuses on the environmental settings to which people are emotionally and culturally attached. Riley (1992) asserts that place attachment is an affective relationship between people and place that goes beyond cognition, preference or judgement. Researchers have also argued that relationships to places may not be positive (Manzo, 2005; Relph, 1985). For some people, place may not be a sanctuary, but a space of violence or isolation (Clapham, 2005; Manzo, 2003). For instance, a woman in Manzo's (2005) research mentioned the bathroom as a favourite place; it was the only place in her household where she could escape physical abuse and be assured of privacy. Similarly, Hodgetts, Stolte and colleagues (2010) found that a homeless man preferred to be close to the parks and an un-crowded beach due to experiences of abuse in his childhood. Places as mundane as a bathroom, park or un-crowded beach can become refuges for these people and markers of their life experiences. It is not simply the places themselves that are significant; rather, it is what can be called "experience-in-place" that creates different meanings (Manzo, 2005).

Indeed, knowledge of place is a simple fact of experience (Luckerman, 1964). Place functions as a bridge to the past, the present and the future. People's experiences of places remain with them over time, either through memories of places from their past or through repeated use of the same places over time. Both past places and experiences in currently used places are integral components of people's experiences and feelings that make up their lives. It is through place that past experiences enable people to make connections between where they once were, where they are now and where they will be, literally and in their personal development (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Migrants take with them memories of the places they grew up in, dwelled in and spent their time when they move to new places. With the move comes an extension in their place affiliations and identities.

Place as process reflecting embodiment and identity

Place refers to a space that has been given meaning through personal, group and cultural processes (Low & Altman, 1992). Place is not a fixed geography, but a process through which meanings are constantly constructed and reconstructed, negotiated and renegotiated within different contexts and at different times. Place is multilayered discourse which is continuously being formed and reformed in different

sites of negotiation. The concept of home encompasses all of these place concepts. The home is a place within which everyday practices relating to the self and aged care are enacted, and a sense of routine, privacy, safety and familiarity is gained. Home raises issues of human habitation and embodiment in domestic locales.

Place needs to be understood as an embodied relationship with people (Cresswell, 2004) who are embedded in physical contexts (Manzo, 2003). Bodies make up and texture places. Bodies are completed and performed in places. Experiences of exile, for example, are experiences of being out of place in one's body (Ankori, 2003), while experiences of immigration may be felt as sickness and discomfort (Gunew, 2003). Ahmed (1999) maintains that the experience of immigration materialises within specific corporeal, temporal and spatial coordinates. Leaving home in immigration is an experience in which a body feels out of place and uncomfortable in "this" new place. Ankori (2003) takes the concept of embodied identities to a societal level when proclaiming that "our country is flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone" (p. 59). It is clear that this body and the embodied place (the country) is more than mere flesh and bones because the body is a site for social interaction and for the expression of culture and values. Through the body, people perceive the culturally textured place; through cultural heritage people access place; through creativity and imagination people turn space into place (Teather, 1999). The notion of embodied place brings human experiences in particular places to life so that the experiences can be understood between individuals and amongst individuals.

In considering home in the context of human movements and the construction of the self and identity, it is apparent that a home is not mute. Like other spaces created by people, a home says something about the people who make and use it (Hodgetts, Stolte et al., 2010; Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Through daily life, people occupy such spaces as embodied beings whose social practices give meaning to home and situations they inhabit (Lefebvre, 1991). The home people move through, dwell in, and come to call their own crystallises aspects of who they are and want to be (Hodgetts, Stolte et al., 2010). Through the physical act of making a home, people texture home to reflect their interests and desires. Home making involves reshaping a physical space, turning it into a place that reflects the efforts, desires, history and biography of the person (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). In short, people use home to say things about themselves (Williams, 2002), and therefore home transcends the house.

According to Clapham (2005), a house refers to units of accommodation that can be described by a number of objective physical attributes such as size, amenities, and repair condition. A house provides physical shelter and can be seen as a "machine for living in" (Clapham, 2005, p. 117). A house also carries meanings that arise out of, and in turn influence the use of, a physical structure (Arias, 1993). The meaning that is given to the house is an important element of experiences of home (Clapham, 2005). Chaudhury and Rowles (2003) maintain that home is where people belong. It exists within human experiences, memories, imagination, and aspirations, providing the physical and social context of everyday life. Naficy (1999) proposes that "*home* is anyplace; it is temporary and it is moveable; it can be built, rebuilt and carried by memory and by arts of imagination" (p. 6, emphasis in original).

Researchers have also examined the etymology of the word of home. Mallett (2004) suggests that the German word for house is considered as a building where people live or a dwelling place for a family, and is imbued with the sense of home. The Germanic words for home, *Heim, ham, heem*, are drawn from the Indo-European *kei* meaning lying down and something dear or beloved. In English, the term "home" derives from the Anglo-Saxon word *ham*, meaning village, estate or town (Hollander, 1991), which suggests that the word "home" applies across a range of scales. Home can be seen as a country, province, city, suburb, street and house.

Differentiating from the word structure in Western languages by being ideographic, the Chinese character of 家 (home) puts emphasis on the symbols representing objects (Tung-Sun, 1970). The character of 家 is constituted by two parts—the upper part of "宀" represents a roof of a house, while the lower part of "豕" indicates a swine. This character symbolises that a house with a swine is a home. The inter-relations between the two parts of symbol, house and swine, are people who raise the swine. Therefore, home in the Chinese language is beyond the physical structure of the house because the house, per se, is not enough to create a home. It is people who create and make a home. Homing emerges from relationships between people and between people and place (Ahmed, Castaneda, Fortier, & Sheller, 2003). Home is embedded in social interactions occurring within the house, neighbourhood and society. It represents a spatially and materially located and on-going process of culturally constructing family relationships. Notions of home are foundational to research into both ageing and migration. Ageing migrants remaking homes in their newly adopted places has become a more common in the context of increased global movement (Mazumdar & Mazumdar,

2009). Because of the significance of home in people's lives, a great number of researchers have investigated the meaning of home, how homes are imagined and represented and how they affect people's identities.

Home is a place where space and time are controlled (Mallett, 2004) and where people feel safe, secure and protected (Clapham, 2005). However, home is more than that. Home is laden with emotional significance (Gurney, 1996; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981). For instance, the emotional discourses of family, intimacy and love are the most significant aspects in making sense of home (Gurney, 1996). Home is also a cultural interpretation tool, a reflection of social contention and change, and contains memories of the past which inform the present (Benjamin, Stea, & Saile, 1995). People consciously and unconsciously use their homes to express their cultures and identities (Marcus, 2006). In that regard, home can be considered as a "memory container" that connects the individual to community, interweaves the family and the environment and suggests a deep relationship between dwelling and social life (Morton, 2007).

The concept of place-based identities is often used to explore processes through which people invest aesthetic, emotional, personal and shared meanings into particular places, such as home, and in the process mould and re-create themselves across space and time (Hodgetts, Stolte et al., 2010). Place-based identities comprise people's emotional attachments to particular settings that have been imbued with meanings and cultural practices (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). "Like people, things, and activities, places are an integral part of the social world of everyday life, as such, they become important mechanisms through which identity is defined and situated" (Cuba & Hummon, 1993, p. 112). Emplaced identities are often manifested in a sense of belonging, ownership and specific daily practices. These identities and associated practices often texture a setting to reflect the values, thoughts and meanings of people who affiliate with a place such as home.

Consequently, home has frequently been viewed as a set of social, cultural and psychological processes which have seemed to transcend the actual physical context, the house per se. Home and its particular physical form are embedded and embodied with physical, emotional, social, cultural and symbolic significance through social interaction over time and across space (Moore, 2000). Having a home as a site for identity expression and construction is particularly important for older adults. For most elderly people, life becomes centred around the home, as the engagement

with other sites (such as the workplace or educational facilities) diminish (Cloutier-Fisher & Harvey, 2009). Dupuis and Thorns (1996, 1998) identify that the meaning of home among older home owners reflects concerns with security, family continuity and inheritance. These authors explore the meaning of home for a group of older home owners in New Zealand. They found that home means constancy in the social and material environment; a spatial context for the establishment of routine, a site where older people feel most in control of their lives, and a secure base around which older people can construct their identities. Similarly, Swenson (1998) suggests that for older women, home is the centre of self, the centre of caring for themselves, their families and their homes, and the centre of communicating with neighbours and the community. Overall, the meaning of home in old age includes physical, personal and social bonding.

The perspectives outlined above show that the sense of self, particularly for older people, connects to the home environment in diverse ways. In this thesis, I will show that links between the self, care and attachment are revealed in how older persons make, use and construct their homes, and in how they feel attached to their homes as if the home is part of their selves. The home is a symbol of self and a symbol of connections between the self, others and environments. Home can be seen as an outward magnification of an inner reality, reflecting both older persons' identities and their relationships to the larger community (Swenson, 1998). This simultaneous attention on the micro-environment of the home and the macro-environment of the neighbourhood, community and society recognises the significance of larger geographical and social spaces in which people live out their everyday lives (Cloutier-Fisher & Harvey, 2009).

Although for most people home possesses rich social, historical and psychological significance and meanings, people may experience home loss and disruption as a result of relocation and moving. For example, human movements, as disrupting processes of place-identity, may invoke a profound sense of dislocation (Chow & Healey, 2008). The loss of home precipitated by immigration presents an abrupt change because immigration is a particular journey which involves the crossing of borders and the breaking of experience and cultures (Ahmed, 1999).

Immigration: Home away from home

Immigrants are persons who seek a place to make a new beginning, or to start again, or to make a better life (Espiritu, 2003). The process of immigration is not only about arrival and settlement, more crucially, it is also about home re-creation. Because migrants are multiply located and placed, immigration reminds people to think about place not only as specific geographic and physical sites but also as circuits and networks in domestic spaces, neighbourhoods, community, and host and home countries (Espiritu, 2003).

Immigrants are both at home and away from home. In her biography *Lost in Translation*, Hoffman (1989) gives an account of how she gradually begins to feel at home in the new world. Hoffman experienced loss of identity when she moved from Poland to the USA. She acknowledged that she reconstructed a sense of identity through her home-making process. Hoffman's narrative indicates that identity is changed by the journey. Identity is arguably more concerned with becoming rather than being (Sarup, 1996). In a similar vein, Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009) found that Hindu immigrant families recreate gardens that are reminiscent of the landscape from their past in India. They argue that home gardens are containers of memory and nostalgia, reminding the immigrants of landscapes they have left behind. Filled with smells and outdoor colours of the past, home gardens help bring the familiar into the migrants' new lives. Creating such places, as Mazumdar and Mazumdar propose, can help the immigrants link the home of origin with the new. This enables them to feel at home and regain a sense of belonging and rootedness, which symbolically connects their two homes and two cultural landscapes.

The expansion of the meaning of home for immigrants involves the creation of a new and/or imagined home and community. The concept of "away from home" refers to a situation where the place one is usually resident is no longer in one's home country or where one's family lives (Ahmed, 1999). In this sense, home and away are divided, not only as different spaces, but also as different modes of being and becoming in the world. However, home and away can be non-opposite because people can remake homes in the new countries they live. Through remaking home away from home, the person and home leak into and inhabit each other. The boundary between self and home is therefore permeable. The boundary between home and away becomes permeable as well (Ahmed, 1999; Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010).

Although there is limited research into the meaning of home for older immigrants, Lewin (2001) maintains that for elderly immigrants the meaning of home takes on a special character involving not only the fact that they have moved away from their homeland and former residence, but that they have also left behind their history and home. Lewin emphasises that elderly people who have immigrated to a new society encounter several obstacles to their development of a feeling of homeliness or being at home in their new living environments. Bogac (2009) also found that although a majority of older Turkish Cypriot refugees are satisfied with the physical characteristics of their new houses, they have difficulty identifying themselves with their new environments. Bogac argues that the process of transforming a house into a home is a continuous process, which develops in parallel to accommodate the social and physical relationships with that place. In these older refugees' situations, the social foreignness seems to play a more significant role than the physical foreignness of the new houses per se. As a consequence, the current physical settings do not provide the older refugees with the opportunity to express their identities. Instead, the older refugees still identify themselves with their previous environment and as citizens of their home country. Evidently, elderly immigrants' concepts of home can remain largely constructed by their cultures of origination.

In later chapters, I will show that in order to turn an unfamiliar space into a meaningful place, older Chinese migrants draw upon personal histories and identities, past place-based experiences, social opportunities and new circumstances to redefine their "being in place" (Cloutier-Fisher & Harvey, 2009). These older adults put years of effort into transforming their houses into homes, which, in turn, reflect their identities. Such home-making experiences construct relationships between selves, others and places, although in everyday life older Chinese migrants may be largely unaware of the deep psychological and cultural ties they have to the place they live.

In this sense, place and home are defined by relationships. As conceptualised previously in this chapter, the concept of filial piety is about relationships. Building upon the notion that relationships texture places where filial piety is embedded, I consider filial piety as a cultural framework for the discussion of ageing in place of older Chinese migrants. Older Chinese migrants anchor themselves in new places by working to cultivate a sense of home, which reflects their culture and background (Espiritu, 2003). Such practices continually remind migrants of connections to their places of origin while living in new countries so that

they can maintain cultural values, ideologies and identities. Their homes transcend the boundaries of the nation-states between which they move. Although migrants endeavour to maintain continuity, movements inevitably invoke changes in cultural values and practices such as filial piety.

Western values, beliefs and practices with respect to aged care differ from those of traditional Chinese cultures. Younger generations appear to adopt the Western practices of living arrangements, income support, and reliance on formal services for domestic help and personal care for older persons (Lo & Russell, 2007). Migrant families, therefore, experience processes that involve the renegotiation of filial piety and the adoption of more Western ways of conducting intergenerational family relations (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Such acculturated practices of filial piety shape, and are shaped by, older Chinese migrants' emplaced ageing experiences.

Emplaced ageing and Chinese immigrants

As discussed previously, ageing in place is relevant to growing old in specific settings in which older people feel as being in place or at home. In literature of ageing in place, three dimensions have been explored. The first dimension is where elders prefer to live. The literature, both internationally and nationally, has suggested that older people generally tend to live in their own homes, whether owned or rented, for as long as possible (Dwyer, Gray, & Renwick, 2000). In New Zealand, for example, more than seven in ten people aged 65 and over lived in their privately owned homes in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Research suggests that homeownership offers an individual a means through which they can, in their everyday lives, attain a sense of ontological security (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998). Ontological security is defined as "confidence or trust that the natural or social worlds are as they appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity" (Giddens, 1984, p. 375). Homeownership also provides the person with a sense of belonging, pride and independence (Forrest, 1983). For those older homeowners, home maintenance, adaptation and renovation are major concerns when they age in place (Davey, 2006). Researchers have suggested that older people's choice of remaining in their own homes may be dependent on their ability to have their houses modified, adapted or maintained. Modifications, adaptations and maintenance not only keep their houses in good condition, but also fulfil their ongoing ageing needs (Davey et al., 2004). In New Zealand, poorly performing

homes and the burden of maintenance and repairs have been identified as major factors in prompting older homeowners to disengage from their communities and shift into higher dependency residential environments (Saville-Smith, James, & Fraser, 2008).

The second dimension is the role of family. Family attitudes and support are contributing factors that may either promote or hinder the older person's ability to age in place. Among older people, moves are more likely to be based on the need for care and support (Silverstone, 1992). Both New Zealand and overseas research has suggested that families remain the main source of social and emotional support for the aged (Petrie, 2006). In a study by Mitchell and Hendy (2000), nearly two-thirds of 750 participants, especially those who had health problems, reported that they were cared for by a network of family members. Petrie (2006) asserts that spouses, among family members, are in general the preferred source of family care, financial assistance and emotional support. If older people receive family support, they are more likely to remain in place, and thereby a psychological attachment to the home is retained that connects the person, family, friends, neighbourhood and community (Silverstone, 1992).

The third dimension is public policy and service delivery. Ageing in place could not be implemented without support from public policies and communities. Many countries have developed their own national strategies to address ageing in place (Bartlett & Peel, 2005). For example, as shown in Chapter 1, the New Zealand Government has developed strategies to reinforce the Government's commitment to promoting the value and participation of older people in communities and supporting older people to age in place. Those strategies improve opportunities for older people to participate and live in the community in the ways they choose (Ministry of Social Policy, 2001). A community "is where people experience society directly" (Wilkinson, 1991, p. 80). It is at a community level that policies are translated into practice and where the older persons connect themselves to society through participation. A community can also be considered as a dynamic social and geographical entity, which provides differing responses to the issues surrounding the ageing population (Joseph & Chalmers, 1995). Services delivered to older adults can be regarded as community piety which supports families to be self-sufficient and provides public services to older persons (Sung, 2001). Through community piety, policy issues are being clarified, and ageing-in-place strategies are enacted; social security measures such as pensions, public assistance, and income support are being put into effect;

and housing programmes offering priority and support to older people have been initiated. The notion of community piety connects the Eastern concept of filial piety to the Western value of ageing in place and reflects the idea of parallel filial piety of society in Confucian philosophy.

Emplaced ageing, at one level, emphasises that older persons build up attachments to place through a lifetime of experience, such as making decisions of where to live, owning a house, turning the house into a home, and maintaining and repairing the home. Older persons' identities become bound up with their experience of place and their identification of community (Joseph & Chalmers, 1995). Emplaced ageing, at another level, provides a theoretical conception to understand a new phenomenon that older people's homes and the community may become new sites of health care and other support services. For example, the health care system for those who age in the community may no longer be hospital-based, discrete and bounded, but diffused from hospitals to communities and homes (Andrews & Philips, 2005). Emplaced ageing permits older people to develop a new cultural landscape for ageing in a world in which population structure has shifted towards more aged distributions and in which personal, community and policy responses have invariably interacted in creating new psychological, social and cultural landscapes of ageing (Kearns & Andrews, 2005).

A cultural sensitivity to ageing has been acknowledged as a general principle in the *New Zealand Positive Ageing Strategy*, which promotes a range of culturally appropriate services to provide choices for older ethnic people. However, as critiqued in Chapter 1, the concept of ageing in place and its related policies do not take cultural practices and cultural changes into account. Older Chinese migrants, for instance, often experience a loss of familiar roles and status in the family. Correspondingly, familial relationship negotiation is an integral and ongoing part of the resettlement process (Deaux, 2000), particularly when the culturally textured expectations of younger family members regarding their relationships with older parents are in flux. Such evolving relationships around ageing in Chinese families manifests in older people's desire for independence and autonomy (rather than passively expecting to be cared for in old age); and the exchanges of support between the generations (e.g. younger members provide financial support while older members help look after grandchildren or do domestic chores). Within such a context, tensions in familial relationships can emerge when resettlement requires family members to find new ways of operating and supporting the ageing parents to

age in place in a new cultural context (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). To better understand these cultural complexities and evolving ageing needs, the next section will focus on older Chinese migrants' living arrangements, and the roles of family and community.

Putting ideas expressed in this chapter into action

As identified in Chapter 1, the concepts of positive ageing and ageing in place are based predominantly on middle-class and Euro-centric values. The policies based on such understandings may not be as applicable to the ethnic Chinese. Moreover, policies sometimes appear to simply ignore the fact that cultural norms may have changed when the migrant is affected by acculturation processes in a Western culture context. Consequently, there are several issues with respect to older Chinese immigrants' ageing in place.

First, compared to the majority of older New Zealanders, older Chinese immigrants' living arrangements often differ. The review of filial piety has demonstrated that a majority of older Chinese immigrants co-reside with their adult children in their children's houses. In considering older Chinese immigrants' low income level (Chappell & Kusch, 2007), co-residence may be a necessity rather than a preference.

Second, traditional Chinese familial support to aged parents has evolved. Australian research suggests, for example, that older Chinese immigrants receive most of their instrumental support from formal community services (Lo & Russell, 2007) instead of from their adult children. Lo and Russell (2007) assert that it is no longer appropriate to assume that older Chinese immigrants' ageing needs are being met through traditional family structures and care practices. The common belief that all Chinese families are filially obliged to look after their ageing parents is thus being challenged. Misunderstandings in policy making and service delivery could occur if an outdated belief that Chinese families need less support outside of the family is adhered to. Knowledge of the changing cultures and practices of different ethnic groups and their families is essential.

Third, ethnic communities play an important role in older Chinese migrants' ageing in place. Researchers have maintained that many immigrant groups, upon first arrival in a new country, prefer to live in close proximity to people from the same

ethnic background (Harsman, 2006; Zang, 2000). Such neighbourhoods are often characterised by the increasing presence of stores selling food and other goods that the immigrant is familiar with and services in the immigrant's home language (Ho, Cheung, Bedford, & Leung, 2000; Murdie, 2002). These culturally orientated shops and services allow immigrants to make use of the social capital inherit in the network (Borjas, 1998). Ethnic neighbourhoods can provide a basis for community building and social support for older immigrants. Nevertheless, community services that provide activities and programmes supporting older Chinese immigrants to age in place have been under-researched.

These issues indicate that more culturally attuned research is needed about ageing in place among older Chinese immigrants. The present research is designed to explore older Chinese migrants' experiences of ageing in place, including where they prefer to live, the role of family support, and community programmes that support older Chinese immigrants' integration into New Zealand society and for remaining in place. The exploration will underline the importance of involving older Chinese immigrants in planning and implementing their own care.

As discussed in Chapter 1, this doctoral research is hybrid in terms of the concepts and theories, but also the methodology. In the next chapter, I will present conversations between the Western narrative and the Chinese narrative, developing a set of narrative interviewing techniques and analysis methods that reflect hybrid methodologies.

4 METHODOLOGY

The choice of a narrative method in this research is informed by symbolic interactionism. Narrative psychologists have argued that narrative construction is a core human means of making sense of and giving meaning to the world through temporality (Murray, 2000). As Polkinghorne (1988) states, narrative is "the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful" (p. 1). Narrative meaning-making is a process that organises life experiences into temporally meaningful episodes. Although life experiences do not have an inherent narrative structure, they are given meanings through narrative (Flick, 2006).

The process of constructing a narrative enables individuals to give meaning to the constant changes in their lives, to connect the past to the present, and to claim identities (Murray, 2000; Riessman, 1993). The study of ageing narratives has gained scholarly attention in recent years (Flick, Fischer, Neuber, Schwartz, & Walter, 2003; Murray, Pullman, & Rodgers, 2003; Paulson & Willig, 2008). This interest in narrative is related to increasing awareness of the role storytelling plays in shaping ageing phenomena (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). Meanwhile, this general interest in ageing storytelling in psychology has been expanded to research on the immigrant ageing population. For example, Forbat (2003) utilised narrative interviewing to explore the intersections of dementia, ethnicity and family care in South Asian and African Caribbean families in the UK. Washington and Moxley (2008) incorporated multiple forms of narrative, including performative features, to promote public awareness of older African American women who were homeless in the USA. Following this methodological trend, the present research employs the narrative approach to make sense of the older Chinese immigrants' everyday life.

This chapter explores the concept and structure of the Western narrative. I also consider the characteristics of the Chinese narrative and link the Chinese narrative to the Western narrative interviewing. *Fangtan* is promoted as a Chinese narrative interview technique. I present the procedure of data collection and analysis and discuss the quality of narrative data. This chapter is positioned within the growing body of literature that has questioned traditional Western approaches, to researching on/for/with minority people, which place the culture of an ethnic group at the centre of the inquiry *by* the researcher (Tillman, 2002). From an angle of cultural psychology (Valsiner, 2009), this chapter highlights the usefulness of researching older Chinese migrants through their eyes and in their words.

One common feature of the different research traditions and methodological branches of qualitative research is that almost every method can be traced back to two roots: to a specific theoretical approach and to a specific issue for which the method is developed (Flick, 2000). *Fangtan* is developed within the context of researching into a specific issue of older Chinese immigrants' housing experience. *Fangtan* identifies an interview form of reciprocity and empowering which Elbow (1986) terms as "connected knowing" in which the "knower is attached to the known" (p. 147). In other words, the concerns, interests and agenda of the researcher (the knower) become the concerns, interest and agenda of the participant (the known) (Bishop, 2005). Hogan (1988) writes about the research relationship in a similar way. Hogan believes that empowering relationships involve "feelings of connectedness" that are developed in situations of equality, caring and mutual purpose and intention. Through the connected knowing, the researcher and the participant establish a relationship which is characterised by an absence of the need to separate, distance and to insert pre-determined thought patterns, methods and formulas between the researcher and the participant (Hushunius, 1996). The connected knowing can assist the researcher to avoid the situation, as Chamberlain (2009) and Valsiner (2006) describe, where the researcher loses sight of the psychological phenomenon of interest, focusing instead on data collections and methods where the persons and their worlds disappear from view.

The narrative approach

Researchers have suggested that the world is a storied place that people construct as they live their lives (Murray, 1997b). As Atkinson (1998) claims, it is important in trying to understand people's position in life or description of themselves and their relationships to and interactions with others, and to let them speak for and about themselves. If a researcher wants to know the unique experiences, perspective, and relationships of a person, there is no better way to obtain this than from the individual's own life stories. These stories often reveal key strands in the cobweb self.

The term "narrative" carries many meanings and is used in a variety of ways by different disciplines. While no simple definition of narrative exists to cover all applications, narratives can be understood as stories "organised around

consequential events" (Riessman, 1993, p. 3). I employ Hermanns' (1995) description which characterises a narrative as:

> First the initial situation is outlined ("how everything started"), then the events relevant to the narrative are selected from the whole host of experiences and presented as a coherent progression of event ("how things developed"), and finally the situation at the end of the development is presented ("what became"). (p. 183)

This definition indicates that a narrative tells not only about past actions but also how the person understands these actions, namely, gives them meaning (Riessman, 1993). Narrative structures events into a plot which refers to the storyline that connects the consequential events in the narrative (Herman & Veraeck, 2001) and within which a particular meaning is interwoven (Murray, 1997b). As Frye (1957) proclaims, the plot helps organise the stories people live and tell. Frye concludes that there are four dominant mythic forms of plot in Western literature: romance, comedy, tragedy and satire. In "romance", a hero faces a series of challenges en route to his goal and eventual victory, and the essence of the journey is the struggling itself. The goal of "comedy" is a reinstatement of social order, and the hero must have the requisite social skills to overcome the hazards that threaten that order. In "tragedy", the hero is defeated by the forces of evil and excluded from society. The "satire" provides a sceptical perspective on social domination. Murray (1985) provides insights into the application of these myths to everyday life. He suggests that these myths not only apply to the actions of actors in the theatre, but also to human actors in everyday life. The four forms of plot are interpretive frames which can be applied to both fiction and everyday stories.

Based on this Western literature model, Gergen and Gergen (1986) conceptualise three broad narrative structures of the development of the plot over time—the progressive narrative, the regressive narrative, and the stable narrative. In a progress narrative, progress towards the achievement of a particular goal state is enhanced. In a regressive narrative, there is a course of deterioration or decline. In the stable narrative, the plot is steady, and there is no change that occurs (*cf.*, Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998).

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Regardless of how researchers conceptualise narrative structures, plots have proved significant in organising events. It is through plots that events are sequenced into narratives. Five sociolinguistic features of narratives, which Bruner (1997) regards as "a mode of thought" (p. 64) in the narrative analysis, were proposed by Labov and Waletzky (1997) in accordance with the temporal sequence of the events: orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda. Orientation informs the listener about the actors, time, place and situation; complication is the main body of the narrative—the action and event; evaluation is the point of the story; resolution is the result of the event; coda returns the listener to the current moment. The attention that Labov and Waletzky devoted to the linguistic structures and functions of people's narrative serves as a launching pad for diverse explorations of the sociolinguistic features of narratives (Chase 2005). In this sense, how individuals narrate experience, the structure of the narrative, is as important to the meanings they communicate as what they say, the content of the narrative.

Researchers have used forms of plots and structural models to highlight the importance of structure in narrative research. Rather than providing a listing of forms of plots and structural models, in this thesis I seek to develop culturally specific narrative methods for research into older Chinese migrants' everyday lives. In this way, Western-based narrative methods are adapted to different cultural circumstances. Researchers have suggested that the narrative structure differs in different cultures. In his seminal book *Morphology of the Folktale*, for example, Propp (1968) illustrated structural analysis of Russian folklore genres. Propp shows that the Russian fairy tales' structural and formal complexity has no equivalent in the fairy tales either of the Western Europe or the Eastern, non-Slavic, neighbours of Russia because of historical, cultural and social diversities between the countries. Such recognition of the differences of storytelling in different cultures lays the foundation of the discussion of Chinese narratives. The combined features of Western and Chinese narratives are discussed in the next section where I explain the use of culturally orientated narrative interview techniques and analysis methods.

Chinese narratives and the episodic interview

Plaks (1977a, 1977b) suggests that early Chinese literature contains a variety of narrative forms contained within myths, legends, and historical documents. Plaks argues that Chinese narratives are holistically episodically structured. When

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speaking of the narrative structure, the Western scholars often emphasise its unitary form (Plaks, 1977b). Such a unitary feature gives the narrative a coherent sense of having a beginning, a middle, and an end (Flick, 2006). The Western narrative episodes are therefore frequently characterised as stories that begin with how everything starts, which are then followed by how things develop, and finally present the situation at the end of the development (Flick, 2006). In comparison, the Chinese narrative tends to be "holistic episodic", or that it lacks a certain degree of manifestation of artistic unity (Plaks, 1977b). In Chinese narratives, stories move along from one episode to the next in no particular order. The main storyline does not emerge in individual episodes, but from the entire narrative (Lin, 1977).

The structural differences between Chinese and Western narratives suggest that developing culture-specific methodologies is crucial in cultural psychology. The use of the term *culture-specific* is important because it refers to the manifestation or patterns of the psychological phenomenon within the cultural context as unique, rather than maintaining that the psychological phenomenon by itself is unique (Georgas & Mylonas, 2006). As such, Chinese and Western narratives should not be conceptualised as two ends of the cultural dichotomy. For example, the influx of contemporary Western literature and Western popular culture has cast a long shadow over modern Chinese narratives. Therefore, the holistic episodic feature in Chinese narratives can be literally linked to the Western episodic interviewing which was employed for the first and second interviews with my participants.

The theoretical background of the episodic interview is the distinction between episodic and semantic memory, which has been taken up to distinguish episodic from semantic knowledge (Flick, 2000). Episodic knowledge is concerned with knowledge which is linked to concrete circumstances (e.g., time, space, people, events and situations), while semantic knowledge is more abstract and generalised, and decontextualised from specific situations and events. According to Flick (2000), an episodic interview should meet specific criteria. First, it should comprise invitations to recount concrete events which are relevant to the issue under study. Second, it should mention concrete situations in which interviewees can be assumed to have had certain experiences. Third, it should open enough to allow the interviewee to select the episodes or situations he or she wants to recount. In the present research, the episodic interview is used to collect data on the participants' everyday knowledge about their housing.

The use of episodic interview is an *etic*, or outside, approach. Such an *etic* approach involves the interviewer taking existing insights, methods and approaches from Western narratives and adapting these for use in the Chinese context. The Western-based episodic interview is integrated into cultural frames so as to be made more applicable to the cultural context (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010).

Fangtan: A Chinese narrative interview technique

As stated previously, storytelling can differ across cultures. To acknowledge the differences, *fangtan* was used in the third interview in the current research. The use of *fangtan* is an *emic*, or inside, approach. The *emic* approach involves developing insights, methods, and approaches from within a culture by drawing on indigenous knowledge (Hodgetts, Drew et al. 2010). As an indigenous Chinese research method, *fangtan* offers alternatives to the current dominant form of narrative research (*cf.*, Smith, 2003). This section considers the importance of using *fangtan* as a culturally appropriate method and *fangtan*'s feature of doing research *with* rather than *on* people.

There is a growing body of literature that has emphasised the importance of using culturally appropriate research methods (Bishop, 2005; Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010; Kim et al., 2006; Pe-Pua, 2006; Smith, 2003). Many Western-trained non-Western psychologists have reported that they encounter numerous difficulties when they return to their home countries and attempt to employ the knowledge and practices they have obtained from the Western Psychology in their own countries (Kim et al., 2006). They began to question the validity, universality and applicability of Western-based psychological theories and methods, and the scientific model of research on people and communities which tries to build general laws of social phenomena (Gergen, 1973). Through their experiences, these scholars point out that each culture should be understood from its own frame of reference, including its own ecological, historical, philosophical and religious context (Kim et al., 2006).

Pe-Pua (2006), a Filipino psychologist, maintains that many of the Western research topics are not culturally relevant to the needs of non-Western people being studied. Many Western methods may be inappropriate to the ways of the non-Western people since there is an overemphasis on data rather than the process of doing research. Research methods that place more emphasis on data than process are frequently inappropriate in different cultural contexts, including in Western

contexts, if the research is seeking a deeper, more holistic level of understanding about the nature of contemporary pluralistic and multicultural societies. To respond to these challenges, Pe-Pua and other Filipino psychologists have proposed ways of making research more Filipino-oriented. *Pagtatanong-tanong*, for example, is a Filipino interviewing technique they used in research with Filipino participants in the Philippines, the USA and Europe (Pe-Pua, 1989, 2006). Pe-Pua (2006) emphasises that the Filipino-oriented research methods are not imported nor invented, but indigenous. They reflect existing patterns of behaviour which are discovered and developed as research methods.

In a similar vein, Vaioleti (2006), a Pacific researcher, claims that there is a danger in assuming that Western, Eastern and Pacific knowledge has the same origins and construction so that, by implication, the same instruments may be used for collecting and analysing data and constructing new knowledge. For example, research methods that are designed to identify issues in a dominant culture and provide solutions are not necessarily suitable in searching for solutions for Pacific peoples. *Talanoa* has been proposed as an indigenous method in Pacific research. Inspired by Pe-Pua's *pagtatanong-tanong* and the Pacific *talanoa*, I used *fangtan* as an indigenous Chinese narrative interview technique in the third set of interviews I conducted with my participants.

Pe-Pua defines *pagtatanong-tanong* as a Filipino word which means "asking questions". The repetition of *tanong* (question) to *tanong-tanong* indicates apparent casualness. *Pagtatanong-tanong* as an interview technique is interpreted as an informal interview. The use of the local term *pagtatanong-tanong* highlights the importance of tapping into culturally appropriate indigenous research methods without claiming its exclusivity to the particular culture. As Pe-Pua (1989, 2006) asserts, *pagtatanong-tanong* is an everyday practice in Filipino's life. Filipinos are used to spending hours chatting and exchanging questions and ideas. Despite the fact that not many Filipinos are exposed to the interview, all Filipinos are used to *pagtatanong-tanong*.

From a Pacific perspective, *talanoa* can be referred to as a face-to-face conversation, talk and exchange of ideas or thinking, whether formal or informal (Vaioleti, 2006). In *talanoa* research, researchers and participants share not only one another's time, interest, and information, but also the emotions of both parties (Otsuka, 2005). *Talanoa* is collaborative, removes the distance between researchers and participants, and provides participants with a human face they can relate to

(Vaioleti, 2006). In *talanoa,* the researcher and participant are regarded as being equal and inseparable. They both contribute to the discussion and therefore both benefit from the understanding gained from the experience (Prescott, 2008).

Echoing the meaning of the words *pagtatanong-tanong* and *talanoa*, *fangtan*, a Chinese phase, is comprised of two Chinese words: *fang (访)* and *tan (谈). Fang* means interviewing and asking questions, while *Tan* means dialogues and dialogical discussions. Distinct from the Western-based interview which literally translates as *caifang (采访)* or *fangwen (访问)* in the Chinese language, *fangtan* characterises the dialogical discussion between the researcher and the participant instead of the researcher asking questions with a list of questions in hand and the participant responding as in the structured interview which is often dominant in psychological studies. Although similar to *pagtatanong-tanong* and *talanoa*, *fangtan* has its own features in terms of its preparation and procedure.

Narrative interviews in the Western psychology also strive for dialogue and open exchanges between the interviewer and the interviewee. Instead of being determined by a formalised and pre-decided interview structure, the content of unstructured interviews is shaped by what the interviewee tells the researcher and encourages the researcher to respond to the interviewee's question(s) (Opie, 2003). Moreover, ethnographic interviews have a strong focus on interviews as co-construction by interviewers and interviewees (Flick, 2006; Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). Besides *pagtatanong-tanong* and *talanoa,* the use of *fangtan* in this research was also inspired by Murray (1985, 1997b) and Flick (2000, 2006) among many others from the West, and thereby reflects a hybrid approach. It is my endeavour, by drawing on critical social psychology writings, which acknowledge the importance of culture (Chamberlain, 2009; Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2007), to inform the development of a culturally appropriate interview technique for doing research with older Chinese adults.

Chinese people's emotional behaviour is normatively moderate and/or is suppressed altogether. Consequently, Chinese people would not spontaneously open themselves to visitors or strangers as Filipinos and Pacific people do in *pagtatanong-tanong* and *talanoa* respectively. Pe-Pua (2006) argues that Filipinos are used to spending hours chatting and exchanging questions and ideas. Similarly, Pacific people's communal way of living encourages people to have a strong sense of "sharing", "giving", "being generous with others" and "being helpful to visitors and

even strangers" (Otsuka, 2005). In contrast, in the Chinese culture, as Confucius said, "A gentlemen covets the reputation of being slow in word and prompt in deed" (Confucius, 1999, p. 39). When speaking, Confucius believed that "from every word he (a gentleman) utters, from every intonation, he must remove all trace of coarseness and impropriety" (Confucius, 1999, p. 81). Moreover, many texts on Confucianism emphasise that children should be taught "no leaping, arguing, joking, slouching, or using vulgar language" (Wu, 1996, p. 145). Such teachings of Confucianism educate Chinese people, in their everyday lives, not to express their opinions without careful consideration, in particular in front of visitors and strangers. Research has also found that Chinese people believe emotion to be dangerous to social relations, value moderation in all matters, and emphasise social harmony over individual expression (Russel & Yik, 1996; Yik, 2010). Chinese people's suppression of emotion requires *fangtan* researchers to put more effort into establishing rapport with participants, which I will elaborate later in the procedure section.

The Confucian concept of the self provides *fangtan* with a different ontological foundation from the Western-based interview. For Confucianism, the self as "being-in-relations" (see Chapter 2) emphasises a reciprocal relationship between human beings. Relation is not just a concept of connection, but at the same time a declaration of being. Relation is an ontological reality that determines human beings (Hasemhuttl, 1992). *Fangtan* is a culturally patterned method that has parallels in other indigenising methodological approaches. There are other ways to develop rapport between the researcher and the participant. Various strategies are used in standard Western semi-structured interviews. However, *fangtan* was particularly appropriate for building rapport and trust with this group of older Chinese adults and provided rich data. Based upon the ontological reality, the importance of doing research *with* people rather than *on* people (Bishop, 2005; Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010; Smith, 2003) is manifested by four features of *fangtan*.

Participation is the first feature of *fangtan*. Similar to *pagtatanong-tanong* and *talanoa*, the structure of *fangtan* is not predetermined by the researcher. The participatory nature promotes shared ownership of the research project between the researcher and the participant (Pe-Pua, 1989; Smith, 2003). It affords the participant the opportunity to be actively involved in the dialogical process of *fangtan*. Instead of a listing of questions, a tentative *fangtan* outline of topics to be covered is desired. The outline is revised and improved during *fangtan* as a new and richer perspective, to which the participant has a key input, is opened up. To foster a more spontaneous

dialogical interaction, for instance, I memorised the outline rather than having the outline in hand.

The second feature of *fangtan* is equality of status between the researcher and participants. *Fangtan* features constant reversal roles between the researcher and the participant during the dialogical interaction. The participant is encouraged to ask the researcher questions, while the researcher is persuaded to share his or her opinions with the participant. This practice is established in the belief that the participant is not someone from whom the researcher just extracts data and then leaves behind. The participant wants to satisfy his or her own curiosity to get to know the researcher better (Pe-Pua, 1989) and to enrich his or her knowledge related to the research. In so doing, interviews as social interactions become inter-actions between the researcher and the interviewee, through which they develop inter-views (Farr, 1982). In *fangtan*, as the participant is free to ask the researcher as many questions as he or she wants (*cf.*, Pe-Pua, 2006), the researcher and the participant could be viewed as a research group. The participant learns how to do *fangtan*, having a say over the *fangtan* outline, deciding what the preferred outputs and outcomes of *fangtan* are, and having ownership of *fangtan*. Participants therefore also act much like researchers. Moreover, in *fangtan*, time management is a shared responsibility of the researcher and the participant. The beginning, middle and end, as well as the length of the *fangtan* session might not be very clear and predictable. The practice of shared time management can be very time-consuming. For example, in the present research, the longest *fangtan* was three and a half hours. The investment of time is, usually, a worthwhile investment in terms of quality of data especially for more interpretative qualitative research.

It is pertinent to stress at this point that, in interviews, there is an asymmetrical relationship of power between the researcher who expects or is expected to do the interview and the interviewee who expects or is expected to be interviewed (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). For example, as a younger person and an academic researcher, I have higher status than my participants and privileges to interpret their stories. The strategies of sharing my experiences with my participants and mutual time management give them a greater sense of equality of status between them and myself and of control over the interview, and facilitate them to narrate their stories.

The third feature of *fangtan* is the insider relationship between the researcher and participants. In Chinese cultures, under the influence of Confucianism,

individuals tend to perceive the self as integrated within society; the self cannot be removed from one's interpersonal networks (Hwang, 2006). There are two categories of the relationship between the self and others in the network: the insider and outsider (Scollon & Scollon, 1994). Chinese people make clear distinction between insiders and outsiders, and this distinction exists in all levels of social interaction (Gao, 1996). The insider means *ziji ren (自己人)* or one of us, while the outsider means *wai ren (外人)* or one outside of us. The five common criteria of an insider are being nice, trustworthy, caring, helpful and empathetic (Gao & Ting-Toomey, 1998). Insiders often are treated differently from outsiders and a person with insider status often possesses privileges and special treatments over an outsider. For example, a Chinese person may go beyond his or her means to help an insider, whereas an outsider has to follow the rules (Gao, 1996; Gao & Ting-Toomey, 1998). In the context of research, if the researcher is regarded as an insider, he or she can expect the relationship between the participant and himself or herself as being in-rapport, understanding, acceptance, mutual trust, getting involved and being one-of-us. To involve with the participant as an insider, sufficient preparation for *fangtan* is required, which will be discussed later in the procedure section. A cultural insider may well undertake research in a more sensitive and responsive manner than an outsider. However, there are concerns that insiders are inherently biased, or that they are too close to the culture to ask critical questions (Bishop, 2005). Efforts have been made in the present research to minimise the bias, for example, the choice of two European supervisors. Throughout the process of the research, the supervisors encouraged me to search and re-search cultural relevance and significance which might be taken for granted from my own observations.

The fourth feature of *fangtan* is the use of the Chinese language. It shares the similarity with the language use in *pagtatanong-tanong.* Pe-Pua (2006) argues that full use of the native language of the participant is integral to *pagtatanong-tanong*. It is also essential to *fangtan* in terms of its dialogical nature. Through the Chinese language, participants can best and comfortably express their ideas, emotions, beliefs and attitudes. Moreover, the use of the Chinese language can lead to the richness of the cultural concept which is more meaningful when being embedded in the Chinese language (*cf.*, Pe-Pua, 2006).

Differing from the Western culture in which boundaries between the self and others are fixed, in the Chinese culture boundaries between the insider and the outsider are shifting (Ho, Holmes, & Cooper, 2004). A bilingual and bicultural non-

Chinese researcher could become an insider of the Chinese community through his or her efforts. In addition, because collaboration with researchers from outside the community has certain advantages, a team approach is also desired in *fangtan.* For example, my supervisors and I formed a research team involving both insiders and outsiders. Such a team approach to *fangtan* draws different expertise, which leads to a different dialogue and more critical thinking. The team approach can utilise the outsider perspective as well as the insider perspective to interpret the research (Harrison, 2001).

The use of episodic interview and *fangtan* in the present research integrates both *etic* and *emic* approaches and bridges Western and Eastern perspectives. Such a combined approach provides increased insights which draw on both the inside and outside and reflects the notion that "the relationship between emic and etic approaches is symbiotic" (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010, p. 129). The *emic* approach (*fangtan*) allows for the understanding and development of cultural concepts and insights that might be missed by the outside approach. The *emic* approach also assists Western narrative researchers who Chase (2005) believes need to "learn from the ways in which non-Westerners narrate the self, narrate group identity" (p. 670). The *etic* approach (the episodic interview) allows for dialogues between the Western and Chinese narratives (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). Using both *etic* and *emic* approaches together adds depth and diversity in perspective to the present research.

Participants

In this research, the term "older Chinese immigrant" refers to people who are currently staying in New Zealand with permanent residency or New Zealand citizenship, and who immigrated to New Zealand from PRC under the family reunion programme, and are 65 years of age and over. I defined participants by their chronological age of 65 years and over when they were eligible for New Zealand superannuation. However, it is also important to recognise that older age cannot be defined, simply, in terms of chronological age but also involves both psychological and social age (Victor, 2005).

A total of 32 participants, 18 females and 14 males, ranging in age from 62 to 77 years participated in the present research. Three participants were under 65 years of age, but were recruited with their husbands who were aged over 65 years.

These wives were interested in participating in the research along with their husbands. All participants had lived in New Zealand for less than 15 years. By and large, the participants moved to New Zealand to assist with caring for grandchildren. On arrival in New Zealand, all participants lived in the homes of their adult children. At the time of the first interview in 2008, 10 participants lived with their adult children; 22 participants lived with their spouse only or lived alone, 7 of these lived in state houses while 14 lived in private rentals and 1 lived in a retirement village. None of the participants owned their homes in New Zealand. Of the 32 participants, 10 no longer had children living in New Zealand.

All participants became retirees before they moved to New Zealand. Prior to retirement and moving to New Zealand, 22 were employed as professionals including engineers, health professionals and teachers; nine were managers; and one was a factory worker. With respect to the participants' work history, they worked from the early 1950s to the early and mid-1990s. Their working lives spanned two main periods in the history of China's economic development. The first was from the 1950s to the 1970s, during which China began the difficult process of industrialisation. The second started from the 1980s when China carried out the *Reform and Open-Up Policy* to focus on its economic development (Ma, 1991). As a result, the participants' incomes were relatively low throughout their working years in China even though they had professional backgrounds. A large majority of the participants claimed that they had few savings before they moved to New Zealand.

Compared to the 92 percent of New Zealanders aged 65 and over who receive New Zealand Superannuation (NZS) (Paul, Rashbrook, & Rea., 2006), at the time of the first interview, none participants were eligible for NZS. The participants' primary source of income was the means-tested emergency grants, a form of social benefit in New Zealand, of no more than NZ$10,000 per annum. The emergency grant would not continue if the participants who received the grant were absent from New Zealand for more than 28 days (Work and Income, 2007). None of the participants had pensions from the Chinese Government. A majority had retirement incomes from China of no more than NZ$5,000 per annum, which were deducted from emergency grants they received in New Zealand. The median annual income is NZ$15,000 for the 65 and over population in New Zealand (Paul et al., 2006), three-quarters of whom own their homes (Davey, 2006). My participants' annual income levels are significantly lower than those of the overall ageing population in New Zealand. The participants' low incomes are consistent with the findings of other

studies of older Chinese migrants living in Western countries (Chappell & Kusch, 2007, Ip et al., 2007).

To ensure anonymity pseudonyms have been used. Table 1 offers a summary of the participants' profiles. A description of individual participants' profiles is presented below.

Chan was a 69-year-old female who had lived in New Zealand for four months. Chan moved to New Zealand because her daughter wanted to reunify with her. She currently lived with her daughter's family and would like to return to China after obtaining the Indefinite Returning Visa.

Lee was a 70-year-old male; Xia, his wife, was 66 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for seven years and four months. They moved to New Zealand to assist with the care of their grandchildren. They were currently living with their daughter's family. Lee and Xia would like to return to China in the future.

Huang was a 66-year-old male who had lived in New Zealand for six years and nine months. Huang moved to New Zealand with his wife to assist with the care of their grandchildren. They lived with his daughter's family when they first arrived in New Zealand, and then lived in a private rental house by themselves. They currently lived in their daughter's investment property to look after the house and tenants. Huang would like to live in a communal house in New Zealand in his later life, with his Chinese peers, where they could look after one another.

Wei was a 69-year-old female who had lived in New Zealand for eight years and two months. Wei moved to New Zealand because her son wanted her to enjoy her retired life in New Zealand. She had been living with her son's family since she moved to New Zealand. Wei would like to continue to live with her son's family in her later life.

Bai and his wife, Ling, were both 73 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for ten years and five months. They moved to New Zealand to assist with the care of their grandchildren. They lived with their daughter in a state house when they first arrived in New Zealand. They continued living in the house after their daughter moved overseas. Their children all lived outside New Zealand. Bai and Ling had not decided where to live in their later life.

Yuan was a 67-year-old male; Quan, his wife, was 62 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for eight years and one month. They moved to New Zealand to

care for their grandchildren. They had lived with their daughter since they moved to New Zealand and until their daughter moved overseas two years previously. Their children all lived outside New Zealand. Yuan and Quan currently lived in a house rented from their children. They would like to age in this home.

Ming was a 76-year-old male; Jiao, his wife, was 70 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for five years and eight months. They moved to New Zealand to help look after their grandchildren. They had lived with their children's families since they first arrived in New Zealand. Ming and Jiao would like to age in New Zealand in a state house.

Fang and his wife, Hong, were both 75 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for ten years and eight months. They moved to New Zealand because their daughters would like them to enjoy New Zealand's weather and amicable environment. They lived with their daughter when they first arrived in New Zealand. They moved into a state house after their children moved overseas. Their children all lived outside New Zealand. Fang and Hong would like to age in this home.

Qian was a 68-year-old male who had lived in New Zealand for seven years. Qian moved to New Zealand with his wife to assist with the care of their grandchildren. They lived with their daughter when they first arrived in New Zealand. They moved out of their daughter's house and lived a private rental house after their grandchildren became old enough to go to primary school. Qian would like to live in a retirement village with his Chinese friends in his later life.

Tian was a 69-year-old male who had lived in New Zealand for eight years. Tian moved to New Zealand with his wife to help look after their grandchildren. He had lived with his daughter's family since he moved to New Zealand. Tian had not decided where to live in his later life. He would probably return to China.

Zhuang was a 65-year-old male; Dan, his wife, was 63 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for eight years and eight months. They moved to New Zealand for looking after their grandchildren. They had lived with their son's or daughter's family since they moved to New Zealand. They would like to live in a New Zealand retirement village with their Chinese peers in the future.

Sheng was a 74-year-old male; Hua, his wife, was 70 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for six years. They moved to New Zealand to look after their grandchildren. They first lived with their daughter's family. They currently lived in a private rental house. They would like to stay on in New Zealand in their later life.

Dong was a 76-year-old male; Xing, his wife, was 68 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for five years and seven months. They moved to New Zealand to be reunified with their son. They lived with their son when they first arrived in New Zealand and were currently living in a private rental house. They would like to live in this home in their later life.

Ping was a 73-year-old widow who had lived in New Zealand for seven years. Ping and her late husband moved to New Zealand because their daughter would like to reunify with them. They lived with their daughter when they first arrived in New Zealand. Ping was currently living alone in a state house. Her children all lived outside New Zealand. Ping would like to age in this home.

Lang was a 77-year-old female who had lived in New Zealand for nine years and seven months. Lang moved to New Zealand with her husband to look after their grandchildren. She had lived with her son's family since she moved to New Zealand. Regarding where to live in the future, Lang on one hand would like return to China when she becomed very old or sick as a falling leaf returning home. On the other, Lang would like to live in New Zealand because she viewed New Zealand as part of who she was.

Cheng was a 75-year-old male; Mei, his wife, was 70 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for nine years and three months. They moved to New Zealand because their son would like them to enjoy their retired life in New Zealand. They lived with their son in a state house when they first arrived in New Zealand. They continued living in the house after their son moved overseas. Their children all lived outside New Zealand. Cheng and Mei would like to return to China in their later lives.

Xue was a 73-year-old female who had lived in New Zealand for nine years and seven months. Xue moved to New Zealand to help take care of her grandchildren. Xue had lived with her daughter until her daughter moved overseas. Her children all lived overseas. She currently lived in a private rental house. Xue would like to age in New Zealand in a state house.

Jian was a 69-year-old male; Yi, his wife, was 63 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for nine years. They moved to New Zealand to look after their grandchildren. They lived with their son's family when they first moved to New Zealand. They currently lived in their son's investment property to look after the house and tenants. They wanted to age in New Zealand in a state house.

Table 1. Summary of participants' profile

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Reasons for migration			Living with children on arrival	Living arrangements in the 1st interview				No children in NZ	*Fangtan*
			Care for grandchildren	Family reunification	Enjoy life		Living with children	State house	Private rental	Retirement village		
Chan	F	69		√		√	√					√
Lee	M	70	√			√	√					
Xia	F	66	√			√	√					
Huang	M	66	√			√			√			
Wei	F	69			√	√	√					√
Bai	M	73	√			√		√			√	
Ling	F	73	√			√		√			√	
Yuan	M	67	√			√			√		√	
Quan	F	62	√			√			√		√	
Ming	M	76	√			√	√					√
Jiao	F	70	√			√	√					√
Fang	M	75			√	√		√			√	√
Hong	F	75			√	√		√			√	√
Qian	M	68	√			√			√			
Tian	M	69	√			√	√					√
Zhuang	M	65	√			√	√					
Dan	F	63	√			√	√					
Sheng	M	74	√			√			√			
Hua	F	70	√			√			√			
Dong	M	76		√		√			√			
Xing	F	68		√		√			√			
Ping	F	73		√		√		√			√	√
Lang	F	77	√			√	√					
Cheng	M	75			√	√		√			√	
Mei	F	70			√	√		√			√	
Xue	F	73	√			√			√		√	
Jian	M	69	√			√			√			
Yi	F	63	√			√			√			
Dai	M	67			√	√			√			
Zhao	F	65			√	√			√			
Tong	F	70		√		√			√			√
Fen	F	68	√			√				√		√
Total			20	5	7	32	10	7	14	1	10	10

Dai was a 67-year-old male; Zhao, his wife, was 65 years old. They had lived in New Zealand for three years. They moved to New Zealand because their son believed that New Zealand's weather was good for their health. They lived with their son when they first arrived in New Zealand. They currently lived in a private rental house. They would like to stay in New Zealand as long as possible. They planned to return to China when they becomed very old or very sick as falling leaves returning their roots.

Tong was a 70-year-old widow who had lived in New Zealand for twelve years and six months. She moved to New Zealand because her son did not want her to live in China alone. Tong had lived with her son's family when she first arrived in New Zealand. She was currently living alone in a private rental house. Tong would like to age in this home.

Fen was a 68-year-old female who had lived in New Zealand for eight years and five months. Fen moved to New Zealand to look after her grandchildren. She lived with her son's family when she first arrived in New Zealand. She had lived in private rental houses for several years until she moved into her current house in a retirement village. Fen wanted to age in the retirement village.

Research processes

The present research is committed to upholding high ethical standards. It was conducted according to the principles of the New Zealand Psychologists' Code of Ethics (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002). Ethical approval was granted by the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee, the University of Waikato.

Prior to the interviews, community consultation and presentations were carried out to provide information about the research to a range of Chinese community groups and organisations in Auckland and Hamilton. Eight groups (e.g., Chinese associations, Chinese churches, Tai Chi groups and community English programmes) agreed to refer potential participants to me. Auckland was chosen as a research site because it is an urban area with relatively high Chinese concentrations and has well established community projects which have helped older Chinese people integrate into the local community. Hamilton was chosen because it represented a community with medium concentrations of older Chinese people.

These research sites were convenient for me, and this facilitated efforts to build rapport and expand existing networks in the Chinese community.

The initial phone or personal contact was aimed at obtaining potential participants' agreement to participate in what was presented as "a study about life stories of housing among Chinese immigrants in your age group, for the purpose of writing a doctoral thesis". In phone or face-to-face conversations, I informed participants that three meetings of about two hours each would be conducted at their convenience during the period of April 2008 to September 2009. A total of 48 older Chinese adults were approached via phone or in person, 32 of who agreed to participate in the research. The remaining 16 refused, usually because of a lack of interest or time.

I assured the potential participants at this early stage that any information that could identify them would not appear in my thesis or other publications. Such assurance of confidentiality was brought up again at the beginning of the initial interview and towards the end of *fangtan*. For those participants who agreed to participate, I sent them an Information Sheet (see Appendix A and Appendix B for Chinese translations). The Information Sheet, written in English and Chinese, described the background of the research and the rights of the participants. In the following sections, I will, in detail, describe the procedure of episodic interview, go-along interview and *fangtan*.

The two episodic interviews and *fangtan* form, in Seidman's (2006) term, a "three-interview series". Echoing Seidman's strategies of the three-interview series, my first interview was designed to focus on the life history of the participant, asking the participant to provide an account of his or her past life (e.g., histories of immigration and housing). The second interview focused on the concrete aspects of the participant's present experiences (e.g., home maintenance and support). The third interview (*fangtan*) moved on to the participant's reflection on his or her experiences (e.g., understandings and reflection of filial piety and ageing in place).

Episodic interviews

The episodic interviews were conducted from April to October 2008. They were based on an interview guide (see Appendix C and Appendix D for Chinese translations), which oriented the interview to the topical domains of housing and filial piety for which narratives were required. The interview guide was developed from my

own experience of immigrant housing and previous studies. At this stage, it was important to develop a preliminary understanding of housing and filial piety so that relevant areas were covered, and questions were formulated. The interview guide was left open enough to accommodate any new aspects that emerged in the interview (Flick, 2000).

In his discussion of episodic interviews, Flick (2000) states that "it has proved to be useful to examine the (interview) guide and the questions in one or two test interviews" (p. 79). Before the main study was undertaken, two test interviews were conducted. It was intended to identify whether the questions in the interview guide were easily understood and suitable for investigating housing experiences. Participant recruitment and procedures of the test interview are reported in Appendix E.

All interviews were carried out in the participants' houses in consideration of the nature of the research which investigated the participants' housing experiences. The husband and the wife were interviewed at the same time upon their request. The interviews did not proceed until the participants assured me that they understood the research and their involvement in the research, and that the Consent Forms (see Appendix F and Appendix G for Chinese translations) were signed. All interviews were expected to be digitally recorded with permission from the participants. Twenty-one out of 32 participants agreed to be digitally recorded. The reasons for declining recording given by the participants included that their voices were not beautiful, that their speech would not be logically arranged or that they simply did not want to be recorded. Either Mandarin or Cantonese was used in the interviews depending on what the participants preferred.

The first interview discussed the participant's immigration history, history of the house, everyday experiences at home and in the community, and perception of home, neighbourhood and wider community. I also asked the participants to offer me a house tour which will be discussed in the next section. In order to contextualise the narratives received from the participants, personal information was collected during the meeting (*cf.*, Flick, 2000). It included information about the interview (when and where) and about the participant (name, gender, age, home city in China, employment status, profession and income sources). The second meeting focused on home maintenance and modification, support, and intention to move. My impressions, of the situation of the meetings and the participant in particular, were also recorded in my field notes.

Murray (1997b) and Cornwell (1984) have suggested that in some cases participants strive to wear their "best face" during interviews. In so doing, they are not attempting to mislead the interviewer, but at this time of uncertainty they seek security by producing non-controversial "public accounts" instead of may-be-risky "private accounts" (Murray, 1997b). As Cornwell (1984) points out, during the first meeting, the participants often put on their best faces to reproduce cultural normative patterns. These patterns represent public accounts which are "sets of meanings in common social currency that reproduce and legitimise the assumptions people take for granted about the nature of social reality" (Cornwell, 1984, p. 15). The opposite of a public account is a private account which is derived directly from personal experiences and from the thoughts and feelings accompanying these experiences. A single meeting or interview might not allow enough time for any more than public accounts of people's lives.

It is worth noting that participants providing private accounts also depend on the context of the interview. The context changes, the researcher-participant relationship changes too. For example, in the case of Sheng and Hua who were interviewed together in the first meeting, Sheng presented himself as a supportive husband who helped in cooking lunch (see Figure 5 in the visual analysis section). However, when Sheng was absent in the second meeting, Hua provided me with a private account in which Sheng was not as supportive as he presented in the first meeting. I imagine that with Sheng's presence, Hua's private account about their family life would not have been produced; instead, a public account of a happy couple would have been presented. This suggests that interviewing a couple at the same time has its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the elements of family dynamics and of discussion between the couple are highlighted when couple-interviewing is conducted. On the other hand, couple-interviewing may not be helpful in producing private accounts, in particular, about the issues related to domestic relations.

During the interval between interviews, participants often think about what has been discussed in a previous interview. For example, in the second interview, Huang showed me a picture which he drew during the interval of the first and second interviews, a picture of a house he dreamed about (see Figure 1). In the house, he designed a Chinese vegetable garden, fruit garden, flower garden, fish pond, Chinese pavilion and play ground. This suggests that the interview not only functions as research data collection tool, but also prompts the participant to think and rethink

over his or her life through post-interview self-narration. As Chase (2005) claims, such a self-narration can lead to "personal emancipation" (p. 668)—to "better" stories of life difficulties and to provide alternative versions of one's identity or life events.

The final step of the episodic interviews was devoted to its evaluation by the participants (Flick, 2000). For example, I asked "What was missing from the interviews that could have given you an opportunity to voice your point of view?" or "Was there anything bothering you during the interview?" It seemed fruitful to add a period of small talk to allow the participant to comment on the interview method by asking questions such as "What do you feel about the interview method?" and "Do you have any comments on the interview method?" Overall, the participants enjoyed talking about their everyday experiences in a storytelling form. For example, Huang reported, "The questions were used as a guide. I also had freedom to talk about what I wanted to talk about. I felt free to talk about something you did not ask."
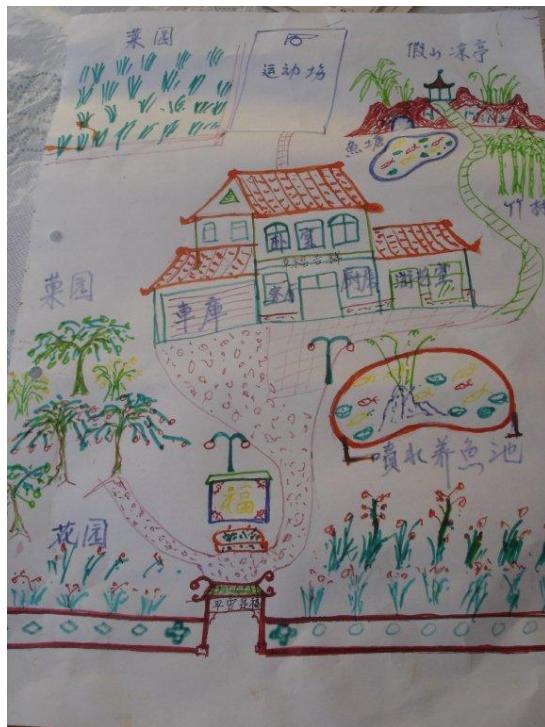
Figure 1. Huang's drawing of his future home

Integrating a go-along technique into episodic interviews

With the participant's permission, a house tour was undertaken in the first or second meeting and I took photographs of objects and spaces that the participants felt were

important. During the house tours, I informed the participants that I would like to be able to take photographs in their homes. They pointed out where and what they wanted me to take photos for them and explained why they would like to picture these places or objects. In later meetings, I brought the photos back to the participants and we discussed the photos together. In the process, they critically reflected on their situations. Such photo-based interviews can be regarded as conversations more about the meaning attached to the photographs than about the photographs per se as aesthetic objects.

The house tours involved aspects of what is commonly termed "go-along" interview, which enables researchers to accompany participants through, and to become familiar with, their environments and what spaces and objects are considered as important and meaningful to them, and where particular everyday practices take place (Carpiano, 2009). Researchers can explore participants' places with them and prompt the participants to reveal the history and personal relevance of particular domestic spaces in their everyday lives that would be likely to be missed by casual observers (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010).

The go-along interview, as Carpiano (2009) has put it, is a form of in-depth qualitative interview that is conducted by researchers accompanying individual participants in their familiar environments. In the present research, the go-along interview involved interviewing the participants while receiving tours of their houses and gardens. In this regard, I "walked through" the participants' lived experiences of their homes. Through asking questions and observing, I was able to examine the participants' experiences, interpretations, and practices within this environment. Thus, as a means of obtaining responses from the participants while they actively inhabit specific contexts, the go-along interview is a unique tool to examine how physical, social and cultural dimensions of place interact within and across time and space for the participants (Carpiano, 2009).

As reported by the participants, the house tour was one of the highlights of the interviews. This was evident when Chan reflected at the end of the second interview. She asserted that the tour gave her a chance to think of, and better understand, her relationship with her home. This assertion supports Carpiano's (2009) proposition that "the go-along reflects Georg Simmel's relational perspectives on how space (e.g., distance) serves as a context for individual and group action, as well as the creation of social types (e.g., stranger) and social forms (e.g., exchange and conflict)" (p. 264, parentheses in original).

Fangtan interviews

Fangtan in this research took place in the third meeting with the participants. The first and second meetings mainly used the Western-based episodic interviewing to collect concrete everyday stories of the participants. Those two meetings offered me rich narrative data. *Fangtan* were conducted from April to September 2009 and required considerable preparation. The preparation comprised preliminary analysis of the two episodic interviews with each participant, involvement in the participants' community activities, and offering photos I took in previous meetings to the participants as gifts. The episodic interviews also acted as an essential part of the preparation of *fangtan*. It was through the preliminary analysis of the data collected from the episodic interviews I created a picture of the participants' everyday experiences in a new country.

Fangtan were conducted about 12 months after the second episodic interviews. Ten participants who represented different backgrounds (e.g., duration of residence in New Zealand, health condition, gender etc.) were selected for *fangtan*. During the interval between the second interview and *fangtan*, I met informally with the participants, observed the community activities they participated in, practiced Tai Chi and Chinese waist-drumming (see Figure 2) with them, learned to grow Chinese vegetables from them (see Figure 3), or kept in touch with them via email or phone from time to time. Such involvement not only helped me select *fangtan* participants and to better understand them, but also provided me with opportunities to become more "one of them." During the interview interval, I returned to my research sites to either briefly report on my preliminary findings or deliver verification presentations. Those reports and presentations were well received by the attendees. They remarked that that was a good gesture since they were not expecting that they would have opportunities to offer feedback to and comments on my research. Some of the audience who were not my participants even asked me whether they could participate in my research as they would like to discuss their own understandings of filial piety.

Instead of offering vouchers to the participants to thank them for the time they invested in the research, I offered them photos of their homes. The exchange of the photographs was a good way to begin the *fangtan*. The photographs were appreciated and some participants told me that they would frame the photos so that they could keep the good memories of participating in this research. When looking at

Figure 2. Chinese drumming

Figure 3. My Chinese vegetables

Figure 4. Tian's wife weeding a Chinese vegetable bed

the photographs in which his wife was weeding a Chinese vegetable bed (see Figure 4), for example, Tian initiated a discussion on my preliminary findings.

It was through the preparation that a higher level of rapport and mutual trust was attained. It was also through the preparation that the participants came to regard me as an insider. They were more open to share their stories. In *fangtan*, for example, three participants who did not agree to be digitally recorded in the episodic interviews gave me permission to record the *fangtan*s.

Specifically, the procedure of *fangtan* comprised four steps. The first was developing a *fangtan* outline (see Appendix H and Appendix I for Chinese translation) which reported preliminary analysis of the episodic interviews, explained the method of *fangtan*, and discussed photographs taken in previous interviews and topics related to filial piety and ageing in place. The discussion topics included expectations of filial piety, what filial piety means to the participant, and expectations of support for their ageing in place. The second step was to conduct *fangtan with* the participants. As stated previously, the participants were encouraged to ask me questions and I openly shared my own thoughts and feelings with them. The questions the participants asked me included my understandings of filial piety, my immigration experiences, and my career plans after completing my PhD. The third step was to invite the participants to talk about developments and further thoughts regarding the issues we had discussed since the last meeting. The most frequently mentioned issue was that they would appreciate it if I could conduct research into older Chinese migrants' health in the future. The final step was to reflect on *fangtan.* I shared my reflections with the participants and asked them to share their reflections with me.

Analyses

Interview note-taking and transcribing were the fundamental steps towards my data analysis. For the participants who did not agree to the episodic interviews being recorded, I took notes in Chinese during the interviews and added as many details as possible soon after the interviews. Recorded interviews were transcribed in Chinese. Preliminary data analysis was processed in Chinese and translated into English for further analysis using holistic structural, thematic and visual techniques.

Holistic structural analysis

As mentioned previously, Chinese narratives move along from one episode to the next in no particular order. The main plot often does not emerge from a single episode, but from the entire narrative. It is, therefore, appropriate to focus on the analysis of the narrative as a whole employing a "holistic structural analysis" (Lieblich et al., 1998). Holistic structural analysis finds its clearest expression in looking at the plots or structure of complete stories, focusing on the plot development which reflects the storyteller's construction of his or her evolving life experience (Lieblich et al., 1998; Riessman, 2008). The objective in this analysis approach is to sketch out a structure of the narratives for this group of older Chinese migrants. Such structures, out of which the participants' stories are composed, enable readers to follow the stories and determine what is important to the storytellers (Riessman, 2008).

Through translating the transcriptions from Chinese into English, I chronologically rearranged participant accounts from the two or three interview meetings. This process generated 32 chronological biographical narratives—one narrative for each participant. It is worth pointing out that the complexity of life experiences warrants the complexity of main plots of narratives. The chronological biographical narratives of the participants revealed not only a single main plot, but main plots. Practically, I used Labov and Waletzky's (1997) five sociolinguistic features of narrative to identify main plots of each narrative. Take the plot of home making as an example. First, I looked at the orientation which gave background information about the participant's narrative of immigration and housing. Second, I analysed the complication which comprised a series events, such as gardening. Third, I moved on to search for evaluative statements which revealed the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others, for instance, the statement that "I desperately miss my birthplace." Fourth, I paid attention to resolution which was the result of immigration and housing, such as Lee's account that "I have my own garden here in New Zealand." Finally, I identified the coda which returned to the current situation, for instance, Lee's statement that "growing Chinese vegetables brings me lots of joy and fun."

After identifying the main plots of each chronological biographical narrative, I looked across the accounts of all participants to identity the narrative structure of this group. Analytically, the titles of the four analysis chapters (Chapters 5 to 8) suggest the main plots of the participants' narratives. As I will show in the four chapters, the narrative structure of the development of the main plots over time is one of

progressive narrative in which the participants emphasised their growth, engagement and creativity despite their experience of hardship and difficulties such as intergenerational conflict, language barrier, and feelings of isolation. As I will show in the next chapters, the scenarios of the participants' engagement with their children and grandchildren, friends, neighbours and members of larger society are prominent.

The plot development also shows that participants worked to establish themselves in the new culture and actively participated in community activities. Participants are not victims of immigration. Rather, they (re)create a sense of home and improve their wellbeing and quality of life in their new places in New Zealand. The participants also played a role in the holistic structural analysis. In *fangtan*, I informed the participants that one of my preliminary findings was that although they experienced difficulties after moved to New Zealand in their later life, they survived, grew and flourished. All participants offered me endorsement of this finding.

The holistic structural analysis transferred the narratives from two or three interviews into a single chronological biographical story for further thematic and visual analyses.

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is another technique I used to analyse the interviews. Thematic analysis is the most common method of narrative analysis, and the most straightforward and appealing in applied settings (Reissman, 2008). Thematic analysis is not interested in the structure of the narrative. The focus is on thematic meanings and "points" with a focus on acts and events in the narrative account (Riessman, 2008).

The following steps were followed in the thematic analysis. First, I worked with a single chronological biographical narrative and used three tools—metaphors, things/places and literature—to identify analytical themes. Working with the narratives, I noticed that the participants often used metaphors to help them think about their lives. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest that metaphors are useful tools of narrative analysis. I looked for metaphors (e.g., immigration prisoner, hidden dragon) to map out the analytical themes. I then searched for things (e.g., Chinese vegetables, paintings, songs, Chinese newspapers) and places (e.g., gardens, painting rooms, communal places, neighbourhood), which were meaningful for the participants. Moreover, literature was utilised as a tool for developing themes. For

example, the five dimensions of filial piety identified in Chapter 3 were used as analytic themes in Chapter 7. Second, I zoomed in, selecting particular cases to illustrate the themes and general patterns. Third, I compared different cases to demonstrate within-group diversities. As a result, the subheadings of the analysis chapters indicate the themes identified by the thematic analysis.

According to Riessman (2008), thematic analysis is based on the assumption that the accounts of individuals in a group resemble each other. Correspondingly, the accounts are organised around the same theme. If I had only relied upon thematic coding of the stories and ignored sequences and narrative structures, I would have missed important differences in meaning of the same event for different participants. Through the holistic structural analysis, I mapped the contours of the participants' everyday lives. By combining thematic and holistic structural analyses, I was able to describe broad patterns—thematic similarities across cases, but also diversity in meanings for individuals in social interactions. The use of the two textual analysis techniques was extended through the use of a visual analysis strategy for integrating the photographic material into the development and presentation of findings.

Visual analysis

As stated earlier, holistic structural and thematic analyses have built upon spoken materials. Words, however, are only one form of communication. In contemporary social sciences, photography has emerged as an influential communication method (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Radley, 2007; Mitchell, DeLange, Molestane, Stuart, & Buthelezi, 2005; Radley, Chamberlain, Hodgetts, Stolte, & Groot, 2010). Soutter (2000) argues that a photograph "might function as a narrative if we recognize its visual codes as belonging to … a form dominated by narrative such as cinema, theatre or history painting" (p. 3). Baetens and Ribiere (1995) define a photo narrative as "a set of photographs arranged to create a storyline within the constraints of a particular format" (p. 314). More recently, Riessman (2008) has proposed that visual representations of experiences in photographs enable researchers and/or audiences to see as participants see, and to feel what participants feel. This argument is drawn from the earlier work of Radley (2002) who proposes that pictures not only restore feeling, but also the capacity to feel. Photography provides a means of documenting processes through which participants make sense of what they see and experience. In the process, links

between personal identities, local contexts, society, history and culture are invoked (Harper, 2005).

Photography was used as part of my methodology because it is ideally suited to the study of people's everyday lives, providing a pictorial dimension of culturally meaningful objects and settings (*cf.*, Radley et al., 2010). Visual analysis precedes conventional verbal interviews by visual materials that encourage researchers and readers to understand the world as defined by participants (Harper, 2005). As I will show in Chapter 5, visual narrative is not a copy, substitute, or complement to linguistic narrative. It is, instead, an alternate form of representation that focuses on the parts of culture which cannot be accessed by just the use of words (Trafi-Prats, 2009). Seeing often comes before words to establish people's place in the surrounding world (Berger, 1977). It is also important to note the verbal and the visual should not be polarised as if these were separate worlds. The mundane truth of everyday life is that people live in a world of words and pictures, of sensations and articulations. Human beings can never go beyond discourse, but neither are humans ever wholly contained within its articulatory schemes (Radley et al., 2010).

Figure 5. Sheng and Hua cooking

Moreover, not only do photographs allow for more vivid presentation of the participants' lifestyles than talking alone; photographs can also stimulate the participant to produce a private account of his or her story. For example, in the second interview, Hua and I discussed one of the photographs I took in the first

interview. The photograph posits a happy family picture in which Sheng and Hua were preparing for their lunch together (see Figure 5). However, as mentioned previously in this chapter, Hua's account offered a different picture where Sheng "never helped me in cooking except last time (the first interview) when you were here." In this case, the image has high iconic quality, which helps activate Hua's memories and encourage her to make statements about complex domestic situations (*cf.,* Flick, 2006).

I adopted the four steps for visual analysis proposed by Riessman (2008). First, I recorded information of the production of photography, which set the scene of the photograph. The information included how and when the photograph was made, which participants were involved, why the participant wanted me to picture this particular object or place, and other relevant aspects of the photograph-making process, such as my impressions of the process. Second, I interrogated the photograph, searching and re-searching the story the photograph invoked. I recorded my interpretations of the photos, and familiarised myself with the interpretations before I conducted the second interviews and *fangtan,* and discussed the photograph with participants. Third, I focused on how the photographs were read by the participant by discussing the photograph with them. When participant's readings of their own photographs differed from mine, such as in the case of Sheng and Hua discussed previously, I asked the participant to tell me more about the photograph. Fourth, I interpreted the photographs alongside the oral accounts. The visual analysis strategy enabled me to show readers the world through the participants' eyes, for readers to see what the participants see. The participants' experiences become "seeable" in ways that transcend the "sayable" (Riessman, 2008).

Quality of narrative data

Despite many well articulated explanations for qualitative research and the inappropriateness of employing quantitative research criteria to assess quality in qualitative work (Seale, 1999), some quantitative researchers continue to raise narrow concerns regarding the assessment of qualitative research (Mays & Pope, 2000). There are ongoing debates in academic literature about whether the concept of "quality" used to assess qualitative research should be roughly the same as,

parallel to, or quite different from that used to assess quantitative research (Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis, & Dillon, 2003).

Analysis of narratives can be seen as a highly subjective process. It may have as much to do with the quality and depth of the interpersonal exchanges generated during interviews as with any theory that might be applied to the content of the narrative (Riessman, 2008). Ultimately, reliability and validity are not necessarily the appropriate evaluative standards for narrative research (Atkinson, 1998). The emphasis of narrative analysis is on interpretation and understanding rather than replicability and statistical validity. Qualitative researchers have developed their own standards for ensuring quality in qualitative research (Seale, 1999).

Atkinson (1998) asserts that internal consistency is a core aspect of quality for narrative research. Internal consistency means that what is said in one part of the narrative should not contradict what is said in another part. Certainly, there are inconsistencies in life, and people may act one way one time and a different way at another time. Nonetheless, their stories of what happened and what they did should be consistent within the frame of reference. The narrative must make sense on its own, as a text that stands alone, to both its readers and its narrator. Internal consistency is a primary quality check that can be used by both the interviewer and the narrator to square or clarify comments with recent insights, if they appear to be different (McCracken, 1988). When inconsistencies were found in narratives, I referred to the original digital recording to verify the inconsistencies and then discussed the inconsistencies with participants. For example, when I asked the question "What does home mean to you?" Tian claimed that home meant a life haven for him. However, during the interview, he stated three times that he was a person who could endure any sufferings. These statements implied inconsistency in Tian's narratives and that the meaning of home might not be as simple as a life haven that he described. During *fangtan*, when a deep trust between Tian and me had been established, I brought up this inconsistency in the discussion. Tian asserted that living with his son-in-law was not a life haven because they had not talked to each other for almost two years although they lived in a same household.

The three-interview structure helped me with establishing the internal consistency of the findings as I could check that the narratives were consistent across the three separate interviews (Seidman, 2006). Unlike the truth sought by positivist-orientated psychologists, the truth of personal narratives is neither open to

proof nor self-evident (Murray, 1997b). In this sense, I agree with Atkinson's (1998) proposition that external validity is not necessary a valid measure for narrative analysis, because the researcher does not seek historical facts. The narrator's own experience or perspectives of what they remember as having happened is the narrative truth. In my analysis, I maintained emphasis upon internal coherence as experienced by the person, rather than external criteria of fact or validity.

Persuasion can also be used to measure whether the narrative and interpretation seem reasonable and convincing (Atkinson, 1998; Riessman, 1993). Persuasion, according to Riessman (1993), is the greatest, when theoretical claims are supported with evidence from narrative accounts and when alternative interpretations of the narrative are considered. Throughout the processes of analysis and thesis writing, I kept asking whether the story is compelling, stimulating and insightful, and whether my interpretation invites readers in an innovative way (Gergen, 1985; Lieblich et al., 1998).

The process of correspondence in which participants have the final say in the story is another standard. If the edited stories and reconstructions of data are recognised by the participants, as Atkinson (1998) and Riessman (1993) have proclaimed, the credibility is increased. Three strategies were employed during the process of correspondence in the current study. First, I verbally presented summarised interpretations of the quotes in Chinese to the participants concerned during *fangtan* or via telephone. I asked the participants to assess how the quotes fitted together and what sense the interpretations made to them. All participants confirmed or supported what was summarised and many supplemented their stories with new information. For example, Wei added that growing Chinese vegetable was a means for her to communicate with her kiwi neighbours (see Chapter 6). Those supplements were of invaluable help in interpreting the data. Second, I conducted verification presentations for groups of older Chinese immigrants. I elaborated what I had found and sought their feedback on whether the findings fitted or did not fit with their experiences. Overall, the presentation attendees confirmed the findings as they had emerged and are described in this thesis. Those verification presentations helped me further elaborate and interpret the data, and served as additional evidence for data validation. Third, along with those more formally structured presentations, in dozens of instances, I talked informally about my findings with older Chinese people who I met in public and private meetings. These conversations were likewise supportive of my findings. The processes of correspondence offered me

opportunities to find out what participants thought of my work. The participants' responses and comments often were a source of theoretical insights. I view this afterlife of the research to be as informative as the research per se.

In the next four chapters, I will present analyses and interpretations of stories collected through the narrative interviews. I will show that to understand a story is to capture not only how the unfolding of events is described, but also the network of relationships and meanings attached to the narrative (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). I will demonstrate how older Chinese migrants (re)construct their Chinese and New Zealand identities in the contexts of immigration and ageing.

5 HOME MAKING IN A NEW LAND

In order to comprehend filial piety and ageing in place among older Chinese migrants, I explored participants' home-making practices and efforts to cultivate a sense of self and place somewhere new. As noted in the previous chapters, "home" has been traditionally located as the "lived" experience of locality, a concrete space where intimate familial relations are established and maintained. Ngan (2008) maintains, due to intensified interconnectedness across nation-state and cultural borders, that immigrants are able to sustain multiple place-based affiliations and identities, and to cultivate new selves using elements from a diverse range of settings. Given that migrants are multiply located and emplaced, homes are both connected to and disconnected from the physical dwellings in which people dwell. Home can be defined both as a private domestic space and as a large geographic place where migrants belong, such as their homeland and host country (Espiritu, 2003). These coexisting homes link the homeland with the host country (Ryan, 2002).

Home-making is a process by which people imagine and make themselves at home in various geographic locations (Espiritu, 2003). Through home-making, a sense of self, place and belonging is shaped, articulated and contested. In this fashion, home is embedded with meanings, emotions, experience and relationships, vital to people's identity construction. In this chapter, I am especially interested in understanding how older Chinese immigrants use memories of their homeland to remake their homes and construct new lives and new selves in the country to which they have immigrated. Guided by the chronological biographical narrative analysis, I explore some of the complexities surrounding human migration and, in particular, how migration invokes biographical disruption and status-discrepancy for migrants. I consider how older Chinese migrants respond to these. Domestic relationships will also be investigated. Li, Hodgetts and Ho (2010) point out that gardening facilitates successful migration and the ability of people to make a new life in a new environment, while also reinforcing cultural ties. This chapter explores how older Chinese migrants put down roots by activities such as gardening and how such activities provide continuity in life between here in New Zealand and there in China. The focus on material objects and practices demonstrates that a micro-study of the home can illuminate the intersection of the personal and the social.

Biographical disruption and status-discrepancy

Throughout human history, groups of people have moved (McAdams, Josselson, & Lieblich, 2001). Because people are deeply emplaced beings, movement can invoke unfamiliarity and the disruption of taken-for-granted social supports, community ties, cultural values, daily practices and meanings that are central to personhood (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010; Sonn, 2002). Immigration often "…involves leaving one domain in which identity has been enacted and supported, and coming to a new domain in which identity must be resituated and often redefined" (Deaux, 2000, p. 429). Adjustments to life in a new country can be especially difficult for older immigrants because members of this group often become socially isolated (Wilmoth & Chen, 2003). Nevertheless, people are not passive in the migration process. They adapt and respond to disruptions by working to establish daily routines, and a sense of normality, stability and predictability (Graham & Connell, 2006). Through gardening and art-making, for example, migrants often work to restore their lives by shifting their focus from negative disruption to positive developments in a new setting (McAdams & Bowman, 2001).

Participant accounts of social events in China not only help them to recall their past lives, but also to articulate their present situations, sense of loss, and the need for new connections in their lives. I consider older Chinese migrants' efforts to cultivate a new place-based identity in New Zealand. This involves an attempt to make a place for one's self, in particular within gardens, and subsequently to venture out and make links with the local community. I will show that gardening is a shared practice recognised by many members of the host community and a contact zone or common ground for crossing cultural boundaries.

The idea of biographical disruption, introduced by Bury (1982) in a discussion of rheumatoid arthritis, has become a pivotal concept in research of health and immigration (Meares, 2007). Bury maintains that illness, in particular chronic illness, can disrupt the structure of everyday life and the forms of knowledge which underpin them. Migration can have similar disruptive effects, but it can also encourage people to rethink their lives and futures (Graham & Connell, 2006). Chan's extract typifies the participants' accounts of an embedded and socially connected life in China that has changed as a result of migrating to New Zealand. A plot line evident across participants is the loss of social ties, experiences of loneliness, and a desire for reconnection with others:

I was a member of the Choir in our Retired People's Activity Centre [in China]. *The relationship among members was just so nice. Before I left for New Zealand we gathered in my home. We danced, we sang… I really felt my home was over there in China. I should live over there.* (Chan took out a handkerchief from her pocket and wiped her tears away.) *… We lived happily in China. My daughter and my son-in-law had very decent jobs with good salaries.* (Chan pointed to a photo hanging on the wall) *Look, how happy we were in China. We will never have such happy lives here… I am now sentenced in two-year immigration jail… I am very lonely. Life is very boring. I've become blind, mute and deaf. I do not know who I am. I have been here for four months now. I have no social life other than going to English classes for two months. I do not understand when people talk to me. I do not understand when I watch TV.*

In New Zealand, the first Returning Resident Visa is issued to the person at the time he or she is issued a residence visa or permit. This visa is valid for two years from the date the first residence permit is granted. An immigrant is not eligible for an Indefinite Returning Resident Visa (enabling multiple trips in and out of New Zealand indefinitely) until he or she has held a residence visa or permit for a time which is a minimum of two years before he or she applies for the Indefinite Returning Resident Visa (Immigration New Zealand, 2005). The period of two-year residency is where Chan's metaphor of immigration jail derives from. Apart from the fact of being imprisoned by the immigration policy, disruption of language ability and social network make the participant a "prisoner of space" (Piro, Noss, & Clausse, 2006, p. 626), which is socially and culturally determined and maintained.

Although a majority of my participants were highly educated professionals, immigrating to an English-speaking country resulted in a disruption of daily activities and social networks. Socio-spatial imprisonment puts them at a disadvantage relating to other residents in communities where the range of personal support network has expanded beyond localised neighbourhood (Fitzpatrick & Gory, 2000). Wei stated:

In the first three months [after my arrival in New Zealand]*, I stayed home by myself most of the time. I felt very bored and lonely. The house was dead*

quiet except the sound of the ticking clock. I had nobody to talk to. I sat in the living room alone, counting the ticking of the clock. I thought to myself, although New Zealand was very beautiful, I was too lonely and too isolated. I lost myself.

Living in a new country where the language is not one's first language impinges on an immigrant's life. The speaker has to fashion the new language into a pedagogical tool, and must achieve mastery in a displaced context (Gunew, 2003). The symbolic order of Chinese language is completely lost in English. The loss of language leaves Wei with an empty space. Wei is lonely and isolated, and experiences a vacated self in her claim that she lost herself. Hoffman (1999) eloquently expresses this loss of self in her work *The New Nomads.* "For a while, like so many immigrants, I was in effect without language, and from the bleakness of that condition, I understood how much of our inner existence, our sense of self, depends on having a living speech within us" (p.48). For migrants, the loss of an internal language can result in their feeling alienated from themselves.

Several participants used metaphors such as "feeling imprisoned by language barriers", "social blindness, muteness and deafness" to describe the biographical disruption associated with moving to a country dominated by a language different to one's own. The phenomenon of "prisoner of space" indicates that language problems have severely limited the participants' ability to communicate with non-Chinese neighbours, and restricted their participation in social activities (Gunew, 2003). They experience feelings of being fundamentally out of place, alone and socially isolated. In order to regain connectivity with their environment, many participants had enrolled in English language classes and, as I will show, created personal spaces in the garden.

Apart from language barriers, the loss of social status is another issue that my participants frequently raised in the interviews. Compared to their being professionals in China, the participants' socioeconomic status as beneficiaries in New Zealand suggests a psychological phenomenon of status-discrepancy.

Sana (2005) asserts that immigrants typically face a decline in socioeconomic status upon arrival in a new country. This decline takes place at various levels. At least initially, as Sana suggests, even those with university degrees are likely to take jobs that do not match their levels of skill. In addition, their

earnings are lower than they would be if they were proficient in English. Moreover, immigrants lose their citizenship status and sense of membership in the larger society. Research has revealed that older migrants are more likely to experience such status-discrepancies (Auslander, Soskolne, & Ben-Shahar, 2005) that may impact on their health and wellbeing (Roccas, Horenczyk, & Schwartz, 2000). Sheng's account paints a picture of status-discrepancy:

> *A majority* [of older Chinese immigrants] *were high-level intellectuals. They are hidden dragons and crouching tigers in New Zealand. I was a chief surgeon in China but now I am a beneficiary in New Zealand. She* (Sheng's wife) *was a senior teacher. But in New Zealand we are the poor. We are nobody here.*

In Sheng's extract, the primary issue is one of shifting from a professional status to that of a beneficiary. Sheng perceives that he had lost and would probably never obtain the same social status he possessed in China. He felt disappointed and frustrated, claiming that "we are nobody here." Sheng's status-discrepancy is derived from social interactions. The metaphor of "hidden dragon and crouching tigers"—a chief surgeon becoming a beneficiary—grows out of the ways in which he interacted with others as a chief surgeon in China and a beneficiary in New Zealand. Sheng feels disruption between the old self (the professional) and the new self (the beneficiary and ageing immigrant). In this sense, migration has caused a disjuncture in Sheng's biography.

Sheng appears to have had a difficult transition to becoming a retired person. He may have found this transition difficult in China as well. However, the transition is more challenging for him as a migrant in New Zealand. If he had stayed in China, Sheng would have been recognised and acknowledged by the people in his social networks. He would more frequently have been treated and felt like a citizen with high socioeconomic status. Such high socioeconomic status is likely to make the transition for Sheng more difficult than it is for the other Chinese migrants in this study. The participants who had more modest jobs or roles prior to retirement may experience less stress and self discrepancy in their efforts to adapt to a loss of employment status and a retired life.

In the next section, I demonstrate how bringing the past to the fore informs the present and provides insights into migration experiences. In a sense, just standing in the garden talking to the researcher enables the participants to articulate key transition and migration experiences (*cf.*, Morton, 2007). Participants can wave their hands, point to Chinese melons and convey their concerns. I would say that vegetable beds can function as memory beds, particularly when they contain seeds from China. Vegetable beds index another place and time into the present and materialize memories (*cf.*, Morton, 2007). Thus, the roots of a garden spread out through time and space providing grafts between the past, present and future.

Responding to biographical disruption through gardening

Figure 6 presents a collection of garden photographs taken during the tour of the participants' homes. Photograph A depicts Lang's garden and her bamboo that symbolises integrity and high ideals in the Chinese culture. Photograph B depicts Bok Choy in Chan's garden. Photograph C illustrates cultivation and seeding of Chinese vegetables in Cheng's garden. Photograph D shows Ping's spring onions which are one of the most popular ingredients in Chinese cuisine and were planted in pots because Ping lived in a state house without a garden.

For some time, scholars have explored how people restory their lives in order to repair disruptions to life that result from events such as illness and migration (Corbin & Strauss, 1987; Deaux, 2000; Frank, 1995). Part of the immigrants' task is to rebuild a sense of place, home and comfort in their new place of residence. Deaux (2000) terms this process of identity resituation as "remooring"—that is, the ways in which "people connect identity to a system of supports in the new environment" (p. 429). Responses to disruption were invoked when the participants talked about growing Chinese vegetables. Almost every participant mentioned growing Chinese vegetables. In the process, gardens are also positioned as places to go. Gardening connects China and New Zealand through transplantation. The roots of a garden spread out through time and space, providing grafts between China and New Zealand.

A   B

C   D
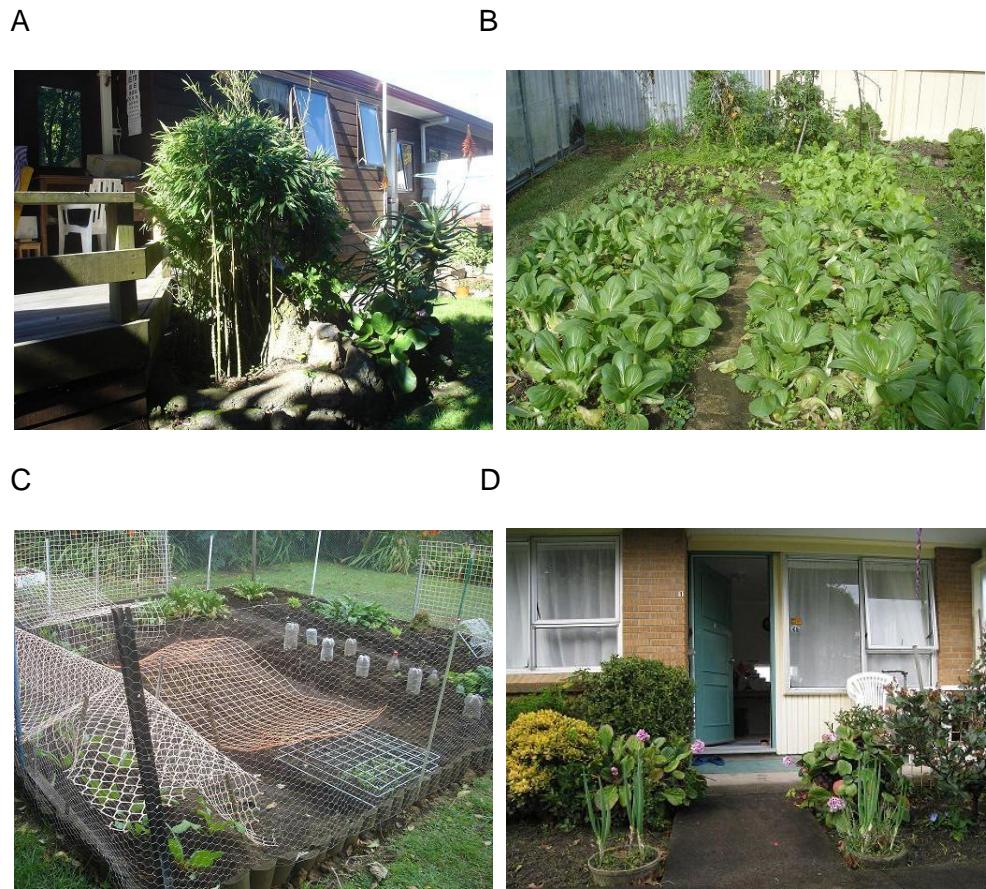
Figure 6. A collection of garden photographs

In the following extracts, references to the planting of seeds serve as focal points for Lee's explorations of how he grows new life in New Zealand:

I lived in a countryside village in my young age. Our family was very poor. We had little land. I created a vegetable garden from raw land. I removed rocks. I seeded. I weeded. I watered. I fertilized. I harvested. I cherished land very much. I now have my own garden here in New Zealand. I can grow Chinese vegetables. I am so happy when I watch vegetables growing.

Growing Chinese vegetables permits Lee to reproduce the place and activities that gave him a profound experience of nurturance in his childhood. He is seeking a connection with earth and nature, first experienced in childhood, as the age-old tasks of sowing, tending, and harvesting are repeated in their appropriate seasons. Marcus (2006) asserts that this phenomenon—creating a garden that repeats some aspects

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of an earlier, fondly remembered place—may be more common than people think. Re-creating some aspects of a childhood garden is more possible for most people than re-creating the home itself (*cf.*, Worthen, 1975). Reflecting on life back in China is also a process of reassembling fragments from the past to make sense of the present and to create some continuity between the old and new life. Lee said:

> *When doing gardening, I recall growing vegetables with my mother when I was a little boy. Watering and weeding were my gardening duties. At that moment I, who lived in a foreign country in later life, desperately missed my birthplace.*

At one level, the nurturing and loving mother of childhood may represent the deeply rooted world, a world where Lee felt protected and happy. At another level, mother is symbolic as Lee's motherland—China. From Lee's comment, I began to understand the complexity of how he feels in his garden. On one hand, gardening is an enjoyable part of his new life in New Zealand. On the other hand, it can be an emotional reminder of the life he has left behind in China. Ties to the homeland play a crucial, ongoing and often central role in informing not only ethnicity but also one's relationship to society because of "the homeland, not as something simply left behind, but as a place of attachment" (Clifford, 1994, p. 311). The garden Lee created and tended provides a connection to his past and his culture and shapes how he sees his life now. Participant accounts featured utilitarian purposes for gardens, as well as a sense of wellbeing in later life. For example, Dong stated:

> *When I first arrived in New Zealand, we were rather hard put financially. Growing Chinese vegetables helped relieve our financial stress. Now we have financial support from the Government. Our financial situation is better. Growing Chinese vegetables is more about joy and fun. Watering and weeding make me feel happy when I am upset. The first thing I do in the morning is to look at my vegetables. I am very happy when I see my Bok Choy, winter melons and bitter melons growing day by day* (see Figure 7). *I even talk to them.*

Figure 7. Dong's winter melon

A garden offers more to Dong than the growing of food. It serves as a refuge from the stress of the changes in his life. A garden is also a place where Dong can talk to his vegetables in his own language. No English skills are needed in the garden. There are no pressures to understand, to translate, and/or to feel judged. In growing and talking to his vegetables, Dong is literally re-establishing himself in his new home. As noted in the previous section, feelings of loneliness and social isolation are very common among recently arrived older Chinese immigrants. The experience of being separated from one's own language, culture and social networks, and relocating to a new and unfamiliar country, can be unsettling (Snowden, Martinez, & Morris, 2005), or even uprooting (Li, 2008). Immigrants who are uprooted from their home countries need to literally re-ground or transplant themselves in the host country (Sheller, 2003). Huang's account suggests that sowing Chinese vegetables symbolises putting down roots:

My vegetables are Chinese vegetables, not Kiwi vegetables. I brought seeds from China. I sowed the seeds. As Chinese vegetables put their roots in New Zealand soil, I watered, weeded, fertilised and harvested. I was very excited when I successfully grew Chinese vegetables in New Zealand.

Gardens provide somewhere to go, be one's self, just think, and immerse oneself in a familiar activity (Gross & Lane, 2007). Gardens link China to New Zealand because vegetables have been transplanted. Huang is participating with nature

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across countries; by bringing seeds from China, Huang literally brings a bit of China to New Zealand. Here the planting of Huang's own seeds is symbolic of growing a life in New Zealand.

The accounts of Lee, Dong and Huang suggest that gardening serves to facilitate their reconstruction of the self, and to ease their transition from a familiar setting in China to new, and often difficult, conditions in New Zealand. By growing Chinese vegetables, the participants are engaging in memory work. Here I mean memories as physical acts and not just cognitions (Gross & Lane, 2007; Morton, 2007). Growing Chinese vegetables also provides a link to cultural heritage that makes the participants feel that they are still Chinese. Gardening provides continuity across countries and periods in one's life. It is part of a process of home making and an outward expression of the history, tastes, preferences and skills of the participants (*cf.*, Gross & Lane, 2007).

As the participants become more at home in New Zealand, the garden provides a space for meeting neighbours, making cross-cultural contacts and bridging differences (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Here the garden can speak for people who do not share a common language or culture. This is evident in participants' accounts of the exchange of vegetables and knowledge regarding gardening with members of the host community. Wei said:

> *I found Kiwis like hard-working people. My neighbours see me working in my garden every day. They like my vegetables and respect me as a hard-working person. We exchange vegetables. Initially, they thought I was a farmer who grew vegetables in China. When they knew from my daughter-in-law that I was a senior engineer, they said in astonishment, "Amazing! Amazing!"* (chuckles) *They really like my vegetables.*

Giving vegetables to neighbours is a common way for the participants to begin interacting with their immediate neighbourhood. As Dong noted, "We grow Chinese vegetables and give them to our neighbours. To thank us, one neighbour gave us mandarins he grew." Exchanges can include home-made objects and the loan of gardening equipment. Xing, Dong's wife, recounted being given a home-made apron from a neighbour to keep Dong from getting himself dirty when doing gardening. She commented that this gift represented a neighbour's appreciation of her husband's

hard work. Gardening is a daily practice that is recognised across cultures, which allows people from different cultural backgrounds to come into contact with one another (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). These contact zones comprise instances and spaces in which people from different cultures can meet and interact in everyday life, and where through the exchanging of gifts, new understandings and affinities can take shape (Somerville & Perkins, 2003). The participants' experiences highlight the significance of the relationship between the person and the social environment, such as home, neighbourhood, community and society (Li & Groot, 2010).

Responding to status-discrepancy through art-making

In the previous section, I have discussed how gardening has helped the participants to re-create a sense of home for themselves in New Zealand. Two participants, Sheng and Fen, were extensively involved in art-making. Their accounts affirm that art-making functions similarly to gardening when responding to status-discrepancy. In this section, I consider the role art-making plays in the participants' cultivating a sense of place through grafting the Chinese culture and the New Zealand culture, and how the self is nurtured by art-making. I demonstrate that art-making aids the participants in appreciating the richness of multiplicities of the self. Together with the previous section, these two sections contribute to an understanding of how, by creating a garden and art, participants create spaces for continuity and meanings, linking their new lives in New Zealand with their former lives back in China.

Social scientists have written much about the material basis of identity and links between "our selves" and "our things" (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010; Hurley, 2006). For example, people implant their identities in new places and use material objects to texture their environments (*cf.*, Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Objects and places offer proof of being, memory and participation. Things displayed and places modified by migrants offer points of reference in their lives. As such, material objects such as paintings situated in specific domestic locations, are intertwined with people's practical experiences of being in the world, their routinised habits and embodied memories. Through daily practices, involving the use and creation of material objects, people come to know and understand themselves (Heidegger, 1982). In this way, immigrants can develop a sense of place where memories are associated with particular locations and objects (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Such places and associated practices furnish people with a sense of connection, history

and shared activity (*cf.*, Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). For example, Sheng modified his garage into a painting room (see Figure 8). The painting room is not merely a place in which he painted, but a place he could communicate with others.

Figure 8. Sheng's painting room

Figure 9. Sheng's uncompleted painting for his friend

Below, Sheng's account illustrates that the emplacement of artwork constitutes expressions of the self and social relationships with others, including family and friends:

I am somewhat unsociable. I have difficulties to get on with people I don't appreciate. I have been a doctor in my whole life. People asked for my help all the time… I seldom mingled with people spontaneously. I am sort of indulged in self-admiration … Now I have a painting room. I can paint again. Many people came to me asking for my paintings. I gave them my paintings as gifts (see Figure 9).

When friends ask for Sheng's paintings, this is symbolic of asking for his help. Painting is something that Sheng loves to do. Additionally, the activity of painting is also a part of Sheng's attempts to confront the discrepant self (albeit probably unconsciously) and to overcome his fear that he is no longer respected by others or worthy of being called on for help. New relationships have been established when Sheng and his friends share artwork and ideas. The painting room plays an active role in Sheng's life and is not simply a backdrop for human interaction (Lefebvre, 1991). This reflects an understanding of home as a physical, social and familial space produced now and over time through human action and the accumulation of both inanimate and animate things within everyday life (Hurdley, 2006; Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Such a homescape is in process of becoming as Sheng deals with changes in his life, considers his history and negotiates the complexities of a new society.

Art-making and sharing help Sheng explore his identity, move beyond his comfort zone and look at his experience in new ways. Moreover, when Sheng brings painting materials from China, like gardeners bringing Chinese vegetable seeds, he also brings a bit of China to New Zealand. In this sense, painting provides Sheng with continuity between China and New Zealand. Painting crafts a sense of home and functions as a strategy for constructing meaning through social interaction. Art becomes another language allowing Sheng to communicate new meanings and experiences (Song, 2009). Through art-making, Sheng engages in memory work as do gardeners. He paints memories. The memories are not about closure of the past. They enable Sheng to reconceptualise and renegotiate the present, to re-member himself now (Davidson, 2008b). Through such a process, Sheng achieves an understanding of multiple perspectives and sees the richness of his multiplicities. He is empowered to claim *all* of who he is, including the discrepant self. In this sense, use of paintings as symbolic resources can be seen as interactional and dialogical processes. These symbolic resources they take are placed in a cultural world

constituted by semiotic exchanges, which lead Sheng to interact with others and the new cultural and social environment. The symbolic resources as artefacts contain echoes of the voices of the old and new selves (Zittoun, 2007).

For some time, researchers have explored the relationship between art and identity. As Trafi-Prats (2009) expresses it, aesthetics encompass critical reconsideration of notions of belonging, emplacement, movement and identity. Donaldson (1996) also argues that throughout the history of human existence, culture and experience have remained alive in the bosom of art. In everyday life, as shown in Sheng's case, aesthetics envision alternative spatial and social relations. This can also be seen in Fen's work *Heaven* (see Figure 10) where the cultural and spiritual meanings, and symbolism and transformation of identity fulfil her multiple social and spiritual needs:

Heaven is my work I donated to my church. I call it a cultural grafting. I combined the Chinese image of Dunhuang Flying[3] (敦煌飞天) with the Western image of angels in the Bible.

Using the most basic metaphor—graft, Fen explores the experience of migration and hybridity. Grafting Chinese painting techniques and the Buddhist image of *Dunhuang Flying* fairies into Christian angels, *Heaven* symbolises Fen's desire to connect the Eastern and Western cultures. The concepts, techniques and materials inform the viewer of Fen's cultural identity and the merging of traditional ideals with new meanings. The title *Heaven* is a symbolic expression of Fen's text statement that "New Zealand is a paradise for us even though we are beneficiaries here".

A graft is literally "a small shoot or bud of a tree or plant inserted into another tree or plant where it continues to grow, becoming a permanent part" (Ankori, 2003, p. 78). By analysing a photograph entitled *Grafting*, Ankori (2003) argues that the grafted tree symbolises that the migrant trees are bestowed with the hybrid identity of immigrants who retain elements of their cultural heritage even when they relocate. In a similar fashion, through aesthetic grafting, a new place-based identity is signified

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[3] Flying fairies are symbols of Dunhuang's art. In almost all the caves of the Mogao Grottoes there are large numbers of Flying Fairies flying in all directions with the help of their flowing garments and colourful dancing bands.

in Fen's work. As Ankori (2003) remarks, "in human beings, indeed in all living creatures, grafting implies the creation of a hybrid being, that is both self and other, both here and there" (p. 78). Fen's own position—oscillating between home and away—is analogous to that in her spatiotemporally and culturally grafted *Heaven*. For Fen, grafting functions as does re-grounding for gardeners, through which she is bearing her cultural marks in the present and future. Immigrants uprooted from their homeland need to literally graft themselves into the new land. In this regard, painting serves to facilitate Fen's reconstruction of the self and to ease her transition from China to New Zealand. As she constructs meaning in her work, Fen is simultaneously re-constructing her own identities in response to the images she creates and values (Milbrandt, 2003). Such artworks produce a migratory aesthetic central to the various processes of becoming that are triggered by the human movement: experiences of transition as well as the transition of experience itself into new art work and new ways of becoming and being (Durrant & Lord, 2007).

Figure 10. Fen's painting: Heaven

During the house tours offered by Sheng and Fen, I noticed that their paintings were used as prominent decorations in their homes. Hurdley (2006) explores the objects people display on mantelpieces in their homes as aspects of their identities. People

in Hurdley's study talked about their objects as if they represented their character and the relationships they hold dear. Similarly, Clemons and Searing (2004) claim that people use objects, including art, within home to describe their personal characters. That is, in trying to define the self, people use symbols and objects—things that are meaningful to them—to describe who they are in a material, concrete way (Clemons & Searing, 2004). Sheng and Fen do something very similar. The creation of interiors, using their own artwork, provides Sheng and Fen with identities that communicate a sense of place. In this sense, paintings themselves are places, virtual or imaginary spaces woven into their domestic settings. As Tuan (2004) argues, "the self is static if it is produced by homeplace and only homeplace, flexible and expansive if it is also nurtured by art" (p.23). A painting is the creation on canvas, which becomes a virtual home for the person to dwell in and return to should he or she so wish.

It is worth noting that material culture that facilitates immigration transition is not limited to gardens and art. Other material forms such as Chinese food and meaningful objects the participants brought from China were frequently mentioned by my participants. Those material objects also assist the participants to cope with their life transitions. For example, Chinese Pizza (see Figure 11) is another form of Chinese culture that Fen grafts into the Western culture:

> *What I am making is the Beijing Pancake inside which I put lamb meat. My Kiwi friends very much love it. They asked me the name of the pancake. I told them it was Chinese Pizza* (giggling).

I have discussed biographical disruption and status-discrepancy and the participants' cultivation of new selves in New Zealand. In considering gardening and art-making in the context of human migration and the construction of place-based identities, I argue that gardens and paintings speak for the people who construct them. Through the physical act of gardening and artistic act of painting, people reshape a physical and aesthetic space, turning it into a place that reflects the identities of gardeners and painters. Academic literature provides many examples of the ways in which gardening and art can provide a focal point for developing social ties, self-reflection, relaxation, opportunities for neighbourliness, and have positive benefits for physical and mental health (Frumkin, 2003; Williams, 2002). The next section considers the

ways in which family relationships and tensions between older adults and their children are played out in relation to household renovations and gardening.

Figure 11. Fen making Chinese Pizza

Relational dimensions of domestic space attachments

Identity (re)construction is an integral and ongoing part of the resettlement process (Deaux, 2000), particularly when the culturally textured expectations of younger family members are changing. This section focuses on participants' attempts to re-generate a sense of control, self and belonging again through gardening which stood out significantly in the participants' narrative when they talked about intergenerational relationships. The analysis reflects evolving intergenerational relationships in Chinese families that manifest in older people's desire for independence and autonomy in exchanges of support between the generations. I illustrate tensions in familial relationships that can emerge when resettlement requires family members to find new ways of operating in a new cultural context. Such tensions, as discussed in Chapter 1, are likely to be more intense when older parents migrate after their children have been settled in New Zealand for some years. For example, younger generations appear to be developing Westernised responses to filial piety (Lieber et al., 2004). Furthermore, migration often involves the reworking of cultural values and the grafting onto family life of more Western ways of conducting intergenerational relations (*cf*., Graham & Connell, 2006). I will show how domestic spaces such as gardens can materialise tensions between

family members around who has the right to texture and control the environment by implanting their own identities, and the nature of intergenerational relationships.

Lee reflected on his efforts to make the domestic environmental more functional and homely for the family and in the process invoked broader issues of power and control in family relations:

There was only one towel rail in our bathroom. Towels were stacked together and wet. I installed a hanging line. My daughter felt the line did not match the decoration of the bathroom. She was very unhappy that I did not tell her before I installed it. I argued that I did it for the sake of the family and no need to consult with her for such a small thing. (Sighed deeply and paused for a while) *Alas, my daughter said, "This is MY house"… Housework is always our duty. We do all housework and gardening. When doing gardening, I decided to keep that tree and removed this one. My daughter wasn't happy because I didn't ask her before I did...*

This is not simply an account of an argument between Lee and his daughter. It is also about domestic power relations and the negotiation of control, identity and place. Lee's daughter raises the point that "This is MY house". She demands that Lee complies with how she believes the house should be textured. Lee's perspective that the father is the domestic work manager is not compatible with his daughter's perspective which positions him as a guest rather than the head of the household. Lee reluctantly cedes power to his daughter in order to avoid further conflicts. The loss of domestic power can provoke strong psychological responses precisely because, in part, it entails a challenge to one's identity.

Changes in the patterning of parent-child relationships in a new culture invariably create anxiety and distress. The shift of location and family relationship positions Lee in a new and unfamiliar physical and social environment in a way which magnifies his feelings of displacement. Although Lee is satisfied with the physical characteristics of his daughter's house, he has difficulty identifying his place within his daughter's house. "Home" is a term reserved in Lee's account to refer to his dwelling in China, whereas the term "house" is used to refer to his dwelling in New Zealand. Being attached to a place which can be called as home contributes to the formation, maintenance and preservation of Lee's identity (*cf.*, Proshansky et al.,

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1983). Such place attachment plays a role in fostering self-esteem, self-worth and self-pride (Lewicka, 2005). In Lee's home in China, he had more control than his daughter. The opposite is the case in New Zealand.

Parent-child power dynamics can change when movement occurs across space and culture from China to New Zealand. In the Chinese culture, as reviewed in Chapter 3, children's bodies are believed to originate from their parents. Consequently, the parent is in a superior position as head of the family, regardless of the location. It is noticeable that Lee's position in the family changes when he lives with his daughter in New Zealand. Lee was a powerful father figure in his home in China. However, to some extent he is now a powerless father in his daughter's house. This shift was also evident in other participants' accounts. As Lang stated:

> *I was the head of the household in China. My son is the head of the household now. I am no longer the centre, but the periphery. The house is not mine. Surely, you could make suggestions, but you need to think through what you want to suggest and whether you should suggest. If you suggest what you shouldn't suggest, conflicts will occur. I say what I should say. I don't say what I shouldn't say. I don't ask questions that I shouldn't ask. Asking too many questions will make them unhappy.*

This parent has given up the hope of successful power negotiation, but continues to act out the prescribed norms of conduct within the household in which she is no longer the centre. By bowing to the interests of her children—either deliberately or unconsciously—Lang maintains the peace and avoids costly conflicts. It is worth noting at this point that within-group diversity should not be ignored. Wei offered an account in which she sensed herself in alignment with her children:

> *My room is the best one in this house with a good view. It is warm in winter. My children know my sore back needs a warm and dry room. They gave me the best room. … My children are the heads of the house. However, I've never felt that this is not my home. I've never felt that I am an outsider. I feel this is the home we own together. We make decisions together.*

Here, Wei and her children own the family narrative together, as they own their home and make their decisions together. The co-ownership of the narrative is a symbol of co-ownership of domestic power, which gives Wei a sense of being at home. Wei's account communicates an understanding of within-group individuality. Such within-group individuality has its appeals because it represents alternative understandings of family relationships in Chinese migrant families.

Declines in domestic standing, such as in Lang's account, arise because of a lack of control over finances and the domestic environment. The process of domestic power negotiation is a process of regaining some sense of control and belonging. Gardening is embedded in domestic power negotiations within family relations and issues of control and a sense of place. The garden provides a space for exercising some control over the domestic setting (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). It is a place where an older person can find some refuge from domestic tensions. As Huang stated:

> *A friend of mine believes that we should not fight for space, money and power against our children. The garden is a place where we can control our vegetables. My daughter and my grandson sometimes made me angry. But my vegetables never did. My vegetables did whatever I required. It* [the garden] *is my kingdom.*

For Huang and his friend, the garden is not only a source of delight and comfort. It is also a symbol of control. The garden allows them to maintain control over a piece of land, to shape it, foster it, nurture it and even punish it, according to their feelings, ideas, and whims (Treib, 1990). The dependence of vegetables upon the gardener creates the feelings of being needed, if not outright wanted and respected. For those who are marginal in mainstream society and their adult children's homes, the garden provides a reason for living: "It needs me." The garden increases a sense of power exponentially through vegetable growth (Treib, 1990). The garden is central to Huang's ongoing efforts to create a place to belong. It can be argued that gardening provides a "productive escape" from the loss of domestic power for the participants. Gardening is often an activity that engenders pleasure for the participants and appreciation from their family members. Huang stated:

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One day, my daughter was cooking. She needed spring onions. I said, "Wait for a minute." I went to my garden and picked two spring onions. She was very happy and thanked me for always providing the freshest vegetables for the family.

Here, gardening is presented as facilitating positive familial relations. The child's expression of positive feelings about gardening goes beyond immediate gratification. It invokes emotional harmony in the home and provides the context within which the parent and children can grow together. By receiving his daughter's appreciation, Huang feels emotionally more secure and free to invest his time and energy in the garden. This space becomes a link between two generations. Zhuang's account takes this idea further:

My son and daughter-in-law know that I love gardening and appreciate my vegetables. When they decided to buy a house, one of the criteria of the house was having a big garden (see Figure 12) *so that I could grow Chinese vegetables in the garden.*

Figure 12. Zhuang's garden

Gardening is viewed as a sign of family life and imperative webs of relationships that give Zhuang's family a unique identity. One of the goals shared by the members is

the cultivation of the family itself. The garden acts for Zhuang's children as a symbol of their love towards their parents and nurturing of intergenerational relationships.

Domestic spaces, including gardens, can be both physical locations and imagined spaces. Such domestic spaces can be both sites for nurturing and cultivation as well as differences and conflict (*cf.*, Espiritu, 2003). Gardens can provide some refuge when one is prevented from altering the house and making it one's own. However, even this space is subject to the influence and desires of others, in this case one's adult children. The cultivation of place-based identities can be disrupted by complaints regarding the alterations one makes to the physical environment. In sum, gardens can function as sites for tension between family members as well as for improving family relationships.

I have discussed how gardening and aesthetic work facilitate older Chinese immigrants in cultivating themselves in New Zealand through narrative, memory and imagination. In developing the concept of "simultaneity of geography", Katrak (1996) asserts that memory and imagination can transcend the physical place and, in the process, locate people both here and somewhere else. Immigrant gardens and art exhibit elements of both old and new cultural landscapes (Graham & Connell, 2006; Morgan, Rocha, & Poynting, 2005). The old is being continually remade and reconstructed in the interest of the new. By creating gardens and art, the migrants can carve out transnational spaces between New Zealand and China in which to dwell and participate. The participants have remade homes in a new land. These homes lie between the here and there, the then and now, desire and realisation, and physical and the imagined geographies.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored biographical disruption and status-discrepancy among older Chinese immigrants and their responses to disruptions and discrepancies. I have also investigated relational dimensions of domestic space attachments among Chinese migrant families. For older Chinese immigrants, contemporary images of home intertwine origin, roots, and cultural heritage and exchanges. Through the analysis, the notion of home opens up to spatial and material explorations where identities are constructed through a complex network of social relations, and overlapping spaces and places. Places, as part of wider spatial world, become important in theorising identity (Ngan, 2008).

This chapter offers a glimpse of the interpersonal, interactive and ongoing aspects of domestic life of older Chinese migrants, and of the accomplishment of material cultures as everyday practice. It shows that when people tell stories about their homes they also tell stories about themselves, as moral beings with histories and beliefs, who are both socialised and individualised (Hurdley, 2006). Material objects comprise key elements in these homes. As Olsen (2003) maintains, material objects are never to be themselves but always to represent something else. My analysis of interactions between the persons, their homes and things suggests that there is an active meaning-making process in which all three play a role. In that regard, the self is not the act of the person whose action can shape the self alone. Instead, the materiality of the world is integral to the self-construction process and interacts with the person. The objectivity of the social world is socially constructed. It is an objectivity that arises out of the human practices and interactions (Jovchelovitch, 2007). As discussed in Chapter 2, self and world are twin born and people construct the self through continuing interactions with and within the world.

Physical locales such as gardens are often regarded as benign spaces or simply as backdrops to social life. I have illustrated that gardens are more than mundane backdrops and paintings are more than aesthetic tastes; they are a means of putting down roots, of cultivating and rethinking the self, of grafting cultures and of making a place of one's own. Gardens and painting rooms are culturally loaded spaces that are textured by human movement and action, identities and relationships. They are woven into the very fabric of peoples' lives and invoke complex relations between stakeholders. They can alert us to the ways in which people negotiate the regulation of the landscapes of everyday life and their social participation somewhere new (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). This analysis illustrates how gardens and painting rooms can be essential places for older migrants to develop and maintain a new sense of self and belonging. Through gardening and painting, the participants toil to repair the biographical disruption, status-discrepancy and loss of domestic control by establishing biographical continuity across time and space between past lives in China and present lives in New Zealand. In the words of Foucault (1994), this implies the "techniques of the self", which refers to the procedures that individuals carry out "in order to determine their identity, maintain it … through relations of self-mastery or self-knowledge" (p.87). The techniques of the self are "a matter of placing the imperative to 'know oneself' … What should one do with oneself? What work should be carried out on the self? " (p. 87).

The accounts provided in this chapter in many ways are affirmation that the process of knowing oneself is a facet of quest which Frank (1995) maintains as "automythology". The predominant metaphor of the automythology is the phoenix, both in English (Frank, 1995) and Chinese, reinventing itself from the ashes of the fire of its own body (*Fenghuang niepan,凤凰涅磐*). May (1991) uses the phoenix metaphor to describe the totality of self-reinvention following trauma or catastrophic illness. "If the patient revives after such events, he must reconstruct afresh, tap new power, and appropriate patterns that help define a new existence" (May, 1991, p. 22). Automythology fashions the narrative author as one who not only survives but has been reborn as an exemplar of the change (Frank, 1995). The accounts presented in this chapter are examples of automythology. Participants create their automythology through such practices as gardening and art-making, and in the process cultivate new identities. The study of these narratives illustrates the importance of the personal quest for meaning, but, more particularly, for mastery over the disruption and discrepancy (Murray, 1997a).

The creation of a garden and of art is simultaneously as simple as accessing some tools, seeds and painting materials, and as complex as refining cultural expectations and heritage and one's very sense of self and belonging (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Gardens and art weave together nature, aesthetic tastes, thought, memory and daily practice in culturally loaded ways. Just as people accumulate being through accumulating objects (Noble, 2004), people can literally grow the self as they cultivate vegetables and paint. Activities such as gardening and painting enable the participants to retexture their physical worlds to resemble aspects of their countries of origin and histories. Culture and history are literally sown into new ground and grafted into a new culture. Retelling the significance of vegetables and paintings invokes a nexus of relationships and meanings, which weaves people into place and which exceeds the physical restraints of time and space. People can reflect on and imagine their lives and selves into being. Gardening and painting reveal how a home can literally be re-cultivated in a manner that allows people to both preserve aspects of their previous selves and grow a sense of place and self somewhere new (Graham & Connell, 2006). These participants are literally burrowing into a new life. Being able to resettle somewhere new and cultivate a sense of place is crucial to the continued self-construction and self-development of older Chinese immigrants (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010).

Finally, resettlement brings the process of acculturation into the foreground when older Chinese migrants (re)construct the self in New Zealand. For example, grafting cultures reflects acculturation as a process of intercultural reproduction. Cultural change is central to an understanding of acculturation (Phinney, 2003). As argued in Chapter 3, people are culturally bound. Hence, when culture changes, the self shifts. In the next chapter, I will discuss how older Chinese immigrants' selves and identities transform in the course of acculturation.

6 MATERIAL-MEDIATED ACCULTURATION

As noted in Chapter 2, acculturation processes encompass many changes that occur when people from differing cultures come into contact with each other. On the one hand, the migrant faces the need to navigate a new language, develop an understanding of new customs, and interact with people whose values and beliefs differ from their own. On the other hand, the migrant, who, as Simmel (1950) proclaims, "comes today and stays tomorrow" (p. 402), imports qualities into larger society. Migration processes can lead to changes in the original patterns of life and cultures of the peoples concerned, as well as to the formation of new identities (Sam & Berry, 2006).

In Chapter 2, I noted that while Berry's model of acculturation has been powerful, it oversimplifies individual and community responses. Quantitative approaches to acculturation research often overlook the nature and roles of group-specific settings and social, cultural and material resources in negotiating the challenges implicit in intergroup relations (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). Although acculturation involves learning about the new culture, it is also significantly associated with developing opportunities for meaningful engagement in social settings within the context of everyday life in the broader society (Nayar, 2009). Deaux (2000) contends that acculturation research can be expanded by paying closer attention to the role everyday practices play in identity (re)construction which is central to the transition and settlement process. By situating older Chinese migrants in the larger societal settings, we can unravel how they communicate with their neighbours and participate in community making. I will demonstrate how memories of place, history and country of origin play a significant role in the processes of acculturation and identity (re)construction.

As older Chinese migrants engage in various intercultural activities, they reproduce cultural systems that have shaped, and will continue to shape their lives. In this sense, acculturation constitutes a field of human action, meaning-making and self-production. It is through acculturation that the older Chinese migrants construct themselves in a new country and make sense of the world and their place in it (Ward & Lin, 2010). This chapter illustrates how older Chinese adults develop a new sense of self through acculturation which is mediated by material culture. For this group of participants, acculturation does not solely revolve around speaking English or making local Kiwi friends. Rather, the participants acculturate themselves through

exploring New Zealand cultures, observing their Kiwi neighbours, participating in community activities, communicating with younger generations of family members, consuming Chinese media, and engaging in religious ceremonies.

Observational acculturation

Immigrants face a variety of challenges while they acculturate to the host culture (Ng, 2007). Part of the acculturation process involves the adoption of the host language. Host language proficiency and frequency of host language use are commonly employed as acculturation indicators in acculturation instruments and scales. For example, Morton and colleagues (1992) found that low English proficiency is significantly correlated with functional impairment among older Chinese people in California. A large majority of the participants in my study had low levels of English language proficiency. Given the emphasis in the acculturation literature on language, I was challenged to consider other ways in which my participants might be adapting and adjusting to their New Zealand surroundings without local language proficiency. Xing stated:

> *I started learning English in 2001, um, already seven years. However, I still am not able to use English to communicate with Kiwis, except saying 'Hello'… If an English speaker calls us, I have to say, 'No English, sorry.' And then hang up.* (giggles) *We learned, we forgot; we re-learned, we re-forgot…*

Cultures indeed differ in their languages and in ways of communicating. However, the integral part of communication is meaning making, which is an important element in the intercultural communication nexus (Ng, 2007). Below, Xia's account illustrates that in the absence of English language competency, observation can function as a mediator of meaning making:

> *Our next door neighbour is already in her 80s. She lives on her own. She went shopping herself. She's very independent and looks happy. I hope we will live on our own in the future as our neighbour does.*

Several participants shared Xia's experience. They observed the practices of others and made meaning from these experiences. As a parent who lived with her daughter, Xia admired her neighbour's autonomy and independence, which can be something that she feels she has lost to some degree. Observation is a non-verbal social tool that helps Xia navigate intercultural encounters.

In Xia's account, shopping is not only for consuming goods. It is also a social practice in which language gives way to material-mediated exchanges. Shopping can also be interpreted as a reflection of Xia's desire to take up a position in public space. As a "prisoner of space" (see Chapter 5), Xia not only seeks participation in the domestic space, but also in local communities through casual engagements with local residents in shops (*cf.*, Hodgetts et al., 2008). In this way, Xia's narrative of observational acculturation functions as a form of self-expression of who she is and who she wants to be in a new culture. Through narrating her experience, Xia rethinks what matters most to her: social roles, relationships and values (*cf.*, Nelson, 2001). According to Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, people can observe practices of others and then adopt observed practices themselves. As Hong stated:

The garage sale is a form of Kiwi lifestyle. We like it. We went to garage sales, observing how Kiwi people made deals. Gradually, we started to try buying small things, such as 50-cent items. We had lots of fun. Look, the items displayed on the top of my second-hand piano were all bought from garage sales (see Figure 13).

Miller (2006) has proposed that consumption can be seen as being comprised of symbolic acts of display. Consumption practices, such as shopping and types of goods can reflect the person's roles and relationships. Through participating in garage sales, Hong embeds herself into a social landscape. Hong literally finds herself a place in the social map as a participant in the Kiwi culture. Consequently, Hong's identity is constituted, in part, by the material objects she has purchased. As presented in Figure 13, the material objects Hong bought in garage sales, by and large, are ornamental china items. Literally, Hong's Kiwi identity connects to her Chinese identity through the material object, china—a symbol of China and the practice of bargain hunting. These material objects possess real qualities that shape the acculturating self.

Figure 13. Hong's collections of garage-sale items

Literature has shown that acculturation plays a role in diluting the cultural values of a group (Marin & Gamda, 2003). For example, many of my participants placed less emphasis on traditional Chinese values, such as the importance of rites and rituals, cultural superiority and traditions of parent-children co-residence. Quan's account illustrated this trend when she observed her Kiwi neighbours:

> *I observe that Kiwi older people don't live with their adult children. Their children leave home at about 17 years old. They don't give money to their adult children. Their children borrow student loans themselves. When their children come back home for holiday from university they just give them some bread. But we Chinese parents pay for our children's tertiary education. Kiwi's practices have impacts on us. We don't and won't live with our adult children. We have started saving money for ourselves, not for our adult children anymore.*

Observational acculturation provokes Quan to rethink parent-child co-residence and family functioning. She appears to appreciate the Kiwi way in which parents relate to their adult children. Some research has suggested that older generations of Chinese people are the most static family members who are resistant to cultural change (Chun & Akutsu, 2002). My participants' narratives illustrate the capacity of older

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Chinese immigrants to develop intercultural competencies and adaptive skills through observation and reflection.

Familial acculturation

Although language acculturation has been emphasised in acculturation research (Cort, 2010), the extracts above demonstrate that a lack of English language proficiency among the participants does not necessarily result in absence of integration. While recent work on acculturation maintains a focus on language acculturation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2007), it has broadened to encompass a wider range of processes, which includes a familial perspective (Cort, 2010). According to Cort (2010), acculturation is something that occurs among immigrant families, not just among individual immigrants. Galambos and Almeida (1992) assert that the family is one of the main social institutions where many of the important lessons concerning how to adapt to society at large are learned. Immigrant families are not exempt from this process (Cort, 2010). From Chan's account, this is evident:

> *I brought some gifts from China. I wanted to give the gifts to my neighbours. But my daughter said that people here in New Zealand didn't like to accept presents from others. They would feel it's a burden to receive others' presents because in return they need to buy a gift for you. My daughter also told me that I need to ring my neighbours to make an appointment if I want to visit them. I don't speak English. It's impossible for me to ring them and make an appointment.*

Regardless of whether Chan's daughter's advice regarding "receiving gifts from others is a burden for Kiwis" and "making appointments with neighbours when visiting" is true or not, this excerpt suggests that older Chinese immigrants may have to rely on their children much more than they would have done if they were in China. This appears to be because they are less familiar with New Zealand cultures and their children often have the ability to pick up cultural norms faster than do they (Cort, 2010). In the words of Portes and Rumbaut (1996), this phenomenon suggests that "children become, in a real sense, their parents' parents" (p. 239-240), given the extent to which they assist with their parents' resocialisation.

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Culturally, Chan's daughter's understandings of the relationship between neighbours are contradictory to the meaning of neighbours in the Chinese culture. Historically, Chinese governments throughout the centuries have provided little to the citizens in terms of welfare protection and services. Older people were cared for by the young with minimal intervention from the State (Fung & Cheng, 2010). The welfare needs of individuals and groups were handled at a community level and through their kinship lineage networks (Chan, 1993). In cases where one's own children or relatives do not live close by, Chinese people believe, as in a Chinese proverb, that "A neighbour is closer than a distant relative." Dai described:

> *For me, neighbour means caring for and looking after one another. In China, when we left home for holiday or business, our neighbour looked after our house for us. When it rained and we weren't home, our neighbours would get our washing in. Especially in the 1970s, we shared a communal kitchen with our neighbours. We shared our food with our neighbours in the kitchen. It was a very close neighbourhood. However, in New Zealand, the relationship between neighbours is just about saying 'Hello!' nothing more. We need to adjust to the new environment.*

Dai's cultural memories of place such as neighbourhood can be interpreted as symbolic representations and value-laden emotive memories that serve as the interpretation of self in the social environment (Davidson, 2008b). The sharing of food can be seen as sharing of collective identities, which goes into the nurturing of belonging. Memory also functions as a site of transit that links the past with the present and points to the future that "we need to adjust to the new environment". Through the adjustment, Dai negotiates with ever-changing environments and intercultural expectations of neighbourhoods. In this sense, immigration is neither about individuals nor households. It is sets of relationships linked by culture, place and everyday experiences. Here, acculturation is about comparing what people did in China with what happens in New Zealand.

Similar to the participants' adult children, their grandchildren are another resource that helps them take part in public, educational and medical domains of life (Cort, 2010). In the immigration literature, grandchildren who serve as bridges between households and institutions outside the home are mostly invisible (*cf.,*

Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003). In the following comment, Zhao who studied English in a language school, highlighted her grandson as a facilitator who assists her to access educational and health services.

> *Our grandson is very helpful as an interpreter. For example, last month we had appointments with StudyLink[4] and our doctor. But our children were at work. Our grandson accompanied us to the StudyLink office and the clinic. His translation was very useful. He is our crutch.* (giggles)

Here, Zhao's grandson functions as a language and cultural broker to assist his grandparents in negotiating between their family and the community. As a language and cultural broker, the grandchild interprets and translates between culturally and linguistically different people (e.g., the grandparents and social service providers) and mediates interactions in a variety of situations and contexts (Tse, 1995). The process of language brokering not only shapes the grandparents' ethnic identities but also the grandchildren's. It also strengthens a key thread in the cobweb self between grandparents and grandson.

Participatory acculturation

As analysed in Chapter 5, human movement can invoke disruption of social networks and a loss of familiarity with daily routines and a diminished sense of control and status. Participation in community, such as joining a choir, creates opportunities for older Chinese immigrants to rebuild social networks (*cf.*, Putnam, 1995). Participation can also increase older Chinese migrants' feelings of control over the environment and help them develop an environment that fits more closely with their needs in navigating a new cultural milieu (Wandersman & Florin, 2000).

Wei reflected on how organising a choir creates a music-mediated environment in which the members of the choir fit in and negotiate social and cultural interaction:

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[4] StudyLink is a service of the Ministry of Social Development in New Zealand, providing financial support to students.

We set up our own choir. However, we didn't have professional conductor. I was a member of a choir in China, knowing a little bit about choirs. Our members asked me to conduct the choir. I started learning how to conduct a choir. When we practiced, we explored music together and influenced each other. New things were created in the process of learning and practicing.

Wei's account shows that music can emphasise the relatedness of members of the choir with creativeness and concreteness that language cannot easily reproduce. Through its fundamentally iconic and concrete functioning, music foregrounds the older Chinese people's involvement with their cultural memories, histories and identity (re)constructions (Cheung, 2008). When the choir grows, members of the choir grow too. During the processes of growth, cultural identities which belong to the symbolic dimensions of the social and cultural realities are rendered into direct and concrete musical activities, choir practices in this case. Wei, in the following account, illustrated that the musical medium is also a powerful form that mediates older Chinese migrants' acculturation:

We sang the Chinese songs belonging to our generation. When we sang the song My Motherland and I, *we deeply missed our motherland. Being overseas Chinese living in New Zealand, we were proud of ourselves. We also learned to sing the New Zealand national anthem in English and Maori languages; of course, we had strong Chinese accents.* (chuckles)

Music has a special capacity to evoke and symbolise the emotional and semantically experienced dimensions of people's lives (Shepherd & Wicke, 1997). It is through this capacity that Wei and her friends are able to create symbolic aspects of their social and collective worlds in songs (Cheung, 2008). By singing Chinese songs, which "belong to their generation," Wei and her friends carry their responsibilities towards their motherland and their nostalgia with the songs through which their feelings are more richly articulated. Singing English and Maori songs with a strong Chinese accent evokes a mixture of tongues. In a sense, elements of Chinese, English and Maori cultures become woven into the person's sense of self, reflecting the mixture of cultures and identities. Aspects of different cultures are brought into dialogue, and new identities and practices can begin to emerge as a result. This

suggests that cultural identity is often fluid and hybrid when manifest in everyday practices (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010).

Multicultural musical practices can be read as registering the sense of belonging to a new land. In a sense, the songs actually become a place and home (Gunew, 2003). Tuan (2004) proposes that music is home, a virtual place people visit again and again to sing or listen to favourite songs and to gain a sense of belonging and participation. The musical landscaping and soundscape creates a place which people do not tire of returning to, and a place that nurtures the socio-cultural roots of the self, and reminds the self that home is the here and there, the then and now (Li & Groot, 2010). Music not only expresses or reflects what people are like. Music also "creates and constructs people" (Cheung, 2008, p. 226). Multicultural musical practices, as a form of participatory acculturation, place the individual in the social. Music here stands for, symbolises and offers the immediate experience of the acculturating self (*cf.*, Firth, 1987). Chan reflected:

> *Music is beyond cultural borders. Our choir was invited to an Indian festival* (see Figure 14). *We sang the song* You and Me*, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Theme Song. We sang in both Chinese and English. When the Indian community gave us big applauses, we were very proud of ourselves. After our performance, my daughter asked her Kiwi friend whether she understood our English. Her Kiwi friend said, "Yes, it's about family and that we are family."*

In Chan's account, the musical landscape moves across cultural borders. The musical landscape creates, as well as being created by, the intercultural sociality. Music creates a cultural contact zone in which people from different cultures share cultural similarities (*cf.*, Bender, 2006). In this sense, acculturation is not only concerned with cultural differences, but cultural similarities which have been overlooked in acculturation research. Moreover, through music the Chinese older people are not only acculturated by other cultures, but also acculturate people from other cultures.

Figure 14. The Chinese choir

Wei and Chan's comments suggest that their acculturation occurs not merely between two cultures, but also includes Chinese, English, Maori and Indian cultures. This finding challenges the assumption in Berry's (2006) acculturation model that immigrants who move to a new country only have continuous and firsthand contact with a single mainstream culture (see Chapter 2). Acculturation processes of older Chinese migrants are dynamic and in flux, influenced by their intercultural participation. In New Zealand, cultural diversity is an everyday reality, which is manifested in the ongoing multicultural contact. Acknowledging acculturation as a dynamic process, interacting with increasingly multicultural landscapes, will increase awareness of how immigrants encounter and potentially incorporate values, beliefs and practices of an array of other cultures. If this possibility is embraced, members of both immigrant and receiving cultures will become progressively more knowledgeable and welcoming of a variety of cultures (Nayar, 2009).

Chinese media acculturation

Media intervene in the migration process and in the individual and collective experience of immigration in many ways (Wood & King, 2001). In immigration media studies, attention has largely been paid to the mainstream media of the host country and discriminatory representational practices. Little attention has been directed to the consumption practices of media produced by local ethnic communities (Deuze, 2006; Tsagarousianou, 2001). Lee's account shows that local Chinese media

products, as his "ears and eyes" in the construction of his everyday life, help him create a space where he feels "at home." Media assist Lee to acculturate to New Zealand cultures:

> *This is my bedroom and this is my desk* (see Figure 15). *I have a radio. I use it to listen to local Chinese community programs. I also collect local Chinese newspapers every week. They are my ears and eyes through which I get to know what's going on in New Zealand and China.*
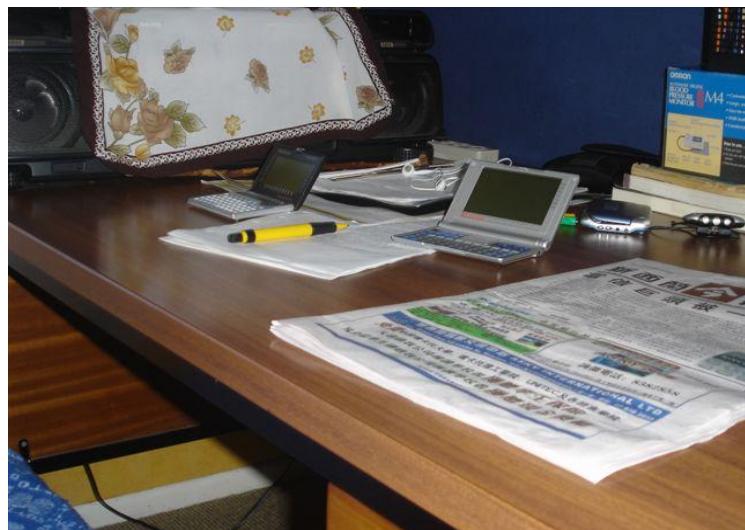
Figure 15. Lee's desk in his bedroom

Lee's account suggests that Chinese media are important for his acculturation. The Chinese media provide a structure of support for Lee who might otherwise feel culturally and psychologically marginalised and isolated. Lee uses Chinese community media as virtually exclusive sources of information, entertainment and raw material for identity building (Tsagarousianou, 2001). When I asked about their routines, all participants who lived in Auckland stressed the importance of the daily news slot on the AM936 NZ[5] from 7.30 to 9.30 every morning. Mei even described the almost ritualistic preparation for this unique moment which provided her and her husband with a means of daily contact with China as well as New Zealand:

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[5] AM936 NZ is a Mandarin language radio channel which broadcasts twenty-four hours daily nationwide and with radio frequency AM 936 to cover the Auckland area.

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Everyday 7.30am to 9.30am is a time slot we do not go anywhere. My husband starts to tune in AM936 at about 7.15am so that we will not miss local news. We don't read English newspapers because we don't understand English. Local Chinese media help us learn local news and news from China.

The Chinese media are not simply viewed as information transmitters. They also offer positions for older Chinese immigrants as "intercultural citizens" in New Zealand (*cf.*, Tsagarousianou, 2001). Those "intercultural citizens" forge and maintain social ties through their engagements with the Chinese media, forming a mediated community (Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2007).

Tong described how the Chinese media brought Chinese people together through discussions on filial piety on radio and newspapers:

The Chinese media initiated debates on filial piety. I listened to the debate on the radio and read the discussion columns in Chinese newspapers every day. The Chinese media provided a forum where younger and older generations could have dialogues. I discussed the topic with my friends when we did yum cha[6]*. As older Chinese adults, we learned from the forum about young people's perspectives of filial piety and tried to look at the world through their lenses.*

Here, Chinese media are represented as providing shared spaces for Chinese people to engage in collective and cultural practices. Such practices can foster a sense of trust and belonging, providing an opportunity for intergenerational engagements, while reformulating social relations (Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008). Tong and her friends directly engage with the Chinese media. They developed better understandings of the ongoing issues regarding filial piety in the Chinese community when the media accounts were discussed and reworked during *yum cha*. In such a mediated world, older Chinese people's identities can be nurtured and developed; belonging and participation can be fostered; supportive networks can be maintained; and a sense of community can be cultivated (Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008).

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[6] *Yum cha* is Cantonese which literally means "drink tea". It is a dining experience which involves drinking Chinese tea and eating *dim sum* dishes.

Through the mediated community, older Chinese migrants construct connections between the self, Chinese and New Zealand cultures, and society. In this way, acculturation is lived, but also imagined. Ideas of cultures hover between experience and desire (*cf.*, Hodgetts & Chamberlain, 2007). Such a notion of "imagined acculturation" illustrates that first-hand contact between different cultures is no longer a necessity for acculturation within the context of technological developments. Acculturation also occurs via technology.

Religious and spiritual acculturation

Research on the concept of "spirituality" demonstrates its overlap with "religion" (Moberg, 2005). In this section, while acknowledging the existence of complexities surrounding spirituality, spirituality and religion are used in a narrow way as interchangeable terms. As Nelson-Becker (2005) maintains, religion may provide answers to existential questions, social support, purpose of life, spiritual guidance, and other resources. Research has demonstrated that religion is an important coping resource for many older adults (Mehta, 1997; Seicol, 2005). Older Chinese migrants face challenges due to immigration, ageing and other life events such as loneliness, bereavement, health problems and relationship issues. A supportive faith community can provide resources such as emotional and spiritual support and practical help to meet older Chinese migrants' social needs.

Involving themselves in faith communities is increasingly important for some of my participants when their social support resources have decreased in a new country and with age. As Wei described:

> *I was so lonely during the first three month after my arrival in New Zealand* (see Chapter 5)*. When I was considering returning to China, I was introduced to a Chinese church where I met many older Chinese migrants from mainland China. We spoke the same language and had similar cultural backgrounds and immigration experiences. We are one family in which we support each other. Since then I have felt I am not as lonely as before.*

Involvement in religious-oriented activities seems to direct Wei's energies in a constructive and meaningful way, preventing her from being consumed by loneliness.

Religion serves as a vehicle for empowerment and connection. Religion is one of the institutional realms wherein values, beliefs, and practices can powerfully coalesce into a coherent social identity (Nelson-Becker, 2005). It is noticeable that the participants who converted to Christianity had little interaction with Christianity before they came to New Zealand and only converted to Christianity after they had settled in the new country. Some of them were the members of the Communist Party of China. Zhuang stated:

> *We both* (Zhuang and his wife) *were the members of the Communist Party of China. It was a long process for us to convert from an atheist to believing in God. We were struggling because we felt that we were betraying the Communist Party of China… Our son and daughter-in-law are Christians. They took us to participate in church activities. Gradually we accepted Christianity. We finally found that the beliefs of love, mercy and justice were what we pursued when we were members of the Communist Party.*

Zhuang portrays conversion, which is a symbol of acculturation, as a more gradual process. For him, conversion was seen as a conscious dedication to Christian causes and values, such as love, mercy, and justice. Conversion provides the necessary spiritual space for Zhuang and his wife to foster their acculturating identity by serving as a bridge between the old and the new worlds (Ng, 2002). Religion provides Zhuang and his wife with unique maps of the way the world ought to be that inspires them to make their ideals—which they had pursued as members of the Communist Party of China—a reality (Chen, 2002). Religion here is understood as a temporally embedded process of social engagement that is informed by the past and also oriented toward the present and the future (*cf.*, Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Zhuang also pointed out the importance of shared religious affiliation with his family members. As Nelson-Becker (2005) has proposed, religion can be seen as a family-based phenomenon in that religious values are often transmitted through the family such as from the parents to children or from the children to the parents in Zhuang's case. This process allows the family to establish another framework for coping strategies involving intergenerational support within the contexts of acculturation and faith-based interaction.

Ming's account below suggests that the moral ideals of Christianity, such as communal love, loyalty and duty, consolidate the bonds with Chinese values such as filial piety:

I am not a Christian. But I go to church myself and encourage my grandchildren to go to church too… The Christian belief of communal love is consistent with Confucian filial piety which emphasises love and support to one's parents. If you love your neighbours, how would you not love your parents? If you don't love your parents, how can you be a filial child?

Ming described his understandings of the Christian belief of love at a spiritual level although he was not a Christian. His spirituality is associated with his human quest for meaning. Through this process, Ming searches for the wholeness of what it is to be human and to build meaningful relationships with others. Such searching transcends any single culture. Ming appreciates Christian religious beliefs, at the same time he maintains Chinese traditional values, filial piety in this case. In the words of Constable (1994), Ming's practice can be characterised as "Christian souls and Chinese spirits." Such a practice again highlights the importance of cultural similarity in the process of acculturation. For older Chinese migrants, cultural similarity may reduce insecurity in interpersonal and intergroup relations. Cultural similarity can be regarded as rewarding because it confirms that their beliefs and values are welcomed in New Zealand. As a consequence, interactions between them and the host culture occur more smoothly (van Oudenhoven, 2006). The practice of Christian souls and Chinese spirits suggests that cultures are mixing and moving. In that regard, I argue that the experience of being "between cultures" is not being at a certain static point of a continuum of two cultures, but a dynamic process of shifting between two cultures. In this chapter, the use of the present participle form "acculturating" (e.g., acculturating self) rather than the adjective "acculturative" (e.g., acculturative self) attempts to capture the fluid and dynamic feature of acculturation.

In the analysis above, a dynamic multiplicity of voices is noticeable: the Chinese people, Christian believers, members of the Communist Party of China, atheists, men, women, ageing adults, migrants, parents and grandparents. All these voices speak, more or less, and respond to one another in more or less dominant ways. This multi-voicedness is characterised not only in the relationships between

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cultures, but also in the relationships between different cultural positions within an individual self (Hermans, 2001b). Such a dialogical, social and relational self acknowledges history, body, and social environments as intrinsic features of a developing person localised in time and space.

Chapter summary

This chapter has explored the processes of acculturation evident in participants' everyday lives. Acculturation often ruptures people's existing ways of life and the connections of people to places and their shared identities. Despite hardship, my participants survive and flourish in a new land through processes of adaptive acculturation (*cf.*, Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). The participants face challenges and stresses, but also discovery, possibility, hopes, joys and renewal. My analysis illustrates how such adaptive acculturation entails older Chinese migrants' abilities to both integrate with the host culture and maintain their ethnic identities. Such integration is associated with positive wellbeing and indicates access to resources provided by the immigrants' families and own cultural groups along with the resources emanating from the host society. In this regard, social support plays an important role in successful adaptation and wellbeing among older Chinese immigrants. My analysis shows that older migrants support one another by maintaining a shared interpretation of their collective experiences, and by providing social resources, such as singing Chinese songs, to alleviate acculturation stressors. Forging new social networks within the cultural milieu of the host country is integral to their adaptation (*cf.*, Jorden, Matheson, & Anisman, 2009).

The older adults are, therefore, not simple passive recipients, in the process of acculturation, of what the world has to offer, but are instead active, intentional agents. This finding has implications for conceptualisation of culture and understanding the ideology underpinning understandings of acculturation. As Markus and Hamedani (2007) argue, an essential element of human behaviour is an engagement of a person making sense of a world that is replete with meanings, material subjects and practices. Central to understanding how the cultural and psychological construct each other is what Shweder (1995) calls "meanings". Meanings are useful units of the mutual constitution; because they refer to constructed entities that cannot be located solely in the mind or solely in the world. Rather, meanings are always distributed across both (Markus & Hamedani, 2007;

Shweder, 1995). Substantial differences in these meanings provide useful ways of distinguishing among cultural contexts (Markus & Hamedani, 2007). Circumstances keep changing; culture at the same time keeps evolving instead of being static (Triandis, 2007). In this sense, culture, as a process, is continuously produced and reproduced in the dynamic interaction between individuals and their social and natural environments. So is acculturation.

As argued in Chapter 2, the dominant acculturation studies are underpinned by the questions of host language proficiency, frequency of host language use, host language media consumption (TV, video, newspaper, magazine), ethnicity of friends, food consumption at and outside home, and social gathering and so on (Jang et al., 2007; Kao & Travis, 2005; Schnittker, 2002). Such an approach to acculturation focuses on surface behaviours that are open to code switching, such as language, cuisine, fashions and other preferences, while ignoring deep meaning-generating aspects of culture (Chirkov, 2009c). The approach sees acculturation as abstract or something that is detached from the person. Many acculturation researchers have argued that the role of the host language in the identity negotiations of immigrants is critical and the use of the host language can serve as a marker of immigrant status (Deaux, 2000). My analysis indicates that the host language does not serve as the sole key indicator of acculturation for my participants. I am not suggesting that the host language is unimportant in the process of acculturation; simply, my participants work around language barriers in ways that are not accounted for in dominant acculturation research. For this group of immigrants, their acculturation is mediated by practices beyond language. Consequently, material culture plays a more fundamentally constitutive role in their acculturation processes than does the host language. Participants' observations on everyday practices of their neighbours do far more than just speak as the non-verbal social interaction expresses meanings beyond languages. In this sense, a new reflective, critical and cultural approach to studying acculturation processes is required (Chirkov, 2009a, 2009b; Waldram, 2009).

Among Berry's (2006) four typologies of acculturation (assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation), the categories of "assimilation" and "marginalisation", which require non-adherence to the original culture (Jang et al., 2007), may not applicable to the participants. These participants are more likely to be categorised as "separation" for reasons such as their low scores of English proficiency, frequency of English use and English media consumption, and high

scores of ethnic friends and so on. However, my analysis has shown that the participants are marginal, but these participants are not marginalised because they are respected members of both cultures (*cf.*, Liu, 2009). Rather than separating themselves from the host culture, they actively integrate into larger society through observational, familial, participatory, media, and religious acculturation. Their acculturation is not a passive process. They engage positively in their acculturation and increasingly come to be acculturated into a number of communities with varying degrees of success (*cf.*, Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). Berry's four typologies of acculturation offer an incomplete picture of acculturation. The model rests on contestable assumptions about measurements and meanings that fail to capture the complexity of acculturation and human agents' involvements and efforts in the processes of acculturation. In addition, Berry's model fails to examine group-specific settings and social, cultural and material resources available in negotiating intergroup relations (Sonn & Fisher, 2005). It is not my intention to suggest that Berry's model is irrelevant to older Chinese immigrants; rather, I would argue that existing theories need to be rethought in the light of the complexity that surrounds human engagements in everyday life.

According to Goffman (1959), human actors bring selves into view by taking account of, managing, and developing their performances in relation to fellow actors, audiences and the settings in which the performances unfold. The presentation of the self is practical in that it is not fully scripted as a stage production might be predetermined. Rather, the self performatively weaves its way through everyday interactions through which people develop. When older Chinese people move to New Zealand, the social and cultural settings in which they construct themselves change. These changes in their everyday lives produce new types of social relations through the processes of acculturation *(cf.,* Simmel, 1971). As a result, the identities of Chinese migrants' transform (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). My analysis draws on the interactionist notion that people have as many selves as relationships and social settings. It is through the locating of the self in the situations that people understand who and what they are (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010).

For Goffman, some of the most important performative interactions are the material features of a social setting, such as bodies, postures, furniture arrangements, lighting and so on. These material features, Goffman argues, play a central role in the work of self presentation as do talk and emotional expressions. In other words, subjectivity is embedded in the material world of a performance

(Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Following Goffman's arguments, I maintain that the older Chinese migrants' acculturation is also materially mediated. These material mediations are ubiquitous in older Chinese migrants' acculturating identity landscape. Here the material world does not stand on its own; it does not determine older Chinese migrants' identities in some independent fashion, as if it were separate and distinct from the everyday practices. Nevertheless, the material world is there in people's everyday life and mediates acculturation and the construction of self on its own terms. Using material objects metaphorically allows people to borrow or transfer meaning between interpretive realms (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

Within existing acculturation research, cultural values have received relatively less attention than identity and behavioural practices (Chia & Costigan, 2006). The next chapter explores the participants' understandings of the cultural value of filial piety and their practices of filial piety in everyday life. Filial piety research has also largely focused on quantitative surveys which detach people from the world in which they practice filial piety. The approach to acculturation taken in this research, which combines concepts such as everyday experience, offers an alternative.

7 EVOLUTION OF FILIAL PIETY

In the previous chapter I argued that everyday practices can shift with the process of acculturation. In this fashion, it can be anticipated that as older Chinese immigrants become exposed to New Zealand culture and navigate values, expectations, norms, and practices of the New Zealand culture, changes may be produced in their cultural practices such as filial piety (*cf.*, Marin, 1993). The practices of filial piety can therefore be expected to reinforce, modify, or change within the context of acculturation. In Chapter 3, I reviewed five aspects of filial piety which have evolved over time. I illustrated both continuity and discontinuity in Chinese aged care practices. Building upon such a review, this chapter gives particular attention to those five aspects of filial piety and considers a new component of children's achievements.

Limitations of decontextualisation in acculturation research discussed in Chapter 6 also exist in filial piety research. Much of the latter research features questions such as monetary amounts of assistance paid to parents (Chappell & Kusch, 2007), whether children pay attention to their parents' daily activities and diet (Kao & Travis, 2005), and important behaviours or gestures by which children express their respect for older parents (Sung, 2004) and show the respect before others (Cheng & Chan, 2006). Such quantitative studies continue to produce some interesting insights into understanding filial piety. However, they are limited by the tendency to treat filial piety as a set of abstract concepts and norms, and to study these in a manner which is largely disengaged from people and their everyday practices. In response, I do not focus on experience-distant use of survey instruments. Rather, I utilise an experience-near approach to uncover what matters for the participants as they make meaning in their lives (Waldram, 2009). Throughout the chapter, I demonstrate that filial piety is a dynamic cultural concept that is adapted to changing social, cultural, geographic and economic contexts.

Living arrangements

All participants reported that they lived in mortgage-free apartments as homeowners in China. A large majority of the participants retained their apartments in China. Some had their married children and their families living with them in their homes before they moved to New Zealand. As mentioned in Chapter 4, when they first

arrived in New Zealand, all of the participants lived in the homes of their adult children. A general pattern in the living arrangements for the participants was that they often experienced pre-co-residence and parent-child co-residence stages, and some of them later moved to a "filial piety at a distance" stage at which they lived away from their adult children. I present an analysis of the participants' living arrangements and focus on family dynamics within the households in which the participants live and interact with other family members. This analysis reflects the notion (see Chapter 3) that filial piety practices involve support and assistance not only from children to their ageing parents, but also from ageing parents to their children. Familial aged care is also interwoven with community, social and institutional support.

Pre-co-residence: Lack of preparation

Research into migration has revealed the importance of pre-migration preparation for equipping migrants to address the challenges of migration (Chou, 2008; Ho, Li, Cooper, & Holmes, 2007). Ryan and colleagues (2006) found that poorly planned migration is a significant factor that contributes to depression among Irish migrants to London. Similarly, Chou (2008) found that poor migration planning relates to depressive symptoms among new immigrants from PRC to Hong Kong. My participants' accounts suggest that they had some pre-migration preparation. For example, they realised that they would experience language difficulties and New Zealand cultures were distant from the Chinese culture. However, a lack of pre-co-resident preparation is evident in their narratives, which reveals their struggles to cope with the combined challenges of migration and co-residence. Such a lack of preparation can result in co-residence pressure occurring on top of migration-related stress for the participants. Chan reflected:

> *My daughter invited me to come to New Zealand because she wanted our family to reunify. Although I had never lived with my married children, I thought it should not be that difficult to live with my daughter's family because our family was a happy family in China. But it doesn't work in that way. Co-residing is not as easy as I thought.*

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As a parent who previously had not lived with her married children in China, Chan appears not to have had adequate pre-co-resident preparation, including discussions with her adult children about the complexity of multiple generations living under the same roof and how to deal with situations where intergenerational conflicts occur. Chan's account implies that her children and she expected that positive intergenerational relationships would be automatically established and serve to maintain cohesion and harmony in the family system when they moved in together. However, their stories revealed situations that did not meet these ideals.

The parents who had lived with their adult children in China also revealed that, before they moved to New Zealand and lived with their adult children, they lacked an awareness that family power and roles might change when they lived in their children's houses. As Xia stated:

My son-in-law called us several times a week, pushing us to come to New Zealand to look after our grandson. At that moment, we didn't know much about New Zealand. We looked at the map and found, "My goodness, New Zealand is so small." We didn't want to come. But I had no choice because our grandson needed us. We had lived with our children's families in China in our home. We didn't have any preparation for living together with my daughter's family in their house. It is not easy to deal with intergenerational relationships when parents and adult children live together.

Xia came to New Zealand to assist with the care of her grandchild. As she had lived with her children's families, Xia seems to be unprepared for the change of parent-child power dynamics when she moved from China to New Zealand. Although a harmony of interest may exist among all members of the family, conflicts and contradictions are likely to occur when older Chinese migrants live with their children in a new culture and especially when the intergenerational relationships and domestic power dynamic have shifted (see Chapter 5). As Luscher and Pillemer (1998) argue, caring for children can be seen as leading to self-development and fostering a sense of self-worth, self-esteem and connectedness. Giving care is humanising, meaningful and fulfilling. Simultaneously, however, people can be overwhelmed by caregiving responsibilities and can become isolated from the larger society, especially in the case of older Chinese migrants who have less power both

in their children's homes and in New Zealand society. Therefore, psychological preparation is likely to benefit the participants and their children when they cope with challenges that arise from the combined effects of migration and parent-child co-residence. If they had had more pre-co-resident preparation alongside their migration preparation, they might have foreseen some of the combined issues instead of being surprised by the conflicts and tensions with their co-resident adult children.

There has been a long tradition in the field of intergenerational relationships documenting positive and negative aspects of social interaction within family regimes. Early approaches have characterised the relationships as either "solidarity" or "problematic" (Peters, Hooker, & Zvonkovic, 2006). As Marshall and colleagues (1993) have put it, "the substantive preoccupation in gerontology over the past 30 years point to a love-hate relationship with the family" (p. 47). Such an either love or hate perspective often misses the nuanced complexities that feature family relationships (Peters et al., 2006). Intergenerational relationships comprise processes of power negotiation, involving affection, harmony, confusion, strain, tension, and mixed resentment between ageing parents and adult children (Pyke, 1999). Such issues can arise in most families, as family members are required to negotiate different phases of life, and the competing needs and expectations of other family members (Connidis & McMullin, 2002a). For immigrants, these intergenerational family issues can be intensified by the losses and challenges that accompany the migration experience.

In the next section, I focus on the different lifestyles, and financial and parenting issues among co-resident ageing parents and their adult children. I will show that intergenerational relationships can be socially and culturally interpreted as manifestations of family members' multiple desires, expectations and needs. I will demonstrate the efforts that the parents and children invest to negotiate those desires, expectations and needs within the context of practicing filial piety. Reflecting the concept of the looking-glass self (Cooley, 1902), as family members interact, they develop a sense of who they are from how other family members respond to them. The following sections will show that individual selves arise out of the social (*cf.*, Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

Parent-child co-residence: Multiple desires, expectations and needs

Research has portrayed parent-child relationships as a complex web of simultaneously positive and negative emotions which reflect multiple desires, expectations and needs in the household (Pillemer & Luscher, 2004). The multiple desires, expectations and needs can invoke contradictions and even conflicts among family members. The simultaneously positive and negative emotions and feelings can be more intensified for migrant families. In particular, the migrant parent-child co-resident families experience more complex desires, expectations and needs related to immigration and acculturation. In the following account, Jiao presented simultaneous positive and negative feelings manifested in dealing with different lifestyles between the parent and the child (*cf.*, Pillemer, 2004):

> *Our family is a big family with nine people living together. We sing; we laugh; we help each other… Our children used to eat whatever I cooked when we were in China. But, now…We older people love to eat Chinese noodles for our breakfast. Our children and grandchildren like cornflakes. We like Chinese vegetables. They like chicken, beef steaks and sausages. These differences are trivial, but, sometimes are very annoying, particularly for me who is the person prepares for meals for the family.*

Jiao enjoys parent-child co-residence in which she experiences the warm, joyful and delighted relationships with her children and grandchildren. However, frustration, disappointment and resentment also coexist. Although multiple desires, expectations and needs in the household can manifest more or less at different points in the life course (*cf.*, Connidis & McMullin, 2002b), they are particularly strong during life transitions such as immigration. Such major life transitions often cause conflicting norms resulting from a change in the previously established parent-child relations. For example, Jiao expects her children and grandchildren to comply with her lifestyle and eating habits. However, she simultaneously recognises that her acculturating children and grandchildren enjoy more Western food than Chinese food. This reflects a phenomenon of "cultural lag" (Ogburn, 1950) where cultural practices formed under earlier situations, such as the eating habits acquired over a life time, may continue to influence people's action under changed situations.

Multiple desires, expectations and needs also have implications for the self and identity. For example, multivoicedness and dialogue are closely linked to the multiplicity of desires, expectations and needs. As argued in Chapter 2, self or identity can be conceived of as a dynamic multiplicity of different and even contrasting positions or voices that allow mutual dialogical relationships. Different and contrasting aspects in co-resident parent-child relationships can be part of repertoire of voices playing their part in a multivoiced self (*cf.,* Hermans & Kempen, 1998). This multivoiced self is evident when Huang talks about the multiple expectations related to financial issues in the situation of parent-child co-residence.

During the first two years after we moved to New Zealand, we were not eligible for benefits. We lived with our daughter who provided financial support to us. Now we've got benefits from the Government. The money is given to us by the Government. It's not our daughter's money. However, our daughter manages our money because we are unable to deal with English documents. Our money is mainly used to help her in paying her mortgage. Yes, we are willing to help her. But…umm… Who doesn't want to be financially independent? Who doesn't want to have freedom to spend his or her own money?

This excerpt illustrates how a lack of financial independence has impacts on the parents' sense of selfhood. Such an issue invokes Huang's ambivalent feelings towards his daughter. On the one hand, Huang feels mutual attachment and affection between his daughter and himself and appreciates his daughter's support. On the other hand, Huang experiences greater estrangement when he lives with his daughter in a new culture, feels that he has lost financial control, and is overwhelmed by his daughter's requests for financial assistance. Such ambivalence indicates that there is a variety of mixed and even contradicting feelings, practices and meanings associated with filial piety. The ambivalent feelings, practices and meanings reflect the simultaneous unity (the *I*) and multiplicity (the *me*) of the self and the notion that there are as many selves as there are situations (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). The person interacts with the world through dialogues that could be manifested interpersonally across the boundary of the self and world, as well as intrapersonally as the play of internalised voices as inner speech (Raggatt, 2006).

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Through the interactions with the environment (his daughter, new cultures and new domestic relationships), for example, Huang copes with intergenerational relationships and grows within the dialogical exchanges of everyday life.

It is important to note here that the dialogical self is not restricted to verbal dialogue. It also encompasses multiplicity and the conflicts between feelings, shared practices and meanings (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). In this sense, I consider that the self is dialectical. The dialectical self reflects Chinese dialectical thinking. As Peng and Nisbett (1999) have argued, Chinese people believe that the world is in constant flux and that a single part cannot be understood except in relation to the whole. Both change and complexity imply contradiction. In Western cultures, a common response to propositions that have the appearance of contradiction is to focus on the decision of which of two propositions is correct (Peng & Nisbett, 1999). The Chinese culture encourages people to deal with contradiction through what might be a compromise approach, showing tolerance of contradiction by finding a "middle way" (*Zhongyong*, 中庸) by which the self can be found in each of two competing propositions. Similar to the dialogical self, the dialectical self is "social", not in the sense that a self-contained individual enters into social interactions with other outside people, but in the sense that other people occupy positions in a multiple, conflicting, but interconnected self (Hermans, 2001a).

As noted in Chapter 4, a majority of participants moved to New Zealand to assist with the care of their grandchildren. Participants enjoy connectedness with their grandchildren. Besides such positive feelings, many participants experienced grandparenting issues that reflected differences between life in China and New Zealand. For example, Xia described that she had different opinions from her adult children on how to educate her grandson:

Our daughter and son-in-law have different directions which confuse our grandson. They often provided opposing ideas to our grandson. They told me that they were offering options to our grandson so that he could make his own decisions. But I don't agree with the somewhat Westernised way in which they raise our grandson. But I try not to say anything about their parenting.

According to Peters and colleagues (2006), different expectations of how to raise children between parents and grandparents can evolve into intergenerational tensions. In addition, several cultural factors may intensify the intergenerational tensions in relation to parenting and grandparenting in Chinese migrant families. As mentioned in previous chapters, more acculturated parents are more likely to adopt new cultural norms and practices of parenting than do grandparents. Such acculturation gaps may result in the discrepancy between somewhat Western oriented parenting and Chinese grandparenting practices, which may increase intergenerational tensions.

Changing power relationships may also cause intergenerational relationship tensions in Chinese migrant families if the adult child is dominant as the source of the family's prosperity and homeownership (*cf.*, Connidis & McMullin, 2002b). The intergenerational tensions that Xia presents are not only situated at the interpersonal level in the form of roles and norms, but also based on the varied rights and privileges that define parent-adult child relationships. As a social actor, Xia attempts to reconcile different expectations, even when constrained to varying degrees by the family structure. Negotiating these different expectations requires taking action of some kind, including the decision to take no action (Connidis & McMullin, 2002b), as illustrated in Xia's account.

Symbolic interactionists have moved theoretical thinking forward by examining what has been taken for granted—from people's daily interactions with one another to the patterned relationships of social structures (Connidis & McMullin, 2002a). This orientation to the multiplicity of intergenerational relationships helps us avoid idealising traditional Chinese families and challenges people to think critically about evolving family relations (*cf.*, Connidis & McMullin, 2002b). Rather than conceptualising Chinese families according to relative levels of solidarity (see Chapter 1), my analysis promotes consideration of how Chinese family members negotiate their multiple and complex desires and expectations in their everyday lives (*cf.*, Connidis & McMullin, 2002b). Such negotiation may precipitate changes of family structure and living arrangements. In this study, some of the participants resolved the intergenerational tensions by moving out from the practice of parent-child co-residence to "filial piety at a distance".

Filial Piety at a distance

Zhang (2004) argues that the decisions of ageing parents to live away from their adult children are often viewed as a reflection of an economic demand for the ageing parents' autonomy. Research reveals that most older people choose to live independently and the extent of such a choice is dependent on their financial resources (Davey et al., 2004; Saville-Smith et al., 2008). In other words, financial security is often followed by an increased propensity for older people to live alone. This is reflected in my participants' acknowledgements of welfare services in New Zealand. As Qian stated, "Without income support from the Government, we are unlikely to rent this private house ourselves." The welfare services greatly enhance the participants' ability to attain financial independence, freedom and autonomy (Zhang, 2004). Independence, freedom and autonomy are the themes permeating the participants' narratives when they talked about what motivated them to live away from their children.

Xing and Dong offered an account of an ageing couple taking the initiative to move out from their adult children's house and exert a sense of control over their lives:

> *Xing: We moved to New Zealand before our grandson was born. After a couple of months, the in-laws of our son came to New Zealand to live with us as well. Life was stressful living in a multi-family household. We took the initiative to move out and rented this house. We now enjoy independence, freedom and autonomy. We are much happier now.*
>
> *Dong: We love our grandson and are happy to help our children. However, living with our son's family was stressful. We don't want to ask ourselves every day about whether I say something I shouldn't say, whether others like the meals I cook and whether I spend money I am not expected to spend.*

Xing and Dong present complex feelings of living with their adult children. On the one hand, close contact on a daily basis offers Xing and Dong with joy and family affection. On the other hand, such close contact appears to lead to strained family relations, which in turn adds stress to their lives. By living separately from their adult children, Xing and Dong can enjoy independence, freedom and autonomy. Such

independence, freedom and autonomy are not only for the parents, but also for the children. Hua stated:

My son-in-law is a Kiwi. He's very nice, never complaining about us living with them. Children living with their ageing parents is a filial practice in the Chinese culture. But we know in the Kiwi culture parents normally don't live with their adult children. We took initiative to move out and live on our own.

Hua's excerpt exemplifies that some participants lived with their in-laws whose cultural backgrounds were different from theirs. In such a parent-child co-resident situation, both the parents and children need to come to terms with different cultural beliefs and practices of ageing parents' living arrangements. Even though the relationships in the household were largely amicable, cultural differences put pressure on Hua when she co-resided with her daughter's family. Living at a distance creates more comfortable cultural spaces for both the parents and children. The process of Hua's living re-arrangements can be considered as a process of identity negotiation which is complex as she inhabits a hybrid cultural household. Hua becomes aware of her own cultural identity when a contrast with a cultural other—her son-in-law—is produced (O'Sullivan-Lago, de Abreu, & Burgess, 2008). For Hua and her children, living at a distance can be seen as an adjustment to practicing filial piety in a Western country. Such a practice captures the dynamics between filial piety as a belief system and filial piety as an enactment and a process embedded in a social context (*cf.*, Mahalingam, 2008). In the process, new identities are constructed for both the parents and children.

For some participants, their adjustment to living away from their children is initially not an easy task. There can be particular challenges for those older migrants whose children decide to move away and live at a distance, as Tong described:

When my son and daughter-in-law decided to move out and leave me in this private rental house, I was in the USA visiting my younger son and daughter. My son told me their decision of moving out via phone. I felt I was abandoned when I returned to New Zealand and lived alone. I blamed my son as an unfilial son… Shortly after I lived alone, however, I found there were many

advantages living at a distance. For example, I now can eat pork which I hadn't eaten since I lived with my daughter-in-law who didn't eat pork. More importantly, I can go out with my friends whenever I want. My physical health is better too…Every Friday afternoon, my son picks me up to go to his place. I spend weekends with my son's family. He is more filial now.

Here, Tong presents a cultural interpretation of leaving the parent's home. Rather than taking it as a necessary life event that contributes to personal growth as in the Western culture, the Chinese tradition considers leaving the parental home as turning against filial piety, in particular when a child leaves without parental consent (Ting & Chiu, 2002). Moreover, historically in the Chinese culture leaving the ageing parent living alone is often regarded as socially unacceptable behaviour of abandoning the ageing parent (Wang, 2004) because it implies that the parents may not voluntarily live alone. As such, Tong viewed her son as an unfilial child. Tong's son's leaving home without discussing it with Tong can also be viewed as an action that breaks family harmony. Ensuring family relations are harmonious is stressed by Confucianism, and therefore this is usually considered to be of utmost importance in Chinese families. Chinese people, from an early age, learn to think of family first and strive to maintain harmonious and coherent family relations (Ward & Lin, 2010). To maintain solidarity within family, individuals must submit themselves to family goals and behave according to their status and role in family instead of their individual goals (Ting & Chiu, 2002). In a sense, Tong's son informed Tong that he would move out via telephone conversation suggests that he might be unable to communicate with his mother face-to-face.

Although Tong's son leaving home added stress to Tong's life, she soon found that living away from her children gives her a sense of independence, freedom and autonomy. Her sense of selfhood is more complete. As a result, her relationship with her son appears to improve when they live separately. She perceives that her son is more filial because the tensions arising from co-residence have ceased. The improved intergenerational relationship also benefits Tong's physical health. Tong appears to emphasise the quality of filial piety over the quantity that is manifested by co-residence. This indicates that filial piety is not a static concept but an evolving practice from a traditional norm of parent-child co-residence to filial piety at a distance.

The practice of filial piety at a distance is evident in Ping's account as she reflected on the change of intergenerational relations after her daughter and she lived at a distance:

> *When I lived with my daughter, we didn't talk about our feelings to each other. Our relationship was distant and sometimes even hostile… my daughter later returned to China and I moved to this state house. Our relationship changed. We started to talk to each other and gradually became close. My daughter now rings me at least once a week. She rang me every day when I was unwell… In a Chinese idiom, that is "distance creating the beauty".*

Ping's account suggests that in some situations increased distance can serve as an intergenerational communication broker. The communication broker, in Ng's (2007) words, refers to the communicative role of facilitating the mutual accommodation between the communication parties concerned. The space-mediated communication between Ping and her daughter promotes positive dynamics of intergenerational communication. It provides opportunities for a new filial practice which is mediated by technologies, such as affordable international telecommunications which change intergenerational communication in basic ways. Similarly, Hong used the Internet to communicate with her children who live outside New Zealand:

> *I used the Yahoo Messenger[7] to communicate with my children who all live in the USA. We meet online every day. When my daughter bought a new dress, she put it on and showed me online. I feel we are still sort of living together.*

Hong presents an innovative type of parent-child co-residence—"virtual co-residence". Appaduria (1996) identifies technoscape (technology) as one of the "mediascapes" of the "global cultural flow". Technoscape constitutes a new way, of conceptualising and practicing the relationship between people and landscapes, which has confronted normative notions of parent-child co-residence. The dynamics of virtual co-residence involve a shaping and reshaping of filial piety practices and

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[7] The *Yahoo Messenger* is an online Instant Messaging program.

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the relationships that people have with it (*cf.*, Karim, 2003). In a sense, technology not only influences intergenerational communication, but also reshapes filial piety practices. Virtual co-residence can reduce the intergenerational tensions caused by close contact on a day-to-day basis when the parent and the child live in the same non-virtual space, while satisfying the desires of love and affection between the parent and the child. Virtual co-residence changes the idea that filial piety must occur within bounded geographical units (*cf.*, Baldassar & Baldock, 2000).

To summarise, for this group of older Chinese immigrants, a pattern emerged in that their living arrangements tended to shift from parent-child co-residence to filial piety at a distance. In the process, cultural norms also shifted since the participants no longer considered parent-child co-residence to be the key indicator of filial piety. Parent-child co-residence appears to have become more of a filial ideal rather than a widespread practice. Such evolution should not be simply seen as the result of intergenerational tensions. Instead, the change of the participants' living arrangements can be considered as a reflection of who and what the older Chinese adults are and want to be. The participants reconstruct their traditional cultural practices in a new culture and develop a new hybridised form of filial piety—filial piety at a distance. Filial piety at a distance does not suggest an absence of support to the parents from the children. Rather, children who practice filial piety at a distance are regarded as filial (or even more filial) children by their parents because they still care for their parents in new, but equally meaningful ways. The analysis of living arrangements shows that the practices of filial piety among older Chinese immigrants are fluid, dynamic, and moving.

Support to parents

This section documents how the aged care and support among the participants evolve from support provided by the spouses and children to networked and structured support. This evolution indicates that filial piety should not be limited in the domestic domain. Rather, it should be discussed within the broader social and economic contexts. In contrast to the filial practices in contemporary China where the family is more responsible for aged care (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010), social networks and welfare services play an essentially important role in the Chinese aged care in New Zealand.

Traditional Chinese practices emphasise children providing care for aged parents alongside spousal support (Miller, 2004; Ng et al., 2000; Whyte, 2004). This emphasis reflects how support from children to parents has remained a cornerstone of aged care in Chinese communities (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). When talking about support in their everyday lives, however, the participants claimed that, when such support is available, spouses are generally their primary caregivers. Ming and Jiao state:

> *Ming: I was diagnosed cancer two years ago. The doctor told us there was nothing they could do. We decided to return to China for surgery. My wife was the one who was always with me.*
>
> *Jiao: We are Laoban* (老伴, literally means old company, representing spouse in Chinese). *In a Chinese saying, "Laoban, laoban, lao lai zuo ban"* ("老伴，老伴，老来作伴", literally means "old company, old company, accompanying one another when growing old"). *I promised myself that I would bring him home* (China) *to get medical treatments at any cost. If we didn't have enough money, I would borrow and even beg for money. After we returned to China, he underwent the surgery. I stayed in the hospital with him days and nights.*
>
> *Ming: Without her, I could have died.*

Ming and Jiao's interaction challenges the filial piety practices in traditional Chinese culture that adult children are expected to offer primary care to their ageing and/or sick parents (Whyte, 2004). At the initial stage of the diagnosis of the illness, Ming has to cope with the stress arising from the implication of the threat to life, the hopelessness given rise to there being no medical treatment in New Zealand that would benefit Ming, and the stressors caused by financial constraints and ageing. Jiao as a spouse caregiver provides Ming with emotional closeness, and extensive and comprehensive care. Such a plot line of the spouse as the primary caregiver is evident across my participants' narratives. Bai and Ling, for example, considered that "Home is us two. We are here to support and care for each other." The trend that the most significant primary aged carer is the wife or husband for these Chinese

migrant families is consistent with that in Western families (Silverstone & Horowitz, 1993; Sundstrom, 1994).

The participants, by and large, regarded their adult children as secondary support resources. Chapter 3 has demonstrated that reciprocity is a feature of intergenerational exchange in the filial piety context. Consistent with previous research (Chappell, 2005; Ip et al., 2007), the participants acknowledged that their children provided them with practical support, such as language support and transportation. In return, the participants offered housekeeping and child minding to assist their adult children. As Quan asserted:

> *Our children provide us with language support and transportation. We look after our grandchildren and housework. We support each other… If my children give me money I would appreciate that. It's better than nothing. They are too busy to talk to and care for us.*

Quan considers that monetary or financial resources from adult children can be used to compensate for the inadequacy of care by the adult children (Ng, Philips, & Lee, 2002). Many participants also consider financial support as an expression of love between the parent and the child. This is evident when Ming recalled the love between him and his mother:

> *It was in the summer holiday of 1953 when I was a university student and returned home for holiday. I saw ice cream sticks in the fridge in a grocery store and really wanted to have one. But I knew it's a luxury to have an ice cream stick at that time. My mother understood that I wanted an ice cream stick. She bought me one. She watched me eating the ice cream stick with smiles. I ate the ice cream with tears in my eyes. You know what? The ice cream stick cost 70 cents. It's very expensive because our family's daily living cost was just around 50 cents.* (sobbing)*…It's not just about money. It's parental love, unconditional parental love.*

Researchers have noted that adult recollections of childhood events are mostly characterised by salient emotions (Wang, 2001). Ming's embodied emotions can be

regarded as a direct expression of the self; a filial child who appreciates and values his mother's love and efforts. Ming's memory also presents a vivid picture of his mother's instinctual and unconditional love. Although Ming talked about money, his account is of far more significance precisely because of the financial sacrifices his mother made. Ming's emotional expression (e.g., sobbing) is not for the money per se but his mother's love represented by her financial sacrifices. The love strengthens the family unification and synchronisation. Ming, therefore, gives the highest priority and importance, among all other practices of filial piety, to the love and affection between the parent and the child. Fen also exemplified that love and affection are more important than material support itself when she recounted "a trip of love" that her son offered to her:

> *My son last month organised a trip to Australia for me. I called this trip as "a trip of love". My son didn't simply give me money for holiday. He knows that I love to draw from nature as an artist. He drove me around so that I could draw [landscapes I saw] along the way. When I was drawing, he sat in the car waiting for me. He never complained that I had spent too much time on drawing. I had a wonderful memory of this trip. Such a trip of love is much better than a million dollars.*

Similarly, Wei's excerpt below indicates that a wide range of exchanges and practices can represent expressions of love, and function to strengthen intergenerational relations. According to Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981), one of the best ways to express love and create bonds between people in most cultures is through gifts. This bond created by things is in fact a bond between persons, since the thing expresses the person. To give a gift is to give a part of one's self, as stated by Wei:

> *This lamp shade was my birthday gift from my son and daughter-in-law in the year when I was diagnosed with breast cancer. They chose the lamp shade* (see Figure 16) *because the picture on it symbolises a Chinese idiom "Tong Zhou Gong Ji"* (同舟共济, literally means "we are on the same boat supporting one another")*. Look, there are three persons on the boat. They*

are my son, my daughter-in-law and me. My children were showing their love
and support to me.

Figure 16. Wei's lamp shade

What Wei's children gave away is in reality a part of their love and support to Wei, while for Wei to receive the lamp shade is to receive a part of her children's filial essence. The lamp shade is not inert. It is alive and personified. The boat can be seen as a container of love. As such, the lamp shade becomes a symbol of the being of the children, who support their aged and sick mother with love and affection. If the gift is reciprocated, an intergenerational tie is established between the parent and the children (*cf.*, Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981).

A careful across-account examination shows that the participants considered love and family affection are essential elements of filial piety. In most cases, they believed love and affection are more important than financial support from their children. This finding is in contrast to a study of informal support to older Chinese adults in Hong Kong, where Ng and colleagues (2002) found that their participants ranked financial support and daily care support from their children more highly, whilst emotional needs seemed to be less important. In Hong Kong, older Chinese might obtain a greater sense of love, affection and companionship from interactions with other Chinese people. In New Zealand, the participants, who are isolated from the larger society (see Chapter 5), therefore, take love and family affection as precedent over financial support from their adult children. Further, participants have obtained

financial security for their daily living costs from the New Zealand Government although they sometimes felt that they were financially constrained.

As mentioned previously, a plot line of appreciation for the financial support from the New Zealand Government is evident across accounts, as Xue stated:

Support from Income (Work and Income[8]) *is sufficient for me. After I live in New Zealand more than ten years, I will be eligible for the New Zealand Superannuation. As an older person living in New Zealand, I don't need to worry about my finance although I am not rich. The Government looks after us very well.*

Xue's account shows that the essential financial support for older Chinese immigrants is provided by the Government. Therefore, financial support from their adult children is supplementary. Filial piety needs to be reconceptualised in a context where institutional support is provided. I argue that filial piety is conceptualised better as a feature of structured sets of social relations. Such socially structured relations are reproduced in interpersonal relationships, including those between family members. When framed in this way, filial piety can be a bridging concept between social structure and individual and familial practices (*cf.*, Connidis & McMullin, 2002b).

In the context of this research, the New Zealand Government provides primary material support to older Chinese migrants alongside the emotional, practical and material support provided by spouses and children. In addition, friends and neighbours can provide support to the participants. As Ping stated:

I am a widow and my children all live outside New Zealand. Support from friends is very important to me. They look after me. Some of my close friends call me every day. If they couldn't approach me at night, they would come

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[8] Work and Income is a service of the Ministry of Social Development in New Zealand. It provides financial assistance to meet a wide range of welfare needs and employment services throughout New Zealand.

over the next day to check if I were OK. They give me a sense of belonging.
The community is my home.

Ping appreciates the community as a home, in a collective sense, in which she anchors feelings and memories. Ping is re-membered through social relations in this collective home. As noted in previous chapters, re-membering involves a web of relationships with other persons, including her late husband, children, friends, and the community. Taking the concept of structured filial piety a step further, I argue that filial piety is embedded in a network which constitutes the parent and the child, spouses, neighbours and friends, the community, and institutions. A core element of such "networked filial piety" is that the human life is woven into relationships and situations and is not independent of context. The notion of networked filial piety also advances the idea that people need to consider the broader contexts shaping their lives, including the social networks with which they are situated (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010).

The conception of networked filial piety is also closely connected to the cobweb self. As noted in Chapter 2, the cobweb self is situated at the centre of a bundle of relationships that link the individual to other persons and the environment. Integrating this perspective into the notion of networked filial piety, I contend that the self of the older Chinese migrant can be viewed as the centre of a cobweb which is spun by relationships. These relationships connect the person with the familial, local and global environments. When the older Chinese person moves to New Zealand, the person re-cobwebs the self within the new familial, local and global contexts. Through the process of re-cobwebbing, filial practices evolve.

Respecting parents

Respect has often been conceptualised as encompassing affective, active, and cognitive dimensions; and as an attitude, a way of treating something, a kind of valuing (Dillon, 2009). Sung (2009a) argues that such a definition of respect for parents is too abstract and general to provide clear guidance for practice. Categorising classical forms of elder respect on the basis of the analysis of passages excerpted from the Confucian literature, Sung (2009a) has identified thirteen forms of elder respect including linguistic, public, ancestor and funeral

respect. Although these categories are more concrete than Dillon's definition of respect, they are still abstract and do not reflect the evolution of filial piety in the context of modernisation and globalisation. In this section, I develop a more grounded account of acts of parental respect.

Through their everyday practices, my participants experienced respect to parents mostly as their children's warmth and gratitude manifested by linguistic respect. Tian stated:

Filial piety is not about giving me money. It sometimes is just about a phrase, using a phrase to show respect to us.

Tian's comment suggests that he values his adult children's use of proper language to convey their respect to the parent. For Tian, respect is a feeling that is experienced in everyday life that operates as a marker of filial piety. Huang exemplified Tian's idea about linguistic respect:

My wife cooks for us every day. A bad phrase from our daughter can ruin our day. For example, after a meal, she said, "The meal's not good, too salty." Both my wife and I were very unhappy. It seemed what we had done was worthless.

In Tian's and Huang's accounts, respect to parents denotes twofold meanings. First, respect is expressed through attention, which according to Dillon (2009) is a central aspect of respect. For example, Huang expected his daughter to show respect to the parents by paying careful attention to the parents and talking to the parents respectfully. Second, respect can be communicated through certain actions. Tian and Huang consider that respect needs to be manifested in concrete linguistic expressions oriented toward caring for the parents (Sung, 2009a).

Huang's account, alongside Tian's proposition that he had not talked to his son-in-law for about two years (see Chapter 4) and Ping's story in the first section of this chapter that her relationship with her daughter was distant when they lived together, indicates that the participants rarely openly express their feelings to their

children. They also seldom communicate their expectations of linguistic respect with their children. Such practices may reflect the Chinese concept of face (*Mianzi*, 面子). The concept of face does not refer to a person's physical face. Rather, face represents a person's social reputation and fame that have been deliberately accumulated by the person through efforts and achievements during the course of his or her life (Hwang & Han, 2010). In order to achieve this kind of face, one must rely on the social environment to secure affirmation from other people. Face-work is akin to Goffman's (1959) notion of dramatising self where individuals manipulate their performances so as to control other people's responsive treatment of him. At one level, face-work functions to maintain the self that the individual wants others to accept and plays an important role in regulating interpersonal relationships (Thomas & Liao, 2010). At another level, face-work involves enhancing face for other people, for example, by avoiding criticising other people. Hurting another persons' face is regarded as an action that seriously damages the relationship between people involved (Thomas & Liao, 2010). The participants may consider that discussion on expectations with their children implies that their children have not met the parents' expectations. The avoidance of such discussions can be regarded as their face-work so as not to hurt their children and to maintain family harmony. The participants thus keep the hurtful feelings to themselves. A conversation between the parents and the children about each other's feelings and expectations may change the interaction patterns between them.

Tian's and Huang's accounts suggest that linguistic respect appears to be a symbolic display of respect to parents. Such a display reflects the social structure in the Chinese culture, in which interpersonal relations between the old and the young tend to be conducted most often in a vertical social relation that demands the young person's deference, courtesy and gratitude to the older person. In these relations, symbolic expressions often transform into ritualistic manners and behavioural formalities. This is evident in Ming's account:

> *We require our children and grandchildren to be respectful and courteous. Those who finish meals first need to say, "I finish my meal. Enjoy your meal." Before going to work, our children say goodbye to us, "Mom and Dad, I am leaving for work." Before going to school, our grandchildren say, "Grandma and Grandpa, I am going to school."*

Apart from linguistic respect, the participants considered obedience as an important element of respect. Literature has shown that obeying parents, in particular absolute obedience, has decreased in relevance due to urbanisation, modernisation, and Westernisation (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). Some of my participants placed particular emphasis on obedience in their accounts. Zhuang asserted:

> *I am a very filial son. I listened to my parents for whatever they said. I never talked back even when my father said something incorrect. When my son was a little boy, I told him off at the dinner table. He was upset and banged his chopsticks on the table. I talked to him seriously, "You are very upset now? Have you ever seen me talking back to grandpa?" Since then, my son has never ever talked back to me.*

Zhuang's understandings of filial piety were shared by several older Chinese migrants who participated in the presentations which were conducted to verify my findings. During the discussion time, they claimed, on the one hand, that a filial child is expected to engage in practices that demonstrate obedience. On the other hand, they admitted that the value of obedience has changed from blind obedience to respectful obedience, which is consistent with the shift of obedience shown in literature (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). For example, Dan, Zhuang's wife, critiqued Zhuang's manner of educating their son:

> *We shouldn't require our son to absolutely obey us as we did to our parents. It's blind obedience. Sometimes parents are not correct. We now live in a Western country. Our children have their own ideas and thoughts. We need to respect them too.*

Dan raises two issues. The first is the need to rethink obedience in the context of immigration. Through such rethinking, new meanings, such as parental respect to children, are attached to filial piety. The second issue is that respect is mutual between the parents and the children. Without mutual respect, filial piety is an imbalanced practice. Fen's account adds weight to obedience in the context of mutual respect:

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The most important element of filial piety is obedience. But obedience is not blind obedience because parents may be wrong. If the children perceive that the parents are wrong, they can discuss with their parents in a respectful manner. Of course, respect is a two-way street. Parents need to respect their children too. Some Chinese parents use harsh language to their children. It is not a respectful manner.

Fen's account shows that the ways in which respect is expressed appear to be changing. The notion of mutual respect again suggests a shift from blind obedience to courtesy, kindness and being respectful for both parents and children. This evolution of filial piety is consistent with that in contemporary China (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). Although the understanding of respect for parents has evolved, the tradition of respect of parents is reaffirmed by the participants. Filial piety is considered, by older Chinese migrants, as a social norm of mutual respect between the parent and the child. Filial piety is about moral relationships that reflect mutual human respect.

Children's achievements

As Hau and Ho (2010) have pointed out, Chinese parents regard their children's achievements as very important. Such emphasis can be traced back in the Confucian work, *Analects*. Confucius (1885) believed that as a filial son, "what he engages in must be some (reputable) occupation" (p. 68). Many participants in the present research consider that their children's achievements are manifestations of filial piety. Tian stated:

For me, filial piety doesn't mean giving me money, buying clothes or taking me to travel. I view my children's achievements as filial piety.

More specifically, Tong claimed that children's academic achievements are demonstrations of filial piety:

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I believe that my children's academic achievements are [demonstrations of] filial piety. My youngest son is an internationally recognised scientist. A recent issue of a world-class journal used two-thirds of the issue to introduce my son's achievements. This is the biggest reward to me as a mother.

Both Tian's and Tong's accounts reflect the Confucian idea that one should make the family name known and respected, and bring honour to the family (Confucius, 1885). In Chinese culture, scholastic success has been traditionally regarded as the passport to social success and reputation of the family (Shek & Chan, 1999), and a way to enhance the family's status (Hau & Ho, 2010). It involves honouring and promoting the public prestige of the family (Cheng & Chan, 2006). In traditional Chinese society, there were four classes of people: scholars, farmers, labourers, and merchants. Scholars were highly respected and Chinese parents dreamed of having a scholar in the family (Gow et al., 1996). This is illustrated in a Chinese proverb, "All things are beneath contempt, except education" ("*Wanban jie xiaping, wei you dushu gao*", 万般皆下品，唯有读书高). The parents' unconditional support of their children can be understood within this context because they want to provide the best learning environment for their children so that their children can achieve their academic and career goals in a new country. They moved to New Zealand whenever their children needed them, even sacrificing their own interests. As Bai reflected:

We moved to New Zealand without a second thought although we had no idea about where New Zealand was. Our daughter was studying in a University and needed us to look after our grandson so that she could concentrate on her study. We would do everything we could to support our daughter's study, even sacrifice our own interests.

As I have discussed previously, filial piety is shaped and transformed by people's experience in the world. Filial piety is reflected in how others see the person. This is evident in Tong's account when she reflected on her trip to China:

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I returned to China last year. During the trip, when I talked about my children's achievements especially my youngest son, everyone admired me. My relatives, friends and former colleagues envied that I had filial children.

Rather than emphasising the individual efforts that Tong's children had put into their achievements as is more typical in the Western context (Ellemers, De Gilder, & Haslam, 2004), Tong was complimented by her friends on her children's filial piety. The individuals (both Tong and her son) are defined in terms of their roles and interpersonal relationships within the family rather than by their own sense of who they are as separate individuals (Ward & Lin, 2010). Tong's account suggests looking-glass elements of filial piety: filial piety operates in the imagination, drawing from, reflecting upon, and responding to real and imagined others. Filial piety is responsive not simply to one's filial action, and neither to some abstract categories classified by filial piety scales, but to how one imagines and defines filial piety from the standpoint of others (*cf.*, Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Through looking-glass filial piety, people try to impress one another and to control the definitions of themselves that emerge through their particular competency or incompetency as parents. In part, this appears to be designated by their children's filial piety practices, such as academic achievement, in social interaction (*cf.*, Musolf, 2003). The comments on her children's filial piety through the lenses of her relatives, friends and former colleagues move Tong to pride.

As a component of filial piety, children's achievements are not the simple reflection of the parental self, but an imputed sentiment and the imagined effect of this reflection upon how other people see the children's parents (*cf.*, Musolf, 2003). This socially grounded self is dynamic, not a timeless philosophical position. It shifts in relation to other peoples' responses. Nevertheless, the self is not intended to merely reflect the social. Instead, individuals actively and intentionally adapt themselves to social demands. Individual agency combined with social feedback yields the self that could move competently and confidently through the world, both reflecting and responding to changing needs and situations (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

Ancestral worship

This section investigates the practices of ancestral worship among the older Chinese adults. Ancestral worship is considered as an opportunity to express gratitude to the deceased parent(s) and ancestors. It is also a means for the successive generations, in particular New Zealand born generations, to connect themselves to their ancestral homeland and establish a sense of Chineseness. The practice of "falling leaves returning to their roots" contributes to the participants' cultural heritage that shapes one's life in the present.

In Chapter 3, I proposed that mourning has long been considered inviolable because it was the paramount expression of filial piety. As Ebrey (1991) maintains, mourning austerities have historically been the most widely used indicator of filial piety. The death of a parent entails a complex and demanding regimen of rituals. In this context, children, who live overseas and are away from their parents who live in the homeland, often state that not being able to take part in traditional rituals to mourn their dead parent(s) is a great regret. As expressed by Xia:

The only purpose for me to go back China was to visit my aged parents. I returned to China last year when my mother was seriously sick… However, I was not with her when she died. My mother gave me birth, raised me, educated me…I didn't even attend her funeral. This is the biggest regret in my life. (sobbing)

Xia's excerpt echoes Lin's (1993) notion that, for many Chinese people, the greatest regret that a child could have is an eternally lost opportunity of serving his or her parents with medicine and soup on their deathbed and not being present when they die. The death of a parent in Confucian discourse was seldom portrayed as a natural process or as a welcome relief from suffering, or as an inevitable part of life. The parent's death was seen as the very extremity that demanded the fullest extent of filial devotion from the child (Kutcher, 1999). In this sense, Xia regretted not being able to be present at her mother's funeral to express her gratitude to her mother's parental love. Such regret is consistent with Confucian teaching of filial piety that "while father and mother are alive, a good son does not wander far afield"

(Confucius, 1999, p. 39). In other words, while his parents are alive, the filial child should not go abroad. Xia continued to assert:

> *The first thing I would like to do during my next trip to China is to pay respect to my mother, and burn scent and paper goods in front of her grave. I would not be a complete self if I didn't do that.*

In the Chinese culture, one of the functions of mourning ritual is to assist the deceased to transit through the underworld so that he or she would have a quick and favourable rebirth. For the newly deceased, these goals can be achieved by burning paper goods and spirit money to sustain the soul on its journey (Ikels, 2004b). As illustrated in Xia's account, such a practice has been expanded to the practice of ancestral worship and subsequent interaction with the ancestors. Not mourning her mother appears to drive Xia in a way that she feels herself incomplete because her filial duty is unfulfilled. Utilising ancestral worship to express respect to her mother will assist her to become a more complete self. It is worthy to note that ancestral worship is also practiced amongst younger generations. Tong stated:

> *My daughter is very filial. She is living in a Western country. On the anniversary of her father's death, she wrote a letter to report our family affairs to her father and read it in front of her father's photo. She then burned a cheque. She has done this for 19 years since her father died.*

Burning a cheque to the dead parent symbolises the provision of financial support to the parent. Spiritually, such a memorialisation practice maintains the relationship and interaction between the dead father and the daughter, which suggests continuity of the family. As a person who lives in a Western country, Tong's daughter maintains her cultural link to her home country by remembering her father in a Chinese way. Ancestral worship is also a means to assist Tong's grandson to establish "Chineseness":

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I took my grandson to China with me in a hope that he could learn something about the Chinese culture. We paid respect to his late grandfather and our ancestors. He showed great interest in the ritual of the ancestral worship. He kept asking me questions about the procedure of the worship. I explained to him the processes and meanings of the worship. He may not understand now. But I hope, with the help of photos we took, he will understand when he grows up.

Here, transnational ancestral worship does not operate only to pay respect to the ancestors, but also to shape "Chineseness" for the younger generations. As a New Zealand born Chinese child, Tong's grandson does not have cultural memories of his ancestors; consequently, physical and emotional ties with China are typically less intense. Paying respect to his grandfather and ancestors assists him to establish his emotional and cultural connectedness to China, which is, in Gans' (1979) words, to establish "symbolic ethnicity".

Symbolic ethnicity is characterised "by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour" (Gans, 1979, p. 9). Gans contends that successive generations, such as Tong's grandson, are able to become "ethnic" through symbols, but not necessarily by participating in ethnic organisations or affiliating with ethnic groups or by living in ethnic enclaves. In other words, symbolic ethnicity does not require functioning groups and networks; it does not need a practiced culture. Instead, symbolic ethnicity is dominated by nostalgic memories and preservation of symbols, such as ancestor worship processes recorded on photographs. Such ethnicity, according to Gans, is a question of "feeling ethnic" rather than one of being so.

For Tong's grandson, the establishment of his Chineseness is articulated through linking himself to his ancestral homeland. Although he may not actively participate in cultural practices, the carving of his cultural identity is influenced by the cultural ties maintained by the older generations within the family, his grandmother in this case. Through the intergenerational connections, memories of the family become a part of everyday life which continuously shapes family members' identities and establishes a sense of attachment with the ancestral homeland (Ngan, 2008). Such nostalgic memories, which are a vital aspect in the construal of Chineseness

among the foreign-born Chinese, are passed down from one generation to another within the family.

As discussed in Chapter 3, for older Chinese immigrants, ancestor worship relates to the belief of "falling leaves returning to their roots." When I discussed this metaphor with my participants during the episodic interviews and *fangtan*, the participants offered different perspectives. Some claimed that they would return to China when they became very old and/or very sick, while others asserted they would stay in New Zealand. Lee stated:

> *I would return to China when I am very sick. I wish I could return to my roots as a falling leaf.*

Ping retold the story of her husband returning China when he was diagnosed with cancer and the doctors informed them that he would not benefit from medical treatments:

> *In 2002, my husband was diagnosed with cancer. He was hospitalised for seven months in New Zealand. However, his health condition became worse and worse. He decided to return to China. Three months later, he passed away. He finally returned to his roots. Our children now all live in China. They pay respect to their father every year.*

Ping's memories can be interpreted at three levels. The first operates at a personal level, which presents an older Chinese person, who emigrated from China to a foreign land, as a "falling leaf" returning to his homeland to live out his final months ("returns to the roots"). Falling leaf is symbolic of the older Chinese migrant's life. The older migrant is represented as an individual leaf on the tree of life that has roots stretching back to his or her homeland in time; each leaf has a different experience as shown by his or her immigrant experience. The significance of falling leaf is illustrated through the person's journey in connecting his or her roots and through its circle of renewal. The second operates at a family level. The father returning to his roots as a falling leaf allows Ping's children to discharge their filial obligations by performing the rituals and rites for their late father. This practice is consistent with

Confucian teachings that filial children should continuously perform ancestral worship to the dead ancestor (Confucius, 1885). The third operates at a collective level. The phenomenon of "falling leaves return to their roots" reflects that the collective memories revolve around the inability of the Chinese migrants to fulfil their filial duties to their forebears and ancestors by conducting last rites for their deceased parents (Kuah-Pearce, 2008).

Although all participants strongly claimed that China was their homeland, some of them asserted that they would stay in New Zealand in their final years. Fen offered a different perspective of "falling leaves return to their roots":

I am not sure where my roots are. My understanding of roots is that wherever you would like to live in your later life is where your roots are. Therefore, my roots are now in New Zealand. People may claim that China is where their roots are. But, China has changed. The roots are not the same as they were before you moved to New Zealand.

According to Fen, "roots" are fluid and can be relocated with the re-establishment of a home. Roots can be here and there, near and far. Falling leaves returning to their roots is not about the physical geography, but about where people belong and feel at home. Roots symbolise connections not only to China but also to New Zealand.

Gender norms

Existing literature on filial piety emphasises gendered practices in the aged care provided by children (Chappell & Kusch, 2007). Much less research addresses the gendered practices of parental support to children (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). For the participants who lived with their adult children, by and large, the grandmothers did the cooking, washing, house cleaning and prepared lunches for their children and grandchildren. The grandfathers mainly took care of gardening. Shopping is shared by the mothers and fathers. Such gendered patterns are evident across accounts when I asked the participants about their daily routines. As Lang asserted:

I cook three meals and wash dishes after meal. We (Lang and her husband) *went to the Chinese super market every day. I do washing after shopping. I am in charge of internal tasks. I spend most of my time in the kitchen. My husband is in charge of gardening. He spends most of his time in the garden.*

The division of labour in Lang's household to some extent reflects the gender norms of the husband-wife relationship in the traditional Chinese culture in which the relationship emphasises the obedience of the wife to her husband. Men are responsible for external affairs such as earning a living for the family, and women for internal matters such as domestic affairs (Sun & Chang, 2006). In the absence of earning a living for the family as retirees, gardening can be seen as a symbol of external affairs, while cooking and washing as internal affairs, in terms of the physical geographies of the inside and outside of the house.

However, within-group differences should not be overlooked. As a grandfather who rarely contributes to domestic tasks or gardening, Tian described how he is not as welcomed as his wife is in the family:

My wife gets up at about 5am, preparing for breakfast for the family. She manages everything for the family, such as shopping, cooking, washing, gardening, and looking after our grandchildren. I seldom do housework. My wife is more welcomed by my children.

When considering contradictions inherent to women's family roles, feminists have termed household labour as "politics of housework" (Luscher & Pillemer, 1998). For Tian's wife, the domestic labour can be exhausting (e.g., starting housework at 5am and being responsible for a relatively large amount of household tasks) and even resented. It can also be viewed as an expression of love and caring for her children and as a means for connecting with other members of the family. Tian's account also suggests that declines in intergenerational power among older Chinese adults can depend on their contributions to household chores. It appears that responsibilities in the domestic sphere are associated to the status of the older Chinese adults in the parent-child co-resident setting. The more domestic responsibilities ageing parents take, the higher status he or she has in the household.

Research suggests that parental caregiving among Chinese immigrant families appears to largely depend on who lives locally (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). This indicates that gender is less relevant to providing support to parents. My participants' assistance to their children appears not to depend on the children's gender, but on who needs the parental help. Lee said:

> After we retired, we looked after our son's child. When my daughter moved to New Zealand, she and her husband had to go to universities to obtain New Zealand qualifications. They were too busy to look after their son. They asked us to come over to help them out.

Lee's story reflects the familial orientation of the Chinese culture that there is a collective responsibility, rather than being the responsibility of one individual (Chappell & Kusch, 2007). Although the parental support to children is based on which of their children need help, the participants endeavoured to maintain balanced support to their children. As Qian stated:

> I look after our eldest daughter's children, while my wife looks after our younger daughter's children. Every morning, I go to our eldest daughter's home and my wife goes to our younger daughter's home. After our daughters return home from work, we return to our own home.

Balanced parental support is tied to the collective responsibility of the family. For Qian and his wife, filial piety is a process of balancing familial relationships. Such relational filial piety promotes the concept of the interconnected self. As Liu and Liu (1999) have argued, interconnectedness is a dynamic value emerging from Confucian philosophy and is central to Chinese psychology because it allows for a focus on complex relations and contradictions. Interconnectedness is the perception of unity in differentiation and differentiation in unity (Liu & Liu, 2003). Interconnectedness enables a focus on not only the individual within the collective, but the collective within the individual (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). A goal of filial piety research hence becomes to increase the awareness of the interconnectedness of people's lives and their ability to support each other.

A collective focus of filial piety necessitates a shift from viewing culture as an abstract system out in the world and external to the self, to viewing culture as something inside and central to the self (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). As shown in this chapter, the hybridised culture provides many of the fabrics that make up the strands in self re-cobwebbing in a new culture. The pattern of the webs and links is influenced by changing norms, shifting values and shared narratives of the group that people live along and grow from.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has investigated the practices of filial piety among the participants. Particular consideration was given to living arrangements, support, respect, children's achievements, ancestral worship and gender norms. Briefly, the participants' living arrangements are evolving as families adapt to social and cultural changes when living in New Zealand. Filial piety at a distance is regarded as a new form for children to demonstrate filial piety. Regarding support from the children to the parents, greater emphasis was placed on love and affection than financial and practical support. The value of respecting parents is viewed as essential by the parents who emphasise mutual parent-child respect. Children's achievements are considered by the participants as an important component of filial piety. Ancestral worship is symbolic of participants' cultural heritage which connects one generation to the next generation. The cultural belief of "falling leaves returning to their roots" serves as a symbol which connects the participants not only to China but also to New Zealand. Parental support to the children is more about the collective responsibility of the family than gender oriented practices.

This chapter shows that there are two primary levels of tension for the participants. One is the intergenerational tensions amplified by parent-child co-residence. The other is tensions between their original ideas and expectations of happily living with their adult children and then what actually happens in the households. I have moved beyond simply providing insights into these tensions and how the participants survive in the face of adversity. My analysis suggests that the participants not only cope with challenges and conflicts, but also consider that their everyday situations foster their growth and positive changes. The positive changes the participants experience include improved intergenerational relationships, new possibilities of their lives and a greater sense of personal strength. In this sense,

living with adversity can wound the participants both emotionally and physically, but can also encourage them to rethink their lives, grow and enable growth in others.

A number of different ways of conceptualising filial piety have been proposed in this chapter. These include filial piety at a distance, structured filial piety and networked filial piety. These concepts demonstrate that filial piety is evolving within the broader historical, cultural, social, economic and political contexts. For the participants who immigrated to New Zealand in their later lives, the changing power relationships in the household, acculturation and New Zealand's welfare system, among other factors, collectively contribute to their changing understandings and practices of filial piety. This finding reflects Cooley's (1972) notion that "society and individuals are inseparable phases of a common whole, so that whatever we find an individual fact we may look for a social fact to go with it" (p. 160). The relationship between the individual and society is one of the person in society and society in the person. This notion is consistent with the Confucian concept of the person where the person is always considered as "man-in-society" (Morton, 1971, p. 69). Neither society nor the individual can exist without the other in this twin-born relationship (Musolf, 2003). When the context and situation change, the practices of filial piety evolve; when the practices of filial piety evolve, the self and identity shift. As such, older Chinese immigrants' identity-making represents particular and embedded dialectical processes in search of a renegotiated cobwebbed self. In this sense, as noted in Chapter 2, not only is the self within the culture, but also the culture within the self (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010).

The investigation of relationship-bound practices of filial piety provides empirical support to the concepts of interconnected and dialectical selves. The self is constructed in relation to the very situations it responds to and, in that regard, it is presented as interconnected selves in dialectical contexts (*cf.*, Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). The interconnectedness and dialectics bring into question notions of the independent or disconnected Western individual, and the polarisation of opposing or contradictory perspectives. The interconnected and dialectical selves emphasise the relational and dialectical nature of human and identities (Peng & Nisbett, 1999).

The dominant conceptions about culture are underpinned by an ideal that detaches culture from its human source (Jovchelovitch, 2007). My analyses of filial piety show that culture is not an abstract set of ideas or rules that govern individuals' behaviour. Individuals do not experience culture in an abstract form in their everyday lives. Rather, people derive meanings from aspects of culture including narratives,

symbols, beliefs, and practices. It is through culture that people position and define themselves and make sense of the world. It is also through cultural lenses that understandings of filial piety are developed. Filial piety relates not only to identity, both individual and social, but also to the positioning and the status of the people in the world. Filial piety is always constructed by someone in relation to someone else and this dynamic is fully presented in older Chinese migrants' filial practices. Filial piety brings together the identity, culture and history of a group of people who inscribe themselves in memories and in narratives. Filial piety frames the feeling of belonging that reaffirms to older Chinese immigrants their grounding in specific cultural spaces.

Many philosophers and psychologists agree that for a person to develop his or her potentialities fully, it is necessary to take on challenges outside the home (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Karp, 1998). The family, no matter how warm and fulfilling, cannot provide the contexts for action that are necessary for the growth of the self. In this chapter, I have briefly touched on the participants' involvements in the public and structured spheres of the community and policy support. In the next chapter, I continue to explore the participants' self and identity constructions in and through the community, a place in which they can age positively. I will show that my participants are not only parents and grandparents in familial settings, but also members of communities. In a broader sense of filial piety, they play an important role in practicing community piety which expands filial piety practices from the family to the community.

8 POSITIVE AGEING IN A NEW PLACE

In Chapter Seven I attended to older Chinese migrants' accounts of living in their children's homes. The majority of my participants preferred to live independently from their children in state houses. Many reported positive experiences of ageing in state housing neighbourhoods in New Zealand and in the process provided insights into how older migrants can participate in the community and age positively in place. This chapter explores these participants' experiences of ageing in a new place, and how their lives are affected by cultural, social and institutional factors. This new place is not only a physical setting; it is also a cultural, social, emotional and imagined environment.

In finding a place to make a home, participants emphasised the need for stability and building up a history of residency in an area. A key focus in this chapter is on the function of place affinities in fostering autonomy, independence, and choices of older Chinese immigrants. For the participants, ageing in place, which is primarily associated with having an affordable and stable place to live, is also played out in other settings, such as neighbourhoods, and local and transnational communities. My analysis supports the proposition that older Chinese migrants are not only parents and grandparents: they are also community members who strive to develop connections in New Zealand and a sense of community which refers to "the sense that one is part of a readily available mutually supportive network of relationships" (Sarason, 1974, p. 1). My participants indicated that community membership enhances their wellbeing and quality of life (Bess, Fisher, Sonn, & Bishop, 2002; Mannarini, Tartaglia, Fedi, & Greganti, 2006).

As illustrated in previous chapters, the practice of aged care in Chinese communities has evolved. In this chapter, I delve further into ageing as a complex relational process that simultaneously raises issues regarding familial, community and institutional support. These dimensions relate to the weaving of migrants into local settings and thus require consideration of relationships between people and place. This focus is important, given calls for increased understanding of the impact that environmental factors, such as home and place, may have on individuals as they enter later stages of life (Geller & Zenick, 2005). The focus on agency and interconnectedness in participants' accounts is grounded in examples of my participants' efforts to make links and contributions to the local community. I will illustrate how these immigrants become part of communities in ways that differ

considerably from those they have experienced in China. Due to their limited English capacity, participants create meaning through space-mediated activities, which require less verbal communication.

The first four sections of this chapter document my participants' preferences in their living arrangements, and the various landscapes of neighbourhood and the local and transnational communities, which extend from New Zealand back to China and hold meaningful ageing related experiences for them. Positive ageing in place requires affordable and stable housing, safe neighbourhoods, a sense of community and social ties that extend beyond the local setting. Besides housing, neighbourhoods and communities, health care in later life is a critical component for positive ageing in place as well (Schofield, Davey, Keeling, & Parsons, 2006). The fifth section explores how health provision, alongside public housing, safe neighbourhoods and connective local and transnational communities, functions as "spaces of care" (Hodgetts et al., 2008) for my participants. These spaces offer comfort and care to older Chinese immigrants who are marginal in mainstream society, and aid in their personal and collective growth and identity (re)construction (*cf.*, Johnsen, Cloke, & May, 2005). These are places that hold connotations of home with feelings of attachment beyond the domestic dwelling. Older Chinese immigrants develop close relationships to foster and grow spaces of care, where they establish roots in a new cultural milieu and acquire a sense of belonging and security in their new home away from home (Lalich, 2008). In a sense, older Chinese migrants' experiences of positive ageing in place are stretched from having a stable place to live, engaging in neighbourhood processes, to maintaining cultural ties and their collective engagement with the broader and transnational communities. These older adults contribute to, rather than simply rely on, communities.

Affordable and stable public housing

The majority of my participants wanted to live in public housing where they sought place attachments that gave them a sense of autonomy, stability, and community bonds. In New Zealand, public housing is managed by the State and local governments (Housing New Zealand, 2006; Wellington City Council, 2010) and operated as an income-related rent system in which rents are set at 25 percent of a tenant's income (Murphy, 2004). The 25 per cent rent limit is a policy designed to protect low-income tenants from relative poverty. Public housing tenants can enjoy

considerable security of tenure compared to private tenants (Murphy, 2004). In a more stable environment offered by public housing, a deep embeddedness can be beneficial to older people's wellbeing by providing a sense of self in connection with the environment (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Public housing provides a strong sense of stability and control for my participants. As Ling described:

Living in a state house is affordable for us. We can stay in this public house as long as we want. We have spent several years on making our home and knowing our neighbours. For example, I can even walk around my place in dark without running into my furniture because I know where my lounge suite*, tables and chairs are. We don't want to move. The best thing of public housing is that it gives me a sense of stability.*

Ling has developed a sense of physical intimacy and comfort in this house. Taking the same paths both within and beyond the house (e.g., neighbourhood) day after day leads to a level of familiarity. Familiarity with the physical space contributes to Ling's bodily engagement with her material surroundings, or "embodiment in environment through routine" (Kockey, Penhale, & Sibley, 2005, p. 137). More importantly, the physical space has transformed into a social place through Ling's familiarity and connections with her neighbourhood and neighbours. Embedded within the neighbourhood are social relationships among neighbours (Halperin, 1998). The relationships may involve reciprocity and caring that convey a sense of mutual belonging that arises from years of social interactions (Rowles, 1983). Ling's account suggests that attachments and bonds are formed among place, self, and place-based identity because "longtime residence can also create a sense of autobiographical affinity with the space beyond the home" (Rowles & Ravdal, 2002, p. 88). As a result, she is less likely to experience alienation and isolation (Sonn, Bishop, & Drew, 1999).

Besides local connections, public housing also offers the participants cultural connections to their home country. Hong reflected:

I now live in a state house specifically designed for older people (see Figure 17)*. I like such a living arrangement. I had been living in state houses for*

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years in China. I never thought I would live in a state house again in New Zealand. Living in a state house gives me a sense of belonging. I feel that I am a member of New Zealand society.

Figure 17. Hong's state house

It is through public housing that Hong refashions memories and meaning-making from the old to the new environment. For Hong, public housing has been symbolic of her self both in China and in New Zealand. In China, Hong largely viewed public housing as a taken-for-granted place to dwell. In New Zealand, however, the public housing is a formal recognition of her status as a New Zealander. The narrative facilitates the spatial and temporary stretch between the here and there, now and then (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010). Living in a state house in New Zealand signifies Hong's New Zealand citizenship and satisfies her place-based identity attached to her home, physically, psychologically and socially. Such attachment acts as a buffer, a means of retaining a sense of belonging and strengthening the self as a member of larger society.

As discussed in Chapter 3, for many older homeowners in New Zealand, home maintenance and repairs are critical issues when they age in place. However, the participants who were not homeowners did not regard home maintenance and repairs as their major concerns because such issues are the responsibility of public housing agencies, private landlords or their children. Instead, the participants frequently mentioned the challenges they faced when they approached social

services. Ping recounted the difficulties she experienced when she applied for a state house:

> *I went to the Housing New Zealand to apply for a state house. The case manager was not very nice. He asked me why I applied for public housing. He said, "Chinese people love to live with their children. Living with your daughter is a good living arrangement for you." I asked my friend who acted as an interpreter to tell him that there were intergenerational conflicts between my daughter and me. The case manager said, "Go home and talk to your daughter to solve the problem. We have a very big waiting list." He didn't even place me on the waiting list.*

The case manager may have assumed that the preferred Chinese aged care model is family support provided by co-resident family members. This illustrates that while poor communication often exists because of language barriers, difficulties can extend further when service providers are not aware that Chinese aged care practices have evolved amongst Chinese people who live in Western countries. Cultural competency, which refers to the understanding and empathy between aged care providers and older adults of different ethnic or cultural backgrounds (Johnston & Herzig, 2006), is a pressing need in aged care systems in the host country. This suggests that policy makers and service providers should devote more effort to understanding the evolution of cultural values and practices among ethnic communities, so that aged care services can be rendered more acceptable and accessible to potential and existing ethnic users (*cf.*, Lee, Kearns, & Friesen, 2010). In a broader sense, cultural integration is not the mere proximity of cultures, but an active process based on joint participation and mutual understandings (Philogene, 2000).

Ping's account reflects a broader housing issue in New Zealand that the demand for public housing significantly exceeds the capacity of public housing supply (DTZ New Zealand, 2004). In 2003, for example, in Auckland, where Ping resided, there were as many as 7,047 applicants on public housing waiting lists (DTZ New Zealand, 2004). In New Zealand, the Housing New Zealand Corporation is the largest provider of public rental housing accommodation for citizens or permanent residents who are in housing need, while local government is the second largest

provider of public housing (Davey et al., 2004; DTZ New Zealand, 2004). Because of the high demand for public housing, the ability to meet the needs of older people in housing is constrained by competing priorities (Davey et al., 2004). This is reflected in the applicant numbers on the Housing New Zealand waiting list which is divided into four groups using a Social Allocation System to determine an applicant's housing need (see Appendix J). A and B applicants have greater priority for housing than C and D applicants. The A priority refers to the households, for example, where people's well-being is severely affected or seriously at risk by housing circumstances that are unsuitable, inadequate or unsustainable and there is an immediate need for action; whereas the D applicants are people who already have a house they can afford (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2006). Ping's application is likely to be considered as a low priority by the case manager who did not place Ping on the Housing New Zealand waiting list. The case manager's lack of explanation to Ping about his decision-making process may lead to misunderstandings. For example, Ping appears to believe that the primary reason why she was not being placed on the waiting list was because of the case manager's belief that "Chinese people love to live with their children".

There has been consistency in older people's desires regarding housing choices in later life: older adults choose to live independently and remain where they are rather than moving into dependent living arrangements (Mutschler, 1993). Older Chinese immigrants' desires for housing choices are to live independently as well. To fulfil this desire, they often choose to move out from their children's home to a place where they can develop a sense of independence, autonomy and attachment. Such choices are functions of the older Chinese migrants' needs and the range of settlement programmes, social services, and settings available, stretching from private dwellings to neighbourhoods and wider communities.

Building safe neighbourhoods

Social scientists have become increasingly aware of how the quality of a neighbourhood significantly affects the health and wellbeing of its residents (Fong & Gulia, 1999). As stated previously, such influences are shaped not only by physical locations, but also relational and collective factors. In this section, I illustrate that a socio-cultural approach to the study of place enables a better understanding of a range of place experiences and meanings, both positive and negative (Manzo, 2005).

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I demonstrate that place-based identities, a sense of safety and attachments are not static states but processes that continue throughout life (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992).

When asked to define "neighbourhood", my participants often identified neighbourhood as a territorial area surrounding their houses. For instance, Chan said, "My neighbourhood means an area of a couple of streets around my house." Place-making not only relates to who the person is and wants to be, but also to the emotional bond and the sense of belonging to the place (see Chapter 3). Although many participants proposed that they did not have much involvement with their neighbours due to language barriers, some of them established good relationships and emotional bonds with their neighbours. Hong stated:

I learnt English when I was young. I therefore can speak English. My husband studied in Russia for five years. He can speak Russian. One day, our Russian neighbour, whose children lived outside New Zealand, lost her wallet in a supermarket. She came to us for help. We went to the supermarket with her. She communicated with my husband in Russian. My husband translated what she said into Chinese to me. I explained to the staff member in the supermarket in English. The lady got her wallet back. (smiles)

Hong's account illustrates how neighbourhoods have personal and collective aspects that are established through time spent in or with the neighbourhood and supporting residents in the neighbourhood. Personal experiences and social interaction lead the members of the neighbourhood to attach meaning to a defined space. As a result, the neighbourhood becomes a place where the person can gain support and assistance. In this fashion, neighbourhoods are more than territorial settings. Neighbourhoods have meanings that are characterised by social capital and social cohesion (White, 1987).

Apart from the emotional bond and belonging, neighbourhoods may also encompass negative experiences. In the following extract, Tian described his negative relationship with the neighbourhood at the time when eggs were thrown at his daughter's car. For Tian this incident represents a significant event that ruptures his sense of belonging in the neighbourhood. When I arrived at Tian's home for *fangtan*, Tian was cleaning up his daughter's car (see Figure 18) and told me:

Kids threw chips and eggs at my daughter's car. It's frightening. I will remind myself to be careful in the future. For example, lock my doors and windows when I go out, and not to walk closely to a stranger.

Figure 18. Tian cleaning the car

The concept of place attachment is usually implicitly defined as positive (Lewicka, 2005). To be attached to a place of residence is assumed to be a good thing and will carry beneficial effects for the person and for the community. Tian's narrative suggests that negative experiences and incidents can erode positive place attachment and provoke fears.

Such experiences were also evident in other participants' accounts. Hong said:

In 2003, several older Chinese people were attacked by some kids in our neighbourhood. Some girls threw eggs at older Chinese people. A group of young men threw stones at an older Chinese couple while they were waiting by the bus stop near their home. A friend of mine has been afraid to leave his home since a kid hit him with a road cone. We didn't feel safe when we walked on the street even at as early as seven o'clock in the evening.

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Hong's account sheds light on the disruption to positive relationships with the neighbourhood, illuminating the impact of negative experiences on older Chinese migrants (*cf.*, Manzo, 2005). All people may experience negative neighbourhood interactions at different times (Schieman & Pearlin, 2006). Older Chinese migrants are more likely to spend time in their neighbourhoods, partly because their limited social networks and English language abilities constrain their social lives (see Chapter 5 for prisoner of space). They may suffer greater exposure to the stressful neighbourhood, especially when they become the targets of attacks.

Negative experiences comprise what Chawla (1992) calls the "shadow side" of people's relationships with places. Chawla argues that "if place forms the circumference of our experience, we are attached to it for better or for worse. Therefore, there is a shadow side…composed of…frustrating or frightening places" (p.66). Research has suggested that places where negative experiences occur are as significant as places where needs are met and succour is found, particularly when people put effort in turning a negative neighbourhood into a positive one (Manzo, 2005). Ming reflected how older Chinese immigrants and the larger community collectively worked to improve their neighbourhood after they experienced the shadow side of the place:

> *We organised an informal meeting in our local community centre to talk about our worries for our personal safety. The victims spoke of kids throwing bottles at them, punching them and trying to take their purses. But only one person had gone to the police. A few were scared, but for most inability to speak English and the belief that the police would do nothing, stopped them from reporting the attacks. So we decided to act collectively. We approached Chinese newspapers and mainstream newspapers. The reporters disclosed the attacks. Our collective action pushed the police to set up a call centre for Asians in our community. A Chinese-Kiwi Friendship Programme was also established to help Kiwi people and older Chinese people to better know each other, to keep our neighbourhood safer together* (see Figure 19)*.*

Figure 19. The Chinese-Kiwi friendship programme

Ming portrayed a picture of "culture of civility" (Godfrey, 1988) where residents regard multicultural diversity as a civic resource rather than as a dangerous threat. For example, the police initiative offers older Chinese people a place where they feel safer and more comfortable. The Chinese-Kiwi friendship programme provides a platform to foster friendship, to share experiences, and for cultural exchange. The collective efforts based on civility and mutual interest provide a model for settling the conflicts in the neighbourhood areas (Becker & Horowitz, 1971), and contribute to the construction of identities for the people who inhabit in hybrid cultural contact zones (Mahalingam, 2008). Through the culture of civility, older Chinese people develop social networks with local people, become familiar with and in the neighbourhood and produce powerful and positive sentiments for a place in which they age. The practice of such neighbourhood-building anchors diverse cultures and subcultures and creates a new urban heterogeneity (Lalich, 2008). Through neighbourhood-building, emotional connection between community members and a sense of community are developed (Bess et al., 2002). In a larger sense, sharing, caring and maintaining relationships is at least as strong a motivator of human behaviour as competition, separation, and promotion of one's separate self-interests (Stone, 2002). As such, identifying with place does not just happen. It requires collective work, repeated actions which establish relations between peoples and places, and significantly expands intersubjectivity beyond the self to neighbourhoods, communities and society as a whole (Tilley, 2006). In a sense, identity and place are accepted as being intertwined and contributing towards collectivity through the

reproduction of common values, norms and willingness to participate in social networks and build social capital (Robinson, 2005).

Engaging in local communities

While the participants defined neighbourhood as a territorial area, they defined community as a relational environment in which people share common interests, mainly referring to the Chinese community. For example, Cheng stated, "For me, community means our Chinese association." Such a definition of community refers to several intertwined dimensions of places: physical environment, relational bonds, symbolic connection, political influence, and cultural heritage. Although the participants placed emphasis on the Chinese association, a cross-account comparison shows that informal places such as Chinese shops, formal places such as the Chinese associations and public places such as libraries collectively contribute to their understandings of community. In the following excerpt, Tian described his daily trip to the Chinese shops:

> *There is no Chinatown in New Zealand. But the Chinese is a big group in this city. We have a shopping centre like a Chinatown. There are many Chinese shops and food outlets over there* (see Figure 20)*. I go to the shopping centre every day, collecting Chinese newspapers, meeting people and talking to my peers.*

Figure 20. Chinese food outlets and shops

Shopping is not the only purpose of Tian's daily trip to the shopping centre. Rather, the close-by neighbourhood destination provides Tian with a place to interact with other Chinese migrants. The daily trip to the shopping centre is also reflected among the older Chinese migrants in Australia who participated in Ip and colleagues' (2007) study. Ip and colleagues claimed that, for their participants, going to the Chinese restaurant became a routine or a ritual in that the restaurant was one of the few places where their participants could have social contacts with people outside their homes and families. Social spaces in which older Chinese people can meet together, including shopping centres and Chinese restaurants, offer opportunities for social contact and development of new social networks (Milligan, Bingley, & Gartrell, 2005). These places serve as cultural symbols that are significant to making settings and in providing a shared emotional connection with the participants' community of origin (Sonn, 2002).

Compared to the informal communal places such as Chinese shops and restaurants, the activities coordinated by Chinese organisations provide the participants with formal communal places in which they perceive their own belonging and attachment (Lalich, 2008). These formal communal places which Chinese communities and organisations inhabit satisfy Chinese immigrants' particular collective perceived needs. Below, Ping's account exemplified how older Chinese people performed their obligations, services and commitments to the communal place:

The Chinese association organises weekly meetings and parties. Every Friday morning we meet in a community centre for seminars and information sharing. Every Sunday we organise the ballroom dance party (see Figure 21)*. Many of our members regard these two days as the most important days in the week. I participate in these two events every week.*

For Ping, the Chinese association represents a space where she can meet and make friends of her own age and own culture. Supportiveness and reciprocity offered by the Chinese association may act to cushion the effects of stress, anxiety and negative emotional experiences often associated with ageing and immigration, as I have outlined in previous chapters. As Milligan and colleagues (2005) express it, the Chinese association (and other social groups or clubs) serves as an "emotional

textured space," where for a short time each week, older Chinese migrants have a place in which they can express, share and validate their emotions with their peers. Activities, such as information sharing and ballroom dancing, are supportive to this emotional process. As fellow association members know each other, they begin, increasingly, to look forward to opportunities to talk and share stories, memories, histories and feelings about their lives. Acts of caring and sharing constitute an arena for social exchanges, where specific practices bind people and establish a "we-ness" or shared identity (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). In this way, the communal place is experienced as a structure of feeling through activities and practices which crystallise and express older Chinese migrants' collective identities to the outside world (Tilley, 2006). The communal place provides older Chinese migrants with a mechanism for enhancing their sense of self (Nolan, Davies, & Grant, 2001), and a sense of embodied connection between the individual and the collective, namely, a sense of community.

Figure 21. Weekly ballroom dance party

As a social construct, the communal place facilitates older Chinese migrants' in developing a sense of community which in turn engenders their ideological and psychological attachments to the communal place. As such, the properties of the communal place are manifold, as they provide a secure anchor with which to stabilise personal and collective identities or rootedness, locate local knowledge, and enable social interaction (Lalich, 2008). The communal place, through localised stories, images and memories, as shown in Ping's account, provides meaningful

cultural and historical bearings for individuals and communities (Balshaw & Kennedy, 2000).

Below, Tian's account shows the communal place provides him with a sense of identity via practical assistance in concrete tasks, such as a free haircut. After one of my verification presentations for the members of a Chinese association, I walked along with Tian who guided me to where a Chinese elder was offering free haircuts to several older Chinese adults (see Figure 22). Tian asserted:

The gentleman offers us free haircuts. I really appreciate that. In China, we had such free haircuts in parks specifically catering for retired people. Now when I sit in the chair and have the haircut, I feel like I am in China.

Figure 22. Free haircut

Tian's excerpt suggests that the activities organised by the Chinese organisation are also settings when history and identities are remembered and reinforced. The free haircuts invoke memories for Tian, creating a sense of being in a home away from home (Leung, 2008). As a key ethnic resource with important utilitarian, symbolic and cultural meanings, the communal place signifies arrival, settlement, culture transfer and maintenance of ethnic identity in a new cultural and social environment (Thwaites, 2000). The communal place is a materialised link with the shared past which helps to construct the present, as people identify with the place that provides

materialised manifestations of individual and collective identity (Lalich, 2008; Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010).

Apart from those communal places which cater specifically to older Chinese immigrants, the library is a public space where many participants visited regularly. In the following account, Xue stressed that the library is a focal place for her husband to develop a sense of belonging and identity as a legitimate community member:

My husband is a quiet and shy man. He doesn't like socialising. He therefore is not interested in joining any of the Chinese organisations. He goes to the library every day. There are Chinese books and magazines in the library (see Figure 23)*. He can sit there for four or five hours reading those Chinese books and magazines. He once told me that he really enjoyed reading a book about Chinese migrants. He said he knew more about himself from other's stories. He also enjoys the friendly atmosphere in the library. The librarians are very nice to him.*

Figure 23. Chinese books in a library

The creation of social settings such as the Chinese associations is a central part of the adaptation process for immigrant communities. However, as Sonn and Fisher (2005) argue, not all immigrants participate or desire to participate in those social settings. For Xue's husband, the library offers him a place in which he can position

himself as a member of the public, doing what everyone else is doing without language and face-to-face communication needed. The library provides Xue's husband with access to reference material and information. More importantly, the library offers him a space where he can meet people from all cultures. The library strengthens Xue's husband's bonds to the community and represents a space where he builds his social capital (Hodgetts et al., 2008). He, therefore, prefers to read in the library, for four or five hours, where he develops a sense of participating in communal life rather than taking books out of the library and reading at home. Furthermore, for Xue's husband, the book about Chinese migrants is charged with memories, emotions and reflections that are extended into consideration of his current circumstances. The Chinese books and magazines are more than a simple extension or manifestation of his cultural heritage and identity; they are a vehicle for constructing the self in a manner that situates the self within a web of relationships, experiences and places that spans time and space (Hodgetts et al., 2008).

Throughout this thesis, I have emphasised how older Chinese migrants are not passive victims of circumstances or recipients of care. They care for others and are active community members making contributions to the community, for instance, through volunteering. Volunteering refers to activities intended to help others, including persons, groups, or organisations for which the volunteer does not receive pay or other material compensation for their time and services (Okun & Schultz, 2003; Wilson, 2006). Volunteering provides older adults with a way to maintain meaningful social roles and to continue to actively participate in society (Morrow-Howell, Hong, & Tang, 2009). Volunteering also provides an opportunity for physical activities and the building of social networks, which can be important for the maintenance of both physical and psychological health for older persons (Cheng & Heller, 2009). Research has shown that volunteering is more significant for the psychological well-being of older people than that of younger persons (Cheng & Heller, 2009; Morrow-Howell, Hong, & Tang, 2009).

Although a strong body of research has explored volunteering in old age (Morrow-Howell et al., 2009; Okun & Schultz, 2003), relatively few studies have investigated volunteering among older Chinese immigrants. It is noticeable that many participants in my research expressed that they were willing to be or stay involved in volunteering. Qian stated:

We receive benefits from the Government. We should in turn make a contribution to New Zealand. In a Chinese saying, "Without the big home, there are no little homes." … I have been a voluntary consultant in a Chinese MP's[9] office since 2002, responsible for collecting feedback on social policies from the older Chinese community. I worked two days a week. People respected me as a consultant. Um…I think my voluntary work benefits the community.

Qian's account reflects the ideas of "little home" and "big home" in the Chinese culture. The little home refers to the base for daily activities, such as a family home; while the big home refers to where the person collectively belongs, such as one's neighbourhood, city and country (Magat, 1999). The notions of big home and little home are compatible with the Chinese conceptions of *Da Wo* (the larger self) and *Xiao Wo* (the small self) discussed in Chapter 2. In the Chinese culture, a person's value lies not in the fact of being an individual as more commonly understood and aspired to in Western cultures, but in the ability to develop a innate human social nature, such as to love other people and to live with them harmoniously (Yang, 2006). According to Confucianism, the self always has room for improvement; a person thus needs carefully to choose actions that can harmonise all surrounding relationships. Volunteering can be regarded as a means to improve the self, through which the person can gradually relinquish the small self and embrace the larger collective to which the person belongs.

As noted in Chapter 2, the small self is at the centre of the cobweb, while the large self encompasses the cobweb and includes people constituting the cobweb. The conception of cobweb self is relevant for understanding volunteering practices in which the large selves not only represent the social group to which the person belongs but also social responsibilities. As Tu (1971) maintains, Confucian self-cultivation necessarily leads to social responsibility and is always carried out in a social context. The Confucian seeks self-development through self cultivation, family harmony, state governing and world peace. The person includes the family, the nation and the world into his or her self (Yang et al., 2010). Through volunteering, which can be viewed as a self-cultivation process, older Chinese migrants make themselves participating members in a new country. In that regard, volunteering

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[9] MP refers to Member of Parliament.

provides Qian with an empowering social responsibility which reflects the large self and the small self. The large self is situated within the cultural context that "without the big home, there are no little homes." When the large self grows, the small self grows in a harmonious fashion (Yang, 2006).

For Qian, volunteering can be seen as a crucial process that shapes the construction of the cultural self. The establishment of the Chinese self is "not so much language, or religion, or any other markers of ethnicity, but some primordial core or essence of Chineseness" (Pan, 1990, p.267). As I will show, volunteering connects older Chinese migrants' old and new lives, which nurtures their construal of Chineseness and strengthens them to claim membership in both Chinese and New Zealand societies. I will also show that the older Chinese migrant's volunteer work plays an important part in linking the present to the past and the formation of Chineseness among the younger generations. Ming's stated:

> *I have been voluntarily teaching Tai Chi for years in New Zealand* (see Figure 24) *as I did in China. I had a Samoan student. She was my first non-Chinese student. She has [a problem with] obesity. After about one and a half years of Tai Chi practicing, her weight reduced from 84 kilograms to 60 kilograms. She was also recovered from her memory loss caused by a car accident. She got a job and removed herself from the beneficiary list. She now teaches her fellow Samoans Tai Chi.*

Ming transfers the positive experiences of community he had in China to New Zealand through practicing and teaching Tai Chi. Such a practice provides Ming with opportunities for participation and identity making, furnishing him with social and cultural exchanges. He renegotiates cultural identity through supporting members from other cultures, which enhances personal, relational and collective wellbeing (Sonn & Fisher, 2005). During my fieldwork, I observed that the Chinese elders were teaching Chinese teenagers Tai Chi Fan and Kungfu Stick (see Figure 25). One of the instructors told me, "The kids have been following us for about a year. We are so glad that they are interested in Tai Chi. We feel it is our duty to pass on the Chinese culture to the younger generations."

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Figure 24. Ming practicing Tai Chi

Figure 25. Chinese kids learning Tai Chi and Kungfu Stick

The construction of identity of younger generations involves hybridisation where they maintain multiple identities and create new cultural forms using elements from diverse contexts. These cultural elements include intergenerational influences, such as learning Tai Chi Fan and Kungfu Stick from the older Chinese adults. In this way, older Chinese migrants take on the role of "cultural carriers" (Kalra, Kaur, & Hutnyk, 2005) who transmit culture from one generation to the next. They play an important role in the establishment of the younger generations' cultural identity. Through such intergenerational connections, the younger generations experience "imagined

transnationality", which situates them between different generational and locational points of reference, the older Chinese people and their own (*cf.*, Espiritu, 2003). Chineseness thus becomes a part of the younger generations' everyday life which continuously shapes their identities, and establishes a sense of attachment to China and of cultural heritage which links them to China as homeland (Ngan, 2008).

Volunteering in later life can be beneficial for the helper as well as the helped. For example, positive effects are found for life satisfaction, self-esteem, self-related health, functional ability (Morrow-Howell et al., 2009; Wilson, 2006), and for the continuation of patterns of behaviour established earlier in life (Mutchler, Burr, & Caro, 2002). I would add that volunteering expresses older Chinese immigrants' desire to connect to the larger society and thus gain a sense of fulfilment. Through volunteering, older Chinese migrants enjoy being exposed to new experiences and insights; they use the experience as personal and collective quests for identity (Nobel, 2000). In the process they build a sense of community and develop social capital (Sonn & Fisher, 1998).

Hybridised transnational communities

Immigration is one of the main processes that have contributed to the culturally pluralistic nature of many nations (Sonn, 2002). Migration provides a useful focal point for examining the hybrid self and home within the context of transnational communities (*cf.*, Davidson, 2008a). As Davidson and Kuah-Pearce (2008) argue, communities are living entities that evolve through time and space, and in response to the social, cultural and political needs of their members and the contextual circumstances of society. In this fashion, transnational communities change against the various situations and processes of resettlement, adjustment, adaptation and integration. The transnational community, which refers to groups whose identities are not primarily based on attachment to a specific territory (Castles, 2002), is a social and cultural (re)construction of place (Pries, 2001).

Social and cultural elements reproduced through connections with China often lead to the development of hybridised lives in transnational communities for older Chinese migrants (*cf.*, Ngan, 2008). The self in this regard is constructed by past memories and future anticipation is linked to an ever-transforming present (Hall, 1990). The formation of migrants' identity thus involves a hybrid process where the self becomes a flexible zone of multiplicity. Due to affordable transnational

communication and dynamics of the social and political environment, identity construction of older Chinese migrants is increasingly complex and cannot be defined simply in bounded homogeneous notions (Ngan, 2008). Below, Ming's narrative embodied the personal, the political and the cultural threads which, when woven together, linked Ming back to the motherland identity:

After a large earthquake *struck Sichuan, China on May 12, we learnt from the news that tens of thousands of people were killed. The Chinese association organised us to donate money to support the victims of the earthquake* (see Figure 26)*. We watched TV news every day so that we knew the most updated situation in Sichuan. New Zealand people showed great* compassion *and donated money to the earthquake survivors. We really appreciate that.*

Figure 26. 2008 Sichuan earthquake donation

Ming's account illustrates that his hybrid identity and cultural connections are greatly strengthened by transnational networks of media. Through catalysing and accelerating processes of cultural exchange between China and New Zealand, the transnational networks of media sustain older Chinese immigrants' hybridisation and enhance their sense of belonging to both China as well as New Zealand. These time-space collapsing media (Gillespie, 2000b) present communication opportunities for not only older Chinese migrants but also New Zealand society. They facilitate instantaneous flows of information and ideas as well as the cultural exchange of

symbols and images, thereby serving to construct and affirm "imagined"—and now increasingly—"virtual" communities (Cottle, 2000). Zhuang's account below shows that the transnational network media serve a range of social and cultural functions. The international telecommunications enable him to maintain contact with distant kin and friends, not least by helping to sustain cultural heritage and social networks and keeping alive memories of China as well as collective Chineseness:

We installed a satellite dish which is used to subscribe to Chinese TV channels (see Figure 27)*. We can receive more than 30 TV programmes from China. My wife loves to watch Chinese soap operas. I like news, talk shows and history programmes. We keep pace with China now… I phone my sisters and brothers at least once a month, sometimes once a week. I also talk to my former colleagues and friends via phone. Our phone conversations sometimes last more than one hour. I told them of my life here in New Zealand. They told me about their lives in China. We also have discussions on issues we were interested in.*

Figure 27. Zhuang's backyard

Here Zhuang refers to the phenomenon that older Chinese migrants look towards their home country for news and entertainment. This is consistent with Siew-peng's (2001) finding that satellite television viewing is a very significant part of the lives of the older Chinese in Britain. The watching of news events and Chinese soap operas

transmitted simultaneously via the satellite allow older Chinese immigrants to maintain their relationships with other Chinese people across space (Tomlinson, 1991). More important than a sense of shared programmes with people in China, is the sense of spatial proximity, shared memories and Chineseness (Siew-peng, 2001). Through the transnational network of media, Chinese older migrants are re-territorialised and establish a sense of belonging to a larger Chinese community, both in New Zealand and in China. They sketch a wider social landscape found throughout China and New Zealand.

Zhuang's account suggests that social interaction and relations are no longer dependent on spatial co-presence. Instantaneous communication through a variety of media fosters intense relating between "absent others" (Gillespie, 2000a). As this happens, people experience distant events unfolding instantaneously on screens in their local homes, and thus spatial and temporal differences are radically undermined. The imagined community has profound effects on older Chinese migrants' Chineseness construction because they are engaging with significant, although absent, Chinese others in the imagined community (*cf.*, Gillespie, 2000a, 2000b). The older Chinese migrants can and do "return home" through the imagination. Their "returning home" through the imagination creates the simultaneity of geography, the possibility of living here in body and elsewhere in mind and imagination (Espiritu, 2003), and new forms of connections, identification and cultural affinity (Gillespie, 2000b).

Although many participants used the transnational communication technologies to maintain contact with families and friends outside New Zealand, they still emphasised their feelings of joy and happiness when they visited China. As Tong described:

> *I returned to China for a 70-day holiday. It was fantastic. I visited the cities where I had worked. I visited my birthplace as well. I met 15 siblings and cousins. Well, it was a wonderful trip… Although my China trip was fantastic, I see New Zealand as my home. Look, there are two flags on my desk—the national flags of China and of New Zealand* (see Figure 28)*. I truly, truly love the two flags. China is my first homeland, while New Zealand is my second homeland. I sometimes referred New Zealand to "our New Zealand" when I*

talked to my son. My son said, "Whoa, Mom, you are now a New Zealander."
(chuckles)
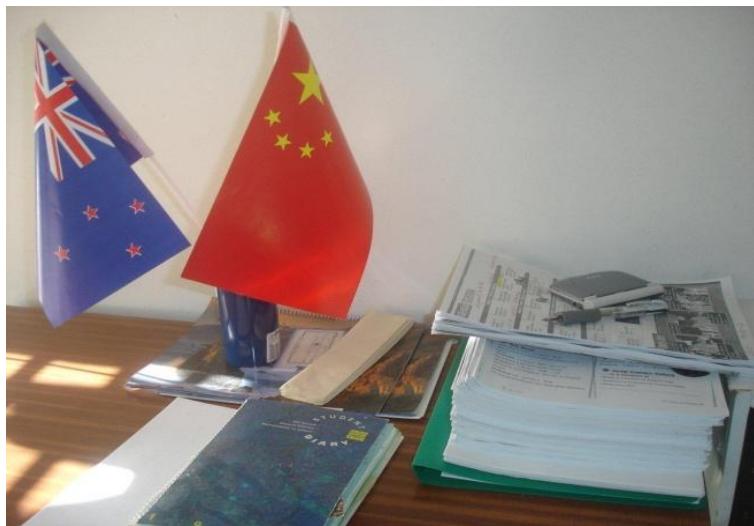
Figure 28. Tong's desk

Tong's China trip facilitates the construction of her hybrid identity. All participants mentioned that they kept ties with family, friends, and colleagues in China through occasional visits as Tong did. In so doing, they have created and maintained fluid and multiple identities that link them simultaneously to both countries. The two national flags on Tong's desk serve as symbols which establish a bridge between the old and new lives, as well as provide a bond between the past, the present and future (Davidson, 2008a). Living between China and New Zealand, between homes and between languages, older Chinese migrants do not merely insert or incorporate themselves into existing spaces in New Zealand; they also create "in-betweenness" where they experience hybridisation which unifies nearness and remoteness. The unity of nearness and remoteness, as Simmel (1950) has put it, is "involved in every human relation… he, who is close by, is far, and…that he, who also is far, is actually near" (p. 402).

Although the participants regard both China and New Zealand as their homes, they experience media criticisms, for example, regarding China's human rights records from time to time in New Zealand. This indicates that older Chinese immigrants do not arrive in New Zealand in an "empty space". Upon arrival they enter into a very complex, diverse, and historically and politically marked society

where the intricate dynamic shapes how older Chinese migrants become Chinese New Zealanders (*cf.*, Philogene, 2000). Hong reflected:

> *I regard New Zealand as my home. But… during the 2008 Olympics torch relay which promoted the theme of "one world, one dream", the New Zealand media launched political attacks on China. When I read those hostile reports on China I feel that I was still an "other" in New Zealand.*

Hong's feelings about the media criticisms are consistent with the statement of a participant in Ngan's (2008) study who considered that a political attack on the Chinese community was like a personal strike on herself. Although Hong regards New Zealand as her home, her claim that "the New Zealand media launched political attacks on China" highlights that her identity is established through intimate and emotional connections with the Chinese collectivity. Hong's account also indicates that the sense of Chineseness informs not only the ethnic identity, but also the older Chinese migrants' relationship with New Zealand. As such, older Chinese immigrants' identity construction is often influenced by complex forces situating the persons in the nexus of histories, politics and transnational memories. As Ang (1998) articulates, "Chineseness is not a category with a fixed content—be it racial, cultural or geographical—but operates as an open and indeterminate signifier whose meanings are constantly renegotiated and rearticulated in different sections of the Chinese diaspora" (p. 225).

This section illustrates that Chineseness is multilayered, fluid and dynamic, which is continuously being formed and reformed in different sites of negotiation (Ngan, 2008). As marginal persons (see Chapter 6), older Chinese immigrants are involved in transnational communities which comprise of two (or more) culturally distinct societies where both similarities and conflicts are experienced. Hybridity arises in response to marginal persons who construct new identities with a more interethnic and transnational character.

Spaces for care

Successful ageing in place needs to be supported by health care provisions (Schofield et al., 2006). Much of this literature presents older people as recipients of

care that is made available in particular places. Studies tend to neglect the agency of older adults in managing their own care and seeking out assistance. This section shows that my participants actively *seek*, instead of passively *receive*, health care through engaging with local and transnational health systems. They also seek affective care in which the sense of being "in-place", trust and familiarity is significant in promoting well-being (*cf.*, Lee et al, 2010). Ageing in place can be understood as being a relational and societal process that is influenced not only by the physical environment, but also by human agency and the structures and constraints imposed by society (*cf.*, Milligan, Gatrell, & Bingley, 2004).

When I discussed with the participants what support they needed for ageing in place, support for housing and health were listed at the top. My participants considered that health was one of the major factors that influenced their wellbeing and quality of life. This section considers the participants' health experiences. One of the features of their health practices is the phenomenon that they return to China for health care, which reflects the notion of transnational therapeutic landscapes that function as spaces of care.

Although ageing is accompanied by a general decline in functional ability, researchers have recognised that physical and psychological health is not simply related to disease and disabilities, but also to social and environmental adaptations (Pool, Amey, Cameron, & van der Pas, 2009). Hong presented her story about injuries and the consequences caused by the injuries:

> *I fell twice at home and once in a shopping mall. The first time, I was standing on a small stool to reach my clothes in the wardrobe. It was too high to reach. I jumped and fell off the stool. After two or three months, I slipped in my laundry. Injuries hurt my body. More importantly, I lost my confidence after I fell three times within a year. I sometimes had to slow down my pace like a real old lady and was left behind by my daughters in the shopping mall. They had to wait for me.*

In Hong's excerpt, ageing finds her having to adapt to a reconfigured mundaneity. Ageing catapults Hong into a separate reality—with its own rules, rhythm, and tempo—so that she felt "like a real old lady" (*cf*., Charmaz, 1991). In this sense, ageing is not only about the material body but also its public and social display. For

example, falling invokes social consequences: Hong had to slow down and was left behind her daughters when they went shopping together. In their research into arthritis narratives, Rosenfeld and Faircloth (2004) found that slowing down is a key theme in many participants' accounts, underlying the problematic nature of embodied movement in arthritis sufferers' lives. Hong's account suggests a similar tendency. Hong's experiences of moving at a slower pace than expected or desired interrupt the normal flow of interaction. Both she and her children need to adjust to this new place.

Illness should not be viewed as breakdown in an objective machine (Leonard, 1994). Rather, illness or an injured body is a rupture in the ability, of the ill or injured person, to negotiate with the world. As shown in Chapter 5, such disruption can be repaired through renegotiation with the body, self and environment. To enhance her ability to renegotiate with the world as an ageing person, Hong attended a fall prevention course. Positive attitudes and appropriate actions and activities levels helped Hong cope with the mundaneity (Rosenfeld & Faircloth, 2004) and ageing:

> *I shouldn't surrender myself to ageing. I need to challenge myself. I decided to attend a fall prevention programme. It was very helpful. I understood ageing scientifically. For example, what sort of shoes I should wear. I understood why older people were vulnerable to fall and that fall was preventable. The programme helped me regain my confidence. My daughter appraised that I look younger now.*

Hong's account is not only about the ongoing reformulation of the physical self, but also concerned with reproducing Hong as a competent and confident person who is esteemed by her family and recognised in society (Spalding, Suri, & Khalsa, 2010). Kleinman (1988) calls for aspiration and victory to cope with chronic illness. Kleinman argues that it is important to emphasise the effort that people with chronic illness put into successful adaptation to illness and highlight the effective ways in which illness is dealt with. This principle is applicable to ageing. Attending the fall prevention programme is a symbolic expression of Hong's willingness to age positively and actively seek out assistance offered by the local aged care system.

Hong's account also illustrates that health and wellbeing are, at least in part, socially relative. Maintaining safety in the home and community is a public health

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concern, especially for older adults who age in their homes. The importance of the social dimensions of health and illness is reflected in the narratives of the participants who suffer illness. As Wei, who was diagnosed with breast cancer, described:

> *I received chemo treatments this year. I believe that cancer is horrifying for everyone because it signifies the end of a person's life. However, support from people whom I knew and I didn't know helped me go through the process of chemo treatments. Our church prayed for me every week. A volunteer team looked after my transportation to the hospital. They picked me up, took me to the hospital and sent me home after the treatment every day. I couldn't have survived without the support I have received.*

Wei's story reveals her experience of the therapeutic landscape that emerges through a complex set of interactions between the person and the broader socio-environmental setting. The idea of the therapeutic landscape was proposed by Gesler (1992). For Gesler, the therapeutic landscape formation is a dynamic and constantly evolving process, moulded by the interplay and the negotiation between the physical, individual, and social factors. Thus, a therapeutic landscape becomes "a geographic metaphor for aiding the understanding of how the healing process works itself out in places (or in situations, locales, settings, milieus)" (Gesler, 1992, p. 743). Gesler's concept suggests that specific landscapes not only provide an identity, satisfying a human need for roots, but can also act as the location of social networks, providing settings for therapeutic activities. This is based on an understanding of the ways in which environmental, societal and individual factors can work together to preserve health and wellbeing (Milligan at al., 2004). Wei's therapeutic landscape experience, therefore, can be understood as a positive physiological and psychological outcome deriving from her interaction with a particular material-physical-social-societal setting (Conradson, 2005), including the illness, the hospital, the pharmacy, the health system, the church, and the volunteers. As Wei states:

> *I was moved by the people who have offered me support. I am no longer the person who was sitting in the living room counting the ticking of the clock*

(see Chapter 5). *When I sit in my living room now* (see Figure 29)*, I feel calm and that I am surrounded with warmth, love and affection. I am not lonely anymore here in New Zealand.*

Figure 29. Wei sitting in her living room

Wei's account demonstrates the embeddedness of her health practices in place, which intertwines the domestic, social and material dimensions. These dimensions frame her health practices with ongoing place attachments and processes of settlement experience shaped by migration (Dycka & Dossa, 2007). Therapeutic landscapes are constructed by the connections between the self and the diverse "others", including places as material others (Conradson, 2005). The notion of relational self can be used as a conceptual tool to better understand therapeutic landscapes. For example, Wei's account presents the self which should not be understood as an autonomous and tightly bounded entity, but rather as something that emerges within and through relations to other humans, non-humans and material objects. Dycka and Dossa (2007) suggest that therapeutic landscapes are not simply locally and physically constituted, but also involve relationships and materialities stretched across time and space.

The following accounts of Ming and Jiao offer an example of transnational therapeutic landscapes:

Ming: I was diagnosed with cancer in December 2005. I returned to China for medical treatments. Before the treatment, the doctors in New Zealand told me that there was nothing they could do. They told me to eat whatever I wanted and pray.

Jiao: I broke down in tears when our doctor told us that he was diagnosed with cancer. I asked our doctor to give him some medicines. I was even begging the doctor. But our doctor told us that no treatments would be given until results of further tests were available.

Ming: We waited for another four weeks. No tests. No treatments. We couldn't wait anymore. We decided to return to China for medical treatments. In China, I can choose hospitals whichever I want to go and specialists whoever I want to see. I underwent a surgery to remove the tumours and started chemo treatments afterwards. I recovered pretty well. I saw my doctor and nurses after I returned to New Zealand. They were very surprised because they thought I would have died. (head shakings)

The accounts above demonstrate that Ming and Jiao actively engage in health care cross geographic, cultural and political borders. Ming and Jiao maintain multiple involvements in both home and host societies where they engage in multifaceted and multi-locale processes that include economic, socio-cultural and political practices and discourses (*cf.*, Ip, 2008). Their therapeutic landscape is regarded as transnational because it reflects linkages in which they build up and sustain medical and health connections between China and New Zealand (*cf.*, Lee et al., 2010). For Ming and Jiao, more effective and familiar medical treatments in China suggest that medical landscapes such as hospitals can be experienced as sites of treatment as well as of optional services consumption (Lee et al., 2010). Ming's and Jiao's transnational therapeutic landscaping suggests that, for older Chinese immigrants, ageing in place is not a simple fixed concept; rather, it is a transnational practice through which older Chinese adults receive support and care for their ageing bodies and illness. Therefore, their therapeutic landscape is not about one place; instead, it can be seen as transnational places that promote "wellness by facilitating relaxation and restoration and enhancing some combination of physical, mental and spiritual healing" (Palka, 1999, p. 30). Transnational movements invoke culturally loaded therapeutic landscapes that vary in scale, specificity and tangibility (*cf.*, Lewicka,

2010). For older Chinese migrants, these therapeutic landscapes span gardens (see Chapter 5), homes, communities, hospitals and pharmacies in both New Zealand and China.

As retired state-owned enterprise workers or government officials in China, some participants are still eligible to access the Government Insurance Scheme or the Urban Resident Basic Medical Insurance Scheme. These are health care schemes fully or partially subsidised by the State (Wagstaff, Yip, Lindelow, & Hsiao, 2009) as long as they maintain their PRC citizenship[10]. In the health system in China, there is no general practitioner (GP) service. Ming therefore can "choose hospitals whichever I want to go and specialists whoever I want to see" without referral and receive immediate medical treatments. This is one of the characteristics of the health care system in China which is different from the GP referral system in New Zealand. Ming and Jiao were unaccustomed to the Western medical practice of "no treatments until results of further tests are available" and the long waiting times for medical tests and treatments. They may form perceptions that the doctors and hospitals are not taking full responsibility for them because they perceived that their emotional responses to the terminal illness were either disregarded or ignored by the New Zealand health system. In that regard, the hospitals and doctors in China are "therapeutic" not only for the literal reason that they offer medical therapies, but also at an emotional level. For Ming and Jiao, their understanding of the Chinese medical system builds trust, and thus they feel included and experience a sense of comfort there (*cf.*, Lee et al., 2010). In this vein, the concept of the therapeutic landscape is concerned with a holistic, socio-ecological model of health that focuses on complex interactions that include the physical, emotional, societal and environmental (Williams, 1998, 1999).

The cultural and structural differences of health care systems between China and New Zealand appear to create barriers for Ming and Jiao to access New Zealand health care services. This finding is consistent with literature on migrants and refugees accessing health care services. Ho, Cooper and Ip (2007) contend, for example, that cultural differences often act as barriers to migrants and refugees who need to access health services. Although New Zealand health services offer an equal access policy to care for all individuals (Ministry of Health, 2008), barriers to

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[10] China does not recognise dual citizenship. However, the participants could maintain their PRC citizenship alongside New Zealand Permanent Residency.

older Chinese immigrants' access to health services indicate that they may not achieve equal outcomes in utilising health care services. Addressing the inequality requires policy makers and health providers to better understand health seeking practices and experiences among older Chinese immigrants.

Rather than taking space as a passive backdrop to transnational social relations, space is constitutive of transnationality in its different forms (Jackson, Crang, & Dwyer, 2004). Older Chinese migrants' transnational health care practices open up new ways of exploring the complexities and multiplicity of their transnational relations and ageing experiences.

Chapter summary

This chapter has explored the older Chinese migrants' collective narratives on ageing in a new place. Older Chinese migrants live in one place; participate in community in another place; and seek medical treatments in another place. They desire ageing in places to which they are connected and belong. They are attached to places where they experience difficulties and, more importantly, where they cultivate, acculturate, re-cobweb and hybridise the self. This chapter shows movement is central to understanding ageing and ageing in place, particularly in the lives of older Chinese immigrants who often move across borders, and thus live their lives between sites such as family homes, neighbourhood, community, New Zealand and China. In that sense, place is a process; ageing is a process; ageing in place is a process too.

Murray and colleagues (2003) argue that much of exploration of narrative has been at the personal or individual level, focusing on the stories about individuals' lives. However, as Murray (2000) claims, there are other levels at which narratives can be analysed. My analysis of older Chinese immigrants' community participation and service provision reflects Murray's notion of community narratives in which an older Chinese migrant community tells stories about itself. Such community narratives include references to shared experiences, collective memories and societal changes (Murray et al., 2003). The study of community narratives connects social structure with human agency, and attempts specifically to understand social inequalities in aged care and wellbeing (Popay, Williams, Thomas, & Gatrell, 1998).

It is my endeavour to integrate concepts such as structure and service provision into my analysis to highlight the role the community, institution, environment and society play in older Chinese immigrants' everyday lives and their identity (re)constructions. As Giddens (1984) suggests, structure and human agency are inextricably connected. Human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents which reproduces the structure. People are intrinsically involved with society and actively enter into its constitution. "Society only has form, and that form only has effects on people, insofar as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do" (Giddens & Pierson, 1998, p. 77). In that sense, people are in society and society is in people.

From Chapter 5 to 8, I explored the practices and meanings of home-making, acculturation, filial piety and ageing in place in a new culture among older Chinese migrants. Migrants, in particular older migrants, are often portrayed as an unwanted burden on society and as welfare dependents in both popular and academic discourses (Espiritu, 2003). However, my analysis chapters have shown that older Chinese immigrants actively engage with their families, neighbours, and communities both in China and New Zealand. They age positively in the new place to which they belong and make contributions. The chapters have demonstrated the complexity of their personhood: their self and identity (re)construction, their expectations for ageing in place, their hopes for the younger generations and their negotiation with the new social, cultural and political milieus. The understanding of such complexity moves the field of immigration research forward from focusing on how older immigrants are "being made" to how they are "self making".

9 DISCUSSION

Cultures are lived and are characterised by stability, tradition and change through interactions between group members and with people from other cultural groups (Gillespie, 2000a). Transnational migration has created contact zones where encounters with cultural others take place (Li, Hodgetts, & Ho, 2010; Somerville & Perkins, 2003). The approach developed for the present research reveals the collective ways in which older Chinese immigrants produce pervasive cultural changes, including the shifting meanings of home, evolving filial piety practices, and changing understandings of ageing in place. In the process, older Chinese immigrants constantly negotiate and renegotiate their identities and relationships with others. As a result, a new stability and new ways of thinking, perceiving and understanding are being established. Older Chinese immigrants also continuously seek out alternatives for an improved quality of life and wellbeing in New Zealand. Thus, migration is linked with coherent changes in older Chinese migrants' cultural, relational, social, economic and political lives.

Initiating this study, I set out to explore older Chinese migrants' experiences of ageing and housing in order to understand the role of filial piety in their lives. I documented the participants' everyday experiences of home-making in New Zealand and explored their acculturation practices. I also investigated older Chinese immigrants' practices of filial piety within the context of acculturation and explored their cultural views and practices of ageing in place. As a basis for investigating these processes, I employed multiple concepts of the self and identity as key theoretical constructs for this research. Symbolic interactionism, as one of the prevailing perspectives in sociological social psychology, provided the theoretical underpinnings of understandings of the self and identity. Symbolic interactionism is based on the principle that individuals respond to the meanings they construct as they interact with one another in their everyday life (Blumer, 1969). Individuals are active agents in their social worlds, not only influenced by their culture and social lives, but also influencing and producing the culture, society and situations that influence them. The self serves as the reflexive beacon of social interactions, which does not exist separate from or transcend social life (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). The self locates a person in social spaces and everyday life by virtue of the relationships in which the self is embedded. In an age of growing globalisation and greater human movement, the increasing sophistication of concepts of self and everyday life reflects

the complexities of peoples' efforts to achieve a coherent sense of who they are across various social situations, networks, and cultures (Howard, 2000).

My research findings were presented in four chapters that provided a progressive and positive storyline—the self is developed, transformed and grown by exposure and openness to spatial, cultural and social changes. The analysis reveals that the participants cultivate and reconstruct new selves and a sense of place in the process of home-making in New Zealand. The selves are shifted and transformed through acculturation and adaptation. The participants re-cobweb their selves as their filial piety practices evolve and construct hybridised selves as they age in this new society. The selfing process is fluid and open to change, which endorses the importance of self-development and the participants' efforts to organise all of their life materials (e.g., experience, memories and relationships) into a life story of the self (de St. Aubin, Wandrei, Skerven, & Coppolillo, 2006). Such flexibility allows older Chinese migrants to adjust to constantly changing contexts and situations in a manner that promotes their survival, growth and vitality.

This chapter attempts to integrate the core findings of the study. I reinforce the need for a broader focus on older Chinese migrant housing and ageing experiences than is typically offered in migration research. I demonstrate that the findings have important implications for policy making, service provision, and the conduct of migration and social psychological research.

Integrating key findings

The idea that the self and identity can shift when people move from one society to another has been explored extensively throughout this thesis. Overall, my findings contribute to the proposition that the processes of self transformation are not linear (Hermans, 2002); rather, the self and identity are in flux as older Chinese immigrants interact within their environments and as their personal life stories unfold. Their collective and personal histories and memories about China and New Zealand come together within their identity negotiations (*cf.*, Ali & Sonn, 2010). This is epitomised in older Chinese migrants' home-making practices which involve simultaneity of geography. As a result, their homes transcend time and space. For older Chinese immigrants, home is conflated with or related not only to the house, but also to family, self, identity and their migration journeys.

My analysis demonstrates that the integration of older Chinese immigrants into New Zealand and the maintenance of transnational connections with China are not incompatible and can be mutually reinforcing endeavours. Living in lives that simultaneously incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in New Zealand and China, is a notable practice among older Chinese immigrants. In delving into the process of self and identity construction, the concept of simultaneity is particularly useful because "the present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed" (Foucault, 1984, p. 22). In migration research, the notion of simultaneity helps in better understanding migrants' simultaneous engagement in and orientation towards their home and host societies (Ip, 2009). This suggests that migration research is limited if the focus remains solely on what goes on within the borders of a single nation state. Our analytical lenses must broaden and deepen because migrants often live in multi-layered, multi-sited transnational social spaces, encompassing people who move and people who stay behind (Waldinger, 2008). For older Chinese migrants, the transnational practices bring original and host societies into self constructions that occur within a globalised and increasingly deterritorialised world (Levitt & Schiller, 2003).

Migration research has repeatedly referred to migrants building homes across geographic, cultural and political borders (Davidson, 2008b; Ho, 2002; Ip, 2008; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999). Supporting the findings of previous research, my analysis indicates that, for older Chinese migrants, home represents both realisations and imaginations that are spatially, culturally and socially expressed and emotionally realised (Ngan, 2008). Their homes vary in scale (Lewicka, 2010) and are here *and* there at the same time (Pries, 2001) instead of here *or* there. Home is always in a process of *becoming* rather than a static state of *being* because home and place are on the move alongside the hybridised self when older Chinese migrants make a place for themselves in New Zealand (Tilley, 2006). So, migration needs to be reconceptualised as a site for studying contestation over the definition of culture and over terms of home and place, and for understanding the formation and negotiation of the complex, multiple and hybridised identities (Espiritu, 2003).

My findings support the assertion that there is a need to reconceptualise migrant community formations within a framework of transnationalism (*cf.*, Pribilsky, 2008). The notion of transnationalism brings the traditional assumptions associated

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with place-specific immigration into question (Ho, 2002). It refashions migrants as transmigrants (Ip, Hibbbins, & Chui, 2006) who often "move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political and cultural interests that require their presence in both" (Portes, 1997, p. 814) on a sustained basis. Transmigrants are also "lead[ing] political, economic and social 'dual lives' through the creation of 'dense' cross border networks" (Portes et al., 1999, p. 219). Transnational communities should not be seen as an event, but a process whereby older Chinese immigrants simultaneously and attentively respond and give meanings to their transnational social spaces and practices both in New Zealand and China. Transnational communities should be viewed as consisting not only of cross-border migrants with common cultural, economic, political or other interests, but also as comprising human agency (e.g., using material objects, memories and imagination to simultaneously connect New Zealand to China), which are important for linking individuals, families and local groups (Iredale, Guo & Rozario, 2003), and re-membering themselves.

Transnational communities refer not only to physical locations. Such transnational communities can be understood as imagined communities (Davidson & Kuah-Pearce, 2008). According to Anderson (1987), "communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p. 7). In this view, members of a community internalise an image of the community not as a group of individuals, but as interconnected members who share equally in their fundamental membership in the community. The internalisation of the imagination and a sense of connectedness to the community are as important as actual physical presence in the community (Chavez, 1994). The concepts of transnational and imagined communities highlight the connections older Chinese migrants maintain with life in their home communities. Since it is imagined, a sense of community is not limited to a specific geographic locale (Gupta & Ferguson 1992; Sonn, 2002). Living in New Zealand does not necessarily mean withdrawing from community life or membership in China (Chavez, 1994). Instead, the imagined community which is "situated in a web of interrelations" (Bauman, 1983, p. 362) represents the participants' in-betweenness. My analyses open up the question about the complexity of hybridised identities as they intersect with the cultural, historical, social and political processes of the host and (imagined) home countries (Ali & Sonn, 2010).

By engaging in multiple communities, older Chinese immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together societies of home and host (*cf.*, Basch, Schiller, & Blanc, 1997). When doing so, migrants find creative ways of simultaneously adapting to the on-going changing social, cultural and political realities both in New Zealand and China. The human agency they develop to negotiate the simultaneity of geography applies not only to overt political or social action, but also to strategies for everyday life (Castles, 2002). In this sense, older Chinese migrants find a home away from home, fashioned from two worlds, similar yet disparate (Davidson, 2008a). As such, transnational communities take root both in a new land and in the homeland. The extent to which transnational communities simultaneously become integrated into the host society and maintain connections with the home society offers better understanding of the complexity of acculturation and success of identity and citizenship development in a world where society is becoming increasingly multicultural and pluralistic (Davidson & Kuah-Pearce, 2008).

Language proficiency is a key topic in migration research into the process of acculturation. My participants' limited English capacities confine their verbal communication with their English-speaking neighbours. In this sense, language barriers do hinder my participants' adaptation and adjustment. Nonetheless, it is pleasing to see that they survive, grow and flourish through adaptive acculturation. They actively integrate into New Zealand society and at the same time maintain their ethnic identities. The development of their identities is anchored *in-between* the Chinese culture and New Zealand cultures (Ip et al., 2006). At their core they are still Chinese people who can understand, accept and practice New Zealand cultures.

These findings indicate that the acculturation experience of migrants is more complex than is presented in dominant acculturation research that regards language as the sole key indicator of acculturation (Chirkov, 2009a) and ignores the role of non-verbal social interactions that can span cultures. My analysis moves away from static, stage-like conceptualisations of the psychological processes involved in the transition of immigration, contributing to an understanding that settlement is a process of self-construction. Acculturation within this framework is, therefore, more about the creative construction and transformation of resources for meaning-making in everyday life. While dominant acculturation studies try to categorise people as integrated or marginalised, I argue that what is missed in the categorical acculturation research is the focus on the process of identity construction. This argument is consistent with recent work on critical acculturation psychology which

provides a stance from which to rethink the concept of acculturation (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Insights from critical acculturation psychology are drawn on in the current study to inform an exploration of the ways in which older Chinese migrants actively engage in New Zealand cultures. As a result, this research contributes to critical acculturation research, which has shown that there should be a place for culture in acculturation studies (Waldram, 2009).

My research suggests that changes in selves occur when relationships and cultural contexts change for older migrants. Social and cultural shifts not only introduce new contents into the subjective worlds of my participants; they also create new forms of activities and new structures of their selves (Jovchelovitch, 2007). These new forms of activities and selves, in turn, shape new cultural environments and relationships. When moving to a new country in their later lives, the participants experience the psychological phenomena of biographical disruption and status-discrepancy. Everyday practices such as gardening and artwork assist them to address the disruption and discrepancy, and to develop domestic space attachments. Participants situate themselves and make homes that span spatial, temporal, imagined and transnational realms.

As a cornerstone of aged care in Chinese culture, my participants' filial piety practices evolve during the process of acculturation. As a result, traditional Chinese aged care models of family support with a high level of intergenerational co-residence change to encompass practices of filial piety at a distance and to encompass more pluralistic familial living arrangements. I have documented how filial piety is practiced not only at a domestic level, but also at community and societal levels. Filial piety is not an abstract concept. It is the product of social interaction within which older Chinese migrants explore issues of concern (e.g., living arrangements, support of parents, respect for parents, children's achievements, ancestral worship and gender norms) by negotiating and developing various mediated and interpersonal relationships.

Quantitative research on filial piety offers valuable insights into patterns and categories of filial piety (Ho, 1996; Sung, 2009a, 2009b). Nevertheless, quantitative research lacks the capacity to decipher the everyday meanings and related practices of filial piety. The emphasis on everyday life in this qualitative research contributes to existing knowledge on the complexity and intricacies of the intergenerational negotiation and to the lived meanings of filial piety among older migrants.

It is through everyday practices that people construct themselves and make sense of the world and their place in it (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). What it means to be a person is shaped within socio-historical contexts and places. Older Chinese migrants construct selves not only by making and taking roles within familial situations, but also by imagining themselves as members of larger social entities and situating themselves in places that are meaningful to them (Hewitt, 2007). When positively ageing in a new place, older Chinese migrants work to establish spaces of care: stable public housing, safe neighbourhoods, local and transnational communities, and health care provision. Community ties, which the participants develop in both New Zealand and China, are essentially important for them to enact their networks and communities locally and at a distance and therefore for their positive ageing in place. In the process, they develop a sense of community.

Throughout the thesis, I have emphasised the participants' positive ageing experiences. I do not wish to idealise the participants' migration experience and make no claims that immigration is not challenging. It is a call, however, to consider strategies through which older Chinese migrants work to construct alternative settings, meanings and ways of becoming (Hodgetts, Drew et al, 2010). This positive direction has been demonstrated in the thesis which takes a strength-based approach in contrast to the more traditional deficit-focus position in immigration and ageing research. The strength-based approach provides further understanding of how older Chinese immigrants, as subjects, relate to the object-world outside themselves and of what is the nature of their engagements with the object-world. In this way, context is ever present, including such notions as place, material objects and other people (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

In social and cultural psychology, ethnic identity has traditionally been conceptualised as a cognitive process with little focus on the social and environmental context (Ali & Sonn, 2010). Focusing on everyday practices within the social and environmental context, this thesis contributes to the understanding of the ways in which older Chinese migrants' identities are shaped. With this approach, ethnic identity is viewed as relational and constructed through the negotiation and interaction with people and the environment (Ali & Sonn, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005). This contextualised perspective promotes a re-consideration of the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity. Historically, there has been a dualist model of subjectivity-objectivity relations in European cultures, a radical separation between mind and world (Jovchelovitch, 2007). The dualist model is based on a Cartesian

view of mind—*Cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). The model sees the world as an objective and physical entity that is completely separate from the mind as a subjective and private realm of thoughts (Yardley, 1999). It suggests a dichotomy of the subject and the object, an absolute split. Such a dichotomy views the person out of context, pulling meaning from mind and from out of the psychological depths. It overlooks how social psychological phenomena are contained in the routines, procedures, communicative practices and action sequences in which people are embedded and through which people construct the self (Wetherell, 2008).

The split between subjectivism and objectivism has led to two theoretical constituencies that hardly ever justify each other (Osterlund & Carlile, 2005). On the one hand, theorists who emphasise the individuals and their knowledge, actions, intentions or goals, leave the nature of the object-world or environment relatively unexplored. On the other hand, researchers who focus on the object-world and its structures assume that individuals and social structures exist as uniform entities. In short, subjectivist approaches are seen to focus on personal or individual experience and therefore seem to overlook, neglect, or even flatly deny the relevance of macro-structural phenomena to social knowledge. In contrast, objectivist approaches aim to adopt an external or transcendent viewpoint and appear to exclude social actors' personal or individual experience (Greiffenhagen, 2008). To better understand the subjective-objective relations, objectivism and subjectivism should be seen as two social science approaches which are logically and empirically dependent on each other (Osterlund & Carlile, 2005).

Although I adopted symbolic interactionism, which is often deemed as a paradigmatic example of subjectivism, I fostered a culture-specific discourse on the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity that goes beyond the established European dualism. I also problematised the distinctions that are often made between the social, historical, cultural, and psychological as though these can be examined as separate categories and entities (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos, & Walkerdine, 2008). Subjectivity in this thesis does not refer to an opposition to objectivity. It rather refers to "productions of subjectivity" (Stengers, 2008, p. 39) that are embedded in the material, historical, cultural, social and political world. In that regard, as illustrated throughout the thesis, the subjectivity is in the objectivity and the objectivity in the subjectivity. They co-create each other and both come into being at the same time. As such, if subjectivity is relational and metastable by reference to the material, environmental and social conditions that form and shape it,

it would follow that immigration invokes changes in culture and relationships, and therefore shifts in subjectivity, self and identity (*cf.,* Venn, 2009).

The interconnected relationship between subjectivity and objectivity highlights the shared and relational dimensions of psychological phenomena. This thesis has demonstrated that such an interconnected and relational view is reflected in the notion of the interconnected self. The interconnected self is based on relational, social embeddedness and interdependence. In this view, the boundaries of the self are permeable and fluid (Triadis, 1989; van Uchelen, 2000). Older Chinese immigrants' identities are inextricably connected to, and shaped by, their relationships with other persons (e.g., family members, neighbours, friends and service providers), geographic settings (e.g., gardens, painting rooms, state houses, New Zealand and China), and transpersonal realms (e.g., spirituality and ancestry). Within the context of interconnectedness, the self is often experienced through the dynamics of the individual and surrounding social and cultural contexts (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). That is, the self is in the world and the world is in the self.

A culturally patterned narrative approach

As culturally and socially constructed ways of making sense of the world, narratives shape identities (Davidson, 2008a). People know or discover themselves, and reveal themselves to others, through stories that they tell (Tuvl-Mashiach, 2006). As such, older Chinese immigrants' identities evident in their narratives are filled with content ranging from the domestic to the public spheres, and from the cultural to the institutional and societal contexts (Pollner, 2000). Narrative interviews provided a means for me to access such constructions and the experiences and identities of older Chinese migrants. Foucault's (1980) ideas on power and knowledge provide theoretical support for the narrative approach taken in the current research, which included a focus on positive experiences of ageing. Foucault argues that, although people's lives are often structured through the dominant knowledge or discourse in society, there are other forms of knowledge which have been ignored. The recovery of such neglected knowledge can confront the dominant discourse because "it is through the re-emergence of these low-ranking knowledges, these unqualified, even directly disqualified knowledges…that criticism performs its work" (Foucault, 1980, p. 82). I follow a similar strategy to challenge the dominant migration discourse which emphasises older Chinese migrants' negative experiences. As a consequence, a

new story which enhances alternative knowledge of migration is built (*cf.*, Murray, 1997b). The narrative approach enabled me to generate stories that integrate vital and previously neglected aspects of older Chinese immigrants' lived experiences, such as their capacity for positive growth and openness to change and adaptation. These stories incorporate alternative knowledge about older Chinese immigrants (*cf.*, White & Epston, 1990), which "can be as valuable to researchers as knowledge about immigration trends and demographics" (Hickey, 2008, p. 363).

As is typical in qualitative research, I do not seek statistical representation. I instead map the contours of the interpretive process that happens in older Chinese immigrants' everyday lives. Benoliel (1984) defines qualitative research as "modes of systematic inquiry concerned with understanding human beings and the nature of their transactions with themselves and with their surroundings" (p. 3). Similarly, Myers (2000) asserts that the mission of qualitative research is to interpret the meaning of people's experiences, rather than to verify facts or predict behaviour and outcomes. Being informed by these theories, I adopted a framework of theoretical and conceptual abstraction (instead of giving voices) to theorise the understanding of older Chinese migrants' lived experiences. Focusing on what the narrative means, instead of providing a descriptive account of the major content of the data, significantly improved the quality and richness of my analyses (Chamberlain, 2009). As a result, my analysis moved beyond offering thick descriptions or a means of giving voices to older Chinese migrants, and towards more theoretically informed interpretations and systematically informed arguments for the conclusions reached (*cf.*, Rogers, 2009). This approach makes it possible to create a space, for readers, from older Chinese migrants' personal experiences per se in order that the narratives can be rendered sensible to other older Chinese (and ethnic) immigrants (*cf.*, Radley, 2009). In doing so, the theoretical and conceptual generalisability is possible. Through the process, I gradually grew as a more critical, reflective and innovative researcher and a stronger theoretician.

Recent work within Chinese psychology privileges indigenous Chinese concepts in psychological research (Bond, 2010; Hwang, 2006; Liu et al., 2010; Thomas & Liao, 2010; Ward & Lin, 2010; Yang, 2006). I drew on this tradition in order to study the role of the Chinese culture in the everyday lives of migrants (*cf.*, Cole, 1996). I also used Chinese characters, structures of which symbolise the meaning of the concepts that the characters represent, to explain and expand on

Chinese cultural concepts. This assists readers to better understand the cultural meanings of the relevant Chinese concepts (Li, in press).

Despite recent efforts in developing Chinese psychology, Chinese psychological research over decades has paid little attention to indigenous Chinese methods of research. *Fangtan* addresses this methodological gap and provides an example for Chinese social scientists for developing methods of research that are indigenous to Chinese participants (*cf*., Pe-Pua, 2006). According to the *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2005), the term indigenous refers to "originating or occurring naturally in a particular place; native" (p. 882). Extending this biological reference to the sphere of epistemology, Sinha (1997) conceptualises that indigenous is concerned with the elements of knowledge that have been generated and developed in a country or a culture, as opposed to those that are imported or brought from elsewhere. According to Pe-Pua (2006), there are two types of indigenisation of psychology. One type of indigenisation is based largely on simple translation of concepts, methods, theories, and measures into indigenous languages. For example, psychological tests are translated into the local language and modified in content so that a local-type version of the originally-borrowed test is produced. The other type of indigenisation is given more emphasis after the translation attempts fail to capture or express a truly indigenous psychology. This attempt is called *indigenisation from within* as opposed to *indigenisation from without* (Sinha, 1997). *Fangtan* is developed in line with the indigenisation from within, which looks for the Chinese psychology from within the Chinese culture itself and does not just clothe a Western methodology in a Chinese dress. *Fangtan* encourages researchers to take seriously the voices questioning knowledge, assumptions and modes of Western-based methods and engage ways of working that will contribute to the development of a socially and culturally just and relevant psychology (Sonn, 2004). Through privileging the lived experiences of older Chinese migrants and their communities and valuing different forms of knowledge, ways of knowing and practice, *fangtan* extends Pe-Pua's ideas from the Filipino world to the Chinese world and from research with younger people to older adults, through recognising people's embeddedness in social, cultural and political realities as part of the process of working for change at personal, interpersonal and institutional levels.

In this fashion, the development of *fangtan* responds to Smith's (2003) work on the colonising impacts of "Western" ways of knowing and knowledge production for Maori people. Smith challenges taken-for-granted ways of knowledge production

and calls for different methodologies and approaches that ensure research with indigenous people can be "more respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful" (p. 9). As an indigenous Chinese approach to research, *fangtan* is concerned with locating psychological research within the social, historical and cultural realities of the Chinese community. As such, *fangtan* boosts researchers' commitment to the community with which they are working and provides a space and an open structure for participants to elaborate their experiences and cultural views. *Fangtan*, therefore, highlights the importance of employing methodologies that are empowering and critical (Sonn, 2004). More work is still to be done in this regard.

For non-Chinese researchers who wish to use *fangtan*, it is significantly important that they become more culturally sensitive. Such cultural sensitivity requires more than knowing the Chinese culture. It requires deconstruction and negotiation of the researchers' own identities, positions, accompanying power and privilege in their work with minority ethnic people (*cf.*, Sonn, 2004). According to the features and processes of *fangtan*, I posit the following strategies by which *fangtan* can be undertaken by non-Chinese researchers in a culturally appropriate way. First, the researcher needs to be closely involved with the issues facing the Chinese community and develop skills, knowledge and expertise to confront and investigate the issues. Second, the researcher participates in the activities of Chinese people and the Chinese community and sustains a long-term relationship with the Chinese community. Third, the researcher shares power with the Chinese community, seeking guidance and meaningful input from the community to support and develop research (*cf.*, Smith, 2003, Sonn, 2004). These strategies will provide the non-Chinese researcher with opportunities to become more "one of them" and therefore "being-in-relations" with the Chinese community and participants.

Throughout my PhD, I invested substantial effort into developing skills in the dissemination of my research findings (see Appendix K). My strategies were comprised of publishing journal papers, presenting conference papers and delivering presentations to local communities. Through these strategies, I shared knowledge generated from my research with national and international academics and community audiences, and have made an original contribution to knowledge in the field of migration research and social and cultural psychologies.

All research has limitations. This study offers an account of older Chinese immigrants' lived experiences of home-making, acculturation, filial piety and ageing in place. Future research on lived experiences of older Chinese immigrants' family

members, such as their adult children, will be welcomed for providing another side of the story of Chinese aged care. Moreover, while my participants appreciated that I researched with them into their housing experiences, they expected me in the future to explore their experiences of illness. Their expectations provide me with impetus for my future research into older Chinese immigrants' illness narratives. In addition, this research only focuses on new ageing migrants who were short-term setters in New Zealand. This limitation warrants future study on ageing experiences of older Chinese migrants who migrated to New Zealand twenty to thirty years ago, have had more than twenty years of work and socialisation, and are ageing in New Zealand. Furthermore, as a newly developed research method, *fangtan* needs to be further justified in future research with Chinese people.

Policy implications

As I have demonstrated throughout the thesis, identities are constructed within specific social, cultural, economic and historical contexts within which people have differential access to identity resources because of power relations. As a consequence of social-historical-political processes and dynamics of oppression, some communities or communities' symbolic systems of meaning are privileged and have become naturalised as the norm, while others are devalued, silenced and marginalised (Ali & Sonn, 2010). In that regard, explanations for identity construction should not be merely reduced to cultural factors, because cultural narratives are not produced in isolation. Rather, they are produced in and respond to the contexts influenced by political and economic events (Okazaki, David, & Abelmann, 2008).

This research was initiated, in part, in response to the lack of attention by policy-makers to issues experienced by older Chinese migrants. My analysis shows that the evolving filial piety practices within Chinese immigrant families are not well understood by the host society; and this can create service gaps or misunderstandings when social service providers believe that ethnic families provide self-sufficient support to their elders. My findings reveal that availability of affordable and stable public housing is important for older Chinese migrants' positive ageing in place; and older Chinese migrants often experience difficulty in gaining access to public housing.

Cultural diversity requires much greater consideration in the formulation of policies and social services that address diversity of experiences and of approaches

to ageing in multicultural societies (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). Older Chinese migrants' culture-specific housing and ageing experiences warrant further attention by policy makers. Such work is crucial at a time when Chinese people continue to migrate to New Zealand. As a result, our government needs to re-consider policies to meet the increasing pressure on social welfare, housing and health care provisions (*cf.*, Bartlett & Peel, 2005). These concerns appear to run counter to the tendency within the mainstream policy literature towards ever more predictable, rational and universally applicable models and approaches (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010).

According to Stone (2002), much policy making, including migration policy making (van Dalen & Henkens, 2005), is informed by the model of calculative rationality which refers to simply calculating and choosing the best and most efficient means to attain a given policy goal. This model provides an incomplete picture for analysing and implementing policies in the context of multicultural societies such as New Zealand. Stone advocates primarily for a broader participatory political engagement by a range of stakeholders in policy processes in order to counter the view of policy making as a universal, neutral and value-free enterprise. Stone proposes the model of the *polis* (the Greek word for city-state). In this sense, the policy process needs to reflect a reciprocal interplay or deliberation with the *polis* to encompass the complex needs and concerns of communities. I would add that situating culture in the larger society, and placing more attention on interpreting social issues through the cultural lenses of those concerned will expand responsiveness of social research and policy making. Research is vital to this process in providing insights into actual aged care practices and the beliefs of groups, and how these relate to official understanding (Bartlett & Peel, 2005).

In considering the findings of this study and the key conclusions in the previous section, I believe this study has contributions to make in policy making and service provisions. At a policy making level, this should start with how older Chinese migrants' settlement processes are conceptualised through to the implementation of policies that address the ongoing ageing and housing needs of older Chinese migrants living in New Zealand (*cf.*, Nayar, 2009). Understanding older Chinese migrants' identity constructions and aged care practices from a transnationalist perspective suggests a need for policy makers to revisit policies related housing and aged care, to ensure that these policies reflect the everyday realities of older Chinese (and other ethnic) migrants. In addition, social policies need to encourage, support and empower ethnic communities to develop programmes for assisting older

ethnic migrants to positively age in place, strengthening participation in aged care and achieving better aged care outcomes.

Related service provisions need to respond to older Chinese migrants' everyday housing and aged care needs. Unfamiliarity with the New Zealand housing and health systems concerned many of my participants. Information about housing and aged care provision in the Chinese language will enhance older Chinese migrants' understanding of social services available to them. Delivering face-to-face seminars with interpreters will increase older Chinese migrants' knowledge and awareness of aged care related services. Providing information about aged care services to family members will also help increase the flow of information to older Chinese migrants. In addition, family members will become informed about the services that are available to their parents or grandparents and this will help ease the pressure that arises when older family members require care (Ho et al., 2007).

To conclude, looking beyond cultural and national boundaries is important for understanding the lived experiences of older Chinese migrants, particularly in the present context of increasing globalisation and human movement. For older Chinese migrants, the process of settling in a new country in later life is complex, diverse and dynamic. It is influenced by their everyday practices, their interactions with the familial, social and material environments, and their understanding and interpretation of these interactions. The older Chinese migrant narratives interpreted in this thesis offer valuable understandings of new cultural practices around aged care, and familial and social relationships. These narratives provide insights into evolving ways of living and communicating, which are implicated in the (re)construction of self in a new place.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Information sheet

"Older Chinese Immigrants' Ageing in Place" Doctoral Research Project

Information Sheet for Research Participants

I am Wendy Li, a doctoral student in the Department of Psychology, University of Waikato. This research is for my doctoral thesis. For this research, I have been awarded the New Zealand Top Achiever Doctoral Scholarship and the Trust Waikato Community Student Grants.

Why am I inviting you to take part?

New Zealand's population is rapidly ageing. In 2006, people aged 65 years and over comprised 12.3% of the national population. Of this, 3.2% of the older population were Asians. Chinese is the largest ethnic group within New Zealand's older Asian population. In order to promote the value and participation of older people in the communities, the New Zealand Government commits to a positive-ageing society where older people can age in place. It is, therefore, important to examine housing practices and needs within the older Chinese immigrant population so that policies can be developed to promote positive ageing.

This research is to study the housing experiences among older Chinese immigrants. As an older Chinese immigrant, you are a potential participant for this project and are placed to provide information on your experiences of housing in New Zealand. I am inviting you to take part in three meetings with me to help me understand your housing experiences.

What will you be asked about?

The discussion will seek to explore your housing experiences, such as:

- Your housing experiences in China and New Zealand;
- What your housing expectations were before you came to New Zealand;
- What your understandings and expectations of filial piety are; and

- What choices you have, or would like to have, in your later life about where to live.

Methods I will use

I will use interviews to explore these questions. The target group is older Chinese immigrants, in Auckland and Hamilton, who are currently staying in New Zealand with permanent residency or New Zealand citizenship, who moved to New Zealand from mainland China and are 65 years of age or over.

Your involvement in the research

You will be invited to participate in three meetings. The meetings involve talking with the researcher for approximately two hours on each occasion. I will come back to you one week after the first meeting for the second meeting and about twelve months later for the third meeting. All meetings will take place at times and in places mutually convenient to you and me, and where privacy can be guaranteed. Your permission to digitally record the discussion will be sought.

What will happen to the information gathered?

My doctoral thesis will include information from you and other people interviewed. Other conference papers and journal articles may also come from this research. Your name or any other identifying characteristics of you will not be disclosed in any of the written reports produced in the course of the research unless your permission is obtained. Data will be destroyed five years after the completion of the research. A summary of the data can be sent to you upon your request when the research is finished.

If you decide to take part

If you agree to take part you will have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time;
- Decline the interview being digital-recorded;

- Ask for the digital recorder to be turn off at any time;
- Ask for the erasure of any materials you do not wish to be used in any reports of this study; and
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.

If you would like any further information please contact:

Wendy Li

Phone: 07 8384466 ext 6563

This project is being supervised by Associate Professor Darrin Hodgetts and Associate Professor Elsie Ho. This project has been reviewed and approved by the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee, University of Waikato. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Associate Professor Darrin Hodgetts on 838 4466 ext 6465 or Associate Professor Elsie Ho on 838 4466 ext 8396. Thank you very much for considering this invitation.

Appendix B: Information sheet (Chinese version)

"华人长者移民与居家养老"博士研究项目

给参加者的资料

我是利文，怀卡托大学心理学系的博士研究生。这个研究项目是我的博士研究项目，该项目获得了"新西兰顶级成就者博士奖学金"和"怀卡托社区研究奖学金"。

为什么我邀请你参加这个研究项目

新西兰人口在迅速老化。2006 年，年龄高于 65 岁的老年人占全国人口的 12.3%，其中亚裔老年人占 3.2%，华人长者则是亚裔长者中最大的一个族群。年长者是社会的宝贵财富，为推广老年人积极参与社区活动，新西兰政府致力于建设一个积极的老龄社会，以使老年人能居家养老。因此研究华人长者移民的住房经历和需求，对于制定老年人安度晚年的政策有着极其重要的意义。

这一研究项目旨在探讨华人长者的新西兰住房经历。作为一位华人长者，你是我的研究的潜在参与者。我希望你能接受我的邀请参与这一研究项目，帮助我进一步了解华人长者的住房经历。

你将回答什么问题?

访谈将探讨你的住房经历，比如：

- 你在新西兰的住房经历；
- 你移民来新西兰之前的住房期望；
- 你是如何理解孝顺？你对孝顺的期望值是什么？
- 对于以后居住在哪里，你有什么选择？你希望有什么选择？

我所使用的研究方法

我将使用面对面访问的方法。研究的目标小组是居住在奥克兰或汉密尔顿，拥有新西兰永久居留权或公民权，年龄 65 岁或以上，从中国大陆移民到新西兰的中国老人。

你对研究的参与

你是这个研究项目的可能的参加者。你将会被邀请参加三次会议，每次会议约为两个小时。第二次会议将在第一次会议后一星期内进行。第三次会议将在 12 个月后进行。所有会议都将安排在对于会面双方都方便的时间和地点，所有会议均为保密。在你的许可下，访谈将进行录音，目的是保持信息的完整性。

所收集到的资料将如何处理？

这个研究中所收集到的资料将作为我的博士论文的原始资料，还将可能作为 学术会议和学术杂志论文的资料。除非有你的许可，否则，在研究过程中和研究报告里，不会出现任何可以确认你身份的资料。所有资料将在研究完成后五年销毁。研究结束后，如果你希望收到研究梗概，我将寄给你一份研究梗概。

如果你决定参加这个研究

如果你决定参加这个研究，你有以下权利：

- 拒绝回答任何个别问题；
- 随时退出研究；
- 拒绝录音；
- 任何时候要求返还录音资料；
- 要求删除任何你不希望被用于研究报告的资料；
- 在参与过程的任何时候提出任何问题，并要求解答。

如果你有任何问题，请随时与我联络：利文（Wendy Li）电话：07 8384466 转 6563。电子邮件：WL116@waikato.ac.nz

Darrin Hodgetts 副教授和何式怡副教授是我的导师。这个项目已经通过了怀卡托大学心理学系人类研究道德规范小组的审批。如果你对这个项目有任何疑义，请与我的导师联系： Darrin Hodgetts 副教授 07 838 446 转 6465 或何式怡博士 07 8384466 转 8396。谢谢你对此邀请的考虑。

Appendix C: Episodic interview guide

"Older Chinese Immigrants' Ageing in Place" Doctoral Research Project

Interview Guide

<u>**Meeting One**</u>

Date of the Interview:

Venue of the Interview:

I open the interview by self-introduction, and then move to

- Explain the purpose of the interview
- Explain the purpose of digital recording
- Assure confidentiality and the participant signs the consent form

I start with the participant's immigration history by giving the following instruction:

> I am interested in your housing experience in New Zealand. This initial interview comprises two meetings. The method I use in the interviews is not a question-answer format. Rather, I use *Xushi Fa* (a narrative approach when translated in English), that is, storytelling. I would like you to tell me about your stories of everyday lives, your housing etc. In today's interview, I would like you to talk about your life in China, your immigration history, the history of your house and your everyday life at home and in the community. <u>(For couples) Each of you can talk, and I hope to hear from both of you. You can agree about the story; you can disagree… you can tell the story in any way that is comfortable for you.</u> Let's start with your immigration history.

Immigration history

Please tell me about your life in China. (Prompt: housing situation, community activities and contacts with children)

- When did you decide to immigrate to New Zealand? Who did you come with?

- What were your motivations for immigrating to New Zealand?
- What are your general feelings about your immigration to New Zealand?
- How much has your housing situation changed compared to that in China?
- What are your feelings about your housing situations after you moved to New Zealand?

History of your house

Now tell me when you moved to this house? (Prompt: What were your reasons for moving to this house?)

- Who was involved in making the decision to move to this house? To what extent were you involved in the decision-making?
- Do you like this house? What do you like or dislike about this house?

Everyday life at home and in the community

- Tell me what you do at home… what are your typical <u>weekday</u> routines and past-times at home? (Prompt: domestic tasks, cooking, gardening, hobbies, watching TV, having visitors)
- What are your typical <u>weekend</u> routines and pastimes at home?
- Where is your favourite space in your home, inside or outside? Do you spend most of your time there?
- How do you feel about the time you spend in your home?
- Tell me about the contact with your children and other family members who are not living with you.
- Tell me about your regular activities in the community—e.g., shopping, going to a library, going to a concert or other cultural activities, visiting your doctor and/or dentist, participating in clubs and/or church or doing voluntary work— what do you do and where do you go? With whom?
- How did you find out about these things? How do you get to these places? How long have you been doing these things?
- During the past 12 months, have there been any things that have limited you in doing your regular activities in the community? What are these and how have they affected you? (Prompts: changes in health, transportation

problems, changes in the family, changes in the local neighbourhood, changes in local facilities)

- What would you say are the most important things that would enable you to continue to participate in your regular activities in the community as you grow older?

Perception of home, neighbourhood and wider community

Now tell me:

- What is it like to live here? (Explore distinctions between: living in the house, in the neighbourhood and in the wider community/place).
- When we hear the word "home" we think of different things. What does it mean to you? Is this how you feel about *your* home?
- How do you make this house feel like your home? (Explore whether the participant brought objects from China to decorate the house and ask the participant to show the objects and I will take photos if the participant permits. If the objects are not available, ask the participant to bring in the objects next time).
- What would you change about your home if you could?
- How safe do you feel living here? (Explore at home, in neighbourhood and community).
- What do you like about living in… (place)? Are there any aspects that you particularly enjoy/appreciate?
- Is there anything you dislike about living in… (place)? Are there any aspects that particularly worry or concern you?

Personal information

- Name:
- Gender:
- Age:
- The city you lived before you moved to New Zealand:
- Employment status/retirement:
- If employed, working hours per week:
- Sources and amount of income in the 12 months ending March 2008:

- Contact details for the follow-up interview:

House tour

So far we have talked about your immigration history, the history of your house and your everyday life at home and in the community. Is there anything you think we have missed?

Before we finish the interview, would you mind offering me a house tour (inside and outside)? You can introduce your home to me. If you agree, I would like to take some photos of your home. You can tell me where and what you would like me to photograph. We can discuss the photos in our future meetings.

Note: The interview normally lasts for about two hours. However, the length of the interview can be shortened when I notice that the participant appears to be tired. I close the interview by briefly summarising the conversation and inform the participant that we will start from where we stopped. A second interview is scheduled. I thank the participant for his/her participation.

<u>**Meeting Two**</u>

Date of the Interview:

In our first meeting we talked about your immigration history, the history of your house and your everyday life at home and in the community. Did you have time to think about what we have talked about?

Before we start to talk about your home maintenance, I would like to show you the photos of your home I took at the end of the last interview. Let's spend some time to discuss the photos. You may have some stories to tell me when you see the photos.

House maintenance and modification

I now would like you to talk about your experiences of home maintenance and modification.

- How would you describe the condition of your house?
- Do you have any concerns or worries about the physical conditions of your house? If yes, what have you/your children done to address these concerns?
- During the last 12 months, have there been any maintenance, repairs or replacement to any parts of your house? If yes, what were they? To what extent were you involved in them?
- Have there been special modifications in your home? (Prompt: widened doorways, ramps or street level entrances, wet area shower or grab rails and etc.)
- Did you get any financial assistance from an agency or other person to undertake these modifications? If yes, what financial assistance did you have?
- If no, what was the financial source to your house maintenance and modification?

Support

When we hear the word "neighbourhood" we think of different things.

- What does it mean to you? Is this how you feel about *your* neighbourhood?
- What kinds of support have you used in the past year? (Prompt: help around the home with housework or in the garden, help with transportation and/or language, or getting advice about something) Who provided the support?
- Do you feel that you are getting enough help to enable you to continue to live in your home as you grow older? What kinds of help would you like that you do not currently have, or would like more of?
- What kinds of support or help do you need to continue living in this house safely and comfortably?
- Thinking about all the kinds of help you have mentioned, are these kinds of help readily accessible for you now?
- What is the best way to get information to you about the kinds of help or services available?

Intention to move

- What sort of things would prompt you to move out of your home?
- What sort of living situation would you consider moving to? (Explore: change in the type of dwelling, change in locality, whether it is a move to a higher dependence accommodation, to live alone or with adult children/others)
- Whereabouts would you consider moving to?

I close the interview by briefly summarising the interview. I inform the participant that I will contact him/her via phone regarding the follow-up interview. I thank the participant for his/her participation in the interview.

The follow-up interview will explore the following themes which I will put to each participant. Some questions were developed specifically for each individual participant in the wake of a preliminary analysis of the initial interviews.

- Thoughts of ageing in place
- Thoughts and practices of filial piety (explore the influence of acculturation)

Appendix D: Episodic interview guide (Chinese version)

<div align="center">

"华人长者移民与居家养老"博士研究项目

访问提纲

</div>

<u>第一次会面</u>

会面日期：

会面地点：

我首先自我介绍，然后

- 解释访问的目的
- 解释为什么录音
- 向参加者保证保密性，请参加者签署同意书

我向参加者介绍：

> 我对你在新西兰的住房经历非常有兴趣。首次访问包含两次会面。我所用的研究方法不是一问一答，而是叙事法，也就是，讲故事的方法。我想请你告诉我你日常生活和住房的故事。今天，我想请你谈谈你在中国的生活，你的移民历史，你住房的历史以及你在家和社区中的日常活动。<u>（对于夫妻）我希望你们俩都谈，你们可以同意也可以不同意对方的意见⋯⋯</u>让我们从你的移民历史谈起吧。

移民历史

- 请告诉我你在中国的生活（提示：住房的情况，社区的活动，与子女的联系）
- 你什么时候决定移民新西兰？你和谁一起来的？
- 是什么使你决定移民新西兰？
- 总的说来，你对移民新西兰感觉如何？

- 你在新西兰的住房与在中国时的相比有什么不同？（与谁一起住？面积，所有权，地区）
- 移民新西兰后，你对你的住房感觉如何？

住房的历史

- 请告诉我你什么时候搬到这个房子？（提示：使你决定搬到这个房子的原因）
- 谁参与做这个搬家的决定？你在多大程度上参与了决定呢？（故事？）
- 你喜欢这个房子吗？你喜欢这个房子的什么？不喜欢这个房子的什么呢？

在家和社区中的日常活动

- 请告诉我你在家的日常生活…… 你<u>周日</u>在家的常规活动是什么？（提示：做家务，烹饪，做花园，业余爱好，看电视，访客）
- 你<u>周末</u>在家的常规活动是什么？
- 在你的房子里面和外面，哪里是你最喜欢的地方？一般说来，你是否在这个地方渡过你的大部分时间？（喜欢的原因，故事）
- 你对在家里所渡过的时间感觉如何？（你对你现在的生活状况感觉如何？）
- 请告诉我，你和不与你住在一起的孩子/家里人的联系？（回国的故事）
- 请告诉我，你在社区中的常规活动（购物，去图书馆，学英语，参加文化活动，看医生，教会活动或义工活动）。在哪里？和谁一起？具体有什么活动？
- 你是如何发现这些活动的呢？你怎么去这些地方？你已经参与这些活动多长时间了？
- 过去 12 个月里，有没有什么事情使你无法参与你在社区的常规活动？是些什么事情呢？对你的影响有多大？（提示：健康情况的改变，交通问题，搬家，社区设施的变化）
- 你认为保证你年老时能够继续参与这些社区活动的最重要的条件是什么？

对家、邻居和社区的理解

- 请告诉我，住在这的感觉如何？（探索以下的区别：住在这个房子的感觉，住在这个邻里区域的感觉，住在社区的感觉）。

- 当我们听到"家"这个字时，我们会想到不同的事。"家"对你意味着什么？这是不是你对<u>你的</u>家的感觉？

- 你是如何使你这个房子有家的感觉？（探索是否从中国带来了物品装饰房子，如果有，请他/她展示有关物品，并请允许拍照。如果今天无法展示，请他/她下次带来。）

- 如果可以的话，你会如何改变你的家？

- 住在这，你感觉有多安全？（探索在家，在邻里区域和社区）

- 住在这，你喜欢什么？有什么方面你特别喜欢，特别享受的？

- 有什么方面你不喜欢的？有什么方面使你特别担心？

个人资料

- 姓名：

- 性别：

- 年龄：

- 来新西兰之前的居住地：

- 抵达新西兰的时间（年月）：

- 在新西兰的居住时间：

- 工作/退休：

- 如果工作，每周工作时间：

- 退休前的职位：

- 最高学历：

- 截止到 2008 年 3 月，过去 12 个月的主要经济来源及数额：

- 下次会议的联系方法：

参观房子

我们已经讨论了你在中国的生活，移民的历史，住房的历史和你在家和在社区的日常活动。你觉得我们有没有遗漏了什么呢？

在我们结束这次访问之前，你可以带我参观一下你的房子吗（里面和外面）？我想请你边带我参观边介绍。如果你允许，我希望照几张相片。你可以告诉我，你希望我照哪里和照什么。下次我们可以讨论这些相片。

备忘：一般而言，这个访问持续两个小时。但访问的长度是灵活的，当我注意到被访问者疲劳时，我将缩短访问时间。结束前，我简短地总结今天的访问，并告诉访问者下次我们将从今天停止的地方开始谈。我与访问者商量第二次会面的时间。并感谢他/她对我的研究的支持。

第二次会面

会面日期：

在我们的第一次会面中，你谈到了你在中国的生活，移民的历史，住房的历史和你在家和在社区的日常活动。你有没有回想你所讲的故事？… … 在我们开始谈有关房子维修和改建之前，我想请你看看我上次照的相片，也许你会想到一些与相片有关的故事。

房子维修和改建

现在我想请你谈谈房子的维修和改建。

- 你如何描述你的房子的状况？
- 对于你的房子的状况，你有没有什么担心？如果有，你或者你的孩子如何处理你所担心的问题。
- 你的房子有没有维修？有没有更换什么？如果有，是什么？你在多大程度上参与这些维修事务？（提示：做维修决定和具体维修事务）
- 你的房子有没有什么特殊的改建？（提示：扩建门道，建与街道齐平的入口，浴室扶手等）
- 进行这些维修和改建时，有没有什么组织或个人向你提供资金上的支持？如果有，是些什么资金支持？
- 如果没有，你是如何支付这些维修和改建的？

支持

- 当我们听到"邻里"这个词时，会想到不同的事情。"邻里"对你意味着什么？这是不是你对你的邻里的感觉？

- 在过去一年里，你得到过什么支持？？（提示：帮助家务和做花园，提供交通和/或语言帮助，提示某件事的信息）谁提供这些帮助？

- 你感觉是否得到了足够的支持，使你能够在年老时继续住在这里？有什么支持你希望得到但现在没有的？或者是你现在已经有了这些支持，你希望有更多这样的支持？

- 你需要什么支持使你能够继续安全和舒适地居住在这里？

- 想一想你提到的所有支持，哪些是现在你已经能够很方便地使用的？

- 你认为获得有关老年人服务机构的信息的最有效的途径是什么？

搬家的计划

- 在什么情况下你可能会搬家呢？

- 如果搬家，你准备搬到哪呢？

- 你希望你晚年住在哪里养老？（探索：住房种类的变化，地域变化，是否搬到信赖性更高的地方居住，与孩子/别人一起住）

结束前，我简短地总结今天的访问，告诉访问者我将通过电话与他/她商量下一次会面的时间，并感谢他/她对我的研究的支持。下一次会面将与每一个参加者讨论以下话题。还将在对首次访问分析的基础上向不同的参加者提出不同的话题。

- 对居家养老的理解
- 对孝顺的理解和孝顺的实践 （探索文化移入的影响）

Appendix E: Test interviews: Participants and procedures

For the test interview I recruited one male and one female older Chinese migrants, Huang and Chan. Their profiles have been presented in Chapter 4. Huang was introduced by a Chinese church, while Chan was recruited through my personal contact.

I approached Huang and Chan via phone calls to inform them of the purpose of the test interview. I informed them that the test interview was to pre-test my interview protocols and procedures as part of my doctoral thesis which explored life stories of housing among Chinese immigrants in their age group. In this phone conversation, I informed Huang and Chan that two meetings of about two hours each would be conducted at their convenience in April 2008. Both of them agreed to participate in the test interview. I assured them that any information that could identify them would not be referred to. Two weeks prior to the first meetings, I sent them an Information Sheet and followed up by phone calls to ensure that they had received the information sheets. Both Huang and Chan reported that the information sheet was clear and they understood the purpose of the research, their involvement and rights.

All interviews were conducted in the participants' houses. Before the first meeting, I reassured Huang and Chan of confidentiality and explained the Consent Form. Huang signed the Consent Form and agreed to be digitally recorded, while Chan gave oral consent and declined digital recording. Mandarin was used in Huang's interviews, whereas Cantonese was used to interview Chan, at their preference. During the first meeting, a house tour was carried out and I took photographs of objects and spaces that the participants felt were important. I closed the meeting and scheduled the next meeting with the participants.

The second meeting was conducted a week later. The meetings started with discussions of the photos I took in the first interview. Both Huang and Chan told stories about the objects. At the end of the second interviews, I asked the participants to evaluate the logic and wording of the interview guide. The participants reported that the flow of the interview guide was logical and the wording was clear. I closed the meeting and thanked the participants for their support for my research.

Appendix F: Consent form

"Older Chinese Immigrants' Ageing in Place" Doctoral Research Project

Consent Form

I agree to participate in this research project. The purpose of the research is to explore older Chinese immigrants' housing experiences. The data will be used as the basis for Wendy Li's doctoral thesis.

I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and to decline to answer any individual questions in the study.

I understand that my participation in this study is confidential. Without my prior consent, no material which could identify me will be used in any reports on this study.

I consent to my interview being digital recorded.   YES / NO

I agree to participate in this interview and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form.

Signature: Date:

Appendix G: Consent form (Chinese version)

<div align="center">

"华人长者移民与居家养老"博士研究项目

同意书

</div>

我同意参加"华人长者移民与居家养老"这一研究项目。这个研究项目的目的在于探讨华人长者移民的住房经历。研究结束后，利文女士将在总结调查结果的基础上，提交一份报告作为她的博士学位论文。

我明白参加这个研究项目是自愿的。我有权利随时退出这个研究项目，也有权利拒绝回答任何个别问题。

我明白在这个研究项目中，我的参与是绝对保密的。没有我事前的同意，这一研究中的任何报告不能出现任何能确认我的身份的资料。

我同意对这次访谈进行录音。　　　　　　　　同意　/　不同意

我同意参加这次访谈，并且收到这份同意书的复印件。

签名：　　　　　　　　　　　　日期：

Appendix H: *Fangtan* outline

"Older Chinese Immigrants' Ageing in Place" Doctoral Research Project

***Fangtan* outline**

Participant's Name:

Date:

Venue:

Open up *fagntan* by greeting and briefly checking with the participants about how they have been since the second interview.

Brief report on the preliminary analysis of the first and second meetings

I have formally met you twice over the last year. In the first meeting we discussed your life in China, your immigration history, the history of your housing, your perceptions of home and your everyday life at home and in the community. You offered me a home tour in the first meeting. In the second meeting, we discussed your home maintenance and modification, support you had from available resources and your intention to move. I interviewed a total of 32 older Chinese people from 21 households in Auckland and Hamilton. I now would like to briefly talk to you about what I have found from those two interviews.

I talked to 14 male and 18 female participants. Their ages ranged from 62 and 77 years. About two-thirds (22) were living with their spouse only or on their own, while the remaining one-third was living with their adult children.

When they arrived in New Zealand, they found that their language abilities and skills were disrupted. Some participants described that they became mute, blind and deaf. Their social networks were also disrupted. To repair such disruptions, they tried to connect the present to the past by doing something that they used to do or had been

doing in their home country. For example, some grew Chinese vegetables as a strategy to connect their present to the past; some sang Chinese songs; some made dumplings on the Eve of the Chinese New Year.

As I have mentioned previously, about one-third of my participants lived with their children. They found there were some advantages and disadvantages living with their children. For example, it was easier to receive language and transportation support from their children when living with their children. Living with their children also satisfied their needs for family affection. However, some of them found that they lost power in their households. One participant said, for example, he had no power to make simple decisions in the house, such as installing a hanging line to hang towels in the bathroom or deciding to remove a tree in the garden even though he was the only one who looked after the garden. To avoid conflicts with his daughter and, more importantly, to regain a sense of control, he obtained power in the garden. He said that as long as they were given proper care the vegetables would grow as he liked. The garden became his kingdom. He regained a sense of power through growing vegetables.

Apart from those who lived with their children, a majority of the participants lived on their own or with their spouses only. A common practice was that they lived with their children when they first moved to New Zealand. Then some of them moved out from their children's houses into private rentals or state houses. A large majority of the participants in this group would like to have a state house which they could call their own home. *(Check with the participants' opinions about the findings.)*

Method for this meeting

In the previous two meetings, I was the person who guided the discussions and asked most of the questions. You responded to my questions. This time I will use *fangtan* which is different from what we did in the previous meetings.

As you know, *fangtan*, a Chinese phrase, is comprised of two Chinese words: *Fang (访)* and *Tan (谈). Fang* means interview and asking questions, while *Tan* means dialogue and dialogical discussions. Distinct from the interview method, which

literally means *caifang (采访)* or *fangwen (访问)* in Chinese, *fangtan* characterises the dialogical discussion between us instead of that I ask questions with a list of questions in hand and you respond as what we did before. You can also ask me as many questions as you want. I am happy to share my opinions with you. *(Check with the participant whether I clearly explain how to do fangtan. Elaborate it until the participant understands how to do fangtan.)* In short, I would like us to talk more openly about a number of issues. You can ask me questions as well.

To ensure I will obtain accurate information of our discussion, I would like to ask for your permission to record this meeting so that I do not need to take notes. This allows us both to concentrate on the conversation.

Conduct *fangtan* with the participants

With your permission I have taken some pictures in the first meeting. I printed them off and would like to give them to you as gifts. We have discussed the photographs in the second meeting. I now would like to start our *fangtan* with these pictures to see whether you have new information or stories related to the photographs. (Give sufficient time to the participant to look at the pictures, start the conversation according to his or her comments/reflections on the pictures and compare to the participant's comments on the photographs given in the second meeting). Move on to *fangtan* after the discussion of photos. The topics to be covered:

- *Elaborate on expectations*: There are some advantages and disadvantages for older Chinese to live with their children. In your situation, what were your expectations when you first moved to New Zealand?
  - ➢ Living arrangements
  - ➢ Personal care
  - ➢ Social activities
  - ➢ Role in looking after grandchildren
  - ➢ Relationship with in-laws
  - ➢ Roles of male and female parents

- *Elaborate on filial piety:* What is meant by filial piety?

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- ➢ Children's obligations (such as material support) vs. parents' obligations
- ➢ You obligations to your parents, your children to you, your grandchildren to you
- ➢ Your parents' obligations to you, you to your children, you to your grandchildren
- ➢ How these expectations of filial piety change over time and in Western society?
- ➢ (For those whose children are not living in New Zealand) what are the reasons that you do not join your children?

- *Elaborate on ageing in place:* What are your expectations of support from your children when you continue to live in your own home when you grow older?
  - ➢ Emotional support
  - ➢ Practical support
  - ➢ Material support
  - ➢ When you are sick, would you expect to be looked after by the public health system/social services?
  - ➢ Return to China eventually (reasons)

- Developments and further thoughts regarding the issues we have discussed since the last meeting

Reflections on the *fangtan*

I share my reflections on the *fangtan* with the participant and ask the participant to share his or her reflections with me too. Close the *fangtan* according to what we have reflected on.

Appendix I: *Fangtan* outline (Chinese version)

<div align="center">

"华人长者移民与居家养老"博士研究项目

访谈提纲

</div>

访谈者的姓名：

时间：

地点：

问候访谈者，彼此交流上次会面之后的情况。

简单报告第一、二次会面的初步分析结果

去年我们进行了两次访问。在第一次会面中，我们讨论了你在中国的生活、你的移民历史、你的住房历史、你对家的感觉和你在家和社区的日常生活。你带着我参观了你的家。在第二次会面中，我们讨论了你的住房维修情况，你所获得的支持和搬家的计划。 我总共访问了来自 21 个家庭的 32 位中国老人，我现在向你简单地报告一下我的初步分析结果。

我访问了 14 位男性，18 位女性。他们的年龄在 62 岁到 77 岁之间。他们之 中的三分之二与配偶住在一起或自己居住，三分之一与他们的孩子一起住。

当他们抵达新西兰时，他们发现语言成了他们的一大障碍，有的老人称描述他们自己是哑子、瞎子和聋子，他们的社会网络也中断了。为了修复这些断裂，他们做一些以前在中国做的事情，从而使现在和过去有了连续性。例如，有的人种中国菜，有的人唱中国歌曲，有的人在大年三十包饺子。

前面我提到了，有三分之一的老人与他们的孩子一起住，他们发现，与孩子一起住有好的一面也有不好的一面。例如，与孩子住在一起，孩子能提供语言与交通上的支持，

也能满足老人们对亲情的需求。但是，有的与孩子住在一起的老人觉得他们在家失去了话语权。 例如，有一位老人说，他在家没有任何权力，甚至没权决定在浴室钉一条挂毛巾的线，也没有权决定砍哪棵树， 虽然管理花园是他的职责。为了避免与孩子发生冲突，更重要的是获得对生活的控制感，他在种菜里重获权力感。他觉得只要对菜悉心照顾，菜就会如他所愿地生长。花园成了他的王国，他在种菜中重获权力的感觉。

除了这些与孩子一起住的老人，大部分老人是自己住或与配偶住。这些老人刚移民新西兰时，与他们的孩子一起住，经过一断时间后，他们从孩子家搬出来，租私人房或住在政府公房。绝大部分老人都希望能住上政府公房，有他们自己的家。（询问访谈者对这些初步分析结果的意见。）

这次会面的方法

在前两次的会面中，主要是我引导着讨论和提出问题，你根据我的问题进行回应。这一次，我将使用访谈的方法，这种方法与前两次所使用的访问方法有所不同。

如你所知，在中文里，访谈由"访"和"谈"组成。访的意思是采访、访问和问问题，谈的意思是对话和对话式的讨论。与采访的访问不同的是，访谈着重于你和我之间对话式的讨论，而不是像前两次会面一样，我问问题，你回应我的问题。在访谈里，你可以问我问题，我会很乐意与你交流我的看法。（询问一下访谈者我是否把访谈解释清楚 了，如果访谈者还不太清楚，再重新解释。）简单地说，我希望我们能开放地讨论问题，而你也可以问我对问题的看法。

为了确保资料的完整性，我希望你允许我对这次访谈进行录音， 这样我就不需要做笔记，我们就可以专心于我们的谈话。

进行访谈

经你的允许我照了一些相片，我把它们冲洗出来了，想把它们送给你作礼物。在第二次会面中，我们已经讨论了这些相片。让我们从讨论这些相片开始我们的访谈，你有

什么与这些相片相关的新的信息和故事吗？（给予充足的时间给访谈者看相片，并从他对相片的评论中开始谈话，比较两次对相片进行讨论的情况）。讨论完相片后，进入访谈，访谈的话题包括：

- *期望值*：老人与孩子一起住有好的一面也有不好的一面，就你的情况面议，你移民到新西兰之前有什么期望值？
  - ➢ 居住安排
  - ➢ 孩子对你的照顾
  - ➢ 社会活动
  - ➢ 照看孙子孙女
  - ➢ 与女婿或儿媳的关系
  - ➢ 作为父亲和母亲的角色

- *孝顺*：孝顺的意思是什么？
  - ➢ 孩子的责任（如物质上的支持）与父母的责任
  - ➢ 你对你的父母的孝顺，孩子对你和孙子孙女对你的孝顺
  - ➢ 你的父母对你，你对你的孩子，你对你的孙子孙女
  - ➢ 随着时间的改变，这些期望值有没有变化？居住在西方社会后，这些期望值有没有改变？
  - ➢ （对于那些孩子不居住在新西兰的访谈者）为什么你自己留在新西兰？

- *居家养老*：当你居住自己的家养老时，你对孩子有什么期望值？你希望他们提供什么支持给你？
  - ➢ 情感上的支持
  - ➢ 实际的支持（语言交通等）
  - ➢ 物质上的支持
  - ➢ 当你病了，你希望使用公共健康系统和社会服务吗？
  - ➢ 返回中国养老（原因）

- 上次会面之后，对相关的讨论你有没有什么新的想法？

对访谈的感想

我与访谈者分享我对这次访谈的感想，询问访谈者对这次访谈的感想。讨论感想，结束访谈。

Appendix J: Government policy of social allocation of public housing

Social Allocation of Housing New Zealand Corporation Housing

Government policy

The Government has directed that Corporation housing[1] be allocated on the basis of need. The Government defines housing need as an inability to access or sustain housing that is suitable, adequate and affordable.

Principles

Eligibility for Corporation housing

When determining an applicant's eligibility[2] for Corporation housing, the Corporation will consider:

- residency status and whether an applicant and other members of a household ordinarily and lawfully live in New Zealand
- income, and whether the applicant and their partner's income is below a defined income threshold
- assets, and whether the applicant and their partner's realisable assets have a value below a defined asset threshold
- the household's level of need.

Allocation of Corporation housing

Once eligibility is established, priority is given to households experiencing housing and financial stress that is severe, urgent and likely to persist over time, and who have difficulty functioning in the private housing market.

Waiting list categories

Priority on the waiting list for Corporation housing is divided into four groups that reflect different levels of need:

- An A-priority household has severe and persistent housing needs that must be addressed immediately. The household's well-being is severely affected or seriously at risk by housing circumstances that are unsuitable, inadequate or unsustainable and there is an immediate need for action. The household is unable to access or afford suitable, adequate and sustainable housing without state intervention.
- A B-priority household has a significant and persistent housing need. The household's well-being is affected in a significant and persistent way by housing

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[1] This refers to premises let or to be let by, or on behalf of the Corporation for occupation by any person as a place of residence.
[2] The Corporation contacts the appropriate authorities (e.g. New Zealand Police, Child Youth and Family, New Zealand Immigration Service, Customs New Zealand, or Department of Corrections) where appropriate if, in determining an applicant's eligibility, evidence of unlawful or criminal activities is revealed.

circumstances that are unsuitable, inadequate or unsustainable. The household is unlikely in the near future, to be able to access or afford suitable, adequate and sustainable housing without state intervention.

- A C-priority household has a moderate housing need. The household is disadvantaged, and this is likely to compound over time due to housing circumstances that are unsuitable, inadequate or unsustainable. The household is unlikely to be able to access or afford suitable, adequate and sustainable housing without state intervention.
- A D-priority household is one that may be able to function in the market and is either experiencing low level housing need or is disadvantaged.

A matrix determines the each household's priority fits. It assesses the level of risk each household faces, based on the following criteria:

Criteria	Description
Affordability	The relationship between income and current housing costs.
Adequacy	The house's physical condition and structure.
Suitability	House size in terms of occupants and overcrowding.
Accessibility	The applicant's ability to access housing in the private sector market, taking discrimination into account.
Sustainability	The ability to sustain housing in the private sector market[3].

When a Corporation house becomes vacant or a new supply is available, applicants will be matched with housing that meets their requirements. Priority is given to those with the greatest need[4]. If an applicant rejects three valid offers without good reason then their position on the waiting list may be reassessed.

Where a permanent solution is not immediately available, urgent temporary housing solutions may be offered to A-priority applicants if such a solution will reduce their level of risk.

Applicants with complex needs that require intensive management, or applicants who require modified housing, may be referred to a case manager at any stage in the allocation process.

Managing waiting lists

Waiting lists will be managed and regularly reviewed to ensure:

- the applicant's priority status is still valid
- the applicants are informed of their application's progress
- the Corporation delivers an appropriate standard of service.

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[3] Examples of matters that might be considered under these criteria are financial management issues, changes in household circumstances, social functioning, lack of certain skills, security of tenure, medical issues, and other personal circumstances that make sustaining housing in the private sector market difficult.

[4] Applicants who have had a tenancy with the Corporation terminated in the last 12 months for a serious breach of a tenancy agreement or the Residential Tenancies Act, will not be allocated a house unless the Corporation is satisfied that any new tenancy will be sustainable. This includes that the circumstances or factors that gave rise to the serious breach no longer exist.

Internal review or external appeal

An applicant can seek an internal review, by the Corporation, of any decision relating to their eligibility for Corporation housing or the allocation of Corporation housing.

An applicant can appeal to the State Housing Appeal Authority on decisions resulting from the internal review.

Fraud or misleading information

The Corporation may take certain actions if, while investigating a tenant's or applicant's circumstances, the tenant, applicant or their partner:

- wilfully gives the Corporation false or misleading information
- fails or refuses to fully answer any question that the Corporation asks
- fails or refuses to verify any information by statutory declaration when asked to do so by the Corporation.

Actions include:

Situation	Action
The applicant has applied for housing, but the application is yet to be accepted, rejected or withdrawn.	The Corporation may suspend consideration of that application or decline the application.
The applicant has applied for housing and their application has been accepted, but housing is still to be allocated.	The Corporation may reassess their priority on the waiting list.
Housing has been allocated to a tenant:	The tenant's housing need will be reassessed.
If the reassessment finds that the tenant's circumstances mean they are **not eligible** for Corporation housing	The Corporation may terminate the tenancy under section 50 of the Residential Tenancies Act 1986, and the housing will be re-allocated to an eligible applicant.
If the reassessment finds that the tenant's circumstances mean they are **still eligible** for Corporation housing.	The Corporation may: - calculate an income-related rent for the tenant on the basis of the Corporation's understanding of the tenant's circumstances, and recover any amounts the Corporation is entitled to under Part 5 of the Housing Restructuring Act 1992 as a debt due to the Crown, or - treat the market rent for that housing as the income-related rent for that tenant, and recover any amounts it is entitled to under Part 5 of the Housing Restructuring Act 1992 as a debt due to the Crown.

Fraud by a tenant or an applicant may also result in prosecution if their actions are such that they constitute an offence under the Crimes Act 1961.

Process

The process for determining applicant eligibility and priority:

Stage	Process	Purpose
Housing enquiry	Discussion between a Corporation staff member and the applicant.	To enable an initial assessment of the applicant's eligibility and the urgency of their situation.
Needs assessment	Face-to-face interviews between a Corporation representative and the applicant. Need is assessed by applying the priority matrix to the information the applicant provides.	To confirm the applicant's eligibility for housing and the type of housing needed. To determine the applicant's priority status.
Waiting list management	Regular review of applicant's circumstances.	Reviewing an applicant's position on the waiting lists ensures priority status remains valid.
Placement	Matching housing with applicants according to their housing requirements and their waiting list position.	To ensure that appropriate housing is allocated to applicants according to need.

Appendix K: List of my publications

Li, W. W. (in press). Being overseas Chinese in later life: Narratives and the reconstruction of self among older Chinese immigrants. In Q. Jiang & Z-A. Ji (Eds.). *Transnational Chinese: Migration, Diaspora and Documentation*. Guangzhou, China: Jinan University Press.

Li, W. W. (under review). Transnationalism, spaces of wellbeing and Chinese migrant elders. *New Zealand Geographer.*

Li, W. W. (in press). Art in health and identity: Visual narratives of older Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. *Arts & Health: An International Journal for Research, Policy and Practice.*

Li, W. W., Hodgetts, D., & Stolte, O. (in press). Chinese elders in New Zealand: Reconstructing selves in gardens (in Chinese). *Journal of Overseas Chinese Studies.*

Li, W. W., Hodgetts, D., & Ho. E. (2010). Gardens, transition and identity construction among older Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. *Journal of Health Psychology, 15* (5), 786-796.

Li, W. W., Hodgetts, D., Ho, E., & Stolte, O. (2010). From early Confucian texts to ageing care in China and abroad today: The evolution of filial piety and its implications. *Journal of US-China Public Administration*, *7*(7), 48-59.

Li, W. W. (in press). Review of the book *The Oxford Handbook of Chinese Psychology. Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology.*

Li, W. W., & Groot, S. (2010). Review of the book *At home in the Chinese Diasporas: Memories, identities and belonging. Journal of Chinese Overseas, 6*(1), 145-147.

Li, W. W. (in press). Ancestral worship and filial piety: A perspective of older Chinese migrants. In L. Nikora, & N. Te Awekotuku (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Symposium of Death Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand.*

Nikora, L. W., Hodgetts, D., Carlson, T., Tongi, L., & Li, W. W. (2010). Maori, Tongan and Chinese households: Medications and elder care. In J. S. Te Rito, & S. M. Healy (Eds.), Proceedings of the Traditional Knowledge Conference 2010, June 6-9, (pp. 251-258), Auckland, NZ.

Li, W. W., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Ho, E. (2010). Art-making, immigration and identity (re)construction among older Chinese adults in New Zealand. In A. Sobrun-Maharaj, S. Parackal, & F.Rossen (Eds.). *Proceedings of the Fourth*

International Asian Health and Wellbeing Conference, September 8-9, (pp.52-63). Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland.

Li, W. W. (2010, November). *Shifting selves: Home beyond the house.* Paper presented at the Contemporary Ethnography across the Disciplines (CEAD) Conference and Hui, Hamilton, NZ.

Li, W. W. (2010, November). *Ancestral worship and filial piety: a perspective of older Chinese migrants.* Paper presented at the Symposium of Death Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand, Hamilton, NZ.

Li, W. W., Hodgetts, D., & Stolte, O. (2010, July). *The use of visual narratives in research with older Chinese immigrants.* Paper presented at the 2010 Conference of the New Zealand Psychological Society, Rotorua, New Zealand.

Li, W. W., Hodgetts, D., Stolte, O., & Ho. E. (2010, July). *Art-making, immigration and identity (re)construction among older Chinese adults in New Zealand.* Full paper presented at the Fourth International Asian Health and Wellbeing Conference, Auckland, New Zealand.

Li, W. W. (2009, December). *Filial piety in everyday life: An older Chinese immigrants' perspective.* Invited paper presented at the 2009 Transnational Research Workshop, Hong Kong, China.

Li, W. W. (2009, October). Gardens, transition and identity construction among older Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. Paper presented at Psychology Department Seminar, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Li, W. W. (2009, October)*.* Gardens are not mute: Biographical disruption and identity construction among older Chinese immigrants to New Zealand. Paper presented at Annual FASS Graduate Conference, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Li, W. W. (2009, October). *"I want to have my own small home": Ageing in place of older Chinese immigrants.* Paper presented at the Living in an Ageing Society: Shaping Tomorrow Today Conference, Wellington, New Zealand.

Li, W. W. (2009, July). *Place-identity and home making: Constructing the hybrid self among older Chinese New Zealanders.* Paper presented at the Rising Dragon Soaring Bananas International Conference, Auckland, New Zealand.

Li, W. W. (2009, May). *Being Overseas Chinese in later life: Narratives and the reconstruction of self among older Chinese immigrants.* Full paper presented at the Fourth International Conference of Institutions and Libraries for Chinese overseas Studies, Guang Zhou, China.

Li, W. W. (2009, February). *Narratives of older Chinese immigrants: Home is a process*. Full paper presented at the 8th East West Centre International Graduate Student Conference, Honolulu, HI.

Li, W. W. (2008, December). *The meaning of home for older Chinese immigrants living in New Zealand*. Invited paper presented at the International Conference on Social Capital and Volunteering in Modern Ageing Cities: Building Intergenerational Inclusion, Hong Kong, China.

Li, W. W. (2008, November). *The meaning of home for older Chinese immigrants*. Paper presented at Psychology Graduate Research Day Out, Auckland, New Zealand.

Li, W. W. (2008, September). *Filial piety at a distance and older Chinese immigrants' ageing in place.* Poster session at the Building Research Capability of Social Sciences (BRCSS) New Settler Researchers Conference, Auckland, New Zealand.

Li, W. W. (2007, June). *Older Chinese immigrants: In pursuit of an ageing-in-place housing career*. Paper presented at the conference on Postgraduate Symposium for Emerging Researchers in Ageing, Wellington, New Zealand.