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CHINESE DAUGHTERS NEGOTIATING CONTEMPORARY NORMS AND TRADITIONAL FILIAL OBLIGATIONS

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ABSTRACT AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

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Michaelmas Term 2015

In the past, Chinese normative values deprived daughters of education, choice and autonomy, relegating them to a dependent domestic role within a rigid family hierarchy. This is no longer the norm. Today, Chinese daughters are widely educated and many are working outside the home, becoming financial assets to their families. Despite this, gendered expectations concerning filial obligation have not abated, and perhaps surprisingly given their modern lifestyles and financial contributions, Chinese daughters continue to accept this responsibility, including caregiving for ageing parents.

The aim of this thesis is to explore the nature of the current caregiving paradigm between Chinese daughters, their parents and parents-in-law. It seeks to understand why Chinese daughters continue to undertake filial obligation when they are no longer dependent on the family; how they manage the practical discharge of filial obligation; and the ways in which traditional filial obligation have shifted. In furtherance of this exploration, in 2011 and 2012, 58 Chinese women and 6 Filipina domestic helpers were interviewed in Hong Kong and Singapore. Thematic analysis was performed on the transcribed data. Symbolic interactionism, caregiving motivation models, and Hochschild's (1983) theory of *emotion management* provided the conceptual and theoretical framework for the research.

Drawing from the data, a support and care typology was developed reflecting the varying levels of daughters' filial support and their motivations for providing this support. Among these respondents, the core belief in "duty" has not fundamentally changed from that of their parents' generation. However, feelings of affection and gratitude, the strength of traditional or contemporary norms, and one's self-image together with emotion work, moderated the duration and quality of care daughters were willing to provide. These factors may also determine whether caregiving is outsourced to foreign domestic helpers, or whether parents and in-laws are placed in nursing homes, and the nature of care provided thereafter.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Acronym	Expansion or explanation
ADL	Activities of daily living
BLS	Basic Livelihood Security Act (Korea)
CBT	Cognitive behavioural Therapy
CIT	Critical Incident Technique
CPF	Central Provident Fund
CGSS	Chinese General Social Survey (2006)
CTFR	Cohort Total Fertility Rate
IADL	Instrumental activities of daily living
FDH	Foreign domestic helper
FSA	Family Support Agreement (China)
HDB	Housing Development Board (Singapore)
LTC	Long Term Care
MCYS	Ministry of Community Development, Youth & Sports (Singapore)
MOH	Ministry of Housing (Singapore)
MOM	Ministry of Manpower (Singapore)
MPA	Maintenance of Parents Act (Singapore)
NFC	National Family Council (Singapore)
PRC	People's Republic of China
SAR	Special Administrative Region (Hong Kong)
S$	Singapore dollar
TFR	Total fertility rate

CHAPTER 1
DEFINING AND UNDERSTANDING THE RESEARCH

1.1 WHY THIS RESEARCH?

On 27 April 1997 my Mother died. The last words she ever spoke to me were "take care of Daddy." Over the next ten years, until my Father's death on 27 January 2007, I did my best to honour her wishes as my Father slowly slipped into dementia. However, being a filial daughter was not enough to prevent my Father from "falling in love" with a woman whose intentions, I learned, did not include fostering his well-being.

I have been a lawyer since 1980. However, even with my knowledge of the law it was only through dumb luck, paying attention, and being pro-active, that I was ultimately able to protect my Father. Even so, this woman broke his heart. Thus was born my interest in Gerontology in general, and specifically elder abuse.

Most likely I was ready for my life to change direction, but I did not know it until the summer of 2005. During a graduation party for a friend my age who had gone back to graduate school, I suddenly realised, "I could do that!" Within a month I had begun to wind down my law practice, and in January 2006 I returned to the University of Southern California (USC) to become a Gerontologist.

During one of the first classes I took at USC, another seminal moment occurred that would greatly impact my life and this research. Listening to a Sociology lecture on China I knew instantly that Asia was where my interests were imbedded. As a business lawyer I had represented Asian companies and worked in Asia over many years. I had loved the Asian

cultures from the very beginning of my long experience in that part of the world. I had, and still do have, a strong interest in Buddhism, Chinese history, filial piety and the Chinese family. As a result, when I applied for the Oxford DPhil, it was with the sole intention of studying ageing in Asia. At first I thought I would try to develop a standard of care for Chinese families. But, my interest in elder abuse had never abandoned me. I also knew I wanted to study women caregivers because I was curious about whether education and good jobs would change the traditional caregiving paradigm, or at least how Chinese women felt about it. This was also personal. Despite the fact that I am a California Caucasian, I grew up in a very traditional family where my choices were limited and my responsibility to my parents, as an only child, was absolute. Coming from this perspective, I also understood how education and exposure to the broader world had changed my own life and point of view.

It was not a far stretch from these underlying commitments to social exchange and Hochschild's *emotion work*. Given their changing roles and status, exposure to contemporary norms, outside pressure from work, and choice, which they had never had before, I wondered how much stress caregiving women could endure before their behaviour would change, and what they would do to control their emotions in a culture that demands it.

This is how this research began. Over the ensuing years it took many twists and turns. However, my fascination with Chinese women and filial obligation has never left me.

1.2 INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

> As soon as she is thirteen or fourteen she has to undergo a course of training in cooking and sewing. These two are essential achievements without which she has scant hope of securing a good match…The Chinese girl is seldom provided with adequate education....Parents regard it as a waste of money to educate their daughters who are supposed to be incapable of maintaining the family in time of need (Cheng, 1977, quoting *The Life of a Chinese Girl in Singapore*, by Lee Choo Neo, published in 1913).

It has only been a century since Lee Choo Neo wrote “The Life of a Chinese Girl In Singapore.” However, the formula of dependency Lee portrays is quintessentially representative of Chinese women throughout their history. This dependency lasted throughout life. As a child, the Chinese female was dependent on her father. As an adult, she was dependent on her husband. In old age, she was dependent on her son (Blake, 1994; Croll, 1995; Deutsch, 2006).

Dependency was reinforced through the doctrine of filial piety, comprised of certain immutable elements: respect, gratitude and absolute obedience, unconditional care and support for parents, producing a male heir to continue the lineage, bringing honour to the family, and revering all elders and ancestors. Children owed the performance of these obligations to their father, with primary responsibility residing in the eldest son and the others in turn (A.C.M. Chan & Lim, 2004).

A daughter’s filial duty was limited to nurturing an appropriate attitude and avoiding shame. Lacking formal education, these virtues were achieved through obedient dedication to and mastery of domestic skills, offered first to her family of origin, but more specifically to the family of her prospective husband (Holroyd & Mackenzie, 1995). Once a girl “married out,” her husband’s familial obligations became her own and she assumed the duty of perfectly executing them on his behalf. With no possibility for a different outcome, a daughter was thus conscripted to a life of servitude and dependency either by her husband’s family or if unmarried, by her own (Blake, 1994; Croll, 1995).

In this manner, for innumerable generations of Chinese families and communities filial piety functioned as the standard for behaviour and an “old age insurance” for elderly

Chinese. However, throughout the 20th century and particularly since the Second World War, urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation, and Westernisation are reported to have mitigated the underpinnings of this once rigid system (H. Chan & Lee, 1995; Mehta and Ko, 2004; S.-I. Wong, 1986). If this is so, then one of the most salient features of the reconfigured Chinese ethos must be the changing roles and status of women (Holroyd, 2001; Salaff, 1976).

As with other parts of the world, young Asian women today are increasingly well educated, employed and have financial independence (W.K.-M. Lee, 2000). The synergistic relationship of these developments, with delayed marriage and childbirth, as well as lowered fertility can already be seen. New economic value to the family has also earned daughters greater bargaining power. However, elevated status and growing self-sufficiency have not translated into a commensurate diminution of normative expectations regarding traditional gender roles. Even if they are educated and work, women continue to be assigned, and they accept, the role of caregiver for children, husband, household, and parents. The stress and curtailment of women's freedom engendered by juggling these multiple and often conflicting commitments begets a perfect environment for restructuring the traditional caregiving model (O.M.H. Wong, 2000).

This chapter provides an overview for studying support and caregiving patterns between Chinese daughters, their parents and their parents-in-law, in Hong Kong and Singapore today. First, it introduces the aims of the research and explains what it can potentially contribute to the existing discourse. Then it frames the research puzzle and questions. This is followed by a brief summary of how the remaining chapters unfold in the thesis.

1.3 THE AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis aims to understand the contemporary paradigm of support and care provided by adult Chinese daughters to their parents and parents-in law living in Hong Kong and Singapore. It focuses on a central paradox: why today's Chinese daughters are willing to undertake traditional family caregiving activities considering their self-sufficient, modern lifestyles and attitudes. This research also explores and seeks to explain how Chinese daughters manage the practical discharge of filial obligation, and examines whether there is a shift in how filial obligations are carried out. Finally, it considers and attempts to clarify why caregiving may be terminated.

These aims are considered within the context of a typology of support and care ranging from that provided for healthy elders to frail and dependent elders, and specifically targets the conceptual motivations and theoretical underpinnings driving support and care.

1.4 RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Declining fertility and increased longevity across Asia is resulting in rapidly ageing populations with growing numbers of vulnerable elders. Compounding this demographic change is a paucity of social welfare services in traditionally Confucian societies where the family has historically been the sole support system for elderly parents. With inadequate pension and retirement schemes, and parents outliving savings, pressure on daughters to continue caregiving activities is strong (Croll, 2006). Concurrently, enduring social norms and cultural expectations may compete with the realities of the modern world, thereby necessitating a restructuring of priorities and a modification of filial obligation. This suggests that the manner in which caregiving activities are carried out may be evolving into a new

cultural paradigm.

It is hoped this research will add to the discourse in the caregiving literature by explaining: 1) The ways in which contemporary norms are impacting traditional Chinese caregiving motivations; and 2) How Chinese daughters attempt to resolve the tension between the demands imposed by traditional support and caregiving norms and their modern lifestyles. In rapidly ageing Asian societies, answers to the research questions will provide insight into the extent to which the family can continue to be the primary caregiver of elderly Chinese parents in the future.

1.5 RESEARCH PUZZLE

Unlike in the past, many Chinese women today are likely to be educated, employed, financially self-sufficient, and making their own decisions. Domination by and dependency on the family has diminished to a great extent. Yet, daughters' commitment to the filial obligation of caring for ageing parents has largely remained. Paradoxically, it is the nature of the support provided to elderly people that has changed. When contrasted with traditional Chinese values, current practices could even be perceived as un-filial.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Why would filial obligation remain a strong normative value amongst modern Chinese women and why are they willing to provide care for ageing parents?
- Is there a relationship between how daughters feel toward their parents and in-laws and the amount and quality of care they are willing to provide to them? If so, does this represent a shift from traditional Chinese values of filial obligation?

- How do modern Chinese women negotiate the actual discharge of support and caregiving?
- If filial obligation remains a strong normative value amongst Chinese daughters, why would they delegate caregiving responsibilities to foreign domestic helpers and be willing to place elderly parents in nursing homes?

1.7 SUMMARY OF THE REMAINING CHAPTERS:

CHAPTER 2: FRAMING THE RESEARCH: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE PROVIDING BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

A review of the literature provides context for this research. It examines the ageing Asian demographic and explains how industrialisation, modernisation, urbanisation and Westernisation have contributed to changing filial norms throughout Asia and specifically in Hong Kong and Singapore, where this research was carried out. The contemporary restructuring of the Chinese family is investigated, with emphasis on the changing roles and status of Chinese women. Caregiving and caregiver burden are briefly scrutinised before concluding with a discussion of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) and long-term care facilities.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 3 introduces the conceptual and theoretical norms guiding this study, and drawing on the literature, proposes a heuristic framework within which the research questions are addressed. The chapter begins by discussing symbolic interactionism, the principal underlying theory of the research, and then turns to the core concepts and how they evolved, assessing motivations for caregiving from both Asian and Western perspectives. Together with the data and theoretical framework, these conceptual models help provide

understanding of why Chinese daughters continue to be willing to engage in caregiving of ageing parents and why there may be a difference in the care provided to parents and in-laws.

Drawing from symbolic interactionism and the sociology of emotions, Arlie Hochschild's theory of emotion management is introduced. The use of strategies of emotion management help to explain how daughters accommodate the stresses and contradictions associated with caregiving for elderly parents, and how daughters resolve inner conflict over whether they should provide care, or the duration and quality of care they should provide. Hochschild's "gift exchange" is integrated into this discussion.

Overall, the chapter illustrates why the concepts and theories utilised are the best ones to expand our knowledge of why Chinese daughters may or may not be willing to fulfil their traditional filial obligations to care for elderly parents, and if they do, how they accommodate the competing demands and inherent contradictions of professional employment, family responsibilities, and parent care.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The Methodology chapter explains how the research evolved, with particular emphasis on how data were collected and how the direction of the research metamorphosed in the process. It then embarks on a detailed discussion of the sample, including its demographics, and considers the handling and analysis of the data, highlighting why the particular methodology was chosen and others rejected. Limitations, bias, and reflexivity will be discussed together with ethical issues.

CHAPTER 5: INTRODUCTION TO THE EMPIRICAL CHAPTERS AND THE TYPOLOGY OF SUPPORT AND CARE

Chapter 5 provides the structural framework within which the empirical evidence is presented. It begins by reviewing the context and trends in which the research puzzle is

embedded whilst addressing the potential for tension between traditional Chinese values and contemporary norms, generated by changes to the world in which the Chinese women respondents live.

Four stages of support and care that have emerged from the research interviews are organised into a "typology of support and care." These are denominated "support," "temporary care," "caregiving," and "outsourced care." Each stage of support or care is examined through examples based on the respondents' actual accounts.

Having established the typology of support and care, the motivational and experiential aspects of contemporary filial obligation are reintroduced through case studies of different respondents, illustrating the key analytic categories: structural norms motivating support and care ["*I have to*"]; relational norms motivating support and care ["*I want to*"]; how tension and conflict is managed in the discharge of filial obligation ["*I should want to*"]; and why negative relational motivation can impede or prevent support and care [" *I do not want to/I cannot*"].

The purpose of Chapter 5 is to explain how the empirical chapters will be structured. Chapters 6-9 will each study one stage of support and care in the typology. All of the key analytic categories will be explored for each stage, with the exception of outsourced care, which will address the relationship between Chinese daughters and their parents when FDHs are employed or parents are institutionalised in a hospital or nursing home. Traditional and contemporary norms underpinning these processes are featured throughout chapters 6-9. In this manner, the research questions will be addressed.

CHAPTER 6: SUPPORT OF AGEING PARENTS

Chapter 6 focuses on the support of elderly parents who are generally healthy. It

examines why respondent Chinese daughters are willing to support parents, and what normative influences are underpinning their support motivations. It elaborates on how they manage the discharge of filial support, and why they may choose not to provide support at all. This chapter considers the tension and conflict arising in the course of supporting parents, differences between filial belief and filial behaviour, and other limitations, qualifications and conditions on filial obligation, both self-imposed and resulting from structural impediments such as geographic separation.

CHAPTER 7: TEMPORARY CARE OF AGEING PARENTS

Chapter 7 ponders the question of why temporary care is undertaken and what underpins it; the tensions and conflicts inherent in carrying out temporary care and how these are resolved; and why daughters may not elect to provide temporary care. Chapter 7 begins to address whether there are differences in motivation between parents and in-laws, and if so, why relationships may matter to support and care. The difference between employed and unemployed daughters and *Work-Life-Balance* is explored. The limitations, qualifications and conditions in the provision of temporary care are examined in the context of in-home care as opposed to hospitalisation. Finally, the possible differences in the respondents' commitment between support and temporary care are probed.

CHAPTER 8: CAREGIVING OF AGEING PARENTS

In Chapter 8 the length and intensity of care moves to the next stage in the typology. After addressing the motivations underlying it, the primary focus is on how the practice of filial obligation is sustained. The chapter explores some of the issues and obstacles intrinsic to the execution of caregiving and how these are navigated. It looks at whether the importance of relational norms and the intensity of emotion work increase as caregiving

moves from temporary to long-term care. Chapter 8 asks if and how motivation matters at this stage of the typology and whether motivation can be considered a framing rule as defined by Hochschild. It examines the relationship between framing rules and self-image; and how framing rules, feeling rules and self-image may all be implicated in the discharge of care. Discussion then focuses on the importance of emotion work and support to caregiving.

CHAPTER 9: OUTSOURCED CARE

Chapter 9 raises the question of why caregiving is discontinued and the rationale upon which decision-making relies. The motivation to discontinue caregiving is viewed from the perspective of those who have undertaken care and can no longer manage or are unwilling to manage caregiving.

Chapter 9 also examines the difficulties of providing care without a FDH and then addresses the issues involved when a FDH is employed. It probes the relationship between daughters and their parents once a FDH becomes the primary caregiver, and looks at emotion work from the perspective of the FDH. Further, it examines the extent to which contemporary norms may have influenced (if at all) the perception of outsourcing care as unfilial behaviour in the context of traditional Chinese values.

CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 10 brings the discussions of the previous chapters together and attempts to answer the research questions. Throughout Chapters 5-9, case studies based on the accounts of respondents in their interviews, provided an evidentiary foundation for understanding the contemporary caregiving paradigm of Chinese daughters and their parents. Chapter 10 reflects on the typology of support and care by revisiting the meaning of these stories and in the context of the conceptual and theoretical framework, the literature, and the findings,

attempts to move the academic discussion forward. Implications of the research and its limitations are articulated before the concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2
FRAMING THE RESEARCH: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE PROVIDING BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

The following literature review will provide the contextual background for the empirical findings. It will integrate the historical narrative with traditional moral imperatives and kinship schemes. Societal transitions and outcomes will be explored as they pertain to the family, and particularly the changing roles and status of Chinese daughters. The challenges of caregiving will be examined, and alternatives to caregiving by daughters will be discussed, including the employment of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) and institutionalisation of elderly parents.

2.2 THE AGEING DEMOGRAPHIC

Hong Kong and Singapore are rapidly ageing. In 2013, life expectancy at birth for women in Hong Kong was 86.7, and for men 81.1 (Hong Kong SAR, Census and Statistics Dept., 2014a). Hong Kong's over 65 population in 2012 was 13%. By 2041 it is expected to reach 30% (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Dept., 2014b). Conditions are similar in Singapore. In 2014, the percentage of Singaporeans over 65 was 11% (Statistics Singapore, 2014a) but this is expected to grow to 18.7% by 2030 (MCYS Committee on Ageing Issues, 2006). Singaporean life expectancy at birth in 2013 was 80.2 for males and 84.6 for females (Statistics Singapore, 2014b).

With some variation, fertility rates have been declining over the past 30 years. The

total fertility rate (TFR) for Hong Kong in 1981 was 1.9 (Demographic Trends in Hong Kong 1981-2011, 2012); in 2013 it was 1.125 (Hong Kong: The facts, June 2014). Similarly, Singapore's TFR in 1960 was 5.45 (Index Mundi, n.d.). However, since the "Stop at two" policy, in effect from the mid 1960s to 1986, fertility has been and continues to be below the replacement level. Despite the reversal of the two-child policy in 1987, the 2013 fertility rate in Singapore was 1.19 (Statistics Singapore, 2014c).

In addition to anti-natal policies, declining fertility has been attributed to several factors, amongst which is postponed child bearing. In 2012, the median age at first birth of Singapore citizens was 30.1 (Singapore Population in Brief, 2013a). The median age at first birth in Hong Kong in 2013 was 31.3 (Women and Men in Hong Kong, 2014a).

Other explanations for declining fertility include postponed marriage, greater numbers of unmarried women, and higher divorce rates. In Singapore the median age of female citizens at first marriage in 2012 was 27.7 (Singapore Population in Brief, 2013b). In 2013 in Hong Kong the median age at first marriage for females was 29.1 (Hong Kong SAR, Census and Statistics Dept., 2014a).

With regard to singlehood, in Singapore, 32.3% of women aged 30-34, 20.3% of those 35-39, 15.4% of those aged 40-44 and 13.6% of women aged 45-49 were unmarried in 2012 (Singapore Population in Brief, 2013c). In Hong Kong, in 2011, 17% of all women between the ages of 40-44 had never married as opposed to 3% in 1986 (Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, 2013a). In 2012, the divorce rate of married Singaporean women residents was 6.9 (Statistics Singapore, 2014d). In Hong Kong it was 2.95 (Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, 2013b).

As a practical matter, what this means for the future, is that at a time when there will

be more elderly people requiring care, there will be fewer caregivers to help them and fewer workers to support pensions and social welfare systems. Increased longevity may also mean that individuals retiring in their 60s, or even later, may outlive their savings or find their pensions (if they have one) behind the curve of Asia's rising inflation. Combined with the current and projected dearth of services and housing for elders, the outcome is likely to be that ageing Chinese will become increasingly dependent on their adult children whether they want to or not (Croll, 2006).

2.3 MIGRATION, INDUSTRIALISATION, MODERNISATION, URBANISATION AND WESTERNISATION

> The Asian value system is actually the manifestation of the dynamic conflict of varying values [which are] not static but…change as economy, politics and society change (Yin, 2003).

Singapore and Hong Kong have similar geography, with majority Chinese populations and histories inextricably intertwined with the British Empire and events in Mainland China. Both are considered to be modern urban societies with Western leaning views. Their economic development is analogous. Both of their legal systems grew out of British Common Law. In terms of social policy, however, Singaporeans are subjected to more governmental control. These societies thus contain relevant bases for studying them together.

Early migration of the Chinese into Singapore originated for the most part in Penang and the Malacca Straits following the East India Company's infiltration of Singapore in 1819. After China ceded Hong Kong to Britain in 1841, a second wave fled south from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces of Southern China into both Singapore and Hong Kong.

Most of these early settlers were men, as it was not until 1850 that women were permitted to leave the Chinese Mainland. In any event, British trade assured the influx of job seekers would last for the remainder of the nineteenth century (Evans, 2008; Law, 2007; Rudolph, 1998; Song, 2007).

Under British rule, Singapore and Hong Kong first became prominent seaports and later colonies of the British Empire. Further growth was fostered from 1911 onward by a swell of migrant workers emerging from the Xinhai Revolution during which China's Qing Dynasty was overthrown and its first republic established. The ensuing period of unrest helped to expand the population of both colonies exponentially until the depression of the 1930s and later the invasion by the Japanese during World War II (Fong & Lim, 1982; Salaff, 1976).

The end of the war and the fall of China to the Communists in 1949 generated yet another surge of Mainland refugees (Chiu, Choi & Kwok, 2005; Seng, 2009). For the next thirty years political instability on the Mainland combined with economic opportunity in Singapore and Hong Kong incentivised large numbers of individuals to enter the colonies where factory jobs were plentiful. On the receiving end, exploitation of cheap migrant labour contributed to the transformation of the city-states from entrepot trading ports to important centres of industry and manufacturing (Pong, 1991; Salaff, 1976; Seng, 2009).

Beyond the labour market, infusion of capital and educated entrepreneurs from Shanghai likely gave Hong Kong an economic edge over Singapore in the early post war years (Young, 1992). However, following mutual recessions in the 1960s and 1970s, Singapore began to catch up. From then on, both city-states ran nearly parallel development courses, with similar industries throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Hong

Kong for the most part pursued a laissez-faire model whilst Singapore enforced a policy of rigid government control. Both enjoyed stellar success (Pereira, 2005; Pong, 1991).

Throughout this interval, prosperity accompanied by low wages and periodic labour shortages, generated a rise in labour force participation by family members of both sexes and all ages. In the context of these times, many argue that wage-earning women contributing to the household's well-being, adopted new attitudes toward some traditional mores. Further, they suggest, these women developed a desire for autonomy, gradually securing for themselves a degree of freedom and control over their own lives (Rajakru, 1996; Salaff, 1976; A.K. Wong, 1981; P.S.F. Yip & Lee, 2002).

Concomitantly, children began to benefit from education reform. In Hong Kong, heightened government interest in universal education was mobilised by fear of social instability from uneducated immigrants. By 1964, most children of primary school age were receiving some form of institutionalised instruction. Fourteen years later, nine years of free, compulsory education for children aged six to15 was legislated by the Hong Kong government. At the same time, in a push to solidify its control, the government replaced private institutions as the dominant education provider (Law, 2007; Pong, 1991). By 2012, Hong Kong's adult literacy rate was estimated to be 95.5% (Social indicators of Hong Kong, 2014).

Educational reform in Singapore was similarly propelled by a political agenda. In this case the catalyst was independence and statehood. Prior to World War II, education was dichotomous, with Chinese and Anglo schools (Rudolph, 1998; T.-H. Wong, 2003; Yen, 1981). From the end of the war, however, until well after Singapore gained independence in 1965, aspirations for decolonisation and ultimately successful statehood were indivisible

from the creation of a Singaporean identity. This meant merging Singapore's Malay, Chinese and Indian ethnicities, using education as the medium (T.-H. Wong, 2003; Zhang, Gu & Hu, 2008). Conflict over what the system should look like was ubiquitous for decades. But, in 2003, compulsory education was introduced (Ministry of Education, Singapore, 2014). By 2012, Singapore's literacy rate amongst residents aged fifteen and older, achieved 96.5% (Statistics Singapore, 2014e).

Today, education in both Singapore and Hong Kong is viewed as a mechanism for achieving success and ascending the ladder of status and social pre-eminence. The right education combined with hard work is widely believed to correspond to better job opportunities and more rapid progression on one's career path (M. Li & Bray, 2006; A.K. Wong, 1981).

Parenthetically, it has been suggested that the availability of educational opportunity may be owed in part to public housing. Cheap rent enabling parents to save for higher education was an unintended benefit of what was essentially an accident of fate (J. Lee & Yip, 2006). After 1949, floods of destitute worker refugees from Mainland China, seeking housing near their employment, constructed villages of shabby wooden houses and lean-tos to shelter their families. Concerns eventually arose over sanitation and fire hazard. But, the outbreak of a succession of fires in Singapore during the 1950s, plus a colossal fire in 1961, and a fire leaving 53,000 homeless in 1953 Hong Kong prompted both governments to undertake subsidised public housing projects (W.K.-M. Lee, 2000; Peterson, 2008; Salaff, 1976; Seng, 2009).

Since then, the impact of public housing has been substantial. In Singapore, preferential treatment on housing location, size, and loans, is used to encourage young

couples to live with or near their ageing parents (P. Teo, Graham, Yeoh & Levy, 2003). In Hong Kong, part of its economic success has been attributed to the belief that public housing enables workers to accept poor working conditions and lower wages. This, it is argued, allows competitive pricing whilst simultaneously acting as a safety net for families (J. Lee & Yip, 2006).

Low-income housing has also been credited with promoting the initial inflow of housewives and children into the workforce, as they were able to perform "outwork" in their own homes, located near factories (J. Lee & Yip, 2006). But, as will be discussed below, public housing has also contributed to the breakdown of the traditional Chinese family.

2.4 TRADITIONAL FILIAL PIETY (XIAO)

孝

> The Chinese character for filial piety (*xiao*), i.e. 孝 consists of two components, one standing for "child" and the other meaning "old." The character has the part symbolising the old *above* the part symbolising the child, meaning that the child both supports and succeeds the parent. This might also be taken to mean that the child is subservient to the parent, who is morphologically, and by implication, socially "higher" (Singapore Management University Social Sciences & Humanities, 2008:5; *Emphasis in the original*).

Xiao, or filial piety, is a patriarchal, hierarchal and collective construct whose constituent parts combine to ensure the cohesion and perpetuation of the Chinese family and its name (Singapore Management University Social Sciences & Humanities, 2008). Under *xiao*, family members subscribe to a strict moral and social ordering, featuring respect, obedience, loyalty and obligation. These commitments are explicitly owed to the head of household or elder male, with whom absolute authority resides. Children, notably male children, are expected to bear sons to carry on the line, to discipline themselves in order to uphold family honour and avoid shame, to work hard to ensure financial security, to care for

their parents as they age, and to revere their ancestors after death (A.C.M. Chan & Lim, 2004). Parents, in exchange, are expected to care and provide for their offspring as they move through childhood and adolescence, thereby creating, through a combination of love, duty and self-regulation, an unbreakable bond of interdependence (Croll, 2006; Holroyd, 2001; W.K.-M. Lee & Kwok, 2005a; Ng, et al., 2002).

Amongst siblings, the oldest son is generally expected to inherit the greatest portion of family wealth, bring honour to the family through his accomplishments, and accept responsibility for his ageing parents (Hashimoto & Ikels, 2000). Conversely, until recently, convention dictated that daughters be prohibited from working outside the home. Because their economic value to the family was negative, daughters were routinely "married out" to become the property of their husband's parents. The husband's filial piety thus became ensured through his wife's labour (Croll, 1995; Graham, et al., 2002; Holroyd & Mackenzie, 1995).

Filial piety predated Confucianism, but was later institutionalised by an amalgam of Confucianism, government policy, and the family system, all of which became integrated into it. Simplified, the family contributed a path for moral behaviour and self-discipline, plus an economic foundation (Chow, 1991). Confucianism provided order through a system of ethics and five cardinal relations: Father-son, Brothers, Husband-wife, Friends, and Emperor-officials (A.C.M. Chan & Lim, 2004). Within this framework, filial conduct became prescribed both within and without the family, not only in terms of respect, obedience and support for parents, but for all elders. One functioned within the family (the "inside sphere") and within the state (the "outside sphere"). The community within which one lived became an extension of the family and an instrument for regulating behaviour. The misfeasance of

one family member was imputed to all, and failure to adhere to tradition could result in ostracization from both the family and the community. The objective was the promotion of harmony without which it was believed neither family nor nation could function. To ensure the perpetuation of this helpful scheme, governments meted out rewards and punishments (Chow, 1991).

Today, throughout most of Confucian Asia, the principal tenets of filiality are purported to persist (O.M.H. Wong & Chau, 2006). However, societal change is widely perceived to have eroded it. The extent to which the deterioration of filial piety translates to behaviour lacks clarity and consensus.

2.5 THE CHINESE FAMILY IN TRANSITION IN HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE

> An old sage, Mencius, once taught that "The root of the world is the nation and the root of the nation is the family" (Chow, 1991).

The Chinese family cannot be viewed in a vacuum. It is grounded in filial piety and is the product of both history and societal change. In the past, families were patrifocal and patrilineal. Filial piety imposed order on family members so that each understood their status and obligations from birth (A.C.M. Chan & Lim, 2004). Families were large and incorporated extended kin networks for additional support. Intergenerational housing was the norm. Families were the principle source for the transmission of values. They also determined who would be educated and their resources controlled the quality of education. Often the employment of sons in the family business followed schooling, and all children were placed in arranged marriages, if possible (Croll, 1995; Graham, Teo, Yeoh & Levy, 2002; Hashimoto & Ikels, 2005; Holroyd & MacKenzie, 1995; Salaff, 1995).

Today many of the traditional roles of the family have been usurped. The state is now the principle provider of education, and education is far more widespread and egalitarian than it was previously (Post, 2004). International corporations dominate the workforce and command loyalty and obedience in their own right. Families are smaller and women are working, thereby depleting essential resources for providing hands-on care to elderly parents. Marriages are by choice and singlehood and divorce are on the rise. Further, multiple generations of family members are no longer living together to the extent they once did, and families additionally experience separations through employment obligations. The totality of this is that the intergenerational transmission of values taking place in the home is being marginalised or at least amended (Holroyd & Mackenzie, 1995; Lam, 2006).

Both Hong Kong and Singapore are experiencing disruption in the traditional family structure. In 2013, Hong Kong's average domestic household size was 2.9 persons (Hong Kong SAR, Census and Statistics Dept., 2014c). In its 2011 population census only 28.2% of domestic Hong Kong households included at least one member over the age of 65. Of these 29.7% were households comprised solely of those over 65 and 60% of these were individuals living alone (Hong Kong SAR, 2012). These statistics do not include elderly parents co-residing with helpers, rather than children.

Singapore is similar. In 2012, its average household size was 3.47 (Statistics Singapore, 2014f). In its 2010 Census, only 24.1% of all households included at least one person over age 65, and 4.6% of all resident households consisted solely of individuals over the age of 65 (Statistics Singapore, 2014g).

The adjustment to living arrangements can be attributed in part to public housing. In 2011, 30.3% of Hong Kong's land-based non-institutional population lived in public rental

housing and 15.9% lived in subsidised home ownership flats (Hong Kong SAR, 2012). Similarly, in 2013, 81.9% of all Singaporeans resided in Housing Development Board (HDB) subsidised flats (Statistics Singapore, 2014h). Individual units in government-subsidised housing tend to be small. Multi-generational families are often unable or unwilling to share space. Further, choices of location where flats are available are limited and usually away from established neighbourhoods where elders may currently reside. Thus, public housing combined with jobs may separate families geographically. In Hong Kong for example, young adults may move to the New Territories for work, but due to the size of available housing, leave parents behind in the city (Ng, Phillips & Lee, 2002).

Employment has contributed to the transformation of the family structure in other ways. With the prodigious expansion of industry in Guangdong province (PRC) and the open door policy with Mainland China, Hong Kong workers and employers may now spend the working week in Southern China and return home on weekends (S.S.C. Chan, et al., 2011). Concurrently, with globalisation, adult children and their nuclear families may migrate overseas for work without elderly parents (Mehta, Osman, & Lee, 1995).

Family members may choose to live apart for other reasons. Older adults may favour privacy and autonomy over living with children, particularly if they are still relatively young and healthy. Adult children today are often financially independent. They may prefer to provide parents with cash or its equivalent rather than living together. Intergenerational cohabitation may also depend more on the relationship between the parties rather than filial obligation. Whatever the reason, research tells us that children living at greater geographic distance from their parents are less likely to provide regular instrumental and emotional support for them than those who co-reside (W.K.-M.. Lee & Kwok, 2005a; Ng, et al., 2002).

Aside from geography, a generation gap may be contributing to the restructuring of the family. This divide emanates from greater education and employment opportunities for the young as well as modern technologies like the Internet. As S.-T. Cheng, Chan and Chan (2008) articulate, most of the older generation would have lived through the Second World War and/or the civil war in China when circumstances generally disallowed the pursuit of education and training. Having survived war and in some cases famine, and having lived in harsh conditions, these individuals predominantly migrated without money, education or skills. Because of this, for many, their new lives in the former British colonies continued to be difficult.

To compare generations by education, in Hong Kong in 2011, 44% of those over the age of 55 had attained some secondary education or above, contrasted with 99.4% of those aged 15-24 (Hong Kong SAR, 2012c). In Singapore in 2011, 40% of males and 24.1% of females aged 55 and older had achieved some secondary education or above (The National Survey of Senior Citizens in Singapore 2011) whereas 71.8% of resident Singapore males and 66% of females aged 25 years and over attained secondary or higher qualifications in 2013 (Statistics Singapore, 2014i).

Lack of childhood education likely also explains the inability of many elders to master computer skills. Denied access to vast amounts of information available to Internet users, the relevance of elderly wisdom formed in a world that no longer exists might be called into question. Notwithstanding the tendency toward nuclear families, generativity in the sense of nurturing and guiding the next generation, is thus believed to be on the decline (S.-T. Cheng, et al., 2008). As Holroyd (2001:1126) describes it, intergenerational relations today are governed by a culture of "autonomy, modernity, youth, spontaneity and affection"

rather than ancient mores acquired largely through experience and oral transmission.

Elders, however, appear to be adapting. A series of focus groups conducted by S.-T. Cheng and colleagues (2008) with low income Hong Kong seniors, revealed impressive resilience in adapting to changing norms. Technology and lack of education for these seniors was reported to be an issue. They said they were troubled by the disparity between the younger generations' knowledge and skills and their own, which they considered obsolete. The seniors conveyed they had nothing to contribute, particularly as efforts to dispense advice were often met with distain or disinterest. They said they were distressed over their lack of resources and often the geographic distance from their children. However, the elders emphasised the importance of maintaining harmony with their children. Remaining silent was an option exercised in order to avoid conflict and they also attempted to refrain from making demands. They felt they had to respect the privacy and autonomy of their children and not interfere with their lives. The seniors were willing to provide household help and babysitting to enable their children to work, contingent upon their own health. And, in that regard, they communicated the necessity of taking care of themselves and continuing to work so as not to become a burden. Importantly, they had lowered expectations of their children (S.-T. Cheng, et al., 2008; Ng, et al., 2002).

Elderly focus group participants in Singapore verbalised similar sentiments. They did not want to be burdensome to their children and reflected on the reality that support from children was not within the scope of parental control. Filial piety was, in fact, considered a "bonus." And, though some viewed their children as ungrateful and obsessed with money, the government was blamed for creating a "take care of yourself" mentality (Mehta, 1999).

The above expressions tend to support the proposition that intergenerational

relationships have been modified and even transposed within the Chinese family, and that Asia may no longer embrace the culture of its ancestors. It does not, however, mean the family has broken down, as so frequently appears in the literature. Restructuring does not necessarily equate with erosion. Going beyond the rhetoric, the condition of the modern family could be more accurately perceived as a correction or adjustment to norms in transition (Croll, 2006; Koh & Tan, 2000; Lieber, Nihura & Mink, 2004). As duty and obligation wane, relational norms may be gaining in importance.

2.6 THE CHANGING ROLES AND STATUS OF DAUGHTERS AND ITS IMPACT ON THE CHINESE FAMILY

The changing roles and status of daughters has impacted the Chinese family in at least three important ways. First, daughters' access to education and participation in the workforce has made them less dependent on parents and husbands and given them increased autonomy and bargaining power (Salaff, 1976). Second, greater financial independence has raised their value within the family as an alternate source of funding for parents (Graham, et al., 2002). Third, employment has imposed new responsibilities on these women without releasing them from culture specific gender roles (W.K.-M. Lee, 2000).

Education is driving this social reorganisation as educational status for women in both Singapore and Hong Kong has changed significantly since the end of the Second World War. For example, in Singapore in 1957, 41.7% of students enrolled in primary school and 36% of students enrolled in secondary school were female with no females appearing to be enrolled beyond the secondary level (S.-H. Cheng, 1977). In contrast, enrolment rates of males and females at all levels of education were virtually identical in 2013 (Yearbook of Statistics Singapore, 2014a).

By 2013, female literacy in Singapore had achieved 94.6% amongst those aged 15 and older. For those over age 25 and out of school, females averaged 10 years of schooling (Statistics Singapore, 2014i). Likely the rates would have been even higher had the younger population been considered separately. Similarly, in Hong Kong in 1986, amongst females over the age of 15, only 50% had attained a secondary education or above. By 2013, 76.9% had attended secondary school or higher and this would have been even greater but for 26.4% of the women over age 60 having had no education at all. Further, statistics for post secondary education in 2013 indicate enrolment of virtually identical numbers of women and men (Women and Men in Hong Kong, 2014b).

There is also a formidable presence of women in the labour market. In Singapore, 58.1% of females aged 15 and over were working in June 2014 (Statistics Singapore, 2014j) with more than 85% of women age 25-35 and over, and nearly 77% of women 35-45 remaining in the workforce (Yearbook of Statistics Singapore, 2014b). Hong Kong is similar. Like Singapore, in 2013, 54.5% of women over the age of 15 were employed, and in the 25-29 year old demographic women had a higher labour force participation rate than men. Nearly 80% of women 25-35 years old were employed in 2013, and for women age 35-49, over 70% continued to work in Hong Kong (Women and men in Hong Kong, 2014c).

Working women are not new to Singapore or Hong Kong (W.K.-M. Lee, 2000; Rajakru, 1996). However, educated working women are, and unlike earlier periods, women today have extensive exposure to other cultures and values. The urban environments in which they live, the mass media, the Internet, and employment by multi-national corporations have arguably created conditions in which attitudes can be transformed and perspective enlarged (Salaff, 1976). But, the real question is, does this translate to behavioural change?

Singlehood, postponed marriage and delayed childbirth have enabled women to remain in the work force longer, and for better educated women given them opportunities to compete with men on the career path. Careers, in turn, have led to the historical predilection for sons as the providers of "old age insurance" being extended to daughters. Until a woman is married, a substantial portion of her salary is contributed to her family, enabling younger siblings to be educated, family housing to be upgraded, and money to be saved for important occasions, such as marriage. Even after marriage financial support of parents may be expected or provided voluntarily by daughters (Graham, et al., 2002; Holroyd & Mackenzie, 1995; Mehta, Osman, & Lee, 1995; Post, 2004; Salaff, 1995).

In exchange, daughters have gained some command over their lives. Choice of a marriage partner, or even whether or not to marry, for example, tends to be an individual rather than a collective decision. Women are also retaining control over their disposable income after family obligations are met. They have found their voice in minor family purchases and arrangements. They may have a life outside the home and live outside the home before marriage, though few do. Women are generally free to choose their place of employment and time of employment, contingent on family resources and their level of education (Salaff, 1995). However, daughters' financial contributions and working status still do not excuse them from homemaking and caregiving.

Both Hong Kong and Singapore remain fundamentally patriarchal societies. With all of the progress women have made, they are still not considered equal to men (W.K.-M. Lee, 2000; Post, 2004; A.K. Wong, 1981). Working women with husbands, children and parents to care for, whether they are factory workers or professionals, are required to balance the demands of family and job, each affecting the performance of the other. This can present a

difficult dilemma that may not always be resolved favourably for the family. For example, in a study of 435 married Hong Kong Chinese nurses, Tang (2009) observed that women faced with conflict between work and family give precedence to work over family more than the reverse.

A.K. Wong (1981:450) contends that education and work have resulted in greater "role strain and psychological pressure" on Singapore women. According to her, professional women are better able to cope because they have housekeepers and relatives to help them. In contrast, according to Wong, women engaged in manual labour may have to work plus take care of the house and children or get help from relatives or child care workers. Because they often take shift work in factories, these women may only see their children on weekends. To avoid this, the night shift is a viable option and has the added benefit of paying overtime. However, this leaves no time for rest so these women tire faster than others (Rajakru, 1996). Tang (2009) adds that these low-income women are also deprived of choice. They may prefer to stay home but cannot make ends meet if they do.

Paradoxically, Rajakru (1996) argues that women working in factories receive better support from their husbands than do professionals. The men to whom factory workers are married may have little choice but to participate in housework and childcare because they need their wives' salaries. By comparison, the husbands of professional women give no indication they will share housekeeping or caregiving with their wives. Accordingly, though domestic help may relieve some of these women from daily household chores, their availability does not appear to have altered the traditional patriarchal structure in any meaningful way. Whether there is a causal relationship or not, amongst educated professional women, divorce rates are on the rise (Rajakru, 1996; W.K.-M. Lee, 2000).

All of this may lead to further modifications of family structure and values. For example, a literature review by Yan, Tang and Yeung (2002) provides a glimpse into some ways filial piety may be changing. Citing their own unpublished study of Hong Kong college students, they note that many do not believe filial devotion to parents will bring them good luck. Nor do they believe they should be bound to care for mothers-in-law or that placing elders in assisted living is a breach of filial piety.

2.7 CAREGIVING AND CAREGIVER BURDEN

As people age, they can become more dependent, possibly losing mobility, continence, cognitive function, and the ability to carry out the simple activities of daily life. Chronic or acute illness, periodic hospitalisations and frequent doctor appointments often accompany advancing frailty. As disability grows family life can increasingly revolve around the needs of elderly people (Yan, et al., 2002) requiring an indeterminate commitment of time and financial resources. A child who elects to care for a disabled parent is additionally faced with the choice of whether or not to remain in employment, together with the consequences of that decision.

As caregiving increases in duration and intensity, caregiver stress or burden may become commonplace. This emotional condition is regularly conjoined with fatigue, psychological problems, financial crisis, loss of independence, isolation, and profoundly negative health (Ng, et al., 2002; O.M.H. Wong, 2005). In a recent study, Ho, Chan, Woo, Chong and Sham (2009) compared the health and quality of life of informal caregivers, principally family members, with non-caregivers in Hong Kong. Primary caregivers had poorer health than non-caregivers, including more doctor visits and weight loss. Women reported more osteoporosis, arthritis, digestive ulcers, headaches, dizziness, memory loss,

heart palpitations, insomnia, and emotionality. Men reported more bronchitis and arthritis. Both were more likely to be depressed, but women reported worse quality of life than men. Adjusting for sex, age, education and work status, decline in physical and especially mental health were strongly associated with the number of hours of caregiver burden.

Some of the greatest difficulties are reported to arise from the nature of the relationship. Modesty, for example, is a familial norm in Chinese society. In a series of sixteen semi-structured interviews with Hong Kong caregivers, O.M.H. Wong (2005) found that children may be reluctant or embarrassed to participate in activities requiring the intimate touching of their parents or seeing their parents naked. Parents may feel uncomfortable or even shameful receiving intimate care, particularly when the caregiver is the opposite sex. Tasks associated with severe impairment such as diaper changing and clean-up after bodily malfunctions may also bring about feelings of repulsion. In this regard, C.-K. Cheung & Chow (2006) note that informal caregivers experience more stress than professionals because they have less knowledge and spend more time performing tasks.

Family caregivers may not only have to manage stress brought on by unpleasant aspects of caregiving, but they may be simultaneously coping with exhaustion. MacKenzie and Holroyd (1996) interviewed ten Chinese families providing care for elderly relatives. Some of the tasks they were required to undertake included feeding, toileting, bathing, cooking, changing diapers, lifting, washing, shopping, administering medications and offering companionship. Some informal caregivers assert they are unlikely to receive adequate, if any, respite from these activities and are often sleep deprived (Luk, 2002).

Add to this the financial burden. Luk (2002) interviewed thirty caregivers of dialysis patients and learned that some had to cut back on work, some changed from full time to part

time, and others quit work altogether. Diminished income could impede or eliminate the hiring of a professional caregiver or seeking respite (Holroyd & MacKenzie, 1995). In addition to lost income, there are also likely to be expenses related to the care recipient such as doctor visits, medications, and medical aids like walkers (Luk, 2002).

Caregivers can also become isolated and lonely, as there is often no time for social life, and caregivers may be too fatigued. Another disincentive to social contact, as Luk (2002) observes, are small houses, like those in Hong Kong and Singapore, which can become crowded and messy. The potential for constant interruption for caregiving also exists. Finally, there are what K.-S. Yip (2004) calls "burdens in management of problem behaviours," including mentally unstable care recipients with unpredictable, socially offensive, assaultive behaviours, and mood swings.

Neither gender is exempt from the burden of caregiving. However, by far the great majority of family caregivers are women. Ngan and Wong (1996) articulately write about "care injustice," referring to the practice of women being routinely assigned the role of hands-on caregiving of elderly people in the Chinese culture. According to them, this role is culturally assumed and executed without appreciation, acknowledgement or support from other family members. They summarise what they refer to as the "community care drama" in Hong Kong:

> Firstly, it is taken for granted that the caregiving capacity in the community is adequate for long-term care. Secondly, the support networks for most families are not large, and they are weakened by the split kinship networks between the communities of Hong Kong and mainland China. Thirdly, the caregiving load has reverted to women in the family so that community care is actually family care, and care by women in reality. Worse still, normally it is one woman in a household acting as the sole caregiver (Ngan & Wong, 1996).

Caregivers who feel underappreciated and lack support, or believe they are incapable of undertaking effective elder care (C.-K. Cheung & Chow, 2006) may still be forced to care for ailing relatives whose condition requires institutionalisation (Ho, et al., 2009). This may place them at risk of being blamed if the patient's health becomes worse (O.M.H. Wong, 2005). Regardless, if a woman is a member of a Chinese family, she is presumed to accept these responsibilities in order to fulfil kinship obligations (Ng et al., 2002; Holroyd, 2001).

Ngan and Wong (1996) suggest care injustice can lead to "caring dilemma." Caring dilemma can result when the demands of caregiving become more associated with obligation than affection. Caregivers seek to be released, but guilt and obligation will not allow it. Those finding themselves in this position may feel trapped in what Ngan and Cheng (1992) refer to as a love-hate relationship with the care recipient. There is evidence to suggest the longer care is administered, the greater amount of care provided, and the greater the difficulty of care, the more negative the response to caregiving becomes (Holroyd, 2003a; Holroyd, & Mackenzie, 1995; Malhotra, Malhotra, Ostbye, Matchar, and Chan, 2012).

2.8 FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS AS SURROGATE DAUGHTERS AND ALTERNATIVE LONG-TERM CARE

Women's employment, smaller families, geographic distance, changing norms, and an increasing number of elderly people living to extreme old age, have necessitated alternative solutions to the traditional caregiving paradigm. In Hong Kong and Singapore this has led to the widespread utilisation of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs). When FDHs or the family are unable to cope, institutionalisation of elderly citizens has become a viable option.

2.8.1 FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS

FDHs are plentiful in both Singapore and Hong Kong. In 2014 Singapore residents

employed 218,300 such individuals (Ministry of Manpower Singapore, 2014a). Concurrently, 320,988 FDHs were working in Hong Kong (Women and Men in Hong Kong 2014d). The overwhelming numbers of these workers are female, from the Philippines or Indonesia. Backgrounds vary, however many Filipinas are educated, having been previously employed in teaching and other professions (Constable, 1996). Some women leave husbands and children behind in their countries of origin. Migration, in general, is initially motivated by economic betterment (Constable, 1997).

FDHs are regulated by The Ministry of Manpower in Singapore (MOM) and the Immigration Department in Hong Kong. In both venues employers and FDHs must meet certain criteria in order to enter into the relationship. Amongst other things, FDHs must reside with their employer and may only work for one employer at a time. Training of FDHs is not required, but is recommended, and some employment agencies in their home countries conduct optional courses for which prospective FDHs must apply and pay for themselves. These courses are general in nature, and may or may not include skills training specific to elder care (Immigration Department, government of Hong Kong, 2011; Ministry of Manpower Singapore, 2014b;Yeoh & Huang, 2010).

In Singapore, MOM imposes further restrictions, with regard to country of origin, age, gender, and education (Ministry of Manpower Singapore, 2014b) and additionally requires FDHs to undergo biannual sexual health and pregnancy examinations (Ministry of Manpower Singapore, 2014c). Moreover, since 2004, FDHs must enrol in a safety awareness course and pass a written test upon entry into the country (Gomes, 2011).

FDHs are expressly excluded from Singapore's Employment Act. However, a "Guide for Employers" produced by MOM covers such things as well-being, salaries and work

conditions to be agreed upon by employer and employee. Since 2010, medical insurance must be provided and FDHs taking up employment after 1 January 2013 are entitled to one day off a week. From 2012 the employer and FDH must also agree upon safety standards and reduce them to writing, though there is no standard format for this. Nor is there a standard employment contract (Ministry of Manpower Singapore, 2014b). Due to the subjective nature of the parties' understanding, in practice FDHs have few enforceable rights. Abuses, such as battery against FDHs within the scope of their duties, are governed by the Penal Code, amended in 1998 to strengthen penalties for crimes committed against them (Yeoh, Huang & Devasahayam, 2004). Otherwise, FDHs have no special protection under the law.

In Hong Kong, FDHs are more highly regulated. Both they and their employers are subject to the Hong Kong Government's Employment Ordinance and must execute the standard ID407 Employment Contract. These contracts include provisions for minimum wage, paid annual leave, statutory holidays, sick days, and one rest day a week. Duties are agreed upon and written into the contract and the helper must be given "suitable accommodation…with reasonable privacy." Liability and medical insurance, paid by the employer, are mandatory (Immigration Department, Government of Hong Kong, 2011). FDHs in Hong Kong are also well organised, and may rely on NGOs and churches for support (Yeoh, et al., 2004) in addition to the courts.

Upon completion of their last employment contract, FDHs in both Hong Kong and Singapore must immediately return to their home countries. Though residency through marriage to a citizen is possible, in Singapore a FDH may not marry a Singaporean without permission from the government. Moreover, FDHs are prohibited by law from being a party to the dissolution of a Singapore marriage (Gomes, 2011). Immigration regulations regarding

permanent residency were recently tested in the Hong Kong courts when two Filipina domestic workers sued to remain in the Special Administrative Region (SAR) after retirement. Following a favourable lower court ruling, the decision was overturned on appeal, and in March 2013, upheld by Hong Kong's Court of Final Appeal (BBC World Asia, 25 March 2013). The women were required to return home.

Despite regulations, problems and abuses by both employers and employees are well documented. On their part, FDHs live with their employers, generally in small, confined spaces where living conditions can be less than desirable. As a practical matter this often means FDHs have little or no space of their own, no choice of where they sleep, and no privacy. Some sleep in hallways and living rooms. But, even if they are given a room, FDHs may be unable to lock their door and thus be vulnerable to sexual advances of employers in the night (Huang & Yeoh, 2007).

Rights and obligations are asymmetrical. FDHs are often expected to be submissive and docile. They are expected to manage their emotions and behaviour at all times and are frequently given rules by which to conduct themselves in addition to their list of chores (Constable, 1997; Huang & Yeoh, 2007). At the same time, FDHs are expected to integrate themselves within the family structure, but paradoxically to remember they will never be "one of them" (Huang & Yeoh, 2007:199). Regardless of education and background, status is demarcated. FDHs are generally treated as inferior (Constable, 1996; Lan, 2006) and even morally suspect (Constable, 1997). To reinforce their subordinate position in the household, FDHs may be subject to verbal or even physical abuse or disrespect of their property (Constable, 1996). Reports of maid abuse, including punching, burning, slapping, shouting, and being deprived of food are commonplace (Constable, 1996; Yeoh & Huang, 2010).

Days can be long and exhausting and FDHs must live up to employers' expectations and standards for meals, housework and the provision of care, regardless of how subjective those are (Constable, 1997; Huang & Yeoh, 2007). Whilst at work, every minute of the day may be accountable and is sometimes supervised. Sleep may be interrupted if care recipients are infants or elderly and disabled. If the helper is given a day off, curfews may be imposed even though FDHs are entitled to 24 consecutive hours off duty. Cultural and language difficulties must also be overcome and personal problems with family back home must be dealt with privately (Constable, 1997).

Employers are frequently the new middle class with little or no experience in managing servants. Married female employers may be threatened or jealous, forcing the domestic to wear a uniform or other imposed dress code to downgrade and de-feminise her appearance (Constable, 1996). Constable (1997:97) relates a case in which a FDH, driving in from the airport with her employer on her first day in Hong Kong, was told she must only wear slacks, keep her shoulders and upper arms covered, wear no makeup, fingernail polish, jewellery or perfume. She was then taken to a barbershop where she was given a man's haircut.

Besides being neutralised as a sexual threat, FDHs must also carefully manage emotional bonds with those they are charged to care for. Lan (2006:146) recounts the story of a Filipina FDH in Taiwan, nearing the end of her employment contract; the children she was looking after told her they wanted to go back to the Philippines with her rather than stay in Taiwan with their biological mother.

The FDH experience has been characterised as "emotionally demeaning and physically demanding" (Lau, Cheng, Chow, Ungvari & Leung, 2009). These states are

aggravated by the confinement of FDHs within the household together with what Yeoh and colleagues (2004:15) describe as “mute bystanders.” Poor treatment and worse offences often go unreported by family members who have observed them. Trapped within the family home, FDHs have little freedom to seek help. Yeoh & Huang (2010) record the account of a FDH who had been molested by her employer. She was reduced to throwing pieces of paper out the window on which she had written: “please help me.” The authors observe it is not surprising then that incidences of abuse may repeatedly occur before they come to the attention of the authorities. FDHs may also remain silent out of fear their contracts will be terminated and they will be sent home if they complain (Constable, 1997; Yeoh & Huang, 2010).

From the employer’s viewpoint, FDHs are accused of being selfish, impolite, too independent, immoral, impertinent, lacking in commitment and dedication and posing a sexual and moral threat to the community (Constable, 1996:458). Some are accused of stealing from their employers (Constable, 1997). Other employers claim to be driven into a state of rage over their FDH’s inability to carry out her duties in the manner and to the standard proscribed (Huang & Yeoh, 2007).

Not all relationships between FDHs and their employers are negative. However, lack of trust and frustration has driven both sides to violence and worse. Yeoh and Huang (2010) address one incident where a FDH injured her employer, and two other cases resulting in the employer’s death. Offences by FDHs are also regularly recorded in the newspapers. For example, in 2013, the Singapore Straits Times reported on a maid jailed for banging her elderly dementia patient’s head against the wall (Chong, 2013). FDHs are also taking their own lives. In March 2012, the Sun, a Hong Kong newspaper for Filipinos, wrote about two

separate incidents where workers jumped out of their employer's windows to their deaths (Pinay, 2012).

2.8.2 INSTITUTIONALISATION OF ELDERLY PARENTS

In 2008, 6.8% of Hong Kong's and 2.9% of Singapore's over age 65 populations were in residential care (Sau Po Center on Ageing, June 2011). An earlier survey conducted in Hong Kong found that factors associated with institutionalisation include dementia, Parkinson's disease, stroke, past fractures, poor vision, and mobility problems. That study also observes that three times as many women as men are institutionalised and the number of elderly people residing in these facilities increases with the age of the elder (Woo, Ho, Lau & Yuen, 1994).

Institutionalisation is generally viewed as a last resort. However, in a study of attitudes toward nursing home placement by three Hong Kong generations, Tang, Wu, Yeung and Yan (2009) found that middle aged and older respondents view old age homes more favourably than their younger counterparts. To their surprise, they also discovered that filial piety was not a significant predictor of attitudes in any generation of their respondents. The only significant predictor of intention to institutionalise was a positive attitude toward it.

Several explanations are offered for this. Older people, Tang et al., (2009) suggest, may be more well informed about the positive aspects of residential living and considerate of the needs of their children. Those surveyed had also not experienced institutionalisation. Middle aged individuals, are frequently balancing work, children, and living in small spaces. More importantly, in contrast to most young adults, they are the age group actually caring for elderly parents. Tang and colleagues propose this group may therefore take a more practical approach, preferring to provide financial support for nursing home placement rather than

hands-on care. Further, they refer to another study by Yeh, Johnson & Wang (2002) in which the duration of caregiving, caregiver burden and relief experienced by caregivers following institutionalisation of care recipients, all intersect.

Whether they are FDHs or family members, caregivers of elderly people are reported to have a difficult task that can result not only in caregiver burden but caring dilemma. In their study of 30 caregivers, Ngan and Cheng (1992) found 70% of those surveyed were irritable and 66.7% argued with their care recipient. Nearly 77% of their caregivers responded that caregiving was undertaken out of cultural obligation rather than love and concern, and, over 43% stated they had considered sending their care recipient to a nursing home.

Newspaper reports of adult children "dumping" their elderly parents in hospitals and old age homes are abundant in both Hong Kong and Singapore. False names, changed addresses on identity cards, and incorrect telephone numbers are given to these facilities in order to hinder the return of elderly patients to their families (Khalik, 2009; Moir, 2012). So serious has this problem become in Singapore, one minister told the Straits Times the law is being reviewed to allow third parties to sue children for maintenance if parents are unable to do so themselves (Khalik, 2009).

All of this points to a growing reliance on institutional care rather than informal care by the family. To illustrate this, in his article on the proliferation of residential care in Hong Kong, S.-T. Cheng (1993:451) explains that the number of elderly people on the Central Waiting List for placement in Government sponsored facilities was over 15,000 in 1991. He argues this would not have taken place but for the "larger social environment [facilitating] the breakdown of the existing pattern of care and relationships." These factors together with

social security benefits to offset the expense and financial incentives in the private sector have led to a "booming elderly home industry" in Hong Kong (S.-T. Cheng, 1993:461, 464).

Likewise, eldercare in Singapore is moving in the direction of more institutional care. Whilst the government still proclaims its intervention is a last resort, it has apparently recognised it cannot rely entirely on the family to care for its senior citizens. In 2000, it established an "Eldercare Fund" to help subsidise old age homes. In 2006, the Ministry of Health (MOH) approved nearly half of its non-profit and about a fifth of its for-profit facilities for supplemental funding from "Eldercare" (Rozario & Rosetti, 2012).

2.9 CONCLUSION

Greater longevity and declining fertility portend a shortage of caregivers for the future. Singapore and Hong Kong are now two generations into their past anti-natal policies with little or no success in reversing them. Younger generations are facing what the Mainland Chinese have described as "4-2-1" (Zhan, 2004a) and Salaff (1995) calls the "dependency squeeze": one child taking care of two parents and four grandparents.

Following the years of colonisation and expansion and the development of urban, industrialised global economies, both Singapore and Hong Kong have witnessed the progression of universal education, a non-gendered educated working class and the emergence of women professionals. Together with public subsidised housing, internal and external migration, and an increase in the number of nuclear families, the academic discourse suggests these factors have contributed to the weakening or mutation of the traditional family structure and its underlying Confucian ethos.

Since Colonial times, citizens of both Hong Kong and Singapore have relied on the ideological foundation of filial piety and their families for social support. This is not likely to

change dramatically (A. Chan, 1999; W.K.-M. Lee, 2000). However, the perception of children as "old age insurance" is being reconfigured by both younger and the older generations. Social reorganisation and the re-interpretation of time-honoured values such as filial piety are spawning new attitudes. Adult children may be conflicted over what they feel they should do and what they are able to do (Holroyd, 2002). Further, the pressures of modern society may impose limitations on their ability to provide hands-on support for their parents.

Daughters, upon whom the burden of caregiving has historically been placed, have made the greatest gains within the Chinese family in the past half-century. However, this has not relieved them of filial obligations. As their parents and possibly in-laws require increased care, daughters may be confronted by choices between work and family, experience heightened stress, or be subjected to the demands of full time caregiving. Empirical evidence has also shown that caregiving can be an arduous and unpleasant experience with detrimental health consequences for caregivers.

The governments of both Hong Kong and Singapore support one of the most visible indicators of modern familial norms: the pervasive employment of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs). These depersonalised individuals are hired to relieve working women from the burden of housework and caregiving. However, they encounter the same workload and stress their employers are attempting to escape. Further, they live in a world of ambiguity within the family they are retained to serve, often in cramped conditions where employers can abuse them both mentally and physically. Employers also complain about FDHs, and mistrust exists on both sides.

When caregiving becomes too troublesome, the institutionalisation of elderly

relations has become a viable option. The governments of Hong Kong and Singapore view this as a last resort. However, both provide support for NGOs and the private sector for the purpose of housing elderly people in suitable accommodation.

This is the background upon which this study is based and the environment in which the respondents live out their lives. In the next chapter the conceptual and theoretical framework of this thesis will be explained.

CHAPTER 3
CORE PERSPECTIVES AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK UNDERPINNING CHINESE DAUGHTERS' SUPPORT AND CARE OF ELDERLY PARENTS

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Two basic orienting assumptions underlying sociological theory are that: 1) history and structure impose order on society and that social reality exists separate and apart from what individuals want or do; or 2) the social order can be seen as the product of interaction between individuals and groups, with no existence apart from them. These perspectives are referred to as "collective" (structuralist) or "macro" and "individualist" or "micro" respectively (Applerouth & Edles, 2007). Arguably, there is no "grand" sociological perspective that encompasses societal level and small group or individual level aspects.

Traditional Chinese society and its values can be viewed from a macro level perspective whereby social patterns such as filial obligation originate from and benefit the society as a whole. In general, this perspective emphasises the interdependence of social institutions and their common interest in maintaining order. The changes and contradictions in norms of filial responsibility and their enactments taking place in Asian societies today might be better explained, however, through the theoretical lens of symbolic interactionism. This micro-level perspective focuses on the symbolic nature of human interaction; that is, how interpersonal interaction conveys meaning and promotes the socialisation of important cultural values and practices. In this research one can see the impact of young Chinese

women being exposed to the changing opportunities and constraints of a wider world, and through interaction with others, create new definitions of filial obligation and behaviour.

With the interactionist framework, relevant conceptual models (filial obligation, reciprocity, affection) are drawn on to make sense of what was observed in the interviews in terms of *why* contemporary Chinese daughters continue to provide support and care to elderly parents despite the competing demands of work and other family responsibilities. Arlie Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotion management is relied on, augmented by ideas from social exchange theory to understand *how* these daughters are able to accommodate or otherwise respond to the tensions involved in fulfilling their filial obligations and *why* they may decide to seek alternatives to the direct caregiving of their elderly parents.

3.2 NEGOTIATING TRADITIONAL FILIAL OBLIGATIONS AND CONTEMPORARY NORMS

Traditional Chinese values, essentially synonymous with Confucianism and filial piety, have existed within Chinese communities for thousands of years. Originating primarily in rural society, the historical Chinese ethos was grounded in a sense of sameness, or what Durkheim might call "mechanical solidarity" (Appelrouth & Edles, 2007). During the past half-century, Chinese cultural solidarity has largely metamorphosed into the inter-related and interdependent systems inherent in urbanising societies undergoing rapid industrialisation (Chilcott, 1998). Yet, some of the societal norms associated with earlier structures and values, such as the subordination of the individual to the family, are in evidence even today (Allen, 2010; Churton & Browne, 2010; Clark, 1972).

What has changed is the nature of action, where traditionally, individual free will outside the constraints of societal norms and values, was minimal. Though some traditional

norms continue to be internalised, in modern Chinese society, individuals are more likely to interact with each other and the outside world based on the meanings these have for them rather than blindly accepting meanings that are superimposed. These new meanings are themselves derived from interaction amongst individuals, and may be managed and altered by the ways each individual interprets the things he or she is interacting with (Blumer, 1969; Wallace & Wolf, 2006). As a result, whilst traditional Chinese values remain, they may now mean different things to different people.

This transition from a top down societal imposed understanding of normative behaviours to one that is more bottom up and individualistic is generally recognised as having evolved in Chinese society since the mid-twentieth century through the implementation of mandatory education, the availability of professional employment for women, and new technologies, as well as structural modifications to families and housing, and migration both internally and abroad (see Chapter 2). As the stories of the respondents illustrate, each of these changes has fostered social interactions beyond the confinement of kin networks and local communities, which has led to individual reinterpretations of existing norms. Thus, the changes taking place in Chinese society, at least in Hong Kong and Singapore, to the extent they are reflected in the lives of the respondents, can best be understood at a more micro-level through a symbolic interactionist framework.

3.2.1 SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

The descriptive words "symbolic interactionism," are attributed to one of its chief proponents, Herbert Blumer (1969), who together with George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), are generally considered to be the intellectual forbearers of this theoretical approach. Drawing on Max Weber's action theory, emphasising interpretation and the subjective

meaning individuals attach to human behaviour, Mead's major contribution is the concept of "self." Mead views the self as active and creative, rather than passive and receptive, as well as dichotomous: The "I" responds to stimuli spontaneously, the "me" adopts a perspective based on the attitudes of others, which have been internalised. According to Mead, we interact with ourselves through internal conversations that allow us to rehearse our actions and organise our thoughts (Wallace & Wolf, 2006). This "self-interaction" then becomes the basis for "role-taking." In role taking one puts oneself in the position of others with whom one interacts, anticipating their actions as well as assessing oneself through the other's eyes (Turner & Stets, 2005; Wallace & Wolf, 2006). Mead also highlights the importance of gestures, which he argues, become symbols once internalised by members of a community. In the course of interaction a common understanding regarding the meaning of gestures emerges amongst its participants (Wallace & Wolf, 2006).

For symbolic interactionists, meaning is always the result of interaction and cannot exist apart from it. It is through the interpretative process of social action that meaning is created (Blumer, 1969). Blumer specifically rejects the imposition of pre-existing roles and structures and argues that meaning is neither stationary nor defined by systems. He contends interaction takes place between individuals, not roles.

With meaning, interaction and interpretation at its core, Blumer (1969:2) formalises and expands Mead's theoretical perspective by defining what are now widely accepted as the three basic premises of symbolic interactionism: 1) That individuals act toward people, objects and all other things on the basis of the meanings these have for them; 2) That these meanings, themselves, are the result of social interaction between individuals; and 3) That the meanings of these "things" are managed and modified on the basis of how they are

interpreted by individuals as they come into contact with them.

Symbolic interactionism not only helps to explain how Chinese daughters negotiate the ideological terrain between traditional and contemporary norms of filial obligation; it also provides an overarching scheme in which to identify and investigate the conceptual discourses addressing why Chinese daughters continue to undertake traditional filial support and care responsibilities despite their other role demands and expectations. Further, symbolic interactionism can theoretically link with the management of emotions and social exchange, both of which are relied on by many respondents in this study, as discussed in chapters 5-9.

3.3 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SUPPORT AND CARE OF ELDERLY PARENTS

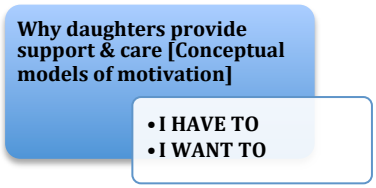
The current support and caregiving paradigm between Chinese daughters, their parents and in-laws, can best be understood through a trio of analytic approaches. The first refers to the conceptual models of motivation underpinning why daughters provide support and care [*"I have to/I want to"*]. The second and third refer to theories that explain how daughters manage conflict and tension in the process of discharging filial obligations [*"I should want to"*] and why daughters may decline to undertake or discontinue practices of filial obligation [*"I do not want to/I cannot"*]. If shown in sequence, they would appear as in figure 3.1 below:



Figure 3.1: Conceptual and theoretical perspectives of filial support and care

The remainder of this chapter will discuss each of these key analytic categories that comprise the conceptual and theoretical foundation for the research.

3.4 WHY DAUGHTERS PROVIDE SUPPORT AND CARE: MOTIVATIONS FOR SUPPORT AND CAREGIVING



Numerous conceptual models have been developed in both the Asian and Western literature, to explain motivations for caregiving. These, however, can be grouped into two broad categories: structural norms of filial obligation, and motivations deriving from positive personal relationships. Structural norms that equate to duty are embedded in a culture and generally regarded as moral imperatives. They are involuntary in nature. One charged with a duty to provide care, for example, would feel, *"I have to."* Personal relationships, conversely, suggest voluntariness, a willingness to provide care out of, for example, affection, gratitude, altruism, or feelings of reciprocity based on a mutual sense of what is fair or equal. These models are characterised by feelings of, "*I want to.*"

Motivations stemming from structural norms and personal relationships can also intersect. For example, care for an elderly parent might be motivated by belief in traditional Chinese values but also by love for the parent and gratitude for the sacrifices made by the parent . One of the difficulties in the past has been trying to ferret out the role of each model of motivation when they do overlap (Aboderin, 2006).

In sections 3.5-3.7 below, conceptual models underlying motivation for the support and care of elderly parents are discussed from the perspectives of both the Asian and the

Western literature.

3.5 THE ASIAN PERSPECTIVE ON MOTIVATIONS FOR SUPPORT AND CAREGIVING

3.5.1 ASIAN MOTIVATIONS BASED ON STRUCTURAL NORMS OF FILIAL OBLIGATION ["I HAVE TO"]

Within Asian cultures indoctrinated in Confucianism, structural norms of filial obligation are, and for many generations have been, underpinned by the construct of filial piety. China, in particular, as the birthplace of Confucianism, can look back on filial piety as a deeply embedded, society wide, core moral ideology enduring for over two millennia. For this reason, even though filial piety may have undergone modification recently, conceptually some norms originating in it can be regarded as relatively stable in terms of the commitment of children to their parents. In the context of the Asian caregiving literature filial piety is invariably the departure point for any discussion.

3.5.1.1 FILIAL PIETY AS STRUCTURAL SUPPORT AND CARE MOTIVATION ACROSS ASIA

Historical events and cultural practices unique to their geographic locations are always going to imprint local customs and traditions on ideologies. Likewise, the pace of change in any society is bound to vary according to its circumstances. Where filial piety is concerned, comparisons between Asian countries highlighting the similarities and differences in beliefs and practices have inevitably been made, even though the core idea is the same.

Comparing Korea, Japan and Mainland China, for example, Sung (2000) found Confucian ethics, culture and tradition to be strong influences on filial support and care motivations everywhere. Responsibility, respect, sacrifice and harmony, as well as the interdependence of family members were shared values. Differences were not found between

cultures but within cultures where Sung noted inconsistencies in attitudes and behaviours. He observed that filial piety is becoming less structural and more relational, that parent-child relationships are moving from authoritarian to egalitarian based on "reciprocal patterns of mutual respect between generations" and that obedience, the core value of filial behaviour, might be giving way to courtesy, companionship and compatibility (Sung, 2001:22).

In a comparative study of Mainland China and Taiwan, Lin and Yi (2011) reported strong structural norms of filial obligation in both countries, and the strength of filial norms to be positively associated with the amount of financial support provided by adult children to their parents. However, in Taiwan, higher income adult children, particularly daughters, were also more likely to provide emotional support, and Taiwanese with strong filial norms were more likely to meet the health care demands of their parents. In contrast, Mainland daughters were more likely to provide help with domestic chores to demonstrate filial behaviour.

Research performed in Mainland China affirms the strength of filial piety as a central moral ideology. For example, W.L. Li, Long, Essex, Sui and Gao (2012), in a study of caregivers and care recipients, report that both groups expect adult children to be responsible for the care of elderly parents and view filial piety as the best standard of care. However, other evidence from China suggests the influence of contemporary norms is growing. From their three-city survey of 869 men and 932 women, Xie and Zhu (2009) conclude that the traditional family model no longer exists in urban China. In their sample, daughters, particularly those who remained with their natal families, were making more financial contributions to their parents than were sons. Several factors are cited for this, including the obsolescence of arranged marriages, greater age at first marriage, lowered fertility, new housing arrangements, ubiquitous education and employment of women, and pensions.

Additionally, the authors claim, financial contributions from all adult children were largely symbolic, and in fact, a substantial number of urban Chinese parents gave money to their adult children rather than the reverse.

Lei (2013) also found downward financial transfers from Urban Chinese parents. However, she asserts these contributions were made in exchange for instrumental and emotional support. In a survey of 10,000 households probing financial, instrumental, and emotional support in rural and urban China, Lei examined the filial practices of both daughters and sons. In rural areas, she found sons provided more financial support, but there were no differences in the provision of emotional or instrumental support between daughters and sons. In urban areas, she found the financial contributions of sons and daughters to be similar, however, daughters provided more emotional and instrumental support than did sons. Lei suggests her findings are an indication that rural areas remain more traditional and urban areas are more affected by modernisation.

The extent to which, modernisation has undermined the traditional Chinese family, if at all, is unclear. In a survey testing modernisation's effect on filial piety in six Chinese cities, C.K. Cheung and Kwan's (2009) results show an association between higher levels of modernisation and lowered filial piety, particularly amongst adult children who move away from their families to work, and those with less education. However, though the more educated in their sample may have been less influenced by modernisation, this did not raise their levels of filial piety or monetary contributions to parents. Furthermore, the authors found age and gender differences: Older adult children engaged in less filial behaviour than younger ones, and daughters were more filial than sons. Age was explained on the basis of lack of opportunity, as older respondents were less likely to be living with parents. Gender

was explained on the basis of socialisation into traditional roles. Zhan and Montgomery (2003), previously advanced the gender role theory in the context of caregiving by asserting that women experience intense social pressure in a still patrifocal society to comply with traditional norms.

Further indication of transitioning Asian filial norms can be seen in Hsu, Lew-Ting, and Wu's (2014) Taiwanese study of age, period and cohort effects on parental support attitudes. Hsu, et al., point to the decline of cohabitation as evidence of weakening filial obligation over time and a change in what is considered filial behaviour. They observe that whilst financial support is still expected, adult sons (and their wives) are no longer obliged to reside with his parents, or even to live in the same location, in order to demonstrate filial piety. Like C.K. Cheung and Kwan (2009), Hsu, et al. also found an age effect, but for a different reason. In their study, respondents over 40 years of age were less likely to favour intergenerational households than those under 40. However, the authors suggest older respondents were more realistic about the burdens associated with caregiving.

The strength of traditional filial norms can still be seen in Japan, where neither sons– especially the eldest- nor their wives, appear to be relieved of caregiving responsibilities for his ageing parents. In a comparative study of Tokyo and Okinawa, K.S. Lee (2014) claims that Japanese gender ideologies and expectations continue to define women as innate nurturers, and wives as the primary providers of care. Nevertheless, women are also reported to be experiencing conflict between traditional filial obligation to their in-laws and their own desires. This is believed to cause resentment, particularly when their natal families are left without care.

These few studies are presented to illustrate the similarities and differences in how

filial obligations are currently interpreted and carried out in some Asian countries. As Hong Kong and Singapore are the site of this research, they will now be discussed separately.

3.5.1.2 FILIAL PIETY AS STRUCTURAL SUPPORT AND CARE MOTIVATION IN HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE

Fundamentally, in Hong Kong and Singapore, the traditional bonds of mutual dependency no longer appear to be absolute. Like Sung's (2000, 2001) three-country study, Ng and colleagues (2002) found that the relationship between Hong Kong parents and their children is becoming more reciprocal and less authoritarian. Likewise, Mehta and Ko (2004) observe that communication between generations in Singapore has become more egalitarian.

Other research conducted in Hong Kong supports the reinterpretation of *xiao*. W.K.-M. Lee and Kwok (2005a) note that filial obligation still acts as a motivation for parental support, but not in the strict Confucian sense. In their view, adult children may no longer prioritise their parents over everything else or subscribe to absolute respect and obedience. It has also been suggested that *xiao* has been reduced to an economic model where filial obligation is more closely linked to financial, rather than emotional or instrumental support (W.K.-M. Lee & Kwok, 2005a; Ng, et al., 2002). Chow (2006) reports that young people today take a "practical approach" to filial piety. A great majority of those he surveyed wanted to make their elderly parents happy and to bring them honour. They were willing to provide financial assistance, however, most were unwilling to accept advice from their parents on such matters as career and marriage, and some were unwilling to receive any advice at all. Similarly, W.K.-M. Lee and Kwok (2005a) found respondents willing to provide instrumental support to ageing parents but less willing to become emotionally involved.

One particularly salient point Lam (2006) makes is that elders are expected to take care of themselves if they are able, and that caregiving tends to cease upon recovery from

illness or disability. This is congruent with the findings of W.K.-M. Lee and Kwok (2005a) who argue that those elders who are financially and emotionally independent of their offspring have better relationships with them.

The pragmatism witnessed amongst Hong Kong residents can also be seen in Singapore, however with a different outcome. P. Teo and colleagues (2006:90-91) explain that Singaporeans are socialised from birth into filial attitudes and behaviours. The transmission of these values comes not only from parents, but also, as discussed later, from social engineering, so that these norms become deeply internalised. P. Teo, et al. assert that adult daughters become "convinced" that parental care is in their hands and that they have "no choice" but to do it, thereby fulfilling gender expectations in a patriarchal society.

Yet, the roots of filial piety may not run as deep as some believe. In a study of Singapore youth, E. Thomas (1985) found that identification of the concept was high amongst three age groups ranging from 12 to 17, but comprehension of what it means fell to 51% for 15 year olds and 28% for 12 year olds. Moreover, when these groups were asked to make objective judgments regarding filial behaviour, none achieved scores above 56%.

More recently, Huat (2009) deduced that if filial piety is operationalized through marriage and childbirth, Singapore's dismal performance in these areas certainly does not suggest the promotion of Confucian values is succeeding at all levels. In a broader context, Yin (2003) observes that though filial piety is an important value to Singapore Chinese, it must be viewed through the lens of a variegated and fluctuating society, which is still perceived as the most Western of all Asian countries.

Though consensus in Asia is lacking on what filial piety has become, O.M.H. Wong and Chau (2006:605) suggest there are some inviolable precepts that have endured. These are

"'caring,' 'not being rebellious,' 'showing love,' 'respect and support,' 'displaying courtesy,' 'continuing the family line,' and 'concealing parents' blunders.'" If this analysis is taken at face value, what is noticeable is the seemingly gratuitous rather than obligatory nature of the commitment itself with regard to the core beliefs. This will be discussed below.

Whatever the character of filial piety, one can see, in the interactionist tradition, how it is personally interpreted and selectively adapted to meet the circumstances under which it is being applied (W.K.-M. Lee & Kwok, 2005a, 2005b; O.M.H. Wong & Chau, 2006). Consistent with the transitioning nature of modern Asian societies, attempts to define or reinterpret it in a modern context will therefore, no doubt, continue to evolve according to the environments in which it survives (P. Teo, et al., 2003).

It is not the intention of this thesis to resolve the many discrepant views of filial piety or even to identify them in their entirety. The author's aim is simply to explain what traditional filial piety once was and to advance the notion that its hierarchical and authoritarian nature may be experiencing renegotiation. Regardless of its multiple manifestations, filial piety is still integral to the caregiving discourse in the Asian context. It is viewed as a motivation, a historical standard against which to measure one's attitude and performance, and as a guidebook for discharging care (O.M.H. Wong & Chau, 2006). The data will later show how this relates to the current caregiving paradigm under discussion.

3.5.1.3 THE CULTURAL MODEL APPROACH

Though Holroyd (2001:1127), like others, acknowledges that norms of filial obligation rarely act alone to induce caregiving, she nonetheless articulates how duty and caregiving can be conjoined in the minds of Chinese daughters. She calls it the "cultural model approach." Within this theoretical framework, Holroyd asserts, women internalise

"what is considered 'right' and 'what ought to be done'." In her view, Confucian norms and government policy are the "cultural models" driving these attitudes in the Chinese context.

According to Holroyd, the cultural model approach is grounded in the dyadic concepts of personhood and self. Personhood she defines as having a rightful place in the world. In the Confucian ideology, a "right and proper person" falls within an ordered hierarchy from family to state. For a filial Chinese daughter, being a right and proper person has historically meant subscribing to parentally transmitted generational and gender roles with their accompanying obligations and behavioural mandates. Caregiving, for example, is part of the female domain.

In the Confucian sense, "self" is subjugated to the obligations of personhood. Holroyd explains this is internalised through the "accumulated history" of knowing one's place in the hierarchy together with the responsibilities incumbent upon that status. These are then reinforced by social messages from the state, family and community reminding women of gender stereotypes and expectations, further strengthened by guilt (Holroyd, 2001).

In this way, Holroyd (2001:1133) asserts, daughters convince themselves that caregiving is their duty, which no one will do if they do not, and if they fail they will not only incur criticism from others but also defy their own sense of personhood. Therefore, she claims, the obligation to care becomes a personal self-understanding, which it can be argued, may be central to all motivations for caregiving by Chinese daughters, whether based on structural norms, personal relationships, or a combination of both.

3.5.2 ASIAN SUPPORT AND CAREGIVING MOTIVATIONS DERIVING FROM PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS ["I WANT TO"]

Lieber and colleagues (2004) contend Confucian societies have always embraced

altruistic ideals such as compassion, love, charity, magnanimity, benevolence and goodness. Moreover, they suggest that filial piety is entwined with core Asian values such as harmony, personal relationships, and Face,[1] what they call the "social and moral" aspects of filial behaviour. The continuity of what might be called the emotional and altruistic aspects of Confucian values can help to explain why family bonds and values remain strong. Affection, for example, is considered by some to be one principle of traditional filial piety that has carried over into contemporary norms (O.M.H. Wong & Chau, 2006).

Like affection, reciprocity in the traditional Chinese context is rooted in filial piety: Parents are obligated to provide a reasonable upbringing for their children who in turn must take care of their parents in old age. In the past this model may have taken the form of inheritance and power earned by adult children through *xiao* (W.K.-M. Lee and Kwok, 2005a). However, Croll (1995:482-483) suggests the word "*yangdao*," meaning support, service, and caring, is representative of a new paradigm, based more on "need, voluntarism and mutual appreciation, gratitude and affection," rather than on piety or obedience. Ng et al. (2002:141) call this new construct a "network of responsibilities and obligations." The rationale for this new interpretation, they contend, is role ambiguity resulting from the financial independence and greater knowledge of young adults, thereby depriving elders of the means of their traditional authority.

Because this new model endorses mutuality and equitable exchange (or reciprocity) instead of traditional filial piety and irredeemable obligation, it may extend the contributions of parents well into their children's adulthood. There is some agreement amongst Asian scholars that old age support must now be earned (K.-L. Chou, Chow & Chi, 2004). Some

[1] The concept of "Face" in the Asian culture is roughly equivalent to self-respect, or respect for and from others. Embarrassment (loss of Face) is something to be avoided at all costs.

contend that the more parents bring to the contemporary exchange, the greater likelihood of strengthening the adult child's sense of filial responsibility (W.K.-M. Lee & Kwok, 2005b; Ng, et al., 2002). Possibly to incentivise children to provide care when needed, younger healthy parents may offer baby-sitting, domestic labour, and money to their adult children (K.-L. Chou et al., 2004). In return, children may provide financial assistance to parents or employ a FDH as a companion or aide for them. Verbrugge and Chan (2008) found that the more financial support Singapore elders receive from their children, the more services they provide in return. The employment of a FDH, however, might be problematic if her duties are seen to deprive ageing parents of the opportunity to build up credits in the exchange role.

3.5.2.1 THE CONVOY MODEL

Borrowing from the Western literature, K.-L. Chou (2009:228) introduces the "convoy of social support", or "Convoy Model" as a reciprocal arrangement amongst Chinese family members. Parents build up a "support bank" of money and time when their children are young. For example, they might pay for their children's education and help with their homework. This can be viewed as a loan to be paid back later, with the amount of repayment in proportion to the amount given. Chou examines the Convoy Model in relation to the number of children in a family, and claims there is a ceiling effect on upward transfers. He interprets this to mean that smaller family size due to lower fertility may not have as much financial impact as some predict. He also found Chinese filial norms to be strong.

3.5.2.2 SOCIAL EXCHANGE

As a motivation for caregiving, social exchange in the Western literature is characterised as a reciprocal arrangement based on the costs and benefits each party receives from each other. Hong and Liu (2000) suggest this characterisation is inadequate in the Asian

context in that culture must be factored into the exchange. Specifically, they contend, one must take into account the communal and interdependent nature of Asian families as well as the norm of filial piety, which together shape the expectations and perceptions of caregivers. In this manner, the authors assert, the needs of care recipients outweigh the consideration of maximising rewards and minimising costs. Caregivers, they say, may engage in filial behaviours even when they are not needed, simply as a gesture of filiality without any expectation of reward.

3.5.3 ASIAN SUPPORT AND CAREGIVING MOTIVATION DERIVED FROM COMBINED STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL NORMS ["I HAVE TO AND I WANT TO"]

In reviewing the Chinese caregiving literature, it is difficult to find contemporary situations in which obligation or relationships alone motivate adult children to support or care for their ageing parents. For example, in O.M.H. Wong's (2000) study of adult children caregivers, both daughters and daughters-in-law alternatively cited affection, structural obligation, unwillingness of others to care, family structure and position, availability of time, higher income, and women's work as reasons for providing care.

Holroyd's (2003b) study of Beijing and Hong Kong caregivers, similarly demonstrates how both structural and relational norms are driving support and care motivations and how culture is implicated. Holroyd claims the motivations of her Beijing caregivers were more strongly linked with Confucian ideals such as gratitude for one's birth and the sacrifices of one's parents, a structural perspective, whereas gratitude emanating from her Hong Kong caregivers arose more from self-interest, such as the investment of parents in their education, a relational perspective. In either case, Holroyd notes the presence of a generational shift in values, from a model based strictly on duty and control to one that

reflects more affection, gratitude, and reciprocity. Likewise, Ng and colleagues (2002) state that caregiving motivated by duty may now simply be an amalgam of social norms and intergenerational expectations. Normative obligation in the traditional sense, they contend, has been eroded and is presently based more on reciprocity than obligation.

Conceptualising a more complex multivariate model of reasons for parent care, W.K.-M. Lee and Kwok (2005a; 2005b) describe the contemporary motivation for caregiving in the Asian setting as a combination of traditional and modified filial piety and social exchange. These are then moderated by the quality of the parent-child relationship and structural impediments such as economic independence of the young, education, migration and the erosion of parental power. Lee and Kwok argue that reciprocity is stronger than duty, and support is also dependent on love, gratitude and sympathy. Further, they suggest the support adult children are willing to provide to their parents is ultimately based on personal choice.

The combination of structural and relational norms motivating adult children to provide support and care for their parents is becoming a distinguishing feature in the Asian caregiving literature. If filial obligation is the starting point, relationships are driving caregiving forward.

3.5.3.1 ASIAN DAUGHTERS AND DAUGHTERS-IN-LAW

In their study of urban Mainland China, Zhan and Montgomery (2003) observed that daughters were providing nearly as much instrumental support for their own parents as daughters-in-law, and were additionally contributing financial support almost equal to sons. Further, in their sample, more than 40% of the older parent respondents were living with daughters, rather than sons. Though some of this may be attributable to low fertility and migration, the fact that it is happening at all is indicative of a normative shift.

Separate research in China and Japan offers some insight into why more daughters and fewer daughters-in-law may be providing parental care. In a study of informal Chinese caregivers O.M.H. Wong (2000) reports that daughters-in-law in her sample performed caregiving for their husband's parents as a way of helping their husbands, not out of affection, gratitude or even duty toward their in-laws. Because they lacked this filial connection, most daughters-in-law were unwilling to provide more than financial or instrumental support for in-laws. In contrast, Wong found, daughters to be motivated by filial obligation as well as reciprocity for their own parents. Interestingly, Wong suggests daughters-in-laws' lack of feeling for their husband's parents could actually result in less caregiver burden and stress than that experienced by daughters who genuinely care about their parents.

In a Japanese study, Long, Campbell and Nishimura (2014) found that amongst their respondents, daughters-in-law felt they had no choice of whether or not to provide care for their in-laws. They viewed this as a moral obligation and normative extension of their domestic role, but complained that family members took them for granted. Long and colleagues (2014:3) cite a popular Japanese saying originating in the 20th century: "Never marry an eldest son." This maxim is thought to derive from the comments of daughters-in-law pertaining to the history of unhappy relations with their husband's family. Grievances recounted by Long, et al., include lack of appreciation, being treated as an outsider as a new bride, interference from the husband's siblings, and criticisms from the husband's mother, all of which may result in longstanding feelings of resentment, bitterness and anger. Therefore, the authors assert, more educated and self-sufficient Japanese women with greater bargaining power, may refuse to live with in-laws or might negotiate conditions

under which they are willing to provide elder care for them.

A different situation is said to exist with Japanese daughters, who may volunteer to become caregivers of their elderly parents. Like O.M.H. Wong (2000), Long, et al. (2014), found that daughters' filial obligation most likely originates in feelings of affection, reciprocity and gratitude, including the desire to pay back parents for previous kindnesses and sacrifices. Daughters-in-law receive no such benefits from in-laws, their husbands do. Thus, Long and colleagues suggest feelings of gratitude and reciprocity for in-laws are unlikely.

The daughters in Long et al.'s (2014:15) research expressed no need to be appreciated, but instead said caring for their mothers, was a "natural thing." Daughters-in-law expressed guilt over being unable to take care of their own mothers. Both daughters and daughters-in-law related the desire to fulfil social expectations by being a "good" role model. It was, however, the personal history each caregiver had with her care recipients that determined how she actually felt about the support and care she was asked to provide. According to K.S. Lee (2014), personal history is why mothers and daughters prefer the company of one another as opposed to those they are not related to by blood.

3.6 HOW ASIAN GOVERNMENTS MANIPULATE THE CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSE UNDERLYING CAREGIVING MOTIVATIONS IN ORDER TO PRESERVE NORMS OF FILIAL OBLIGATION

Much has been written about how structural impediments such as geographic distance, employment, and contemporary norms influenced by modern society, have modified the nature of traditional filial obligation. Perhaps to counterbalance some of the effects these changes have had on Asian families, the governments of many Asian countries have implemented legislation, policies and other procedures intended to preserve traditional

filial obligation associated with Confucian cultural norms.

3.6.1 HOW GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND LEGISLATION INFLUENCE SUPPORT AND CAREGIVING MOTIVATIONS IN ASIA

Over countless generations, filial piety has been woven into the fabric of East Asian society, and provided the formal underpinning for family support systems. Since the end of the Second World War, however, traditional norms have been juxtaposed with new policies brought about by, in some cases, changes in the nature of governance, (e.g., China, Japan), and in all cases, situational developments (e.g., decline of intergenerational housing) resulting from urbanisation, industrialisation, and modernisation (Izuhara, 2010). In an attempt to preserve norms of filial obligation, some governments of traditionally Confucian countries have taken a two or three prong approach: Articulating public policy, enacting legislation, and in some cases, socially engineering.

Most East Asian countries with histories of filial piety and Confucianism still rely on the moral imperatives underlying these ideologies to hold families responsible for their elderly members (K.S. Lee, 2014; Lei, 2013; Sung, 2000). For example, Hong Kong's "family first" policy does not legislate filial piety, (Ghy and Woo, 2009) but it officially endorses the family as the primary support of elderly parents (R.K.H. Chan, 2011; Holroyd, 2001) advocating a "caring and harmonious society" predicated on happy and harmonious families (S.S.C. Chan, et al., 2011; Nip, 2010: 72). In practice, however, little is done to advance these objectives.

Unlike Hong Kong, filial piety has been legislated in other Asian countries, both directly and implicitly. For example, the laws of the Republic of Korea do not expressly require adult children to support their parents. However, under the Basic Livelihood Security Act (1999) elders and others living below the Minimum Cost of Living, only become eligible

when the "person liable for supporting," them (defined as a "lineal relation") has no ability to do so (Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights, 2009). Taiwan has similar provisions under its "Senior Citizens Welfare Act" (Republic of China, Taiwan, 2012).

Japan's filial obligation laws are explicit. Prior to the Second World War, adult children were required under the 1898 Meiji Civil Code to support their parents even before their nuclear families (Rickels-Jordan, 2007). Though this was abolished by Japan's 1947 Constitution, support of elderly parents continued under the new Constitution and Civil Code, Article 877 of which imposes reciprocal support obligations on parents and children. Additionally, Japan's "Law for the Welfare of Elderly Persons" mandates that adult children who live with their parents, or who lived with their parents prior to institutionalising them, be financially responsible for them (Moskowitz, 2002).

The government of Singapore also legislates filial obligation, through its Maintenance of Parents Act of 1995. Under the Act's provisions all adult children, regardless of gender, are required to provide financial support to their parents if need can be demonstrated (Singapore Attorney General's Chambers, Maintenance of Parents Act, 1996). As can be seen in the statement of Tarmugi Abdullah, Acting Minister for Community Development before the Act was passed, love and moral obligation are combined in the rationale underpinning the law:

> But it is wrong to expect Government to assume the responsibility of children to at least maintain their parents when they are able to do it, out of love, out of moral duty. Government will, in fact, only exacerbate the problem of abandoned parents should it relieve children of this responsibility (Parliament of Singapore, 1994:270, Cited in Rozario & Hong, 2011:614).

Like Japan, Article 49 of China's Constitution imposes reciprocal obligations on

children and parents (R.J.-A. Chou, 2011). Like Singapore, moral obligation is featured in China's "Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly" (1996). Chapter II of the law, entitled "Maintenance and support by Families," compels grown children to comfort and look after their parents, cater to their special needs, pay their medical expenses and arrange for proper housing. Conversely, it prohibits children from seizing personal and real property of their parents without express permissions.

On 1 July 2013, a new "Elderly Rights Law" expanded filial obligation in China to include the "spiritual needs" of one's parents, and a duty to visit them, though it failed to specify the frequency of these visitations or take into consideration the distances between family members in a large country. As a result, the new law has received criticism, though it is still enforceable through fines and detention (Hatton, 2013).

In support of policies and laws promoting filial piety and family caregiving, the governments of many Asian countries have been slow to develop social welfare programmes that would lessen the burden on families. In Hong Kong, for example, most programmes designed to provide relief for families do not emanate from government but from a loose network of NGOs, community care and support services, churches and charities. The government's reluctance to supersede these agencies as the direct primary provider of services is evidenced by the subsidies it provides to many of them (R.K.H. Chan, 2011; Nip, 2010).

Japan, Taiwan and Korea, now provide Long-Term Care (LTC) Insurance and/or other programmes for elderly people (Fu, 2008; Kim and Han, 2013; Long, et al., 2014; Yoon, Eun and Park, 2000). Singapore and China (including Hong Kong) are taking steps to provide nominal assistance to elders. However, it is extremely likely considerable time will

pass before the family is relieved of its responsibility as the primary caregiver of ageing parents and the government is no longer viewed as the "last resort" for eldercare in Asia.

3.6.1.1 FILIAL PIETY BY CONTRACT

Reforms taking place in Mainland China since 1949, initiating pensions, creating then disbanding collectives, changing marriage and inheritance laws, and limiting family size, together with migration and the decline of intergenerational households, are believed to have gradually deprived many Chinese elders of their traditionally high family status and leverage and to have jeopardised the old age security previously guaranteed by their children and living arrangements (R.J.-A. Chou, 2011; Hashimoto and Ikels, 2005). Likely in response to this, in the 1980's, the Family Support Agreement (FSA) was conceived of and implemented in the Chinese countryside. Spreading throughout rural areas, by 2005, 13 million Chinese villagers are purported to have entered into such agreements, and some FSAs even began to emerge in cities (R.J.-A. Chou, (2011).

The FSA is a contractual relationship between adult children and their parents in which the children's obligations are defined and agreed to. The terms of these agreements may range from financial and material support alone to include such things as emotional support, caregiving, farm labour, health care, LTC, and funeral expenses (R.J.-A. Chou, 2011). FSAs are voluntary. However, local governments, the central government, the Chinese Constitution and Elder Laws encourage and support it. Local governments may offer guidelines as to how agreements should be structured, whilst the central government promotes them through its "Resolution of the State Council on strengthening Senior Services." In furtherance of this, the government uses a "carrot and stick approach," publicly praising those who are filial and rebuking those who are not. Moreover, parents may take

children who are in breach of these agreements to court. (R.J.-A. Chou, 2011:7).

3.6.2 SOCIAL ENGINEERING DRIVING FAMILY SUPPORT AND CARE MOTIVATION IN ASIA

The Chinese government's support of the FSA is one example of how filial piety is socially engineered. This occurs in other forms throughout traditionally Confucian Asia. For example, in Korea, corporations award filial piety prizes. Korea and Japan have Respect for the Elderly Day and Elderly Week (Sung, 2000). Taiwan offers care subsidies to families who care for their parents (Republic of China, Taiwan, 2012). Japan provides tax deductions and additionally supports the housing industry in creating elder friendly homes; provides loans to caregivers who remodel their homes to accommodate elderly parents; and gives tax benefits to day-care centres and businesses promoting health care. In Japan, it is possible to rent a family if one has no immediate family of one's own to provide care, and further, Japan has created a new pension plan for women to enable them to leave the workforce to care for children or elderly parents (Moskowitz, 2002).

Nowhere in Asia, however, is filial piety socially engineered to a greater extent than in Singapore. Though it is often described as a confluence of East and West there is substantial evidence Singapore officialdom uses filial piety and Confucian values as "an important ideological tool" and an "asset to promote economic development and modernisation" (Kuah, 1990:375).

From the time Singapore achieved nationhood in 1965, its government has systematically endeavoured to forge a national identity with uniquely "Singaporean" values centred on the family. Since the 1980s it has promoted Confucian ethics to offset influences from the West, justify its social welfare policies and reinforce its authority. Under the guise of civic responsibility and moral education in a multi-ethnic population, Confucian values,

for example, have been integrated into the school curriculum. Additionally, the "Public Awareness Programme on Ageing" and the "Parent Education Programme" have been implemented in the school system as a means of bolstering filial piety amongst the young (Kuah, 1990; Rozario & Rosetti, 2012).

On another level, the Housing Development Board has developed a variety of schemes to motivate adult children to live with or near their parents. Many such schemes offer grants, loans, reduced down payments, "wait list" priority, and larger flats (P. Teo, et al., 2003). All of this is directed at strengthening the family and ensuring the family remains the primary caregiver of elderly parents.

In Singapore, the family is idealised by promoting familism and family values as exemplified by the following quote from the Ministry of Community Development and Sports (MCYS):

> The family is an important institution. It brings fulfilment to our lives and is our anchor in this fast-paced, ever-changing environment. Families serve as an important pillar of support for the nation. At the individual level, families are the primary source of emotional, social and financial support. At the national level, they contribute to social stability and national cohesiveness as they help develop socially responsible individuals and deepen the bond Singaporeans have with our country (Ministry of Community Development and Sports, 2003, cited in Y. Teo, 2010:339).

In campaigns, policies and the speeches of its leadership, the Singapore government promotes the model family as a young, heterosexual, educated, employed, married couple with children living as a nuclear unit in a Housing Development Board (HDB) flat. Elderly Singaporeans are portrayed as "pioneers" of the country and adult children are expected to bring them into their homes and care for them when they become frail. Until then, ageing parents are encouraged to help their children with childcare (Y. Teo, 2010).

Policies are established to influence and shape norms, particularly those concerning marriage, child bearing and elder care decisions. For example, the tax code provides an S$11,000 exemption for adult children co-residing with parents who have Activities of Daily Living (ADL) needs and an S$4,500 exemption if the parents are functional (Rozario & Rosetti, 2012). Under the Central Provident Fund (CPF) Housing Grant Scheme, children who purchase flats within two kilometres of their parents receive S$10,000 as a grant toward the purchase. The government regulates the salaries of foreign domestic helpers (Y. Teo, 2010). If a FDH is employed to care for an elderly parent, the Foreign Maid Levy is reduced from S$265 to S$170 per month (Rozario & Rosetti, 2012).

By shifting the financial burden for elderly parents from the state to the family, many benefits accrue to the government. As the last resort for its elderly citizens, the state does not dissipate its wealth through social security programmes. When it does intervene it appears to be altruistic and philanthropic. It preserves its status as a non-welfare state, and taxes are kept low thereby maintaining its economic competitiveness (Rozario and Rosetti, 2012).

In following this course the government also achieves its other objective of promoting a Singaporean identity. There is a "Singapore way" of doing things that follows an orderly pattern aimed at preserving the family. This Confucian approach to governance is portrayed as being "unique and superior" to liberal democracy where the West can be characterised as materialistic and individualistic (Rozario & Hong, 2011; Tan, 2003:763). Pride is taken in Singapore's government-endorsed practice of filial piety with the whole of Singaporean values viewed as protecting tradition despite modernisation (Y. Teo, 2010:343).

3.6.2.1 WORK-LIFE-BALANCE IN SINGAPORE AND HONG KONG

As part of its social engineering policy, for the past several years, Singapore has

actively promoted *Work-Life-Balance.* In 2007, its Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports (MCYS) issued a press release proclaiming the success of its inaugural work-life study which headlined: "Confirms Positive Benefits of work-life harmony to Individuals and Businesses." The lead paragraph advises:

> Singaporeans who achieve work-life harmony are more likely to enjoy their work, have better family relationships, and enjoy a better quality of life, according to an inaugural National work-life Harmony Study jointly commissioned by the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports (MCYS) and the National Family Council (NFC)… Another key finding of the study was the positive correlation between an employee's work-life harmony and employee engagement and retention, as well as an organisation's productivity and its bottom line (Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports, Singapore, 2007).

The release goes on to say that MCYS together with the Ministry of Manpower (MOM) would work with employers to initiate work-life programmes and to "promote an environment that values flexibility and performance" over time spent in the office (Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports, Singapore, 2007). It concluded with a list of "work-life initiatives" including S$10 million in funding to support them, an award scheme for compliant employers, seminars, conferences and media exposure for exemplary enterprises. A four-part documentary aired on television to disseminate the information.

MOM currently maintains a website devoted to work-life harmony with strategies for achieving this state. In 2013 the Singapore Business Review announced that Singapore's *Work-Life-Balance* is the third best in Asia (Singapore Business Review, 22 June 2013). Hong Kong, conversely, has no government sponsored *Work-Life-Balance* programme. However, Community Business, a membership based NGO has sponsored a "*Work-Life-Balance* Week" for the past three years in addition to conducting case studies and creating a guidebook (Hong Kong Community Business Online, n.d.).

Despite its grassroots efforts, Hong Kong, unlike Singapore, has recently been described by community leaders as having a "workaholic culture" that keeps its citizens in a "perpetual state of stress" (S.S.C. Chan, et al., 2011:669). Citing a report by Chung, Pang and Tong (2010) of over 2.6 million employees with a fixed working week, R.K.H. Chan (2011) observed that 28.4% were working eight to 10 hours a day and 5.8% worked more than 10 hours a day. In an even more recent analysis, K.L. Chou and Cheung (2013) reported 25.8% of Hong Kong employees work more than 50 hours a week, 63% work unpaid overtime, 52% work late hours, and 37% report having no time to spend with family. Further, in an investigation of 50 married, female professionals, Lo (2003) found even though they are working long hours their husbands are still not willing to share household responsibilities. Nor have their employers implemented family-friendly policies. The result is exhaustion and burn out.

Hong Kong has recently instituted some remedial measures to rectify work-life conflict, and in 2006 passed the Employment Ordinance addressing issues such as maternity leave, respite and holidays, as well as a five day working week for government employees (K.L. Chou & Cheung, 2013). Nonetheless, even with these improvements, S.S.C. Chan, et al., (2011:671) have subsequently described the Special Administrative Region (SAR) as "neither family-oriented nor friendly as a whole." In fact, according to them, "the current working policy hinders the promotion of a family-friendly working environment." K.L. Chou and Cheung (2013) claim the reason for this is resistance from owners of small and medium size companies that constitute 98% of Hong Kong's business community.

The extent to which Hong Kong and Singapore's divergent approaches to family support and caregiving are reflected in intergenerational exchanges and care will be

discussed in the empirical chapters.

3.7 CONTRIBUTION OF THE WESTERN LITERATURE TO UNDERSTANDING ASIAN CAREGIVING MOTIVATIONS

Although this is a study of Chinese women, it is informative to consider Western as well as Asian perspectives on caregiving motivations. Western concepts help us to broaden our understanding beyond filial piety and give definition to transitioning norms which otherwise might evade explanation. Some crossover may also exist between caregiving motivations in Western and Asian countries, particularly those with a history of familism (Jang, Avendano, and Kawachi, I., 2012). However, despite some apparent similarities between the familistic and patriarchal norms of Confucian Asia and, for example, the Mediterranean countries, the same meanings and interpretations may not necessarily be ascribed to perceived attitudes and behaviours. Shared knowledge, history, cultural norms, and values among citizens of a given country can be strong influences, working at both the individual and societal level to shape beliefs and practices in unique ways (Brant, Haberkern, and Szydlik, 2009; Suanet, Van Groenou, and Van Tilburg, 2012). For this reason, the Western literature is intentionally treated separately in this thesis, except where it is deemed appropriate to do otherwise.

3.7.1 WESTERN MOTIVATIONS BASED ON STRUCTURAL NORMS OF FILIAL OBLIGATION ["I HAVE TO"]

Subtle differences exist between Western and Asian perspectives on structural norms of filial obligation. Unlike Asian countries with long histories of Confucianism, Western society is culturally heterogeneous and both individualism and the family structure would vary by country and sub-cultures within countries.

Structural norms of filial obligation have been conceptualised in the Western

literature as an attitudinal approach to parental caregiving. Attitudes concerning the rights and needs of ageing parents and the appropriate social roles assigned to their adult children are defined by societal standards and expectations (Cicirelli, 1993; Del Corso & Lenz, 2012; Stein et al., 1998). Internalisation of what have been called socially responsible behavioural norms, often attributed to the Judeo-Christian heritage in the West, (e.g., honour your father and mother,) can occur through early childhood socialisation (Cicirelli, 1993). This may transpire through the transmission of values as to what are acceptable or expected behaviours as well as through social learning and role modelling (Hess & Waring, 1978). The result is an indelible and fully integrated sense of duty owed by the child to parents.

Some expressions of how duty manifests in later life are seen in the results of Wallhagen and Strawbridge's (1995:560) study of 100 American adult caregivers. Of the 15 informants motivated by duty, responses embodied remarks such as: "Yes, it's a responsibility"; It is "a duty we owe them"; "Family obligation…I wouldn't live with myself if I didn't"; and "It has been too easy in our society to put away our parents and forget them." For the 28 informants citing family values as their motivation for caregiving, justification included: "Our value system from family and faith supports caregiving"; "Values inculcated in me [of] family obligation"; "The Bible says so-as far as you are able"; "I come from an Italian background-close family"; "…the way I was raised-the country (Columbia) that I come from. It is the way of living there." To these comments, Walker, Pratt, Shin and Jones (1990) add that the duty to provide care may originate from socialisation into nurturing roles or the belief that if the child does not take care of the parent, no one will.

Expanding on the concept of filial obligation, or what they call normative solidarity, Silverstein, Parrott and Bengtson (1995) found that normatively prescribed obligation to

parents, (conforming to the concept of duty discussed above), is an important predictor of upward flowing intergenerational support.

Finally, the structural nature of filial obligation implies there are consequences for failing to live up to societal expectations. Thus, fear of underperforming appropriate filial behaviours is posited to act as a social control implemented through self-judgment and reaction to the opinions of others (Aronson, 1990; Hess & Waring, 1978).

3.7.2 WESTERN MOTIVATIONS DERIVING FROM PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS ["I WANT TO"]

The personal relational approach to motivations for caregiving, which is predominant in Western theorising, emphasises the importance of negotiated commitments within families with respect to what they are willing and unwilling to do for one another (Finch & Mason, 1993; Stein, et al., 1998). This approach is multifaceted and very often involves combinations and overlapping of disparate concepts. In the discussion that follows, the core concepts, as they relate to motivation to care for elderly parents, are presented as well as some of some of the ways that these relational sources of obligation overlap to motivate the care of elderly parents.

3.7.2.1 AFFECTION

Affection amongst family members is an emotional state based on love, positive feelings, closeness, security, and intimacy (Cicirelli, 1993; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997). It appears as one of the most robust motivations for caregiving in the Western literature. Children who have stronger affection for parents are reported to be more likely to have increased contacts, provide greater social support, and be more committed to them over the life span (Horowitz & Shindelman, 1983; Silverstein, et. al., 1995). Parrott and Bengtson (1999) found that past affection between parents and children can predict emotional support

to both mothers and fathers as well as financial support to mothers. Likewise, Horowitz and Shindelman found a relationship between the strength of affection and the amount of care provided as well as the ability to handle the stress and burden of caregiving. Affection is widely reported to motivate daughters in particular, whilst sons tend to be motivated by structural norms of filial obligation (Silverstein, et al., 1995; Walker, et al., 1990).

A few variations of the affection model have developed over the years. The "Friendship Model" combines affection with reciprocity, and suggests that anything done for parents by adult children should be motivated by their current "friendship" and given voluntarily (Dixon, 1995; Stuifbergen & Van Delden, 2011). The "Special Goods" model suggests the things each party does for the other occur solely because of the relationship. It is premised on the belief that the relationship between parent and child is unique, and mutually beneficial (Keller, 2006; Stuifbergen & Van Delden, 2011). The "Attachment" model grows out of the emotional bond between the child and mother in infancy, and adheres to the idea that this creates a desire in the adult child to be with the parent (Cicirelli, 1983, 1993).

3.7.2.2 GRATITUDE AND RECIPROCITY

Norms of reciprocity can also serve to motivate filial behaviour. Reciprocity begins with the assumption that adult children owe their parents for the sacrifices parents have made for them in the past. This can relate to a child's "gift of life" and upbringing: providing a home, food, education, and so forth. It encompasses all the burdens parents have endured, and the special consideration they have given to their children's needs in order to nurture them into successful adulthood. In return, as parents become old, frail, and dependent, *fairness and equity* require children to repay their parents by being cognisant of their needs and providing support and care (Stuifbergen & Van Delden, 2011; Wicclair, 1990).

Repayment however is not always a simple matter. Keller (2006) and Wicclair (1990), for example, bifurcate reciprocity into debt and gratitude. Debt, they argue, is akin to a fixed sum to be repaid, whereas gratitude carries with it no duty to repay or criteria for repayment. Berman (1987:25) posits that parent-child reciprocity is imbalanced from the beginning. Gifts such as education given to children can engender what Berman calls an "irredeemable obligation," that can never be repaid.

The concept of "lagged reciprocity" offers an elaboration of the classic reciprocity model by incorporating a life course perspective (Silverstein, Conroy, Wang, Giarrusso, and Bengtson, 2002). Borrowing from the field of economics, lagged reciprocity is separated into two subcategories of exchange that add the element of life course timing: (1) the *return on investment* model, and (2) the *insurance policy* model. In return on investment, the idea is that parents' sacrifices and nurturing on behalf of young children are returned as a matter of right when children reach adulthood. In the insurance model, childhood transfers are repaid when parents are most in need. In both, the earlier investment is viewed as earned, and is repaid in roughly an equivalent value to what was given. As can be seen, these models have elements of exchange as both are driven by parents' self-interest.

The concept of "negotiated responsibilities" is another variant of reciprocity (Finch & Mason, 1993). The assumption underpinning negotiated responsibilities is that there are no fixed rules when it comes to reciprocity amongst family members, only guidelines. Responsibilities do not exist solely because of the kinship relationship, but rather are created between family members as active participants. Because they are negotiated rather than superimposed, commitments tend to be stronger and more enduring as well as fluid and diverse. Because they are negotiated over the life course and in the context of what has gone

before, achieving balance between dependence and independence is a principle objective. Due to the indissoluble nature of the relationship, a moral element is overlaid onto family negotiations. One's reputation, or standing within the family, and one's self-identity undergoes reconstruction during each negotiation. From this perspective, morality is thereby implicated in all kinship negotiations. It defines the terms of the negotiations and determines the legitimacy of each individual's negotiating position. It also determines how the parties are perceived by the outcome. If one's moral identity is at risk it may influence whether or not one remains in or abandons a negotiated exchange (Finch & Mason, 1993).

3.7.2.3 ALTRUISM AND NEED

Feelings of altruism are another source of motivation to provide support and care. Altruism has been defined as "giving to others with the most need and the least ability to repay" where there is "no ostensible resource benefit to the provider" (Silverstein, Conroy & Gans 2012:1250). However, Silverstein and colleagues (2002) also note that "pure altruism" does not exist. They suggest there are two explanations for selfless demonstrations of support for elderly parents: The altruistic caregiver is either *selfish but faced with exclusion* from inheritance (rational choice exchange) or receives a "*'warm glow'* of satisfaction" from good deeds. Stuifbergen and Val Delden (2011) also suggest that responding to parental need is emotional, based on the parents' vulnerability and concern for their well-being.

3.7.3 WESTERN SUPPORT AND CAREGIVING MOTIVATION DERIVED FROM COMBINED STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL NORMS ["I HAVE TO AND I WANT TO"]

An affection-obligatory model offers another understanding of caregiving motivations. As discussed, affection is a strong motivator in providing care. However, affection and structural norms of obligation are not mutually exclusive. Walker et al. (1990)

reported that one-fifth of the mother-daughter dyads in their study experienced combined discretionary-obligatory motives. Horowitz, et al. (1983:15) found that 51% of their respondents mentioned affection as a reason for caregiving, and 58% of their respondents cited structural norms of obligation. They concluded, “Most often, however, obligation and affection went hand-in-hand.” Finley, Roberts and Banahan (1988) found that female respondents who had strong affection for their mothers were also resolute in their attitudes of filial obligation toward them. Neither higher education, role conflict, nor greater income, significantly impacted these feelings.

3.8 LIMITATIONS ON CAREGIVING MOTIVATIONS

3.8.1 FILIAL BELIEF VS. FILIAL BEHAVIOUR

Transitioning Chinese norms have raised the question of whether filial attitudes continue to translate into filial behaviour. However, the answer is inconclusive. Lam (2006) suggests a chasm may exist between professed allegiance to *xiao* and actual conduct. In a study of sandwich generation caregivers, caught between the needs of children and parents, he contends Hong Kong respondents have internalised filial piety. Their failure to act in accordance with their filial beliefs is explained by such determinants as work, family income, and the quality of relationships with family care recipients.

Some adult children express filial attitudes but are only willing to provide financial, not emotional or instrumental support (Chappell & Funk, 2012). Some profess filial beliefs but subsequently expect ageing parents to take care of themselves, perhaps with help from a spouse or FDH (Lam, 2006). Others perceive attitude as only one element driving support (Chen, Bond & Tang, 2007). Adding to this discourse, Finch and Mason (1993) contend attitude may be irrelevant in explaining why individuals provide support for family members.

Taking a symbolic interactionist approach, they suggest that what is important is how one's actions are interpreted by others and the meanings conveyed, not the belief in one's head.

3.8.2 STRUCTURAL OR SITUATIONAL IMPEDIMENTS

Structural impediments limit the ability to provide caregiving by making performance practically difficult if not impossible, generating role conflicts, and affecting the quality of relationships between grown children and their parents. Factors such as living arrangements, employment, education and the quality of parental relationships can dictate filial behaviour (Chappell & Funk, 2012). These impediments have been discussed in Chapter 2 (A. Chan, 1999; W.K.-M. Lee & Kwok, 2005a; Ng et al., 2002).

3.8.3 LACK OF AFFECTION AS NEGATIVE MOTIVATION

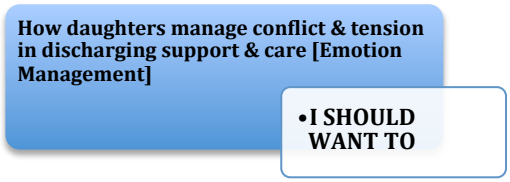
Parents' unsympathetic attitudes, disagreeable behaviours, and poor communication skills when their children were young can induce negative consequences once children are grown. Whitbeck, Simons and Conger (1991) found that adults who perceive rejection from parents during childhood are less inclined toward closeness and affectual solidarity with them when the latter become elderly. They are less likely to feel concern over their parents' well-being, and more likely to experience relationship strain (Whitbeck, Hoyt & Huck, 1994). According to Parrott and Bengtson (1999) this can affect the parent-child relationship up to 20 years later.

3.8.4 CONDITIONALITY

Conditionality is linked with the concept of reciprocity and the idea that one has a duty to repay one's parents for a good and proper upbringing. However, if one's childhood is characterised by deliberate parental neglect, abuse, or failure to fulfil normative obligations expected of parents, the reciprocal obligation toward the parent when one reaches adulthood

may be excused (Aboderin, 2006).

3.9 HOW EMOTION MANAGEMENT MODERATES CONFLICT AND TENSION IN FULFILLING FILIAL OBLIGATION



Theoretical ideas about management of emotions are associated with the Sociology of Emotion, which emerged as a distinct field of empirical inquiry in the 1970s. Writing recently about the Sociology of Emotions, sociologists Jonathan Turner and Jan Stets (2005) opined that it is incomprehensible why it took so long to emerge as a discipline:

> Emotions pervade every aspect of human experience and all social relations… Emotions are the "glue" binding people together and generating commitments to large-scale social and cultural structures; in fact emotions are what make social structures and systems of cultural symbols viable. Conversely, emotions are also what can drive people apart and push them to tear down social structures and to challenge cultural traditions. Thus, experience, behaviour, interaction, and organisation are connected to the mobilisation and expression of emotions (Turner & Stets, 2005:1).

Mainstream sociological theories such as symbolic interactionism, dramaturgy, and social exchange all have elements of emotion in them. For symbolic interactionists, positive and negative emotions in one's interactions with others, serve to confirm or disaffirm one's perception of self and how one should relate to others. Similarly, for dramaturgists, who analogise behaviour to theatrical performance, emotions interplay with cultural beliefs and rules of proper behaviour to determine appropriate ways to portray oneself. For social exchange theorists both costs and rewards are accompanied by emotions and ultimately it is the emotional component that drives choice as well as change (Turner & Stets, 2005).

American sociologist, Arlie Hochschild (1983) developed the theory of emotion management, drawing from the aforementioned theories as well as from other fields. The core idea of emotion management builds on the space between what we actually feel versus what we believe we *should* feel and what we *try* to feel.

In her book, *The Managed Heart*, Hochschild (1983:21) writes that feeling is a sense, the same as hearing or seeing. From the emotional information we take in and put out, we learn how to view the world. Hochschild suggests that in our private lives we have probably always managed our emotions and that doing so is "fundamental to civilised living." But, in modern society we are also called upon to manage emotion at work. Thus, she organises emotions into two parts. The first falls under the umbrella of what she calls our "private emotional system." The other is what she calls "emotional labour." Both consist of framing rules, feeling rules, display rules, emotion work, rule reminders and interpersonal exchange. The difference is context. Hochschild distinguishes between them:

> I use the term *emotional labour* to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly facial and bodily display; emotional labour is sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value*. I use the synonymous term *emotion work* or *emotion management* to refer to these same acts in a private context where they have *use value* (Hochschild, 1983:7, fn; *Emphasis added*).

In this research, the private emotional system, or *emotion work*, will be examined. Emotion work differs from emotional labour to the extent that cultural norms, as opposed to employers, determine the rules by which emotion is felt and expressed. Further, the recipients of the caregiving effort are likely to be family and friends rather than customers, and the display is private, not public. The discussion below is framed in the context of private *emotion work*. First, the key concepts of the theory of emotion management are described.

3.10 EMOTION MANAGEMENT DEFINED AND EXPLAINED

In chapters 5-9, the presentation of the research findings, the discussions of when and how emotion work is undertaken make frequent reference to the core emotion management techniques set forth below.

3.10.1 FRAMING RULES

Hochschild (1979:566) defines framing rules as "rules according to which we ascribe definitions and meanings to situations." It is how we interpret things. Framing rules may be broad such as cultural norms or practices within cultural norms that are widely accepted within a society or group. Traditional Chinese values, for example, could be considered framing rules. Framing rules may be specific or even individual, that is, how one person interprets cultural norms in the context of their own experience. Framing rules can also be redefined when context or circumstances change.

3.10.2 FEELING RULES

Hochschild (1979:566) says that feeling rules are "guidelines for the assessments of fits and misfits between feeling and situation." Feeling rules and framing rules are "back to back and mutually imply each other." Feeling rules represent what we *should* feel in light of the interpretation framing rules have given to a situation (Hochschild, 1983).

What we should feel is often taught to us as children and gradually internalised so that these messages become integrated into our personal values. As a result, what we feel and how we act on those feelings should be synchronised with cultural norms and expectations (Hochschild, 1983). Feeling rules also determine the strength of the emotion we should feel in a given situation as well as the length of time we should feel it; and helps us decide whether the appropriate emotion should be positive or negative (Turner & Stets, 2005). As

Hochschild (1979) observes, it creates a worry free zone where our emotions are safe from criticism or guilt.

According to Hochschild (1983:57), we know feeling rules exist when we experience a discrepancy between what we *do* feel and what we believe we should feel. We know we are applying feeling rules when we, and others, view our emotional behaviour in relationship with what is acceptable under the circumstances and how we, and others, feel about it.

Feelings can be situated or held over the long duration where we may want to change them but are unable to. Hochschild (1983:56, 68-72) specifically examines this in the context of the family. She points out that parent-child relations are often fraught with feelings of love-hate, and that framing rules tell us what the appropriate "mix" of these feelings should be. When we experience the discrepancy between what we feel, or have a right to feel, that causes us to perform emotion work. As Hochschild puts it, feeling rules establish "the sense of entitlement or obligation that govern emotional exchanges."

3.10.3 DISPLAY RULES

Display is the outward expression reflecting inward emotion. Display rules are "the rights and obligations" that accompany this outward display (Hochschild, 1983:60). If inner feelings and outward appearance are in harmony then the display is authentic. If there is a discrepancy between what one actually does feel and think and what one should feel and think, the display is considered "wrong." Where the discrepancy is between what one does feel or think and what one *appears* to feel and think, the display is defined as "false."

3.10.4 EMOTION WORK

Hochschild (1979:561,562) describes emotion work as "the act of trying to change the degree or quality of an emotion or feeling." It is how we *try* to bridge the gap between

what we *do* feel and what we believe we *should* feel. Hochschild emphasises that emotion work refers to the effort that is expended, the "act of trying," not the success of the effort.

Emotion work is divided into two categories, what Hochschild (1979:561) calls "Evocation," and "Suppression." In the first, effort is applied to induce or "shape" a feeling that is not initially present. In the second, effort is made to suppress or prevent unwanted feelings. These techniques can be applied in conjunction with or separate from the core approaches to emotion management**:** Surface acting and deep acting.

In surface acting, Hochschild (1983:37) says, it is the "body, not the soul that is the tool of the trade." It is the part of emotion management that attempts to project the proper facial and bodily display to match expectations of what others think they should be. She explains, we "pretend to feel what we do not." Surface acting does not attempt to change feeling: "In surface acting we deceive others about what we really feel, but we do not deceive ourselves" (Hochschild, 1983:33).

In contrast, deep acting attempts to alter what we feel. Hochschild draws from the Stanislavski Method in which the actor attempts to develop genuine feelings that he or she really believes. This can be done in two ways, through exhortation or trained imagination.

Through exhortation we order our feelings to change by directly manipulating them to induce or prevent feeling. We give ourselves commands like "stop feeling sad" or "I must feel happy." But we do not attempt to access our deep inner resources or emotion memory in doing so. According to Hochschild, it is only when we draw on our imaginations that we are really doing method acting.

As Hochschild (1983) writes in the *Managed Heart*, Stanislavski told his actors not to try to create a feeling, but to "become" the character. To do this, the actor must imagine or

relive events or settings from their own past and experience the feelings that accompanied them. If done successfully, the actor will feel "as if" the image of the past is occurring in real time and the feelings will authentically reproduce themselves in the present.

So too, in deep acting the private individual attempts to recreate a state of mind by invoking or suppressing emotions and images from the past. For example, an adult child might remember the love he or she felt when a parent performed an attentive or kindly gesture. In so doing feelings of gratitude, pity, or other emotions may be replicated in the present to support the desired manifestation of the emotion in a heartfelt way. Conversely, one might try to suppress beatings from parents or parents' negative personality traits in order to conjure up feelings of warmth for them.

3.10.5 RULE REMINDERS

Rule reminders reinforce or prompt us to change our feelings by making us stop and examine the appropriateness of them. Often rule reminders come in the form of comments or gestures from others: scolding language, teasing, smiles, or scowls (Hochschild, 1979:564). Alternatively, they may come from within through feelings of guilt or shame. Either way, rule reminders tell us whether or not we are complying with normative expectations.

3.11 THEORETICAL ADVANCEMENT

Since 1983, a significant body of work has grown out of the theory of emotion management. It has been used to understand the dynamics and circumstances of people's daily lives and how individuals interact with one another on an emotional level. For example, Cahill and Eggleston (1994) employed Hochschild's theory to show how wheelchair users manage their emotions in interactions with people reacting to their disabilities. Pierce (1995) employed the theory to explore gender and role differences in law firms. In her article on

how nurses offer emotion work as a "gift" to patients, beyond the emotional labour they do for their jobs, Bolton (2000:584) describes how they mask their "feelings of abhorrence" in certain situations to achieve a positive display for the benefit of patients' families.

Emotional labour, in particular, has been extensively tested. Steinberg and Figart (1999:22) write that Hochschild's theory of emotions has "blossomed," and "stood the test of time." Scholars, who have explored and expanded the theory, have "grounded and shaped our understanding of what it means… [in the workplace] to 'induce or suppress feeling' or to produce the 'proper state of mind in others.'" In the Chinese context, emotional labour was recently explored by F. Cheung and Wu (2013) who were interested in the ways surface and deep acting affect successful ageing in the Hong Kong workplace. Their findings suggest that deep acting has positive benefits in the work environment, but surface action does not.

In contrast to emotional labour, past research on private emotion work has been strongly associated with families, the division of household labour and *Work-Life-Balance*. In "The Second Shift" Hochschild (1989) examines gender ideologies in the context of balancing family and work, showing how couples do emotion work to reinforce their idealised concepts of what marriage should be.

In other American literature on emotion work, Wharton and Erickson (1993:469) suggest that within the family context, women are "the primary providers of socioemotional support." As such, they are not only expected to manage their own emotions but to be responsible for the emotional well-being of other family members. According to the authors, an "on-going attentiveness" to emotional display is required in order to achieve this.

Erickson (1993, 2005:349) also says that "being the family's emotional caretaker" is often perceived as something women "are," a role stereotype such as "women are nurturers,"

as opposed to something women "do," like housework or a job. This further suggests emotion work is effortless or invisible and is likely exacerbated by women's internalisation of the expectation to care. Erickson describes emotion work done for the well-being of others as "shadow labour." But, she adds, the inability to recognise emotion work should not foster the notion that it does not exist. Nurturing behaviours must be "managed, focused, and directed so as to communicate the appropriate and intended emotion."

DeVault (1999) writes about how women perform family emotion work in order to suppress anger, disappointment and frustration whilst advocating for other family members. Erickson (2005) also explores the relationship between emotion work, gender and household labour, suggesting that emotion work is implicated in projecting attitudes and support behaviours that are gender appropriate.

Since the turn of the millennium, more research on emotion work has been directed at the ways in which caregivers of acutely ill and cognitively impaired family members rely on it in providing care. In a study of cancer patients' informal carers, C. Thomas, Morris and Harman (2002:537) found that managing emotions was "crucial." Caregivers performed emotion work in order to generate a positive environment for their care recipients; they performed emotion work on themselves in order to remain strong, to refrain from succumbing to their own emotions, and to prevent depression; and they performed emotion work in order to feel they had some control over the difficult situations they were in.

In other research on cancer carers, Olsen (2011:906) found caregivers performed emotion work not only to control their own emotions, but also to encourage care recipients to conform to what were determined appropriate feeling rules. This included the endorsement of proper display rules for being a good patient. Being positive, brave and stoic were contrasted

with bad patient attitudes and behaviours such as giving up hope and being uncooperative. One of Olsen's respondents even commented that, "90% of caregiving is emotion work."

In a more recent study of dementia caregivers, Simpson and Acton (2013) tested the effects of emotion work in four areas: managing feelings, weighing options, being parental, and ensuring emotional well-being. Caregivers performed emotion work to hide their true feelings (particularly irritation) from care recipients, avoid projecting their feelings onto others, and to suppress or override negative emotions. They used it to determine how to respond to the erratic behaviours of care recipients and to adjust the care relationship from a more egalitarian to a less egalitarian model. Finally, they did emotion work to promote the well-being of the care recipient. According to the authors, all of this was strongly motivated by feeling rules of what it means to be a good caregiver.

3.12 ADDRESSING TENSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT TO UNDERSTANDING CAREGIVING WOMEN

Being a "good caregiver," is a prominent theme, not only in the caregiving literature but amongst the respondents in this research. It is also a framing rule, defined by individual interpretation. Framing rules are reinforced by rule reminders, which are strongly advised by guilt and self-image.

3.12.1 GUILT

Over two decades ago, Jane Aronson (1990:70, 72), writing about Canadian women caregivers, observed that women are subject to social pressure to conform to gender stereotypes of domesticity by aligning "their personal realities with prevailing ideologies" [framing rules]. Failure to live up to internalised social norms, she claimed, could negatively impact a woman's concept of selfhood and bring about feelings of shame and guilt:

> Guilt can be understood as the incorporation of prevailing moral codes, in this instance the shared assumptions about obligation and caregiving. It signals their internalisation in such an effective way that they are levelled against the self, producing a kind of estranged self-criticism (Aronson, 1990:73).

According to Aronson, tension and conflict are created when women try to "strive to balance…between responsiveness to competing others and responsiveness to themselves, between self-enhancement and self-denial" (Aronson, 1990:72). Caregivers, she urged, suppress their own feelings and needs in order to release themselves from guilt. In emphasising the role of guilt and shame in driving caregiving forward, she asserted:

> In summary, the feelings--guilt and shame--associated with women's concerns at not living up to socially approved ideas about giving and receiving care reflect their profound internalisation of cultural prescriptions. Their incorporation and the resulting self-criticism and self-control represent highly effective-and invisible – forms of social control. Motivated to reduce feelings of guilt and shame, women implicitly suppress assertion of their own needs, so that the broad pattern of care of old people goes unchallenged-rather, it is sustained and reproduced (Aronson, 1990: 76).

Aronson's findings can be seen in Holroyd's (2001) Cultural Model, which similarly relies on internalised cultural norms reinforced by feelings of guilt.

3.12.2 SELF-IMAGE

In between Aronson (1990) and Holroyd (2001), Hazel Mac Rae (1998) studied family caregivers of Alzheimer's patients who, she said are often conflicted between feelings of love and anger. In the Chinese context, this has been called a "caring dilemma" (Ngan and Wong, 1996). Caregivers perform emotion work to control their tempers by suppressing, invoking, and adjusting emotions in an attempt to conform to feeling rules of what a "good caregiver" should be (Mac Rae, 1998; Simpson & Acton, 2013). Difficulty with or failure to control

negative emotions, Mac Rae claims, induces feelings of guilt, resentment and shame. She contends maintaining a positive image of oneself is essential to one's self-identity. Thus, caregivers are highly motivated to develop emotions that are acceptable to them.

In Mac Rae's (1998) research, caregivers employ strategies for controlling their emotions such as blaming the disease and not the patient. Others adopt avoidance strategies through both physical separation and silence. Over time, however, the strain of trying to present the appropriate display and pushing down emotions has potentially adverse effects. One of Mac Rae's respondents said she could understand why elder abuse takes place. Citing prior research on the negative consequences of surface acting, Mac Rae speculates that if emotion work becomes too difficult, one's ability to feel may be lost, or one may become ill from stress and exhaustion. In any event, something is likely to change. Hochschild (1983: 90) was also mindful of this:

> Over the long run display comes to assume a certain relation to feeling….a separation of display and feeling is hard to keep up over long periods. A principle of *emotive dissonance* analogous to cognitive dissonance, is at work. Maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain. We try to reduce this strain by pulling the two closer together either by changing what we feel or by changing what we feign.

3.12.3 CAREGIVER IDENTITY THEORY

If emotion management attempts to bridge the gap between what one feels and what one's framing rules and feeling rules prescribe one *should* feel, the "Caregiver Identity Theory" attempts to bridge the gap between how one views one's role as a caregiver and what that role actually is. This would appear to be an expansion of Hochschild's core principles (Montgomery and Kosloski, 2009).

In the "Caregiver Identity Theory" the caregiver role originates in the existing

relationship between the parties and is driven by cultural norms and values personal to one's family [i.e., framing rules]. As the needs of the care recipient and demands on the caregiver become greater, the authors suggest the relationship begins to change, potentially creating a discrepancy between what the caregiver envisions his or her caregiving role to be [the "identity standard"] and what the role actually is. Montgomery and Kosloski (2009:49, 50) claim this discrepancy can cause such discomfort that caregivers become highly motivated to seek relief and "restore congruence". This can be accomplished in three ways: a change in behaviour (e.g., educating oneself to accept the situation or obtaining outside relief from, for example, a FDH); a change in one's self-appraisal (e.g., how one perceives one's behaviour); or a change in one's identity standard (e.g., a new set of rules redefining appropriate caregiver behaviour).

The objective of what might be called "behaviour work" is to harmonise the existing identity standard with actual caregiving activities so the relationship is tolerable to the caregiver, and arguably so that it will continue. It is worthy to note that Montgomery and Kosloski progress the caregiving relationship through five stages, during which caregivers must commit increasingly more time, energy and resources to the care recipients. The final stage is characterised by exchange in which primary caregiving is discharged by a third party and the original caregiver returns to his or her initial identity standard. Such an exchange would seem to indicate an inability to restore congruence. The potential for guilt and the implications for self-image can also be observed, as it is likely they are driving the discomfort experienced through incongruence.

3.13 EMOTION WORK IN THE CHINESE CONTEXT

The duty to provide caregiving for family members is often instilled in Chinese

daughters as a framing rule from early childhood. Feeling rules under which caregiving is conducted prescribe the avoidance of conflict and direct confrontation (Sullivan, 2005). Women are expected to administer care and gift emotional support to the family with the right attitude and display. Adapting Aronson's (1990) findings to a Chinese model, Holroyd (2001) suggests that Chinese women both internalise the obligation to care and judge themselves by their ability to care, self-imposing guilt if they fail. Following Mac Rae (1998), Holroyd also suggests "personhood," a form of self-image, is what is at stake.

These cultural mandates, kin expectations, self-imposed guilt, and the need to protect one's self-image, can work together to create tension and conflicting emotions between one's own needs and filial obligation, with potentially negative consequences such as caring dilemma. Thus, how emotions are managed in the caregiving process may not only affect the caregiver's ability to continue in the relationship but the quality and duration of care as well.

Emotional labour has previously been written about in the Chinese context (F. Cheung and Wu, 2013). However, there appears to be no literature in which emotion work performed by Asian caregivers has been studied. What one finds are discourses on various coping strategies suggesting a rudimentary form of emotion work exists, but is unrecognised as such. For example, T.C. Cheng, Ip, and Kwok (2013) note in their study of Chinese caregivers, that those who controlled their emotions by forgiving care recipients' behavioural problems reduced their own caregiver burden, provided the disruptive behaviours did not become too extreme. The authors do not explain how forgiveness is generated; however some degree of surface acting or deep acting might be expected.

In other research T.C. Cheng, Lam, Kwok, Ng and Fung (2013) explore the effects of self-efficacy in caregiving of family members with Alzheimer's disease. Self-efficacy is

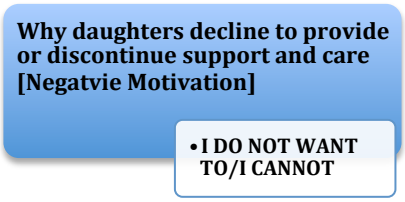
examined in three contexts: controlling negative thoughts, controlling care recipients' behavioural problems, and controlling respite decisions. The authors found that Chinese family caregivers exhibiting greater self-efficacy in controlling their negative thoughts experienced lower caregiver burden and more personal growth than the other two controls. This suggests how important controlling one's thoughts and emotions are to caregiving.

As part of their investigation into a "Coping with Caregiving" programme in Hong Kong, Au, et al. (2010:258) studied the effectiveness of *Cognitive-behavioural therapy* (CBT) as a means of teaching Chinese caregivers "how to assess and modify the negative thoughts induced by the caregiving role." One of their goals in using CBT was to teach the caregivers how to change their "unhelpful" thoughts before they manifested into negative behaviours. This is similar to the stated objectives of emotion work.

In the tradition of symbolic interactionism and the broader Asian context, S.W.-C. Chan (2010) observes that the ways in which caregivers interpret the behaviour of their care recipients, as well as their caregiving responsibilities, may be determinative of how they cope. Culture, she adds, provides the framework for such interpretations. Chan refers to the influence of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism in Asian countries, which she suggests predispose caregivers to fatalistic views of caregiving. In support of this, she points to research conducted in Hong Kong in which the findings indicated Hong Kong Chinese accepted events in their lives as "heaven's will." This is a framing rule. It ascribes meaning to the situation. S.W.-C. Chan (2010:472) states that acceptance of this "cultural conceptualisation" enables caregivers to endure caregiving hardships free of guilt. If what one feels, however, in the context of this framing rule, is not acceptance but, for example, doubt, emotion work would likely need to be done to achieve the desired result.

The subject matter of each of these studies, though not identified as emotion work, suggest ways in which individuals can change their outlook and emotional content in order to tolerate the circumstances they are in. This is one goal of emotion work, as discussed in the empirical chapters that follow.

3.14 INTERPERSONAL ("GIFT") EXCHANGE AND CHINESE FAMILIES



Feelings can be experienced alone, but according to Hochschild (1983) they are most often experienced in exchanges with others. She states:

> Feeling rules are standards used in emotional conversation to determine what is rightly owed and owing in the currency of feeling. Through them, we tell what is "due" in each relation, each role (Hochschild, 1983:18).

Hochschild (1983) describes this as "bowing from the heart" or *"gift exchange."* Feeling rules determine what one owes to another and what the other expects to receive. Conversely, feeling rules determine what is owed in return. She suggests we all keep a mental ledger of debits and credits. The depth of the bond between parties to an exchange as well as the equality or disparity of their status and gender are influential in determining what and how much may be owed.

Exchange is the ultimate manifestation of the private emotional system. The practice of managing emotions likely occurs in every person every day in one form or another. However, it is particularly so within the family, where bonds are strong, relationships are

long, complex and changing, and there are inequalities based on age and gender.

Social exchange has been addressed in the Asian literature in a caregiving context, with different outcomes. For example, in a study of Hong Kong caregivers of dialysis patients, role conflict was found where caregivers were employed or taking care of more than one family member. Caregiver burden existed; however, internalised cultural "guidelines," strongly informed by duty, imposed negative stigma and guilt as disincentives to institutionalising care recipients. As a result, patients remained at home and the caregiving relationship remained intact. Nonetheless, the relationship was out of balance. Caregiver burnout and caring dilemma were major themes (Luk, 2002).

In another study, Hong Kong caregivers of mentally ill relatives were required to manage the family member's disruptive behaviour, often in public, thereby risking humiliation; take on the disabled family member's responsibilities; and argue with other family members over the course that caregiving should take. This was in addition to providing care. The authors found that by continuing the relationships, respondents lost their temper with the care recipients, some experienced financial strain, and others developed ill health (Ip & Mackenzie, 1998). Again, the relationships were out of balance, evidenced by caregiver burden being expressed outwardly in the form of anger, and inwardly in worse caregiver health.

A third study compared primary caregivers with non-caregivers. Worse health and poor quality of life, depression, weight loss and anxiety were associated with those who remained in the caregiving relationship (Ho, et al., 2009).

These studies represent the negative extremes of caregiving. However, these scenarios are frequently seen in the literature, and, they are exemplary to the extent they

demonstrate how difficult caregiving can be. In these cases, parents can no longer contribute to the exchange. To keep the relationship in balance, it is posited that structural norms of obligation and relational norms of affection and reciprocity must be relied on. The strength of these norms may determine the outcome of the exchange, because once it is out of balance, according to exchange theorists, the relationship should shift (Brody, 1985). With parents currently living into extreme old age in Asia, and the adult children in the family still designated as primary caregivers, the question arises as to how much these caregivers will be able to endure. As this is the first generation facing this issue on a wide scale, and in light of changing norms of filial obligation and lifestyles, the outcome is anything but certain.

3.15 EMOTION MANAGEMENT EXPANDED AND CRITICISED

Interest in Hochschild's theory over the past 34 years has contributed to its expansion in significant ways. Tools to measure it empirically have been deployed (Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Four new categories of emotional labour have been introduced to demonstrate how employees can become skilled actors whose emotions are not necessarily transmuted into the "flat lifeless landscape" of their employer (Bolton & Boyd, 2003:304). The concept of "citizen regimes" has been created to link emotion management with social policy (Tonkens, 2012).

But, emotion management has also been criticised. Bolton and Boyd (2003) argue that Hochschild overemphasises the difference between emotional labour and emotion work and incorrectly equates the two. They also criticise the theory for being too rigid, particularly with reference to the transmutation of feelings. Tonkens (2012) contends Hochschild's work fails to explain the relationship between concepts and does not consider them in the wider context. Tonkens alleges emotion management is seldom explored beyond the gendered

division of labour and *Work-Life-Balance*. Finally, Tonkens observes a theoretical gap exists, in that Hochschild does not show how individual emotions, social interactions and macro-processes such as globalisation are related.

3.16 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the conceptual and theoretical framework of this thesis. The overarching framework consists of symbolic interactionism, to help us understand how norms of filial obligation to parents are enacted and how they have changed; conceptual models showing the motivation to provide support and care; Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotion management to explain how emotion is controlled in the provision of care in the face of conflicting demands and feelings; and her related concept of gift exchange to clarify and explain why caregiving may be discontinued.

Traditional Chinese society is collectivistic in its orientation and structure, and social order is maintained through institutions rather than individual interaction, though traditional norms of filial obligation are in a state of transition. Symbolic interactionism offers one way to understand how these normative changes might affect the willingness and ability of Chinese women to support and care for their elderly parents. Symbolic interactionism emphasises the ways individuals interact with one another on the basis of the meanings things have for them and how these are interpreted to create new meanings. Thus, this theory helps to explain how individuals give meaning to and experience the structures of education, employment, living conditions, and altered family forms and their impact on contemporary norms and values.

The conceptual and theoretical basis for caregiving is broken down into three analytic components: 1) Why daughters provide care, using normative and relational models of

motivation characterised as "*I have to*" and "*I want to*"; 2) How daughters manage conflict and tension in discharging care, applying the theory of emotion management portrayed as "*I should want to*"; and 3) Why daughters decline to provide care or discontinue caregiving, drawing from social exchange theory and the idea of "gift exchange," represented as "*I do not want to/I cannot*."

Structural norms of filial obligation ["*I have to*"] consist of socially acceptable behavioural norms transmitted through role modelling or teachings that are internalised in childhood. These can manifest as duty and are tied to normative expectations and guilt. In the Asian context structural norms are strongly associated with contemporary interpretations of filial piety and reinforced by government policy. The "cultural model approach" is linked with the Confucian notion that self is subjugated to the obligations of personhood, informed by gender and generational roles.

A personal relational approach to motivations ["*I want to*"] originates with filial piety in the Asian context. However, it is widely believed that the altruistic and emotional aspects of it are primarily what remain. Additionally, Asian relational norms are believed to be strongly influenced by contemporary norms, which are less obligatory and more voluntary and egalitarian in nature than traditional filial piety. *Yangdao*, (not *xiao*), is the distinguishing feature based on what has been referred to as a "network of responsibilities and obligations" (Ng, et al., 2002:141).

Borrowing from the Western literature, the Convoy Model subscribes to the concept of a "support bank" into which parents deposit when their children are young and are able to withdraw from in their old age. Social exchange is also implicated in Asian relational norms. However, some contend it must be adapted to the collective nature of Asian families.

The Asian literature embraces no one particular relational model. Reciprocity and affection are most often combined with structural norms, especially modified versions of filial piety. This is particularly apparent in studies of daughters and daughters-in-law, who no longer strictly accept traditional norms of filial obligation.

Despite changes in the nature of filial support and caregiving motivations, Government policies, incentives, laws and social engineering still aim to encourage, and in some cases require, adult children to care for elderly parents, particularly in Singapore. One of the emerging instruments from these government endeavours is the Family Support Agreement, which has gained widespread popularity in the rural areas of Mainland China. Taking a different approach, Singapore supports a programme of *Work-Life-Balance*.

Unlike Asia, Western concepts underpinning motivation of support and care are dominated by affection and reciprocity. Reciprocity can refer to a debt, where a fixed sum is to be repaid, and to gratitude, where the lack of duty to repay can result in irredeemable obligation. The life course approach of lagged reciprocity is likewise bifurcated: as a return on investment and as an insurance policy, where delayed repayment of childhood investment is deemed earned. Negotiated responsibilities are also reciprocal, but based on guidelines, not rules. They are driven by one's moral identity and the desire to balance independence with dependence within the family context.

Affection is the strongest motivator for caregiving in the Western literature, which can also be combined with reciprocity. Other models growing out of affection are the friendship model, the special goods model, and attachment. Altruism, encompassing need, is defined as giving without the expectation of receiving a benefit. However, it may be motivated by self-interest as well as a "warm glow."

There are limitations to caregiving motivations. Studies on the gap between filial belief and filial behaviour have yielded mixed results. However, Finch and Mason (1993) argue the attitude vs. behaviour debate is irrelevant. The only thing that matters is one's actions being viewed positively by others. Negative motivation, or lack of affection, can act as a disincentive to providing support and care ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"]. Likewise, conditionality involves the idea that if parents have not fulfilled obligations to their children, children's reciprocal obligations may be excused. Finally, structural impediments such as smaller living quarters and female employment may make parent care impractical or impossible.

Chinese women caregivers are arguably bound, to some extent, by traditional norms of filial obligation they have internalised, aligned with their sense of self, then linked with guilt when they fail to live up to socially expected norms of behaviour. Arlie Hochschild's theory of emotion management suggests that in our interactions with others we attempt to conform our emotions to social expectations ["*I should want to*"]. Difficulties arise when what we believe we *should* feel is distinct from what we *actually* feel. To bridge this gap we do emotion work. We can create a proper display through surface acting or try to change what we feel through deep acting. A derivation of emotion management can be found in the "Caregiver Identity Theory" in which caregivers try to bridge the gap between what the caregiver believes her role to be and what it actually is.

Whilst emotional labour has been studied in Asia, emotion work in the private sense has not. Nonetheless, research into self-efficacy and cognitive-behavioural therapy provides some insight into behaviours that might be considered emotion work but are unacknowledged as such.

Hochschild also contends that individuals maintain a mental ledger of what is owed and what is expected in their relationships with others. This is a version of social exchange she refers to as "gift exchange." Like classical exchange theory, when the ledger grows imbalanced, a change in the relationship or the circumstances may result [*"I do not want to/I cannot*"]. With this framework in place, the research methods and how the study evolved will be examined.

CHAPTER 4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to understand what the lives of modern Chinese women in Hong Kong and Singapore are like and how these women interpret filial obligation. It aims to explain why these women are or are not willing to care for their elderly parents, and how they discharge care. As noted previously, Chinese daughters have been the greatest beneficiaries of modernisation to the extent that many have an opportunity to achieve high educational status with careers and salaries on a par with men. This represents a substantial deviation from the past when Chinese daughters were uneducated and "married out" to their husband's family. Additionally, filial piety has historically prescribed that daughters be the caregivers of ageing parents and in-laws. What makes the daughters' roles and attitudes so important to examine is that even though the attitudes, opportunities and lifestyles of many have changed, their family obligations have not. Understanding what continues to motivate them to support and care for elderly parents and how they reconcile potentially conflicting role demands, is therefore extremely relevant. Further, because these daughters have multiple obligations they are likely to experience stress. In terms of gift exchange or exchange theory, if stress or the burden of caregiving becomes too difficult for Chinese daughters, they may be unwilling to continue.

To explore these filial commitments and behaviours of modern Chinese daughters, a qualitative exploratory, and interpretive approach is used. Qualitative exploratory research lends itself to an in-depth understanding of individuals in their own environments, attempting

to explain why people develop distinct attitudes and beliefs, or engage in certain behaviours (Schutt, 2006). The interpretative approach to data collection seeks to learn about people's lives from their own words and meanings (Coombes, Allen, Humphrey & Neale, 2009). In furtherance of the exploratory and interpretative nature of this research, data were collected utilising semi-structured interviews, a method commonly employed in this type of research.

4.2 SITE OF THE RESEARCH

The Chinese culture is one the author has studied and seeks to know more about. As a Gerontologist, she is also aware of how fast the Chinese community is ageing in Hong Kong, Singapore and Mainland China. The dearth of social services in those locations suggests the traditional family caregiving paradigm is destined to continue. However, the literature indicates modern Chinese societies are undergoing significant economic and technological change, affecting the educational and professional opportunities of Chinese women. It might be expected such changes would have a significant impact on traditional cultural norms within Chinese communities, where women are the traditional hands-on caregivers of elderly parents.

In the current study, one objective of the interviews was to identify and understand what normative changes are taking place in Asian Chinese communities and how Chinese women residing in these venues are negotiating these changes. Of particular interest was what motivates Chinese women to undertake filial obligation in this changing social and cultural environment and the issues involved in its execution. The author wanted to know how these issues are resolved, and what happens when these women decide to discontinue the direct care of elderly parents, delegating this responsibility to others, such as foreign domestic helpers.

Attempting to answer these questions required the ability to speak with Chinese women residing in Asia. However, there were practical considerations. As Silverman (2010:145) writes:

> In independent, unfunded research, you are likely to choose any setting which, while demonstrating the phenomenon in which you are interested, is accessible and will provide appropriate data reasonably, readily and quickly.

With a paucity of financial resources available, and the language limitation, conducting this study in Mainland China would have been difficult, if not impossible. Hong Kong was an obvious second choice because of its proximity and cultural confluence with the Mainland. It was thought the addition of Singapore would add depth to the study, as Singapore and Hong Kong have similar histories and have experienced similar socioeconomic development.

The Chinese populations of Hong Kong, Singapore and Mainland China share a common history of filial piety and other traditional values. Hong Kong has been reintegrated into China whilst Singapore's population is more than 74.3% ethnically Chinese (Statistics Singapore, 2014k). China is experiencing similar economic development and changing norms as that found in Hong Kong and Singapore (R.J.-A. Chou, 2011; Cook & Dong, 2011; Zhan, 2004b; Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). At the same time, China has the largest ageing population in the world (Zhang, Guo, Zheng, 2012). It is hoped what is learned in this research will provide insight so as to direct future research into some of the issues currently facing and expected to confront China as its economy grows and its population ages.

Singaporean and Hong Kong Chinese women are analysed separately, and motivations and variations based on the experiences within each group are explored**.**

4.3 INITIAL STUDY OBJECTIVES AND METHODS PROVED UNFEASIBLE AND WERE REVISED

The original purpose of this research was to investigate whether there is a correspondence between how the lives of Chinese daughters have changed and the occurrence or not of elder abuse. However, following the pilot phase of fieldwork, the original research thesis, design, and methodological approach had to be abandoned and a new approach developed. In the course of modifying the direction of the research study, the analytic approach shifted from using a mixed methods approach to a qualitative study using in-depth interviews. (See Appendix "A" for the detailed account regarding the initial research exploration and its feasibility.) Utilising a qualitative research method that would allow the study's Chinese daughters to speak in their own words had virtue, and this approach, applied to a modified set of research questions, was retained.

4.4 WHY USE A QUALITATIVE APPROACH AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS?

Silverman (2010) advises that selecting a research method should be based on what it is we want to learn. Qualitative research is said to "describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2010:7). According to Denzin and Lincoln the very word *qualitative* suggests the qualities, processes, and meanings of things are what are at stake. Qualitative research is able to probe the subjects' opinions and attitudes as well as to obtain rich descriptions of relationships and the nature of individual reality. It investigates "how social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2010:17). Silverman (2010:191) describes it as getting "inside the heads of a particular group of people" in order "to tell things from their point of view." Marshall (1996) observes, it is inductive, holistic, interactive, flexible, and is able to explore complex

human issues.

Given the interactionist foundation of this research, trying to understand normative change in the Chinese community and its implications for family caregiving arrangements, a qualitative approach appeared to present the best opportunity for providing insight into this complicated terrain. It would enable the author to investigate what individuals think, how their ideas were formed, and how these were manifested in daily living. One of the primary goals of the research was also to understand what was underpinning the respondents' attitudes and behaviours. In order to explore in depth the ways traditional values were transmitted to them, how they interpreted this information and why, the outside influences potentially modifying internalised norms and values, and particularly how respondents experienced conflict and emotion, semi-structured interviewing seemed to be a reasonable approach to take. In the final analysis, using this qualitative methodology proved far more interesting than the original research plan of mixed methods.

Following a careful review of existing methods for qualitative data collection, the study utilised face-to-face, semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The in-depth interview is a traditional and accepted approach to qualitative research where the research objective is to seek to explore and understand what people think, feel and experience (Schutt, 2006). It has been widely used in sociological research and particularly in caregiving situations (Coombes, et al., 2009). Semi-structured interviews are especially favoured, according to Churton and Brown (2010), because they are more flexible and conversational, allowing the interviewer to shift direction and modify questions in response to answers of the interviewee.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews can also produce better data because of their many salient features. Central to this method is its ability to probe a subject's life history as it

is lived and the meanings of these lived experiences in order to achieve a more complete understanding of a topic. It has the advantage of allowing the interviewer to follow up on areas that might require further explanation. It allows for reflection on the part of both parties (Churton & Brown, 2010; Schutt, 2006). The possibility for misunderstanding is minimised and both interviewer and respondents are able to seek clarification of uncertainties. It is heuristic. Where contradictions and inconsistencies do exist, further probing into the respondent's credibility can be initiated by rephrasing questions in a different way. Assumptions can be questioned. Respondents might also raise issues the interviewer may not have thought of. In-depth interviews are considered useful where behaviours are complex (Coombes, et al., 2009).

Funnelling, as described by Harper, and La Fontaine (2009) is also used as part of the interview technique. The funnel approach begins with a broad, overarching question to encourage a narrative response, then branches into alternative follow up questions depending on the response given.

4.4.1 DISADVANTAGES OF THIS APPROACH FOR EXPLORING THE TOPIC

Notwithstanding these many strengths, in-depth interviewing does have some weakness. This method can be highly subjective, vulnerable to researcher bias, and dependent on the experience and skill of the researcher (Coombes, et al., 2009). Such a data collection process can also be slow. Further, this method also exposes the researcher to minor complications such as equipment failure, which the author experienced.

4.4.2 CONSIDERATION AND REJECTION OF OTHER QUALITATIVE METHODS

In the process of selecting a qualitative method, life review, Guided Autobiography, document examination, participant observation and focus groups were investigated. Case

studies were not initially considered because the author was looking for a broad range of attitudes and behaviours. However, once themes began to emerge from the interview data, case studies were developed and used. Document examination was rejected following the pilot trip in 2010.

Life review utilises the interview process and has the benefit of being a reflection of the time and place in which it originates (McAdams, 2003). However, life review is structured and the objectives are different from in depth interviews. In life review, respondents may be asked to reflect on their lives chronologically for the purpose of re-evaluating and reintegrating life events, resolving conflicts and examining unfinished business so as to act as a catalyst for achieving meaning in one's life (Birren, 2007; Reker, 1994). In contrast, this research seeks to obtain factual information on current social attitudes and behaviours. Whilst a lifetime chronology might provide relevant background on how attitudes and values developed, it might also divert focus from the central research questions.

Guided Autobiography (GAB) uses semi-structured themes on which individuals write then share in small groups. It differs from life review in that it is theme oriented, group focused and facilitated, rather than chronologically and interview based. Previous utilisation by the author of GAB as a research tool yielded data rich results. However, for logistical reasons, following consultation with the examiners at Transfer of Status, GAB was rejected.

Participant observation involves direct observation and often involvement with the individuals being observed as they carry out their everyday lives (Schutt, 2006). Since this research is focused on families and what happens between family members in the privacy of their homes, it was considered. However, upon reflection, observation would not be practical or realistic. Only one family could be observed at a time, and most likely access would be

difficult to obtain without first building up trust over an extended period of time (See Salaff, 1995). Ethnic, cultural, and language differences could also be problematic.

Unlike the methods discussed above, focus groups are essentially "group interviews" where a facilitator raises issues to stimulate discussion amongst participants (Schutt, 2006). Whilst interaction amongst participants can act as a forum for generating new ideas, in the author's personal experience, focus groups tend to be dominated by one or two individuals who have the strongest personalities and can influence what the others have to say. Additionally, the difficulty of trying to arrange focus groups in the limited amount of time the author had in Asia would have been challenging. As a result, focus groups were rejected.

Taking a feminist approach to the research was also considered, as this is one perspective from which women can narrate their own lives and experiences. However, gender conflict (sometimes combined with class and race) is often intrinsic to the feminist approach (Appelrouth & Edles, 2007) and this was not a subject explicitly under investigation. Moreover, Feminism is also a social and political movement with a variety of manifestations that are not relevant to this thesis.

4.5 CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION IN THE STUDY

A number of criteria were used to select study participants. First, this is a study of *Chinese adult daughters*. Men were excluded from the sample because it is Chinese women who have historically been and continue to be the primary instrumental caregivers of their elderly parents (Ngan and Wong, 1996). Further, women's work and family roles and status have significantly changed over the past several decades, giving women more educational and occupational opportunities, but also more responsibility (Salaff, 1995). The author is unaware of any literature indicating how or if the roles and status of men have changed to

nearly the same degree over the past half-century. For these reasons women, rather than men, are being studied.

A second requirement was that study participants were *born and/or grew up in Singapore or Hong Kong*. This research seeks to show the filial attitudes and behaviours of Chinese adult women currently living in Hong Kong and Singapore. Accordingly, it is important that the women being interviewed have resided in these locales from a young enough age that cultural norms specific to those locations become integrated into their personal value systems.

The initial criteria for participating in this study required Chinese daughters to have *at least one living parent;* to be currently or previously *living with a parent or parent-in-law as an adult*; or to *currently be a caregiver of a parent or parent-in-law.* However, after speaking with women in the field, this was determined to be too limiting. Thus, the criteria were expanded to cover a variety of adult daughter-parent relationships, circumstances and caregiving experiences that may have existed previously, including cases where a parent/parent-in-law has died, or there was an acute health situation that has passed.

In general, this criterion is included as a prerequisite for investigating the relationship between daughters, parents and in-laws. In the past, Chinese daughters may have had little choice but to care for parents-in-law regardless of the consequences to their own health and quality of life. Today, whilst expectations of filial obligation may remain high amongst the older generation, the decisions their adult daughters have to make with regard to caregiving obligations, and the outcomes of their choices for themselves and their parents/parents-in-law remain largely unknown. For example, if time and space are limited, daughters may give preference to their own parents over in-laws or decline to provide caregiving at all.

Age and generation were another consideration. Whilst the study includes three older women (over age 65, hereafter, called the "First Generation,") and six foreign domestic helpers amongst the 64 women interviewed, the primary research focus is on women born between 1946 and 1980. At the time of the interviews the age of these adult Chinese daughters ranged from 32-65. It was determined this range would be broad enough to capture women who have completed their education, are likely to be working, and may have both children and elderly parents. At the same time, including two generations (those born between 1946-1964, hereafter called the "second generation," and those born between 1965-1980 (the "third generation,") provided a basis for possible comparisons.

The age spread from the youngest member of the third generation to the oldest of the second generation of respondents is also broad enough to capture variations in attitudes and values amongst these cohorts of Chinese daughters. Both groups grew up during times of evolving technological advances, changes in infrastructure, educational systems and socio-economic conditions. Those born after 1980 (the "Fourth Generation," or "Generation Y")[2] have not been included because many are likely too young to be married, have children, or have parents of retirement age. Further, from the author's experience, daughters in this younger age range may still be in school and supported by their parents. This group does, however, bear future investigation, as by the respondents' accounts, they are very different from previous generations.

The *education* criteria have been modified from secondary education graduation to incorporate women who have attended school, regardless of whether or not they have graduated. Though it is likely the more educated women in Hong Kong and Singapore would

[2] Generation Y is generally considered to include those born between the early 1980s and 2000.

have had greater exposure to individualistic values as part of their school curriculum, language of instruction, and white collar jobs, experience in the field suggests second and third generation working women with primary and secondary education falling short of the secondary certificate, nonetheless, have more personal resources than women born before the Second World War. This includes greater income and independence. Including women without a secondary completion certificate resulted in a more diverse sample, allowing contrasts to be observed.

The *employment status* criterion has also been revised from women currently in employment to include women who may have previously been employed. The latter may have been forced to quit working due to family obligations, making them relevant for that aspect alone. Or they may be retired. Women who have never worked outside the home were excluded. The focus of the study is on women whose lives have changed and become more complex. Employment is one factor causing this.

Employment in general is included because it is believed jobs may compete with family obligations and create conflict with regard to women's time and attention (S.S.C. Chan, et al. 2011; Galovan, Fackrell, Buswell, Hill & Carroll, 2010; Tang, 2009). Jobs also contribute to the evolution of values through exposure to new ideas, people and experiences, and provide financial resources that increase the likelihood of independence and greater bargaining power (W.K.-M. Lee, 2000).

The *marital status* criteria cover married, single, divorced, and widowed daughters. One of the ideas originally contemplated in this research was whether married women who are forced to or feel compelled to choose between the needs of their nuclear family and caregiving of parents will prioritise husband and children over parents or parents-in-law.

Whilst this remains a subject of interest, fieldwork experience suggests that unmarried daughters may remain in the family home and often be the primary caregivers of ageing parents throughout their lives. By including both married and unmarried daughters, the possibility for understanding interactions between these women and their parents or parents-in-law is broadened.

English or Chinese speaking: This category has been expanded to incorporate women who may only speak Chinese. The author is English speaking and lacks sufficient fluency in Mandarin or Cantonese to conduct interviews in those languages. English is the first language in Singapore and is also spoken in Hong Kong. Thus, the decision was originally made to limit the research to English speaking respondents. It was later determined that including Chinese (only) speaking women, if the opportunity arose, might add a different perspective from English speaking respondents.

The fieldwork produced four Chinese-speaking women: two who spoke no English and two with whom basic communication was possible with assistance from a translator. Three translators were used, all of who were known to the author. By virtue of these relationships these individuals were believed to be trustworthy and reliable in their translation. However, in retrospect, given the choice, the author would likely decline to use translators in the future. Translation is not verbatim but abbreviated. Important information can be lost in the translator's summarisation. Though the tape recording can be translated, this is time consuming and extremely expensive.

4.6 RECRUITMENT OF THE SAMPLE

4.6.1 SAMPLING STRATEGY

The sample for this qualitative study was accessed through non-probability sampling

methods: opportunity and purposive sampling and snowballing techniques. In opportunity sampling the researcher identifies the sample based on research questions, his or her knowledge of the research setting and the sample selection criteria that the researcher established (Schutt, 2006). The author had previously travelled extensively in both Hong Kong and Singapore. As she was familiar with the areas, she hoped she could identify and access gatekeepers then build on that to find potential study participants fitting the research criteria.

Prior to the commencement of fieldwork, the author set a goal of interviewing twenty respondents each in Hong Kong and Singapore. Fieldwork was spilt into four trips: two each in both locations. At the end of the first trip to Singapore it was clear the target would be met and probably exceeded. For the second trip the author turned to purposive sampling, targeting *only* women who had been or were currently caring for elderly parents. This same process was repeated in Hong Kong.

In purposive sampling members of the sample are selected for a specific purpose to contribute to some element of the research (Schutt, 2006). However, participants must be carefully selected to ensure their fit with the population being studied (Silverman, 2010). Schutt, (2006) citing Rubin and Rubin (1995) provides three guidelines for selection: 1) Respondents must be knowledgeable about what is being studied; 2) They must be willing to talk; and 3) They must represent a broad range of views.

Likely due to its selection process, in purposive sampling a framework may be developed, with variables, to broaden the range of the subject being investigated (Marshall, 1996). In this research potential respondents were successfully screened on the basis of whether or not they had a FDH, the length of care, whether the care recipient was a parent,

in-law or other kin, and whether or not the respondent was working.

Snowball, or chain referral sampling was also employed. This is a method widely used in qualitative research. Referrals are made amongst individuals who know each other and share characteristics relevant to the research being undertaken. Snowballing is particularly useful where the subject may be socially sensitive or respondents are difficult to locate (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Here snowball sampling was used throughout, but it was most beneficial in attempting to locate caregivers to interview. This is not only a group extremely difficult to identify and access, but they have little free time and may be unwilling to discuss their experiences due to its personal and sensitive nature.

Browne, (2007:47-48) emphasises the importance of social networks to snowball sampling. Work colleagues and acquaintances may also be accessed in this way, thereby adding greater diversity. Diversity can also be achieved by starting with multiple respondents from different backgrounds. Both of these techniques were employed in this study.

Noy (2008:334) contends there is a natural interrelatedness between snowball sampling and in-depth interviewing. Because respondents provide the referrals, the quality of the referral process is "naturally related to the quality of the interaction." A respondent unhappy with her own interview is unlikely to make a referral. Thus, snowballing has a secondary benefit of motivating the interviewer to conduct the best interview possible.

4.6.2 PROCEDURE FOR ACCESSING (INCLUDING RECRUITMENT SOURCES)

Following the pilot studies, the author visited Singapore in the spring and summer of 2011, and Hong Kong in the fall of 2011 and spring of 2012 to identify and recruit study participants and conduct interviews in those locations. The author's recruitment efforts are detailed in Appendix "A." Pursuant to the research objectives and sample selection criteria,

when study participants were actually recruited, it was entirely through professional and personal contacts and networking efforts. The breakdown on how willing subjects fitting the sampling criteria were accessed can be seen in Appendix B.

Although the author had initially intended to interview equal numbers of second and third generation Chinese women in Singapore and Hong Kong, the under-sampling of the second generation in Singapore was due to there being fewer networking opportunities to recruit suitable interview candidates within the time allotted. The imbalance between second and third generations was most likely related to the individuals who referred them, and older women seemed to be more accessible, perhaps because the author is middle aged and has more contact with individuals of similar age.

Thus, though the overall recruitment targets (40 women) were exceeded, because of the recruitment challenges, no attempt was made to specifically balance the number of second and third generation respondents. Further, even though the ages of the sample were weighted toward older women, in hindsight, the older women, with greater experience, probably yielded richer data. So, the imbalance is likely a positive result. In the sample, there are 14 second generation women in Singapore and 23 in Hong Kong. There are nine women from the third generation in both Singapore and Hong Kong. Further, though the sample is weighted to the second generation, the actual age distribution is quite spread out. There are 12 women in their 30s; 12 in their 40s; 22 in their 50s; and nine in their 60s. The remaining nine women were either over age 65 (N=3) or were FDHs (N=6).

4.6.3 EXCLUSION OF POSSIBLE PARTICIPANTS

Eighty-five women were identified as possible participants. There were some limitations in terms of accessing potential study participants to be interviewed. The author

declined to interview anyone she already knew. With some women, there were scheduling problems that could not be overcome. As mentioned, in the second trip to Singapore and Hong Kong, selection was narrowed to look for actual caregivers.

4.6.4 RECRUITMENT CHALLENGES

The greatest recruitment difficulty came from lack of acquaintances, especially in Hong Kong. Time and effort was expended trying to meet people. In the beginning it was frustrating and progress was slow. Some of the gatekeepers and individuals initially targeted later indicated they did not want to become involved. Others initially agreed to participate but were unavailable. Some potential referrals did not respond to efforts to contact them.

4.7 FINAL INTERVIEW SAMPLE

In-depth interviews were conducted with sixty-four women in Singapore and Hong Kong during 2011 and 2012. The interview sample included 55 Chinese women ages 32 to 65 (at the time of their interviews) born 1946 to 1980; three older Chinese women over age 65; and six Filipina foreign-born workers.

Second and third generation respondents: Those actually interviewed included 23 women in Singapore, and 32 in Hong Kong. The reasons for selecting second generation (1946-1964) and third generation Chinese women (1965-1980) have been previously discussed in the criteria for inclusion. In brief, it was believed they were the right ages to have benefitted from the post World War II educational reforms instituted in Singapore and Hong Kong. Additionally, they would have been amongst the first to experience modern technologies like computers, either as children or young adults. They are the first generations of Chinese women where the norm is to live apart from parents. Finally, they are the first generations in these locations where women became professionally employed in large

numbers.

First Generation respondents: Three women, age 78, 80 and 82 were interviewed to gain the perspective of Chinese women who grew up in a different era, with different life experiences and cultural norms. Although daughters are quite capable of describing their mothers' generation, it was believed the first hand narratives of women in the older age groups would add depth to the research and a contrasting perspective. There was never any intent to include the older women in the empirical analysis because they did not grow up in a time of changing norms, but rather the objective was to gain insight from them.

Amongst the most salient traits of these older women was their strength and resilience. All three of the over age 65 respondents grew up during the Second World War, when educational opportunities for women in Hong Kong and Singapore were virtually non-existent and traditional Chinese values were sacrosanct. Despite this, one woman eventually attained a university degree, and all three older respondents worked as professionals their entire adult lives: One became an executive secretary for a major international corporation; one a medical assistant; and the third a schoolteacher. They may have been unique in this regard, but their accomplishments also reflect their determination and character, traits shared by the respondents about their own mothers from the First Generation.

All three women married, however, two separated from their husbands who were reported to be violent or alcoholic. These women raised their children (both had one child) as single parents. One raised a transgender child, and another raised a daughter who died as a young adult. After her daughter's death, this respondent's son-in-law remarried and refused to allow her to see her grandson. In her 70s she volunteered to work in the library of her grandson's school in order to secretly maintain contact with him.

Learning from the first hand accounts of the older women's lives was valuable in that it not only highlighted how women of the traditionalist pre World War II generation took advantage of limited opportunities to improve their lives; but provided a glimpse into the kinds of role modelling that may have been transmitted to the younger respondents by their mothers.

Filipina FDHs: Six Filipina foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) were also interviewed, three each in Hong Kong and Singapore. It is common practice in both Singapore and Hong Kong for families to delegate caregiving responsibilities to FDHs (Constable, 1997; Rozario and Rosetti, 2012). The fact that this is happening supports the wisdom of investigating the extent to which FDHs are changing the family caregiving paradigm, and potentially attenuating the relationship between daughters and parents. For example, the presence of FDHs has likely abridged the time commitment of daughters to elderly parents.

This new norm is also creating a level of concern, which is relevant to this research. If family caregiving is becoming dependent on FDHs, as it appears to be, and other opportunities or circumstances render them scarce or unavailable, it is going to seriously call into question the future of elder care. Further, there are already problems with the use of FDHs. Respondent employers complain that FDHs mistreat elderly parents. FDHs complain of long hours, sub-standard living conditions, low wages, meddling and irritating elders, no time off, cruel employers, and even sexual molestation.

The other purpose for interviewing these workers was to obtain another perspective on the provision of paid care to elderly parents in addition to that of the daughter, thereby gaining a fuller understanding of changing filial norms and behaviour in the Asian setting.

4.8 INTERVIEW GUIDE

4.8.1 INTERVIEW GUIDE CONTENT

The detailed interview script and general guidelines are found in Appendix C, (1) and (2). The broad categories covered included the subjects' perception of differences between their own generation and their parents' and children's generations. Both traditional and contemporary values were explored, particularly filial piety. The respondents were asked about their childhood, their relationship with their parents and siblings, their education and other influences on their lives. Respondents' attitudes toward providing care to their parents, why they provided it, and whether or not they were currently doing so, the kinds of care they were presently providing or had provided in the past, and how it affected them, were all probed. Respondents were also asked about their feelings of stress and conflict resulting from caregiving, employment, and domestic responsibilities, as well as ways of coping, such as controlling their emotions. During the interviews, and later during the analysis, every precaution was taken to distinguish between care that was prospective and care that had actually occurred or was currently taking place.

The general guidelines (C-2) were also adapted and utilised as a reference during interviews with the FDHs. FDHs were asked to discuss their reasons for undertaking caregiver work, their relationship with both their employer and their care recipients, the daily routine of their employment, their observations regarding the relationship between the employer and care recipient and the time they spent together, the stress they experienced, and how they controlled their emotions.

4.8.2 RATIONALE OF THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

The principle thrust of the research investigates the caregiving attitudes and

behaviours of adult Chinese daughters and how they negotiate traditional and contemporary norms in providing care to elderly parents and other kin. Data was collected from the very population under investigation as the respondents were asked to talk about their own lives.

The in depth, semi-structured interview enables the researcher to interact with the interviewee, follow up on questions, and explore new areas that may arise in the interview. Information learned from the interviews provides insight into the research questions. The interpretation and meaning of the interview data and identification of emergent themes are guided by the symbolic interactionist framework and theory of emotion management.

4.9 INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Once the prospective respondents were identified, a succession of phone calls and emails were exchanged to establish time and place for the interview. A number of respondents had to reschedule, sometimes more than once. Interviews were conducted in hotel lobbies, at universities, a high school, business offices, interviewee's homes, churches, restaurants, and the lobby and roof top terrace of a serviced apartment. The date, time and location were scheduled to accommodate the respondents. All interviews and referrals were followed by emails, thanking the referee or respondent for their contribution to the research. The author travelled by metro, bus and foot around Singapore and Hong Kong to interview these women.

In conducting the interviews, the theoretical framework was used as a lens through which to view and understand the respondents' lives. In practice, the interview process was consistent throughout. It began with an explanation of the research and the plan for its use, then a request to tape record the interview. The consent form was reviewed line by line and discussed. It is attached as Appendix D. Once consent was obtained and the form signed,

demographic information was solicited from the respondent and entered on a demographic information form by the author. The form is attached as Appendix E. This preliminary process took between 30-60 minutes, but proved to be useful for establishing rapport with the respondent as well as for collecting information. Generally, by the time the tape recorder was turned on, the respondent was relaxed and in a conversational mode and the author had acquired good background information for the interview.

After the tape recorder was engaged, the conduct of the interviews followed a general pattern, though each was different. The first two preliminary interviews were conducted strictly following the author's detailed "script" (Appendix C2). Adjustments were then made and themes were expanded. As the author became more experienced, the "script" was retained as a reference. On a separate sheet the core themes from the interview guide were listed and that document was used as a working guideline, or checklist (Appendix C 1). Referring to the guideline, conversations covered all the themes, though in no particular order. Respondents were able, in general, to expand on their responses to questions until the subject was exhausted. Follow up questions were asked where the author wanted to probe deeper, or if responses needed clarification or elaboration. Those who participated in the interviews were cooperative, forthcoming with their opinions and willing to share personal details about their lives.

The length of the tape-recorded portion of the interviews ranged between one hour and three hours, with more lasting between one and a half to two and a half hours. With the conversation at the beginning and end of the interview and taking the demographic data, the interview process took about four to five hours overall.

Recruitment of suitable and willing study candidates overlapped with interview

activities. The collection of interview data continued until a saturation point was reached, which occurred when the author repeatedly began hearing the same or similar responses from the respondents.

4.10 DATA HANDLING

At the time the consent form was signed, each respondent was assigned a numeric identification. This identification was written on the consent form and the Pre-Interview Questionnaire. To insure anonymity, these are the only two places where the respondent's name or signature appears. Once the tape recorder was engaged, the respondent was referred to only by her numeric identification. Likewise, on the written transcription of the interview as well as the analysis matrix, only the respondent's numeric identification is shown. The consent forms and Pre-Interview Questionnaire are maintained in a secure location, separated from the written transcriptions and analysis. In writing up the study, all respondents were given a pseudonym to anonymise their identity.

Following each interview, the recording was uploaded into the author's laptop computer and backed up on an external drive. The transcribed interviews are retained in the author's computer and flash drive with a hard copy printed and maintained in notebooks.

4.11 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE (N=58)

This section will provide demographic data on the first, (pre Word War II) second, (1946-1964) and third (1965-1980) Generations of Chinese respondents. The selection of these women was based on their range of ages and the historical contexts when they grew up, through early adulthood and into midlife. As previously noted, the time span from 1946 to 1980 represents a period of rapid change in both Singapore and Hong Kong. The time before

the Second World War is characterised by traditional Chinese norms. The aggregate key demographic information of the sample's three generations (N=58) are shown below in Table 4.1. The respondent FDHs have deliberately been omitted from this table.

In the discussion that follows, to the extent their views are reasonably homogenous, the second and third generations of Chinese women and the locations where they reside, (Hong Kong and Singapore), will be considered collectively. Where meaningful generational or geographic differences are found, they will be highlighted. The First generation women are included in the discussion as a comparison group.

Table 4.1 Key demographic characteristics (N=58)

	Second Generation N=37		Third Generation N=18		>65 N=3
	SG* N=14	HK** N=23	SG* N=9	HK** N=9	SG* N=3
Age at interview					
30-39	0	0	7	5	0
40-49	2	4	2	4	0
50-59	11	11	0	0	0
60-65	1	8	0	0	0
>65	0	0	0	0	3
Number of siblings					
0	0	0	0	0	0
1-2	4	6	8	6	1
3-4	5	12	1	1	0
5 or more	5	5	0	2	2
Education					
Primary only	1	0	0	0	0
Secondary only	4	7	1	1	2
Some college	0	1	0	1	0
Tertiary grad (nurse/ teacher)	0	4	1	0	1
College degree only	5	5	5	1	0
Some post grad	2	2	1	4	0
Graduate degree	2	4	1	2	0
Marital status					
Never married	7	6	2	5	0
Married	6	16	4	3	3

Divorced/remarried	1	1	1	0	0
Divorced	0	0	2	1	0
Number of children					
0	7	7	5	6	0
1-2	4	15	2	3	2
3-4	3	1	2	0	1
5 or more	0	0	0	0	0
Employment					
Employed	8	16	9	9	1
Currently unemployed	6	7	0	0	2
Mother ever employed	9	11	6	6	Unknown
Living or lived with parents or in-laws					
Single or divorced/living or lived with parents	7	4	4	5	0
Married/living or lived with parents	1	1	1	0	0
Married/ living or lived with in-laws	4	3	3	1	0
Not living with parents	2	15	1	3	3

*Singapore **Hong Kong

4.11.1 LARGE FAMILIES TO SMALL FAMILIES

Consistent with national demographic trends, in this sample, family size has become smaller over the generations. In the over 65 group two of the women came from nuclear families with 13 children. One woman's mother was the third of five wives, and she had 26 siblings or half-siblings.

Most of the second generation women in the sample came from medium to large families. At least half those in Singapore and Hong Kong have three or more siblings. In contrast, seven out of nine third generation Singaporeans have only one sibling, and in Hong Kong six out of nine have no more than two.

The median age at first birth for women in the sample was 29 for second generation women and 31 for third generation women; this was the same in Singapore and Hong Kong.

Parenthetically, the median age at first birth in the First Generation comparison group was 32. Despite their postponement of child bearing, of the sample's 35 ever-married women, only five are childless, with one beyond childbearing age. Of those actually giving birth, the mean number of children born to women of the second generation in Singapore is 2.14 and in Hong Kong 1.53. Amongst the third generation, the mean number of children born to Singapore women is 2.5 and in Hong Kong 2.0. However, if all women in the sample are taken into account, including the unmarried and childless, the fertility rate drops significantly. second generation women in Singapore and Hong Kong average 1.07 and 1.03 births respectively; third generation women average 1.1 in Singapore and 0.67 in Hong Kong. In the First Generation group two of the women had one child and the other three children. Postponed marriage and childbearing, more women remaining single, and couples choosing to have fewer children, have all contributed to this decline.

4.11.2 MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

In the sample, the median age at first marriage for Singapore women of the second generation was 24 and for the third generation, 28. In Hong Kong, age at first marriage for both generations was 26. In terms of singlehood, in the sample, 20 women never married. Additionally, six women divorced, and three re-married. In the First Generation comparison group two of the women had separated from their husbands in middle age. However, for personal or religious reasons they did not divorce.

4.11.3 GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Most of the women in this sample have at least a secondary education, and many have gone to college or technical schools. More women from the sample's second generation are college educated than are those from the third generation, and second generation women

from Hong Kong have achieved higher educational levels than their Singapore counterparts. Some of the Hong Kong respondents had been forced to quit school in order to work when they were teenagers but later completed their secondary education in night school. One 58 year old respondent graduated college in 2012.

Though 14 of the women in the sample are retired, and three had quit working in order to perform elder or childcare, all of the women, including those in the over 65 age group worked outside the home at one time or another. Most had professional careers, were employed by corporations or had office jobs for the majority of their adult working lives. Many were administrators or managers. Several of the women were teachers or social workers. Three women were college professors; one was a pastor; one was a nurse.

Many of the respondents' mothers had also worked. However, with the exception of two who were teachers, most of these mothers were employed as unskilled labourers in factories or fields, performed domestic chores or took in piecework at home.

4.11.4 LIVING WITH PARENTS AND PARENTS IN-LAW

Chinese daughters have traditionally remained at home with their parents until they marry, and the same is true today. Of the 20 never married daughters in the sample, 13 still lived with at least one parent at the time of their interview. Likewise, all three divorced respondents lived with a parent. Traditional filial norms also prescribe that married Chinese women live with their in-laws. This is not a common practice today, as of the 32 married women in the sample, only nine live or had lived with in-laws, two lived as adults with their own parents previously, and one lived with her mother at the time of her interview.

The living arrangements of parents and in-laws who are not living with the respondents may depend on where they are located. In Hong Kong more of the respondents'

parents live alone or with a helper and more in-laws live alone or with another son, whilst in Singapore, more parents live with another son or daughter and more in-laws live with their own daughter or alone.

4.12 PLAN OF ANALYSIS

This is a study examining phenomena at the micro level grounded in social action. Interviews are an accepted method for obtaining this kind of qualitative data. During analysis, the plan was to identify themes, particularly those arising from the nexus between attitudes, values and conduct as they pertain to care decisions and the well-being of elderly parents and parents-in-law.

The data generated from the interviews was first transcribed by the author from the recordings then analysed using a grounded approach and thematic analysis. The initial analysis of the interview data began by coding the transcribed interviews using a detailed, "line-by-line" approach. This involved reviewing every line of text to identify the themes or concepts embedded in each sentence. This process helped to identify common themes and subthemes across individual interviews.

Following preliminary analysis, the author discerned patterns in the ways these daughters approached filial obligation. To better understand behaviours, attitudes, the control of emotions, filial piety, family values, living patterns, intergenerational relations, and other concepts suggested by the interviews, an analytic matrix was developed to sort and group this information thematically. A simulated copy of the matrix format is attached as Appendix F. These themes and subthemes were then further examined in terms of their meanings, motivations, emotional content and tension, whilst being constantly interfaced with the actual transcribed text for accuracy and context.

For purposes of clarification and to guard against inconsistencies, specific events relayed by the respondents were probed in depth. Some minor and modified triangulation was also attempted. Six interviews with foreign domestic helpers provided texture and balance to the intersection of attitudes and behaviours, especially with regard to daughters who called themselves caregivers. One caregiver of a mother with dementia was interviewed twice, six months apart, to see how the progression of the disease affected her. Another caregiver was interviewed in her own home where the author was able to observe the unconventional behaviour of the respondent's cognitively impaired mother. Additionally, a mother-daughter dyad was interviewed to see how the perceptions and expressions of their relationship compared.

A voluminous amount of information was generated from the analytic matrix and the analysis. To give meaning to this material, it was organised into two empirical chapters entitled: "Chinese daughters in-between norms; Baby Boomers and Gen X as transitional generations," and "Managing emotions to preserve belief in the norm of filial obligation." The intention was to first tell the story of how the respondents internalised their attitudes and values, to describe what these were, and to explore the ways, if any, they were linked with behaviours. Emotion work was discussed separately to show how the respondents managed filial obligation. This was the approach taken at the author's Confirmation of Status.

At the oral exam for Confirmation of Status, the first empirical chapter was determined by the examiners to be excessively long and too descriptive. The other chapter was criticised for failing to clearly distinguish between why filial obligation was undertaken and how it was discharged. The author was asked to restructure the thesis to cure these defects. From this request the idea of creating a typology began to take form.

In the initial attempt to restructure using a typology, what later became the "key analytic categories" comprised the "types" or "stages." In this version, the first stage of the typology asked why the respondents provided support and care for their parents *["I have to/I want to*"]. The second stage addressed how they managed tension and conflict in discharging care ["*I should want to*"]. The third and final stage was directed at why the respondents were unwilling or unable to undertake filial obligation ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"]. Upon due consideration, this did not prove to be an effective approach because it failed to take into account a fundamental issue that had emerged during the analysis: that support and care were different.

The second attempt at creating a typology began with the premise that support and care should be separated. Similarly, the analysis had shown that different dynamics were at work when care was temporary or short-term as opposed to long-term. To form a typology ranging from support to temporary then long-term care made sense. The addition of outsourced care was necessary to explain why care did not take place and what the alternatives to daughter caregiving were.

Superimposing the "key analytic categories" onto each stage of this new typology was a natural fit as in this way all of the reasons for providing or not providing care, and all of the ways care was discharged by the respondents, could be very specifically examined in the context of increasing parental need and demands on the respondents' time and emotional resources.

This is how the thesis is now structured, and it accomplishes what the thesis set out to do, that is, to look beyond structural and relational norms and explore what is really driving support and caregiving in Chinese families. Though it can be argued that the data generated

from this approach is merely a "snapshot" in time, it nonetheless provides new insight into a complex subject by simplifying it.

4.13 CONSIDERATION AND REJECTION OF OTHER DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

Initially Critical Incident Technique was planned as another means of data analysis. CIT is commonly used in conjunction with interviews as well as other qualitative data collection methods. It is defined as a "set of procedures used to collect observations of human behaviour" (Byrne, 2001). However, one of its criteria is that there must be an incident or crisis. When the study discontinued its investigation of elder abuse, CIT was no longer viable. Narrative analysis was also considered. However, contrary to the purpose of this research, this type of analysis is more concerned with the story itself rather than the individual themes contained within it (Schutt, 2006).

4.14 REFLEXIVITY AND BIAS

Reflexivity in research has been described as a process of self-examination of one's values, assumptions, and prejudices (Whiting, 2008). Holland (1999:464) contends that in the social sciences it is "that which turns back upon or takes account of itself or a person's self, especially methods that take into consideration the effect of the personality or presence of the researcher on the investigation."

The interview process is highly subjective, and the researcher's personal point of view and values may influence how the data is collected (for example, how questions are asked and which questions are asked), analysed and interpreted. In this case, the author is an American Caucasian with Western values, attempting to understand and interpret Asian women with a completely different cultural orientation. Though the author has considerable

experience with the Asian culture, in conducting the interviews, and during the analysis, continuous self-examination was required, particularly as stories reflecting mistreatment by parents and gender bias were told.

4.15 LIMITATIONS OF THE METHOD

Coombes, et al., (2009) suggest that inexperienced interviewers may ask leading questions, forget to follow up, talk over the interviewee and not control the interview. They warn that interviews are highly subjective and subject to researcher bias, and that the volume of material produced by interviews can overwhelm the researcher. This problem can be exacerbated by the lack of meaningful research guidelines.

The author has been a practicing trial attorney for over 25 years. All of the limitations set forth by Coombes and colleagues are also issues confronting trial attorneys. Thus, experience was heavily relied on to avoid these difficulties.

There are a few other limitations that are significant. One relates to sampling, one to bias and the other to narrative. Opportunity sampling, as previously mentioned, has been criticised for being weak and too lacking in subjectivity (Marshall, 1996). Snowball sampling has been criticised because the original contacts drive the composition of the sample to the exclusion of others who might be of interest (Schutt, 2006). Another limitation, as discussed, is the dominance of English speaking participants. Additionally, there is the historical problem of under-reporting where there is dissention amongst members of Chinese families. Some respondents may have had a vested interest in portraying themselves as model daughters or failing to report embarrassing incidents. Questions can be re-phrased and re-asked. Participants can be pushed to a certain extent. However, in the final analysis, there is no way to control for truthfulness and no way to know if it has even occurred, other than

one's instincts. Finally, the stories respondents tell about their own lives and the opinions given, may vary over time and place. Accordingly, interviews may only be a snapshot, representative of an individual's mood or state of mind on a given day.

In terms of analysis, a thematic approach depends to a certain extent on the subjective judgment of the person analysing the data. If an event or behaviour is not discernable, is marginal or ambiguous, how it is interpreted may be influenced by the personal biases and experiences of the analyst.

4.16 ETHICAL ISSUES

This research investigated in depth the nature of family relationships and feelings, sensitive issues requiring protection of the respondents from emotional or other potential harm. Additionally, the author was mindful of her own vulnerability travelling alone to unknown places within foreign countries.

Prior to undertaking the interviews for this thesis, the author familiarised herself with the *Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association* (March, 2002), a document articulating the responsibilities of a researcher conducting fieldwork. It emphasises the importance of ensuring that research participants' physical, social and psychological well-being are not adversely effected by the research, and addresses trust and integrity. Additionally, the University of Oxford requires its affiliated researchers to submit a CUREC application covering its ethical practices. This must be approved before research commences. The author's approved CUREC reference number is SSD/CUREC1A/10---041. It is attached as Appendix G.

To protect the respondents, before the taped interviews began, the author spent as much time as was needed to explain in detail that this research concerned their changing

roles and status, their attitudes toward their lives and families, their behaviours, and related stress. Respondents were encouraged to ask questions and to satisfy themselves that this was an activity they wished to participate in. They were then told that their interview would be tape recorded and used for this dissertation and possibly other publications, but that their anonymity was assured. In fact, respondents' anonymity was protected by the assignment of a numerical identity to each, to be used in place of her name on both the tape recording, and all subsequent writings. In the thesis itself, fictitious names were also assigned to the respondents. The interview transcriptions, analysis, Pre-Interview Questionnaires, and actual recordings, have all been kept separately in a secure location and are backed up.

Importantly, respondents were told they did not have to answer any question they did not want to and that they could terminate the interview at any time. All of this is set forth in the author's consent form, attached as Appendix D. Respondents were only asked to sign the consent form after having the discussion set forth above, reviewing the form line by line with the author, and then being given time to read it on their own. After the consent form was signed, the author spent another 30-60 minutes gathering demographic data from the respondents before engaging the tape recorder. This had the added benefit of putting the respondents at ease and providing them with ample opportunity to withdraw before the recorded interview began.

In practice, there were no unwilling respondents. Two respondents terminated their interviews when they became emotionally uncomfortable. Some respondents cried during their interviews, in which event the tape recorder was immediately turned off and the respondent given a chance to relax. The recorder was not re-engaged until the respondent was ready and willing to go forward.

In terms of the author's safety, the fieldwork took place in an urban environment where there were always people around. Nearly all of the interviews took place in public places. For those that did not, had the author perceived any danger, the interview venue would have been relocated or the interview cancelled. This was never the case. In accessing interview venues, public transportation was safe, easy to navigate and the author quickly became familiar with the system and the territory.

4.17 CONCLUSION

This chapter accurately represents the ways in which this research developed and why it progressed as it did. It begins by explaining that the study was conducted in Singapore and Hong Kong in order to study Chinese women with cultural ties to Mainland China and to better understand possible changes in Chinese filial norms in an Asian setting. The locations chosen are similar to each other and have historical and cultural links with Mainland China, where logistical problems of conducting the study could have been problematic.

The early difficulties encountered with the research and the changes made to the methodology were discussed, with reference to Appendix A, where details leading up to these changes are provided. This was followed by an explanation of why a qualitative approach and semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used, including their ability to investigate what individuals think and probe the meaning of lived experiences, consistent with the symbolic interactionist approach to this research. The weaknesses of interviews were also addressed, as were other qualitative methods, which had been rejected.

The criteria for inclusion in the main sample were presented. This is a study of Chinese daughters born between 1946 and 1980 in Hong Kong or Singapore where they must have resided since infancy. Respondents had to have lived with a parent as an adult, cared for

a parent, or have at least one parent living at the time of the interview. They had to have some education and to have worked outside the home at some time in their life. Both married and unmarried women were eligible. Participants could be English or Chinese speaking, but as a practical matter most spoke English.

The sample was accessed through non-probability sampling: opportunity and purposive sampling and snowballing techniques. Though gatekeepers were initially contacted, most participants were recruited through the author's networking efforts. Some prospective interviewees were excluded from the final sample due to scheduling problems or their prior relationship with the author. The greatest difficulty in recruiting women to interview was a lack of initial acquaintances.

The final group of respondents included 55 Chinese women born between 1946 and 1980 in the main sample, a comparison group of three Chinese women born before 1946, and six Filipina domestic helpers. After obtaining their written consent and demographic information, these women were interviewed using a guideline of topics the author wished to cover. The interviews were tape recorded, downloaded to the author's computer, backed up on a flash drive, and later transcribed. The forms and guidelines are attached as Appendices C-E.

The key demographics of the sample are set forth in Table 4.1, which is followed by a discussion on how respondents' own families are smaller than their families of origin; how marriage, divorce and singlehood are changing; how many more women are educated and professionally employed than in their mother's generation; and how living conditions have transitioned.

The data analysis, including the development of themes, the rejection of other plans

of analysis, reflexivity and bias, as well as other limitations were discussed, concluding with ethical issues. The empirical investigation will now be addressed.

CHAPTER 5
INTRODUCTION TO THE EMPIRICAL CHAPTERS AND THE TYPOLOGY OF SUPPORT AND CARE

5.1 CONTEXT AND TRENDS IN WHICH THE RESEARCH PUZZLE IS EMBEDDED

> My generation, oh I think my generation is really [the] transition generation… The traditional Asian women…are mostly at home. [They] are mostly very submissive and may not have [a] career, while we are [a] very educated group. Most of us would want to have something [to] fulfil our career aspirations and at the same time, we are still very oriented towards being the person that cares for the home and…the family. (Jun)[3]

The respondents in this thesis straddle the traditional norms of their parents and the high tech, globalised, materialistically driven world of their children. As Chinese women of the second and third generations, they have forged a unique identity as "in-between." They are acutely aware of their status as the link between two disparate worlds.

Up until recently, Chinese women in Hong Kong and Singapore were on the fringe of a hierarchical system in which they had no power or choice. Confined mostly to the home, they were judged on the basis of their domestic skills and ability to comply with the conditions under which they lived. Most mothers of the second generation women in this study were described by their daughters as enduring lives dominated by poverty, discrimination, lack of education and dependency. Following marriage, they were responsible for the family and the household. If they worked at all it was at menial jobs, or

[3] The true names of the sample participants have been changed in this document to protect their privacy. All names used herein are fictitious.

the family business, to earn extra money for the family. According to some respondents, their fathers were frequently absent and sometimes abusive or adulterous. Mothers who were widowed, abandoned or part of a polygamous family often raised children alone. Probably due to the hardship and responsibility that characterises their lives, respondents' mothers, as reported by their daughters, though submissive, were disciplined and strong.

As they raised their families, most respondents' mothers transmitted traditional Chinese values to their children by setting an example, providing verbal cues, and directly instructing them. The importance of family was highly emphasised together with such filial norms as respect and obedience, and values such as honesty and thrift. However, as conditions changed in the second half of the twentieth century, opening up opportunities for women, the respondent daughters born to these women were encouraged to pursue education and employment. Whilst retaining many of their parents' values, independence and self-sufficiency became integrated into their cultural ethos. Education and professional employment began to drive change.

As daughters in the sample navigated the educational process, many of them learned how to think for themselves and were exposed to the world outside the home. Self-confidence, pride and belief in their abilities frequently replaced feelings of inferiority and submissiveness. When they entered the workforce with academic qualifications, already vested with a strong work ethic from the home, most did well. Financial independence resulted, engendering greater bargaining power with their families and prospective marriage partners. Some of the respondents reported they were even treated like sons by their parents.

Singapore and Hong Kong are often characterised as the most "Westernised" communities in Asia and respondents were exposed to the "West" at school, work and

through the media. However, most women in the sample, though they admitted to some outside influence, said they are still very "Chinese" in their thinking. Likely this is due to reinforcement of Asian values in the home and elsewhere, as well as sporadic or mixed exposure to both Asian and "Western" cultures.

The resulting values of the respondents are an amalgam of old and new. Amongst these respondents it is love for, and devotion to family that is at the core of their personal ideologies. Commitment to family today, however, does not mean what it once did. Though the women in this sample said they value their families, they also claimed to value themselves. They maintained that they consider themselves to be independent, self-sufficient, and capable. How they prioritise their own needs and desires with those of their families, according to the respondents, is determined by the circumstances under which they arise.

The Chinese women in this sample appear to trust their own judgment. However, many have become Christian, turning to God for moral instruction. Christian and Chinese values are facilely integrated, and issues concerning traditional Chinese religious practices, such as ancestor worship, are resolved respectfully with parents. The only area of potential conflict is whether God or one's parents have the final moral authority.

The relationship with one's parents is also pivotal to understanding how the respondents navigate the practical side of everyday life. Though most unmarried respondents still live with their parents, many married respondents do not live, nor have they lived as adults, with parents or parents-in-law. Respondent daughters, especially those in the third generation, stated that they are reluctant to live with in-laws and are supported in this by their husbands. They are, however, willing to live with their own parents, depending on the need and feasibility of doing so. More daughters said they are choosing not to marry because they

are more likely to be financially self-sufficient. They are looking for partnership and are unwilling to sacrifice independence. Divorce has lost most of its stigma for the respondents, though in the second generation some remained in unhappy marital relationships out of duty.

Family is also at the centre of the work-life paradigm. All of the women in the sample work or have worked, and the potential for conflict between children, work and parents is substantial. Nonetheless, most respondents assert that they manage these competing demands successfully. Many Singaporean respondents currently practice *Work-Life-Balance* where work hours are fewer and flexible. In this sample, Hong Kong respondents were more likely to maintain a full work schedule as well as their family commitments, enduring greater stress.

Because family is still important to the respondents, effort is made to incorporate traditional cultural practices into their modern lifestyles. However, the respondents do not believe the next generation will observe the same core values. The respondents described the fourth generation, or Generation Y as self-centred and selfish, lacking respect, and valuing money over family. According to the women in the sample, the younger generation is more apt to ask what others will do for them than the reverse. The respondents do not expect their children to care for them in old age, and they worry that it will be more difficult for parents in the future to transmit family values to their children.

The interaction between the values transmitted to the respondents and the practicalities of the world in which they live has produced an eccentric reinterpretation of traditional Chinese ideology. The old values are still present and always in the background. The respondents conveyed that they see them in their parents. They understand the culture of their predecessors. The new values can be observed in their children, the Fourth Generation, and the world around them. These women know they are navigating between norms. They

say so; and they know why. The stories told by the respondents suggest that though they remain committed to family, education and employment have given them new opportunities, freedom, and independence. They say they are unwilling to give up either one.

This is the foundation for the discussion comprising the remainder of this thesis: why the respondents are still willing to care for their elderly parents despite the demands on their busy lives; what they are willing to do; and at what point, if any, it may all be too much.

5.2 INTRODUCTION TO THE TYPOLOGY OF SUPPORT AND CARE

The word "caregiving" is commonly used to describe the combined social and cultural practices in which one person provides assistance to another who is in need. However, within the overarching framework of culturally defined intergenerational exchanges, its abstruse and complex nature defies a "one size fits all" approach even to describe the small number of interactions taking place in this research. From the process of interviewing the respondents and analysing the stories they tell, it is clear that "caregiving" means different things depending on how one interprets filial obligation in light of contemporary cultural norms. For example, for some, caregiving is understood as face-to-face or telephonic interaction between children and parents or in-laws (hereinafter referred to collectively as "parents" unless otherwise designated) or providing parents with financial support. Others believe caregiving involves sacrifice during times of emergencies. Caregiving is often defined in terms of instrumental support over the long-term. However, hiring a foreign domestic helper (FDH) to care for a parent or even institutionalising a parent in a nursing home may satisfy filial caregiving obligation. Whether support is emotional, financial, instrumental, or a combination of all three, opinions are diverse. The transitional nature of these two generations of women no doubt contributes to the lack of consensus over

what caregiving means.

Yet, despite the multiplicity of opinions and practices reflected in the respondents' narratives, patterns do emerge, making it possible to characterise the network of filial attitudes and behaviours emerging from the interviews. The patterns can be grouped into four distinct types or stages of filial obligation: "Support," "Temporary Care," "Caregiving" and "Outsourced Care." Their sequence is shown below in Figure 5.1, reflecting the increasing intensity of support and care offered to elderly parents. This progression flows from the support provided to younger healthier parents to emergencies and temporary care and then hands-on long-term care at home for elderly and disabled parents. The first three stages of the typology investigate support and care from the daughters' perspective. The fourth stage, outsourced care, takes a broader approach, examining the implications of employing foreign domestic helpers as surrogate caregivers, as well as the institutionalisation of parents and in-laws. Together these four stages or types comprise a typology of support and care that have been provided by the 55 women in the main sample.

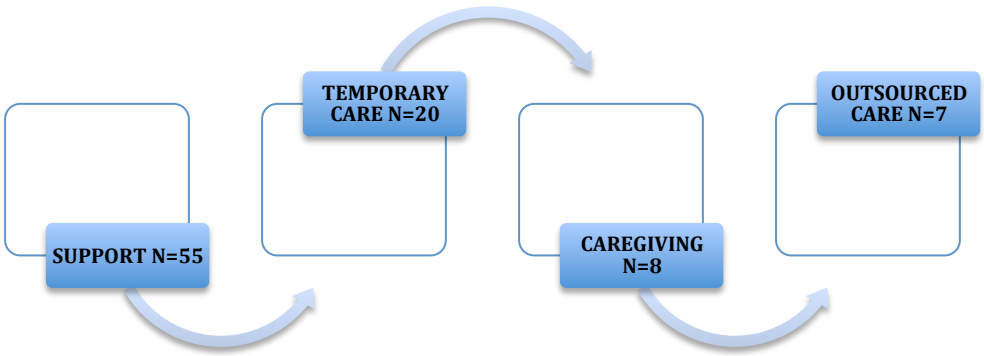


Figure 5.1: The Typology of Support and Care and number of respondents providing support or caregiving at each stage

As can be seen from Figure 5.1, all of the respondents are included in the first stage of the typology. However, as support transitions into caregiving, and caregiving becomes

more demanding, the number of respondents currently providing care, or who have provided this type of care, grows smaller. Part of the reason for this is likely the overall youth, independence and good health of the respondents' parents at the support stage. As parents require more time and attention, the decline in the number of respondents providing care may be attributable to their unwillingness or inability to do so, driven by the changing roles of these respondent daughters or their reinterpretation of traditional Chinese cultural norms.

It is the purpose of this chapter to establish the *framework* for understanding and explaining: 1) the characteristics of each stage of the typology; 2) the differences between each stage of the typology; 3) the motivations behind support and caregiving for each stage of the typology; 4) how tensions and conflicts involved in discharging support and care are resolved within each stage of the typology; and 5) what happens when contemporary Chinese daughters are unwilling or unable to provide care at the end of the typology.

5.3 DEFINING THE STAGES OF THE TYPOLOGY

Having established the stages of support and care and their place within the typology, the respondents' own accounts help to define and explain each of them. Throughout this and subsequent chapters, statements are quoted and short "stories" told to annotate particular points. Longer case studies, tied to the typology, provide deeper understanding of the topics under investigation and are also used to gain insight into the attitudes and behaviours of the individual Chinese women respondents.

Moving through the typology it is important to remember that the case studies, stories and comments of the respondents only represent a single moment in time. Unlike a longitudinal study, the typology does not follow the progression of the respondents from one stage of care to another, but rather, portrays the current and previous experiences of the

respondents at a given point in time and stage of support or care.

5.3.1 SUPPORT

As will be noted, at the first stage of the typology, the word "care" does not appear. Though daughters consistently refer to their activities and exchanges with healthy parents as "care," or "caregiving" the word "support" better describes the behaviour. At this level, parents, for the most part, live alone, sometimes with a foreign domestic helper (FDH,) and do not require assistance with activities of daily living (ADLs). A complete list of the support provided to parents by respondents appears below in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Support activities provided to healthier parents

Financial assistance 1x a month +	Supervising parents' medications
Telephone calls regularly and often 1x a week +	Renovating parents' home to make elder friendly
Visiting 1x a week +	Driving parents to medical appointments
Living in same household, assisting w/ chores + some meals together	Hiring FDH to live w/ parents in their own home
Assisting w/ banking, grocery shopping, errands	Supervising FDH caring for parents in their own home
Taking trips	Organising siblings to help w/ parents
Meals together 1x a week +	

The investment of time and effort required at this stage of the typology is unlikely to substantially interfere with the respondent's day-to-day life. Thus, it should not be surprising that every woman in this study has provided at least one form of support to a parent at some time in her adult life. By far the most common forms of support provided by the respondents are visiting or having meals with parents and providing financial assistance. Of the 29 women in Hong Kong who had living parents at the time of the interview, 83% visited or dined with them at least once a week and 72% provided monetary support at least once a month. Likewise, 78% of Singaporean women had a meal or visited with a parent at least once a week and 96% made monthly financial contributions.

Huizhong, a second generation Singaporean, explained the support she provided. Her activities are similar to other respondents:

> On a weekday…I will go and visit my mother first and normally we will talk, sometimes watch TV… From there, I will… either…go home or …drop by my mother-in-law's place….Then on a weekend, I will have [a] meal with my mother. (Huizhong)

Very often weekend meals are family affairs, as Meili, a second generation Hong Kong woman described:

> Nearly every week my family will…take a tea together…I only [go] about [every] two [weeks] because [it] always is a dinner or lunch….and then sometimes [we] go somewhere. But…every week [we] can have a gathering. (Meili)

Visits and meals are supplemented by regular telephone contact, particularly with one's own parents. Monetary subsidies frequently come out of the daughter's pay cheque and may be enhanced by donations from other siblings. Additional financial contributions are provided on an as needed basis or during festivals and birthdays. All other forms of support vary, depending on circumstances and need.

It is likely that the types of support provided are directly linked to the decline of intergenerational households, the increase in the number of working daughters, and geographic distances separating family members. As found in other research, the high percentage of financial contributions suggests it may be a substitute for the regular interaction of living together (Lin & Yi, 2011). Likewise, family meals are a way of maintaining closeness not only amongst parents and children but also amongst siblings.

5.3.2 TEMPORARY CARE

Temporary care is the second stage of the typology. It refers to situations, in this case

generally six months or less, where there is a family crisis or emergency involving a parent. It may be that a parent is suddenly taken ill, has some temporary cognitive impairment or is in an accident. Parents may be hospitalised or at some point returned to their own home or to one of their children's homes in order to recuperate. The emphasis here is on the transitory nature of care, though it can also be intense. The variation in intensity can be attributed to the type of illness, the size of the family and number of those able or willing to help, as well as the employment status of the primary caregiver and the length of care.

Homecare in this sample is not shared amongst siblings. Based on the circumstances, the family may make a collective decision with regard to the location where care is to be undertaken and the designation of the caregiver. Alternatively, some daughters voluntarily take it upon themselves to provide this type of care for reasons that will be discussed in Chapter 7. In this sample, it is always the daughter or daughter-in-law, not the son, administering temporary care.

Whether or not the parent is hospitalised or at home, the care and recuperation of the patient is the principle goal of the family. During these times, the daughter's life revolves entirely around the needs of the family. This can be seen in the story of Te', a 34 year old Singaporean.

5.3.2.1 ***The story of Te'***

Some years ago Te's father had a mental breakdown lasting two months. Until his medications were adjusted he hallucinated, had insomnia, and was hearing things. When the family tried to confine him by locking the front door, he hammered it in an attempt to escape. One night when Te' tried to physically restrain him, he chased her with a screwdriver, then plunged it into the door. In the ensuing minutes Te' simultaneously attempted to contact the

doctor, involve her brother, deal with her father's anger, worrying that further aggression on her part would trigger something worse, and console her mother who was crying. Once she gained command, Te' and her brother grabbed her father in a "bear hug" and "by brute force" took him to the hospital.

In the aftermath of this incident, Te' recalled the "family was in…chaos" and she did not have "a lot of time to think." She had to visit her father at the hospital, regularly interface with the doctors, control her mother who was depressed and threatening to commit suicide, and manage her brother who "didn't handle it very well because he couldn't accept it." She added that her brother suggested they "send the father to an old folks home and just leave him there." At this time Te' was also preparing for her own marriage and managing a nine million dollar project at her job. She wound up having to take a month off work.

Te' took charge of the family for the next two months and life eventually returned to normal. Afterward, she described herself as a "nagging parent" who had become more decisive. She explained she was able to take control because, " To me it was like official family business. My emotions are not involved so I can handle this."

Te's response to the crisis and her conduct in the period that followed are similar to other respondents' management styles in family emergencies. One explanation might be that these women are trained from childhood to be responsible. As adults, they are disciplined, restrained and authoritative. Moreover, they are frequently required to hold the family together.

In addition to assuming command, other tasks undertaken by the respondents during times of providing temporary care are shown in Table 5.2. Amongst the 55 respondents, 20 currently provide or have provided temporary care to a parent: seven from Hong Kong and

13 from Singapore. Five temporary carers in Hong Kong were from the second generation as were nine Singaporeans.

Table 5.2: Activities of Temporary Care

TEMPORARY CARE IN HOSPITAL	TEMPORARY CARE IN HOME
Preparing & bringing food for parent to eat in hospital, feeding parent	Respondent living in parent's home during parent's recovery- providing hands- on care
Visiting parent in hospital or nursing home every day, all day or several times a day-even if working	Parent living in respondent's home during recovery- respondent providing hands-on care
Sometimes more than one parent in hospital at a time - may have to shuttle between hospitals	Respondent living in parent's home during parent's recovery - supervising and assisting FDH who provides hands-on care
Interfacing with medical staff	Parent living in respondent's home during recovery - FDH providing hands-on care with supervision and assistance from respondent
Taking charge of care and medical decision making	Driving parent to and from hospital & Doctor's office for follow up
Cleaning and massaging parent	Supervising and paying for medications
Pay for hospital, doctors and medications	Cook parent's favourite foods or supervise FDH to do it
Drive other parent to hospital	Support other parent and siblings emotionally; if final illness, prepare for death
Donate blood	Dealing with parent's demands and bad temper
	Rush to hospital if parent relapses

5.3.3 CAREGIVING

The third stage of the typology is caregiving. Caregiving is defined as hands-on instrumental care provided over an extended period of time (>6 months) provided in one's own home where both caregiver and care recipient reside. Daughters provide care alone or with the assistance of a foreign domestic helper (FDH). Caregiving may incorporate the management of all collateral emotional and financial needs of the care recipient. *The emphasis in this third stage of the typology is on the daughter respondent*: What motivates

her to provide caregiving; how caregiving affects her; and how she manages it.

The activities of caregiving provided by the respondents are shown in Table 5.3. Five Hong Kong and three Singapore respondents were self-described caregivers of parents during or before the interview. All but two of these had FDHs, who were the primary caregivers for parents in the respondent's home.

Table 5.3: Activities of Caregiving

HANDS-ON CARE OF PARENT IN ONE'S OWN HOME WITH OR WITHOUT FDH
Assist with dressing, feeding, transferring, bathing, washing of parent
Housework, meal preparation, grocery shopping
Manage medications
Toileting, Diaper changing, body and home clean-up following incontinence accidents
Spending time together, e.g., watching TV
Deal with erratic and aggressive behaviour
Train and communicate with FDH
Intervene, arbitrate between FDH and parent
Substitute for FDH on her day off
Take to day-care centre [FDH remains with parent]
Renovate house to accommodate disability
Manage parent's money

The story of Niu, a second generation Singaporean, offers insight into caregiving.

5.3.3.1 ***The story of Niu***

Niu and her sister are both unmarried and have lived with their family their entire lives. Their father died in 1987. Niu's mother has had dementia for approximately ten years, during which time Niu and her sister have provided care, sometimes with a FDH. Both sisters continue to work outside the home.

In the early stages of their mother's dementia, care was minimal. She attended day-care three days a week. Niu accompanied her in the morning and Niu's sister picked her up in the afternoon. Niu's sister did the weekday cooking and washing and stayed home with her mother on the days she did not attend day-care. Niu did the cooking on weekends as well as the ironing. Eventually they hired a part time FDH to clean the house three days a week.

Eleven months before the interview the sisters employed a full time FDH. She helped with food preparation and ensured their mother ate whilst the sisters were at work. She cleaned the house and did the laundry. Niu described how the FDH cared for her mother:

> She helps…with showering, because the fact is she can't [do it herself]. [She] makes sure that she [is] dressed up…The doctor told us: let her do as many things as possible on her own….The maid will be her bodyguard to make sure that she don't trip and fall down. So the maid will be watching her. (Niu)

Niu's mother's condition recently deteriorated, requiring all three women to bathe her and change her diaper. The mother had begun to repeat herself, which Niu said she found irritating. Niu described the care of her mother as a team effort, which for the time being would continue in the home. However, as Niu's mother's condition deteriorates new choices may have to be made by Niu and her sister between discontinuing full time employment or institutionalising their mother. This is a dilemma that could face many Chinese daughters in the future, if they choose not to marry and remain at home as the primary provider of financial, instrumental and emotional support to ageing parents.

5.3.4 OUTSOURCED CARE

When caregiving becomes too difficult or impossible or a daughter does not want to do it, either initially or following a term as a caregiver, the acceptable norm is to employ a foreign domestic helper (FDH). The FDH then assumes the instrumental aspects of the daughter's filial obligation. If at some point the FDH becomes inadequate, a growing option is to institutionalise the parent. *In this fourth and final stage of the typology the emphasis is on the FDH*. After examining why daughters outsource care, the relationship between the FDH, the daughter and her parents is explored, all in the context of the caregiving arrangement.

The seven daughters included in this stage of the typology, have at a given point in time, institutionalised a parent, and whilst the parent was in the nursing home or hospital continued to provide care for that parent, either alone or with assistance from a FDH. Three of these women also provided caregiving at home prior to institutionalising their parents and are included in the third stage of the typology.

From interviews with daughters and FDHs, one can see certain patterns emerging once a FDH becomes involved with parent care. In Chapter 9, these behaviours will be probed. Here, the activities of one caregiving FDH are briefly described.

5.3.4.1 ***The story of Lola***

Lola is a 53 year old Filipina who has worked for three Hong Kong families over 19 years. In her second family she cared for the daughter's mother in the family home, sleeping in the same room with her. Lola bathed, dressed and changed the grandmother's urine catheter, administered her medications, took her blood pressure, and massaged her legs during the night, interrupting her own sleep. She stated that the daughter checked on her mother for ten minutes in the morning before leaving for work. Upon returning from work at 19:00 the daughter retreated to her bedroom until dinner. The entire family dined together, but after dinner each retired to their own room. On Sunday the family, including the grandmother, went out for lunch.

In the third family, the daughter also worked. Her mother, who had mild dementia, lived alone. Initially, Lola cleaned the grandmother's house once a week, but when she became ill, Lola arrived at her home at 9:00 and spent all day with her for several months. She assisted with bathing, toileting, grooming, transfers and walking; she cooked, cleaned, watched television with the grandmother, then put her to bed before walking back to her

employer's home around 20:00. When the grandmother was well her daughter visited her once a week for an hour. When she was ill, her daughter visited twice a week for 30 to 60 minutes, according to Lola.

Lola related that the grandmother was very unhappy and angry. The grandmother told Lola she could not understand why her daughter would not take care of her. Lola recalled the grandmother cried every day and said about her daughter that it was "always money." She told Lola "you are good, you take care of me…my own daughter did not take care of me"…My daughter is no good."

In 2010, the grandmother was institutionalised. For the first year Lola brought her food and visited her at least once a week. Lola's employer, the daughter, prohibited her from going more often because the grandmother would ask to be brought home. The grandmother's daughter visited once or twice a week on her way to work. Later these visitations dwindled to once a month, with Lola accompanying her to the nursing home. In January 2012 the family moved to the United States, leaving the grandmother in the nursing home in Hong Kong. Lola's employment was terminated due to the move to North America. The elements of outsourced care are shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Elements of Outsourced Care

Issues between respondents and FDHs
FDH emotion work
FDH relationship and caregiving activities with respondent's parent
Daughter assistance with institutionalised parent, including food preparation and feeding
If more than one party institutionalised, daughter/FDH may shuttle between them
Affect of a FDH on daughter-parent relationship

5.4 EXPLAINING THE KEY ANALYTIC CATEGORIES DRIVING SUPPORT AND CARE THROUGHOUT THE TYPOLOGY

Establishing a typology through stages or types of support and care helps us understand how it changes as parental health gradually deteriorates. However, alone it cannot answer the research questions proposed in the first Chapter. In Chapter 3, a review of theoretical and conceptual norms appearing in the contemporary caregiving literature generated three broad analytical categories for the purpose of explaining ***why*** Chinese daughters in this study have provided support and care to their parents ["*I have to/I want to*"], ***how*** they have managed conflict and tension in the process of providing support and care ["*I should want to*"], and ***why*** they may have declined to undertake or discontinue the practices of filial obligation they grew up with ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"].

In addressing the research questions these three analytical categories are examined in the context of the typology. In the first three stages, all analytic categories are explored. In the final stage (outsourced care) the reasons for discontinuing care and the post-care exchanges between respondents, their parents and their foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) are considered. A framework of this analytical structure appears below in Figure 5.2.

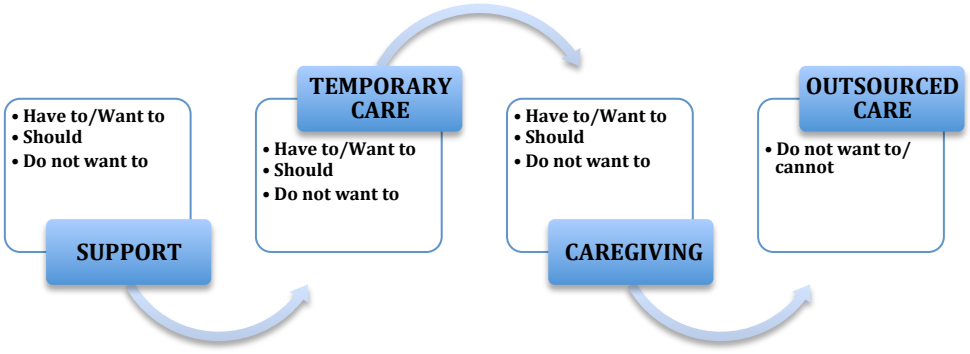


Figure 5.2: Model showing the norms and mechanisms involved in the provision of support, caregiving, and outsourced care

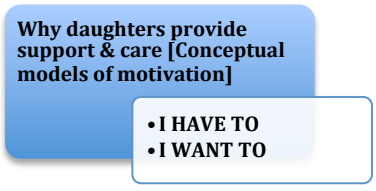
In the following section, case studies drawn from the respondents' accounts of their

own lives illustrate the process shown in Figure 5.2. The first three case studies address normative motivations for providing support and care [“*I have to”; “I want to”*; “*I have to + I want to*”]. This is followed by a case study on how tensions and conflicts incurred in the discharge of support and care are managed [“*I should want to”*]. The final case study explores why daughters decline to provide or discontinue care [“*I do not want to/I cannot”*].

Reading through the case studies in this chapter and throughout the thesis, one should keep in mind that respondents were not asked to break down their motivations and coping strategies as depicted in figure 5.2, which was developed through an analysis of the interview data. During their interviews, respondents were invited to discuss their motivations and coping strategies at length. In most cases these were complex. The analysis revealed that each stage of the typology showed common elements of normative motivation and coping strategies.

Each of the next four empirical chapters (6-9) ponders the key analytic categories falling within the stages of the typology shown in Figure 5.2. However, before that, the categories are explained through case studies, using the respondents’ stories.

5.5 STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL FILIAL NORMS OF MOTIVATION



5.5.1 CASE STUDY 1: STRUCTURAL MOTIVATION [“I HAVE TO”]

Bo is a Hong Kong woman from the third generation, and the eldest of three daughters. From age six to 12 Bo’s nuclear family shared their home with a maternal aunt and her family. This arrangement left a lasting impression on Bo. For one thing, as much as

perfect behaviour was expected from Bo and her sisters, they were nonetheless subjected to son favouritism through comparison with their male cousin:

> I recall maybe my aunt would say something like… "Oh, even if you invest a lot in your daughters they will soon get married and all the credit will go to the husband and family. But, if you have a boy then it is different because if you invest in him you will get the pay [back] ." (Bo)

Bo recalled that these messages went "into our hearts subtly," making her feel inferior. She also reported that she and her sisters were generally blamed when something went wrong. In Bo's eyes, her mother did not protect her children from their auntie, something she considered a betrayal. Bo perceived further unfairness by her mother's preferential treatment of her youngest sister, saying it challenged her self-worth. Bo's strongest complaint against her mother, however, was her neglect of the nuclear family. According to Bo, her mother spent more time with her own siblings and social circle than her husband and daughters. Bo watched her father struggle to sustain the expense of supporting the family whilst her mother and auntie played mahjong. Observing this created in Bo "a lot of grievances not only on my mother-child relationship but also on the father-mother relationship." She expounded, "I dislike my mom [because] she care for herself too much …her own priorities are over…the family." Offering several examples, Bo concluded her mother's behaviour was irresponsible.

Bo did not feel loved by her mother, but she did by her father. She remembered when he gave her all his savings for a trip to America, even though he had never taken a plane trip himself. She added, "and, whenever we need anything…he will supply us." Bo's father has died, but during his lifetime they were close. She admired him for "working hard and never giving up." Bo's father was also a strong influence in moulding her values, teaching her

honesty, integrity and virtue:

> And also, he said that if someone treat you good you have to remember and you have to repay that. But… if you do something good for others…just do it from your heart and you will get [your] return in heaven. (Bo)

He taught her through his own example:

> My father…was taken care of by the relative even though I know that he was ill treated by [her]….That relative [lived] in Macao and she eventually got the stroke. But, …every few months my father will bring me to go to that old lady… Even though that lady…didn't treat him well…he said…she give me a shelter to stay. So, I have to pay [her] back. So, I think for [an] entire ten years he keep on travelling to Macao to visit that lady. Even the children of that lady don't take care of that old lady. But, my father will visit [her] very frequently. (Bo)

Bo learned responsibility at a young age not only from her father, but because she was the oldest child. She had to help with housework, set a good example for her sisters, watch over them, and do well in school. Bo and her sisters attended a Catholic school, though her family was Taoist. She did not join the church because she felt obligated as the oldest child to perform the Taoist rituals for her parents upon their deaths. Nonetheless, the teachings of the church contributed to her system of values. Bo's school experience also "strongly" influenced her self-image, which she concluded she could not get at home:

> I treat myself as a woman much comfortable. If I'm in a Chinese school, in a very Chinese culture oriented environment I think I will feel inferior as a woman. But, because my school is a Catholic and girls school, they keep on [saying] women [are] still…very strong [people]. They trust individual ability. So…I feel proud to be a woman. It's all borrowed from the Western culture. (Bo)

School empowered Bo. She relayed how she took satisfaction in learning how to control her emotions and her life, and how she began distancing herself from her mother.

During her interview, Bo maintained, the relationship with her mother was still "very distant" though she claimed since her father's death she had "more sympathetic feelings" towards her. She attributed the mitigation of her animosity to a number of factors. First, she realised as her father was dying, that her mother had genuine feelings for him. Subsequently she witnessed her mother's grief. Second, her mother began to help when Bo's maid was unavailable. Through her work Bo also saw the regret of other families who were not reconciled. Additionally, she came to appreciate her mother's independence:

> But, right now, my friends keep on saying that it is good for your mom to be on her own or else you will be very busy. So, I start to appreciate that. (Bo)

Bo explained she and her sisters dine with their mother every two weeks and supplement their mother's income. Bo does this "because of [the] family value," which she defined as duty learned from her father. She said she wanted to follow her father's example. For her mother it was "more like a duty, rather than love." For Bo, duty was ingrained from birth: "I think it's a duty, yeah…definitely it is a duty." When she envisions what could lie ahead she uses "rationality to overcome [negative] feelings" in order to carry this out:

> I will try to make a meaning of fulfilling this duty. And, make myself feel comfortable and at ease with my decision. I will definitely think that this is something not enjoyable. But, when you do some tough job as a duty, and if you…fulfil your duty, then I will console myself by saying oh, you really do a good job, and that sort of satisfaction can compensate the stress, the burden, caused by the caregiving. (Bo)

5.5.2 CASE STUDY 2: RELATIONAL MOTIVATION ["I WANT TO"]

Changying is an unmarried second generation woman living in Hong Kong with her youngest brother. She is the third child and oldest daughter in a family with four sons and

two daughters. Her mother was a second wife.

Changying's father died when she was age 12, but her mother kept the nuclear family together. She raised her children, and without any training learned to manage the property that is still her source of income. At the time of the interview Changying's mother continued to reside in the family home with Changying's oldest brother and his son, who moved in after her brother's divorce. Changying's mother helped to raise her grandson, who was 30. Though she had some short-term memory loss and high blood pressure, Changying said her mother had taken care of herself with assistance from a FDH for 20 years.

Changying's family was close growing up, and still is. Her childhood expectation of her parents was to be fed and clothed, provided a domicile, and given an education and medical care if needed. Through her parents' actions she felt like a loved child. For example, she said, "When I was sick then they will make more concern on me."

Good behaviour was taught to their children by Changying's parents. Duties and obligations were not highlighted, though obedience was. Whereas the children were allowed to speak their opinion they were also expected to do as they were told. The importance of education was also prioritised, and remains a salient feature of Changying's values:

> They just said that if you are well educated that means you can support your life….So, it is not necessary to rely on your husband. (Changying)

Changying attended a Catholic school as a child, but said she has no core religious belief. Her mother, a Buddhist, would not allow her to become a Christian. However, neither did she "force" her into Buddhism. After achieving a tertiary education Changying went to work and is currently employed in a managerial position. According to her, the family had never interfered with her professional life.

Marriage for Changying was expected and encouraged. However, when Changying reached 50 she said, “my mother [did] not talk about this topic anymore.” Changying had a boyfriend, but remarked that getting married would cause her too much inconvenience. She never wanted to have children. What she valued most was freedom, independence, having her “own opinion,” making her own decisions, and enjoying her life.

Changying said that she considered herself to be a “modern” or “not so traditional” woman, saying: “I think our opinion is…not like…traditional Chinese. If their parents say left we won’t walk to [the] right. But now we have our own idea.” However, though she lived in Canada during the 1990’s, she did not envision herself as a “Western” person.

Changying noted that support was bestowed on her mother in the form of trips overseas and brunch every Sunday, which the entire family attended. Some Saturdays Changying and her mother also went shopping and to lunch, but not weekly. Changying pointed out that her mother had her own friends and financial resources. The children were willing to give her money but Changying observed that she is “much richer than us.”

Considering a time when her mother’s health might decline, Changying claimed she did not have any plan. She would rely on her mother’s current FDH to provide instrumental care and possibly consider giving up her job. However, she would pursue other options first, remarking that it is better for her mother to remain in her own home than to be institutionalised. In any event, she did not believe her brothers would allow it.

Respect, gratitude, and love drove Changying’s support. She was particularly grateful for her education and “very respectful” of her mother because she treated all her children the same, though “…the boys is a little bit better than the girl.” Like the rest of the family, mother and daughter have always been close.

Changying reported: "To care about her [mother] is the most important duty." She wanted to make more effort to see and talk to her. Additionally, Changying stated that maybe now that she is getting older she "can fit into her [mother's] world more." She is trying harder to understand her mother's feelings, commenting, "it is better to be patient and listen to her." Changying did not express any debt to her mother. Though she intermittently referred to what she thought she should do as "duty" she was clear it was not payback. Nor was it filial obligation. She did not know the meaning of "filial piety" or the term "xiao."

5.5.3 CASE STUDY 3: COMBINED MOTIVATION [STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL] NORMS OF FILIAL OBLIGATION ["I HAVE TO AND I WANT TO"]

Huiqing is a married second generation Singaporean with six siblings of which she is the oldest. She comes from a traditional Chinese background and was raised a Taoist, but converted to Christianity whilst attending a Methodist school. Her father considered this an act of disobedience and a breach of filial piety. Huiqing, however, asserted her Chinese and Christian values are complementary.

Huiqing was not close to either of her parents growing up. She said:

> Actually I wasn't close to anyone of them, you know….They had so many children to look after….Mom was always busy doing so many housework, busy just taking care of our physical needs and then, if not, she will actually be working with my dad in the shop. (Huiqing)

Huiqing's parents did not "sit us down and explain things to us." Rather, a "whole package" of Chinese values was learned through role modelling:

> It's just watching them, how they looked after their own parents… and how they… also looked after…the siblings and their families…so that was more modelling, rather than teaching. (Huiqing)

When asked to describe filial piety, Huiqing opined that it is different for every family. She learned never to talk back to those older than her or to express anger toward her parents. Unquestioning respect and obedience for one's elders was expected, and enforced through corporal punishment.

Huiqing described her father as a violent, angry man who verbally abused his wife and physically abused his children. Huiqing's mother was portrayed as emotionally inaccessible. During disagreements her mother withdrew, leaving issues unresolved. Huiqing said she felt dismissed. Huiqing also stated that her mother was unsupportive of her. For example, when Huiqing became ill from an ectopic pregnancy and an emotional breakdown, her mother did not demonstrate concern over her health needs:

> I wanted to stop work and my mom was the one who said, "but you are holding a good job and you've got a good income, you know, to give it all up is a waste"…. It's status for her that I have a daughter, she's gone to university and she's earning a good salary.…And also because I was actually giving them part of my salary. (Huiqing)

Her mother also declined to assist Huiqing with her children:

> She made the decision when I first got married and she said that, "I just want to put on [the] record that I'm not going to bring up any grandchildren." (Huiqing)

Though she was not close to her parents and "didn't like the way my parents raised me," Huiqing said they fulfilled their obligations to her. She was particularly grateful for her education. With the exception of her religion she purported to be a filial daughter in return. Before she married, Huiqing lived at home and gave half her salary to her parents. At one point, she wanted to save for her own house, but her father objected:

> When I started working…I never thought of keeping everything to myself so actually I gave most of it to my parents until I wanted to buy my own place…So I started keeping back a bit more and giving them less. And my dad said, "you are very selfish, you know." I was thinking, "no, this is my money." (Huiqing)

At the time of her interview, Huiqing was retired. Her father had died in 2009 and her mother was living with two of Huiqing's unmarried brothers. Before her father's death, Huiqing's only contact with her parents was at a weekly Sunday meal attended by the entire family, which Huiqing described as a "traditional Chinese value." Since her father died, contacts with her mother had increased to twice a week. Additionally, Huiqing said she took her mother to the doctor, purchased her groceries, managed her medications, and split the cost of her mother's FDH with her brothers. Though Huiqing's mother had some chronic disabilities she was able to take care of herself with help from her FDH.

Huiqing is a good example of a daughter with mixed feelings toward her parents resulting in combined structural and relational motivation for providing support and care. When asked why she was willing to take care of her parents, Huiqing first replied that it was to pay them back for meeting her physical needs and educating her. To her, payback was "more duty than love." She later amended her position, maintaining this only applied to her father: "He did so much for me…and this is the least I could do for him." She reasserted, "With my dad it was more duty. With my mom *now* it's more love." But, is it?

With regard to feelings for her mother, Huiqing experienced considerable ambiguity. On the one hand, she claimed she had always loved her mother because, "she is the one who is bullied at home." On the other hand, she reminded herself, "It is true. I think we really don't connect emotionally." When she was asked if her parents had given love to their children, she responded: "I think the idea never came through my mind that there's love or

no love. I just assumed that was love" because her parents fed, clothed and educated the children. Later she reflected, "I don't think it was love…maybe that is their expression of love, you know, that 'I provide for all your needs, you know, that is my love.'"

Huiqing then asserted that since her father died her attitude toward her mother had changed. Seeing her mother's "life collapse" Huiqing hesitatingly conveyed that she had developed "compassion" for her, interpreting it as follows:

> You have a need, you know and you have to meet this need somehow so if I'm not able to provide it, then …I will bring you to some place where it will be provided. (Huiqing)

Huiqing denied her compassion originated in pity, stating instead that, "actually it's compassion, must come out of love." However, the linkage of love with need fulfilment has a familiar ring in its similarity to the earlier descriptions of her parents: "I provide for all your needs, you know, that is my love."

Huiqing has not had to test her feelings for her mother, but she has for her father. In carrying out her duty, during the last three months of her father's life she took him to the hospital nearly every day. Huiqing related, "the emotional part was just killing me" because of her father's difficult behaviour. He got on her nerves and she was angry. She said she internalised everything. Though she had been through assertiveness training following her breakdown, she "couldn't confront the issues with my dad at all." She had "mini-explosions…whenever there was just a little bit of pressure," but never at him. She felt guilty over her anger and prayed that God would take it away. She cried a lot, and when she went home to her nuclear family she "got quite hysterical in front of my husband." Toward the end of his life Huiqing's father could no longer walk, and only then did her siblings help her by

providing some nominal care.

During her father's final illness, Huiqing became exhausted. She said, "I think the… stress breaking point for me was when dad is actually dying...I would go to the hospital early in the morning and I would stay until somebody comes, you know…when I was doing that, in and out, in and out." The last three days of his life, Huiqing's father was allowed to go home. She described the toll it took on her:

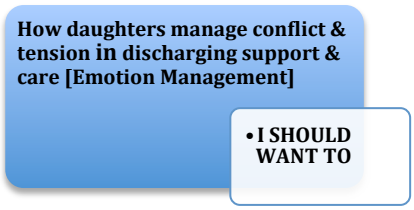
> You know and we had to take turns, two hours each, just to sit by his bedside and he would get up every two minutes…he'll walk two steps and lie down on the next bed at home. And then he would…get up [again]. I was so exhausted. And at one point, I just looked at him. I know he wanted to get up. I was so tired. I just looked at him and our eyes locked…It's like he was pleading with me to get him up, you know, but I was just so tired, I just couldn't lift him up anymore. So I just looked at him and I said, "what do you want?" (Huiqing)

On the day her father died, she told him: "Go, you know, just let go." She had fulfilled her duty and paid back her debt. As for her mother, it is the family's intention to keep her in her own home if she becomes frail. However, Huiqing said she expects her mother's FDH to perform the hands-on caregiving.

Huiqing's conflicted emotional state and mixed motivations are common, and instructive. She comes from a traditional family where a "whole package" of Chinese values was transmitted through role modelling. Core ideological elements of obedience and respect, plus "moral values," of integrity and responsibility were inculcated and internalised at an early age for redemption later on. Gratitude for economic investment made in Huiqing's education was internalised. Internalised commitment and a sense of obligation to parents will drive adult children to fulfil their duty to meet parents' needs regardless of whether the relationship is strong or strained (Silverstein, et al., 2012). The interesting part of this,

however, is the apparent need to bring love into the motivation for caregiving. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.6 MANAGING TENSION AND CONFLICT IN THE DISCHARGE OF FILIAL OBLIGATION



5.6.1 CASE STUDY NO. 4: EMOTION MANAGEMENT

Qingzhao is a married, second generation Hong Kong woman, and the oldest child in what she characterised as a "not so traditional," matriarchal family, with two working parents, a sister and three brothers. It was an unhappy household, according to Qingzhao, because her mother was an angry, violent woman and her parents were always quarrelling. The children were verbally abused and beaten and Qingzhao was afraid of her mother.

During Qingzhao's childhood, very little in the way of moral instruction was transmitted by her parents to their children. Qingzhao claimed she learned most of her values from school, visiting friends in their homes, and being out in the world. She said the only things her mother taught her were respect and obedience, to work hard, get an education, and to find a rich husband. Despite the marginalisation of her parents' influence, Qingzhao emerged from childhood with a strong sense of moral integrity and obedience. In her words:

> Well, when something turns [up] I have to find…out…is it morally right or wrong. If it's morally right but I don't accept it…still I have to obey the way, the moral way to do it. This is the way of obedience. (Qingzhao)

Responsibility was also thrust upon Qingzhao early in life:

> Because we are not in a rich family and…I have to do [the] buying [from] the market, cooking in the kitchen, cleaning up the house, …and taking care of the…younger brothers and sisters. (Qingzhao)

Childhood ended abruptly for Qingzhao when she was 18. She had completed secondary school and was working part time prior to starting tertiary education when she became pregnant. Her mother expelled Qingzhao from her home and she was forced into an unwanted marriage to the father of her child, a man she did not love.

The unwelcome pregnancy erupted into a feud between his parents and hers and became particularly acute between the two mothers. As Qingzhao put it, "when I [got] pregnant the four parents were…very angry. They quarrel and quarrel and quarrel." The issue was money. Because Qingzhao was pregnant she was worth less as a bride, and negotiations over the dowry to be paid to her parents became antagonistic. Qingzhao claimed from that point onward, her mother hated her and the two families became enemies.

Notwithstanding the animosity between Qingzhao, her mother and mother-in-law, in an attempt to be a filial daughter, about ten years ago Qingzhao made an effort to reconcile with them both and at the same time mediate relations between the two older women. Once a month she invited them to her home where she cooked, prepared tea and played mahjong with them. On the third occasion of these get-togethers, her mother-in-law "try to show her power." Displeased with something Qingzhao's mother had said she pushed over the table they were sitting at and began scolding Qingzhao's mother, causing her to "cry, cry, cry, cry then tumble" to the floor, thereby losing Face.

Once this episode had passed, in a manoeuvre to regain Face, Qingzhao's mother repeatedly related the event to Qingzhao's siblings, blaming Qingzhao for everything.

Qingzhao's mother-in-law was also angry because she felt she had been neglected and ignored following the incident.

Both fathers are now deceased and both mothers live alone. At the time of her interview, Qingzhao and her husband provided financial support for his mother, whilst Qingzhao supported her own mother by contributing financially and joining her family for lunch every Sunday. She reported it was "so wonderful that…we brothers and sisters… if they're not busy we all gather together." But, when her mother was mentioned she added, "I really don't want to see her much. I don't enjoy." When asked why she talked to her at all, Qingzhao responded: "Because it's my duty."

Even though Qingzhao's duty did not extend beyond financial support and family meals she had difficulty enduring even that. However, if her interpretation of filial obligation [framing rule] required a weekly family meal, Qingzhao's assessment of what she *should* feel during this situation [feeling rule] prescribed that she find a way to do it with love for her mother. This was a "moral imperative" she had given herself. The gap in her feelings and her attempt at emotion work were evident when she said: "My heart is so confused. That's why … I'm trying to make clear … how she bring me up and… what happened between me and her."

Qingzhao shared how she evoked positive feelings by reminding herself that her mother "give birth of me and she really bring me up and educate me." She related how she tried to manipulate her feelings through exhortation: "I have to do something as a return for what she has done to me." However, it was not enough, so Qingzhao explained how she invoked a rule reminder:

I just wonder what [will] happen if she just pass away. Would I feel regret much or

> [would] I feel happy? I just wonder. So every time I think what [might] happen…I have to [ask, should I give myself]…the chance to love her, to forgive her at [that] moment or not? Or after she died I regret, regret, regret. So that you know is a lot of troubles here inside my heart. (Qingzhao)

Qingzhao tried deep acting, attempting to evoke memories with warm feelings that were no longer present. She said:

> When I [am] in bed…sometimes I try to find out how my mother loves me; how she take care of me when I was a teenager…And, I find the memories, and she [was] really good sometimes. She give me money to study outside for the secondary education other than only in the school and she make me beautiful dresses and she sometimes bought me shoes and bought me rings to put on. And she's good. But I don't know, sometimes she's so bad tempered. (Qingzhao)

She noted how she draws on another rule reminder to examine the appropriateness of her feelings: sibling approval.

> My brothers and sister will see that I'm still a child of my mother and I have to do what they do to my mother. (Qingzhao)

Qingzhao claimed that as part of "Chinese tradition" she exhorted herself "to play my role to love the family, to love the father and love…all the members," including trying "very hard to love my mother." She said if she was unable to genuinely change her feelings, she *should* at least attempt to change her display to appear to feel what she does not. When she spoke about the recent encounters she had with her mother Qingzhao remarked: "Whatever she say, I say ok, ok, ok…I just ask, [do] you want tea, [are] you hungry, [are] you cold? What do you want?" If her mother yelled at her in response, Qingzhao said she walked away; "Or I just keep my mouth shut." This is surface acting, what Hochschild (1983:33) describes as deceiving others about what we really feel, but not deceiving ourselves.

In contrast to her own mother, Qingzhao did not attempt emotion work with regard to her mother-in- law. Though she claimed she wanted to "love them both [the two mothers] the same because they're old," and that "there [is] nobody to take care" of them, she was unwilling to put aside her unpleasant memories of the other woman. Qingzhao took the incident between the two mothers personally as the scolding of her mother also caused Qingzhao to lose Face. Additionally, after that her mother-in-law began asking for more money from Qingzhao and her husband, who were accused of inadequately providing for her. This accusation was tantamount to suggesting the couple were unfilial, and Qingzhao perceived it as being disrespectful as well as inaccurate. So acrimonious did the relationship become that Qingzhao severed emotional ties with her husband's mother:

> Yes! I don't care what you think and I don't care what you say. And you never bother me please. OK, I take care of…my husband, my family members and that's ok. That's my duty. And…I can see you but I have nothing to talk to you [about]. And I have nothing to do with you. (Qingzhao)

During her interview, Qingzhao was asked why, when her mother treated her as badly, if not worse than her mother-in-law, she did not terminate that relationship as well. Her response is insightful:

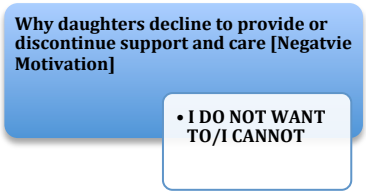
> Because she's my mother….We have the same blood…Yeah, I leave [her]….and I try to [do] better. I try to come back. But this one, no way, I just go. (Qingzhao)

Qingzhao exclaimed she could not envision a situation where her mother would push her so far that she would terminate their relationship. However, her anger appeared very close to the surface, and never seemed to dissipate. Moreover, Qingzhao imposed limits on what she was willing to do for her mother. Projecting to a time when her mother might

become disabled Qingzhao said she would not be her mother's caregiver or invite her mother to live with her. When asked why, Qingzhao responded, "We cannot live together because… whatever [she] will say [is] right. Without thinking she [will] say 'no'." Qingzhao added, "I think maybe we [will] find a helper and stay at her place and I'll go visiting her" or "maybe… put her in some elderly house... may be another solution. But we have to talk first. Yeah. We brothers and sisters must talk. It must be a group decision."

> And then I will [spend] more time to do [what I did for] my father [when he] was sick in the hospital, and they all go to work and I go and see my father and help and comfort him and ...cook something for his meal, like that. (Qingzhao)

5.7 DECLINING TO PROVIDE SUPPORT AND CAREGIVING



5.7.1 CASE STUDY NO. 5: NEGATIVE RELATIONAL MOTIVATION

Sheu-Fuh is a married, third generation Singaporean. Her parents divorced when she was ten and she has not seen her father since. She grew up with a younger brother and later a stepsister, who she barely knows.

From the time she was a small child, Sheu-Fuh's mother abused her as often as every other day. She described it:

> It can be she could be using bamboo. She could be using [a] hangar. She could be using [a] belt. She could be using twelve canes tied together….I remember this terrible incident…when I was in primary 4, that's probably about 11 years old, when she would make me take off all my clothes and tie me to a chair and she would just cane me. (Sheu-Fuh)

The offences for which she was punished were minor, according to Sheu-Fuh:

> Maybe I cooked the wrong thing or I cooked it the wrong way or I just didn't clean a thing properly, yeah. Little things, she will pick on me and she will cane me. And she will only cane me. She will not cane my brother. (Sheu-Fuh)

As a toddler, Sheu-Fuh's grandparents removed her from the family home; but her mother re-gained custody. Sheu-Fuh remembered: "Every day to me is like hell. Every day is like, is this going to be my last day?" She was afraid her mother was going to kill her. So, when she was 14 she ran away for the first time and went to the police. She was "back home by the very next day because nobody believed my story."

The second time she ran away followed a beating she received for failing to re-charge her mother's mobile phone. Finally, when Sheu-Fuh was 20, she ran away for good. This time she had support from her school and eventually the authorities. She took shelter in a welfare centre where she converted to Christianity, a decision she attributes to saving her. Whilst her mother fought to regain custody, Sheu-Fuh spent time in detention where she slept in a jail cell and underwent extensive interrogation. This time the authorities believed her, and Sheu-Fuh was legally emancipated.

Throughout the years the beatings occurred, Sheu-Fuh's brother never interceded on her behalf, and, neither did her father. Though he asked her once, how she could endure the abuse, he always left the room when punishment was being administered. Sheu-Fuh excused his behaviour:

> Every time he intervened my Mom would beat me harder. Or every time my Mom beats me and he steps in, you know, she will stop but when he goes to work she will start again. So, he realised that it's not doing me any good. (Sheu-Fuh)

Sheu-Fuh never blamed her father for abandoning her after the divorce:

> It is tough. It is very tough. But…I wasn't angry with my Dad because I know why he has to go because my Mom was treating him the same way as she was treating me too. (Sheu-Fuh)

Many years after Sheu-Fuh's mother died, Sheu-Fuh tried to contact her father so he could walk her down the aisle at her wedding. He would not even speak with her on the phone, and this hurt her, but again she forgave him:

> …because I know that deep down in him he's that man that I know who has taught me how to write cursive- handwriting- who has taught me to be self disciplined, who has taught me…to love studying, to have a love of education. (Sheu-Fuh)

In addition to what her father taught her, Sheu-Fuh learned to bring honour to her family, and to respect and be obedient to her elders. "But, of course, it sort of got washed away along the way because I was more concerned for my own safety."

Sheu-Fuh declared she respected her mother as a filial child, but only allowed herself to feel this after her mother's death. She did not believe her mother fulfilled her filial obligations either physically or emotionally. On the other hand, she said she "always" had "tremendous" respect for her father because "he has shown me goodness."

Sheu-Fuh asserted that she believes in filial obligation and that it applies to her, though she distinguished between her mother and father:

> Ok, if my Mom was going to be around today I probably may not have fulfilled… my filial piety part. You know. Because I will not be there to [be] taking care of her ….because I think I'm too scared to get near her, to go near her. But I will do it for my father. (Sheu-Fuh)

Sheu-Fuh said she saw her mother-in-law regularly, and she described the

relationship as "fantastic." She noted that her husband also provided financial support to his parents. As for her own mother, the most Sheu-Fuh was willing to do after her emancipation was to call her one time when she learned her mother was dying of cancer:

> I started praying for her… And… the year before she pass on for one whole month God was just chasing me to call her…I tell you that everywhere I go… I struggled with God. I was just crying, and I'm like God, why do I have to call her? Please don't make me call her. I don't want to call her… But he says, no, you take that first step because you are mine now. (Sheu-Fuh)

During that call Sheu-Fuh said:

> Mom…I know about your cancer…I am praying for you and I say Mom I'm sorry, you know. And, she started crying…and she was just weeping over the phone. …She cried and she cried and she cried…I was just listening to her and after what seems like a long time I just say Mom, you know, trust God, you know. Just believe in God. And, I'm praying for you. (Sheu-Fuh)

Sheu-Fuh's mother asked for her forgiveness, an act that she said liberated her and caused her to "embrace life." However, Sheu-Fuh could not motivate herself to do more. Five months after this call, "the Lord [was again] pushing [her] to see her [mother]":

> Ah, but I just pushed it off, you know, I just didn't want to because I was afraid that the moment I get in that house I was afraid something might happen to me, you know, and I can't leave. (Sheu-Fuh)

Sheu-Fuh is an example of negative motivation. However, the analytical category described as "*I do not want to/I cannot*" has a broader meaning, which includes inability and unbalanced exchange. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

5.8 CONCLUSION

The aim of Chapter 5 was to explicate the structure through which the analysis of the

data was conducted. To begin, context was provided to show the ways in which respondents were in between traditional and contemporary norms. This was followed by an introduction to the typology of support and care.

The typology consists of four types or stages: support (N=55), temporary care (N=20), caregiving (N=8), and outsourced care (N=7). Support required the least amount of time and effort from respondents and consisted primarily of financial support and having meals with parents once a week or more. Temporary care involved medical emergencies or circumstances where a parent was briefly incapacitated and being cared for either at home or in the hospital for less than six months. Caregiving was interpreted as hands-on, long-term care in the home with or without the assistance of a foreign domestic helper (FDH). These first three stages of the typology focused on the daughters' motivations and how they discharged care. The fourth stage, outsourced care, expanded on the relevance of FDHs, and explored nursing home care with or without assistance from a FDH. At each stage of the typology examples were provided by reference to one of the respondents. As seen in Figure 5.1, moving through the typology, fewer respondents were engaged in support and care activities.

Once the typology was established, conceptual and theoretical norms, previously organised into three broad analytical categories, were reintroduced. In Figure 5.2, structural and relational norms of motivation showing why support and care were provided ["*I have to/I want to*"]; coping strategies showing how tensions and conflict were managed in the discharge of care ["*I should want to*"]; and negative motivation showing why some may have chosen not to provide care ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"] were integrated with each of the stages of support and care throughout the typology for the purpose of creating a structure in

which to answer the research questions.

Five actual accounts of the respondents were then presented in terms of the three analytical categories. The first three pertained to filial motivation. In Case study 1, structural norms motivating support were examined ["*I have to*"]. In Case study 2, support motivated by relational norms of love and gratitude were explored ["*I want to*"]. In the third case study, structural and relational filial norms were combined ["*I have to + I want to*"].

The fourth case study turned away from filial motivational norms to examine the tension and conflict involved in discharging filial obligation. This narrative illustrated how emotion work attempts to bridge the gap between what one feels and believes one *should* feel in order to reduce tension and cope with the support or caregiving situation ["*I should want to*"]. Finally, the fifth case study returned to motivation, highlighting why negative motivation may result in the refusal of daughters to provide care [*"I do not want to/I cannot*"].

Each of the next four chapters is devoted to one stage of the typology. Chapter 6 considers support; Chapter 7 investigates temporary care; Chapter 8 probes caregiving; and Chapter 9 scrutinises outsourced care. Every stage in the typology integrates what has been learned from the literature, the conceptual and theoretical models, and the respondents' personal accounts, analysed in the context of contemporary norms and the changing roles and status of Chinese women.

CHAPTER 6
SUPPORT OF AGEING PARENTS

6.1 REVIEW OF SUPPORT AND INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

Support is the first stage of the typology, requiring the least investment of time, emotional resources, and instrumental help. Financial subsidies and companionship are the most common expressions of support, accompanied by intermittent performance of commonplace tasks. All are undertaken for healthy parents, including meals, visits, phone calls, shopping, outings and vacations, supervision of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) and the occasional medical intervention (Table 5.1).

In this sample 55 respondents currently provide or have provided support to 139 support recipients. The comparison of parents and in-laws reveals a clear distinction in that 66% of support is provided to parents, 27% is provided to in-laws, and 7% to others.

The aim of this chapter is **to understand why daughters are willing or unwilling to offer support to parents who are able to take care of themselves, and to determine how they manage difficulties encountered in doing so**. Relying on the interviews, the processes underlying motivation for support, limitations on the willingness to provide support, and differences in the support provided, are examined in the context of the changing roles and status of Chinese daughters and contemporary Chinese cultural norms.

Case studies 1-3 and 5, presented in the previous chapter, illustrate the three kinds of motivation emerging from the data and the literature: structural norms of filial obligation, ["*I have to*,"] relational norms of affection, gratitude, and reciprocity ["*I want to*,"] and combined structural and relational norms ["*I have to + I want to*"]. They will serve as

departure points for discussing what is underpinning present day support motivation. The use of case studies as an analytical tool facilitates the identification and discussion of the research questions through a range of individuals and circumstances. Additionally, it allows us to highlight prominent themes emerging from the data.

6.2 HOW STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL NORMS ARE MOTIVATING FILIAL SUPPORT AMONGST RESPONDENTS

The breakdown of support motivation for parents and in-laws amongst the 139 support recipients is shown below in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Motivation driving support for parents and in-laws (N=139)

MOTIVATION TYPE	Mother	Father	Mother in law	Father in law	Other*	TOTAL
Structural	11	13	22	11	2	59
Relational	13	7	0	0	1	21
Structural + Relational	26	22	2	2	7	59
TOTAL	50	42	24	13	10	139

*3 grandmothers, 4 aunts, 1 uncle, 2 adopted parents

Amongst the 55 respondents providing support, the majority (67%) are motivated by structural norms of filial obligation and relational norms of gratitude, affection and reciprocity combined ("I have to + I want to") followed by structural norms (18%) and relational norms (15%) alone. Nine respondents cited religion as a reason for providing support, although always in conjunction with one of the three main analytical categories. Six respondents referred to lack of affection as a reason for not providing support.

6.3 FORCES UNDERPINNING STRUCTURAL FILIAL SUPPORT MOTIVATION

This section explores how structural norms are learned and internalised, how and why they have changed from the past, and why they are still driving support amongst these

respondents.

6.3.1 DAUGHTERS FOLLOWING PARENTAL ROLE MODELLING

Bo's outlook in Case Study 1 is an example of structural obligation (duty). She was compelled to follow her father's example, learned through role modelling. As she stated, "Because he do it like this and I follow his example." (Bo)

Role modelling is portrayed in the literature, and amongst these respondents, as a powerful tool for the transmission of filial obligation norms within Chinese communities. Ning, a Hong Kong woman of the second generation, articulated:

> They are taking care of their parents and when I look at them I will be seeing that this is the way that we will do….Whatever they do I will be doing the same thing. (Ning)

Statements similar to Ning's such as, "My mother…will never tell me.... But, I learn from her behaviour how she take care of her mother" (Yet Kwai) and, "What my parents do, I do," (Ah Kum), were heard frequently in the interviews. As seen with Huiqing, childhood conversations between respondents and their parents could be sparse. Learning moral values through observation under such circumstances would have been essential.

Today however, dual working parents, universal compulsory education, and ubiquitous Internet and telephonic communication may be driving further change in the transmission of traditional values. There is wider access to information and less time spent interacting with parents. The importance of the family as the vehicle for the transmission of values is believed by many respondents to be diminishing. Respondents project that it will be more difficult to educate children at home in the future.

6.3.2 GENDER SPECIFIC TAUGHT RESPONSIBILITY

Unlike their male siblings, the daughters in this sample were often taught to undertake

gender specific tasks when they were barely toddlers. Because their mothers were busy and many families were still large, as youngsters these women learned to multitask. They helped with domestic chores, worked in the family business, ran errands, and supervised their siblings outside the home. Bo, for example, said she did housework and was required to watch over her sisters during school recess. Daughters, especially the oldest, also tutored younger siblings, as some parents were not sufficiently educated to do so. All the while, these girls imposed the obligation on themselves to do well in school.

The imposition of these multiple obligations on young female family members could effectively cultivate in them a predisposition to internalise duty, responsibility and gender specific behaviours, especially with respect to their parents and siblings. The young daughter became a substitute for or an assistant to her mother, understanding her role in relationship to the male members of the household. Lihua, a second generation Hong Kong woman, was brought up in this manner and offered a glimpse into how it influenced her belief system:

> Girls…need to work hard and...do everything in the family….I [will] give you an example. If…my father and the sons…go for [a] movie…the girls …will stay home taking care of other things.…and [when they come] home after the movie they [will] need to have some delicious food for entertainment [which] you need to prepare. (Lihua)

When asked how she felt about the gender division within her family, Lihua replied, "If you find there is no…difference than the others next door… you feel it's alright."

6.3.2.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS TO SUSTAINING TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES

As Lihua's situation shows, just as it existed in childhood, gender stereotyping carried over into adulthood for many respondents. They were neither relieved of domestic responsibilities, nor expected to be relieved, despite the fact many had become working

professionals. Most respondents claimed their husbands declined to engage in housework, cooking or caring for children. This has produced important normative change. The employment of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) in the home is currently widespread in both Singapore and Hong Kong. In this sample, over thirty respondents employ FDHs. The availability of foreign workers may be critical to the ability of working women, sandwiched between children and elderly parents, to fulfil their obligations to both family and employer.

6.3.3 ORAL TRANSMISSION OF TRADITIONAL FAMILY OBLIGATIONS

For centuries devotion to the family has been part of Chinese cultural ideology, tied to traditional notions of filial piety and Confucian values. Though the hierarchal system that gave rise to it may no longer exist, the importance of the family remains intact. Regardless of the extent to which attitudes are being reframed to reflect the exigencies of contemporary life, in this sample of Chinese women, traditional normative expectations regarding one's family obligations continue to be subtly transmitted through what may appear to be casual remarks, but which have deeper meanings. Lihwa provided an example of how this happens:

> You will listen to my grandmother saying…who is good to his grandmother, who is not good to his mother... his mother is so and so. And the son is so and so. You know this is [a] casual remark, [but] then you will know what she is expecting. (Lihwa)

Subtle or direct, the transmission of traditional Chinese values to these respondents from their parents was ubiquitous, regardless of whether they lived in Singapore or Hong Kong, or whether they were from the second or third generation. Those who were the recipients of these messages often verbalised sentiments similar to Ai's, a second generation Singaporean reflecting on how the importance of the family was transmitted to her:

> Essentially, when I was young we were always taught that family was the most

> important thing. And, I have always felt that basically…So, whatever we do, at least for me, they will always come first. (Ai)

The primacy of the family and how it underpins support motivation is illustrated through the story of Huiliang.

6.3.3.1 ***The story of Huiliang***

The obligation to put family first was transmitted to Huiliang as a child "…and ingrained in us when young." She remarked, "We just knew that we have people that we have to take care of, we have family that we need to worry about." She attributed this to Chinese values, "passed down through the ages as an obligation," and said, "it's something you have to do it, like it or not." (Huiliang)

As a young adult, Huiliang studied and then worked in Europe for several years. Her mother had died, and Huiliang was residing in France when she decided to go home to Singapore to look after her father and grandmother. She said this decision "was a big struggle" because "obviously I wanted to get on with my life," adding that "I still look at it sometimes as a sacrifice… I gave up something because of this obligation."

Huiliang returned to Singapore and moved in with her grandmother and father. Both were healthy and mobile at the time, requiring no care. She indicated she could have sent money to fulfil the obligation to support her family. She felt more was owed to them.

Huiliang, however, was not immune from the influence of contemporary filial norms. Growing up, she loved and was close to her grandmother and her mother, but this was not true of her feelings toward her father. Though returning home fulfilled the obligation to her family, the quality of support provided to its members differed based on her relationship with them. Huiliang explained there were "three different scenarios:" one for her deceased mother,

one for her grandmother and one for her father. All three received financial support, but for the two older women, emotional support had been offered as well:

> For my [dead] mother…[it was] a feeling of…giving back what I could have, [for] what she did to me, ok? My father is a different story because I didn't feel that he gave to me…at the same level that my mother did….for my father it's an obligation to do the best that I can for him....but the emotional is different from what I do for my grandmother. There is something special there. (Huiliang)

It should be further noted, that upon returning to Singapore, Huiliang hired a FDH to look after her elderly relatives, went back to work, and immediately began construction of her own home. Within three years of her return she had moved out of her father's home, leaving the two older people with the FDH. When asked why, Huiliang responded that the nagging she received from the old folks upset her and she wanted to remove herself from a potential situation where she would raise her voice and later feel guilty.

Huiliang's grandmother died in 2010. Her father, who has had a stroke, continues to live alone with the FDH. Huiliang sees him nearly every day and never vacations for more than a week "because I worry about what happens at home."

Though Huiliang's "ingrained" traditional duty to her family generates an expectation in her as to what her behaviour should be, the nature and extent of her duty is no longer automatically accepted. Rather, it is weighed against her own needs to achieve an acceptable balance. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

6.3.3.2 FAMILY OBLIGATION DISTINGUISHED FROM FILIAL PIETY

Though parental support has historically been linked to Confucianism and filial piety (Cook and Dong, 2011) there is evidence to suggest that in the minds of some respondents, commitment to family may be distinct from these ideologies. Ai explained:

> I don't think I do all this because I'm filial, to be very honest. That's why I don't put much weight in the word because to me it's worth nothing…. Some people just provide financial needs to their parents and nothing else. And, it is very often these days in Singapore we do that… So, to me what is it really to be filial? But, it's more important that they are my family and that's why I am doing what I'm doing. (Ai)

Huiliang's reasoning for returning to Singapore could be interpreted as tied to familism rather than filial piety. Further support for this view can also be seen in the comments of Weici:

> So, maybe it's not a filial piety anymore, it's more like, where [are] all [the] responsibilities now that…they don't have this Confucianist thing?...We are all cremated anyway, so nowadays there is no need to clean [the] gravestone so the filial piety part is not even physically possible anymore. (Weici)

Finally, several Hong Kong respondents, like Changying, did not know the terms filial piety or *xiao*.

6.3.4 STRUCTURAL OBLIGATION MEDIATED BY CONTEMPORARY NORMS

Perhaps the perseverance of family obligation and traditional gender norms is surprising, given the modern lifestyles of these women. Moreover, the women in this study regard themselves as being different from their mothers in both attitude and lifestyle:

> I didn't want to live like my parents, you know, I wanted to be financially independent, I wanted to be sure that I can take care of myself. I didn't want to be dependent on anybody. (Huiliang)

> We are also taught the old values because you know it is from my Mom's side and all that, and yet on the other hand, you get to also learn to think for yourself because of education. (Ai)

In the past, one of the historical justifications for son favouritism was that the son was expected to support the family financially when the parents became old. A daughter's value

was derived from carrying out her husband's filial obligation, or if unmarried, caring for her family of origin at home. In contemporary Singapore and Hong Kong, however, many Chinese daughters contribute financially to the family, the same as sons, and in some cases seen in this sample, instead of sons:

> [My parents] told me, I don't have [a] son, so you as my daughter and your sister, both of you have to take care of me when I'm old. (Ah Kum)
>
> My brother [is] not taking care of my parents, so [it was] left to me…. So, I look at myself more like a man now. (Jaihui)

In this critical way, the roles and status of the respondent daughters have changed, and their families derive substantial economic benefits from it. Parents have a potentially greater reservoir of long-term financial security and more resources to invest in their other children. The potential burden of supporting an unmarried adult daughter has also virtually disappeared. Yet, even though they are now generating stable incomes to be enjoyed by parents, rather than being liabilities, daughters are still obliged to be the providers of emotional and instrumental support to them. This is a net increase in their filial obligation. The only appreciable difference is that the obligation has shifted. All of the respondents providing financial support, whether married or not, did so for their own parents, not their in-laws. The seminal question is why do daughters agree to take on so much responsibility?

Are the learned behaviours and inherited family obligations so strong amongst these women that filial beliefs are preserved despite conflicting evidence that structural elements of filial piety are waning? Is commitment to the family so resolute that it supersedes competing demands on contemporary Chinese women's time and resources? Amongst these respondents opinions vary, but most try to find a balance. Consider the following comments by two

Singaporeans, the first from the second generation, the other from the third:

> From my parents generation, especially my mom, she live[s] for the family, whereas for me, yeah I do care about the family but I also live for myself. (Huian)
>
> Family is important, but I think first and foremost it's self. Because, like I said, if you can't look after yourself, you can't look after anybody else. (Nuo)

Self-sufficiency has given modern Chinese daughters greater bargaining power, particularly in the area of marriage. The following statements are expository, made by Hong Kong women of the second and third generations respectively:

> It's like we're going to hold out. If we don't get what we want then forget it. We don't care. (Tao)
>
> Maybe [you] cannot find the Mr Right….You know [he is] very difficult to find and you know now you can earn the money. No need to get the money from other people. Like my mother. They need to stay at home as a housewife. For the financial supporting [it] need[s] to come from my father or from my brother or my sister. [For me] up to now [there is] no need to [get married] because I'm ok. The financial? For me [it] all is from me….Yeah just take care of [it] by yourself. Also if I have Mr Right it's a burden. (Sying)

This state of mind appears to carry over into the decision to live with one's in-laws. Granting that housing size in both Hong Kong and Singapore does not inspire intergenerational living, daughters-in-law are also declining to co-reside, as this third generation Singaporean explains:

> My Mother-in-law articulated that she expects him [her son] to look after them… And so, we lived under the same roof for half a year. Yeah, I couldn't manage that ….I was horrified…. I had a very bad experience so [we] moved out… (Zhenzhen)

Like Zhenzhen, after their marriage, Qingzhao (Case study 4) and her husband also lived with his family, which was an unhappy experience lasting only six months. When the

newlyweds moved out and contacts with his parents dwindled, Qingzhao's husband attempted to initiate more. Qingzhao helped him understand why they should not do this:

> And then I calmly talk to him that you must understand that the marriage is between two people: you and me. I just marry you...And I have nothing to do with [your] family because they don't like me and not because I don't like them. So, [from] this moment maybe we just live together…and [have no] concern about the other persons. (Qingzhao)

As mentioned previously, duty is the primary motivation driving respondent daughters to support in-laws. Further, amongst most of the married respondents, the husband-sons are motivated by the same duty as their wives. Some, like Qingzhao's husband, do not really like their mothers and support their wives against them. Other husbands are apathetic, which Lihwa, a woman of the second generation from Hong Kong articulates:

> He really does not care. His road to his mother is quite similar to my road to my family. That means he is supportive financially and then he [is] also the brain to them. (Lihwa)

In a reinterpretation of filial obligation, respondents were not only choosing to live apart from their in-laws, they were seeing them less. If most daughters in the sample were visiting their own parents once a week many saw their in-laws once or twice a month, or only during festivals or holidays. Some respondents said they have agreements with in-laws to see their grandchildren, but may not spend time with them themselves. It was far more common in the sample to see financial arrangements made for in-laws rather than commitments of time.

One can speculate that being relieved of the duty to contribute all but financial support to in-laws (which their husbands provide) has allowed adult daughters to focus on

their families of origin, which is a more natural relationship. As Huiliang observed:

> You talk to these mothers nowadays they'll say they prefer to have daughters rather than sons, you know? Things have changed a lot…daughters tend to be closer to their mothers than the sons are. (Huiliang)

This is a major shift away from traditional filial piety and Chinese values. Additionally, although the duty to provide support has not vanished, there appear to be notable changes. Whereas the ideological belief in filial obligation remains deeply internalised, executing it has achieved an element of voluntariness. For example:

> My parents, the way that they are brought up is whatever the parents say, that's the final decision and no arguments also. But, I'm kind of caught in between, because for me it's always about reasoning. It's about logic. It's about convincing. (Te')

As seen with Huiliang, Chinese daughters may now be considering their personal desires more, deciding what they are willing and unwilling to do, in light of how they interpret filial obligation.

6.3.4.1 RESPONDENTS DESIRE INDEPENDENCE BUT NOT NECESSARILY INDIVIDUALISM

Many of the respondents' parents encouraged their daughters to be independent. Ning, a second generation woman from Hong Kong explains:

> The life changed...I have many relatives. But come to my level now, they don't have that many close relatives. Even [if] they have …they are far away. My children …I think they met [her brother's family] only twice for all these years. They don't get close to them. So, they…really need to have their own friends. So, they can't depend on us…they have to be trained to be, you know, independent, on their own. (Ning)

Independence comes with a caveat, however that conveys the paradoxical situation of modern Chinese women. Though they desire independence, most respondents distinguish it

from Western style individualism. For example:

> I feel that being independent means I can do things on my own. I don't have to rely on a person or don't have to be dependent on a person….But… I equate [being] individualistic more to self-centeredness. Yes, but I don't think being independent is being self-centered….They are different. (Huizhong)

Jai, a third generation Singaporean, explains how these seemingly conflicting norms may be accommodated:

> How do I reconcile? I think maybe it's a very Asian thing or Chinese thing; you tend to be a little bit more self-sacrificial than others… (Jai)

Jun, a second generation Singaporean, adds, "that you are not alone. You need to… consider others in things that you do."

These comments are representative of how the women in this sample think. Though they say they want independence, traditional Chinese collectivism appears to remain an integral part of their internalised values.

6.3.5 PROCEEDING CAUTIOUSLY IN A TIME OF CHANGING NORMS

Understanding they are charting new territory, and given their traditional childhoods, perhaps these daughters are simply proceeding cautiously. Comments such as the following suggest this may be the case:

> We will also want our own way, maybe not so much as the Gen Y because maybe during our time it's like we are slowly *testing the waters*….Ok, maybe I want to do this. [I'm] not sure what it's like, [or] would society accept [it] or whatever. (Meifeng; *Emphasis added*)

> I don't think my generation is the sort to complain because we realise *we can't have our cake and eat it*. We will want to continue to work but at the same time we will have to raise the family. So, we take it in our own stride. (Shu; *Emphasis added*)

By balancing their own needs with those of their parents, daughters showed traditional respect, even though they felt respect in most cases must be earned:

> I respect my parents' generation for what they have done, but respect is not an automatic thing, at least for me. It must be earned, regardless of whether you are older than me or not….Filial piety cannot be like default. (Nuo)

Face was also preserved, and for both parents and daughters it continues to silently traverse the entire ensemble of Chinese cultural norms:

> My Mom, she just explain[s],…to me…about Face, losing Face and this traditional thing that we have to do because we have to maintain our connection with [the] extended family. And we do not want others to look down on us. (Rou)

6.3.6 RESPONDENT DAUGHTERS ARE DECLINING TO TRANSMIT FILIAL OBLIGATION TO THEIR CHILDREN

Nearly all the respondents reported they neither expect nor want their children to take care of them in old age. They are aware they will likely live longer than their parents, and their families are smaller, so there are fewer children to "share the load" (Weici). However, more than anything else, it is the perceived burden, which almost none of the respondents wish to see imposed on their children. Weici explains:

> Because firstly, it's a burden on them. I feel sometimes the burden not so much financially, the feeling is…ok yes your parents have raised you and you owe them something, but is it right to feel that you have to repay? I don't want the repay part, you do it out of love. So that's why I [would] rather you not do it to me unless you are doing it because you really want to. So don't repay me for what I did for you… that's not measurable in the first sense and it's [a] mother's duty anyway. (Weici)

Similar remarks were made by many respondents, evincing the growing momentum away from structural to combined motivations, and especially relational norms, as the

impetus and rationale for providing care to older parents. In the following statement one can also see how this shift in motivations to provide care drives movement away from the unconditional care previously required for in-laws:

> So that duty thing that I had to suffer because I married into that family [is] something that I don't want to force on someone else…I did it because I had to …I'm married to the family. What else can I do?...You see that was the thinking then, 30 years ago, 40 years ago… And even [though] I was educated enough to find my own job and I was working, I mean there's still that lingering [thought]… you always have to wear two hats. You are working with the [one] hat [and then when] you are at home with…the [other] hat… She [mother-in-law] never fails to remind you that …'you are liable to me, never run away'. That's why I don't want to put that poster on my daughter-in-law's head…I felt chained or locked in and I don't want to give that feeling to someone else. (Weici)

The influence of education and employment can also be seen. Contemporary Chinese women, who are accustomed to having power and authority in the work environment, may be reluctant to forfeit such status at home:

> These women, when they are at work, they make decisions for millions of dollars. They manage people and when they are back [home] they have to listen to this mom in-law who has barely any education and she has to do things the [mother-in-law's] way…And she comes back [home] stressed and she still want to, you know, to agree to all these [things], so I think it makes it, very difficult for the women. (Jun)

Respondents' mothers had no choice but to accept traditional norms of filial obligation. Though respondents have greater choice than their mothers, they may still be unwilling to completely sever themselves from traditional Chinese values transmitted to them in childhood by their parents. However, they intend it to end with them. As Weici articulates, "That [is] my duty. [It] is my life, ok, but it's not one I want to pass on to my children. So I've cut the line".

6.4 FORCES UNDERPINNING RELATIONAL MODELS OF SUPPORT MOTIVATION (AFFECTION, RECIPROCITY AND GRATITUDE)

Changying's story (Case Study 2) exemplifies how relationships and their qualities are featured in motivating support. She and her mother have always been close. Changying's mother earned her respect by keeping the family together and single-handedly supporting it through her own efforts following her husband's death.

Respect is often pivotal to relationships with parents amongst these respondents and is a condition precedent to affection and gratitude. As seen with Huiqing, (Case Study 3) if one parent is an abuser, respect can be lost for that individual. Alternatively, the recipient of abuse may gain respect for not abandoning the children. Likewise, hardships suffered by one or both parents can earn respect, especially if this is perceived as sacrifice for the sake of the children. Huizhong, a second generation Singaporean, expands on her parents' sacrifice:

> I feel that, yes, they sacrificed a lot of time for the family. And… I find that they are really, very fantastic…They give a lot of support to us as kids…(Huizhong)

There are many different scenarios found in the interviews in which respect is implicated in the quality of relationships. It is hard to imagine a situation in which affection and gratitude are driving support motivation without it.

6.4.1 GRATITUDE FOR EDUCATION

The vast majority of respondents for this research express prodigious gratitude for the ability to attend school. For example:

> Because of her then I can have good life for myself. Because she give me [a] good education. Yeah. Because on her theory she said the children if they want to study she will pay for them and never reject unless they don't want to study. (Changying)

Respondents recalled how most of their mothers were denied access to education, and statements similar to this one were repeatedly heard in the interviews:

> We looked at my parents' generation. Then the daughters never went to school, only the sons; Whereas, for my generation, my parents sent all of us to school. Whether you are a daughter or son, it doesn't matter. So…I think it boils down to the fact that because of the education level…we are able to achieve quite a lot. (Xiurong)

Amongst the women interviewed, the desire to learn was instilled in most of them by their parents at a very early age.

> I think they maybe keep on saying that you must receive [a] good education. You must be capable to manage yourself, your own life. And if you have no good education you have no future. (Lihwa)

Some daughters hoped to fulfil their parents' "unfinished business" because the parents regretted not having an opportunity to study. Bo, for example, said she was determined "to work very hard just like a capable person, no matter I'm a female or male. I'm still someone who is good enough for them to be proud of." Expressing how her family valued education, she added, "the only thing that no-one can take away from you is your knowledge. So, if you want to be respected, if you want to be someone good, you have to study hard."

Education was also the pathway to a good job, which may equate to copious personal benefits, as Niu reflected:

> Without an education, I would not be able to work. I would not be able to be financially independent. I would not be able to be what I am today. (Niu)

More than any other factor, the importance of education to the respondents cannot be

minimised. Parents supporting a daughter's education almost always created an *irredeemable obligation* on the part of their female offspring in this sample (Berman, 1987).

6.4.2 GRATITUDE FOR ONE'S UPBRINGING

In addition to education, gratitude for care, encouragement and support received in childhood drove feelings of reciprocity for the women, and this was linked with both duty and affection. Respondents were grateful to their mothers for giving up jobs in order to stay home with the children, for remaining in bad marriages, and for supporting the family without help from respondents' fathers. They were grateful to their parents for the gift of life, for their hard work, for allowing their daughters to pursue their goals, and for "shaping me into what I am now" (Jai). Expressions of gratitude such as, "they allowed me to become what I am today" and "it is the least I can do" were frequently made by these respondents. Jai explained how gratitude factored into her motivation to support her parents:

> Yes I think it's time for me to take care of them given that they did their part when I was younger and fully dependent on them. (Jai)

Jai's words are not new. Likely women of her mother's generation have made similar statements. The difference is context. Parents' obligations and children's expectations have changed. It may no longer be enough for parents just to provide food and shelter.

6.4.3 GRATITUDE FOR HELP AS AN ADULT

Mutual obligations and exchanges between parents and children carrying over into adulthood can form a special type of reciprocity (Croll, 1995; Ng et al., 2002). Parents perform services for adult children such as babysitting, cooking meals and helping with housework. Whether intended or not, the effect is to strengthen the incentive motive of adult children to care for their parents, either as payback or when parents are in need.

In these cohorts, only two respondents, both from the third generation, one in Singapore, one in Hong Kong, received help with their children from their own parents. In each case it was part of an overall pattern of reciprocity extending from childhood.

Likely the decline in intergenerational households and greater geographic distance between the households of adult children and their parents has contributed to the dearth of on-going exchanges of this kind between parents and adult children. Alternatively, as mentioned previously, it may be that the introduction of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) has deprived parents of opportunities to perform services for their children.

6.4.4 THE NEED TO FEEL LOVED AND GIVE LOVE TO PARENTS

The giving and receiving of love is strongly implicated in support motivation amongst these respondents. Arguably, it is only natural that children want to feel loved by their parents, even as adults. For those, like Changying, who feel genuine affection from their parents, the desire to reciprocate that affection may be one possible outcome.

However, when a child does not feel loved *by* a parent, as the story of Qingzhao demonstrates, a strong compulsion can also exist to feel love *for* a parent even in the face of conflicting evidence that it is not merited. Both Bo and Huiqing mitigated negative feelings for their mothers when the latter exhibited signs of vulnerability. In each case there was no prior history of affection, closeness or interdependence to justify such a change in feeling. Similarly, Sheu-Fuh generated feelings of love for her father even though he abandoned her.

Love is recognised in the literature as having a historical linkage with filial piety (O.M.H. Wong & Chau, 2006). However, without trying to further explain why the need for reciprocal parental love is so prevalent in the sample, we can look at how affection can be generated to bolster support arising out of filial obligation.

6.5 FORCES UNDERPINNING COMBINED STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL MOTIVATION TO PROVIDE SUPPORT

6.5.1 CASE STUDY 6: CREATING LOVE TO SUPPORT DUTY

Yet Kwai is the eldest child born to the polygamous second marriage of her father. She has two sisters and two brothers, of which she is the oldest. In her father's first family there are eleven children, including three sons. There is almost no interaction between the two families.

Yet Kwai reported that in her childhood home the family was more important than the individuals within it. The exception was Yet Kwai's father. Yet Kwai conceded her father did not spend much time with the second family during her childhood. Most evenings he "took his dinner and then he [went] to bed." In the morning he was gone before the children got up. Communication with Yet Kwai's father was through her mother. According to Yet Kwai, it was safer than going direct as they were unable to predict what his reaction would be. The real contribution of Yet Kwai's father was financial. He housed, fed and clothed his children and paid for their education.

Because they are the second family, Yet Kwai's nuclear family never enjoyed the same prestige as the first. Further, as a female, Yet Kwai said she has no status within her family. Though she is a highly accomplished professional woman, all of her achievements could not elevate her position:

> You know, my father told me that it's too bad you are not a son. He likes the kind of social status that I've got. He always carries my name card with him, but it's too bad I'm not a son. (Yet Kwai)

During her interview, Yet Kwai related a series of incidents occurring throughout her

life in which she perceived rejection from her father. For example, her nuclear family was barred from their grandmother's funeral out of fear they would fight with the first family; and at Yet Kwai's marriage ceremony her father told her, "A daughter who [gets] married is like a bowl of water which spreads off and shall never return." Her attempts to make her grievances known over these and other perceived affronts were ignored. Proclamations of love were similarly met with impassivity and lack of emotion. Yet Kwai recalled two occasions on which she built up the courage to tell her father she loved him. Asked how he responded, she said, "He does not show any expression. But I think the message, he has received the message." When asked if her father has ever told Yet Kwai he loves her, she stated, "He say it differently. He say that I feel proud of you because you are the first PhD in my family."

Yet Kwai believes her filial obligation, as the oldest daughter, is to be responsible for both her parents and her siblings, to meet all of their needs, especially her father's, and to love her family unconditionally. To generate a belief that her father is worthy of the love and attention bestowed upon him, Yet Kwai must excuse the long and unsuccessful history of trying to be good enough, and she must disregard the perceived injustice, mistreatment, and rejection her father has inflicted on her and other members of the second family. To reinforce her positive feelings, comments such as, " I don't think he meant it," and "even though so much he also love us," were repeatedly made. Though she said she felt hurt by her father and saw herself as a "second class citizen," Yet Kwai also reminded herself of the good things her father had done for her, as she reined in her expectations:

> I'm grateful…I don't know if I always [felt] bad about myself in my earliest years but I still… have a father. But, different fathers will have different relationships with their

> children. It's not like…I'm from…a broken family... My father is always there …Of course I know my limits. I will not ask for more than I…am allowed. (Yet Kwai)

Yet Kwai claimed she felt appreciated by her father. However, it was not her father telling her he appreciated what she did for him; it was her mother. In fact, Yet Kwai's mother was the person she was closest to, and Yet Kwai felt protective of her because "I think she will be hurt by my father emotionally." Yet Kwai seems to have modelled her own feelings and behaviour on her mother's:

> Emotionally, whatever I can do for my parents' family, I will try my best to do so because I'm the oldest. Like my mother, she's the oldest in her family; she's taking care of her family and I have to take care of my mother's family [crying]. And, I have to be good and work so I have the ability to take care of them. (Yet Kwai)

Later, when the discussion turned to obedience and respect, she remarked that obedience and respect were expected and given, "even though you don't get respect in return." Yet Kwai explained how her belief in God helped her to compensate for what was lacking in her life:

> He doesn't treat us equally with his other children. This is something that hurts me. But, *I forgive him*. Even though he is holding this philosophy… I am *quite attached to him.* [When] I [was] growing up, I have a father, *but I don't receive the love*… But, I have a father, God in heaven." [Yet Kwai; *Emphasis added*.]

Equally important to her were three men she referred to as "mentors." As a young adult they gave her attention and acceptance. This was transformative as she began to see "what is missing in my family" and it allowed her to develop feelings of love for her father.

Yet Kwai's reasons for providing support to her elderly father appear to be rooted in an Asian cultural model of filial responsibility. She seems to have internalised what is

considered right and what ought to be done (Holroyd, 2001). However, Yet Kwai also shows how obligation can be linked with affection and how affection can be used to justify support that might not be deserved. Amongst the respondents, demonstrations of affection from their parents are extremely uncommon. However, norms are changing. All of the respondents, who were asked if they hug and kiss their children and tell them they love them, said they do. Perhaps this change in behaviour is a reflection of something lacking in these women's childhoods which they are attempting to compensate for now. Or perhaps it is that love is tied to something entirely different, for example gratitude.

6.5.2 WHY LOVE, GRATITUDE AND DUTY MAY BE INSEPARABLE AMONGST THIS GROUP OF CHINESE WOMEN

In conducting the interviews, every respondent was asked to explain why they were willing or unwilling to provide support or care for parents, whether they were actually doing it, had done it in the past, or had not done it at all. Responses were often similar to this:

> You love your family. You love your mother. You have a responsibility…to do something for [the] family… obligation… I must payback. (Ling)

Probing beyond this, respondents were asked if they could distinguish between love, gratitude and duty as a reason for providing support or care for their parents. Most were able to articulate which of these motivating concepts underpinning filial obligation was the most important or the least important. But, there was a general disinclination to eliminate any of the concepts.

To understand this it is important to remember that in the Chinese culture, feelings of love, gratitude and family obligation have historically been interrelated in a way that is different from contemporary relational norms in the West. For example, overt expressions or

demonstrations of affection such as hugging, kissing or saying "I love you" were not prevalent amongst these respondents and their parents. Inquiries by the author into this were repeatedly met with responses such as: "No. Not the Chinese culture" (Juan). Instead, comments similar to the one made by Huiqing, "I provide for all your needs, you know, that is my love," were more consistent with traditional Chinese cultural ethos.

Zhaohui, a Hong Kong third generation woman, told a story from her childhood about when she was overseas at a retreat and her father sent her a letter. The letter contained a drawing of a heart with hands and feet. To her this meant: "love is action." She said this has stayed with her ever since, and added, "It also means that you don't have to say it all the time but you need to do it. You have to show it."

Respondents recited acts of kindness such as their parents caring for them, especially when they were sick, preparing food they liked to eat, talking to them and sharing their feelings, buying them special things. They cited practical reasons such as providing shelter and clothing, and allowing them to be educated. Not all the women felt loved, but most did. As Sying remarked: "Chinese people never say love. But, maybe they do something." Qiaohui, a second generation Singaporean added, "I think in my generation particularly in the Asian culture, you know, we don't speak of love. When my parents care for me…I know they love me."

The performance of good deeds for one's children generates both love and gratitude that are inextricably intertwined through traditional Chinese cultural norms. As discussed throughout this study, duty is also generated through these norms in such a way that it is generally indistinguishable from gratitude and love except where there are negative feelings for a parent. In these instances, limitations or conditions on parent support may apply.

6.5.3 CHRISTIANITY AS COMBINED STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL MOTIVATION TO PROVIDE SUPPORT

Traditional Chinese religious beliefs are an inchoate composite of Buddhism, Taoism, indigenous practices and superstition (Goh, D.P.S., 2009; Liu, T-s, 2003). Temple visitation and family shrines focused on ancestor worship are tied to filial piety, which instructs the living to revere their elders in life and their ancestors after death. As can be seen from the following statement, ancestor worship in particular, operates as a structural norm of filial obligation, grounded in obedience and devotion to parents during one's lifetime:

> The traditional Chinese will worship their ancestors because they believe that they will be blessed in their life if their ancestors are happy people… So that is why, this filial piety came into [being]…it's a belief that if you are a bad son or a bad daughter…your parents are going to…make your life very difficult…when they die. So it's kind of like, a belief that they have that if you don't look after your parents, if you don't worship them or if you don't pray to them after they are gone then you are going to be in a lot of deep trouble, your life is going to be a big mess, you are going to be very unlucky and stuff like that. (Huiliang)

The strength of these beliefs amongst the respondents, however, appears to be waning. Out of the 55 second and third generation women in the sample, only three subscribed to a form of traditional "religious" practices; 23 claimed to have no religious belief; and 29 identified themselves as Christian. Few respondents came from Christian families. Many were required to observe traditional Chinese rituals during childhood. However, the deeper meaning of these activities was not necessarily internalised:

> When my grandfather passed on, we had to lug our stuff… to his gravestone and do all that gravestone stuff, which I could never figure out what they were doing … It was something we had to do and so we just went along with it even though we didn't see any point in it …because father said, "go" so we go. Father said, "do," we do. (Weici)

It may be that for these respondents Christianity answers some of the questions unexplained by traditional Chinese religious practices or the absence of value transmission by parents. For example:

> I think I know how to live my life and the values and the order, all the things that I have learned. [But,] …my own life is from the Bible, not from my parents. (Meirong)

There is also an element of accountability to Christianity that is consistent with the upbringing of Chinese daughters, as in Bo's remark:

> I still believe there is a God. So whenever I do anything I trust someone is watching. So, doing something good, righteous [like] be fair, be true to others and yourself, these are the core messages, I believe, because I do believe one day, if you've done something wrong, you will pay in a different way. (Bo)

Christianity is also compatible with many Chinese values, as Zhenzhen's statement reflects:

> There are some…religious teachings [that go] hand in hand with the traditional values I've been brought up with as well; things like respecting your parents, you know, that sort of thing, loving your neighbours. …. I think what is the most difficult was like, for example, perhaps we should put God first before anything else. (Zhenzhen)

As seen with Yet Kwai, the "love of God" could also draw some of these Chinese daughters to Christianity if they were born into families where they felt unloved or treated unfairly. Together, Christian love and obligation may constitute a reason to offer support to parents that may otherwise not exist if the parent-child relationship lacks warmth or is distant. The story of Meirong illustrates.

6.5.3.1 ***The story of Meirong***

Meirong is a second generation Hong Kong woman, and the third eldest of eight

siblings. Growing up, she was not close to either of her parents, but she accepted that, saying: "I think they will love us but they only…give you… what you need for the food, and for the clothing, for the basic education fee, something like that… That's the Chinese people." Meirong explained that work was the only value she was taught. Obedience, respect, and taking care of their elders were never discussed in her family. She learned by example, watching her parents visit their families of origin in Mainland China. She observed:

> If they have the opportunity to go back to Mainland China they will take a lot of things to my grandparents for their relatives, I think…to express their love for them. (Meirong)

At age 16, Meirong became a Christian, and through her conversion she said she learned to love her parents for the first time:

> I remember when I make the decision to accept the vision and then…when I go home, on the way this idea was coming up a lot: I have to love my father and mother …Because [God] loves me so I have to love them. (Meirong)

Meirong eventually became a Christian minister, and in 1990 she and her husband moved to Canada where their three children were born. Returning to Hong Kong for a visit in 2005 she learned her older sister could no longer take care of their parents. Meirong began to think about what to do:

> So, I keep praying and when I come back to Canada I think about them and how… to work it out, and just in the morning when I was in meditation…God talk to us, [and] says why didn't you go back...to stay with them. And then…I talk to my children, [and] my husband, and my husband he said OK, you go. So I go. So, next time, next year I came back Hong Kong. (Meirong)

Before she left Canada, Meirong spent a year preparing her family for their separation:

> And I talk to my children first… if I go back to Hong Kong, [to] stay with your grandparents, are you OK? How [are] you feeling? I say because they [are] old and I want to stay with them for a few years and then I will come back and stay with you. Right now you are young and they cannot wait. You can wait. (Meirong)

She trained her children to be independent and to be good Christians. When she was certain they could take care of themselves, she left. Her husband has now re-joined Meirong in Hong Kong where they live with Meirong's mother. Her father died in 2008. She intends to return to Canada when she retires. Meirong says the idea to take care of her parents came from Christianity as well as from watching her parents return to the Mainland to support their own families of origin.

Seven respondents featured in the case studies for this thesis, are also Christians. Like Meirong, their relationship with God motivated support for a parent. For others, religious beliefs, did not factor into their support decisions. Amongst the other Christian respondents, the influence of religion on their parent support decisions is mixed. However, for these Chinese women respondents, and perhaps for Chinese women generally, parent care motivated by their Christian values may represent a new normative trend.

6.6 CONDITIONS, QUALIFICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS ON SUPPORT MOTIVATIONS FOR OLDER PARENTS

Regardless of whether *support* is motivated by structural norms of filial obligation ["*I have to*"] or relational norms ["*I want to*"] or both, qualifications and limitations on providing *support* to older parents appear in several ways in this sample of Chinese women: 1) Only conditional or reduced support may be offered to parents who do not fulfil what their children perceive as their parental obligations to them in childhood; 2) Adult children who profess a willingness or an expectancy to support parents may then make themselves

unavailable to do so; 3) Adult children may be willing to provide only the most basic, minimal support for their in-laws; 4) Structural impediments such as distance between households may limit parent support; and 5) In one instance a husband would not allow his wife to see her own mother.

6.6.1 CONDITIONAL OR REDUCED SUPPORT

The first limitation on support motivation can be seen with Huiliang, who distinguished between what she was willing to do for her mother and grandmother as opposed to her father; and with Qingzhao who forced herself to dine with her mother, but would do no more. In these cases the relationship between mother and daughter was strained from abuse or rejection. A more common scenario is where a father abandons the family or the parents divorce. Ah Cy explained the difficulty she had deciding what, if anything, to do for her father, who had remarried:

> It's my mom's wish that…we should be wary of what…the motive [is] behind him [father] wanting to contact us …So out of respect of her wishes, I don't contact him…But I'm wondering, if she's not around …I sometimes struggle… (Ah Cy)

The second limitation on support motivation, often referred to as the gap between filial belief and filial behaviour, can be seen in the story of Qiaohui.

6.6.2 UNAVAILABILITY: ***The story of Qiaohui***

Qiaohui is an unmarried, second generation Singaporean. She comes from a traditional family with one son and four daughters, of which she is the eldest child. Her father died in 2009 and her mother lives alone. Qiaohui's mother is in good health and able to take care of herself. Qiaohui supports her financially.

Qiaohui stated she believes in "looking after our parents." She said, "Sometimes I

feel that if I'm not…caring for her [mom]… I'm not a filial child." She added, she "*depends on my mother's approval of me*." However, Qiaohui also experienced tension and conflict whilst contemplating the discharge of filial obligation. She was unsure of whether love or duty motivated her and whether she could be a caregiver if called upon:

> It's a very scary thought. Would I be prepared to do it? Yes I would, although I don't think I'm going to be very good at that. I don't think she's going to be an easy patient. (Qiaohui)

Qiaohui tried to explain why she felt conflicted. Though she loved her mother and wanted what was best for her, she had spent most of her adult life working overseas. She contemplated this:

> I ask myself, am I trying to get a job overseas so I can get away from her? So that's where I think the conflict and the feeling comes in, that on the one hand I think it is good for me to go and good for us to have that space. On the other hand I feel so guilty for leaving her alone, you know, 83 year old mom is alone at home. (Qiaohui)

The problem was that when Qiaohui returned home, after three days, "it goes downhill." She related how her mother wanted to know where she was and with whom. Qiaohui tried to explain that she had her own life, yet, if she went out she felt guilty. She said she did not understand why she had such a sense of obligation: Was it expected of her or did she expect it of herself? Qiaohui's mother also got on her nerves:

> Every time I come back, I go off feeling so angry…because she will be upset with what I said… And she'll say, "yeah you guys don't care about me. All you care about is your father."… I'll go back [overseas] and tell myself, why do I want to live that way because it's so unpleasant…although of course, you know, Sunday comes, I call her and still [it is] like nothing has happened. (Qiaohui)

Qiaohui claimed she was "in [a] dilemma" and felt "a bit lost." If she remained in

Singapore she would have to live with her mother. The family owned a large flat and Qiaohui thought people would wonder if she, a single daughter, did not live at home when there was so much space. Besides, she did not "want her [mother] to be miserable." However, she inquired again, "am I prepared to look after mom?" to which she replied, she would if she had to, "but that's probably not my strength …I think my capabilities [are] to go and earn the money to be able to afford to do that."

Shortly after her interview, Qiaohui took another job overseas. However, there are some points that need to be made. Qiaohui's mother was still healthy and Qiaohui was only required to provide support, not care, in order to be "filial." She met this obligation by paying her mother's bills, making occasional visits home and calling her mother every Sunday night. This is the compromise she had reached in balancing her traditional values and personal needs. Nonetheless, Qiaohui felt guilty. She wanted her mother's approval, but making her mother happy required Qiaohui to sacrifice much of what she enjoyed in her own life.

When Qiaohui is finally faced with deciding whether or not to move home to undertake hands-on caregiving of her mother, it will be challenging, as in the past her mother rejected the services of a FDH. Meanwhile, there was safety in removing herself from Singapore in order to postpone the decision.

6.6.3 MINIMAL IN-LAW SUPPORT

The third limitation on support motivation involves the Chinese daughters' provision of support to their in-laws. As noted previously, in-laws receive less commitment of time from daughters than do parents. If relations become strained as they did with Qingzhao, contact may be severed altogether or limited to infrequent polite exchanges. Respondents are also generally unwilling to take time off work or to leave employment for in-laws,

particularly at the support stage. Some deliberately move great distances from in-laws in order to minimise contacts. One daughter made sure the FDH she hired did not speak Chinese so that her mother-in-law could not give her instructions.

6.6.4 STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS

Some respondents also live far from their own parents due to work and other reasons that cannot be avoided. Though this can be a barrier to daily contact, respondents compensate by regular telephone calls and attendance at weekly meals. Moreover, in this sample, distance had no negative effect on the financial support respondents provide to parents.

6.6.5 HUSBAND'S OBJECTION

The final limitation on support motivation is unique in this sample. During ten years of marriage Ah Cy, a third generation Singaporean, was only permitted by her husband to see her own mother on birthdays and holidays because he did not like her.

With the exception of geographic distance, all of the qualifications and limitations discussed above have a single source: the quality of the relationship. In assessing the point at which the quality of a relationship intersects with support, respondents' expectations of themselves are higher for parents than in-laws. The difference in Qingzhao's support for her mother and mother-in-law is a good example of this.

6.7 MANAGING TENSION AND CONFLICT IN THE DISCHARGE OF FILIAL SUPPORT

The respondents have shown that motivation to support parents is not clear-cut, but often entangled with emotion. One's emotional state may be even more intertwined with the actual discharge of filial support.

This section explores the relevance of "appropriate" feelings to the quality and

quantity of support provided by respondents to their ageing parents. "Appropriate" feelings are prescribed by framing rules that define and give meaning to situations (Hochschild, 1983). In this study, framing rules are synonymous with Chinese cultural norms, and the respondents' interpretations of them. The literature suggests, in traditional Chinese culture there is a gender driven role women are expected to fulfil. This ideological mandate can be deeply embedded in a daughter's mind from an early age, defining or "framing" her obligations. Feeling rules then prescribe how she *should* feel about these obligations. But, if a discrepancy exists between what she actually feels and what she believes she *should* feel, emotion work may be necessary to reconcile the contradictions and create a culturally acceptable display, or even to change her feelings to align with her normative values. The story of Jaihui below illustrates how this can be done.

6.7.1 CASE STUDY 7: EMOTION WORK TO GENERATE A WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT PARENTS

Jaihui is the eldest child in a traditional family in which she has three younger brothers. When she was one year old Jaihui was given away to a family friend who raised her until she was five. At age five Jaihui was returned to her parents' home and all ties with her surrogate mother were severed except for two weeks each summer, later reduced to one day a year because "she [her mom] realised that I'm more devoted to auntie."

Son favouritism prevailed in Jaihui's family. As she described it:

> They don't care about [the] daughter. When I was young I was brought up in this situation. They pamper the son so well. Everything they gave my eldest brother. [He] went to [the] UK [to] study… And then I wanted to go for study …my dad told me…"Why [do] you want to study so much? Just go find a husband and get married." (Jaihui)

Jaihui explained that during childhood she only saw her father once a week and

seldom saw her mother, who was playing mahjong most of the time. Jaihui said her mother never looked at her homework, and the only value her parents transmitted to her was the difference between right and wrong. According to Jaihui, she and her parents rarely conversed and when they did, she was prohibited from talking back:

> If you ask me when I was young until now I never answer back. I mean, like my dad and mom…Even though I know they are wrong I will not say anything. But, it's some traditional conservative way that I [was] brought up. (Jaihui)

When she was about 13 years old, Jaihui developed a fungus requiring her to go to the hospital. She recounted how her mother sent her there in a taxi, telling her to look for her uncle who was a doctor. Upon examination she was told she had a very serious condition requiring surgery, and she would need signed parental permission for anaesthesia. Neither of her parents could be located so she underwent the operation without it. Jaihui was deeply hurt by this incident as just before it happened her brother had a tooth extraction and the entire family was in attendance for support.

After completing high school, Jaihui applied for and was accepted to college in Australia. Soon after, her three brothers followed her and Jaihui's parents purchased a home there for the siblings to live in. Once their educations were completed, the children were asked to come home. Only Jaihui agreed, as seen from the following comment:

> I didn't want to come back. But my dad and mom [were] getting old. They want me to come back. They can't force my brothers to come back and they [brothers] don't care about him [dad]. So I'm the only person who [was] able to be persuaded to come back here. (Jaihui)

No sooner had she arrived in Hong Kong than their parents sold the family home and relocated to Australia to be with Jaihui's brothers. Jaihui was forced to live with a friend.

A year after their migration, Jaihui's parents moved back to Hong Kong, and having sold their apartment, had no place to live. Jaihui was now living with her boyfriend. Her parents refused to move in with her because in "Chinese traditional culture, they don't like de facto relationships." So Jaihui rented and paid for a separate apartment for them. Neither her parents nor her brothers contributed to the rent.

Jaihui married her boyfriend and continued to support the two apartments. Burdened by the expense, she bought an apartment, borrowing the down payment from her father. Her parents moved in with Jaihui and her husband.

At the time of the interview, Jaihui was divorced and living with her father. Her mother lived in Mainland China, returning to Hong Kong two days each month. According to Jaihui, her mother suffered from chronic depression caused by separation from her sons. Whenever she saw her, Jaihui's mother tearfully recounted how much she loved and missed them. However, it was Jaihui, not the sons, who was the sole support of both parents.

> I'm the only person that takes care of the family. All my brothers they won't take care [of our parents] and then they are retired, getting old. (Jaihui)

Jaihui's coping strategies: Though she does not know it, Jaihui uses emotion work as a means of helping her cope in supporting her family. Her framing rules are heavily influenced by traditional Chinese values. Though these would ordinarily obligate the sons to support the parents, Jaihui assumed this obligation, reminding herself: "When I was young they looked after me." After emphasising that her feelings were complicated and hard to explain, she articulated her fear of questioning traditional norms:

> I will accept the fact this is life….[The way] I [was] brought up; like my godmother might tell me yeah, yeah, they like boys. You're a girl, too bad,

> you're a girl. You have to look after them. I mean… I've been educated [in such a way that]….I just think this is a life traditional…Now I'm ok. (Jaihui)

If Jaihui's framing rules instilled in her a need to support her parents, her feeling rules created an expectation in her to love her parents. Jaihui said she did love her parents, however, as seen in the following statement, there was conflict:

> I'm not saying that I don't have love with my parents. Of course…I love them. I'm not the person who speaks out, but I love them…Even though they didn't treat me very well when I was young. (Jaihui)

As she continued to speak, it was clear that a discrepancy existed between what she really felt and what she believed she *should* feel:

> I don't feel anything. I guess it's like because of this kind of environment growing up… maybe I lost the love or passion thing from people. I mean that is like I don't get my passion or love from my family. (Jaihui)

To change the quality of her feelings and bridge the gap, Jaihui attempted to suppress her unwanted memories by replacing them with pity:

> I know I have a very bad feeling. But when I look at them I [feel] pity. I'm sorry [for] them. They're getting old. My mom is…alone, by herself. And then my brothers [are] not taking care of her. *So all this feeling cover all my memories.* [Jaihui; *Emphasis added.*]

Jaihui said she tried to keep herself busy and not think, admonishing herself. But it did not change what she felt:

> Not much feeling. It's like I need to look after them, take care of them. That's it. Spend some time with them. But when I sometimes look at them, getting old, then I will go and scold myself, why don't you spend more time. You [would] rather stay

> outside with your friend[s]… don't go back home…It's like…I don't really have much feeling on them honestly…But every time when I see them, then I will feel… pity about them getting old [and think] I should have done better on that. (Jaihui)

Jaihui reminded herself she was the "glue" holding the family together, repeatedly asserting that her brothers did not care. The message, heard from so many of the respondents, was that if she did not attend to her parents' needs, who would? She reinforced this emotion work with a rule reminder from her mother: approval and praise. Jaihui recalled:

> But my mom…did mention once to me… nowadays you are the only person who supports my life. She told me this….Then she says how "I wish I have four daughters or three daughters and one son rather [than] one daughter three sons." (Jaihui)

Jaihui moved back to Hong Kong at her parents' request, lived with her father, and supported both parents financially. However, her attempts to generate a desire to spend more time with them were unsuccessful. Jaihui was also unwilling to care for them if they became disabled, a position she legitimised on the ground she had to work. She stated she would hire a nurse and if things got too bad she would send her parents to a nursing home. According to Jaihui, it would be a "family decision," made by Jaihui and her brothers.

Through Jaihui's story we can see how important feelings are in providing support for parents, and how potentially important emotion work can be when there are tensions that seem irreconcilable. As will become evident moving through the typology, there appears to be a direct correlation between feelings and the quality and quantity of support and care. Emotion work can positively alter feelings and display between daughters and their parents.

6.8 REFUSAL TO PROVIDE SUPPORT: POOR RELATIONAL QUALITY

The literature suggests that parents' misconduct, emotional remoteness, and other

adverse behaviours when their children were young can have negative consequences for parental support and care when the children reach adulthood. As seen with Qingzhao, adult children may lack genuine feeling for parents' well-being, or relationship strain may be present, as witnessed in the study of Huiqing.

In this research, a daughter declining to provide *any* support for a parent is rare. Four respondents refused to support their fathers, even financially, because the parents divorced or the father deserted the family. In each of these cases there was little or no contact between daughter and father over the life course. Furthermore, fathers were blamed for the mother's suffering and hard life caused by raising the family on her own. The other two instances in which support was refused involved abuse of daughters by mothers. The beatings Sheu-Fuh received from her mother were discussed in Chapter 5. The other concerns the emotional abuse of Bik.

Bik's mother was a concubine, whose status in the family was tied to her ability to bear sons. Bik was an unwanted daughter, given away when she was three years old to family friends. At age 12, Bik was returned to her birth mother following the death of her natural father, but her mother was a stranger to her. She informed Bik that if she did not help with housework she would not be fed, and she refused to pay Bik's school fees. Bik was not permitted to study at home or even to bathe. After passing her O level exams at age 17, Bik left school, and went to work. She walked out of her mother's house and never saw or spoke to her again.

Bik and Sheu-Fuh declined to support their own parent. However, in Hu's case the irreversible breakdown of a relationship between a respondent and her mother-in-law can be observed.

6.8.1 *The story of Hu*

Hu is a second generation Singaporean who at age 18 married into a traditional Chinese family with seven sons. Hu and her husband, his parents, plus two brothers their wives and children, all lived and worked together on the family farm. Hu cooked and cleaned for the extended family, cared for her in-laws and seven nieces and nephews. She recalled nothing that she did was good enough for her mother-in-law, who told her she was worthless and nagged her unrelentingly. Eventually, Hu bore two sons.

In addition to her domestic responsibilities, Hu worked six days a week from 3:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. as a kitchen maid outside the home. This job was important to her, not only because it helped to support her nuclear family, but because it got her out of the house. She said, "so then I keep working, then I can, partly…support my family, then, partly I can get rid of my stress. Another [thing], I cannot stand [the] big family, I would go crazy" staying at home.

Hu had to walk and take a bus to her job, so did not arrive back home until nearly midnight each night. After awhile, Hu's mother-in-law demanded she quit. When Hu refused, she locked Hu out of the house. After being locked out several times, Hu confronted her husband who sided with his mother against her. Hu began spending work nights at her own mother's house, returning to her husband's family on her day off. On those days Hu's mother-in-law removed Hu's children from the farm and would not let her see them. After four months, Hu's mother, fearing violence, stopped Hu from returning to the farm.

Hu eventually went back, only to learn that her husband's parents had found a second wife for him and had arranged the marriage. She was informed that if she intended to stay she must hand over her passport, identification card and jewellery to her mother-in-law, and she

would not be allowed to have contact with her husband. When she finally was permitted to speak with him she asked him to move away with her, but he told her he could not leave his mother. Hu became suicidal.

After six years of marriage Hu left for good. Her sons were five and three. She did not see them again until they were 10 and 12, following her mother-in-law's death. Her husband took a second wife. However, Hu did not divorce him until his mother died, fearing the second wife would harm her sons. During the seven years they were separated, Hu's sister in law, in violation of her mother-in-law's warnings, secretly kept Hu informed of her sons.

Hu's story is illustrative of the clash between traditional and contemporary values and how daughters today may not be willing to sacrifice their lives for their husband's family. Hu gave up her own children rather than live under conditions Chinese wives have known for centuries.

6.9 CONCLUSION

Support is the first stage of the typology and there was very little interference with respondents' daily lives. Possibly for this reason, all 55 respondents provided some kind of support to parents or in-laws. Support can assume different forms, as shown in Table 5.1. However, the standard amongst these respondents was financial aid and visiting or having meals with family members.

Structural norms of filial obligation, individually and in combination with relational norms of affection and gratitude, motivated support amongst these respondents. Combined support motivation was more prevalent than individual models for the provision of support to parents, whereas structural norms motivated most support for in-laws.

Teasing out the processes underlying support and the elements driving it, role modelling of parents during childhood was found to still be a common method for teaching children to support and care for others. Role modelling has long been associated with the transmission of Chinese cultural norms and intergenerational transmission processes more generally. It is especially important where parents have little time to spend with children. By observing their parents, children learn respect as well as what they should do when their own parents become elderly.

Young Chinese girls are particularly receptive to supporting others, as they are indoctrinated into traditional gender roles at an early age. Being assigned childhood responsibility for the household and siblings may translate into an irreversible sense of obligation and accountability to the family in adulthood. This could result in excessive burden being placed on these contemporary Chinese women who were working as well as taking care of the home. Some changes in traditional filial norms have, however, resulted, and more women were employing FDHs to manage domestic chores. Nonetheless, stress and exhaustion were also implicated.

Feelings of obligation may also be reinforced through family members' subtler modelling and transmission of family obligation or beliefs about the centrality of the family. The subjugation of self to the family was seen in the story of Huiliang, a woman who sacrificed a promising career abroad to return home to support her father and grandmother. Huiliang's story also raised the question of whether family obligation originates with filial piety or familism.

These respondents, however, were different from their mothers in that education and employment had made them much more self-sufficient. They were providing financial

support for their parents equal to that of their brothers, and in some cases, in place of their brothers. This had engendered further normative change within the family. Respondents had gained greater bargaining power and control over their own decisions. Notably, this manifested in marriage negotiations, the refusal to reside with in-laws, and increased exchanges with their own parents. Respondents had become more independent, though they distinguished this from individualism, which was not always viewed as a positive trait.

Structural obligations were mediated by contemporary filial norms. However, these daughters were proceeding cautiously. Though filial obligation could be a matter of individual interpretation, respondents retained internalised values transmitted by their parents. As a result, they were likely to balance their own needs with those of their parents and in the process show respect and maintain Face for the family. They were, however, declining to transmit traditional filial obligation norms to their own children.

Respect that was earned was the core of relational motivation, whether it was based on gratitude or affection. Gratitude was expressed for one's birth, upbringing and later life exchanges, though the latter could be affected by geographic distance and FDHs. However, by far, the greatest impact on gratitude was education. Nothing meant more to these Chinese women respondents than the education they received and the independence, status and financial security they had derived from it. They were universally and deeply grateful to their parents for the education they allowed them to have.

In addition to gratitude, the relevance of love and affection to relational motivation was immeasurable. The giving and receiving of love with one's parents was widely desired amongst these respondents. Love, or affection, also combined with both gratitude and duty. To highlight the importance of love to filial obligation the sixth case study in this thesis was

presented. This was the narrative of Yet Kwai, a woman of great achievement with strongly internalised familistic values. Yet Kwai demonstrated the lengths to which a daughter will go in an attempt to gain her father's love and to generate love for him in return. It further emphasised how love and duty can drive support for one's parents. However, Yet Kwai's account also epitomised the conflict between contemporary norms and traditional values and how one may need to go outside the family to fulfil one's needs as a precondition to offering support. Further, it raised the question of a daughter's traditional place in the family, whether demonstrations of love have historically been denied her, and what this means today.

The paucity of overt expressions of love in Chinese families led to an examination of the relationship between love, gratitude and duty as motivators to provide parent support. Unlike in the West, open demonstrations of affection were rare amongst these respondents. Rather, perceived parent love resulted from their actions, particularly acts of kindness and generosity, for which their children were also grateful. Thus, feelings of love and gratitude were often inseparable as both originated from the same source. Feelings of love and gratitude could also generate a sense of duty, as loving and grateful children might believe they "owed" their parents for what they had been given. Where feelings of love in the parent-child relationship were absent, Christianity could provide an alternative source for generating positive feelings for parents.

Several limitations, qualifications and conditions on support appeared in this sample. Conditional, reduced or minimal support might be all that was offered to parents who had not provided for a respondent in childhood; or to parents-in-law who were either disliked or not cared about. Geographical barriers resulting from family members living far apart could hinder instrumental, but not necessarily emotional or financial support. One respondent was

prohibited from seeing her mother because her husband would not allow it. Sometimes there was also a gap between filial belief and filial behaviour. The latter was depicted in the story of Qiaohui who professed to love her mother and wanted to support her, but continued to seek overseas employment. Qiaohui's story also allowed us to see the tension and conflict some daughters experienced between internalised norms of filial obligation and contemporary norms of self-fulfilment.

Conflict and tension between traditional and contemporary norms was common with these respondents, who could be torn between what they felt and what they believed they *should* feel. Case study 7, the story of Jaihui, showed how respondents attempted to bridge this gap and reconcile their feelings through emotion work.

Jaihui grew up the sole daughter in a household where son favouritism prevailed. After a childhood characterised by emotional abuse and neglect, she was obliged to support her parents when her three brothers refused to. Even though she provided a home and paid her parents' expenses, Jaihui struggled to convince herself she should spend more time with them, when she really did not want to. She tried to generate feelings for her parents through pitying them. Jaihui's emotion work was unsuccessful, however, her story illustrated how important positive feelings are, even at the support stage.

In extreme cases, support could be refused due to negative motivation. Divorced fathers could be excluded from support and care. Sheu-Fuh, who was beaten by her mother, and Bik, who was emotionally abused by hers, could not generate willingness to support them. The story of Hu elucidated the difference between parents and in-laws as when Hu could no longer manage the abuse from her mother-in-law she walked out, at great personal expense. Once again tension and conflict between traditional and contemporary norms could

be found. In this instance, Hu chose herself over her husband, his family, and her own children.

The next chapter moves the discussion from support, the first stage in the typology, to the second stage, where some caregiving was actually required and where the demands on the daughter respondents were greater.

CHAPTER 7
TEMPORARY CARE OF AGEING PARENTS

7.1 REVIEW OF TEMPORARY CARE AND INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

Temporary care represents the second stage of the typology of support and care. Though the duration is not long, less than six months, it is characterised by emergencies, injuries, or acute illness of a parent, which can be stressful. Temporary care is more than support. The daughter providing such care must generally invest more than a nominal amount of time. Moreover, temporary care *can* interfere with the caregiver's personal life and may involve sacrifice.

As shown in Table 5.2, for a situation to qualify as temporary care here, the parent must be hospitalised, or cared for by the respondent, in either the parents' or the respondent's home. Most hospitalised parents receive visits, and sometimes, homemade food from respondents, who also interface with medical staff and monitor their parents' medications. Home care consists of hands-on care, supervision of an FDH, driving parents to appointments and overseeing medications. Both current and past temporary caregiving experiences have been included in this analysis.

The first thing that stands out in these analyses is how much less temporary care is provided than support. One hundred and thirty nine parents received support from 55 respondents. Though 20 respondents are providing or have provided temporary care, only 28 parents received it. This could be due to the good health of most respondents' parents. However, a more likely explanation supported by the data, is that parents are generally cared for by their spouses, as they grow frail, until their condition reaches a crisis level.

Of the 28 care recipients, 21 are parents and four are in-laws. Additionally, there are two aunts and an uncle, all cared for by one respondent. Of the 20 respondents providing temporary care, 65% are Singaporean and 70% are from the second generation. The predominance of Singaporeans may be attributed, in part, to Singapore's social engineering policies, including the promotion of *Work-Life-Balance.* The prevalence of second generation respondents might be linked to the older age of their parents.

This chapter moves beyond the previous one, examining why the daughters in this sample were willing or unwilling to provide temporary care, how they resolved the tension and conflict incurred in discharging this type of care, and why care may be terminated. Differences in stress between home care and hospital care are examined. The distinction between Hong Kong and Singapore daughters in the provision of temporary care, as well as the intersection of care with employment is explored. Disparities between temporary care of parents and in-laws are considered, whilst limitations, qualifications and conditions are probed. Finally, just as the respondents' own voices are heard in the previous chapters, so they will be heard here.

7.2 HOW STRUCTURAL NORMS OF FILIAL OBLIGATION AND RELATIONAL NORMS OF AFFECTION, GRATITUDE AND RECIPROCITY MOTIVATE RESPONDENTS TO UNDERTAKE TEMPORARY CARE FOR PARENTS

As will be recalled, support and care motivation has been grouped into three key analytical categories: structural norms of filial obligation, ["*I have to*,"] relational norms of gratitude, love and reciprocity, ["*I want to*,"] and combined structural and relational norms ["*I have to + I want to*"]. Amongst the 20 temporary caregivers, 60% were motivated by combined structural and relational norms, 25% by structural norms and 15% by relational

norms alone. Religion drove temporary caregiving in one situation. There were no instances related by the respondents where temporary care was refused altogether due to negative motivation, other than as discussed in Chapter 5. Table 7.1 shows how structural and relational norms motivating temporary care are distributed amongst the 28 care recipients.

Table 7.1: Motivation driving temporary care for parents and in-laws (N=28)

MOTIVATION TYPE	Mother	Father	Mother-in-law	Father-in-law	Other*	TOTAL
Structural	0	2	2	2	0	6
Relational	2	3	0	0	0	5
Structural + Relational	5	9	0	0	3	17
TOTAL	7	14	2	2	3	28

*2 aunts, 1 uncle

Motivations arise from the data analysis. Although each *respondent* is tied to the same motivation or set of motivations throughout the typology, the motivational profile of each *stage* in the typology shifts as the number of respondents and type of care change (e.g. from 55 to 20; support to temporary care). With this in mind, the forces underlying motivations to provide temporary care are now considered.

7.3 FORCES DRIVING STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL MOTIVATION FOR TEMPORARY CARE

In Chapter 6, many of the forces underpinning respondents' motivation for support and care were discussed in the context of traditional values and normative change. In this and the ensuing chapters these themes are expanded upon, probed more deeply, and enhanced by exploring related paradigm shifts. In furtherance of these objectives, Chapter 7 takes a slightly different approach than Chapter 6. Here, all of the key analytical categories are examined through a single case study. Case Study 8, Weici, shows how one daughter is motivated by structural norms of filial obligation and relational norms of affection, gratitude

and reciprocity ["*I have to" vs. "I want to*"] in the context of temporary care for each of her parents as well as her mother-in-law. Weici's story also illustrates how emotion work is involved in providing temporary care in the face of stress or conflict ["*I should want to*"]. Finally, it demonstrates how and why care can be terminated ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"].

7.3.1 CASE STUDY 8: STRUCTURAL AND RELATIONAL MOTIVATION AND EMOTION WORK IN PROVIDING TEMPORARY CARE; DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARENTS AND IN-LAWS

Weici is a college educated, married, second generation Singaporean and a second generation Catholic with three sisters and two brothers. Her parents are divorced and still living. Weici's father-in-law is dead, survived by her mother-in-law. Neither her parents nor her mother-in-law live with her.

Weici and her parents

Weici's childhood was characterised by tension and conflict, as her father was an abusive man who beat Weici's mother. She described what it was like growing up:

> Unfortunately my father was a very abusive man and my grandfather was an abusive man too. So…our youth…was spent being constantly in fear of my father blowing up and throwing things and smashing things and destroying furniture, beating up my mother. And we would…accompany her to the hospital, sit with her when they stitched her up… At that time it was quite traumatic. (Weici)

Her father also had infidelity issues. However, he provided financially for his family, and he could also be kind. Weici remembered one Christmas when he bought the family a Christmas tree. She stated she believes her father fulfilled his obligations to the family, though "he wasn't a loving father in that sense, he would not do things with us." (Weici)

It was Weici's mother who took the children places and did things with them. Weici said, "She would save up and then we would go to Kuala Lumpur to visit my auntie."

Weici's mother also provided emotional support:

> My mother was the one that gave us emotional support…even though…she was abused. She…kind of put us on the footing that…we are not emotionally unstable….She didn't blame my father for anything and she didn't turn us against him… We could come to her… when we needed something or we had some problems. She would always listen. She didn't have a lot of advice but she was very [good at] listening.. And…up until now she still does that. (Weici)

Weici tells a story about her mother that defines their relationship. After her children were in college, with Weici in the United States and her sister in Australia, Weici's mother learned how to drive and got a job as a van driver for an airline. One winter, Weici sent her mother a photograph of herself in the snow at her college in America. Her mother said, "ohhh, it's so cold!" Weici tells the rest of the story:

> So she would go to these auctions that [the airline] would have for people who left stuff on the plane… She would go there and look, keep on looking … [She] said, "I want to get you a coat." So she finally found this coat…[It was a] brown coat with a hood and it was really warm and she bid for it and she told all her friends, "you cannot bid for it ok? I want it for my daughter…and I don't want to pay too much for it"…and she got it and I think she only gave $20 for it. It was a down coat and I still have it until today. (Weici)

Weici said she is proud of her mother and she respects her too. Not only did she hold the family together despite being physically abused, the airline job enabled her to support herself and travel all over the world to see her children. This woman, who was orphaned as a child and uneducated, took control over her life and then divorced her husband. Today Weici's mother lives with a FDH in a senior citizen community and her father lives with a friend.

Weici explained the difference between how she felt about support and care for her two parents. With regard to her father, there appeared to be limitations on what she was willing to do. She said:

> He provided for us. So up to today, I guess if he ever needed help or anything, we won't hesitate but there won't be any great love going on, it would just be a duty we had to do, as a duty he did to us…It will be more of a financial thing. I won't hold his hand or hug him or anything. (Weici)

For her mother, it was completely different:

> For me, [it] would be because I care for her, and I [would] probably be very sad if she passed on. But, yes, for her, because she also put up with so many things that we also did because we were children [and] all that, so, for her it would be a real mother-daughter bonding, I mean, I love her for what she did for us; that she stayed to put up with my father. So that we could…have a whole family even though it wasn't wholesome; And ….[in] that sense, I don't have any problem if she needs me. I would go to her and help her out willingly. (Weici)

Up until the time of her interview, Weici's father had not required any care. However, Weici did provide temporary care for her mother, and readily so. A couple of years before the interview, Weici's mother, fell and injured her shoulder. For two months, Weici moved into her mother's house and took care of her.

> I went to my mother's house and I stayed with her. So I would rush back from my mother's house [to my house] to make sure everything was ok in the house. I rushed back to my mother's house to [spend] the night because in case she has any problem … I would sleep through the night with her on a hard floor, on a plank…on a thin foam mattress, small little pillow…[and] tolerate that for two months. (Weici)

Weici explained how difficult this was, as her mother was used to doing things her own way:

> …but I was more forgiving in the sense because she is my mother. Sometimes I would get irritated with her …but…I could be myself with her. I could vent, I didn't have to hold it in….And she also knew that I was giving up so much just to stay with her on the floor…." (Weici)

Weici's care for her mother is motivated by love. What follows is care motivated by

duty.

Weici and her mother-in-law

After Weici married she and her husband moved in with his parents and lived with them for two years. This is a time Weici did not remember positively.

> My mother-in-law was a real naggy, demanding [woman] and also pushing my father-in-law, [who she]…said…wasn't good enough. (Weici)

Weici's father-in-law drank heavily, and when his wife nagged, he retaliated by throwing things at her:

> She would tell him, "shut up!" and then he would throw something at her and that I saw, but I heard my mother-in-law going on first for about half an hour. (Weici)

Weici had her own difficulties with her mother-in-law:

> I would do her laundry and it was like, no, you didn't iron it this way…or….no, daddy likes the shirt the other way or something like that, so it was pick, pick, pick, you know, you don't do anything right…Finally…the week before I moved out, I think I finally said, "oh, I know how daddy wants his shirt ironed now." (Weici)

In addition, Weici was expected to conduct herself in an appropriate manner:

> My father-in-law…was a very tolerant man but she nagged my father-in-law to one day tell me to my face that they expected me to always say "hello" when I came home and "goodbye" when I leave and "goodnight" when I go to bed….So I… actually I did, but they never heard it because he was drunk and she was in her room …After that, they just left me alone because they can never find fault with me…I do the laundry, I would…do the things that keep the house clean. And even [though] my sister-in-law would come back and do it all over again I just did it anyway. (Weici)

She managed her negative emotions through avoidance:

> I was at work most of the time and then I just go back to bed. The moment I came home, I would just eat what she cooked, I would do all the dishes, clean up everything and just go to sleep. (Weici)

Weici's mother-in-law lives alone in her family home. A few years ago she fell and fractured her hip, so she came to live with Weici and her husband for six months. Weici described how she oversaw her mother-in-law's convalescence:

> I told my helper, that whatever she does, you just let her do it...So she would go to the kitchen, and she would mess around, she [would] tell my maid how to do this and all that and we come back and I went, "What's wrong with this dish?" She said, "Your mother-in-law cooked it." So I said, "ok." (Weici)

For six months Weici's mother-in-law disrupted the household:

> Well…at that time, she couldn't really move very far but she was calling the maid, every single [minute]….So one time I said, why is the laundry not done? [The helper responded,] "Madam, Ah-Mah [referring to Weici's mother-in-law] keeps calling me all the time, I got to make her tea, then I got to clear her tea, then I got to make her bed…." I said, "Well that's no excuse," I said, "anyway, just do [it] quickly." (Weici)

The mother-in-law's irritating behaviour did not improve over time:

> Because she would say, "this is not right, that's not right," you know, [and then] when [my husband] Elliot is at home, [she would say]… "How come you are not buying [Elliot's favourite foods]?" So…I said "mommy, just give me a list of things I should get for Elliot and I'll go and buy [them] and you go and cook it." Ok, so she'll stand next to the stove…she'll tell my helper how to cook…and she'll tell [me]…you forgot this, you forgot [that]….then after that, I'll tell her, "It's not that I forgot, you never tell me." But fine, ok I forgot… I didn't want to cause ripples because I knew my husband was stressed in the sense that his brothers and sisters were not helping. And he didn't have the courage…[to] say, "Excuse me, can you all each take mother for a little while?" (Weici)

Elliot was unconcerned with what his mother was doing to his wife. Weici recounted:

> He never cared because she treats him like the lord, everything she is serving to him, you know. "Elliot, you want tea? Elliot you want coffee? Elliot, get him a cake."…So, he didn't have any problem, he was the duke on high, the master of the house and he was treated like that. (Weici)

Weici was also actively involved in her mother-in-law's care:

> I'm chauffeuring, I'm driving, I'm taking her to the doctors, I'm carrying her back and forth for her check-ups. (Weici)

Weici's *emotion work*: When she was not providing care, Weici said she coped by trying to be gone from the home all the time. She also practiced emotion work. When she was called upon to manage her emotions, she employed exhortation [deep acting]. Below is a quote demonstrating Weici's emotion work:

> I don't want to get angry with her. I don't want to feel bitter towards her. I don't want to hate her so much that I can't stand to see the sight of her. So, somehow or other, I managed to put up [with her]. I'm always given, always felt this traction, this no, no, no, don't do this, no, don't get angry. Even though sometimes she said some of the stupidest things, I said, swallow it, put up with it and then it [isn't] that bad anymore. Yeah, I don't feel like stabbing myself or stabbing her, whatever. (Weici)

When she became angry ("I just want to choke her….") she suppressed her emotions by excusing her mother-in-law's behaviour:

> She's elderly, she probably cannot be changed…And she always wants to be right. She's human and if she wants to be right, I'm not going to change it by correcting her. So, there's no point me forcing my correct view or logic or whatever on her. (Weici)

Weici reverted to avoidance before her emotions escalated, and again practiced exhortation:

> She was driving me nuts so what I did was, "ok fine mommy…I can't talk to you anymore….when I find out the answer I'll come back to you." And basically I just walked away. It was easier just to walk away then to slam my fist or to shout at her… Better to bite your tongue than create trouble then for the rest of the how many years of your life she's going to hate you for it…It was more of shut up, shut up, shut up, you are not going to win, give up, give up, give up. (Weici)

Gift Exchange: The time finally came when what Weici felt she owed her mother-in-law was outweighed by the emotional burden of caring for in her own home:

> So, I put up with it and after a while, it finally got to a point where I really couldn't stand it anymore, and I said, ok, honestly, if I don't say something soon, I'm going to live with her for the rest of my life. (Weici)

She went to her husband for permission to ask her mother-in-law to leave:

> So I said… "When is she going home?"...I know you are getting all the favourite food that you want to eat which I don't cook. But the helper is not doing her work…I'm doing it. And I cannot do it anymore because I have to fetch the children from school, tutorials, and classes and all the rest of it." So I sat down and said to him, "Try not to be angry….I'm really suffering here. Please, you [have] got to help out." (Weici)

Negotiations were held with Elliot's brothers and it was decided that a FDH would be hired to live with the mother-in-law in her own home. Weici took charge of this project and her mother-in-law left. She recalled:

> So that was all done and… I very nicely [said] to her, "Mommy, I don't mind you staying with us but I'm sure you want to go back to your own place." "Oh yah, yah, yah, I want to! I want to! Yah you just set it up for me then I'll go back." So on that …[we] put her in a nice car and took her back and said "Mommy your house [is] all cleaned up already." I said, "The helper is coming next week and I'll come by every evening and bring you some food." (Weici)

After this, one of Weici's sons commented:

> "If you want to give an academy award, give it to mommy, she's an academy winning actress when it comes to her mother-in-law." (Weici)

Note the emotion work evidenced in her son's statement and hers. Thanking him, Weici commented:

> "At least you realised that I do not show my true colours in front of people, that's what my mother always said. [If] you are angry with the person, [you] don't have to let them know you are angry…" (Weici)

She added that at times, when she returned home after seeing her mother-in-law, she walked through the door to her own home and yelled. Hearing this and seeing her expression, her sons would say, "Went to see Ah-Mah [grandma] today, right?"

7.3.2 WHY RELATIONSHIPS MATTER IN TEMPORARY CARE

Weici's story very clearly illustrates the extent to which relationships begin to matter at the temporary care stage of the typology. She was motivated by both structural and relational norms to provide parent care, which for her mother, was affection. Though it was not easy, Weici exercised patience and understanding, and communicated with her mother directly and honestly. The two enjoyed a seemingly healthy emotional relationship that enabled Weici to provide temporary care for two months in uncomfortable and sometimes stressful conditions.

Weici has not had to care for her father, but her feelings were unambiguous. She said he would be taken care of because he provided financially for his family. Though she did not explicitly say what she would be willing to do, she suggested help would likely be financial, indicating that she would not support him emotionally. Presumably, this is because of the abuse he inflicted on Weici's mother. However, the emotional distance from her father that

she experienced in childhood may also be implicated.

Finally, there is Weici's mother-in-law, whom, it is fair to say, Weici did not like or respect. Weici tolerated her out of duty and courtesy to her husband, but one can see the strain this put on her, even with the help of a FDH. Eventually, when she could no longer endure the situation, she confronted her husband and negotiated a Face saving move everyone could accept.

7.3.3 UNDERPINNING MOTIVATIONS DRIVING TEMPORARY CARE

In Weici's story, one observes some of the elements underpinning motivations as discussed in the previous chapter. She has traditional values, evidenced by her definition of filial obligation:

> For me it would be, making sure that your parents are not in want of anything. And that they had someone to look after them when they could no longer look after themselves…. like you look after your own children except that they are old people and they'll be more fussy. (Weici)

Weici had a role model in her mother, who held the family together at her own expense. Moreover she observed both of her parents taking care of their parents:

> He [father] even still gave money or he looked after my grandparents…needs and… my mother… even though she would never get any help from [her] mother-in-law, she looked after my grandmother for a while when my grandmother was ill. And she was the only daughter-in-law who did that. (Weici)

Weici was willing to subjugate her personal interests to the family, when necessary. She lived for two years with her in-laws and cared for her mother and mother-in-law when they were in need. These acts appear to be undertaken out of respect for her husband, or norms of obligation for her mother-in-law and love for her mother.

The influence of contemporary norms can also be seen. Weici makes time for herself and escapes unpleasantness, particularly with respect to the in-laws. Further, she places limitations on what she will do for both her father and her mother-in-law. Weici additionally relies on religion, saying "God is always asked…[to] help me, and he has [helped] me with my mother-in-law."

7.4 MANAGING TENSION AND CONFLICT WHEN TEMPORARY CARE INTERFERES WITH ONE'S LIFE

Weici did not work, and though her situations were stressful, she was able to manage the disruptions and still have time to pursue her personal activities, at least with respect to her mother-in-law. The following case study addresses the conflict between home life and work during temporary care where the respondent daughter is working. In this case, Rou's father was cared for in his own home with the help of a FDH, and then he was hospitalised.

7.4.1 CASE STUDY 9: TEMPORARY CARE BY A WORKING DAUGHTER

Rou is a married, second generation, Hong Kong woman from a close knit, traditional, extended Chinese family. Her nuclear family and extended family all shared Rou's childhood home or its immediate surroundings. As a result, Rou grew up not only with a younger brother but seven male cousins where she was the only girl. She explained how she "grew up like a boy" and was subject to constant comparison with the boys in her extended family.

Family was important to Rou who stated most of her values came from her parents, though she learned obedience in Catholic school. Education was highly emphasised. Rou was not required to do household chores, but was asked to focus on her studies. She interpreted the responsibilities given to her as symbols of trust and love. In fact, though son

favouritism existed, she claimed her brother had always been jealous because her parents loved her more.

Rou expressed gratitude to her parents for sending her to superior schools and financing her education through the PhD. Praise was also given to her uncle who encouraged Rou's mother to allow her "freedom to pursue [her] life." Rou asserted she believes in reciprocity, saying "when somebody treats you good you have to be good to them as well. You have to pay back." Hard work, Face and forgiveness were additionally cited as being central to her personal code.

The concept of forgiveness was tested by Rou's father's extra-marital affairs. It was her mother who insisted these should not be held against him. Despite her mother's teachings, the relationship between Rou's parents was "all the time very bad" and there were "lots of quarrels …between them." Nonetheless, Rou claimed she was very close to both her parents, which was reflected in her definition of filial obligation:

> We have to respect the elders…and also you have to respect your father even though he has commit[ted] some mistakes…No matter what things he had done wrong you have to forgive him and also treat him well. (Rou)

Rou's father died in 2004. At the time of the interview in 2012, her mother lived with Rou's unmarried brother and a FDH in the family home (that was bequeathed to her brother). Her mother's health was poor. Rou saw her three times a week and spoke with her daily. Her in-laws were dead.

In the last few months of her father's life he was incapacitated, and although the family tried to keep him in his home, it was difficult for everyone. Even though a FDH had been hired for her parents, Rou recalled having to go to their home many nights when her

mother could no longer tolerate the demands of caregiving. Rou also explained that her relationship with her father changed during this time. He had fallen in the bath and she saw him naked for the first time. She said:

> I think that something shift at that moment…Because I have to pick him up together with my maid…and he knows that he has to depend on somebody even in bathing. (Rou)

Rou would also be called upon to intervene between her parents:

> …because my mother will feel very uncomfortable and she will cry and then she will phone to me and then I have to comfort her. And then I will go back home and comfort my father… So, I will try to mediate [between] the both of them. (Rou)

Then her father was hospitalised:

> I would view the life as very hard for me….I will take quite a lot of the caring role [upon myself]. I buy him some food and go to the hospital daily or two times daily to feed him because the nurse is so busy and he cannot get the food that he would like to have. (Rou)

During this time Rou was working full time and trying to complete her PhD. She described her situation:

> I work here day and night and I remember at that moment I will cry to myself. They said that I have…some anxiety symptoms because the PhD is so harsh for me…I remember I would sit in that chair, I would cry every morning because every time I feel that I cannot control myself and also [it was] so hard to engage in this kind of study…because I should spend my time with my parents. (Rou)

Rou recalled that concurrently working a demanding job, studying for the PhD and caring for her father made her feel "torn between all these parts;" but she maintained she had "to endure because I'm the eldest daughter in the family [and] the decision maker." She

observed, " If I collapse my mother will also collapse." Rou expressed gratitude for having "a very good husband and also a very good family, including my brother" who helped her get through this difficult time. But, then she remembered how her health suffered:

> After my father's death I have been sick for about three to four months. I know that the burden is so hard, the burden is so great, that it make you sick….Even though I go to [the] doctor, a number of doctors, I cannot be helped. I cannot retain my health …I understand I have to endure this period because my body has already suffered a lot. I cannot get enough sleep and sometimes my father will bring out his temper because I think he suffers a lot. I have to pacify him as if he's a child. (Rou)

One thing all of the temporary caregivers had in common was that when a parent was hospitalised, in a final illness, or there was a family emergency, the parent became prioritised by the family. As Hwei-Ru, a third generation Singaporean noted: "It is sometimes quite difficult to strike a balance, and you just have to set your priorities." Nonetheless, of the 20 temporary caregivers in this study who were working at the time of the crisis, only two took leave: one, until a FDH could be hired, and the other until the parent could be stabilised. That raises the issue of *Work-Life-Balance.*

7.4.2 WORK LIFE BALANCE

Work-Life-Balance is a contemporary concept promoting harmony between the home and the workplace. Flexible working hours, fewer working hours, part time work, and the granting of employee leave, when needed, are central to its core objective of spending more time with the family. Rou did not attempt to invoke *Work-Life-Balance* during her father's final illness. She was unwilling to take leave from her job, similar to most of the respondents who said they like to work and want to work. Lihwa explains why she never considered giving up her job to stay at home:

> I like work. I like that sort of environment. I like to be connected. I like social life as well. So, I would never be a so-called ordinary type of housewife person. No, it will not be me. So, if I have to choose again, it is still like this. (Lihwa)

Whether they are from Singapore or Hong Kong, most respondents said they were able to manage both home and work with the help of parents, siblings or FDHs. Very few women expressed conflict between work and family, though some said they felt guilty for not spending enough time with their children. On those occasions where conflict arose, most said they were able to "juggle." For example, Huian, a second generation Singaporean reflected:

> I am very modular when I handle things. So this is why I don't feel this conflict and pulling in two different directions. (Huian)

The most frequently cited strategy in a family emergency involved appraising the situation, deciding whether family or work required more attention, committing to whichever that was, then, if work was affected, seeking approval from the employer to accommodate the situation. In times of crisis nearly all the respondents said they were able to make arrangements with their employers by working fewer hours, taking a few hours off during the day, having flexible hours, or taking work home. In situations of longer duration, for example, the final illness of a parent, leave might be requested. Praise for understanding employers was widespread and jobs could be selected on the basis of how supportive the employer was of family obligation. The statement below is a good example of how the respondents think.

> I feel that family is more important…my job is important, but…let's say suddenly... somebody at home needs my attention. I would apply for leave and go and attend to that person…I don't think there will be a situation where I have to resign because of family. Definitely we can work out something. I can still keep my job but at the same time, I can attend to my family's need. (Huizhong)

Indeed, respondent daughters in both Singapore and Hong Kong expressed that family is more important than work. The third generation Singaporean making the statement below changed jobs five times in order to accommodate her family:

> You can move jobs, you can move company but we have…responsibilities to our kids, to our husband and family…I can lose a job but I do not want to lose any relationship with my loved ones, so, they are definitely more important. (Jun)

However, most also admit that work consumes more of their time.

> At this time my family doesn't really need my time. So I spend more time working. (Shu)

Moreover, though they try, respondents indicated they cannot always give 100% to both work and home:

> Both [work and family] are important but for the work…you have to…put your 100% effort in it. If you put 100% effort in it then to the family it will become less. (Juan)

7.4.2.1 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE

Though this is an opportunity sample, some comparisons between the respondents can still be drawn. The commitment to family and work and the prioritising of family are virtually identical between Hong Kong and Singapore respondents. However, in practice it differs slightly. The only two respondents who took leave to provide temporary care, Te' and Ah Kum, are both Singaporeans. Jai, a third generation Singaporean, also sacrificed her career aspirations when her mother developed Parkinson's disease. She explained why:

> So, I would have to sacrifice my own career and aspirations for the family. But, that's fine… because I know that if that desire comes again, I can always do it. I'm much younger than my mom. I think she needs me more than me fulfilling my own career aspirations. (Jai)

Five Singapore respondents brought parents or in-laws into their own homes to provide temporary care, whilst only one Hong Kong respondent did. The provision of temporary care by respondents in their parents' home was also more prevalent in Singapore. Seven care-recipients remained in their own homes in Singapore. All of the temporary care recipients in Hong Kong, with one exception, were hospitalised.

In Singapore, the concept of *"Work-Life-Balance"* was popular amongst the Singapore respondents. For example:

> I think one of my top priorities right now is to…work less… to achieve a *Work-Life-Balance*. What I really want…is to focus on finding…my life partner and…having my own kid. (Jai)

> I'm glad that working here allows us to have *Work-Life Balance*. That's why I chose here as my career…after I gave birth, because it's not as demanding as my previous work in terms of hours, in terms of expectation and all that. So….I'm able to manage better now. (Hwei-Ru)

Hong Kong women were more likely to remain in the workplace regardless of the circumstances. The following statements of two second generation Hong Kong women are indicative of this perspective:

> Conflict between work and family life? Not much…. While I am working I am… fully committed to my job. (Juan)

> I'm really a career woman. And you can imagine as a woman you have a full time job, you have a full time role as a wife. You have a full time job as a mother. Sometimes there's really certain conflicts of time and energy. And… I am… always

> too serious with my work. And maybe for some time I've been a little bit negligent onto my other roles. (Lihwa)

As seen with Rou, Hong Kong respondents were also very likely to push themselves to the edge of exhaustion, trying to manage both family and work. Yow, a second generation woman from Hong Kong, gives an account of her internal struggle to justify working:

> So, when you have too many cases…you have to take [them] home… And I could …work until 4:00. And, sometimes I really pity myself….I don't need the money to support myself. Why do I…have to work like this and stay up the whole night when people…are sleeping soundly in bed with the quilt. Especially during winter time. I pity myself so much. (Yow)

But she did not stop working.

Like Yow and Rou, many Hong Kong women reported being "stressed all the time" from trying to balance work and family life (Chang-Chang). However, the availability of a job-threatening workforce just over the border in Mainland China and the Hong Kong government's lack of enthusiasm in promoting *Work-Life-Balance* suggest it is unlikely that Hong Kong women will follow the Singapore model.

7.5 LIMITATIONS, CONDITIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS IN PROVIDING TEMPORARY CARE

7.5.1 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN IN HOME AND OUT OF HOME CARE

Weici and Rou illustrate the difference between providing care in one's own home as opposed to the parents' home or hospital. Care in one's home appears to create emotional strain arising from the disruption of the household from the omnipresent parent. Care in the parents' home or hospital seems to engender more physical strain resulting from the constant travel between venues.

In this sub-sample of 20 temporary caregivers, three respondents cared for parents and three cared for in-laws in the respondent's own home. All but one respondent continued working and all hired FDHs to provide care. Shuang and Lian, also caring for in-laws, had even more difficult experiences than Weici in that Shuang cared for a stroke victim and Lian a dementia patient. Though their involvement was limited, it did not completely alleviate the stress. Lian described taking care of her father-in-law:

> So I get stressed because my helper get stressed. They brought their own helper but my father-in-law will take advantage of [the] helpers in the sense that he will yell and shout at them. And my helper told me that, you know, sometimes after she cooked and served my father-in-law food, if he didn't like it he will just throw it back at her. (Lian)

Lian's father-in-law disrupted the household to such an extent that she developed migraines and could not sleep. Her performance at work suffered. The experience was so unpleasant that her father-in-law was no longer welcome. Weici, Lian and Shuang all discontinued care and sent their in-laws back to their homes when they could no longer tolerate the caregiving situation. Shuang explained how her husband made the decision to send his mother home:

> [It was] very tough…There was the time when he feels that she should not stay here because she's affecting…the well-being of…our life here….This outburst of the temper often comes with a cry that she wanted to go back to her own home. So, maybe after discussing with the brothers he feels that maybe… this is what she wants. So when her condition improved [so] that she could walk they feel that she should really go back to her own home and feel peaceful and at ease then. (Shuang)

The other three in-home caregivers invited their own mothers to stay with them. Jun and Jai's mothers were brought home to die. The time was short and care was discontinued by death. Zhenzhen cared for her own mother twice following surgeries. The first time she

kept her mother for a month, the second time she kept her for two weeks. Even though Zhenzhen said she loves her mother, she recalled that having her at home was stressful nonetheless:

> It's not the physical part. But, I would think that the emotional and psychological part, it is a little more stressful, honestly speaking, because she gets bored and she expects us to be home, and she basically needs somebody to talk to. And, we're so busy unfortunately, so that becomes the stress…that you have work commitments and yet there's a Mom waiting for you at home. So…you try to rush home so that she gets somebody to talk to…At one stage…I was saying that she was marking mental attendance. (Zhenzhen)

The respondents' chief complaint about hospital or out of home "care" was the amount of time it took, particularly for those temporary caregivers who continued working. Below is a description of Huizhong's hospital visitations. For three weeks she did this after work, arriving home every night about 9:00 p.m. It should be noted, distances are greater in Hong Kong than Singapore. In any event, all stories regarding hospitalised care are very similar to this one:

> When my father-in-law was hospitalised…I…had to visit him every day at the hospital and at the same time, I had to have time at home, house work, my office work and so on, so actually I find that it's the demand on the time….It's not the amount of time spent with him, it's actually the travelling…From work, you travel to the hospital because it will take some time, and then at the hospital, you stay for half an hour, one hour, and you travel all the way home….[This took] between… about three and a half to four hours every night [after work]. (Huizhong)

In this sample, there is scant evidence of a correspondence between number, length and duration of visitations to the hospital or parents' home and the quality of the relationship the respondent has with the parent. Perhaps that is because the majority of hospitalised parents were fathers, and caring for a father also supports the mother. Face within the family

was also likely implicated. Family members expect daughters to provide care, and failure to live up to expectations may result in disapproval. Further, hospital care or care in the parents' home can involve all the siblings, even if the daughter is the primary caregiver. So there is some support for caregiving daughters, for example from alternating visits with sisters and brothers. Limitations that did exist were more likely the result of the respondents' unwillingness to stop working thereby restricting the amount of time they had to spend with the disabled parent.

Home care is slightly different. The duty to take the parent or in-law into one's home is not generally dependent on the quality of the relationship. However, once a parent, and particularly an in-law, is in the home the relationship becomes important. What this suggests is that the willingness to *provide* care is more related to structural norms of obligation and the disposition of the wife to support her husband than it is to the relationship between the daughter and her husband's parents. For example, Shuang explained why she brought her mother-in-law home:

> …because my husband feels that she…was in a critical situation and she need…[us] to…watch her closely so that she doesn't get into a worse condition and if it comes to that stage…we can give immediate attention to her. (Shuang)

However, the willingness to *continue* care may be dependent on the relationship between the caregiver and care recipient. Perhaps that is why the majority of temporary care here is provided to parents rather than in-laws. The relationship is easier to sustain. Just as some mothers now prefer daughters to daughters-in-law, daughters may prefer to take care of their own parents. Most married respondents made statements similar to the following:

> Q: Do you feel closer to your own mother or to your

mother in law?
A: To my mother.
Q: Given the choice, who would you rather take care of?
A: My mother (Shuang)

Hwei-Ru explained why:

> I think because the parents…bring up the children and they would appreciate that the children is the one who is taking care of them. And it's really their own children. …Daughter-in-law or son-in-law is actually….not 100% their own, so I think…it's just naturally that I care more for my mom [than] to my parents-in-law. (Hwei-Ru)

There is also a difference between mothers and fathers. No fathers were cared for in a respondent's home unless they already lived together. This might be explained by the fact that amongst these respondents, mothers took care of their husbands in their own homes if the mother's health allowed it.

7.5.2 OTHER QUALIFICATIONS, CONDITIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Conditionality, structural impediments such as distance, and gaps between filial attitudes and behaviours, are not seen in the provision of temporary care amongst these 20 respondents. Moreover, only three women indicated they would refuse to provide temporary care, though none of them had been asked, and their position was specific to their mothers. Lian said she would not provide *any* care again in the future but would contribute only money. As both of her parents are dead, she was speaking of her in-laws. Two of the respondents providing hospital care reported their unwillingness to provide emotional support.

Of those not actually providing temporary care, most maintained that they would employ a FDH to perform the hands-on caregiving. Several respondents indicated the type of care provided and where it is provided would depend on whom the care is for. Very few

expressed a willingness to take extended leave from work, consistent with what has already been seen. However, until they are actually faced with the decision, it is impossible to know what they will do.

7.6 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUPPORT AND TEMPORARY CARE

> If parents are healthy, then there's no issue, but when somebody falls sick, then you find that …your time is very stretched. (Huizhong)

With temporary care, the balance between parental and personal needs appears to tip slightly in favour of parents. Though most daughters continue to work, they *do* allow parents' care and well-being to interrupt their lives. However, limitations apply, and by definition, care is temporary. If it is expected to have an end date and if it does not occur within a reasonable time respondents may terminate it in consultation with family members.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the principal difference between support and temporary care is the level of commitment required. However, there are subtle distinctions within this. For one thing, though daughters like Jaihui accept responsibility for parent *support* because nobody else will do it, at the stage of temporary care, daughters are stepping forward and taking charge. Te' and Rou are good examples of this. These women not only direct their parent's care, they are the emotional backbone of the family, holding it together.

With home care, though decisions regarding where care will be implemented, and by whom, appear to be made collectively by the siblings, some daughters may volunteer for this duty. For example, here is how Jai, a third generation Singaporean, explained her decision:

> I don't think I was expected to, but it was just a natural… thing that I be the one to

> take care of her, because I'm technically the most educated in the family and I don't have other financial commitments… All I had was work commitment…so I volunteered for it. (Jai)

The assertiveness seen at the temporary care stage, not in evidence at the support stage, has two possible explanations. The first is that it is role modelled by respondents' mothers, as seen from the following statement:

> Actually my mother is very submissive, very gentle lady. [But,] at the time of crisis she will stand up very firm, very courageous and [be a] very decisive lady. (Rou)

Additionally, some of these women are accustomed to taking responsibility. Te', for example, was preparing for marriage and running a multi-million dollar project at the time of her father's crisis.

This leads to another difference from support, and an important one. Stress increases substantially at the temporary care stage. When Te' was asked to indicate on a scale of one to ten, with ten being the most, what her stress level was, she replied: "Ten….I'm trying to recall. I think my fuse was very short."

Huiqing, discussed in Chapter 5, told her dying father to "let go." Other respondents do the same. It is not only that these women are trying to manage the balance between work and home; it is the emotional element as well. Daughters may be called upon to perform unpleasant tasks regardless of whether their parent is cared for at home or hospitalised. Respondents related stories of diaper changing, bathing, and feeding parents through a tube, assisting with dialysis and dealing with behavioural problems. This has two further ramifications. Some temporary caregivers, like Rou and Te', experienced a shift in the nature of their relationship with a parent when they perceived him or her as vulnerable. The other is

that there appears to be a linkage between stress and *emotion work* at this stage that does not exist with support.

Looking back on the *support* emotion work done by Jaihui, Qingzhao, and even Yet Kwai, suggests that the objective is to maintain the relationship, and to ensure it continues to exist. It is protracted and seems to involve a desire on the part of the daughter to be accepted and valued by the parents, and reciprocally, to care about them. If stress exists, it appears to be self-imposed by personally interpreted framing rules and feeling rules, not by circumstances.

In contrast, the emotion work done during temporary care is immediate and related to managing stress. As seen with Weici, there is pressure to maintain one's equilibrium, control one's emotions, and not to exhibit anger. Conditions are more intense, especially if the parent remains in the caregiver's home. Though framing rules and feeling rules may necessitate emotion work in order to provide support, here the breadth is greater, and more integrated with societal expectations as well as personal ones.

The entirety of in home temporary caregiving respondents experienced this pressure. They all expressed how difficult the situation was. If they did not do emotion work they practiced avoidance, and some did both. There *does* appear to be a relationship between the necessity for doing emotion work, the frequency and intensity of contacts between caregiver and care recipient, and the nature of the care being provided. Emotion work is really not seen amongst respondents caring for parents in the hospital where care appears to be more related to exhaustion and concern rather than tolerating the disruptions and demands of a parent in one's home. Moreover, in hospital care, respondents can remove themselves from the care environment and the care recipient. Similarly, supporting a parent by dining or visiting with

them, *in itself,* is less likely to be a stressful activity, especially if other siblings are present.

All of this suggests that when providing support and nothing more, emotion work may be based on the relationship alone. With temporary care emotion work is based on the relationship plus the caregiving activity and the ease with which one is able to remove oneself from the situation when it becomes too stressful.

7.7 CONCLUSION

Temporary care is the second stage in the typology of support and care. It took place in the respondent's home, the parent's home, or the hospital and lasted six months or less. In this sample, 20 respondents cared for 28 care recipients. Three quarters of the temporary care recipients were parents. Singaporeans and second generation women provided most of the temporary care. Even more than with support, temporary care was largely motivated by combined structural and relational norms.

The focus of Chapter 7 was Weici, a second generation Singaporean who had provided temporary care at different times for both her mother and her mother-in-law. Weici grew up in a dysfunctional family where her father was an unfaithful, violent man who beat Weici's mother. Her mother held the family together, but once the children were grown she found a job, enabling her to travel, earn her own income, and divorce her husband, which earned Weici's respect. However, it was really her mother's willingness to listen to her children and the repeated acts of loving kindness that brought mother and daughter close together. Weici's love for her mother was what motivated her to care for her. She was grateful to her father for providing for the family and supporting her education, however, she felt no affection for him. Thus, though her father had not yet required care, she was willing to provide financially for him out of duty, but not to provide for him emotionally.

Weici told the story of when her mother fell and injured her shoulder. Weici stayed with her for two months. During this time she slept on her mother's bedroom floor and shuttled back and forth to her own home to care for her nuclear family. It was a difficult and stressful time. However, these challenges were managed with patience and understanding.

The story of Weici's mother-in-law was in stark contrast to her own mother. Weici and her husband lived with her in-laws when they were first married. Weici developed a dislike for the woman and employed a management style consisting largely of avoidance. Weici's father-in-law subsequently died but Weici's nuclear family continued to live apart from the mother-in-law.

More recently, Weici's mother-in-law went to live with Weici and her husband after breaking her hip. Duty obligated Weici to take her in. She related how her mother-in-law disrupted the household and abused Weici's FDH. It was an unpleasant experience. Weici practiced emotion work to change how she felt and acted. After six months her mother-in-law was sent home.

From Weici it was possible to see how relationships affected the temporary caregiving experience. Caring for her mother was done out of love, whilst caring for her mother-in-law was her duty. Though both experiences were difficult, it was Weici's attitude and how she felt about each party that defined the situation and the amount of stress accompanying it.

Weici is a traditional woman from a traditional family. Her mother was a strong role model. Through her, Weici learned to subjugate her own interests to the family. However, contemporary norms were also seen in her need to set limitations by taking time for herself and ultimately instigating the removal of her mother-in-law from the home. Further, Weici

relied on her Christian faith to help her through the difficult times.

Religion, in this instance, was part of the emotion work undertaken in providing temporary care for her mother-in-law, not the force driving care. Weici prayed to God in order to control her temper, as well as to mitigate negative feelings she had for her mother-in-law. However, she also exhorted herself to change her display and continued her practice of avoidance. In contrast, Weici appears to have done no emotion work with her own mother.

If Weici showed us why relationships matter, Rou's story illustrated the difficulties encountered when one's responsibilities exceed one's ability to manage. During her father's final illness, Rou worked a full time job, wrote her PhD thesis, cared for her father, first at home then in the hospital, and supported the rest of the family emotionally. She was exhausted and overwhelmed but said she never considered altering her circumstances. After her father's death it took Rou several months to recover her own health.

Rou's situation raised the question of *Work-Life-Balance.* In this, Hong Kong and Singapore were different. Most Hong Kong respondents, like Rou, were likely to remain in work and drive themselves to the edge of their ability to cope. Conversely, Singaporean respondents might be more likely to take leave or change jobs in order to accommodate the needs of their families. Social engineering by the Singapore government may account for this difference. However, Hong Kong's proximity to and interaction with Mainland China should also be considered.

The dissimilarity of Weici and Rou's experience highlighted the reason why there is no "one size fits all" formula for understanding the limitations of temporary care. Home care was accompanied by emotional strain resulting from close and constant proximity to the care recipient. Though it might not affect the initial decision to bring a parent into the home, once

care began, the relationship *did* matter: It was associated with the amount of stress and emotion work required to withstand the situation, the decision regarding when to discontinue care, and whether or not to renew the invitation should care be needed again. This may be why more respondents said they would rather care for their own parents instead of their in-laws, and more parents said they preferred to be cared for by their own children.

In contrast, caring for a parent in hospital or the parents' home appeared to cause more physical exhaustion and stress resulting primarily from worry over the parent's condition and its impact on the remaining family members. Relationships were not as important, and the decision regarding care termination was beyond the respondent's ability to control. The greatest limitations to hospital care or care in the parents' home were the daughter's employment and her physical stamina.

Conditionality, gaps between filial belief and behaviour and structural impediments, such as distance, did not appear to limit temporary care. However, distance could affect a daughter's exhaustion level if she was visiting a parent after work and getting home late at night.

The essential differences between support and temporary care were the disruption to one's life and the commitment needed to get through it. However, other dynamics were at work as well. Principally, most respondents appeared to become more authoritative and assertive in times of crisis. This could be attributed to the role modelling of strong mothers or the nature of one's employment responsibilities.

Temporary care also involved a level of stress not seen at the support stage of the typology. Daughters could be required to undertake hands-on care that was not only unpleasant but that could result in a role reversal with vulnerable parents.

The forces driving emotion work were different as well. Emotion work conducted in furtherance of supporting parents was directed at preserving the relationship and motivating daughters to spend time and be cordial. Any stress was likely to be self-imposed due to the respondent's interpretation of framing rules and feeling rules telling her this was what she *should* want. In contrast, emotion work undertaken in the performance of temporary care was more related to controlling one's emotions in the face of intense pressure. The daughter *should* maintain a pleasant outward display, exhibit no anger, and attempt to *feel* no anger. Arguably, the work was greater and more constant because the daughter could not walk away indefinitely, especially if the parent was in her home.

One of the primary questions addressed in the next chapter is whether the importance of relational norms and the intensity of emotion work increase as caregiving moves from temporary to more permanent conditions requiring more effort and causing greater stress.

CHAPTER 8
CAREGIVING OF AGEING PARENTS

8.1 REVIEW OF CAREGIVING AND INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

The third stage in the typology of support and care is caregiving, or long-term care. It is distinguishable from temporary care in two principal ways. First, it is of unlimited duration. Additionally, it takes place only in the caregiver's home.

The activities of caregiving, shown in Table 5.3, describe the kinds of caregiving endeavours associated with long-term care in the domestic setting, and they are characterised by hands-on care, with or without the assistance of a foreign domestic helper (FDH). Of the 55 respondents in this sample, eight currently or previously provided caregiving for 10 parents. Seventy percent of these care recipients were mothers. Additionally, three in-laws, formerly received care from one respondent. The preponderance of respondents' mothers as care recipients (as opposed to their fathers) might be explained by a tendency seen in temporary care. Most respondents' fathers are taken care of in their own homes by their wives, with possible assistance from a FDH, until hospitalisation is required.

Even more so than it was with temporary care, 88% of caregiving in the sample was provided by second generation women. Contrary to temporary care, 63% of caregiving was administered by Hong Kong respondents. Two of the Chinese daughters in this sample provided both temporary care and long-term care at different times. In both instances, temporary care was undertaken for the respondent's father and long-term care for her mother. Amongst the full time caregivers, two of the three Singaporeans quit their jobs. One Hong Kong respondent took time off whilst seeking re-employment, but later resumed working,

whilst the others continued in employment. Three respondents had support from siblings, and all but two caregivers (75%) hired a FDH. Finally, all eight caregivers called themselves Christian and six of the eight relied on their religion to help support them through caregiving.

Like the previous one, this chapter examines why the daughters in this sample were willing or unwilling to provide caregiving, how they resolved the tension and conflict incurred in discharging this type of care, and why care might be terminated. It probes the limitations, qualifications and conditions involved with caregiving by these respondents, and again, respondents' voices are heard. However, the emphasis and approach in Chapter 8 shifts slightly to explore the discharge of care more deeply.

All of the respondents provided some form of support. However, the demands on their time, energy and emotions were nominal, allowing us to focus on the forces underpinning their support and care motivations. Progressing to temporary care, with fewer respondents and greater demands on them, the relationships between the respondents and their parents as well as respondents' employment became relevant to understanding each of the elements in the axis of analysis. At this third stage of the typology the length and intensity of the caregiving experience, and the commitment to it, suggests a need to investigate more thoroughly the respondents' coping strategies, especially with regard to accommodating tension. As in each of the empirical chapters, case studies are used to tease out the epistemology of caregiving.

8.2 HOW STRUCTURAL NORMS OF FILIAL OBLIGATION AND RELATIONAL NORMS OF AFFECTION, GRATITUDE AND RECIPROCITY MOTIVATE RESPONDENTS TO UNDERTAKE CAREGIVING FOR PARENTS

Amongst the eight caregivers, 37.5% were motivated by combined structural norms

of filial obligation and relational norms ["*I have to + I want to*"], 25% by structural norms ["*I have to*"], and 37.5% by relational norms of affection, gratitude and reciprocity ["*I want to*"]. There were no instances, related by the respondents, where care was refused altogether ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"] due to negative motivation, other than as discussed in Chapter 5. Amongst the 10 care recipients, combined structural and relational norms motivated *half* of total care and all of this for mothers. Combined norms were associated more with fathers in temporary care. The distribution of structural norms of filial obligation and relational norms of affection, gratitude and reciprocity amongst the care recipients is shown below in Table 8.1

Table 8.1: Motivation driving caregiving of parents and in-laws (N=10)

MOTIVATION TYPE	Mother	Father	Mother-in-law	Father-in-law	OTHER	TOTAL
Structural	1	0	1	1	1*	4
Relational	1	0	0	0	0	1
Structural + Relational	5	0	0	0	0	5
TOTAL	7	0	1	1	1	10

*grandmother-in-law

Chapter 8 begins with two case studies. The first, Huan, is an exploration of care motivated by structural norms of filial obligation [" *I have to*"]. The other, Ai, examines care motivated by relational norms of affection, gratitude and reciprocity ["*I want to*"]. Huan and Ai approach the caregiving experience from opposite perspectives. Ai, a single woman, provides care for her own mother out of love and gratitude, without any help. She does not believe it would be possible to do this without feeling close to her parent. Huan, a married woman, cares for her husband's parents and his grandmother out of duty, with three domestic helpers. Her childhood experiences have caused her to believe that she must be a good wife and mother, as defined by traditional Chinese values. She says, "from my upbringing I have

to respect the old people." Ai lives in Singapore, alone with her mother. Huan lives in Hong Kong with extended family, all of who are in-laws. The two women's lives are different and their motivations for caregiving are diverse. But, does it matter?

8.2.1 CASE STUDY 10: STRUCTURAL NORMS DRIVING CAREGIVING

Huan is a second generation Hong Kong woman and a nurse by training. She grew up in a traditional Chinese family where she was the oldest child of five. The family was poor and lived in public housing. Huan sewed clothing and made plastic flowers to supplement her family's income. She also helped her mother, a housewife, with chores and tutored her four younger brothers. Education and elevated status were important to Huan's parents and Huan became a nurse at her father's suggestion. Service to the community was also stressed. Huan said, "You must be a loyal servant." You must be obedient and have a "good manner." You must give money to your parents and "to the old people in China."

As a traditional Chinese woman, once she married, Huan's life became centred on her husband's family. Though she gave money to her parents after she began working, she never expected to provide caregiving for them. Huan's father is now dead. Her mother, who has dementia, lives alone with a FDH. Huan said she meets her mother every few weeks for dinner. She and her youngest brother share her mother's expenses, but her other two brothers do not contribute any form of support. In fact, Huan supports them financially.

After she had her first child, Huan's husband moved her in with his parents whilst he travelled overseas to study. The rationale was to allow Huan to keep working whilst her in-laws looked after her child. Following his return, Huan and her husband remained with his parents for the next 37 years. She said the relationship was a good one, where maintaining family harmony was important. Huan stated she dislikes quarrelling, so sensitive

communications with her in-laws were channelled through her husband. Otherwise, in her words, if she had a difference of opinion from them she would "bear it down." This technique, according to Huan, was acquired from watching traditional Chinese films, which she asserted, "are always teaching you, anything if you don't like [it], you just bear it. Women have to bear it, bear the suffering." Huan said:

> Yeah, this is the ethics, the society expects [from the] woman; you must be tender, gentle, loving and kind. And you have to accept the things that are not happy or you have to protect your family members. You have to make a harmonious family. Make everything happy. (Huan)

Huan claimed that films reinforced the traditional values learned from her family, teachers, friends, and society. She recalled, "It's already deep rooted in our mind that you have to be a good daughter, a good wife, and a good mother and a good friend." Huan acknowledged this put pressure on her, but added "when you do it on your own will…it's happy…" She disclosed the most important thing was her husband's support, but, also said she relied on her Christian religion as part of her problem-solving strategy.

Over the course of several years, often at the same time, Huan provided caregiving for her father-in-law, her husband's grandmother, and mother-in-law, all of whom lived with her together with her mother-in-law's sister and daughter. For nearly 20 years, until his death in 1998, Huan cared for her chronically ill father-in-law through a succession of illness including asthma, ulcers, hernia, cataracts, hypertension, heart disease, and later Parkinson's disease and liver cancer. Overlapping ten years of this she also cared for her husband's grandmother who was blind, had heart disease and later a stroke. She could neither bathe nor feed herself, and Huan recalled the grandmother's care consumed much of her time. But, Huan's most difficult experience as a caregiver was with her mother-in-law.

Huan's mother-in-law

Huan knew her mother-in-law was depressed after her husband's death. However it was not until she refused to bathe, take her medications or change clothes that Huan said she began to suspect something else was wrong. In an attempt to find an answer, Huan's sister-in-law took her mother to the hospital for an evaluation, but according to Huan, she reported no cognitive irregularities.

Over the next four years, Huan recalled, her mother-in-law grew worse. Huan claimed she would not cooperate with instructions for her health care; she became angry, beat her chest and hit the wall; and she threatened to commit suicide. Huan reported she grew "shocked and astonished" with her mother-in-law's "very, very queer behaviour" and did not know what to do. Her husband's advice, that there was "no need to worry, just let it be--old people are like that," exacerbated Huan's bewilderment, and she stated her lack of knowledge of the mother-in-law's condition combined with the old woman's erratic behaviour drove her

to despair. She remembered:

> And before, I was in a dark place, in a dark hole. I don't know what to do…. I do not know what is happening to her. Is it just due to depression?...But why is it so long, the depression period? So, nobody is going to help me. (Huan)

Huan recalled how difficult this time was. She said she could not remember how she got through it. Eventually, she wrote to the doctor her mother-in-law had seen four years before. He wrote back, informing her that the mother-in-law had been diagnosed with dementia at the time of her prior visit. Huan stated she was stunned.

Soon after learning how impaired her mother-in-law actually was Huan received a

promotional leaflet from the Alzheimer's disease Association. With new awareness she said she contacted them. After reassessing Huan's mother-in-law the doctor told her:

> "This lady [has] got dementia, you have to learn how to take care of her, and you have to organise the family members and [you] have to make a decision how to take care of her because the disease will get worse and worse." And that aroused me…oh!! Big trouble. (Huan)

Huan said she knew she had to educate herself:

> Otherwise I don't know how to take care of her. Previously she is a nice lady, is very gentle, very kind, but now became another person. Very agitated and easily angry and cannot cooperate with you, and always have no sense of safety. (Huan)

To help herself cope, Huan said she spoke with friends, but according to her, neither her friends nor her husband offered solutions. Huan claimed she was conflicted, depressed and frustrated. She said she tried to change her feelings in order to endure:

> Very depressed. I am very frustrated. Nobody can help me. And, I want to die. But I just said oh, every day is a new day. Try every possible means to [do it]… because I have to respect my mother- in-law. She helped me a lot when my children are young, alright? That's a conflict. I have to respect this …lady but still she does something [that] makes me unhappy. I have to accept that. (Huan)

Huan finally enrolled in a course to learn how to care for and communicate with Alzheimer's patients. She joined a carer support group and placed her mother-in-law into day care. Huan described her state of mind, looking back on what she had learned:

> I know the way, how to tackle all the problems. Of course, you can't solve [it in] one day. You just bit by bit [try] to learn how to cope with her, all right, because dementia is [a] very, very strange disease. Every case is different…. You have to learn and you have to talk with the carers, and join the association and listen to the professional's advice. And, you…must have a kind heart behind [it]. Love, …patience and acceptance …is the drive that makes you accept this people, this patient. (Huan)

Huan's emotion work to develop feelings of love, patience and acceptance, can be viewed not only as an attempt to create an appropriate display or to feel what she believed she should. It can also be seen as a coping mechanism for helping Huan survive the caregiving experience. As she said:

> I remember the professor saying every day is a new day. Use humour to ease the negative emotion. That's very useful for me….Every day I have negative emotion, all right, when I'm taking care [of her]. But, later I learned the communication skill. We must accept the patient, not argue with her. [I] have to respect her, to encourage her and say, her drawing is very beautiful, you are a very nice lady and so, all kinds of praise words. She will be happy. If she [is] happy, I'm happy. I want to be a happy carer, all right? I don't want to die so early. If I am sick nobody will take care of the family. I always think of a broad view, all right? The family is a whole. I can't collapse. If I collapse nobody will take care of the family members. (Huan)

After ten years, Huan's mother-in-law became incontinent, had difficulty swallowing, and developed pneumonia. When she required an IV drip, a nasal gastric tube to feed her, and a stretcher to lie upon for bathing, the decision was made to place her in a nursing home. She remained there the last three years of her life, dying in 2011.

Huan's story demonstrates how useful professional support and emotion work can be. Though her underlying motivation to care for her in-laws was structural obligation ["*I have to*"], she was able to effectively change her feelings to adapt to her circumstances.

8.2.2 CASE STUDY 11: RELATIONAL NORMS DRIVING CAREGIVING

> To me the value is always there- that you're supposed to look after your parents. But, it has to come with feelings. If you don't feel that closeness and that you want to look after them, its no point….If [children] don't have that …bonding with the parent, I don't think it's possible at all to do it. (Ai)

Ai is a 50 year old unmarried Singaporean, one of two daughters, and, as she related, has always been close to her parents. Notwithstanding her family commitment, during her

twenties, Ai said she struggled between her family and the desire to live independently. She chose the family. Since her father's death Ai has been the sole caregiver of her 80 year old mother, who suffers from dementia.

Ai was interviewed in March and August of 2011 for the purpose of exploring the impact of caregiving on the caregiver over time. During the first interview Ai elaborated on her motivation to care for her mother:

> My main motivation is that she looked after me when I'm young, and a lot of my young memories flash through my mind these days…I remember there was a flood and she had to carry me …So I feel that right now in the sorry state that she is [in], I feel moved, sorry, that I should have to look after her. (Ai)

Ai expressed that taking care of her mother is *"the least I can do*." In her words, gratitude compelled her to feel "responsible and obligated," adding, "to be honest, I think religion is [also] a big part of my life." Ai said it helped to remind her there is more to life than what she is doing.

The first interview

In 2004, Ai's mother was diagnosed with dementia. Her father became the primary caregiver until he died of a heart attack in 2006. Ai recalled, "Dad passed on, my Mom had this dementia thing. Then I feel everything falls on me."

When her father died, Ai was still working, but her job required her to travel. On those occasions her mother had to stay with Ai's sister and the mother became confused. Ai began to realise her mother could not manage:

> Initially I didn't realise it, I treat her just like a normal person, and I would tell her, "oh, I will go on a working trip [for] three days, one week from now"…and she would go "why do you have to go, why can't you find a job that's local?" And I say "you have to move to my sister's place." "Why do I have to go there? Why can't I

> stay here alone?" I say "no, you can't take care of yourself," and she scream out "yes I can." So, we will always be arguing on this and I am going like "no…you have to go." (Ai)

These encounters became so stressful that eventually Ai quit her job to become a full time caregiver. Ai described the dull routine of her life. Her mother had to be bathed, fed and entertained every day, Ai saying she had difficulty finding enough activities to engage her. Three days a week she attended day-care where she was reasonably coherent. However, at night her condition deteriorated: she became agitated and hallucinated. Ai claimed she had to curtail her evening activities to stay at home, and her circle shrank to a few friends. She reported she felt lonely and isolated. She had become very bored and said, "It's starting to get to me to be very honest." To help her cope, on Sundays she went to church where, she said, she prayed and complained to God.

Despite her complaints, Ai asserted that she had "grown to love her [mother] a lot more as a person" and has "some enjoyable moments with her." She claimed she is *"*able now to see her*...like a childlike person rather than as a dementia person needing care*." Ai maintained she had "gradually changed…from feeling sorry for her [mother]" to feeling that she "has her adorable moments." She commented they have grown closer because of that, and the *"love part" is stronger than the day to day burden."* Otherwise, she said, she "would not have been able to carry on." Ai explained how she focused on the positive in order to continue caregiving, adding that on the "days it gets pretty bad," she tries to keep herself in equilibrium. When she is out of balance or depressed she said she "handles it very badly," losing her temper, raising her voice, scolding, or yelling at her mother. But if her mother starts to cry she said she stops and apologises, then retreats until she has "cooled down." Ai related some difficulties of caregiving:

> When it first started, especially when I quit my job, it's like there's no hope in the tunnel. You know, it's like, is this going to be what I'm going to do every day? And it's the repetition. You know, you just have to keep repeating and repeating and the daily chores, you know, and then you get very angry, you get very resentful, you get very short tempered, and, you're wondering why are you doing this?" (Ai)

Ai explained how she worried about losing control:

> Yes, I was afraid that I'm going to go out of control. So generally I don't because I think if I ever smack her I think it would get worse and worse. (Ai)

To illustrate what caregiving for her was like, Ai related an incident when her mother lost her dentures:

> Her teeth, gone. Where? Don't know. Oh, I tell you, I searched high and low and in all the unlikely places because you don't know where she's going to put it. We just couldn't find it. And, I called the day-care centre and said, "did she leave it there?" And, no she didn't. And, I am asking her, "Where did you put it?" And she is saying "No I didn't do anything," you know, and..."Did you throw it away?" "No, I didn't. Why would I?"…She's always doing…the right thing. But, it's not right to us, it's right to her, ok, so she lost it. And, I blew my top. (Ai)

Another set of teeth had to be made. It took two months to fit them, involving repeated visits to the dentist and a cost of S$800. Once they were done, Ai told her mother not to take her teeth out unless Ai instructed her to. However, returning from church shortly after receiving the new pair of dentures, Ai recalled, her mother lost them again.

> I came back and it's gone. I blew my top then. I was screaming and yelling at her. "Where did you put it? Did you throw it down the drain? Throw it down the chute again? (Ai)

Ai finally found the new dentures in her sewing box. She never did find the first set. Ai stated she resolved to work on her attitude: "Otherwise, I'll kill myself." She noted she had started

reading self-improvement books to give her a better perspective:

> I'm just reading this book now called *Learning to be grateful for all that you have*… I find that… if I myself change, the situation is actually not as bad, I suppose. (Ai)

In addition, religion gave Ai strength and hope to "pull through" and to reaffirm that she was doing the right thing.

Six months after her interview, Ai agreed to be interviewed again. Ai was the only respondent providing full-time care for a parent alone at home at the time of the initial interview. The author wanted to see what, if anything, had changed.

The second interview

> She's getting worse in doing simple tasks and then recently it's gotten even worse because she doesn't even know when she has poo…And, I have to check and I figured that from now onwards I have to probably…clean her as well. So that in itself …seems like its going to be like more regular and that worries me.

As her mother's condition worsened, Ai said she began to consider the possibility of getting help:

> Thinking ahead, it's going to get worse, it's not going to get better. And, I'm asking myself, what am I going to do about it? I was actually very much against having a maid, partly because my Mom can't communicate, partly because of what I hear from people… And… I've got no experience handling a maid. (Ai)

Ai stated she worried that "if I have to do daily caregiving now in everything, I don't think I can." Her mother had started to wear diapers when "she has a bad stomach," and could no longer manage simple tasks such as folding laundry. Ai said sometimes her vocabulary was "all wrong." She was not as lucid as in the past and some mornings she was

unable to recognise Ai. Ai had begun calling her mother by her first name so that "when she goes to day-care [and] people say who are you at least she is able to tell people her name." However, in contemplating the employment of a FDH Ai observed, "that I already have one person who is causing me stress and if I have to be responsible for another one I think I am going to go crazy." She said, "I'm actually telling my sister, not asking, that we have to start thinking about putting her in a nursing home."

Ai claimed that her stress level had "increased quite a fair bit" since her last interview and that she was "asking myself: Can I do this like forever?" She said, "I dread to go home because I don't know what I'm going to find." She noted she was losing her temper more:

> It's like every little thing bothers me. It really, really bothers me and I know for a fact that my Mom is actually quite a good patient, really…. But, I suspect it's also me….As it adds up, you know, your fuse gets shorter and shorter. (Ai)

Ai stated that she was more often on the brink of being unable to cope. When this happened she recalled performing "a lot of psycho" on herself. Ai remarked about her situation as cumulative, and the longer it went on the worse it got. She said she considered but then rejected the nursing home option because she did not think she had the heart to do it. Ai noted her anger was closer to the surface, and she had become resentful of her sister's unwillingness to help, saying, "every time we talk we quarrel." Ai acknowledged her mother was getting on her nerves more and she was shouting at her more. Ai recalled a recent incident where she could not cope:

> She was soiling herself and she kept telling me no, and I'm saying like "are you having a stomach ache?" "No, I'm OK." So, I say fine. So every time she soils I have to bathe her. So, she just finished bathing and then she soiled. So, I say, "OK, we bathe again" because, you know, what else am I going to do? So, I put her then on diapers and it's again….And, I'm going like "are you really not having diarrhoea?

> How come you can't tell me when you are about to soil?" And, she's going "I know there's nothing wrong with me." So, that really, really ticks me off. (Ai)

Ai asserted that she was "really, really angry that day." She recalled she shouted so loud "I think probably the whole block can hear my voice." Then she added, "I am not surprised because I think some days I really get it up." After this incident Ai said she hit her mother on the hand, and that was when she knew she had reached her limit. Ai said she began to worry about getting a stroke:

> Yes, I am worried, to be very, very honest. And, I know I can't afford to. So, that's why I told myself to cool down. The consequences, yes, I'm afraid of a stroke. (Ai)

She said this fear helps her to "cool down" more than anything else because if this happens, "then, we are going to be two persons needing help." "And, it's going to be terrible then because who is going to help me, I ask myself? Yeah, that's the scary point."

Ai's feelings of loneliness and isolation had also grown. Some days, she said, "I don't want to do this anymore….I just want to send her to a nursing home and be done with it."

Third meeting with Ai

A year later the author was in Singapore and met with Ai again. After agreeing to be interviewed a third time, Ai changed her mind. During a long conversation "off the record," Ai offered no information about her mother's condition, her own mental state, or whether or not she had hired a FDH.

8.3 HOW MUCH DOES THE TYPE OF MOTIVATION MATTER?

Some scholars have investigated the importance of affection to caregiving. They argue that it is "positively correlated to the level of commitment" and amount of care

provided, and negatively correlated to the degree of stress and ability to manage the burden (Horowitz & Shindelman, 1983:18; Lyonette & Yardley, 2003). They also suggest that strained relationships may cause affection and concern to recede and caregiver burden to rise as the demands of caregiving become more difficult (Horowitz & Shindelman, 1983; Whitbeck, et al., 1991; Whitbeck, et al., 1994). If this were true, one would expect Ai, who seems to have a stronger emotional connection to her mother, to withstand the stress and burdens of caregiving better than Huan, who seems to be more motivated by duty and less emotionally attached to her in-laws. But, that is not exactly the case.

Clearly, both women suffer from caregiver burden. Huan said she was in "a dark place, a dark hole." She felt nobody could help her. She wanted to die. Ai stated she felt like "there's no hope in the tunnel." She claimed she was getting angrier and thinking about giving up or killing herself. Paradoxically, both respondents worried about their own health. However, instead of giving up, both searched for new ways of motivating themselves to continue caregiving. Why?

8.3.1 MOTIVATION AS A FRAMING RULE

Hochschild (1979:566) tells us framing rules are the "rules according to which we ascribe definitions and meanings to situations." In the broad context, this is very often synonymous with culturally prescribed norms and practices. The caregiving literature separates the norms and practices underpinning and motivating support and care of parents by their children into structural norms of filial obligation ["*I have to*"] and relational norms of affection, gratitude and reciprocity ["*I want to*"]. Within the Chinese context, structural norms originate from traditional Chinese ideology based on Confucian notions of filial piety. Relational norms have historical ties to Chinese cultural ethos, but are also influenced by

contemporary attitudes and values accompanying urbanisation. Because Hong Kong and Singapore are transitioning societies both structural and relational norms are present and often combined.

The importance of motivation, therefore, is not only that it provides a reason for caregiving, but also that as a framing rule it establishes the standard of care owed to the care recipient (in this case, the parent). As will be seen, how each caregiver interprets her filial norms, or framing rules, how she feels about them, and the actions she takes in furtherance of them, will have consequences for herself and the care recipient.

8.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FRAMING RULES AND SELF-IMAGE

Holroyd (2001) suggests internalised cultural norms compel women to do what they consider right in order to preserve their personhood. Similarly, Mac Rae (1998:145) asserts, "According to symbolic interactionists, human beings have self-consciousness and are motivated toward achieving and sustaining a positive self-image." In their interviews it could be discerned how structural norms were driving Huan and relational norms were driving Ai. These are the individual framing rules each imposed on herself in order to maintain a positive self-image.

Huan's background was grounded in traditional Chinese norms. She looked at the family "as a whole." Her core belief was that, "you must be tender, gentle, loving and kind, and you have to accept…the things that are not happy or you have to protect your family members." She had a lifetime of learning how to "bear the suffering." In her own words, she always expected the life she has. Unlike Ai, Huan's duty as a traditional Chinese wife was to care for her in-laws, not her own parents. She understood she would not be released from her duty so long as she wished to live by the framing rules she adopted, and she accepted this

because "this is the ethics." Society expected it and she expected it. If successful, Huan would preserve her self-image as "a happy carer" and a dutiful daughter-in-law and wife, assuring her status in her husband's family.

Like Huan, Ai grew up with traditional values. However, she was also influenced by contemporary norms. Though she was taught to put family first she said, "you…learn to think for yourself because of education." Ai articulated how cognisant she was of living in a time of normative transition and the affect it has had on her:

> I like freedom. I like independence. I am a very independent person. So it does irritate me then, when…I'm in my 20s, my 30s and I just want to get out of my house and go and live alone and yet the traditional side of me is that…[if] I moved out then they [parents] are on their own. And, they are dependent on me financially. So, that stopped me also from moving out. That's why they have always lived with me. (Ai)

Tonkens (2012:197) writes, "the process of managing feelings becomes more difficult during times of rapid social change." Transitioning cultural norms have given Ai awareness of choice, which has created conflict. On the one hand Ai loves her mother and is grateful to her. But, these relational norms also make her feel "responsible and obligated" as she has been taught to put family first. On the other hand, self-sufficient Ai desires freedom and independence.

The tension between Ai's framing rules and her self-image had already emerged earlier in her life. Ai wanted to work overseas, but did not go. Reflecting on this, she said: "Could I have just dumped it and gone? I probably could, but I would probably feel very *guilty."* Isn't it possible, even probable, *Ai's acceptance of contemporary norms undermines her commitment to put family first? Ai's own needs are opposed to her mother's.* However, to place her own needs above her family would violate Ai's framing rules and damage her

positive self-image.

8.5 HOW FRAMING RULES AND SELF-IMAGE ARE IMPLICATED IN THE DISCHARGE OF CARE

Due to the difference in their framing rules, Huan and Ai began the caregiving experience with different expectations of themselves. Huan treated caregiving as a hard job, referring to her mother-in-law as a "patient." She took appropriate, well considered and informed action in caring for her patient. Her reward came not from her patient who had dementia, but from her "boss," her husband. If she carried out her duties professionally and the patient was happy, she would receive her husband's approval and retain her positive self-image. For Huan, that approval is what kept the exchange in balance.

During all the years she provided care, the only time Huan remembered being on the edge of tolerance was when her husband accused her of making his mother angry. She interpreted this as an insult to the very core of her personhood. Not only was her sacrifice unappreciated, the trust and respect she had earned were ignored. Huan said she was so shocked and hurt she could not respond. But, she added "that incident stay inside my heart for several years." She recalled:

> As long as my husband can understand what I'm doing, [that] I'm not hurting my Mother-in-law, that's Okay. Nobody should query what I'm doing. It hurt because other people suspect what I'm doing. You understand? (Huan)

Ai, in contrast to Huan, was emotionally invested in her mother, the care recipient. She started from relational framing rules of love, irredeemable obligation, and placing family above self. However, the potential for conflict already existed even before she commenced caregiving.

Whitbeck and colleagues (1994) remind us that adult parent child relationships are complicated. They contend that helping parents can have a negative affect on the quality of the relationship if feelings of obligation grow and the exchange is thrown out of balance. Cicirelli (1993) suggests, the greater a mother's dependency and the more assistance provided by the daughter, the greater the caregiver burden and lower quality of the parent-child relationship.

As her mother's disease progressed, caregiving became more difficult for Ai. Her positive self-image, earned from putting family first, struggled under the weight of caregiver burden. The relationship began to become unbalanced. During the second interview Ai spoke frequently of hiring a FDH and even putting her mother in a nursing home, though the latter she did not think she could do.

Based on her framing rules, likely anything Ai does to terminate or significantly diminish her own role in the caregiving relationship with her mother will cause guilt and self-deprecation. Conversely, the cost to Ai for maintaining the status quo may be her own health and well-being. Ai is in a double bind. It remains to be seen what choice she will make.

8.6 HOW FEELING RULES ARE IMPLICATED IN DISCHARGING CARE

Wong and Chau (2006) write of carers suffering cognitive dissonance resulting from the overwhelming nature of caregiving. Hochschild (1983:90) calls this "emotive dissonance." It results from a conflict between what one feels and what one believes one *should* feel. Wong & Chau (2006:612) give the example of a caregiver who calls upon traditional norms [framing rules] prescribing that parents should be cared for "stoically and without hesitation" [feeling rules]. Yet anger and resentment still surface, leading to conflict between what she feels and believes she *should* feel. Ngan and Cheng (1992) discuss caring

dilemma as a love-hate relationship between caregiver and care recipient, where the carer loves the patient but may also want them to die. Aronson (1990) emphasises the role of guilt and shame, which serve as *rule reminders* to tell us of whether or not we are in compliance with culturally prescribed normative expectations of what a caregiver should be, a framing rule. Because framing rules are implicated in one's positive self-image, caregivers are highly motivated to feel emotions that are culturally appropriate and acceptable to them (Mac Rae, 1998). Feeling rules tell us what we should feel in the context of our framing rules and the situations we are in.

Huan's framing rules had always obligated her to maintain a display that was "tender, gentle, loving and kind" and to "accept the things" she was not happy with. Her feeling rules required Huan to "have a kind heart" and develop "love and patience" in order to become a "happy carer." Ai's framing rules required her to place her family's needs above her own. Her feeling rules mandated the strengthening of the loving parent-child bond as essential to discharging her filial obligation.

However, in the process of caregiving, both Huan and Ai experienced a *gap* between what they actually felt (despair, hopelessness, anger, caregiver burden) and their individual feeling rules. As a result, both Huan and Ai attempted to bridge the *gap* between the negative emotions they actually felt and what they believed they *should* feel through emotion work.

8.7 THE IMPORTANCE OF EMOTION WORK TO CAREGIVING

Emotion work is the "act of trying to change the degree or quality of an emotion or feeling" (Hochschild, 1979:561). In addition to its usefulness to preserving one's positive self-image, it is a helpful schema for coping with stress in order to endure and continue caregiving (Hochschild, 1983). Both Huan and Ai do extensive emotion work in the course

of caregiving.

In order to become a "happy carer," and "make a harmonious family," Huan said, "I have to educate myself first before I can give the love or give care to her [mother-in-law]." With knowledge of what her feelings should be, Huan prayed and talked to friends in order to "bear it happily." She exhorted herself to change her unhappy mood by invoking the phrase "every day is a new day." She used humour to change her display and ease her negative emotions. She exhorted herself to provide care with a "kind heart" and to develop love, patience and acceptance for her mother-in-law. She relied on her training as a nurse to view herself as a professional and her mother in law as a "patient." This is deep acting. By Huan's account her emotion work was successful. She was not only able to change her display, but her feelings as well.

Hochschild (1983:68) argues that the deeper the bond the greater the emotion work required. That is certainly true in the case of Ai. She performed deep acting by invoking loving memories of her mother's care for her, and she *visualised* her mother as a "childlike person" with "adorable moments" in order to avoid viewing her as a dementia patient, and to love her more. She relied on religion to give her perspective and hope, and she prayed and complained to God to change her emotions. She walked in the park to calm herself and "open up" her perspective. She looked at the positive side of caregiving to get through its dull repetition. Ai distracted herself with activities to "cool down" when she was upset, and she suppressed her emotions when she was really angry. She deliberately attempted to change her attitude in order to survive the caregiving experience, or to make "the situation…not as bad." She read self-help books to try and find more meaning in life because she could not alter her circumstances. Without feeling a parent-child bond (her feeling rule) she was not sure she

could carry out her filial obligation. So she worked hard to ensure it was there.

As caregiving became more burdensome and her "fuse" got "shorter and shorter" Ai tried to invoke feelings of gratitude for "little things" like not having the financial problems some do. She told herself if she did not calm down she would get a stroke. Ai may have been partially successful at the emotion work she performed. However, she was unable to completely change her feelings. This may be due to her inability to resolve the conflict and tension between her desire for freedom and filial obligation.

Both Ai and Huan were adamant that they could "not collapse" and performed the emotion work necessary to keep their feelings and emotions, and thus caregiving, in balance. Besides Huan and Ai, five of the remaining six caregivers in the study did emotion work. They invoked memories from their childhood; like Huan, they reverted to their professional training; they prayed for patience and strength; they practiced avoidance to calm down.

One of the seminal themes emerging from this research is emotion control. Nearly every respondent spoke of the importance of family harmony and early childhood training in the avoidance of conflict. One could argue that Chinese daughters are thus culturally predisposed to engage in emotion work.

Emotion work has many benefits for caregiving where controlling one's emotions is both difficult and essential. As seen, it is a mechanism that can be called into use at will and relied on in an attempt to diffuse anger, relieve stress, and create desired feelings. If successful there can be a protective affect for the caregiver's own health. Arguably, it can also protect the care recipient from potential abuse by their caregiver. Conversely, if emotion work is unsuccessful it may damage one's positive self-image and result in feelings of shame and guilt (Mac Rae, 1998). Further, as Hochschild (1983:90) points out, surface acting (as

opposed to deep acting) can lead to strain if carried out excessively or over an extended period of time, causing the caregiver to become emotionally detached, numb or lacking in feeling altogether (Hochschild, 1983: 21). Finally, if the interpersonal, or "gift" exchange becomes unbalanced, the caregiving arrangement may change.

8.8 THE IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORT IN DEALING WITH CONFLICT AND TENSION

Perhaps because of her nursing training, when her mother-in-law's deterioration became intolerable, Huan sought and followed professional advice. She wrote to the doctor, enrolled in a class to learn about dementia and joined a carer support group, integrating everything she learned into a new support strategy. In addition, Huan employed three domestic helpers and relied on religion. She surrounded herself with knowledge and support.

Like Huan, Ai relied on religion, but Ai tried to manage caregiving almost entirely on her own. Instead of joining a class or support group she walked in the park. She worked on crafts and read self help books. Ai had no relief from her caregiving burden other than day-care and was reluctant to hire a FDH, even though she knew she needed one.

A significant difference is found in Ai's ability to manage caregiving between the first and second interviews. As her mother's dementia grew worse Ai began to wonder if she could continue. She mentioned that her stress level had increased. Every little thing bothered her and she dreaded going home because she did not know what she would find. Ai asserted that the stress was cumulative, her anger was closer to the surface, and her mother was getting on her nerves more. She was shouting at her and even hit her, something she thought she would never do. Ai felt increasingly lonely and isolated and was resentful of her sister. She worried about her own health. She even contemplated placing her mother in a nursing

home.

Ai's negative feelings may be due in part to tension between her traditional and contemporary values. However, she also lacks social support. The relevance of support is noted in the caregiving literature. For example, in a study of 60 elderly Singaporeans and their 50 caregivers, Kua (1989) found that carers who lack social support are more inclined to depression and anxiety, particularly if they live alone with the care recipient and are otherwise socially isolated. In a Hong Kong study of elder abuse amongst family caregivers of 122 dementia patients, Yan and Kwok (2011:533) found that having a FDH helped to lower verbal abuse by the primary carer. They suggest this may be due to less caregiver burden, through relief from domestic chores, but also that the presence of a third party may "increase the caregiver's sense of self-awareness." In another Hong Kong study with 30 caregivers of schizophrenia patients, Chien, Norman and Thompson (2006) found that participation in a six month support group allowed carers to acquire new skills and problem solving strategies, facilitated exchanges of information and generally empowered them. Addressing *Work-Life Balance* from a Western perspective, Bernard and Phillips (2007) found that the support of work colleagues, sympathetic managers, family and friends is crucial to the ability of working carers to cope. They suggest that having someone to talk to and share care experiences with is likely even more valuable to caregivers than practical help. Further, they stress the importance of building work relationships over time, what they call a "bank of trust".

Part of what differentiates Huan and Ai is the amount and type of support they avail themselves of. This is true of the other six respondent caregivers as well. All but one had support from either sisters or professional training and support groups. The one respondent,

who like Ai, tried to manage alone, also had the greatest stress. Her support came primarily from religion.

8.9 LIMITATIONS, CONDITIONS AND QUALIFICATIONS IN PROVIDING CAREGIVING

8.9.1 INTERPERSONAL EXCHANGE

When the burdens of caregiving outweigh the rewards, the exchange becomes imbalanced and a change in behaviour or the situation is likely to occur.

Of the five respondents caring for parents with dementia, two institutionalised them. In Huan's case the parent's physical disabilities required it. In the other, the daughter and her FDH could no longer control the mother's erratic behaviour and emotional outbursts. The three remaining dementia patients were still living with their daughters at home at the time of the interview. In two of these cases, FDHs were the primary caregivers and there was sibling support. Both of these respondents indicated if caregiving became too difficult placement in a nursing home was an option. The other case is Ai.

For the three caregivers of acutely ill mothers, two of the care recipients remained at home until they died, where daughters supervised and assisted, but care was primarily provided by a FDH. These women also had sibling support. Li, who had no support, placed her mother in a nursing home only when it became impossible to care for her at home.

8.9.2 THE QUALITY OF CARE AND LENGTH OF CAREGIVING

The quality and length of long-term in-home care appears to depend to a great extent on the respondent's ability to tolerate the stress in light of her framing rules and feeling rules, and further, how these intersect with her relationship to the care-recipient parent as well as her self-image. Implicated in this is the strength of the respondents' framing rules and

whether or not there is conflict between traditional and contemporary norms. It may also depend on the respondents' willingness to undertake emotion work to cultivate appropriate and acceptable attitudes to sustain caregiving. Finally, it may hinge on the respondents' ability to garner enough support from a FDH, siblings or professionals, so as to keep the relationship reasonably in balance. In the case of the acutely ill, the length of care may additionally be contingent on how long it takes the disease to progress to its conclusion or to a point where hospitalisation or institutionalisation is inescapable.

8.9.3 LIMITATION BASED ON WHO CARE IS PROVIDED FOR

In this sample, care recipients with closer relationships with the daughter respondents were more likely to receive caregiving from them. Parents, for example, received more care than in-laws. This was also true of extended family. Family members who were farther removed were less likely to receive care, and were generally not considered in caregiving decisions.

8.9.4 HEALTH CONCERNS OF THE CAREGIVER

Half of the caregivers expressed concern over what caregiving was doing to their health and what would happen if they became incapacitated. The implication seemed to be that if this concern could not be addressed then caregiving might have to be terminated or changed by, for example, employing a FDH or institutionalising the parent. The concern seemed to be who would be left to take care of the parent and who would take care of the caregiver herself.

8.10 CONCLUSION

Chapter 8 concerns the third stage of the typology of support and care: Caregiving. In this study it was unlimited in duration and took place in the caregiver's home. There were

eight respondents providing long-term care for 10 parents: Seven mothers and three in-laws. Second generation and Hong Kong women provided the majority of caregiving. Two of the respondents terminated their employment to provide caregiving; six employed foreign domestic helpers (FDHs); three had sibling support. All eight were Christian and six relied on religion as a form of support. Half of the caregiving support was motivated by combined structural norms of filial obligation and relational norms of affection, gratitude and reciprocity.

Two additional case studies were presented to illustrate motivation for caregiving. In Case Study 10, structural norms of filial obligation were explored through the story of Huan, a second generation Hong Kong woman from a very traditional background. She accepted Chinese cultural ethos unconditionally, and learned from childhood to serve others and "bear the suffering." Huan cared for her husband's father, grandmother and mother. However, it was the latter, suffering from dementia that drove Huan to despair.

As Huan came to understand the severity and irreversible nature of her mother-in-law's disease she set about to educate herself. She sought professional help, joined a support group and relied on her experience as a nurse. She placed her mother-in-law in day-care and performed emotion work to change her own attitude and outlook to accept her situation. She wanted to become a "happy carer" and was successful in that effort.

Case Study 11 examined motivation through relational norms of affection, gratitude and reciprocity through the story of Ai. Ai was interviewed twice, six months apart. She is a third generation Singaporean who loved, and was grateful to her mother. She had also been taught, "family is the most important thing." However, in contrast to Huan, Ai embraced the contemporary norms of freedom and independence. As the caregiver of her mother, who had

dementia, Ai experienced tension and conflict between her own needs and her mother's.

Like Huan, Ai placed her mother in day-care, but she had no other support besides self-help books and religion. Over the course of caregiving her burden became worse as Ai experienced severe stress and became short tempered. She did extensive emotion work, though still worried about losing control. Between the first and second interview there was a distinct difference between Ai's ability to manage. She had also become lonelier and more isolated.

In the course of discharging care both Huan and Ai adjusted their motivation for caregiving. Huan used emotion work to develop feelings of affection for her mother-in-law. Ai attempted to increase her feelings of love for her mother, but also increasingly relied on structural norms of obligation to overcome the conflict she experienced about caregiving. Their stories thus led us to ask how much the type of motivation mattered? The literature suggests caregiving motivated by relational norms has a more positive outcome than caregiving motivated by structural norms. However, these two case studies appeared to show the reverse. In an attempt to understand this unexpected outcome, motivation was viewed as a framing rule.

Hochschild (1979:566) explains framing rules as how "we ascribe definitions and meanings to situations." These situations can be as narrow as a single event or as broad as cultural norms and practices. In the context of caregiving research, present day Chinese ideology and coping behaviours can be viewed as framing rules, bifurcated into traditional norms based on Confucian notions of filial obligation, and contemporary norms influenced by both traditional Chinese culture and urbanisation. Both Hong Kong and Singapore can be viewed as transitioning societies where structural and relational norms are often combined.

As a framing rule, motivation establishes the standard of care and also the ideal by which caregivers can measure their own performance.

According to symbolic interactionists, people are motivated to take actions that protect their own positive self-image (Mac Rae, 1998). Likewise, in the Chinese context, Holroyd's (2001) cultural model suggests that the desire to maintain personhood is what drives daughters' discharge of filial obligation. Huan's approach to caregiving was underpinned by traditional Chinese norms, so if she lived up to them, her self-image would be preserved. Ai, conversely, was torn between traditional and contemporary norms, arguably undermining the commitment to her framing rules: loving her mother and putting family above self. Though her needs were in competition with her mother's, if Ai abandoned her framing rules she would forfeit her positive self-image.

Huan's framing rules provided a precise roadmap for her to follow that enabled her to set specific goals to sustain her sense of personhood. She approached caregiving as if it was a job. If her performance met the approval of her "boss," her husband, her expectations would be satisfied and her positive self-image sustained. In contrast, Ai entered the caregiving journey with an irredeemable obligation and framing rules that were in conflict. Lacking direction, as her mother's dementia grew worse, Ai's caregiver burden increased. However, she continued her caregiving activities at her own expense, likely to avoid guilt and self-deprecation.

Feeling rules prescribe what feelings are appropriate in light of one's framing rules. In the process of caregiving, both Huan and Ai adjusted their feeling rules. Huan believed she should respect and accept her mother-in-law and have a kind and loving heart. Ai believed she should increase her love for her mother. To bridge the gap between what they

felt and desired to feel, both women did extensive emotion work.

According to Hochschild (1979:561) emotion work is "the act of trying to change the degree or quality of an emotion or feeling." Huan relied on the advice she was given by the professionals and carer support group. She integrated humour to alter negative emotions and exhorted herself to develop an attitude she deemed acceptable. She performed deep acting by relying on her experience as a nurse and visualising her mother-in-law as a patient, rather than a family member. She relied on friends and religion, and if all else failed, she retreated to her longstanding belief to bear the suffering. Huan was successful in changing her feelings to conform to her image as a "happy carer."

Ai did more emotion work than Huan. She performed extensive deep acting to invoke happy memories and visualised her mother as an adorable child. She read self-help books in an attempt to develop a more positive outlook. She suppressed her anger and frustration, and relied on religion. All of this enabled her to continue her caregiving work. However, it did not resolve the conflict between her and her mother's needs and the tension between her traditional and contemporary norms. Ai could not completely embrace modern values toward parent care nor abandon traditional norms of filial obligation. In this context the ability to choose was a double-edged sword and Ai's indecisiveness the cause of psychological distress. During the second interview she spoke increasingly about hiring a FDH or putting her mother in a nursing home.

The other six respondents caring for parents were similar to Huan and Ai. Five of them did emotion work to help get through caregiving, including deep acting, and they developed strategies to control their display. In fact, control over emotions was a prominent theme amongst respondents, who were trained from childhood to avoid conflict and preserve

harmony.

Emotion work has many salient features. If successful, it can help to diminish anger and stress and promote appropriate feelings. It may have a protective effect for both caregiver and care recipient. If unsuccessful, however, it may damage self-esteem and instigate feelings of guilt and shame. Moreover, protracted surface acting may lead to strain and overuse of emotion work may lead to feelings of detachment and lack of emotion. If the exchange becomes unbalanced, change will likely result.

One thing that helps maintain balance in the caregiving relationship is support. One can see the difference it made in Huan, who availed herself of professional and peer support and Ai, who did not. Like Huan, five of the remaining six caregivers sought support from family, professionals and peers, and four relied on religion as well. The importance of support is noted in the caregiving literature.

Limitations on caregiving include social, or "gift" exchange when caregiving becomes too burdensome. The quality and length of care may be dependent on one's framing rules and feeling rules, the willingness to do emotion work, and maintaining a positive self-image. Who care is provided for may depend on the closeness of the relationship. Finally, health concerns of the caregiver may influence whether or not care continues.

The next chapter looks at the relationship between daughters, care recipients and foreign domestic helpers, in the context of what happens when a FDH becomes the primary caregiver, or when caregiving at home is terminated.

CHAPTER 9
OUTSOURCED CARE

9.1 REVIEW OF OUTSOURCED CARE AND INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

The final stage in the typology is outsourced care. In the first three stages the three key analytical categories of conceptual and theoretical norms were explored to explain *why* daughters are willing or unwilling to provide support and care and *how* they navigate the conflict and tensions involved with caregiving as parents moved from good health to poor health. This fourth stage of support and care will focus first on why daughters discontinue their own care activities or decline to accept them in the first place ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"]. The remainder of the chapter highlights foreign domestic helpers (FDHs): why they are hired; issues involved with their employment; how they can affect the daughter-parent relationship; and finally the *emotion work* they do to manage caregiving. The role of FDHs is examined in the context of home and institutionalised care as well as the transition between them. The elements of outsourced care appear in Table 5.4.

Seven daughters either previously or at the time of their interview, institutionalised a family member. A total of eight family members were placed in nursing homes or hospitals: Three mothers, two fathers two mothers-in-law and an uncle. Of these, three family members received supplemental care in the institution from a FDH employed by the respondent daughter. All respondents institutionalising family members were second generation Hong Kong women. Three of these women previously provided in-home caregiving (two with a FDH) before institutionalising their family member, and were included in Chapter 8. Five respondents remained in employment whilst their family member was institutionalised.

As with the previous empirical chapters, the actual accounts of the daughter respondents illustrate the subjects under discussion. However, this time the FDH respondents are heard from in order to achieve a different perspective, especially with regard to the daughter-parent relationship.

9.2 WHY DAUGHTER CAREGIVING IS OUTSOURCED, DISCONTINUED, MODIFIED, OR NEVER UNDERTAKEN

9.2.1 INTERPERSONAL EXCHANGE

Hochschild (1979) explains that during interpersonal exchanges with others we keep a mental ledger of what our feeling rules tell us is owed: what the other person expects to receive, and what is owed in return. So long as this exchange remains in balance the status quo should be maintained.

In the caregiving arrangement, both caregiver and care recipient are giving and receiving emotional "gifts" with the other, or engaging in "emotional reciprocity" (Mac Rae, 1998). In the parent-daughter relationship, feeling rules may tell a daughter she "owes" her parents a kind and loving heart, or at least acceptance and tolerance. The parent expects to receive this. In return the daughter is "owed," for example, a positive self-image and possibly some warm feelings or appreciation from the parent. However, as the parent's needs increase and more care is required, emotions can become strained, parents may be unable to reciprocate, and the exchange can be thrown out of balance.

The literature suggests this "unbalanced emotional exchange" is particularly pronounced where the care recipient is cognitively impaired (Chien, et al., 2006; Mac Rae, 1998; Simpson & Acton, 2013; Yan & Kwok, 2011). According to Mac Rae (1998) individuals with dementia require more understanding and emotional investment the worse

they become. However, due to the nature of their illness, they are not only less capable of expressing appreciation; they may display aggressive behaviours toward the caregiver. The caregiver must then simultaneously deal with the negative emotions of the care recipient whilst controlling her own emotions.

Exchange theory proposes that once a relationship becomes unbalanced a change of behaviour in those who feel they are giving more than they are receiving is likely to result (Allen, 2010). Amongst the respondents, career stress is often the cause of care imbalance. The first change to occur as a result of this is almost always the employment of a FDH to assume the daughter's caregiving responsibilities, if financially feasible. If this remedy becomes too burdensome one of two outcomes is probable: a wish for the parent to die or institutionalisation of the parent. Ying expressed her desire to be freed from caregiving:

> Well, I accept the fact that I have to live in that situation until mom pass away or unless she gets better which…would be a miracle. So, until she passed away… sometimes I would pray that God would release me by taking Mom to you. (Ying)

The reasons elderly parents may be institutionalised is discussed below.

9.2.2 DISABILITY OF THE PARENT CARE RECIPIENT

In this sample, institutionalisation is viewed as a last resort. Extreme physical disability of the care recipient is universally cited as the reason, even for parents with dementia. The litmus test appears to be the point where the care required is beyond the family or FDH's ability, the parent requires professional care, or the specialised equipment needed is unavailable or will not fit in the family home. Ning, for example, institutionalised her uncle after he had a stroke and lost his sight:

> The maid couldn't take care of him and the two others [aunts] at home. He hasn't had

> any sight anymore then whenever he went to [the] toilet [or]he bathe, [he] needed the nurse to do it. That would be too much for her. And…there is no place for a second maid. It's [her flat] too small. (Ning)

In Huan's case, her mother-in-law needed to be hoisted on a stretcher for bathing:

> Yeah, they got a stretcher. They got a big room. And then they got skilled person to take her [to] the bath. They got an electric bed. They can raise her up and down, alright? Got the facility. (Huan)

Even with a FDH, caregiving may become impossible if the maid cannot get enough rest:

> The servant sleeps with her in the same room. And then she got incontinent and then I can't ask the servant in the middle of the night…[to] change the diapers. She must get some sleep, enough sleep. That's a problem. (Huan)

Physical disability is also frequently cited when the real reason is something else. For example, a respondent whose father was so unpleasant and difficult to manage she had moved him into a flat by himself with a FDH, made the following statement:

> Well, the final plan will be sending [dad] to a nursing home… in view of the recent declining in the past few months…actually the temper thing I can tolerate. (Meiying)

9.2.3 DAUGHTERS' NEED OR DESIRE TO WORK

If the daughter is the sole support of her family, particularly if she is a single woman, she cannot permanently stop working. After three years caring for her mother at home, Li, for example, had to return to work in order to pay for her parents' care and living expenses as well as her own. To do this, she had to institutionalise her mother, as her father was too ill to care for his wife. Li's mother was in a wheelchair and needed help with bathing:

> I couldn't afford to hire a person to take care of her and also I have to go out to work

> and have little time to take care of her. I think this is safer for her to stay at the nursing home. (Li)

Other women, like Bo, Lihwa and Lian, preferred working to staying at home. Lian returned from maternity leave a month early and said she could not wait to go to work on Mondays. She stated that she is not interested in housework and does not feel "fulfilled" staying at home. She also maintained that she enjoys her independence:

> If I become a stay-at-home mom, then financially I will be totally dependent on my husband, [and] feel very insecure…I don't want to add stress on him and also knowing my husband, he will have a lot of expectations if I'm a stay-at-home-mom. (Lian)

Previously, negative relational motivation was discussed as a reason for declining to undertake support or care for a parent. As seen above, there are additional factors preventing daughter caregiving depending on the circumstances. The fact that daughters are able to exercise choice at all in this regard is evidence of substantial normative change in these Asian cultural settings.

9.3 NORMATIVE INFLUENCES UNDERPINNING THE DECISION TO OUTSOURCE CARE

9.3.1 THE INFLUENCE OF TRADITIONAL NORMS ON THE DECISION TO OUTSOURCE CARE

In traditional families like Huan's, and throughout the sample, daughters or daughters-in-law carefully negotiate decisions to institutionalise parents, ensuring they are made and approved by the family. Though family members may be unwilling to care for parents themselves, they may nonetheless oppose institutionalisation, expecting others to assume the responsibility.

This was the case with many of these respondents, but can be seen specifically in the example of Huan. Four years before her mother-in-law required institutionalisation, Huan had placed her on a waiting list for a good nursing home. When it became clear nursing home care was imminent, opposition arose from Huan's sister-in-law. Huan immediately involved her husband who in turn spent six months consulting with his siblings. When an opening finally did occur and action was required, Huan deferred to her husband again. She explained why she refused to make the decision alone:

> If she goes to the nursing home… and [she] dies suddenly, then I will be…responsible for all the fault… A lot of blame will be putting on me. (Huan)

A "trial period" was arranged and Huan was charged with implementing it:

> If she can stay in a nursing home for one month and is still ok, not pass away, then we will continue. [I] observe. And every day I go to the nursing home and sit there from nine to nine and see all the workers, how they treat my mother in law. (Huan)

Huan sat in the nursing home for two months making sure her mother-in-law was properly cared for. Gradually, she got her FDH to replace her. The FDH spent 10-12 hours a day, every day, caring for the old woman in the facility for the next three years until Huan's mother-in-law died.

9.3.2 THE INFLUENCE OF CONTEMPORARY NORMS ON THE DECISION TO OUTSOURCE CARE

If a stigma existed in the past with regard to outsourcing parent care, amongst these respondents, it no longer appears to. The use of FDHs by these women is widespread at all stages of support and care. Further, virtually all of them viewed institutionalisation as a viable, practical, and often necessary, option. Though it was not something most particularly

welcomed, making the decision to institutionalise a parent did not seem to be adverse to culturally acceptable norms. As Jai, a third generation Singaporean, pointed out:

> I didn't have to take care of my mom. I could have put her in a nursing home. That is still fulfilling my duty because she is still having care. (Jai)

In this sample, daughters often started thinking about nursing home placement well in advance because good nursing homes have waiting lists lasting several years:

> I would think about…one day [when] she is less mobile…So what sort of hospital she should enter and does she need any nursing home, etc. You know that sort of thing I always have in my mind as well…If…all the ordinary helpers cannot take good care [of her]…then she may need to go to the nursing home. And, even on that, I pick the nursing home already. (Lihwa)

However, even though it is an acceptable solution, respondents claimed it could be a difficult and emotional transition for both the institutionalised parent and the daughter:

> Of course, she don't like [it] because it's a different environment… It's very heart breaking for me actually. And I'm still some bad feeling. Am I doing the right thing for her at that moment…you got tears and you got cries…but you can't help [it]. (Huan)

These respondents did not have a double standard, as most expected to institutionalise themselves when they became elderly. Statements such as the following were common amongst them:

> I will expect myself to take care of myself when I'm getting old…I will send in myself to the nursing home. (An)

> I have to say that if I am having a poor health condition, I will sign myself into an institution rather than stay with my kids….If I had to be taken care of by my kids,

> their life will be disturbed and both of us won't be happy. (Bo)

9.4 CARING FOR INSTITUTIONALISED PARENTS WITHOUT A FDH

In this sample, respondent support of institutionalised family members was common. Four of the seven respondents continued to be active in their family member's life by supplementing professional care following hospital or nursing home admission. This is the story of one of them.

9.4.1 ***The story of Li***

Li is a 61 year old Hong Kong woman who has been supporting her family since she was 19 years old. Eleven years before Li's interview, her mother became confined to a wheelchair. At the time, Li worked during the day and cared for her mother at night, but often her phone would ring at work and, "then I immediately ask the permission of my boss and I have to help my mother to take her to the hospital." She related that she was very tired and stressed.

Li's father was also in poor health, which meant she was frequently caring for both parents at the same time, describing it as follows:

> My mother and my father always go to the hospital. Sometime two of them went to the hospital. I have to take care of one and then later on I go to another room to take care of [the other]. (Li)

For three years Li cared for her parents by herself, with intermittent but frequent hospitalisations of both. During this time the contract she was working under expired, and whilst looking for a new job, she took time off to care for her mother full time:

> This year she is very weak. Always have to go to the hospital. If I have to work then I cannot always apply [for] the leave to take care of my mother. [If] I have no work

then I can take my full time to take care of her. (Li)

Li said when her mother was hospitalised she fed her lunch and dinner. At the same time she looked after her father who was in and out of the nursing home. There were times Li shuttled between the hospital and the nursing home every day. She recalled what it was like:

> Maybe my mother live in the hospital I have to look after my mother and then later on I went to the [nursing home] to see my father. If my father lives in the hospital I have to [go] to the [nursing] home to see my mother. Every day [it was] like this. (Li)

When her mother could no longer eat or bathe without the use of medical apparatus, the decision was made to place her permanently into a nursing home. Li explained why she did this:

> Because she don't want to eat and… because… I do not have the apparatus to help the elderly people…[and] I am thinner than my mother. I have not the strength to… bathe, to wash the hair, and to do all these. (Li)

Li said she never considered hiring a FDH because her home was too small and she believed helpers did not have the same knowledge as hospital staff. She explained that she thought it was safer to institutionalise her mother. Besides, she indicated she could not afford a FDH and she had to go back to work.

Li returned to work but said she visited her mother on weekends. Meanwhile she cared for her father who was now back at home. Four years after returning to work, Li's father lost the ability to walk and she placed him in a nursing home. For several months after this she went to see him every day during her lunch hour and on her way home from work until he adjusted to living in the facility.

Li's mother died after spending eight years in the nursing home. Her father remained institutionalised at the time of the interview. Li reported she was visiting her father every night, feeding him his dinner and remaining with him until he fell asleep, around 10:00 p.m.

Li said she had no choice but to institutionalise her parents. For her own life, she stated she had "to accept this" no matter how long it lasted. She added: "I will not give up myself, because nobody will help you. [It] is only you [who can] help yourself."

Stories of other caregiving respondents were similar to Li's. Chunhua related that she cooked and visited her mother in the hospital every day for five years. Ning recalled years of visiting her aunts and uncle when they were intermittently hospitalised. Sometimes all three kin were in different hospitals and she described having to shuttle between them. For two years Yow alternated with her sister-in-law, accompanying her mother-in-law to dialysis treatments from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m. as many as three times a week, and more often when her condition worsened and she was hospitalised. All these women reported experiencing stress during these times.

Conditions are different when a foreign domestic helper is hired to become the primary caregiver. This is discussed below.

9.5 EMPLOYING A FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPER

Foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) are employed at all stages of the typology. Over 30 respondents engaged them to care for their nuclear families and their parents at one time or another. The ability to hire a FDH is facilitated by the governments of both Hong Kong and Singapore, who keep the cost low. Respondents reported paying the FDHs they employed the equivalent range of 150-300 pounds British Sterling per month.

In some instances, married daughter respondents related that their FDH was initially

hired to care for their children or household. However, if parents were living with these daughters and their families, the FDH's duties might be expanded to include elder care and eventually caregiving as the parents aged. In the case of unmarried respondent daughters, most continued living with parents into adulthood, and the FDH might be hired to help with domestic chores whilst the daughter was working. Alternatively, if parents were living separately, as their needs and dependency increased, respondents and their siblings might also contribute financially in order to employ a FDH to assist, and later provide care for their parents in their own homes.

In the case of temporary care, respondents might send their own FDH to their parent's home or instruct their FDH to care for the parent whilst he or she is recuperating in the respondents' home. FDHs are generally unavailable for part time employment in Singapore or Hong Kong, as they are retained on the basis of a two year contract.

Amongst these respondents, the decision to employ a FDH was generally made by the daughter, sometimes in consultation with her husband or siblings, depending on where care was to be provided. In this sample, seven respondents reported employing a FDH to be the full time caregiver of a family member in their own home or an institution. In two cases the FDH did both sequentially. Another eight respondents noted their involvement with employing a FDH to live with their parents in the parents' home. Five of the six FDHs interviewed for this research also said they cared for the elderly parents of their employer.

In the remainder of this chapter, the discussion of full-time care by foreign domestic helpers is advanced from the perspectives of both the respondent employer and the FDH.

9.5.1 ISSUES BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS

The difficult lives of foreign domestic helpers are well documented in the literature.

However, not all live under egregious circumstances. In this small sample of interviewed FDHs (N=6) some had good relationships with their employers, and others experienced troubling conditions. Some had affection for individual members of the families they cared for. Conversely, three of the FDHs interviewed had sexual advances made toward them by the husband of the household, and one received money for sexual favours. More of the FDHs however, reported issues arising from their perceived low status in the household or their caregiving activities.

From the onset of caregiving, many respondent daughters explained that they expected their FDH to learn and understand the condition of the care recipient. These respondents also spoke of providing skills training for the FDH relevant to the care she was to undertake. Further, respondent daughters expressed the desire for their FDHs to adopt the daughters' caregiving philosophies. For example, Huan remarked on her requirements for employing an FDH:

> You must prepare their mind, alright, to accept this patient…If you can…do this work, stay on. If you don't, just leave it, just go away. I have to…train you up. Otherwise, you can't help me. (Huan)

Even with training, however, problems could arise in the course of everyday caregiving. The following story of Ya and her FDH illustrates some of the issues on both sides.

9.5.1.1 ***Ya, and her FDH, Bonnie***

Like Huan, Ya said she explained her requirements for caregiving to her FDH, Bonnie, before the latter ever commenced her caregiving duties:

> We already told her before she joined us that she [mom] has dementia. You must

> learn to accept…and don't take it with heart or whatever [if] she scolds you…She [may] just call you [something bad and the] next moment she could be good to you. She can't even remember what she says. So, I explain to her and make her know this is a sickness, that none of us can help her… So we expect the maid to solve [the problems and] to get along well with her. (Ya)

Some FDHs reported how their care recipients treated them badly, following them around the house or criticising their cooking. Ya claimed her mother did not do this to Bonnie. However, she described how her mother picked on Bonnie for small things:

> She don't follow the maid but… she makes sure that she's not lazy or doing nothing or [she] may pick on…what she's doing and how she does it… She wants her way…This one night she was preparing the meal then she says, why must you use this chopping block? Why don't you use the one that I bought? (Ya)

Ya disclosed that her mother also worried about what Bonnie might do to her:

> Of course, you've read the newspaper or she heard the story, some maids they poison you or they urinate on the food and let you eat…So [my mother has] become very fearful and paranoid about her…She would not eat until I eat with her. (Ya)

When Ya's mother scolded or yelled at Bonnie, Ya stated that Bonnie never responded. Emotion work is essential to foreign helpers. However, in her case, Ya remarked that Bonnie's silence provoked Ya's mother into becoming even more irritated. Ya said every day there was an incident between her mother and Bonnie. She had become the mediator, making her "stressed on both sides." Ya noted her mother often accused her of siding with Bonnie against her.

In addition to dealing with Ya's mother's dementia, the FDH, Bonnie, had to contend with her incontinence and prolapse. Ya said her mother refused to wear a diaper, so Ya installed a rubber sheet on her bed. When the weather was hot, Ya said her mother

complained and Ya had to remove it. This meant that Bonnie had to change and wash the bed linens every day and sometimes more often. Further, Ya recalled how her mother accused Bonnie of stealing the rubber sheet because she forgot why it was missing.

Ya's situation is just one example. However, it shows the kind of mistrust and tension that can – and often does result when the FDH is expected to assume the role of the caregiving daughter. How caregiving FDHs can impact the daughter-parent relationship is discussed below.

9.6 DAUGHTERS, PARENTS AND FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS

In this section two case studies are presented to illustrate the daughter-parent relationship when a FDH is the primary caregiver. The first is told from the perspective of the Chinese daughter. The second is told from the perspective of the Filipina FDH.

9.6.1 CASE STUDY 12: A DAUGHTER, HER MOTHER AND FDH: TRANSITION FROM HOME TO NURSING HOME CARE

Yuan is an unmarried, second generation Hong Kong woman and a working professional. She has always been close to and lived with her mother. Shortly after the turn of the millennium she noticed a change in her mother's behaviour. After her mother left a pot cooking on the stove overnight that caused Yuan's flat to fill with smoke, Yuan determined, "We need to find a maid." Susan, a Filipina, was hired and remained with Yuan for over ten years.

Until 2001 Yuan remarked, her mother was ambulatory. As Yuan's mother became weaker, Susan gradually assumed more responsibility until she assisted with bathing, grooming, walking, and transfers. Yuan's mother's condition, however, continued to worsen, especially at night. Yuan noted she regularly pulled the drawers out of her dresser, took them

to the living room and threw the clothes on the floor, claiming they were not hers. In the middle of the night, Yuan said she would open Yuan's bedroom door and turn on the light to make sure Yuan was there. Then she would enter the living room, turn on the television and yell at it. By 2006 Yuan said her mother began to hallucinate and wander, so Yuan had her tested. According to Yuan, the diagnosis was mild to moderate dementia.

Between 2007 and 2009, Yuan explained, her mother's condition continued to deteriorate, and one night Yuan said she returned home to find her missing. She was finally located in the car park of their building at 1:00 a.m. in her nightgown. After that, Susan was moved into the mother's room to prevent her from wandering and to help with toileting in the night. Yuan's mother had begun to wear a diaper. Yuan commented that she had also become more aggressive and bad tempered, yelling at Susan and Yuan. Yuan noted her mother had begun to throw things, including food, at the table, becoming difficult to control. Yuan said her mother walked around shouting all night and tried to get out of the house, so Susan had to get up and calm her down. Yuan observed, her mother's erratic nocturnal behaviour was lasting longer and becoming more frequent, spilling over into the daytime. Since 2008 the mother had attended day-care three days a week, but Yuan said she and Susan began to be called every few weeks to bring her home because she was disrupting the other patients. Yuan reported that Susan began to complain about the workload and stress.

When Susan's contract came up for renewal in 2010, Yuan said she offered her a bonus to remain, and she did. Yuan added, she also offered to hire a second FDH part time to take over cooking and housework, Susan declined, saying she would rather have the extra money.

In April 2011 Susan went back to the Philippines for a month's vacation. Just before

she left, Yuan learned her mother had cataracts, impairing her vision. She had also developed an eating disorder and was unable to sit upright. Yuan stated that she did not think she could manage on her own. She placed her mother in a nursing home and hired a part time FDH to keep her company during Susan's absence.

Susan returned in May and thereafter went to the nursing home from 9:30- 6:00 every day to feed Yuan's mother and help with her exercise and therapy. Yuan said she visited her mother in the nursing home two to three times a week during this time.

At the end of Susan's 2010 contract, she did not renew. Yuan hired a new part time FDH to attend to her mother during meal times at the nursing home, whilst Yuan continued to visit two to three times a week, and sometimes more.

Yuan's coping strategy: Earlier in her life, Yuan had worked as a teacher for mentally challenged persons. Like Huan, she returned to the skill sets she learned at that time and implemented them with her mother:

> Say sometimes [they are] like banging on the floor, or banging on the wall, when I was a special school teacher, I have to handle these sorts of behaviours. So, I'm not really that upset…because *I think I can remove my role as a daughter to be a teacher or care worker or a therapist.*" [Yuan; *Emphasis added*.]

Like Huan, Yuan assumed her role as a professional: "That's why I can play with her, especially nowadays…I *can change my mode*." In 2008, she also began a post-graduate course in music therapy, "so I can use music therapy with my mom like some singing or some playing with the instruments."

Yuan said her social life was not substantially affected by caring for her mother. She had flexible work hours so she was able to schedule around her mother's care. Where she was affected was at her job. Yuan acknowledged because she had to work fewer hours she

accepted a position beneath what she had done before. She indicated this was a big adjustment for her. Otherwise, with her skill sets and her belief in God, Yuan said she "can cope quite well."

How Yuan's FDH impacted her ability to cope: Throughout the ten year caregiving experience with Yuan's mother, it appears to be Susan who endured most of the work and most of the stress. In Yuan's own words, whilst she was able to sleep through the night with minor interruptions, Susan had to maintain constant vigilance, often losing sleep. Because Susan spent more time with Yuan's mother than Yuan herself, she would likely have been subjected to more emotional outbursts and more abusive behaviour. Additionally, Susan was carrying out what are considered unpleasant tasks such as diaper changing, and sleeping next to Yuan's mother.

After ten years, Susan began to complain of the stress and had to be induced to renew her contract. Then, when Susan took a month's holiday, Yuan said she could not manage alone and immediately institutionalised her mother. If Yuan is compared to Li or Ai, the difference that a FDH makes becomes evident. She becomes a buffer between the daughter and her parent, absorbing the worst aspects of caregiving. The following is a FDH's account of caregiving from her perspective.

9.6.2 CASE STUDY 13: A FDH's PERSPECTIVE ON CAREGIVING AND DAUGHTER-PARENT RELATIONSHIPS

Nancy is a 33 year old never married Filipina who has worked for three Singapore families. The following discussion relates to Nancy's first and second employers, both of who were Chinese families.

Family 1

Nancy first came to Singapore in 2004 to live with a family and care for their toddler

and a four year old. She was also to assist the wife's parents, who were both healthy and living with the family. Nancy was placed under the supervision of the grandmother.

Nancy related how her day began at 5:00 a.m. She tried to arise before the grandmother so she could eat, as if the grandmother awoke first she would only be given two pieces of bread and a cup of coffee. Throughout the day the grandmother followed Nancy around the house, forcing her to clean and re-clean the same things until the grandmother was satisfied. She would run her finger over the furniture and if any dust was found, she would wipe it on Nancy's face. Nancy said the grandmother told her she must do every task exactly as she would. Even washing the dishes, Nancy was instructed on how to dispense the soap onto the plate. She was required to scrub the floors of the three-storey home, on her hands and knees, and was not allowed to use a mop. Laundry, Nancy observed, was to be done by hand, rather than in the washing machine, with the grandmother standing over her supervising.

Nancy recalled that lunch was taken at 14:00 hours when she was given one package of noodles to eat. For dinner she was not allowed to dine at the table, and only given scraps of food. Nancy explained how a neighbour maid snuck her leftovers to Nancy through the gate at night. In the six months Nancy worked for this family she lost 20kg. At the end of her 18 hour day, Nancy said she slept on the floor under the dining room table. In the middle of the night the grandmother often awakened her, yelling at Nancy to find her medicine. However, Nancy said she did not know where the medicine was kept. When she could not locate it, the grandmother became very angry, and one time threw a chair at her.

Nancy's employer informed her she did not get along with her mother either. However, Nancy said she was told to be patient because the grandmother was old. In

Nancy's view, neither the employer nor the grandmother showed any concern for her. At one point Nancy said she broke both her feet and was not given medical care. Nancy claimed she felt like she was in prison and treated like an animal.

At the end of six months Nancy gave up, stating that she was afraid of her emotions and worried if she stayed she might hurt the grandmother. She asked to go home, but her employer-daughter refused to sign her release papers, telling Nancy she had invested too much time training her. Nancy had to pay the Philippine agency six months wages for sending her to Singapore, so, in the end, she went through this experience earning nothing.

Family 2

Nancy went back to the Philippines but returned to Singapore in 2008 to care for another family with two elderly grandparents and two young children. The grandfather had colon cancer and was unable to eat, so Nancy fed him through a tube. She bathed him, lifted him, and changed his diaper. Nancy described him as being "like a baby already."

When the grandfather was alive Nancy fed the grandmother and administered her medicine. However, after his death, the grandmother developed dementia. Nancy said she became bad tempered and threw tantrums, and added, "she [was] always angry with me." The grandmother also had chronic urine infections, requiring her to wear a catheter. However, she kept pulling it out so Nancy had to accompany her to the hospital twice a day to maintain it.

After the grandfather died, Nancy was moved into the grandmother's room where she slept on a foam mattress on the floor next to the grandmother's bed. Nancy described what it was like:

[After the grandfather] died she become very worse already. She don't know where

> is the toilet. She pass urine in the room. Of course… I need to clean that one because we cannot sleep together because the smell is there and then I clean [in] the middle of the night…[I] change the bed. Sometimes [it is] not in the bed, [but] in the floor also. She [is] confused…We try to put [a] diaper [on her] but she take out… She say why I put this one [on]? Because she don't know…Then no use even you put the diaper on because she take out and then she sleep. (Nancy)

At night the grandmother talked in her sleep, calling out the name of her late husband and waking Nancy up. Nancy worked 17 hours a day and under the best of circumstances said she only slept five hours a night. She claimed she was constantly exhausted as in addition to caring for the elderly woman and the two children Nancy did the housework and cooking. She said she never got out of the house except for one day off a month, and remarked that her employers never spoke to her except to tell her what to do. When she greeted them in the morning she said they would not answer. According to Nancy, the only person who showed her any kindness or appreciation was the grandfather, and Nancy was happy to do anything for him. When he died Nancy said the job became more difficult and she became homesick, recalling how she cried and prayed.

Having dementia, Nancy claimed the grandmother could be difficult to manage. She tried to leave the house, was frequently angry, and her anger could escalate to the point of shouting, banging her head against the wall, and throwing things. If Nancy responded, she said it became worse.

After two and a half years with this family, Nancy broke her contract. The grandmother was passing urine in the bed every night, interrupting Nancy's sleep to change the sheets. Nancy said the daughter-wife was jealous of her because the children thought Nancy was their mother. But, according to Nancy, what finally put her over the edge was fear. One day the grandmother gave a pair of scissors to the toddler. Nancy said she reported

the incident to the daughter, however the daughter refused to put latches on the cupboards or take any safety precautions. Nancy said she knew if something happened she would be blamed, especially when the daughter asked Nancy not to tell her husband because he did not like his mother-in-law and would become angry.

Daughter-parent relationship: Nancy related that the husband in the family would not eat with his mother-in-law, so the grandmother ate alone. Nancy said, "That's why she feels she's nothing… that's why the [grandmother], she [is] always in the room…that is why the dementia becomes very worse, because…they don't talk to her."

According to Nancy, the employer-daughter only spent 20 minutes a day with her mother, even though she worked from home. When the daughter went out the grandmother would shout at Nancy asking where her daughter was, when was she coming back and why the grandmother could not go with her. Nancy said in a one hour period she might ask this twenty times. If Nancy did not respond she became angry. Sometimes Nancy said she would give the grandmother the phone to call her daughter: "and then she call, just one minute put down the phone, she ask again where [did the] daughter go, because she forget already...she scream, she shout…she scold me upside down. I don't bother her because I know she's sick already." Nancy added:

> That's why the [grandmother] she always say to me, she don't like them. Better she die. That's why very hard. I feel [the grandmother] she feels the loneliness. Also sometimes…I explain to her [but] she don't understand because I'm the helper only, but…she needs attention [the daughter] cannot give to her. That's why the [grandmother]…she tell [me] …I want to die already. No use the life is like this. (Nancy)

This theme was repeated over and over again. The grandmother told Nancy that she wanted to jump out the window and die. Nancy tried to tell the daughter employer how

lonely and unhappy her mother was, but the daughter countered:

> "What to do? I have work. I cannot monitor them every minute every day. I need to earn money also. She have a lot of medicine. I need to pay, I need to work." (Nancy)

Other FDHs: Mary, another Filipina FDH living in Singapore, had similar experiences to Nancy's. However, Mary continued in employment with the same family for 22 years. During this time she was charged with caring for three boys as well as elderly grandparents living with their daughter's family. The grandfather had cancer and emphysema. For six years, the last three of which he was disabled, she administered his medicines, bathed and dressed him, assisted with transfers and walking, and fed him with a spoon. For 16 years she took also care of the grandmother. Mary explained that during the first 14 years, the grandmother followed her around the house all day, nagging, and Mary reported that she was irritable, abusive and disrespectful. Like Nancy and Susan, the grandmother threw things at Mary. The last two years of the grandmother's life, Mary administered her medications, bathed and dressed her, assisted with toileting and toileting clean-up, and fed the grandmother through a tube. Describing the daughter-parent relationship, Mary observed both husband and wife worked until 19:00 each day. Mary stated there was little contact between the grandparents and the other family members. The family rarely dined together and the grandparents ate alone then went to bed. Mary did say the daughter appeared to be concerned for her parents' well-being and interfaced with Mary on a regular basis to ensure the household ran smoothly. Both grandparents remained at home until their deaths.

Neither Mary nor Nancy cared for their employers' parents in the nursing home. However, like Lola in Chapter 5, Rachael, another Hong Kong Filipina, did. As with Lola,

Rachael's employer lived apart from her parents and Rachael was sent to clean for them. Her duties later expanded when the grandfather was sent to the hospital. The grandmother had Alzheimer's disease and Rachel bathed and fed her, changed her diaper and accompanied her to day-care. After the grandfather returned, Rachael began caring for the elderly couple every day. Eventually the grandmother went to live in a nursing home, the grandfather continued to live with the oldest son, and for the next seven years Rachael took care of him. Amongst other things, every day she accompanied him to visit and care for his wife in the nursing home. When he also went into the nursing home, Rachael cared for both grandparents from nine to four every day. Their daughter visited them for an hour on Saturdays, when she was in town, as she lived in Canada one to two months a year. At the time of Rachael's interview she said the grandmother no longer recognised her daughter, but she still knew Rachael. Rachael said she loves the grandparents and feels like they are family members.

9.6.3 FOREIGN DOMESTIC HELPERS AND EMOTION WORK

Six FDHs were interviewed for this research. Four articulated that they had good relationships with their employers. However, the relationships appeared to be asymmetrical and fraught with conditions. Principal amongst these was that the FDHs were required to be obedient, respectful, and in control of their emotions at all times, often under stressful circumstances. Mary, for example, talking about the grandmother she cared for, expressed a common sentiment:

> Especially the old woman…she doesn't care at all whether you will be hurt… because maybe she feel like you are nobody in the house…So, I will just say if that is the case, so be it. I cannot control anything. I can also not command her to do this or to do that or…follow what I want because I am only the maid here. (Mary)

A major theme emerging from the FDH interviews was how fearful they *all* were of losing control. Indeed, during the months the author resided in Singapore and Hong Kong doing research for this thesis, stories regularly appeared in the newspapers of FDH injustices and suicides, as well as FDH misconduct and abuses. By way of example, here is what one FDH respondent said in her interview:

> Every night…when the lady is out because she likes to play mahjong. Then my boss [is] always at home naked, walking [around] naked…Sometimes he [employer husband] doesn't like to work. He wants to have sex with me, And, I said no. I said no. I said no sir, don't do this to me or else I'm going to kill myself or else I'm going to kill you too. (Sophie)

Regardless of how fond the FDHs (interviewed for this research,) were of their employers or care recipients, or how close to them they were, all of them did extensive emotion work. The objectives varied from maintaining an appropriate and acceptable display, generating feelings of warmth they believed they *should* have, or most often suppressing anger. Repeatedly, statements were made like: "If I am angry, I just keep quiet. I didn't talk." (Heather)

All had similar coping strategies. The most common emotion work was prayer. Mary, for example, said it is the "number one" thing she does to cope because she does not want "to do wrong." Later, she added:

> I have to believe in what you call in prayers you see, because in prayers, within these long years that I've been here, only my prayers [are] helping me... I can feel it, you know. So, even though sometimes I have experience, other people will just criticise you…or say something at your back, I can still move on like this, you know. (Mary)

Mary's coping strategy had two additional components: splashing water on her face, and thinking happy thoughts. She conjured up images of her children back home, whilst other

FDHs spoke of the homes they were building in the Philippines with the money they earned and how they were able to educate their children. This is all deep acting, psychologically transferring these loving thoughts from their own families to those they must love or at least care about. It suggests that caregiving might be difficult under such circumstances without it.

9.7 CONCLUSION

Outsourced care is the fourth and last stage of the typology of support and care. This chapter initially explored why care might be discontinued or modified, or daughters might decline to provide care ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"]. Attention was then redirected to what happened when foreign domestic helpers became the primary caregivers of elderly parents. In this sample, seven second generation Hong Kong respondents institutionalised eight family members, most of who were parents. Amongst these daughter respondents, care was discontinued or modified for three principal reasons: the exchange between daughter and parent became emotionally imbalanced; the parent became so severely disabled care could not be provided at home; or the caregiving daughter needed or wanted to work and the care recipient could not be left at home alone.

Hochschild (1979) suggests that in our interpersonal exchanges we keep mental ledgers of debits and credits with the objective of maintaining a balance between them. Framing rules and feeling rules tell us what is owed and what is expected in return. Applied to this sample, as care became more burdensome and the rewards diminished, the exchange between the caregiver and care recipient could become unbalanced. An unbalanced exchange was likely to result from caregiver stress, particularly if the care recipient was cognitively impaired. Once the exchange became imbalanced the first modification of the caring arrangement was most often the employment of a FDH. Alternatively, the caregiver might

attempt to continue the arrangement but wish the parent would die in order to relieve the caregiver's stress. If care with the assistance of a FDH became impossible, institutionalisation of the parent could become necessary. Though this was accepted as "giving care," and thus meeting filial obligation, it was generally treated as a last resort. Usually, only where the care recipient needed special equipment or professional supervision was it considered. Finally, if the daughter was the sole support of her parents or preferred working and providing financial support, as opposed to hands-on caregiving (with or without a FDH), she might be unwilling or unable to provide instrumental care.

The influence of traditional norms on institutionalisation could still be seen through the collective nature of decision making, particularly when nursing home placement was being considered. Daughters and daughters-in-law in this sample were reluctant to expose themselves to the possibility of blame from other family members in the event that something went wrong.

The employment of FDHs and the acceptability of institutional placement were indicative of the influence of contemporary norms of filial responsibility. Nursing homes, for example could be looked at long before they were necessary and parents could be placed on waiting lists for the better institutions. Most of the respondents also expected that they themselves would be institutionalised when they reach old age, rather than being cared for at home.

Care by outsourcing respondents, even after a family member had been institutionalised, was prevalent in the sample. How they coped without help from a FDH was illustrated through the story of Li. Li is an unmarried, second generation Hong Kong woman who cared for both her father and her mother at home and then later in the nursing home and

hospital. She had no help and most of the time she worked, as she was the sole support of her family. Li's story showed how difficult and stressful trying to work and provide care without help could be. Even after her parents were institutionalised she shuttled back and forth to the hospital and nursing home during and after work, feeding and comforting them. Other respondents told similar stories about caring for institutionalised parents, reporting heavy stress. Their reward came from fulfilling their duty, and knowing they had tried to improve on their family member's difficult circumstances.

The employment of foreign domestic helpers was then considered, and some of the issues between the respondent employers and their FDHs were presented. Specific examples of the conflict and tension that could arise in the FDH context were seen through the challenges faced by Ya and her FDH, Bonnie.

To illustrate the relationship between a daughter, her parent and their FDH, Case Study 12 was presented. Yuan is an unmarried, second generation, Hong Kong woman and a working professional whose mother slid into dementia over a period of ten years. During this time, Yuan became increasingly dependent on her FDH, Susan, to care for her mother. When Susan left for an extended vacation Yuan institutionalised her mother rather than trying to manage her alone for a month. Yuan's mother remained in the nursing home even after Susan returned. Susan soon afterwards retired, however and Yuan employed another part time FDH to provide daily care in the nursing home whilst she visited two to three times a week.

Case Study 12 enabled us to see Yuan's coping strategy as well as Susan's impact on Yuan's ability to cope. Yuan professed to have nominal stress with her mother due to her experience working with emotionally disabled children. However, Susan was the one enduring the brunt of caregiving, including sleep deprivation and emotional abuse from

someone she was not related to. This led to Case Study 13, told from the perspective of a FDH.

Nancy is a third generation Filipina who worked for three families in Singapore. In the first two situations she cared for her employers' home, children and elderly grandparents under what she perceived as stressful and difficult conditions. From Nancy's story one could see the physical and emotional strain that FDHs can be placed under, and how FDHs might become fearful of the circumstances of their employment.

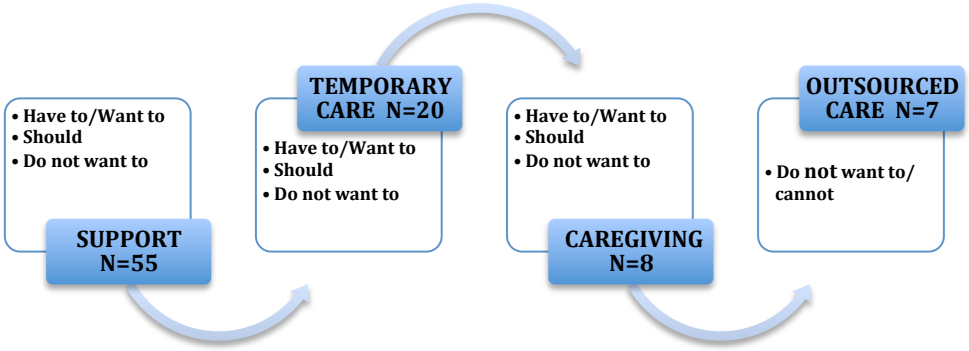
Nancy's story also provided another glimpse into how the presence of a FDH can affect the daughter-parent relationship. In the second family she worked for there was barely any contact between the employer daughter and her mother. The grandmother was distraught and angry over her neglect and often spoke of killing herself. When Nancy tried to relay this to her employer she was rebuffed, with the daughter's explanation that she had no time to monitor her elderly parents.

Other FDH respondents told stories similar to Nancy's of both mistreatment by employers and the employers' distant relationships with their parents, even when living in the same home. These other FDHs also spoke of caring for the elderly parents in their own homes and in nursing homes. The theme emerging from their observations was one of working women with young families, busy lives, and very little time or interest in caring for their elderly parents. In at least one instance, Rachael, the FDH became closer to the grandparents she cared for than their own daughter and family.

The other thing seen through the FDHs is how they did emotion work to suppress anger and generate positive displays, as well as the ability to cope. One commonality amongst all the FDHs interviewed was the fear of losing control.

The employment of and dependency on foreign domestic helpers is part of a greater normative change occurring in Singapore and Hong Kong families. This is discussed in the next and final chapter.

CHAPTER 10
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION



This thesis began with the overarching question: Why are contemporary Chinese daughters still willing to undertake traditional parent caregiving activities considering their self-sufficient, modern lifestyles and attitudes, and what are their coping strategies for accommodating the tension and conflict involved with discharging filial obligation?

To gain insight into this question, during 2011 and 2012, 58 Chinese women and six Filipina domestic helpers were interviewed in Hong Kong and Singapore. Analysis was then conducted within the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism, Arlie Hochschild's theory of emotion management, and conceptual models underpinning motivation for caregiving.

Almost immediately, it became clear that what the respondents referred to as "caregiving" made no distinction between support behaviours such as visiting with young and active parents, and hands-on instrumental care of elderly, disabled or cognitively impaired parents. To remedy any potential confusion arising from this ambiguity, a stage model of parental need and care intensity was developed, arrayed by increasing levels of parent disability and need, and corresponding levels of daughter commitment and involvement. This was denominated the *typology of support and care*, and it distinguished

between four stages, or "types," of support and care. As depicted above, these stages or types include support provided to healthy independent parents; temporary care offered in times of parents' acute heath emergencies; hands-on, long-term caregiving performed for unhealthy, dependent parents; and finally parent care outsourced to foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) or care institutions.

Having established a means of differentiating between adult children interacting with able-bodied parents and those actually providing, or having provided, hands-on care for disabled parents, caregiving motivations and coping strategies were addressed. Drawing from the conceptual and theoretical framework supported by the literature, the typological model was further elaborated. A central aim of the research was to more fully understand why Chinese daughters are willing to support and care for their elderly parents, how they manage potential tensions in discharging filial obligation, and why they may discontinue or decline to undertake support and care. That is, it set out to learn what norms and values were motivating-indeed compelling Chinese daughters to provide support and care for their elderly parents, despite the pressures of outside employment, the difficulty of the tasks, the demands on their time and resources, and the toll on their physical and psychological health, and further, what could undermine these motivating norms and values, leading to a discontinuation of or refusal to provide support or care. It also sought to understand the process of discharging care and how conflicts experienced in caregiving could be resolved.

To this end, three key analytical categories related to motivations and their underlying norms and values, and processes of emotional coping, were incorporated into the typology. These categories were defined and labelled: conceptual norms of motivation, including structural norms of filial obligation ["*I have to*"] and relational norms of affection, gratitude

and reciprocity ["*I want to*"]; a theoretical approach to managing tension and conflict in the discharge of filial obligation ["*I should want to*"]; and conceptual and theoretical underpinnings explaining unwillingness or inability to provide support and care ["*I do not want to/I cannot*"].

Through this process it became possible to explore what is driving support and care and better understand how the respondents managed support and caregiving as parental need changed. Four strands of research questions were generated:

1. Why would filial obligation remain a strong normative value amongst modern Chinese women and why are they willing to provide support and care for ageing parents?
2. Is there a relationship between how daughters feel toward their parents and in-laws and the amount and quality of support and care they are willing to provide to them; And, if so, does this represent a shift from traditional Chinese values of filial obligation?
3. How do modern Chinese women negotiate the actual discharge of support and caregiving?
4. If filial obligation remains a strong normative value amongst Chinese daughters, why would they delegate caregiving responsibilities to foreign domestic workers and be willing to place elderly parents in nursing homes?

In this chapter, the key empirical findings are revisited in order to shed light on the research questions and to demonstrate how these findings add to the existing discourse on Asian caregivers. Some of the limitations to the research and areas of future research are considered, followed by a discussion of policy implications associated with the changing

roles and status of Chinese daughters. The thesis concludes with some remarks from the author.

10.1 UNDERSTANDING THE CURRENT CAREGIVING PARADIGM OF CHINESE FAMILIES IN HONG KONG AND SINGAPORE

All four of the research questions grow out of the central paradox between traditional Chinese values and the respondents' modern lifestyles. This chapter begins by reviewing the findings from the empirical analysis addressing this paradox in the context of the thesis's conceptual and theoretical framework and previous research on family caregiving in Asia.

Filial obligation remains a strong normative value amongst the modern Chinese women in this sample because, in the first instance, for the two core generations (1946-1980) of respondents represented in this thesis, it was still taught to them by their parents. Traditional Chinese values, espousing duty to one's family, were conveyed explicitly or implicitly to the respondents, then reinforced directly or indirectly through a variety of mechanisms that could include school, cinema, friends, community, government policy, and even the Christian religion. Most of the respondents also learned family responsibility associated with female gender roles at a very early age. The accumulated information was then amalgamated and internalised, no doubt facilitated by the long history of Confucianism and filial piety associated with Chinese families and culture. Hochschild (1983) calls these internalised norms *framing rules*, or the meanings and interpretations individuals give to the situations they are in. They become the attitudinal and behavioural standards one strives to meet.

As a result of their upbringing, most of the respondents said they were very

"Chinese" or "traditional" in their thinking. However, traditional Chinese values did not mean the same thing to everyone. For some respondents, they were synonymous with filial piety; others had never heard the term "filial piety" or "*xiao*."

Filial piety continues to be central to the Asian caregiving discourse, and it is broadly construed as a structural norm. However, some recent studies have asserted that filial piety has always had moral and relational overtones and that this, or its financial aspects, may be all that remain (W.K.-M. Lee & Kwok, 2005a; Lieber, et al., 2004; Ng, et al., 2002; O.M.H. Wong & Chau, 2006). These kinds of findings have given way to considerable debate amongst Asian scholars over the forces "eroding" or transforming filial piety and what this means for intergenerational relationships within Asian families. However, no accord has been achieved, and thus, within the academic community, the nature and importance of filial piety to Asian family caregiving is presently unclear.

Ambiguity over the definition and relevance of filial piety is similarly reflected in the lack of consensus amongst the respondents. When they were asked what it meant to them, the responses of those who understood the term ranged from "you just say yes to everything," to having a bond, respect, meals together, hospital visits, honouring one's parents, obedience, love, caring for parents, even thinking for one's parents. The only reasonable explanation for this is that, in the symbolic interactionist tradition, filial piety, or more accurately, filial obligation, amongst the respondents, has been individually interpreted and ascribed personal meaning and definition, based on what these women were taught and observed in their childhood families, then modified by exposure to contemporary norms and modern lifestyles experienced outside the family.

Despite the myriad discrepant views of what filial *piety* is, amongst these

respondents, commitment to filial *obligation* is robust. Likely due to the strength of early family ties and a supporting cultural environment in which structural norms could be effectively disseminated, filial obligation remains an integral part of the respondents' internalised system of values. Having established this, it is now possible to ask how this commitment translates into a ***willingness to provide support and care for ageing parents.***

In addressing this question, it might be prudent to return momentarily to the filial piety discussion, as one has to wonder where traditional filial piety and familism intersect. If the structural elements of filial piety, such as ancestor worship, arranged marriages, and female dependency have dissipated, as respondents claim, then an argument can reasonably be made that it may be responsibility for the well-being of the family unit alone, rather than a superimposed ideology, that is underpinning adult daughters' willingness to discharge filial obligation. This is reflected in the interviews, and it is an important distinction as, if true, the quality and nature of parent-child relationships, together with learned family values, could be driving filial obligation more than outside pressure to conform to historical Asian structural norms. This is not to infer that the latter have vanished. However, even if they are merely debilitated, it would essentially represent a transposition of the Confucian structure and a concession to contemporary norms advocating independent thought.

In line with this way of thinking, some of the literature suggests that relational norms are stronger motivators than duty for initiating and continuing family support and care (Croll, 1995; Horowitz & Shindelman, 1983:18; Lyonette & Yardley, 2003; O.M.H. Wong & Chau, 2006). What emerges from the interviews, however, is not quite as straight forward as that.

First, as explained in Chapter 6, most of the respondents were incapable of disentangling their sense of duty, gratitude, and love for their parents. This is understandable

from the perspective of traditional Chinese values, where overt expressions of affection were uncommon. The implicit nature of relational norms amongst the respondents thus served to overlay their sense of duty in many instances, with the end result being an indivisible composite of feeling and obligation. That is no doubt why, in this sample, duty, affection and gratitude rarely appear alone as drivers of support and caregiving for *one's own parents.* This, of course, is not true of in-laws, but that will be discussed below.

Second, as seen throughout the empirical chapters, but particularly in Chapter 8, because these respondents live in transitioning societies, there is potential for tension and conflict between the traditional norms they were raised with and the influence of contemporary norms. As Ai explained, she grew up with a strong commitment to her family, but education gave her a desire for independence. When her mother developed dementia and Ai forfeited her freedom to care for her, elements of her personal value system clashed and she had to choose between duty generated by love and gratitude, and her desire to live life on her own terms.

This raises a third point. Motivation for providing care to elderly parents or in-laws can change in the process of discharging it, related to the amount of stress and what the caregiving daughter does to try to overcome her desire to be relieved of caregiver burden. The latter will be discussed below. What is important here is that whatever else motivated the Chinese daughters in this study to provide support or care for their families, either initially or in the process of carrying it out, one thing above all else appears to have underpinned it: self-image.

The concept of Face, tied to self-image, has profound historical roots in the Chinese context, and it is a deeply imbedded value amongst the families of the respondents,

as well as the respondents themselves. Face extends into all aspects of expected behaviours in the Chinese community, including support and caregiving.

Holroyd (2001), Mac Rae (1998), and Aronson (1990), all write about how self-image is fundamental to female caregiving. One can see how this could be particularly compelling in Chinese families where, for centuries, the only value a daughter had was derived from caring for others. Going beyond the concept of Face, Holroyd (2001:1127) points out that for the traditional Chinese daughter, her ability to implement "what is considered right and ought to be done," was a condition precedent to earning her rightful place within her family and the wider world; her "personhood." Sustaining this meant subordinating self-interest to personhood at all times. Holroyd describes this as a cultural model.

Due to the changing nature of filial piety, the cultural model, in the strict Confucian sense Holroyd portrays it, may not be a perfect fit with what is happening today. Though it is a Western perspective, Aronson's (1990:70, 72) approach may be more relevant. She proposes that women have a tendency to align their own values with prevailing ideologies and then judge themselves by them. One could argue that Chinese women, whose cultural norms have historically imposed strong gender roles on them, have not substantially altered the image of themselves as subservient and responsible for the family. Having already internalised these self-expectations when young, the respondents were placed in the position of accepting filial obligation or, as Aronson suggests, potentially feeling shame and guilt for failing to live up to these internalised assumptions originating in traditional Chinese ideology.

The respondent daughters in this sample were highly invested in living up to what

they believed a good daughter or a good caregiver should be; and guilt was a prominent theme. Thus, whilst structural and relational filial norms may be underpinning motivations for caregiving, self-image may act as the enforcer of filial obligation, ensuring its discharge conforms to one's individual framing rules, or the interpretation of cultural expectations each daughter has determined she must live by in order to be free from guilt and shame.

With this in mind, it is possible to examine the ***relationship between how daughters feel toward their parents and in-laws and the amount and quality of support and care they are willing to provide to them.*** At the centre of this is the changing roles and status of Chinese daughters. Simply put, once the respondents began to earn enough money to become self-sufficient, the traditional caregiving paradigm as it related to their natal families and their husbands' families shifted. The affection and gratitude daughters reported feeling for their families of origin, and the commitment and responsibility they said they have toward them, was not duplicated in their relationships with parents-in-law. This manifested at all stages of the typology in this sample.

At the support stage respondents spent more time with their own families and less time with in-laws. Few were living with in-laws; more were remaining single and were continuing to reside with their families of origin. Daughters who lived with their natal families either permanently or prior to marriage, provided financial support to their parents, either alone or in conjunction with other siblings, thereby shifting daughter-parent dependency from a downward to an upward construct. Many married respondents who worked also continued to contribute money for their parents' support, even though culturally, they were not morally obligated to do so. Conversely, they did not provide financial support to their in-laws.

At the temporary care stage, respondents exhibited more concern and patience with their own parents and more willingness to sacrifice for them, even at their own expense. For example, daughters were more likely to bring home cooked meals to their hospitalised parents, but not to their in-laws, or to take leave from work for their parents.

The importance of relationships can also be seen during periods of illness or recuperation of elderly family members in the respondent's own home. Respondents indicated that parents-in-law were invited out of a desire to help their husbands, or duty, not out of affection for their in-laws. This position is supported by the literature (O.M.H. Wong, 2000) and illustrated by the fact that FDHs, rather than daughters-in-law, were the primary caregivers of *all* parents-in-law in the sample. In contrast, some respondents providing in home care for their own parents did so themselves, without help from a FDH. Moreover, though there were time limitations imposed on both parents and in-laws, and all were eventually returned to their own homes, the termination of in-law care was associated with more stress than with parents. In that regard, greater emotion work was reported in the context of caring for in-laws versus one's own family.

Respondents' statements that mothers and daughters prefer to care for each other rather than in-laws further highlights the growing emphasis on relationships and the paradigm shift away from structural norms. Similarly, sentiments concerning mother-daughter affection are expressed in the Asian caregiving literature where stories of unhappy relationships between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law also appear (K.S. Lee, 2014; Long, et al., 2014). Affection for one's own family, thus, might be considered a more natural state than the previous construct of "marrying out," in which daughters were denied membership in their natal families, and where bonding and affection between daughters and

their parents were not allowed to develop organically.

At both the temporary care and caregiving stages of the typology, *all* care for in-laws was motivated by duty, whilst care for most parents continued to be motivated by combinations of duty, affection and gratitude. Once caregiving became more demanding and longer in duration, the difference between how respondents felt about their own parents and their in-laws, and its effect on the quality and quantity of care became even more pronounced. As a practical matter, this meant respondents were more willing to provide long-term, hands-on care for their own parents, but not their in-laws, and to endure greater caregiver burden, as demonstrated by Ai and Li. Only one respondent, Huan, provided long-term care for her in-laws, and that was with the help of three FDHs. Further, Huan acknowledged that in addition to duty, caregiving was performed largely to gain her husband's approval, which was essential to her self-image and well-being.

In the literature, duty is more closely aligned with financial, rather than emotional or instrumental support (W.K.-M. Lee & Kwok, 2005a; Ng, et al., 2002), and this was often the case between respondents and their in-laws. However, financial arrangements, with nothing more, were also observed amongst respondents and their own parents where the childhood relationship had been strained, distant or characterised by violence. Further, estranged fathers and mothers were offered no support whatsoever by the respondents, not even financial.

Beyond structural and relational norms, structural impediments such as employment status and geographic distance could also be implicated in the quality and quantity of support and care. However, the degree to which structural impediments disrupted family relationships appeared to be guided by intention. Respondents could and did use distance and work as excuses to minimise contacts with in-laws, when they wanted to. In contrast, they

rarely allowed these obstacles to deter them from outings and weekly meals with their families of origin, and never allowed them to interfere in times of emergencies. Moreover, regular telephone contact with parents took place regardless of the respondents' personal circumstances. The same effort was not made for in-laws.

All of this represents ***a shift from traditional Chinese values***, not only because relational, rather than structural norms, appear to be stronger drivers of the quality and quantity of care, but also because there is choice where none existed before. This is evident in the case of Hu, who abandoned her husband and children rather than be placed under the control of her mother-in-law. It is also reflected in the number of respondents electing singlehood, the dearth of intergenerational households, and the increased bargaining power exercised by daughters with husbands over limiting or discontinuing parent-in-law support and care.

Given that this is how the respondent Chinese daughters feel about their parents and in-laws and the support and care owed to them, ***how do these modern Chinese women negotiate the actual discharge of support and caregiving?*** Here the difference between support and caregiving within the greater family structure should be clearly distinguished.

Support requires very little commitment of time and emotional investment. It could be argued that its primary purpose is to preserve family unity, and in particular, the parent-child relationship. Whilst filial obligation motivated by structural and relational norms is a factor in providing support, it is not severely tested. Further, though emotion work is performed to maintain balance in the relationship and a willingness to continue it, avoidance is also a viable strategy, especially with regard to in-laws, but also for daughters co-residing with parents.

In contrast, considerable hardship can be associated with caregiving, particularly if it is prolonged. The strength of filial obligation norms can be critically challenged, as avoidance is unlikely to be an option. Regardless of how strongly affection and gratitude are implicated with caregiving, at its core it is duty, inextricably entwined with one's self-image that appears to hold the caregiving arrangement together. In this regard, emotion work takes on new meaning. It may be performed to preserve the relationship and caring arrangement; to control one's emotions in order to endure the burden; to resolve conflict between one's duty and desires; and to serve as a restraint on a potential impulse to harm the care recipient out of frustration or anger.

One could also argue, contrary to the literature (Horowitz & Shindelman, 1983:18; Lyonette & Yardley, 2003) that the more emotionally invested adult children are in their parents, the more difficult caregiving can become, particularly if the parent is cognitively impaired. Where affection and gratitude were inducing care by these respondents, there was more emotional strain, less inclination to quit, and greater effort exerted to find new ways to continue, even if the daughter's own health and well-being were sacrificed for the sake of the parent. Respondents may also have had to emotionally adjust to the parents' decline, perhaps view them in a revised context, and for daughters with demented parents, possibly grieve for the loss of a beloved person whose personality had changed.

In addition to the emotion work performed by respondents to manage support and caregiver burden, other strategies made use of included joining support groups, meeting with friends, seeking professional advice, reading self-help books, walking, and relying on religion. The resolution of conflict related to the nature and extent of support and care to be provided could also be postponed by, for example, accepting overseas employment. Most,

but not all, of the respondents also employed foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) to assist with full time caregiving. This leads to the final research question: ***If filial obligation remains a strong normative value amongst Chinese daughters, why would they delegate caregiving responsibilities to foreign domestic workers and be willing to place elderly parents in nursing homes?***

In the words of the respondents, the employment of FDHs and the institutionalisation of parents in nursing homes, fulfil one's filial obligation because they are both "providing care." FDHs, in fact, have not only become culturally acceptable within the Hong Kong and Singapore Chinese communities, they are indispensible to the contemporary caregiving paradigm. Due to the paucity of social welfare services, without FDHs, single caregiving daughters with severely impaired parents might be unable to work, as would married daughters sandwiched between children, parents and jobs who might find it too difficult to juggle these multiple roles and obligations.

There is a lot at stake for a woman who leaves employment. Likely she would forfeit the gains she had achieved through education and hard work, including independence and financial self-sufficiency. The monetary contributions made to both her parents and, if married, to her nuclear family, would also cease. Without their daughters' monetary contributions, some parents would be deprived of an important source of financial support in their old age. Further, becoming dependent herself, an unemployed daughter would likely lose her status and bargaining power within the family. Respondents did not show any indication that these were conditions they would favour or wish to return to.

Institutionalising parents and parents-in-law is another solution, and though these respondents agreed it is normatively acceptable, it was still considered to be a last resort.

Most respondents were reluctant to place their own parents in nursing homes unless they were unable to physically accommodate the demands of care or their parents were so cognitively impaired they were uncontrollable. The exception to this was where the parent-child relationship was unsatisfactory. Additionally, nursing home placement for in-laws did not appear to face the same resistance. However, respondents were not generally included in decisions over in-law institutionalisation; nor did they want to be.

10.2 CONTRIBUTING TO THE ASIAN CAREGIVING DISCOURSE

Up until now, the majority of contemporary Asian caregiver literature can best be described as falling into two basic categories: studies exploring the degree to which adult Asian children rely on filial piety as a motivation for caregiving, and those examining the ways in which caregivers cope with the discharge of filial obligation. In the first case, the discussion of filial piety nearly always begins with an effort to redefine it in the context it is understood by the authors. This thesis takes a different approach, suggesting that the filial piety debate may be out dated, and that it may be familism, rather than filial piety, that is presently driving parental support and care in Asian families.

Past research investigating the discharge of care has primarily focused on carers of dementia patients, how they manage stress, and in the family context, how the relationship between a parent and child might affect the caregiving arrangement. However, unlike this thesis, prior caregiver studies have not differentiated between the demands of short-term and long-term care, nor disparities in the levels of stress between caregivers of cognitively impaired versus disabled parents. As observed, there are important distinctions between all of these factors that impact care decisions such as who care will be provided to, where care will be administered, by whom care will be delivered, and how long caregiving will last.

Caregiving duration and stress may additionally influence whether a caregiver's motivation for providing care is modified in the process of discharging it. A change in motivation may shift the way caregiving is managed, impact the long-term health consequences for the caregiver, or determine if care will be outsourced. This has not previously been considered.

If the literature has been unsuccessful in differentiating between how the caregiving experience may change once it is underway, or between temporary and long-term care, even more often it has failed to discriminate between those who are actually providing hands-on care and those who are only considering it prospectively. To better understand these differences a new instrument was created for this thesis. The typology of support and care facilitates a more accurate analysis of caregiving attitudes and behaviours as parents' need and dependency increase. By clearly demarcating between support for healthy parents, and temporary and long-term care of infirm parents, one is able to show that what is perceived as "caregiving" may actually be two different constructs: support and care. There are implications from this, as what adult children are willing to do for their parents when the demands are few (support) may change as the requirements of caregiving increase, particularly if long-term care has commenced.

In this thesis, caregiving is approached from a new perspective: the changing roles and status of Chinese daughters. Initiating the study from this point of view has allowed it to explore how the transitioning nature of Chinese society in Hong Kong and Singapore has influenced the respondents' attitudes and behaviours in relation to their families and their lives in general, in addition to the caregiving paradigm.

Examining filial obligation in the context of personally interpreted norms, or as

Hochschild (1983) calls them, "framing rules" and "feeling rules," also made it possible to probe more deeply into how internalised filial obligation norms intersect with the respondents' self-image. By using this approach, the research was not only able to confirm the importance of relationships to caregiving, but also to show that motivation related to support and caregiving is more complex and individual than previously believed. The interaction between self-image and normative motivations of support and care transcend and expand the previous conceptual framework.

The exploration of filial obligation from the perspective of personally interpreted norms additionally uncovered a possible nexus between contemporary Asian norms and caregiver burden. Some respondents explained that living in a time of transition created conflict between their own needs and lifestyles and the needs and traditional expectations of their parents. How tension and conflict were resolved depended almost entirely on the respondents' expectations of themselves and what they had to do to avoid guilt and shame, even if that meant self-sacrifice or enduring the love-hate construct called "caring dilemma."

Dealing with feelings and emotions in the context of support and caregiving was a salient theme in this research, and one of the principal areas of exploration was whether Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotion management could be expanded to the Asian caregiving community. The findings of this thesis suggest that emotion work is appropriate and useful in the Asian setting both for situations involving support as well as hands-on care. Control over emotions is a taught behaviour in Chinese families, learned when children are young. According to most of the respondents, challenging parental authority through outward demonstrations of emotion is culturally unacceptable and considerable effort was exerted to prevent it. The case studies demonstrated how emotion work was used to conform to

appropriate behaviours, in addition to justifying, initiating or sustaining support or care.

In the process of exploring emotion work another normative shift became apparent: the respondents' reliance on the Christian religion and prayer as a means of bridging the gap between what they actually felt and what they believed they should feel. The emergence of Christianity in the Chinese community may also have further implications for caregiving, as those with low structural or relational norms of filial obligation may nonetheless be motivated to provide support and care out of a belief that they are supported by God, or that biblical commandments compel them to honour their parents.

One of the most crucial, yet unexpected, findings to emerge from this research is the respondents' reliance on FDHs and the importance of FDHs to the current caregiving paradigm. As discussed, the employment of FDHs is likely what enables adult daughters to provide support and caregiving for elderly parents in Singapore and Hong Kong whilst remaining in employment.

Finally, a new cultural paradigm may be emerging from this research with implications for caregiving in the Chinese context, and that is that these respondents do not want to impose the burden of filial obligation onto their own children. Nearly all of the respondents indicated they would institutionalise themselves before they would appeal to their children for help in their own old age. The respondents are, therefore, declining to transmit to their children the very values with which they were raised.

10.3 RESEARCH PROCESS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This is qualitative research at the micro level, which is exploratory and interpretative in nature. Whilst the results cannot be generalised, probing into the attitudes, values, personal histories, and behaviours of the respondents provided depth and substance that likely could

not have been achieved through macro level instruments (e.g., surveys) and analyses. Further, taking a qualitative approach had the advantage of being able to observe the respondents in their natural environment, to allow themes to develop organically, to test and build on new themes that emerged as well to evaluate first hand the veracity of the respondents.

Notwithstanding these many benefits, there were limitations. Many of the respondents were selected through opportunity sampling. No attempt was made to create a truly representative sample. Further, socioeconomic factors were not taken into account, inquired into or analysed, which might have added another dimension to the study had they been. Finally, the sample may have been too homogenous. All of the respondents had some education. Though Hong Kong and Singapore are highly educated societies, the findings in this thesis may have little applicability to uneducated Chinese women. Similarly, most of the respondents held white collar, office jobs. The experience and views of factory workers, field labourers, or women who have never worked could be more traditional and less influenced by contemporary norms.

10.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

There were some surprises coming out of this research that might bear further exploration. As discussed, many respondents described a new closeness with their mothers and greater status in their natal families resulting from their education and monetary contributions. The respondents also made comments with regard to the financial support they were giving their brothers, and their brothers' unwillingness or inability to contribute to their parents' support and care. Moreover, most respondents indicated their husbands were supporting them in decisions pertaining to living arrangements, the frequency of contacts

with their in-laws, as well as the length of care provided to their husbands' parents. This may signify the beginning of a shift away from traditional son favouritism to daughter favouritism as well as the substitution of the husband-wife bond for the mother-son bond. Practically speaking, it raises the question of what will happen to parents with only one son and no daughter to take care of them, and whether there will be further normative shift with sons replacing daughters or daughters-in-law as hands-on caregivers.

A paucity of caregivers, especially female caregivers willing to provide hands-on-care, could have particularly severe consequences for elderly parents (and more so for parents-in-law) with dementia. As seen in the case studies, dementia patients require more supervision than the physically disabled or chronically ill. Additionally, research seems to indicate that the disruptive behaviours of dementia patients can result in greater caregiver stress. Whether adult children will have the desire or skill to undertake such care, or whether they would rather pay for dementia care to be outsourced, merits further investigation.

Respondents also spoke extensively about their children, many of whom are part of Generation Y. Most respondents said that their children's norms and lifestyles were often incomprehensible to them. Examining the attitudes and beliefs of Generation Y, and their willingness to support and care for their parents, would be the logical next step in this research, particularly in light of many respondents' comments that they neither wanted nor expected their children to care for them.

This leads back to foreign domestic helpers (FDHs). Nicole Constable (1996, 1997) and others have previously investigated the conditions under which FDHs live, and the difficulties they encounter with their employers. However, the importance of FDHs to the contemporary family paradigm, how the employment of FDHs affects the relationship

between daughters and their parents, and the dangers implicit in such heavy reliance on FDHs certainly warrants further study.

The relevance of religion to support and care motivation is also a new phenomenon in the Chinese context that could be explored, perhaps through Generation Y. Christianity could have an important impact on motivation for caregiving if traditional Chinese values are waning. In conjunction with this, the ethics and justice of the caregiving paradigm, in which women are expected to be caregivers, should be open to scrutiny in light of contemporary norms.

10.5 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The changing role and status of Chinese daughters; the preference for their natal families rather than their in-laws, or their choice not to marry; their tendency for fewer children; their predilection for work and the importance of the income they earn to themselves and their families; their disinclination to transmit norms of filial obligation to their children; their reliance on FDHs; plus the greater longevity and needs of their parents; the current dearth of elderly services; and the inadequacy of pensions and health insurance in Singapore and Hong Kong, all beg the issue of how elderly Chinese parents will be cared for in the future.

In this sample, all of the respondents had at least one sibling to share the support and care of their parents. However, 25 out of 55 respondents in the core sample had no children and 10 had only one child. Twenty of the respondents were single. For the married and childless, only their spouse may be available to care for them in old age. For those electing singlehood, there may be no one at all to take care of them. In any event, the respondents have said they do not expect to be cared for by their children. But, what happens if they are

still taking care of their own parents when they reach retirement age? The resources they may have set aside for their own care may need to be diverted to their parents, or even their grandparents. Remember the expression: "4-2-1," meaning one child taking care of two parents and four grandparents (Zhan, 2004a).

Prior to their own retirement, single women who are the only child of elderly parents may have to choose whether or not to remain in employment as their parents' health care needs increase. If they drop out of the work force, their ability to support their parents indefinitely, as well as financial security for their own old age, may be jeopardised. The only viable alternative may be to leave elderly parents at home alone or to outsource their care.

Married daughters without siblings may be forced to choose between caring for their own parents or their in-laws or to try to care for both. Families with sons and not daughters may receive financial, but not instrumental or emotional support if there is no daughter-in-law willing to provide the latter. Within the Chinese culture, there is no actual precedent of males providing hands-on care. The moral obligation historically imposed on sons to care for their parents is more accurately the duty of their wives to perform the manual labour whilst sons assume financial responsibility for the extended family and other duties unrelated to care.

Ultimately, the continuation of family elder care presumes that daughters will still be willing to undertake it. Most of the respondents, who are the current generations of caregivers, were disinclined to leave employment for caregiving, even though they insisted their families were important. Leaving employment, as discussed earlier, may have negative consequences for daughters and their families that extend to the government as well. For example, lower fertility portends declining numbers of individuals available to join the

workforce in the future. Women may be needed to fill jobs. Jobs also generate taxable income to support social welfare programmes, and create purchasing power that benefits what in both Hong Kong and Singapore are consumer economies. Additionally, women in unemployment are not earning pension and health care benefits, however modest, which may result in future dependency on their government if there is no one to care for them.

The reliance of respondent daughters on FDHs who act as domestic surrogates for them is without a doubt what enables the vast majority of them to work. However, the importation and employment of FDHs depends on several factors, including government policies promoting their use, tacit approval of conditions favourable to employers, keeping costs low, and forcing FDHs to leave when their employment is terminated.

What is often overlooked is that access to FDHs also relies on conditions in the home countries of these women, such as high unemployment, inadequate wages, and poor economies. So long as FDHs can make more money abroad than in their countries of origin they will likely continue to endure the difficult conditions under which they live and work outside. However, should circumstances improve at home, the number seeking overseas employment could diminish. If that were to happen, under the existing "family first" policies of Hong Kong and Singapore, one could argue that a serious crisis might result. If FDHs were to be removed from the caregiving paradigm, who or what would take their place? It is entirely possible that large numbers of elderly parents would be institutionalised along with women leaving the workforce. Hong Kong and Singapore should not wait to see if this transpires.

A shift in policy enabling elderly people to be more self-sustaining and one that supports families through shared care responsibilities is urgently needed. The family can

remain the primary caregiver of their elderly parents. However, given structural and normative changes occurring in Singapore and Hong Kong, it is highly unlikely families, principally daughters, can continue to bear the caregiving burden alone. Pensions, social security and insurance targeted at adequate income and health care for seniors should be expanded so that they are not completely dependent on their families for financial support. Seniors who achieve greater independence are more likely to have a better quality of life, and their children may experience less stress, which, the literature suggests, creates happier and more harmonious families (S.-T. Cheng, et al., 2008; Ng, et al., 2002).

More social welfare programmes and care services, distributed by the government at the local level, with greater support from the business community and NGOs, also need to be expanded to enable elderly people to remain in their own homes. Finding new ways to honour, assist and respect older people and the families who care for them, is a challenge. However, it should be regarded as no less than a moral obligation by the societies in which they live.

10.6 THE FINAL WORD

Chinese daughters in Singapore and Hong Kong have come a long way since Lee Choo Neo wrote about them 100 years ago (S.-H. Cheng, 1997). Unlike then, they now have the right to be educated, employed as professionals, and to lead self-sufficient, independent lives, if that is their choice. Their monetary contributions to their parents, and even their siblings, make them valuable assets, and have helped them achieve greater status within their families. Nonetheless, traditional expectations concerning filial obligation continue to be imposed on Chinese daughters by their families, their governments, and themselves.

The world and Chinese families, however, are different than they were a century ago. It is more difficult today to manage the demands on one's life and resources, including time. Given this, it may be problematic, if not impossible, for Chinese daughters to sustain indefinitely the many roles they must often assume, particularly if any disruption occurs to the supply of foreign domestic helpers. The seminal question for the future is whether Chinese cultural norms of filial obligation, at both the micro and macro level, will continue to evolve in accordance with contemporary norms, or return to the past.

APPENDIX A
DETAILS OF INITIAL RESEARCH EXPLORATION AND ITS FEASIBILITY

The data collection and analysis planned would have utilised a mixed methods approach. In order to determine the accessibility of data and the feasibility of conducting this research, an exploratory trip was made to Singapore and Hong Kong in the fall of 2010. This exploration yielded unexpected results. The author previously understood how sensitive the subject of elder abuse is in Asian cultures, but did not suspect the extent to which the governments of Singapore and Hong Kong are involved in monitoring and controlling access to elder abuse data. It is impossible to explore elder abuse with any depth or substance without express government permissions, and these are limited to government sponsored projects. The data generated by this government research is not shared, and it is rarely published. Following is a detailed account of how the collection of data was planned and evolved.

Pilot trip to Singapore: Fall 2010

Access to government data and Guided Autobiography recruits: During the exploratory phase of fieldwork, gatekeepers and resources were identified and individuals contacted on the basis of their potential access to elder abuse data or to other individuals with access, and for their ability to provide introductions to potential GAB candidates. This initial group included the following: (1) An Oxford acquaintance employed by the Centre for the Third Age (C3A), a quasi-governmental agency; (2) Three professors at the National University of Singapore (NUS), two of whom the author knew from her literature review and

the third who was introduced to the author by a colleague at the Oxford Institute of Population Ageing; (3) A legal scholar who is a cousin of one of the author's friends. He then introduced another law professor. One practicing attorney was referred by another of the author's friends; (4) A doctor the author learned of by reading an elder abuse study he had conducted at Tan Tock Seng Hospital; (5) NGO's, including the Tsao Foundation, Centre for Enabled Living (CEL), AWWA, WINGS, Beyond Age and AWARE; (6) A longstanding Singaporean friend of the author; (7) St. Antony's alumni; (8) The American Chamber of Commerce (AMCHAM); (9) A referral from an administrator and friend at Oxford Brookes University; and (10) A referral from an American friend and college lecturer.

The initial focus was on the government. A meeting was held with the Oxford acquaintance and two of her colleagues at C3A, which in turn led to meetings with CEL and eventually with the Ministry of Community Development Youth and Sports (MCYS). CEL was pursued for possible GAB participants. MCYS controls and acts as the repository for all elder abuse data in Singapore. Separate efforts ultimately secured an introduction to Trans Safe Centre, the government agency responsible for managing elder abuse cases in Singapore. However, it took several months of communication with Trans Safe before an appointment was granted. During the second trip to Singapore the author met with Trans Safe and was later invited to participate in a meeting of the committee reviewing elder abuse cases. However, following this meeting, the author was unable to achieve any further contact with Trans Safe or MCYS.

During the exploratory trip, the author also met with two NUS professors. The first has conducted several qualitative studies the author is familiar with. The other was also known to the author from her research and was introduced by the author's supervisor. The

author later learned the second professor is responsible for most of the filial piety research in Singapore. This individual was helpful in other respects, but unable to facilitate access to elder abuse data.

The author additionally had a contact at the NUS law school that introduced her to one of his colleagues. The latter is a member of the Maintenance of Parents Tribunal (MPT). The author continued to meet with this individual on all subsequent visits to Singapore. However, he was unable to assist the author with access to the MPT. This individual has also worked with the 2004-2008 elder abuse data collected by MCYS. However, he was unable to obtain similar data from the Community Development Councils, Family Service Centres and National Family Violence Networking System, which would have been essential to providing a comprehensive picture of elder abuse in Singapore for that period. Further, no access to elder abuse data collected after 2008 has been granted to anyone outside of MCYS and the teams who gather it. The author is also informed that individuals collecting data belonging to the Singapore government are required to sign a non-disclosure agreement. However, she is unable to independently verify this.

On her own initiative, the author contacted and met with the physician conducting the second of two elder abuse studies at Tan Tok Seng Hospital. The author remains in contact with the physician and has met with him on all subsequent visits to Singapore. This individual gave the author a copy of the form he used for his study. However, he informed the author that the hospital has subsequently terminated data collection because: (1) Completing the forms takes too much time; (2) Elder abuse is too hard to detect; (3) There are problems with under-reporting; and (4) No support, encouragement, or funding from the government followed publication of the study. On the second trip to Singapore, the physician

arranged a meeting between the author and other staff physicians as well as medical social workers that promised informal support in terms of understanding elder abuse in Singapore and recruiting volunteers for GAB. Subsequent attempts to follow up with the social workers, nevertheless, proved to be futile.

Great effort was also expended on the NGO's, all of who were willing to meet to discuss elder abuse and GAB, but none of who were willing to share information from people they counsel or from their own unpublished studies. Despite this, from the plethora of meetings with these groups the author was able to learn a few things: 1) Reported elder abuse in Singapore is not as widespread as the author previously believed; 2) Elder abuse in Singapore is not as egregious and lacks the variety of that known from the author's personal experience as a lawyer and gerontologist in the United States; 3) Incidences of abuse in Singapore are being dealt with for the most part on a piecemeal, case by case basis with minimal, if any, continuity or sharing of information; 4) Disruption to family harmony (and thus family financial support) by filing complaints or commencing litigation is highly discouraged; and 5) Support for the abused in Singapore is limited in both scope and resources.

Court Records: The afore-described experiences unequivocally demonstrated the absurdity of proceeding further with the attempt to obtain government controlled data on elder abuse. Discussions with the Singapore attorneys also made clear that gaining access to court files would be equally frustrating and likely bear identical results. In the first instance, permissions would likely be required and it was not even possible to determine from whom these should be obtained. Moreover, the author was cautioned against making such inquiries. While it does appear possible to copy specific pages of some public records, if they are court

files one must know the appropriate court, case number, the parties, and the content of the file in order to do so. Additionally, the copying fees are excessive. The author also explored the possibility of trying to access Protective Orders being issued by the Family Court through the Family Transformation and Protection Unit. Trans Safe is the gatekeeper for this as well as the Maintenance of Parent Act. However, as discussed above, contact with Trans Safe had been unilaterally terminated.

Pilot trip to Hong Kong: Fall 2010

Access to government data (Central Information System): Virtually everything experienced in attempting to obtain elder abuse data from the government of Singapore proved to be true of Hong Kong. There is no access to data without government approval and approval cannot be obtained.

In 2004, Hong Kong Christian Services (HKCS) together with the Social Welfare Department (SWD) and the Working Group on Elder Abuse (WGEA) inaugurated "Procedural Guidelines for Handling Elder Abuse Cases," in Hong Kong, which in revised form is still being used. Following the guidelines, elder abuse data is collected on a form distributed to governmental and social welfare agencies as well as to hospitals throughout the Special Administrative Region (SAR). The repository for the data is the Hong Kong Central Information System on Elder Abuse Cases which since 2005, has published official descriptive statistics on incidences of physical, psychological, financial and sexual abuse, multiple abuse, neglect and abandonment which are then made available online (Social Welfare Department, 2012).

From the time the Procedural Guidelines were published, the (blank) form and the descriptive data have been available online. It was thus hoped raw data from the completed

forms could be procured. In particular, the author was interested in capturing "Section A" in which several causes of abuse are listed for selection by agencies collecting the data.

Prior to the exploratory trip to Hong Kong in the fall of 2010, the author's supervisor introduced her to a prominent professor at a Hong Kong university. On the first day of the pilot visitation, the author met with this individual and asked for guidance in obtaining the "Section A" data. The Hong Kong Professor had previously utilised elder abuse data from the Central Information System's form, however, without Section "A". He informed the author: "I have a lot of power with the government and I have not been able to get it." Nonetheless, an effort was made by the author to obtain Section "A" data. Weeks of communicating by email, providing the Social Welfare Department with a CV and abstract of the author's research, resulted in no decision and consequently no access.

With the acquiescence of the Hong Kong professor, the author contacted other university professors known from her literature review as well as from one of the author's American professors. Only a single meeting was secured, and it did not further the author's objectives in terms of attaining data.

Court Records: Because of the author's experience in Singapore and inability to obtain Section "A" information in Hong Kong, she did not attempt to gain access to court records in Hong Kong. Even if they could be accessed, which is doubtful, without Hong Kong's statistical data or statistics and court records from Singapore, examination of court cases in Hong Kong would be meaningless.

Guided Autobiography: In furtherance of establishing GAB groups, prior to leaving Hong Kong in October 2010, the author met with Hong Kong Christian Services (HKCS) and a colleague of the Hong Kong Professor with access to several NGO's. Interest

was shown in the author teaching a GAB class. However, no assistance was forthcoming in terms of identifying and enrolling Guided Autobiography candidates for the author's research.

The first adjustment to the data collection method: Mixed methods to Qualitative

Further reflection gave rise to the notion that incidences of elder abuse reported to welfare agencies or brought to court would in all probability have produced data on only the most nefarious cases, a misleading result. In Hong Kong, for example, in 2011, only 368 elder abuse cases were reported. Of these, daughters committed eight instances of abuse. (Hong Kong Social Welfare Dept., 2012). From a population of over seven million, that does not appear to be a reliable statistic (Hong Kong Information Services Department, 2013). If, as is generally believed, most elder abuse goes unreported, likely government statistics are not representative of the women being studied.

Moreover, one of the original goals of this research was to understand the forces potentially driving Chinese daughters to elder abuse rather than measuring the extent to which it exists among that population. Allowing the women being studied to speak for themselves appeared to be a more cogent method for understanding social behaviour. Thus, prior to the conclusion of the pilot trip to Hong Kong, a decision was made to discontinue the quest for government statistics and court cases.

In the winter of 2010, data collection refocused entirely on James E. Birren's Guided Autobiography (GAB). This somewhat experimental method of data collection uses semi-structured themes that individuals write on then share in small groups. It differs from Life Review in that it is theme based, group focused and facilitated, not chronological or interview based. GAB also differs from Oral History in that it focuses on the individual, not

on personal stories collected to achieve a more diverse and well-rounded version of historical events and times. Previous implementation by the author of GAB as a research tool had yielded data rich results. However, there were logistical concerns. Even if participants could be located and persuaded to attend a ten-week program, the expected group attrition rate could be problematic for generating useful data.

At the author's Transfer of Status examination in December 2010, another complication emerged. The author's examiners pointed out that GAB is untested as a method in the academic community. Additionally, the author had intended to deviate from the traditional themes, having created new categories related to the research questions. Issues with validity could occur. Evaluated in light of these and the previous difficulties, GAB was rejected.

The Second Adjustment To The Data Collection Method: Semi Structured Interviews

Following a careful review of previously tested, accepted methods for qualitative data collection, semi structured interview was selected.

APPENDIX B
WILLING SUBJECTS FITTING THE SAMPLING CRITERIA

Summary of successfully accessed respondents: SINGAPORE N=29

SOURCE	FIRST GROUP	SECOND GROUP & SECONDARY SNOWBALLING	THIRD GROUP FROM SNOWBALLING
Oxford acquaintance	8 subjects	+3 subjects from snowballing	
	Introduction to restaurant owner	5 subjects	+ 4 subjects from snowballing
	Asked to teach class at Raffles Institution	1 subject (>65)	
	Gerontology Expo	2 subjects (>65)	
Met at GERO conf.	1 subject		
WINGS referral	1 subject		
Met referee at office of an interviewee	2 subjects	+ 1 FDW subject	
Picked up at Lucky Plaza	2 FDW subjects		

Summary of successfully accessed respondents: HONG KONG N=35

SOURCE	FIRST GROUP	SECOND GROUP & SECONDARY SNOWBALLING	THIRD GROUP FROM SNOWBALLING
Singapore interviewee	2 subjects	+2 subjects from snowballing	+2 subjects from snowballing
Oxford acquaintance	3 subjects	+5 subjects from snowballing	
Ex-husband of colleague	2 subjects Referral to student	+2 subjects from snowballing 1 subject	
Hong Kong Prof.	Referral to colleague	3 subjects	
Student met at Gero Conf.	3 subjects Referral to pastor Referral to friend	+3 subjects from snowballing 1 subject 1 subject	
Univ. administrator met at Gero conf.	1 subject	+2 subjects from snowballing	
Pres. HK Bus. &	Referral to	2 subjects	

Prof. Women's Assoc.	Woman's Foundation		

In addition to the networking activities, the author accessed potential study participants by giving a university lecture at Hong Kong Polytechnic, teaching a course at Raffles Institution; participating in a Gerontology Expo in Singapore; and a long-term care conference in Hong Kong, presenting a paper; and attending banquets and church services. She visited assisted living and day care facilities in Hong Kong where she participated in a caregiver support and training session.

APPENDIX C-1
INTERVIEW GUIDELINES [FULL VERSION]

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:
CHINESE DAUGHTERS NEGOTIATING CONTEMPORARY NORMS
AND TRADITIONAL FILIAL OBLIGATIONS

THEME	QUESTIONS
Generations:	**1. Describe your generation** 2. How are you different from your Mother? 3. How much exposure to the West did you have growing up? 4. How is your generation different from your parents' generation? a. What effect do you think WWII had on them? 5. How are your values different from your parents' generation? 6. What is your opinion of that generation's values? a. Do you feel your Parents' values are in conflict with yours? b. If yes, describe how 7. Do you think their (traditional Chinese) values are relevant to the world today? a. If yes, how? b. If no, why not? 8. Where did you learn your values from? 9. If intergenerational housing was the traditional venue for the transmission of family values, what effect do you think nuclear housing/families has had on the transmission of values from the older to the younger generation? 10. Aside from their values, what is your opinion of your parents' generation? a. What are the reasons for your opinion? 11. Do you respect your parents' generation? a. If yes, in what ways do you respect them? b. If no, why not? 12. How do you think the generation that comes after you is

	different from your generation? 13. What is your opinion of the "5 C's" (Cash, Condo, Car, Country club, Carat)
Childhood/Reciprocity:	**1. How would you describe your childhood?** 2. When you were growing up, what do you think were your parents' obligations/duties to you? 3. Do you believe your parents fulfilled their duties to you? a. If yes, explain how b. If no, what did they fail to do that they should have done? c. If no, in your opinion does/did their conduct relieve you of any duty to them (now)? 1. If yes, explain what things you should (should have) be (have been) excused from doing? 2. If no, explain why not 4. Do you feel like you owe(d) something to your parents for what they did for you while you were growing up? a. If yes, what do you owe them? b. If no, why not? c. If you don't owe your parents anything, are/were you, nonetheless, willing to support them? d. Why or why not? e. Are there any conditions to your willingness to provide support? f. If your parents are/were in need, would you be willing to support them? 5. When you were growing up, was there any violence in your nuclear family? a. If yes, please describe it. b. Who caused the violence? 6. When you were growing up, was there any excessive drinking in your nuclear family? a. If yes, please describe it. b. Who were the drinkers?

	c. What happened when they were drunk?
Filial Piety	1. When I say “filial piety” what does it mean to you? 2. What is your opinion about filial piety? Is it a good thing or a bad thing? 3. Do you believe in filial piety? a. How important is filial piety to you? 4. What do you believe you should do to be a filial daughter? 5. What are you actually able to do to be a filial daughter? 6. Do you feel there are things in your life that prevent you from being a filial daughter? 7. What are these things? 8. What do you do about this? 9. Do you think filial piety exists in Hong Kong/Singapore today? a. If yes, how strong do you believe it is? b. What do you base that on? c. If no, why do you believe it no longer exists? 10. Have there ever been any expectations placed on you by your family or your husband’s family to care for your in-laws? 11. Have you ever had any confrontations with your Mother in Law? Father in Law? 12. Do you believe in absolute and unquestioning obedience to parental authority? Explain. 13. Do you believe you became a part of your husband’s family and lost membership in your own family once you married? 14. Whose duty do you believe it is to take care of a. Your parents b. Your husband’s parents 15. Do you believe children and their parents switch roles and power when the parents become elderly? a. Does this cause you to loose respect for the parents? 16. when you are older, who would you like to take care of you?

Education	1. What kind of school did you attend for: a. Primary education b. secondary education c. college d. Post grad 2. Did you have any courses in Confucianism or filial piety? 3. Do you believe your education made a difference in your life? a. If so, how? b. Do you believe it changed you in any way? c. If so, how? 4. If you studied abroad, do you believe this changed you in any way? a. If so, how? 5. How much education did your mother have? a. Did she encourage you to get an education?/How did she feel about you getting an education? 6. How much education did your father have? a. Did he encourage you to get an education?/How did he feel about you getting an education? 7. Do you believe your education made you more: a. confident b. independent c. individualistic
Job	1. Do you believe that working has changed you in any way? a. If so, how? 2. Does your job interfere with things you would rather do? What things? a. Does it interfere with your family life? 3. Do you ever feel conflicted between your job and your family? 4. Do you feel like you have to make sacrifices in your life because of your job? 5. If yes, what are they?

	6. How do you feel about this? 7. What is more important, your job or your family? Why? a. What gets more of your time, your job or your family? 8. Is your employer supportive of your family obligations? a. do you ever tame time off work for family? b. How often? c. What for? 9. Do you ever feel guilty because you work too much? 10. Does anyone in your family criticise you for devoting too much time to work? a. Who? b. How do you respond? 11. Did your Mother work? If so, what did she do?
Life Satisfaction:	1. **Are you happy with your life right now? Explain.** 2. What are the things that make you happy? 3. What are the things that make you unhappy? 4. Are there things you would like to change? 5. What are they? 6. How would you change things? 6. Do you think you can make these changes? 7. If not, why not?
If Caregiving:	1. Why did you decide to take care of this person? (altruism, duty, need, reciprocity?) a. Have/did your feelings about **<u>wanting to or having to</u>** Take care of this person change(ed) since you began caregiving? b. If yes, how have/did they chang(ed)? 1. Become resentful 2. Frustrated 3. Stressed 4. Angry c. If yes, why have/did they chang(ed)?

	2. Do you feel that you have had to give up anything because of your caregiving role? 3. If yes, what? 4. Do you/did you ever feel lonely and isolated while caregiving? a. If yes, explain. b. If yes, how often 5. Does/did caregiving place a financial burden on you? a. If yes, how? 6. Does/did caregiving interfere with your work? a. If yes, how? b. How often? 7. Have you/did you cut back on work because of your caregiving responsibilities? a. How much? b. How long after caregiving began? 8. Does/did your employer provide paid leave? a. Employer provide any benefits that would help you with caregiving? 9. Have/did you change jobs because of your caregiving role? a. How long after caregiving began? 10. Do/did you ever work extra hours just to get out of the house? 11. Can you think of any specific times in the course of your caregiving when you experienced the following emotions? a. Stress? If so, when? 1. What caused it? 2. What do you do about it? (Shout, exit, hit, plan) b. Frustration? If so, when? 1. What caused it? 2. What did you do about it? (Shout, exit, hit, plan)

	c. Anger? If so, when? 1. What caused it? 2. What do you do about it? (Shout, exit, hit, plan) d. Resentment? If so, when? 1. What caused it? 2. What do you do about it? (Shout, exit, hit, plan) 12. What are the ways that caregiving makes you feel good? **GO TO THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF CAREGIVING SCALE** 13. If your positive feelings have changed, how have they changed? 14. If your positive feelings have changed, when did they change? 15. If your positive feelings have changed, why have they changed? 16. Do you feel more stressed now than when you began caregiving? Explain. 17. Do you feel more frustrated now than when you began caregiving? Explain 18. Do you feel more resentful now than when you began caregiving? Explain 19. Do you get angry more often now than when you began caregiving? Explain.
Health:	1. **Describe your health** 2. Have you taken any days off work due to illness in the past year? a. If yes, how many days? b. What was the reason? 3. Do you ever feel depressed? a. How often? b. What do you think causes this? c. What do you do about it? 4. Do you ever feel exhausted?

	a. How often? b. What do you think causes this? c. How do you feel about being exhausted? d. Does it make you angry, frustrated, stressed? e. What, if anything, do you do about it? 5. How many times have you visited the doctor in the past year? a. For what?
Resentment:	1. Do you ever feel resentful over the quality of your life? a. How often? b. What do you think causes this? c. How do you generally deal with it? 2. Can you tell me about any specific times within the past year when you felt resentful? a. Who or what was the cause of your resentment? b. Did this cause you to become angry? c. How did you express that anger? d. Were you able to get over your resentment? How?
Stress:	1. Do you ever feel stressed? a. How often? b. What kinds of things cause you to be stressed? c. How do you generally deal with it? 2. Can you tell me about any specific time within the past year when you felt stressed? a. Who or what was the cause of your stress? b. Did this cause you to become angry? c. How did you express that anger? d. Were you able to get over your stress? How?
Frustration	1. Do you ever feel frustrated? a. How often?

	b. What kinds of things cause you frustration? c. When you become frustrated, how do you generally deal with it? 2. Can you tell me about any specific time within the past year when you felt frustrated? a. Who or what was the cause of your frustration? b. Did this cause you to become angry? c. How did you express that anger? d. Were you able to get over your frustration? How?
Attitude:	1. Do you ever feel you have to be all things to all people? a. Does this bother you? b. Would you like to change this? c. If yes, how? d. If no, why not? 2. Do you feel like you have enough time for yourself? a. If no, does this bother you? b. Would you like to change this? c. If yes, how? d. If No, why not?
Anger:	1. **Everyone feels angry from time to time. What are the things that make you angry?** 2. Do you ever have difficulty controlling your temper? a. Explain b. What are the things that bring this about? c. Do you ever feel like lashing out in anger even though you may not do it? 3. When you get angry, how do you manage your anger? a. Shouting b. Walking away c. Hitting someone d. Holding it in e. Planning a course of action to make you feel better. Explain.

	4. Can you tell me about any time within the past year that you felt angry? Explain. 5. Who or what was the cause of your anger? a. Why did this cause you to become angry? b. How did you act out your anger? 6. **DO ABUSE INDICATORS**
Family	1. Do you believe there are things you have given up in order to take care of: a. Your children b. Your husband c. Your parents d. Your In laws e. Your job 2. If yes, what are they? a. How does this make you feel? 3. Rank the following members of your family in the order of their importance to you: • Children • Husband • Parents • In-laws • Siblings 4. Who do you most enjoy spending time with? Why? 5. Who do you least enjoy spending time with? Why? 6. Do you ever feel like you have to make choices between the members of your family? a. When this happens, what do you do? b. How does this make you feel? 7. How do you feel about the following members of your family? • Children • Husband • Mother • Father • Mother in Law • Father in Law • Sister(s) • Brother(s)

	• Other 8. Who in your family causes you stress? Why? a. What do you do about it? 9. Who in your family makes you angry? Why? a. What do you do about it? 10. Do you feel you receive adequate support from family Members for the things you have to do? a. If no, why not? b. If no, what support do you need that you do not get? c. If yes, from whom? d. If yes, what kind of support do you receive? e. If no, do you believe you deserve more support? 1. If yes, from whom? 2. If no, why not? 11. If you do not receive adequate support, how do you feel about this? a. Does it make you angry, frustrated, tired, resentful? 12. Would you prefer that your parents were less a part of your life? a. If yes, explain 13. Would you prefer your parents-in-law were less a part of your life? a. If yes, explain 14. Do you feel like your parents create a financial burden on you? a. If yes, how? b. If yes, how does this make you feel? 15. Do you feel like your parents in law create a financial burden on you? a. If yes, how? b. If yes, how does this make you feel?

	16. Do you feel like your parents create a burden on you in terms of your time? a. If yes, how? b. If yes, how does this make you feel? 17. Do you feel like your parents in law create a burden on you in terms of your time? a. If yes, how? b. If yes, how does this make you feel? 18. What are your responsibilities at home? • Children • Husband • Parents • In-laws • Step-parents • Grandparents/GP in law • Housework a. Who imposes these responsibilities on you? (you or some other person) b. How do you feel about this? 19. Do you ever feel like your needs are not being met because you are expected to take care of your family? a. How often? 20. Besides work, do you have other responsibilities outside of the home? a. If so, what are they? b. How do you feel about these? 21. Do you ever feel your family responsibilities are in conflict with things you want to do? a. If yes, which ones and how? b. How does this make you feel? c. If yes, what do you do about it? (How do you resolve the conflict?) 22. Do you ever feel guilty because you think you are not giving enough to the following: Explain. a. Children?

	b. Husband? c. Parents? d. Parents in law? e. Job?
Individuality/Independence	What are your goals and aspirations for your life? What have been the major branching points in your life? How important is religion in your life?

APPENDIX C-2
INTERVIEW GUIDELINES [ABBREVIATED VERSION]

Thesis Interviews: checklist.

Generations
- opinion of parents' generation
- parents values
- influences from the west
- religion
- transmission of values
-education
- encouraged to be different?

Reasons to care for parents
- reciprocity
- love
- duty
- need
- gratitude
- prefer to care for parents or in laws?

Filial Piety/ Traditional Chinese Values
- obedience, hierarchy, sons, daughters no education, no work outside home
- love and lack of affection
- values transmitted
- parents vs in laws
-expectations for your own old age
- ever think about what you will do if parents become incapacitated?

Family
- living arrangements
- Duties/ privileges of sons
- sharing responsibility with siblings
- arguments over money and who will provide care
- relationship with husband
-relationship of husband and his parents
- husband's position in his family hierarchy
- effect on children
- Foreign domestic worker: friction with; supervision and training; feedback; express stress
- siblings- how much help, fighting over who does what

Ambivalence
-role conflict= strain resulting from having two or more roles (i.e., work, spouse) with conflicting demands
-ambivalence= conflicting feelings within one relationship
- factors associated with ambivalence= gender, race, parental health, contact, personality,

Stress
- causes
-outcomes: anger, frustration, resentment

Exchange theory: how far can one be pushed

Emotion work
- how to manage

Other/ Caregiving
- lonely and isolated?
- exhausted?
- how long can your money hold out of you do not work
- how often see friends
- conflict between family values/duty and need for independence
- change of feeling in course of caregiving
- FDW
- Nursing home option
- who do you expect to take care of you?

BIAS

English speaking might be most educated and Westernised and not represented
Those who are willing
Those who are busiest and most burdened may be unavailable or unwilling

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM



Director: Professor Sarah Harper
66 Banbury Road
Oxford
OX2 6PR

Telephone: +44 (0) 1865 612800
Fax: + 44 (0) 1865 612801
Email: administrator@ageing.ox.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM: Changing Roles and Status of Daughters in Chinese Families
Researcher: Patricia O'Neill, Oxford Institute of Ageing

I am doing research on the changing roles and status of daughters in Chinese families. I would like to speak with you about how this affects your life. Specifically, I am interested in the kinds of stress you experience as related to work and family and how you deal with that stress. I will also be asking you about your attitudes toward these things.

With your approval this information will be tape recorded in order for me to have accurate information. This recording and any other personal information from our interview will be kept confidential. It will be retained in a secure place known only to me and used only by me. Some excerpts from your interview may be used in a document generated by this research or in other research publications. If that happens, your name will never be mentioned and your anonymity will be guaranteed.

If there is a question you do not wish to answer you are not obligated to do so. If you wish to stop the interview, you need only tell me and it shall terminate immediately.

Based on the above, if you agree to participate in an interview with me, please sign below.

_____ Dated: _____

If you have any questions following this interview, you may contact me as follows:

Patricia O'Neill
Oxford Institute of Ageing
66 Banbury Road
Oxford
OX2 6PR
Trish1385@gmail.com

APPENDIX E
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION COLLECTION FORM

PRE INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE
CHINESE DAUGHTERS NEGOTIATING CONTEMPORARY NORMS AND TRADITIONAL FILIAL OBLIGATIONS

Name_____ Date of birth & age: _____

Mode of recruitment _____ Where born? _____

Years lived in HK/SG_____ Current Caregiver? Y N / Past Caregiver? Y N / Have Housekeeper? Y N

Email address of interviewee: _____phone # _____

Date of interview 1: _____ time: _____ location _____

Date of interview 2: _____ time: _____ location _____

FAMILY

MARRIAGE	Spouse Age	Year Spouse Died	Divorced	How long together?	Dates
Married 1	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
Married 2	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
Married 3	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
Living together	___	_____		_____	_____
Single Y N					

	Age	Year Died	Live/ Lived w/ you	# years?	Status/Live where/How far?
CHILDREN					
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
SIBLINGS					
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____
B G	___	_____	Y N	_____	_____

B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
PARENTS					
M F	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
M F	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
IN LAWS					
M F	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
M F	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
STEPFAMILY					
M F	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
M F	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
B G	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
GRANDPARENTS					
GM	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
GF	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
GMI	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
GFIL	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**

OTHER					
1_____	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**
2_____	**___**	**_____**	**Y N**	**_____**	**_____**

How often do you/did you see: **Speak with:**

Mother:_____ + # _____

Father: _____ + # _____

Mother in Law: _____ + # _____

Father in Law: _____ + # _____

Stepmother: _____ + # _____

Stepfather: _____ + # _____

Grandmother:_____ + # _____

Grandfather:_____ **+ #** _____

GMIL:_____ **+ #** _____

GFIL:_____ **+ #** _____

1 B G: _____ **+ #** _____

2 B G _____ **+ #** _____

3 B G _____ **+ #** _____

4 B G _____ **+ #** _____

5 B G _____ **+ #** _____

S1B G _____ **+ #** _____

S2B G _____ **+ #** _____

S3B G_____ **+ #** _____

S4B G _____ **+ #** _____

+=Current #= Past

EDUCATION

	Secondary	Some College	College Grad	Post Grad	Other
You	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Husb.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Father	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT

		Job Title	Weekly # hrs.	How long
You	**Y N**	_____	_____	_____
	Ever work? Y N			
	Last job	_____	_____	_____
H	**Y N**	_____	_____	_____
M	**Y N**	_____	_____	_____
F	**Y N**	_____	_____	_____
MiL	**Y N**	_____	_____	_____
FiL	**Y N**	_____	_____	_____

GOOD HEALTH

		Explain
You	**Y N**	_____
Husb.	**Y N**	_____

M Y N _____

F Y N _____

MiL Y N _____

FiL Y N _____

SM Y N _____

SF Y N _____

HOUSING AND HOUSEHOLD

What kind of housing do you live in? _____# rooms _____

 # bedrooms_____

Housekeeper now live in? Y N How long? ____ Live out? Y N How long? _____

Ever have live in housekeeper? Y N Dates: _____

Purpose:

_____

How much is/was the housekeeper paid? _____

CAREGIVING

Do you/did you assist with ADL's/IADL's?

	Mother	Father	MiL	FiL	SM	SF	GM	GF
ADL	**Y N**	**Y N**	**Y N**	**Y N**	**Y N**	**Y N**	**Y N**	**Y N**
Hygiene/ grooming								
Dressing								
Feeding								
Transfers								
IADL								
Continent								
Ambulatory								
Housework								
Meal prep.								
Take meds								
Manage $								
Grocery shop								
Phone								
Technology								

Caregiving

 # HOURS/WK

Mother _____Father _____ MiL _____ FiL _____GM_____ GF_____SM_____ SF_____

HOW LONG?

Mother _____Father _____ MiL _____ FiL _____GM_____ GF _____SM_____SF_____

TYPE OF CARE

Mother _____

Father _____

MiL _____

FiL _____

SM _____

SF _____

GM _____

GF _____

Other 1 _____

Other 2 _____

RECEIVED TRAINING? _____

WHAT? _____

HELP WITH CAREGIVING FROM WHOM? WHAT KIND?

Husband: _____

Housekeeper: _____

Child 1: _____

Child 2: _____

Sister: _____

Brother: _____

Other 1: _____

Other 2: _____

HELP WITH CHILD CARE FROM WHOM? WHAT KIND?

Husband: _____

Housekeeper: _____

Mother: _____

Father: _____

MiL: _____

FiL: _____

GM: _____

GF: _____

Other 1: _____

Other 2: _____

HELP WITH HOUSEWORK FROM WHOM?WHAT KIND?

Husband: _____

Housekeeper: _____

Mother: _____

Father: _____

MiL: _____

FiL: _____

GM: _____

GF: _____

Other 1: _____

Other 2: _____

RELIEF FROM CAREGIVING: Y N

HOW OFTEN? _____

FROM WHOM: _____

WHAT KIND? _____

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

KIND OF SUPPORT PROVIDED BY YOU TO:

Mother _____

Father _____

MiL _____

FiL _____

SM _____

SF _____

GM _____

GF _____

Other 1_____

Other 2_____

KIND OF SUPPORT PROVIDED TO YOU BY:

Mother _____

Father _____

MiL _____

FiL _____

SM _____

SF _____

GM _____

GF _____

Daughter: _____

Son: _____

Other 1_____

Other _____

APPENDIX F
ANALYTIC MATRIX [ORIGINALS ON EXCEL SPREADSHEETS]

TRADITIONAL CHINESE VALUES (F1)

FILIAL PIETY AND TRADITIONAL CHINESE VALUES	PARENT'S VALUES	DESCRIPTION OF PARENTS

PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS AND TRANSMISSION OF VALUES (F2)

WHAT VALUES TRANSMITTED	HOW TRANSMITTED

CHILDHOOD EXPECTATIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS (F3)

DAUGHTER'S EXPECTATIONS OF PARENTS	DESCRIPTION OF CHILDHOOD	PARENT WHO DISCIPLINED AND KIND OF DISCIPLINE	PARENT CLOSEST TO

DAUGHTER'S VALUES (F4)

INFLUENCES ON VALUES	DAUGHTER'S VALUES	DESCRIPTION OF DAUGHTER'S GENERATION	ATTITUDE TOWARD MARRIAGE & FAMILY

EMOTION CONTROL (F5)

EMOTION CONTROL GENERAL	HOW COPE WITH IN-LAWS OR PARENTS AS AN ADULT

INTERGENERATIONAL LIVING (F6)

LIVING WITH PARENTS	LIVING WITH IN-LAWS

PARENT/IN-LAW RELATIONSHIPS (F7)

DAUGHTER & PARENTS	DAUGHTER & IN-LAWS	SON & PARENTS	SON & IN-LAWS

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP (F8)

DEMONSTRATION OF AFFECTION AND FEELING LOVED	SON FAVOURITISM	DAUGHTER PREFERENCE

CAREGIVING: REASONS FOR AND BARRIERS TO (F9)

REASONS FOR DOING	REASONS FOR NOT DOING	AMBIVALENCE/CONFLICT

CAREGIVING: TYPE LIKELY TO PROVIDE AND ACTUALLY PROVIDED (F10)

CARE LIKELY TO PROVIDE PARENTS	CARE PROVIDED TO PARENTS	CARE LIKELY TO PROVIDE IN-LAWS	CARE PROVIDED TO IN-LAWS

STRESS (F11)

WORK	FAMILY	RELIEVE STRESS

EXCHANGE THEORY (F12)

SOCIAL EXCHANGE/GIFT EXCHANGE

FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKERS (F13)

REASON FOR HIRING	CAREGIVING OF ELDERLY	FEELINGS OF ELDERLY TOWARD DAUGHTER	DAUGHTER CONTACT WITH ELDERLY

FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKERS 2 (F14)

RELATIONSHIP WITH EMPLOYER	LIVING/WORKING CONDITIONS	PROBLEMS

NURSING HOME (F15)

WILLINGNESS TO PUT PARENT/IN-LAW IN NH	REASONS FOR PUTTING PARENT/IN-LAW IN NH	HOW OFTEN DAUGHTER VISITS	FEELINGS OF ELDERLY ABOUT NH	WHO CARING FOR ELDERLY IN NH

SIBLING SUPPORT/LACK OF SUPPORT (F16)

SIB SUPPORT/NO SIB SUPPORT	DESCRIPTION OF SIBLINGS

EXPECTATIONS OWN OLD AGE AND VIEWS ON GEN Y/Z (F17)

EXPECTATIONS FOR OWN OLD AGE	VIEWS ON CHILDREN'S GENERATION

APPENDIX G:
CUREC APPROVAL

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