WENDY WEN LI

SHIFTING SELVES
IN
MIGRATION

*Home, Ageing in
Place and Well-being*

About the Author:

Dr Wendy Wen Li is a Lecturer in the Department of Psychology, James Cook University, Australia. As a China-born, China- and Western-trained researcher, she positions herself between the East and West, informing Western social sciences with Eastern knowledge and vice versa.

Key Features:

Shifting Selves in Migration: Home, Ageing in Place and Wellbeing is a monograph about the settlement experiences of older Chinese migrant adults in New Zealand, with a focus on examining the biographies and experiences of the Confucian concept of filial piety in particular in relation to housing and ageing experiences.

中央编译出版社
CCTP Central Compilation & Translation Press

This book is dedicated to my late father, Li Xing min, a Chinese philosopher.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

features of this book. My special thanks also go to Daniel Miller for his assistance in editing this book. I am also extremely grateful for the opportunities provided by the James Cook University's Rising Stars Early Career Researcher Leadership Program. This elite program offers me advanced professional development to fast track my research career.

It is extremely difficult to express the immense contribution my family has made. I am especially indebted to Billy my husband, Michael my son, and my sisters Li Man and Li Dan, for enduring both my absence and presence while writing this book, for having interest in my research, for taking care of me, for being there for and with me.

Finally, I dedicate this book to my late father who deserves special recognition. My father was a Chinese philosopher who brought me into the psychological research world and nurtured my academic ambitions. In a terrible quirk of fate, I found myself doing research into and writing a book 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 able to speak over 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 the book, "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".

PREFACE

Today, large numbers of older people are on the move; migrating both within and across nation states. Such movement can have consequences for the quality of life and relationships of migrants, and for the enactment of their familial obligations and cultural traditions. Lives can be both disrupted and enhanced along the way. When people migrate, they carry their cultural traditions and expectations with them. Simultaneously, people also face the need to adapt to new social, cultural and political realities. As people settle new places, they often come to engage in new activities and to rethink the practicalities of their pre-existing cultural norms, expectations and practices. Migration in later life also raises a raft of issues regarding identity, belonging, contributions to family and community.

Dr Wendy Li offers a rare scholarly engagement with the issues discussed by drawing on a narrative approach that foregrounds disruption and renewal. Readers are presented with an invaluable study of ageing and aged care practices among older Chinese migrants to New Zealand. Having been educated in both the Chinese and Western university systems, Dr Li is in a unique position to combine 'Eastern' and 'Western' thought in extending our understanding of the intricacies of migration in later life. The result of her scholarly endeavour is a book that offers a nuanced way to understand the complexities of acculturation, narrative disruption and adjustment as emplaced processes central to experiences of migration and familial care later in life.

This book draws from the experiences of filial piety and biographies of a group of older Chinese migrants to New Zealand. Dr Li informs her interpretation of the participant's experiences with acumens from diverse literatures relating to the ageing population, social policy, migration in later life and the role of culture in positive ageing in place. Symbolic interactionism proves useful as the theoretical basis for combining insights

from across literatures, and for theorising the self and culture as interpenetrating and mutually constituted phenomena. The book conveys the history and significance of the cultural concept of filial piety and associated obligations. The explanation of filial piety and how it manifests in living arrangements, caregiving relationships and ancestor worship is ground breaking. The agentic ways in which the participants negotiated the challenges of relocation, settlement and familial obligations, whilst obtaining continuity in their life narratives, are handled with considered humility.

Dr Li presents a particularly useful discussion that connects the acculturation literature with work on ethnic identity construction, materiality, daily practices and place. She explores the emplaced nature of migration, and the role of material practices such as gardening—which is shown to enable migrants to put down both literal and cultural roots. Noteworthy are the ways in which older Chinese people engage in simple acts that enhance their sense of belonging in new settings, and provide a means to cultivate a sense of contributing to local community life. The picture painted from the exploration of such practices brings into question stereotypes about migrant groups that are often held by host populations. Readers are presented with a humane portrait of migrants grounded in simple acts such as the sharing of vegetables, giving local people free haircuts and the provision of Tai Chi lessons to members of the host community. From the author's engagements with these practices, readers are offered a sense of how positive ageing in place can be realised and reciprocal relationships with local people can be fostered.

Often scholars are engaged in self-contained disciplinary specific conversations about the same topics in isolation from discussions in other disciplines. Dr Li brings insights from many of these conversations together. As a result, her work is of interest to scholars in a slew of disciplines, including psychology, ageing studies, demography, planning, sociology, history, policy, social work and cultural studies. This engaging book should be required reading for scholars researching migration in later life and for policy makers and community groups offering support to migrant communities.

Ultimately, human ageing is a biological reality. The social reality of people

ageing at different rates and with varying levels of support and quality of life is associated with particularities of specific settings, relationships and cultural practices. The importance of books such as this lies in the insights it provides into how positive ageing in place can be realised for all.

By Professor Darrin Hodgetts,
The University of Waikato, New Zealand

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INTRODUCTION

The proportion of those in older age groups continues to increase among the world's population (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 book 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 book. In contrast to dwelling on negative aspects of older migrant experiences, the ways of ageing documented in this book 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 book, culture is regarded as the inherent core of human psy-

chological functioning, rather than an external causal entity that affects 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 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 my 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, 2012b). Proponents of this endeavor assume that current psychological theories are universally applicable (Kim et al., 2006). Many scholars have demonstrated the limitations of this approach. Research shows that psychological theories are in fact 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 those immigrants function in their familial, social, cultural and historical contexts. Through this study, I have an opportunity to explore older Chinese immigrants' ageing and housing experiences through the lenses of social and cultural psychology.

This research topic, with its positive orientation and focus on culture and change resonates 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 of this

degree the predominant focus was Russian psychology. From the third year, when the Department of Psychology was re-established, our focus shifted to American psychology. "Chinese psychology" was a concept which was rarely discussed by my professors and which did not appear in my own teaching and research in China. It was not until I started this research project 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 the shorthand term "Chinese" (and sometimes Eastern and Western) throughout this book, the use of the term is not intended to reduce the Chinese people to a discrete and categorical group that are "internally homogenous, externally distinctive objects" (Hermans & Kempen, 1998, p. 1113). Rather, in this book Chinese people refers to those participating in ideas and practices that are pervasive in Chinese cultural contexts, which derives from persistent engagement in a world that is structured in culture-specific ways rather than from some internal attributes or traits of the individual. Such terminology usage emphasises cultural contexts and the transaction between the individual and the context (Markus & Hamedani, 2007).

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

This book 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 book. The first is the complex, multiple and hybrid nature of the 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. This orienta-

tion 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 understanding 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 major theme of the book 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 this book, *Shifting Selves in Migration*, is meant to convey this transformation, highlighting the fact that culture and selves are moving and mixing (Hermans, 2001a). The third theme is the importance of culture in (re)constructing older Chinese immigrants' identities. Discussions on this theme will 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 thematic threads are woven into subsequent chapters as a way to build arguments which will address different aspects of older Chinese migrants' ageing and housing experiences.

   This book also 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 duties to one's parents and grandparents (Quadagno, 1999). I review the concept of filial piety intensively in Chapter 3. The overall aim of this intensive focus is to develop our understanding of the role of filial piety in older Chinese migrants' experiences of ageing and housing. To achieve this aim, four approaches are taken: 1) the documentation of older Chinese immigrants' everyday experiences of home-making in New Zealand; 2) the exploration of older Chinese immigrants' acculturation practices; 3) the investigation of the meaning and practices of filial piety within the context of acculturation; and 4) the exploration of older Chinese immigrants' cultural views and practices of ageing in place.

Book Overview: Orientation towards the Self

This book 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 book and reviews the development of symbolic interactionism and the concept of self and 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 the 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. This chapter explores the origins and contemporary practices of filial piety both in China and among immigrants to Western countries. This chapter underscores 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 experiences of aged care. The chapter presents 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, the chapter investigates relevant concepts, such as place and home in which filial piety is practiced. Consideration of place identity and place attachment provides a window into emplaced ageing experiences of older Chinese migrants.

Chapter 4 sets out the research methodology. As well as outlining the research process, the chapter informs Western narrative research with a Chinese approach to narrative. Among other features of narrative interviewing and analysis, the chapter proposes 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 chap-

ter 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.

The four chapters on findings (Chapters 5 to 8) interpret older Chinese migrants' ageing and housing narratives. Chapter 5 highlights 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 social and cultural contexts change, understandings and practices of filial piety develop; when practices of filial piety in turn 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 setting instead of merely physical locations. This chapter emphasises the analytic shift away from a focus on how older Chinese immigrants are "being made" into minority subjects to a focus on how they are "self-making" into the positive ageing self-demonstrating that older Chinese migrants are not only parents and grandparents but also active community members.

Chapter 9 offers key conclusions of the research. This chapter further integrates key findings of the research. The chapter reinterprets, qualifies and explores the conceptual, theoretical and methodological importance of the research. It discusses how the present research contributes to policy making and to the existing body of knowledge about identity-construction and immigration. The chapter also considers limitations of the research and offers suggestions that future research could follow to overcome these limitations.

To set the stage for the 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. While New Zealand policy frameworks acknowledge 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 relative to the population. 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, *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 per cent in 1950 to 11 per cent in 2007, and is expected to reach 22 per cent in 2050. In 2000, the world's population aged 60 years or over numbered 600 million, which is triple the number present 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 age structure. The number of people aged 65 and over has doubled since 1970 to half a million in 2005. In comparison, the population as a whole increased by 44 per cent 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 per cent 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. European ethnic groups will make up the bulk of this increase between 2001 and 2021, with projections indicating an increase from 270,000 to 690,000. By 2021, the Maori population aged 65 and over is projected to number 56,000, compared to 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 to come from 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 to New Zealand 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 the ageing Chinese population in New Zealand.

Chinese People and Ageing in New Zealand

Beginning in the 1960s, a number of nations 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 average increase of 1.9 per cent per annum. During the same period the total population of the world was increasing by a rate of 1.8 per cent per year (Zlotnik, 1999). In other words, the worldwide rate of growth in migration is akin 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 nations 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 Chinese Mainland, 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 Chinese migration. However, Pan also adds 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 on the occupations and identities of Chinese international migrants, several scholars—such as Skeldon (1996) and Ma (2003)—analyse Chinese international migration periodically, focusing primarily 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 the 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 gradually increasing emigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan occurred. The third period began in 1979 when the Reform and Opening Policy was carried out in China. This period has seen an increase in the number of migrants, but also an increase in complexity in terms of the 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 in 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, relatively well-off professionals and business people.

Although there have been different perspectives on the patterns of Chinese migration, one thing is clear: that 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 similarly shifted from labourers to well-educated, well-skilled business people and 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. However, 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 the number of Chinese immigrants. The poll tax was raised from ten to one hundred pounds as part of the 1896 Act. Legislation was also introduced against Chinese residents in New Zealand in 1908. For example, it was not until 1952 that Chinese residents regained the right to apply for citizenship. The aforementioned acts 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 in Chinese immigration was brought by World War II (Ho, 2006). During the Japanese invasion of China the New Zealand government allowed Chinese residents' immediate family members into the country temporarily as refugees. While this was a humane gesture by the New Zealand government it did not result in any reviews of existing policies or a genuine change in attitude 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 in 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 per cent being born locally. The overall Chinese population constituted a self-contained and low profile group 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. Census information indicates that between 1986 and 1991 the Chinese population rose by more than 100 percent, to about 44,000 (Statistics New Zealand, 1998). By 1996, the Chinese population increased to about 78,000 persons, almost doubling again (Ip, 2003). In 2006, 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 average age 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 per cent of Chinese New Zealanders 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 per cent from 5,769 in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002, 2007). Among the Chinese ageing population, immigrants comprised 91 per cent of the total older Chinese population in 2006, compared to 26 per cent 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 areas with the most Chinese people residing (Ho et al., 2002). Since the 1987 policy favours the highly educated, the middle-class and business people, 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 as 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 per cent, 3 per cent and 2 per cent respectively. The remainder of the 10 per cent 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 commitment 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 associated with ageing around the world has evoked intense debates with regards to whether ageing is a risk or an opportunity. Of the latter persuasion, Socolovsky (2002) argues that the "greying of humanity" is 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 interpretation 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) and "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" is associated with 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 countries associated with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 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. This is supported by flexible and efficient home help services and home nursing care which is given, free of charge, to all according to their needs (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 type, 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 this strategy, the *New Zealand Housing Strategy* (Housing New Zealand Corporation, 2005) communicates 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, Anglo-Saxon values (Bartlett & Peel, 2005). The cultural diversity of New Zealand requires much greater consideration in the formulation of policies and social services to address the different living arrangement patterns of new 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 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 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 book 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.

Throughout this book 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 is a central concept in relation to the overall aims and objectives of the research. I use the concept of the 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 identity. 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 book is informed by symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism seeks to uncover meanings that people

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 ethnicity, races, 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 framework of this book. 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), the main Chinese character for *I* or *me*, is one's consciousness of oneself as a physical, separate identity. Ideographically, the Chinese character 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 for *I* or *me*, throughout Chinese history there have been many other characters also used to convey *I* or *Me* (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) came into existence later than *Wo*. Originally *Ji* meant a centrally located house or place where consciousness and knowledge reside. It is where principles or regularity reside and it has to be understood with the term *Ren* (人). *Ren* communicates two meanings: the person and human beings. When *Ren* refers to the person and 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 the peripheral. The concept of person demands the self to keep the person hollow and humble, always finding room for improvement (Yang, 2006). When *Ren* refers to the 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)cobwebed self are not distinct, but instead 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 understanding 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 in this order, 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. Cultur-

al change is a central issue for migration research generally and this book specifically. 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 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 sociocultural, 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 changes in people associated with migration take place on 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. 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 uninterested in cultural maintenance and uninterested 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 & Mc-Cubbin, 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 its 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 Chinese Mainland 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 built upon the tribal base of its indigenous Maori population (Ward & Lin, 2005). The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi gave 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, 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 the Maori. In this way, 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 multiple 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

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

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 the 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 by Berry, 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 the squeezing together of time and space. For example, media and the 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 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 focusing on stress. It allows acculturation research to devote attention to 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 first-hand 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[1] [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 the 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 therefore 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 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-

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1 Kiwi is a nickname used for people from New Zealand.

specific factors in the 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, 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 behaviours (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

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LITERATURE REVIEW: FILIAL PIETY AND AGEING IN PLACE

The previous chapters have outlined how the concepts of the self and acculturation can be used 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 the PRC and among immigrants to Western countries. I will also consider the implications of filial piety for the Chinese self. The review focuses on the PRC because it is impossible to speak of one Chinese society. Indeed, China, 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 between the husband and the wife which is a central relationship in many Western cultures (Gow, Balla, Kember & Hau, 1996). The Confucian concept of filial piety has traditionally governed the parent-child relationship in Chinese families (Ho, 1996) and is a dominant fea-

ture of 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 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, traditional Chinese culture does not regard old age as negative. Rather, elders have been historically 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.

Despite such traditions, filial piety has become a complex and constantly evolving concept both in China and for Chinese migrants as a result of 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 movement 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 the aged care children provide to their parents. Instead filial piety also includes ageing parents and their children offering support and assistance to one another as well as what the community provides in terms of aged care for elders.

This chapter also investigates the concept of place and home, and practices of ageing in place across ageing populations, with a focus on 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 of this book: 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 (Jovchelovitch, 2007). This approach will be demonstrated throughout the analysis chapters of this book.

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 Eastern to 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, the most prominent of which is that it is the responsibility of the young to support older family members (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 fact that one's body exists solely because of one's parents (Hwang, 1999). This belief affirms the great debt a child owes to a parent, as 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 fil-

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 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 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 Cham-

berlain (2009) and Valsiner (2006) describe, where the researcher loses sight of the psychological phenomenon of interest, focusing instead on data collections and methods where 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 when trying to understand people's position in life or description of themselves and their relationships and interactions with others 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: ro-

mance, 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. "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 (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998).

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 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, i.e., the structure of the narrative, is as important to the meanings they communicate as

what they actually say, i.e., 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 book I seek to develop culturally specific narrative methods for research older Chinese migrants' everyday lives. In this way, Western-based narrative methods are adapted to different cultural circumstances. Researchers have suggested that 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 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 speaking of the narrative structure, 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). 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 a "holistic episodic". It may also be seen as lacking 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 suggests that the manifestation or patterns of the psychological phenomenon within the cultural context as being 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, holistic episodic features 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 be 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 these 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 (see 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 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 Western research topics are not culturally relevant to the needs of non-Western people being studied. Many Western methods may be inappropriate when applied to non-Western populations 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 used in research with Filipino participants in the Philippines, the USA and Europe (Pe-Pua, 1989, 2006). Pe-Pua (2006) emphasises that 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 because, by implication, that may mean that 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 to not express their opinions without careful consideration, especially 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, in 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 (see 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 gave them a greater sense of equality of status between us and of control over the interview, as well as facilitating narration of 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 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 most 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 characterised by rapport, understanding, acceptance, mutual trust, in-

volvement and one-of-us status. To be involved 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 that bias, for example, through the choice of two European supervisors. Throughout the research process 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 embedded in the Chinese language (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 the 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 (the age at which 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 participants lived in state houses while 14 lived in private rentals

5

HOME MAKING IN A NEW LAND

In order to comprehend filial piety and ageing in place among older Chinese migrants, I in this chapter explore 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 in the "lived" experience of locality, i.e., a concrete space where intimate familial relations are established and maintained. Ngan (2008) maintains that, due to intensified interconnectedness across nation-states and cultural borders, immigrants are able to sustain multiple place-based affiliations and identities, and cultivate new selves using elements from a diverse range of settings. Given that migrants are located and emplaced in multiple settings, migrants' homes are both connected to and disconnected from the physical dwellings in which people reside. Home can be defined both as a private domestic space and as a large geographic place where migrants belong, such as their homeland or 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 countries in which they have immigrated. Guided by chronological biographical narrative analysis, I explore some of the complexities surrounding human migration. In particular I look at how migration invokes biographical disruption and status-discrepancy for migrants. I consider how older Chinese migrants respond to these difficulties. 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 examines how older Chinese migrants put down roots through activities such as gardening and how such activities provide continuity between life in New Zealand and 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). As 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 focus from negative disruptions 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 identity in New Zealand. This involves an attempt to make a place for one's self—in particular within gardens—and subsequently attempts 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 on 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, however it can also encourage people to rethink their lives and futures (Graham & Connell, 2006). Chan's extract typifies participants' accounts of an embedded and socially connected life in China changing as a result of migrating to New Zealand. Plot lines evident across participants' narratives are 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.*

6

MATERIAL-MEDIATED ACCULTURATION

As noted in Chapter 2, acculturation processes encompass the 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 their new home country. Migration processes can lead to changes in the original patterns of life and cultures of the peoples concerned, as well 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 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, a process 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 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 that 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 their 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 indicators of acculturation 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. (laughs.) *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 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 (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 (Nelson, 2001). According to Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, people can observe practices of others and then adopt observed practices themselves. Hong gives an example of a social learning process:

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 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 on 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 at garage sales are, by and large, 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.

 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 sug-

gested 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 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. They argue that it is through the family that 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 giving gifts and making appointments 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.

Culturally, Chan's daughter's understandings of the relationship between neighbours contradict the meaning of "neighbours" in the Chinese culture. Historically, 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 the proverb "A neighbour is closer than a distant relative." Dai described the following:

> 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 collective identities, which promotes the nurturing of belonging. Memory also functions as a site of transit that links the past with the present and points to the future, indicating that Dai will "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 the public, educational and medical domains of life (Cort, 2010). Grandchildren, who serve as bridges between households and institutions outside the home, are mostly invisible in the immigration literature (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[1] 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. (laughs.)

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. Community participation, such as joining a choir, creates opportunities for older Chinese immigrants to rebuild social networks (Putnam, 1995). Participation can also increase older Chi-

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

nese 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:

> *We set up our own choir. However, we didn't have a 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 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 gen-

eration," 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 world. Music here stands for, symbolises and offers the immediate experience of the acculturating self (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, and is also created by, the intercultural sociality. Music creates a cultural contact zone in which people from dif-

ferent cultures share cultural similarities (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 older Chinese people are not only acculturated by other cultures, but also acculturate people from other cultures.

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 one of the assumption in Berry's (2006) acculturation model—that immigrants who move to a new country only have continuous and first hand 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 on-going 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—which he describes 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:

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.

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 for entertainment, identity building and as his virtually exclusive source of information (Tsagarousianou, 2001). When I asked about their routines, all participants who lived in Auckland stressed the importance of one particular radio news programme broadcast daily from 7.30 to 9.30am. 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:

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 older Chinese immigrants positions as "intercultural citizens" in New Zealand (Tsagarousianou, 2001). "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[1]. 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 on-going issues regarding filial piety in the Chinese community after 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). 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 (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. It is apparent that acculturation also occurs via technology.

Religious and Spiritual Acculturation

Research on the concept of "spirituality" demonstrates its overlap with "religion" (Moberg, 2005). While acknowledging the complexities surrounding spirituality, in this section "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, a life purpose, spiritual guidance, and other resources. Research has demonstrated that religion is an important coping resource for many

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

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 was increasingly important for some of my participants as their social support resources had decreased as a result of age and moving to a new country. 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 Chinese Mainland. 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. In this way, 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. Zhuang stated:

> *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 in China.*

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

old and new worlds (Ng, 2002). Religion provides Zhuang and his wife with unique maps of the way the world ought to be. This inspires them to make their ideals 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 (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). Zhuang also highlighted 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 parents to children—or from children to parents in Zhuang's case. This allows the family to establish another forest of coping strategies involving intergenerational support within the contexts of acculturation and faith-based interaction.

Ming's account suggests that the moral ideals of Christianity, such as communal love, loyalty and duty, consolidate easily 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 ideal of love in terms of spirituality, despite this he does not identify as 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 regard-

ed as rewarding because it confirms that migrant's beliefs and values are welcomed in New Zealand. As a consequence, interactions between migrants and the host culture runs 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 back and forth 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, 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 multivoicedness is characterised not only in the relationships between 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.

Summary

This chapter has explored the processes of acculturation evident in participants' everyday lives. Acculturation often ruptures people's existing ways of life, shared identities and the connections people have to places. Despite hardship, my participants survive and flourish in a new land through processes of adaptive acculturation (Hodgetts, Drew et al., 2010). The participants faced challenges and stresses, but also discovery, possibility, hopes, joys and renewal. My analysis illustrates how such adaptive acculturation entails older Chinese migrants' ability to both integrate with the host culture and maintain their ethnic identity. 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 present within 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—as a way to alleviate acculturation stressors. Forging new social networks within the cultural milieu of the host country is integral to migrant's adaptation (Jorden, Matheson & Anisman, 2009).

The older adults are, therefore, not simply passive recipients of a new culture, but are instead active, intentional agents. This finding has implications for conceptualisation of culture and the ideologies underpinning understandings of acculturation. As Markus and Hamedani (2007) argue, an essential element of human behaviour is the engagement of a person making sense of a world that is replete with meanings, material subjects and practices. Central to understanding how culture and psychology mutually construct each other is what Shweder (1995) calls "meanings". Meanings are important units in the mutual construction because meanings 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 (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. In the same way so is acculturation.

As argued in Chapter 2, most of the prominent acculturation research is underpinned by questions of host language proficiency, frequency of host language use, host language media consumption (TV, video, newspaper, magazine), ethnicity of friends, food consumption inside and outside home, 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 accultura-
tion researchers have argued that the role of the host language in 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 did 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. Rather, I simply
suggest that my participants worked 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 lan-
guage. Participants' observations of everyday practices of their neigh-
bours are a form of non-verbal social interactions that 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).

Of Berry's (2006) four typologies of acculturation (assimilation, inte-
gration, marginalisation and separation), two of the typologies, "assimi-
lation" and "marginalisation" which both require non-adherence to the
original culture (Jang et al., 2007), may not applicable to the participants
interviewed. These participants are likely to be categorised as display-
ing "separation" based acculturation because of their low English profi-
ciency scores, frequency of English use and English media consumption,
their high number of ethnic friends and so on. However, my analysis has
shown that while these participants are marginal, they are not margina-
lised as they are respected members of both cultures (Liu, 2009). Rather
than separating themselves from the host culture, they actively integrated
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. Berry's four typologies of acculturation offer an incomplete pic-
ture 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 and predetermined as a stage production might. Rather, the self performatively weaves its way through everyday interactions in 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 (see 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 aspects of 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 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 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 the 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 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 to this detached understanding of filial piety.

7

CHANGING PRACTICES OF FILIAL PIETY

In the previous chapter I argued that everyday practices can shift with the process of acculturation. For this reason it should be no surprise that as older Chinese immigrants become exposed to New Zealand culture and navigate New Zealand values, expectations, norms, and practices changes in Chinese cultural practices, such as filial piety, may occur (Marin, 1993). The practices of filial piety can therefore be expected to 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 pays particular attention to those five aspects of filial piety and considers an additional component: children's achievements.

The limitations of decontextualisation in acculturation research, which are discussed in Chapter 6, also exist in filial piety research. Much of the latter research tries to quantify filial piety through such means as: measuring the monetary assistance given to parents (Chappell & Kusch, 2007): measuring the degree to which children pay attention to their parents' daily activities and diet (Kao & Travis, 2005): measuring behaviours or gestures by which children express their respect for thier parents (Sung, 2004); and assessing when respect is shown for others (Cheng & Chan, 2006). Such quantitative studies continue to produce some interesting in-

sights into filial piety. However, these studies 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 the use of experience-distant survey instruments. Rather, I utilise an experience-near approach to uncover what matters to 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 across changing social, cultural, geographic and economic contexts.

Living Arrangements

All participants reported that in China they lived in mortgage-free apartments as homeowners. 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. As I will soon discuss, participants often went through pre-co-residence and parent-child co-residence stages. Some of the participants later lived away from their adult children, shifting to what I call a "filial piety at a distance" arrangement. 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 significantly contributes to depres-

sion among Irish migrants to London. Similarly, Chou (2008) found that poor migration planning relates to depressive symptoms among new immigrants from the PRC to Hong Kong. My participants' accounts suggest that they all had some kind of pre-migration preparation. For example, they realised that they would experience language difficulties and that New Zealand cultures were distant from the Chinese culture. However, a lack of pre-co-residence 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 pressures occurring on top of migration-related stress. 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.*

As a parent who previously had not lived with her married children in China, Chan appears not to have had adequate pre-co-residence preparation. She had not had discussions with her adult children about the complexity of multiple generations living under the same roof and how to deal with disputes when intergenerational conflicts occur. Chan's account implies that she expected that positive intergenerational relationships would be automatically established and serve to maintain cohesion and harmony in the family system. However, he stories reveal that this was not the case.

Participants who had lived with their adult children in China also revealed that, before moving to New Zealand and living with their adult children, they lacked awareness that family power dynamics might change when living 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 grand-*

son 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 seemed to be unprepared for the change of parent-child power dynamics that would occur when she moved from China to her child's home in 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, especially when intergenerational relationships and domestic power dynamics 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 participants had had more pre-co-resident preparation alongside their migration preparation, they might have foreseen some of these issues instead of being surprised by the conflicts and tensions that arose from the co-residence situation.

There has been a long tradition in the field of intergenerational relationships to document positive and negative aspects of social interaction within family regimes. Early approaches have characterised relationships as either being characterised by "solidarity" or being "problematic" (Peters, Hooker & Zvonkovic, 2006). As Marshall and colleagues (1993) have put it, "the substantive preoccupation in gerontology over the past 30 years points to a love-hate relationship with the family" (p. 47). Such a love or hate perspective often misses the nuanced complexities that characterise family relationships (Peters et al., 2006). Intergenerational re-

lationships comprise processes of power negotiation involving affection, harmony, confusion, strain, tension, and sometimes 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 lifestyles, 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 based on how other family members respond to them. The following sections will show that individual selves arise from the social world (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). These multiple desires, expectations and needs can highlight contradictions and even invoke conflicts among family members. Positive and negative emotions and feelings can be intensified among migrant families. In particular, migrant parent-child co-resident families experience more complex desires, expectations and needs related to immigration and acculturation. In the following account, Jiao outlines how positive and negative feelings manifested simultaneously when negotiating the different lifestyles of the parent and the child (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 the parent-child co-residence arrangement in which she experiences warm, joyful and delighted relationships with her children and grandchildren. However, at the same time she also experiences frustration, disappointment and resentment. Although multiple desires, expectations and needs in the household can manifest more or less at different points in the life course (Connidis & McMullin, 2002b), they are particularly prone to occur during life transitions such as during immigration. Such major life transitions often cause conflicting norms resulting from a change in the previously established parent-child relationship. 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 earlier in life, such as the eating habits acquired over a life time, may continue to influence people's actions in new contexts.

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 of co-resident parent-child relationships can be part of the repertoire of voices playing their part in a multivoiced self (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 eligi-

ble 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 the way in which 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 can manifest interpersonally across the boundary of the self and world, as well as intrapersonally in the play of internalised voices and inner speech (Raggatt, 2006). Through interactions with the environment (for example, his daughter, new cultures and new domestic relationships), 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 compromise, showing tolerance of contradiction by finding a "middle way" (*Zhongyong*, 中庸) in which the self can be found in each of the two competing propositions. Similar to the dialogical self, the dialectical self is "social", but not in the sense that a self-contained individual enters into social interactions with other outside people. Rather, it is social 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 enjoyed this connectedness with their grandchildren. However, in addition to these positive feelings many participants experienced grandparenting related issues as the result of differences between life in China and New Zealand. For example, Xia describes how she has 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), differing expectations between parents and grandparents regarding how to raise children can evolve into intergenerational tensions. In addition, several cultural factors may intensify these 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 parenting practices than are grandparents. Such acculturation gaps may result in discrepancies between somewhat Western oriented parenting and Chinese grandparenting practices, which in turn may in-

crease intergenerational tensions.

Changing power relationships may also cause intergenerational tensions in Chinese migrant families if the adult child is the main source of the family's prosperity and the homeowner (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—which includes everything 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. 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 (Connidis & McMullin, 2002b). Such negotiation may precipitate changes of family structure and living arrangements. In this study, some of the participants resolved their intergenerational tensions by moving from a parent-child co-residence arrangement to a "filial piety at a distance" living arrangement.

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 demand by the ageing parents for economic autonomy. Research reveals that most older people choose to live independently and that this choice is often dependent on

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 offer an account of an ageing couple taking the initiative to move out from their adult children's house and thereby 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 brings Xing and Dong 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 just experienced by the parents, but also 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 the experiences of participants who lived with in-laws whose cultural backgrounds were different from their own. In such a parent-child co-resident situation, both the parents and children need to come to terms with differences in cultural beliefs and practices within the 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. Hua's living re-arrangements can be considered a complex process of identity negotiation necessary for one who inhabits a hybrid cultural household. Hua became more aware of her own cultural identity when it was contrasted with a cultural other—her son-in-law (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 (Mahalingam, 2008). In the process, new identities are constructed for both 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 her cultural interpretation of leaving the parental home. Rather than viewing 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, particularly 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 equivalent to abandoning the ageing parent (Wang, 2004). This implies that 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 the 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 behave according to their status and role within the family and submit themselves to family goals rather than individual goals (Ting & Chiu, 2002). It is interesting that Tong's son informed Tong that he would move out via telephone conversation as it suggests that he might have be unable to have such a difficult conversation 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. In this way her sense of selfhood could be completed. As a result, her relationship with her son appeared to improve after they begun to live separately. As a result of living separately she perceived her son to be more filial as the tensions arising from co-residence ceased. The improved intergenerational relationship also benefited Tong's physical health. Tong appeared 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. She reflected on the change in intergenerational relations after she moved out of her daughter's home:

> 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, it is that "distance creates the beauty".

Ping's account suggests that in some situations increased distance can serve as an intergenerational communication broker. In Ng's (2007) words, a communication broker refers to a communicative role that facilitates mutual accommodation between the communication parties concerned. The space-mediated communication between Ping and her daughter promoted 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 fundamental ways. Similarly, Hong used the Internet to communicate with her children who lives outside New Zealand:

> I used Yahoo Messenger[1] 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". Appadurai (1996) identifies the technoscape (technology) as one of the "mediascapes" of the "global cultural flow". The technoscape constitutes a new way of conceptualising and practicing the relationship between people and landscapes. In this way the technoscape has confronted normative notions of parent-child co-residence. The dynamics of virtual co-residence involve a shaping and reshaping of filial piety

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1   *Yahoo Messenger* is an online Instant Messaging program.

practices and the relationships that people have with it (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 also satisfying the desires of love and affection between the parent and the child. Virtual co-residence challenges the idea that filial piety must occur within bounded geographical units (Baldassar & Baldock, 2000).

To summarise, for this group of older Chinese immigrants, a pattern emerged in that their living arrangements: a 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 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, but in a new, yet equally, meaningful way. 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 aged care and support among the participants evolved from support provided by the spouses and children to networked and structured support. This evolution indicates that concepts of filial piety should not be limited to the domestic domain. Rather, it should be discussed within the broader social and economic contexts. In contrast to 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 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). However, when talking about support in their everyday lives the participants claimed that, when such support is available, spouses are generally their primary caregivers. Ming and Jiao stated:

> *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 our understanding of one of the most fundamental of the filial piety practices of traditional Chinese culture: that adult children are expected to offer primary care to their ageing and/or sick parents (Whyte, 2004). During the diagnosis of the illness, Ming had to cope with the stress associated with the threat to life, the hopelessness given there was no medical treatment in New Zealand that would benefit Ming, and the stressors caused by financial constraints and ageing. Jiao as a spouse-caregiver provided Ming with emotional closeness, and extensive and comprehensive care. The "spouse as the primary caregiver" plot line is evident across many of my participants' narratives.

Bai and Ling, for example, stated that "Home is us two. We are here to support and care for each other." The spouse as the most significant primary aged carer trend that emerged among the participants is consistent with the general approach to caregiving of 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 the 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 was 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 a 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

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 which is represented by her financial sacrifices. This 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's narrative also exemplified the idea that love and affection are more important than material support itself when she recounted "a trip of love" that her son offered 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 is illustrated 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, which 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.*

Wei's children's gift was in reality a part of their love and support to Wei. 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 (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981).

A careful cross-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 to be 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 highly, whilst emotional needs seemed to be less important. In Hong Kong, older Chinese people might obtain a greater sense of love, affection and companionship from interactions with other Chinese people. In New Zealand, participants may value love and family affection over financial support from their adult children, as these participants often felt isolated from the larger society (see Chapter 5). Further, many participants had obtained, from the New Zealand Government, enough financial security to cover their daily living costs—although many still reported that they sometimes felt that they were financially constrained.

Moreover, the "appreciation for the financial support from the New Zealand Government" plot line was mentioned across numerous accounts. For example, Xue stated:

Support from Income (Work and Income[1]) *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 illustrates that essential financial support for older Chinese immigrants is often provided by the Government. Therefore, any financial support from 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 (Connidis & Mc-Mullin, 2002b).

In the context of this research, the New Zealand Government provides primary material support to older Chinese migrants whereas emotional, practical and material support is 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 over the next day to check if I were OK. They give me a sense of belonging. The community is my home.

Ping views the community as a collective home in which to anchor 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, in Ping's case including her

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1 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.

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 in 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 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 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. It has also been described 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 practising filial piety. Categorising classical forms of elder respect by analysing passages from 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 taxonomy of acts of parental respect.

In their everyday practices, the participants experienced parental re-

spect mostly through linguistic respects which was often viewed the manifestation of their children's warmth and gratitude. 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 as it conveys their respect to him. For Tian, respect is a feeling experienced in everyday life that operates as a marker of filial piety. Huang mirrors 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 has two aspects. 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 her parents by paying careful attention to them and talking to them respectfully. Second, respect can be communicated through certain actions. Tian and Huang both communicated that respect needs to be manifested in concrete linguistic expressions oriented toward caring for the parents (Sung, 2009a).

 Huang's account, Tian not talking to his son-in-law for about two years (see Chapter 4), and Ping's story about her distant relationship with her daughter while living together (see earlier in this chapter), all indicate that 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 refers to a person's social reputation and fame deliberately accumulated 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 the dramatising self, where individuals manipulate their performances so as to control

other people's responsive treatment of him or her. 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 other's face, for example, by avoiding criticising other people. Hurting another persons' face is regarded as an action that seriously damages the relationship between the people involved (Thomas & Liao, 2010). The participants may believe that discussions about expectations with their children imply to their children that they have not met their parents' expectations. The avoidance of such discussions can be regarded as face-work by the parents. It can be seen as deliberate effort on behalf of the parents so as not to hurt their children and maintain family harmony. For this reason participants kept hurtful feelings to themselves. A conversation between the parents and 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 also considered obedience an important element of respect. The literature suggests that obeying parents, in particular absolute obedience, has decreased in relevance due to urbanisation, modernisation, and Westernisation (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). However, 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 understanding of filial piety was shared by several older Chinese migrants who were not participants in the present study but participated in the presentations which were conducted to verify the findings of the study. During the discussion time, they claimed 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 in obedience shown in the 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 what constitutes parental respect to children, are attached to filial piety. The second issue is that respect is mutual between parents and children. Without mutual respect, filial piety is an imbalanced practice. Fen's account adds weight to the idea of obedience in the context of mutual respect:

> *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 to 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 respecting parents has evolved, the tradition of respect for parents is reaffirmed by the participants. Filial piety is considered, by older Chinese migrants, 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 believed their children's achievements to be 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:

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 (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 xiapin, 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. The participants moved to New Zealand when their children needed them, even at the sacrifice of 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:

> *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 a looking-glass element to 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 the abstract categories that make up filial piety scales, but to how one imagines and defines filial piety from the standpoint of others (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 (Musolf, 2003). The comments on her children's filial piety through the lenses of her relatives, friends and former colleagues moved 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 (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 can move competently and confidently through the world, both reflecting and responding to changing needs and situations (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

Ancestral Worship

This section investigates ancestral worship practices among older Chinese adults. Ancestral worship is considered an opportunity to express gratitude to deceased parents and ancestors. It is also a means for successive generations, especially those born outside China, to connect with their ancestral homeland and establish a sense of Chineseness. The practice of "falling leaves returning to their roots" contributes to the partici-

pants' cultural heritage and shapes their life in the present.

In Chapter 3, I proposed that mourning has long been considered the inviolable, 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, often state that not being able to take part in traditional rituals to mourn their dead parent(s) is a great regret. Xia reflected this sentiment in a statement:

> *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.)

This 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, a welcome relief from suffering, or 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 for her mother's parental love. Such regret is consistent with Confucian teaching around filial piety. Such teachings are exemplified by the following statement: "while father and mother are alive, a good son does not wander far afield" (Confucius, 1999, p. 39). In other words, while their parents are alive, filial children 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 incense 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 rituals is to assist

the deceased to transit through the underworld to promote 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 rituals have been expanded to ancestral worship practices and subsequent interaction with ancestors. Not mourning her mother appears to drive Xia to feel incomplete and like 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 among 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 symbolises the provision of financial support to the dead parent. Spiritually, such a memorialisation practice maintains a 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":

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 only operate to pay respect to the ancestors, but also to shape "Chineseness" for 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 in establishing emotional and cultural connectedness to China, which, in Gans' (1979) words, helps to establish a "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, rather than 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 out of his cultural identity is influenced by the cultural ties maintained by older generations within the family—his grandmother in this case. Through 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 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 to China after he was diagnosed with cancer and New Zealand 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 during the Qing Ming Festival [see Chapter 3 for the discussion of the Qing Ming Festival].

Ping's memories can be interpreted on three levels. The first operates is the personal level, which presents an older Chinese migrant as a "falling leaf" returning to his homeland to live out his final months ("returns to the roots"). The 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 in time to his or her homeland. Each leaf has a different experience of immigration. The significance of the falling leaf is illustrated through the person's journey in connecting his or her roots. It can be thought of as a circle of renewal. The second level of interpretation 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 necessary 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 notion that "falling leaves return to their roots" indicates that collective memories revolve around the ability of Chinese migrants to fulfil their filial duties to their forebears and ancestors by conducting 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 on "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 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, female participants were responsible for cooking, washing, house cleaning and prepared lunches for their children and grandchildren. Male participants mainly took care of gardening. Shopping is shared by both male and female participants. Such gendered patterns were evident across accounts when I asked participants about their daily routines. As Lang asserted:

> *I cook three meals and wash dishes after meal. We* (Lang and her husband) *go 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 traditional Chinese culture in which the obedience of the wife to her husband is emphasised.

Men are responsible for external affairs, such as earning a living for the family, and women for internal matters, such as domestic duties (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. This distinction works 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 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 examined the "politics of housework" (Luscher & Pillemer, 1998). For Tian's wife, domestic labour can so exhausting (e.g., starting housework at 5am and being responsible for a relatively large amount of household tasks) as to even cause resentment. However, 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 may be the result of a lack of contributions to household chores. It appears that responsibilities in the domestic sphere are associated with status among older Chinese adults in parent-child co-residence settings. 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 largely depends on who lives locally (Li, Hodgetts, Ho et al., 2010). This indicates that gender is less relevant when deciding who should provide support to parents. Similarly, my participants' assistance to their children appeared not to depend on the children's gender, but on who needed 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 is to say, in Chinese culture there is an emphasis on collective responsibility, rather than individual responsibility (Chappell & Kusch, 2007). Although parental support to children is based on which of their children need help, 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, hybridised culture provides the fabrics that make up new cultural strands and allows for the self re-cobwebbing in a new culture. New patterns of cultural webs and links are influenced

by changing norms, shifting values and shared narratives of the group that people live among and grow from.

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, participants' living arrangements can be said to have evolved 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 children to parents, greater emphasis was placed on love and affection than financial and practical support. Respecting parents was viewed as essential by the parents who emphasised mutual parent-child respect. Children's achievements were considered by the participants as an important component of filial piety. Ancestral worship was symbolic of participants' cultural heritage, connecting one generation to the next generation. The cultural belief of "falling leaves returning to their roots" served as a symbol connecting the participants not only to China but also to New Zealand. Parental support to the children was show to be more about the collective responsibility of the family than gender oriented practices.

This chapter shows that there were two primary levels of tension for the participants. One was intergenerational tension, which was amplified by parent-child co-residence. The other tension resulted from differences between participant's original ideas and expectations of happily living with their adult children and what actually happened in the household. I moved beyond simply providing insights into these tensions and how the participants survived in the face of adversity. My analysis suggests that the participants not only coped with challenges and conflicts, but grew and experienced positive changes as a result of these situations. The positive changes the participants experienced included 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 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 the New Zealand's welfare system, among other factors, collectively contributed 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 a "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, practices of filial piety evolve; in turn when 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, in that regard, the self is really a series of interconnected selves in dialectical contexts (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Interconnectedness and dialectics bring into question notions of the independent or disconnected Western individual, and the polarisation of opposing or contradictory perspectives. Interconnected and dialectical selves emphasise the relational and dialectical nature of identities (Peng & Nisbett, 1999).

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 people in the world. Filial piety is always constructed by someone in relation to someone else and this dynamic is fully present 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 feelings of belonging that reaffirms older Chinese immigrants grounding in specific cultural spaces.

Many philosophers and psychologists agree that for a person to develop his or her full potential, 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 actions that are necessary for the growth of the self. In this chapter, I have briefly touched on the participants' involvement in the public community sphere and the structured policy sphere. In the next chapter, I continue to explore the participants' self and identity constructions in and through the community. The community will be shown to be a place in which participants can age positively. I will show that my participants are not only parents and grandparents in familial settings, but also members of communities. I will show that participants can play an important role in practicing community piety, which can be said to expand filial piety practices from the family to the community.

8

POSITIVE AGEING IN A NEW PLACE

In Chapter 7 I focused on 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 participants' experiences of ageing in a new place, and examines 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 to build up a history of residency in an area. A key focus of this chapter is 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, but also community members who strive to develop connections in New Zealand and a sense of community. "Sense of community" can be best described as "the sense that one is part of a readily available mutually supportive network of relationships" (Sara-

son, 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, showing it 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. These sections also outline the various landscapes of neighbourhood and local and transnational communities which extend from New Zealand back to China and hold meaningful ageing related experiences for participants. It will be shown that 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 (Schofield, Davey, Keeling & Parsons, 2006). The fifth section of this chapter explores how health provision, alongside public housing, safe neighbourhoods and connective local and transnational communities, function 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 (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 not just about having a stable place to live and engaging in neighbourhood processes. Maintaining cultural ties and collective engagement with broader transnational communities also contributes to participants ageing in place. 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 rather than with their adult children as public housing gave them place attachments, a sense of autonomy, stability, and community bonds. In New Zealand, public housing is managed by State and local governments (Housing New Zealand, 2006; Wellington City Council, 2010). This public housing is operated as an income-related rent system in which rent is set at 25 per cent 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. Furthermore, public housing tenants enjoy considerable security of tenure compared to private tenants (Murphy, 2004). In the 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*

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 in 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 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.

Initially, 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 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 for this study's understanding 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 interactionism as it does not exist separately 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 the self and everyday life reflect 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 (Chapters 5-8). Each 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 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. 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 highlights the importance of self-development and 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 this book. I re-

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

Integrating Key Findings

The notion that the self and identity can shift when people move from one society to another has been explored extensively throughout this book. Overall, my findings contribute to the proposition that 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. Participant's collective and personal histories and memories about China and New Zealand came together within their identity negotiations (Ali & Sonn, 2010). This is epitomised by older Chinese migrants' home-making practices, which involve simultaneity of geography. As a result, migrant's 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 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. In fact, they can be mutually reinforcing endeavours. Living 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, as Foucault puts it "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" (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 re-

mains 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, 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). Migrant's homes vary in scale (Lewicka, 2010) and are both here *and* there at the same time (Pries, 2001) rather than of here *or* there. Home is always in a process of *becoming* rather than a static state of *being*. This is 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). Thus, 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 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 (Pribilsky, 2008). The notion of transnationalism brings traditional assumptions associated with place-specific immigration into question (Ho, 2002). It redefines migrants as transmigrants (Ip, Hibbbins & Chui, 2006) who "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 also "lead 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 atten-

tively respond and give meanings to their transnational social spaces and practices both in New Zealand and China. Transnational communities should not be viewed as consisting of only cross-border migrants with common cultural, economic or political interests. Rather they should also be seen as comprising human agency (e.g., using material objects, memories and imagination to simultaneously connect New Zealand to China). All of these are important for linking individuals, families and local groups (Iredale, Guo & Rozario, 2003), and allowing transmigrants to remember themselves.

Transnational communities refer not only to physical locations. Instead such transnational communities can also 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 questions 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 countries (Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 1997). When doing so, migrants find creative ways of simultaneously adapting to 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, can better our 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 the migration research surrounding 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 remained Chinese people, albeit Chinese people who can understand, accept and successfully practice New Zealand cultures. These findings indicate that the acculturation experience of migrants is more complex than is presented in dominant acculturation research, which often 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. Instead it focuses on the way in which 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 approach is a focus on the process of identity construction. This argument is consistent with recent work in critical acculturation psychology which provides arguments for rethinking the concept of acculturation (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). Insights from critical acculturation psychology are drawn on in the current study to inform my exploration of the ways in which older Chinese migrants actively engage in New Zealand cultures. As a result, this research, like previous critical acculturation research, shows there is a place for culture in acculturation studies (Waldram, 2009).

My research suggests that the self changes when relationships and cultural contexts change for older migrants. Social and cultural shifts not only introduced new contents into the subjective worlds of my participants; they also created new forms of activities and new self structures (Jovchelovitch, 2007). These new forms of activities and new selves, in turn, shape new cultural environments and relationships. Moving to a new country in later life, the participants experienced both biographical disruption and status-discrepancy. Everyday practices such as gardening and artwork assisted them to address this disruption and discrepancy, and to develop domestic space attachments. Participants situated themselves and made homes that span spatial, temporal, imagined and transnational realms.

As has been stated previously, filial piety is a cornerstone of aged care in Chinese culture. My participants' filial piety practices evolved during the process of acculturation. For example, traditional Chinese aged care models of family support with a high level of intergenerational co-residence changed 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, parental support, parental respect, 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 intergenerational negotiation and 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 developed in both New Zealand and China, are integral for enacting networks and communities locally and at a distance. Community ties are therefore fundamental for positive ageing in place. Furthermore, it was in the process of developing community ties in which participants developed a sense of community.

Throughout this book I have emphasised participants' positive ageing experiences. I do not wish to idealise the participants' migration experience and I do not claim that immigration is not challenging. Rather, this book is a call 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 exemplified by this book's strength-based approach, which is 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. It also provides clues as to what exactly is the nature of older Chinese immigrants' engagements with the object-world. In this way, con-

text is ever present, and such notions as place, material objects and other people are key (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

In social and cultural psychology, ethnic identity has traditionally been conceptualised as a cognitive process, with little emphasis placed on the social and environmental context (Ali & Sonn, 2010). Focusing on everyday practices within the social and environmental context, this book contributes to our understanding of the ways in which older Chinese migrants' identities are shaped. Within this approach, ethnic identity is viewed as relational and constructed through 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, with a radical separation existing between the mind and world (Jovchelovitch, 2007). The dualist model is based on a Cartesian view of the 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, the 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).

This 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 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 experiences (Greiffenhagen, 2008). To better understand 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 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, questioning the idea that these can be examined as separate categories and entities (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos & Walkerdine, 2008). Subjectivity in this book does not refer to an opposition to objectivity. Rather, it 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 book, 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 (Venn, 2009).

The interconnected relationship between subjectivity and objectivity highlights the shared and relational dimensions of psychological phenomena. This book has demonstrated that such an interconnected and relational view is reflected in the notion of the interconnected self. The interconnected self is based on relationships, 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 hous-

es, 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 the stories they tell (Tuvl-Mashiach, 2006). As such, older Chinese immigrants' identities are evident in their narratives which are filled with content ranging from the domestic to the public spheres, and from cultural to institutional and societal contexts (Pollner, 2000). Narrative interviews provided a means to access such constructions as well as the broader experiences and identities of older Chinese migrants. Foucault's (1980) ideas regarding 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 important forms of knowledge which are often 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 developed (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, their openness to change, and their ability to adapt. These stories incorporate alternative knowledge about older Chinese immigrants (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 processes of 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 definitions, I adopted a framework of theoretical and conceptual abstraction (instead of giving voices) to understand older Chinese migrants' lived experiences. Focusing on what the narratives mean, 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 that reached tentative conclusions (Rogers, 2009). This approach makes it possible to create a space, for readers, in which the narratives can be reinterpreted to be rendered sensible to other older Chinese (and ethnic) immigrants (Radley, 2009). In doing so, theoretical and conceptual generalisability is possible. Through this 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 (see Cole, 1996). I also used Chinese characters—which essentially are structures symbolising 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, 2012b).

Despite recent efforts to develop Chinese psychology and decades of

Chinese psychological research little attention has been paid to indigenous Chinese methods of research. *Fangtan* addresses this methodological gap and provides an example to Chinese social scientists for developing methods of research that are indigenous to Chinese participants (see 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 indigenous as being 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 borrowed test can be produced. The other type of indigenisation is given more emphasis after 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 accordance to indigenisation from within. In this way, *fangtan* looks for 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 as well as 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 research with older adults. It recognises 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 has on Maori people. Smith challenges taken-for-granted ways producing knowledge 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 adequately culturally sensitive. Such cultural sensitivity requires more than knowing the Chinese culture. It requires deconstruction and negotiation of the researchers' own identities, positions, power and privilege, especially in regard to interaction with minority ethnic people (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 (Smith, 2003, Sonn, 2004). These strategies will provide the non-Chinese researcher with opportunities to become "one of them", therefore "being-in-relations" with the Chinese community and participants.

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 the lived experiences of

older Chinese immigrants' family members, such as their adult children, will be welcomed. Such research would no doubt provide another side of the story of Chinese aged care. Moreover, while my participants appreciated that I researched with them in regard to 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, the research discussed in this book only focused on relatively new migrants who were often short-term settlers 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, had more than twenty years of work and socialisation in New Zealand, and are now ageing in New Zealand. Furthermore, as a newly developed research method, *fangtan* needs to be further validated in future research with Chinese people.

Policy Implications

As I have demonstrated throughout the book, identities are constructed within specific social, cultural, economic and historical contexts. Within these contexts 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 which are influenced by political and economic events (Okazaki, David & Abelmann, 2008).

In part, this research was initiated in response to the lack of attention by policy-makers to issues experienced by older Chinese migrants. My analysis shows that evolving filial piety practices within Chinese immigrant families are generally not well understood by the host society. This can lead to service gaps or misunderstandings when social service providers believe that ethnic families provide self-sufficient support to their

elders. My findings reveal that the availability of affordable and stable public housing is important for older Chinese migrants' positive ageing in place. It also indicates that older Chinese migrants often experience difficulty in gaining access to public housing.

Cultural diversity should be a major consideration when formulating policies and social services to ensure that the diversity of experiences and multiple approaches to ageing in multicultural societies are adequately addressed (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 ensure the increasing pressure on social welfare, housing and health care provisions are met (Bartlett & Peel, 2005). Such an approach would appear to run counter to the tendency within the mainstream policy literature to use 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—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 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 adoption of a *polis* model (the Greek word for city-state). Under such a model, the policy process would need 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 as it provides insights into actual aged care practices, 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 of the previous section, I believe the results of this study have the potential to make serious contributions to policy making and service provisions. A good start would be to apply the results of this study to understanding how older Chinese migrants' settlement processes are conceptualised and use that information to improve the implementation of policies related to the ongoing ageing and housing needs of older Chinese migrants living in New Zealand (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 the 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 and 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 book offer valuable information regarding new cultural practices around aged care, and familial and social relationships. These narratives provide insights into evolving ways of living and communicating. Most importantly they provide insights into the (re)construction of self in a new place.

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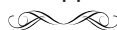
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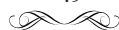
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移民过程中变化的自我：家、健康和社区养老

● This book offers new ways of understanding the dynamics of ageing in little-known Chinese migrant communities in contemporary, Western societies. Using an innovative, indigenous approach to narrative interviewing, the author provides a compelling case study of ageing and home-making experiences of older Chinese people who have migrated to New Zealand in their later lives. The study highlights positive ways in which older Chinese immigrants age, adapt cultural practices and transform their selves and identities as they negotiate the challenges of relocation and settlement in a new land.

Associate Professor Elsie Ho, Population Health, The University of Auckland, New Zealand

● Solidly and clearly written, this book provides a fresh international perspective on how older Chinese immigrants have adapted to life in an English-speaking country, New Zealand, a country which has its own cultural tensions with its indigenous Maori population. This book is valuable for those in most social science disciplines with interests in cultural adaptation, migration, and ageing.

Professor Edward Helmes, Geropsychology, James Cook University, Australia

● This book touches on a fascinating topic. It adopts a very sound research strategy and outlines much interesting data. It is also well written with an accessible, easy to follow style. This piece of research is unique in its effective methodologies (e.g. the use of a narrative approach, the Fangtan style). This work is very likely the first study of its kind conducted in New Zealand to tackle the important topic of ageing and migration.

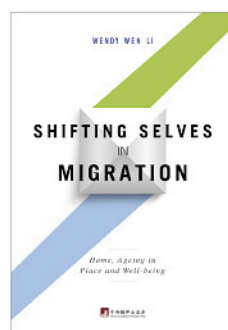**Associate Professor Samson Tse, Population Mental Health, The University of Hong Kong, China**

● In this book Wendy Li outlines the settlement experiences of older Chinese immigrant adults in New Zealand. To address a critical cultural dimension of ageing for older Chinese immigrants, she particularly focuses on the role filial piety plays in the immigrants' ageing in place. This book contains the good element of science: a precise and systematic procedure, a theoretical and informed interpretation.

Professor Xue Zheng, Psychology, South China Normal University, China

● Dr Wendy Li's work is of interest to scholars in a slew of disciplines, including psychology, ageing studies, demography, planning, sociology, history, policy, social work and cultural studies. This engaging book should be required reading for scholars researching migration in later life and for policy makers and community groups offering support to migrant communities.

Professor Darrin Hodgetts, Social Psychology, The University of Waikato, New Zealand

Home, Ageing in Place and Well-being

WENDY WEN LI

SHIFTING SELVES
IN
MIGRATION

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