EXPLORING CHANGE IN THE MEANING OF HOME FOR SOUTH ASIAN INDIANS WHO IMMIGRATE IN LATE-LIFE

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ABSTRACT

Mixed-methods research explored change in the meaning of home for nine mainly Sikh, South Asian Indian (SAI) late-life immigrant women, living in the Vancouver area. One translated, three-hour, face-to-face semi-structured post-immigration interview was conducted with each participant. The meaning of home was also explored in a non-random survey of 40 SAI seniors. A conceptual model was developed to guide the interviews, analysis and findings. Findings include that reductions and changes in the meaning of home occurs after immigration and that core relationship and sociocultural meanings are established resulting in participants feeling at home. SAI ethnic enclaves promote congruence with the old home and competence in the new one. Strong place attachment to the Indian home prompted regular return trips, which sustained the participant's "place" in their original neighbourhood networks, an important source of self identity that is not easily reproduced in Canada.

Keywords: Meaning of home, late-life immigrants, place attachment.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Ken Lewis and Elizabeth Scudder, to my mother-in-law Milena Stojkovic and my husband Branko Stojkovic.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

As noted by Boyd (1991) "...the immigration of younger adults stimulates the subsequent immigration of their often elderly parents" (p. 5). Research regarding these late-life immigrants looks at a of variety topics, with recent work focusing on the living arrangements and household compositions of a variety of ethnic groups (Boyd, 1991; Kamo & Zhou, 1994; Kritz, Gurak & Chen, 2000; Wilmoth, 2001); that is, which ethnic groups live with whom and the variables associated with that decision. Findings include, for example, that older immigrants who have arrived more recently possess fewer economic resources and that those who are of Asian origin are more likely to live in multigenerational households (Wilmoth, 2001). However, it is difficult to interpret these findings without an understanding of the meaning of home for the immigrant seniors. If an elder's concept of home prior to immigration includes it being a place of one's own then, for example, what is the significance of living with adult children in the new country? Further, does the meaning of home stay the same regardless of the changes imposed by acculturation or does it change as the immigrant continues to live in the host country? Research investigating the meaning of home over time for late-life immigrants is scarce in the literature and this information gap compelled this inquiry.

Definition of Home and the Meaning of Home

The word "home" in Webster's dictionary has seven meanings with the most common definition listed as "the place where a person (or family) lives" (1986, p. 670). As will be seen, the examination of home reveals that it is a much broader and more complex concept than the place where one lives. For this investigation, home is defined as an abstract and experiential concept that has a basis in house form, meets certain human needs and is given meaning by the person defining it.

The word "meaning" is defined in Webster's dictionary as "what is intended to be understood or expressed by something" and its "significance or purpose" (1986, p. 879). Thus, the meaning of home is defined as that which is understood as being significant about home to that person, or is subjectively interpreted as being so. There is no single meaning of home. It is a multidimensional concept wherein different meanings co-exist (Sixsmith, 1986), that coalesce to form an overall and inherent sense of what home is to each person.

Definition of South Asian Indian

People represented by the umbrella term South Asian Indians (SAI) are a diverse group and Nandan (2005) notes that they are far from homogenous in socioeconomic status, languages, dietary choices and religions. SAI have also been studied as "...East Indian, Indo-Canadian, or South Asian diaspora" (Sandhu, p.40, 2005) in the literature and may incorporate Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, and Jains (Sandhu, 2005; Singh, Broota, & Broota, 2003).

India is composed of 29 states and 10 union territories that have distinct geography, dialects and traditions and it is a land of tribes, rural farming and modern urban cities (www.tourindia.com). For this research late-life SAI immigrants are defined as individuals who were born, raised and spent the majority of their adult years living in India until they migrated, taking up residence in Canada.

CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW

Home

Home has different meanings to different people, from its physical representation, such as dwelling and/or geographical area, and in time, from childhood home to ancestral village, while serving to meet needs that are fairly universal (Cooper-Marcus, 1995). The concept of home is as individual as the person that defines it and as such it resists straightforward and objective definition. Initial thoughts on the concept of home typically conceive of it in the "house as a home" sense and often as one's childhood home or later adult residence (Dovey, 1985; Sixsmith, 1986). Home can exist as a physical place that one lives in, but it may also endure over time as a place of the past and/or as a home of the future (Sixsmith, 1986). Some people describe themselves as having two or more homes, while others have never felt that they were "at home" anywhere.

Twenty-two American postgraduate students interviewed by Sixsmith (1986) described 122 different places as home, which represented 18 categories. On average the students listed a mean of 5.5 places as home dispelling the common assumption that a person has only one home. Further, regardless of the vast individual differences represented, all of the participants agreed on two things: that the two categories of "family home" and the "country (homeland)" are always home and that temporary accommodation is not home. Home then conveys a sense of permanence and it is conceived of in a larger way than the built form that represents it. As such, the concept of

home is a complex one, made even more so by the fact that it has a number of meanings in every culture (Lewin, 2001; Porteous 1976; Van Der Geest, 1998).

The most obvious function of a home is to provide shelter, which is achieved by most in the establishment of a house or dwelling. However, as noted by Lewin "the house is where we live, but the home is for the soul" (p. 356). By this, she means that home is the non-physical aspects of a residence that exists in a person's psyche and is carried with them. Early research on the concept of home by Porteous (1976) found that since it is a place that one personalizes and defends, it becomes a secure refuge that provides the space and time for its occupant's to assert their identity. Cooper-Marcus (1995) concurs and expands this notion describing home on the basis of the needs that it fulfills such as: self expression, safety, privacy, "holding" of memories, a refuge, a place of nurturing where you are free to be yourself, feel as if you belong, and which embodies things and people that are important. Lewin (2001) rounds out this list noting that, in general, home also stands for security and a social life. Home then, is much more than shelter, and while house is critical to shaping the meaning of home, as will be discussed, it is not synonymous with home. A person can buy a house, fill it with their possessions and not feel that they are at home, while another may do the same and feel quite at home. As stated earlier, for this investigation home is an abstract and experiential concept that has a basis in house form, meets certain human needs and is given meaning by the person defining it.

The structural aspect of home is often taken for granted, but it is critical because part of the significance of home is developed from, and represented in, its form and organization. "What home looks like" is fundamental to the idea that is carried with us

and is given meaning by events, objects and relationships occurring in it. Of salience is the recognition, as noted by Rapaport (1969), that forms of houses vary across countries, for example, a house can be a Samoan dwelling or an Ashanti hut. Rapaport concluded that house form arises primarily from broad sociocultural factors or forces, such as shared ideas and activities, social institutions, beliefs about how things ought to be organized, and ethnicity. The great impact of these forces on the house is that they become "the physical embodiment of an ideal environment" (Rapaport, p. 48). He further notes that factors such as climate, material resources, tools and technology play an important modifying and secondary role in the way houses are formed (Rapaport). This underscores the enormous diversity brought with each older adult immigrant in his/her idea of how houses should look and be organized. While it is the house form that differs, the root difference lies in the sociocultural factors that gave rise to that house and ultimately one's concept of home.

Meaning of Home

House becomes home through ascribed meaning. As mentioned, the word "meaning" is defined in Webster's dictionary as "what is intended to be understood or expressed by something" and its "significance or purpose" (1986, p. 879). Thus, the meaning of home is that which is understood as being significant about home to that person, or is subjectively interpreted as being so. There is no single meaning of home. It is a multidimensional concept wherein different meanings of home co-exist (Sixsmith, 1986), that coalesce to form an overall and inherent sense of what home is to each person.

A variety of differing perspectives have been applied to the study of the meaning of home with findings interpreted accordingly (Despres, 1991; Somerville, 1997).

However, commonalties do exist. Research has demonstrated that the concept of home repeatedly evokes certain words and themes, such as safe, comfortable, caring, familiar and belonging. Home is separate from public and work places for most if not all people. A summary of studies on the meaning of home can be found in Appendix A.

Despres' (1991) work provides ten categories commonly identified in the research on the meaning of home. These categories are:

1) *Security and control* - Home is the sole area of individual control and it provides physical security.

2) *Reflection of one's ideas and values* - Home is a symbol of how one sees oneself; how one wants to be seen by others. It is an important source of self expression of one's tastes, preferences, interests, and character through personalization and objects.

3) *Acting upon and modification of the dwelling* - At home one can express and change self and surroundings freely, it provides a sense of achievement, control, self-expression and freedom of action.

4) *Permanence and continuity* - Home is a temporal process. It becomes a familiar environment over time. It exists through memories and so it connects people with the past. It provides the occupants with a sense of belonging and roots. It changes as the person's needs and goals change.

5) *Relationships with family and friends* - Home is the centre of intense emotional relationships with family and friends. The occupants share a social

understanding that allows each to be accepted as they are. It includes caring for others and entertaining people that you choose to and/or are connected to.

6) *Activities* - Home is a place of hobby and leisure activities as well as activities related to basic physical needs.

7) *Refuge from outside world* - Home is a haven where you can retreat from outside pressures, act independently and choose the level of seclusion, interaction and privacy.

8) *Indicator of personal status* - Home represents socio-economic position.

9) *Material structure* - The built form and categories of the home include the neighbourhood, structure of building, layout, spatial organization, space, services and facilities available, and the aesthetic qualities.

10) *Place to own* - Ownership is related to home being a controlled space, freedom to act, pride, and economic investment.

Despres (1991) notes that the literature has a selection bias in that it represents white middle class North American people that live in single owned detached homes, a group that cannot be said to represent elderly immigrants. Lewin (2001) submits that these categories can be used for elderly immigrants, but she posits that variations in the importance of the categories can be expected, and that age, gender and sociocultural background will crucially influence them.

Research on how the categories are influenced by different variables has investigated the effect of gender and age. It has been found that, while emotional attachment to home develops for most people, it appears to occur more strongly for

women than men (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Lewin, 2001; Somerville 1997). There is also evidence that women tend to care more about the home and to derive more satisfaction from it (Somerville, 1997) and that this is strongly associated with the meaning of family, love and children (Darke, 1994). Darke (1994) also notes that, while the experiences of women and home may vary with culture, male domination of females exists in most cultural groups such that "...whatever else a woman may do, she bears the main responsibility for running the home" (p. 24). As such, she asserts that there may be more cross-cultural similarities than differences. In contrast to women's more complex meaning, men tend to conceptualize home in terms of achievement and status (by virtue of the labour, work, and/or money that they have put into it) and as a place of comfort and relaxation (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Darke, 1994; Somerville, 1997).

Meaning of Home for the Elderly

Home accrues more significance as people age (Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 1991). It does so partly by default in that more time is spent in the home because of gradual reduction in social opportunities as a result of retirement, death of friends and family, declining health, and partly because it is the place where independence is best preserved (Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 1991). Quantitative research examining which categories of the meaning of home are the most important to older adults does not yet exist. However, a number of qualitative inquiries have produced interesting findings, showing that home is especially meaningful for the elderly in Despres'(1991) categories of security, providing and sustaining identity, permanence and continuity, home as a refuge and as a centre of

caring and relationships (Rubinstein, 1990; Rowles, 1983; Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 1991; Swenson, 1998).

Swenson (1998) explored the meaning of home to five elderly independent women who lived in their own homes for more than 30 years. Through five to ten hours of non-directed interviews she found that home was the centre of self, caring and movement. Self was seen in possessions (treasured keepsakes that evoked specific memories) and those objects that were most prized (for example photographs), which were linked with the past, but also projected into the future. Rowles (1983) also found that the prized possessions of older adults provided critical links to their past and to their unique life story, which in turn fostered their identity and provided a sense of support. Swenson's participants demonstrated their self-identity as competent, independent and capable women through their ability to master daily activities in the home, which was done from a comfortable centrally located space. Rubinstein (1990) also found that the home and the objects in it form a symbolic environment of the self for older adults. Rubinstein (1989) noted that some older adults increasingly concentrate their living space into a central zone as a means of accommodating lowered physical abilities. The significance of this "environmental centralization" (p. S51) was that the older adults redefined their sense of competence and self as being related to getting out of the house regularly rather than being able to use and look after all of its space. In both cases these elderly are in effect using their home as a functional barometer, which demonstrates to others and to themselves that they are still able and capable.

Swenson (1998) also found that home was a place of protection, caring, defence, control and ownership. It was especially important that the caring and nurturing of

children and now deceased husbands had occurred in their home since home is a place of intense emotional relationships and it continues to represent these in spite of dramatic changes to them.

The women in Swenson's (1998) study also described home as a secure and familiar place to come back to. In this sense they felt that it enabled them to go out and function in the world because they had somewhere that they were attached to, which provided them with emotional support to go out into the world. This attachment and its intrinsic support may reflect these women's widowhood and the accompanying need to derive a new source of support following the loss of their husbands, in which case the meaning of home may have different implications for widowed older adults than for the married or single. However, since other authors have observed the importance of attachment for the elderly in maintaining the self in the face of losses it seems more likely that widowhood produces an intensification of existing attachment (Rowles, 1983; Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 1991). Giuliani (1991) notes that when an attachment bond forms between a person and a place it results in the person experiencing a state of well-being, such that more frequent and intense relations between the person and the place result in greater salience of the place. Further, greater salience produces greater attachment (Giuliani, 1991). Place attachment is important to the elderly and is thus a key theoretical concept that is more fully discussed in the ensuing theoretical review.

The idea that home reflects and shapes one's identity is of particular salience to the elderly. Home is used by people consciously and unconsciously to express something about themselves (Cooper-Marcus,1995; Dovey, 1985; Porteous, 1976; Rubinstein,1990; Swenson, 1998). That is, the home mirrors the inner psychological self. Cooper-Marcus

asserts that, in each person's self development and journey, the places we live in reflect this process and may affect our journey towards wholeness. She asserts that the moveable objects in the home are symbols of self, which change as we develop, in order to reflect the inner psychological self. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) support this view stating that "...people build homes out of their own essence, shells to shelter their personality" (p. 138). In addition, they stress that the home is more than just a simple metaphor for the self in that the symbols that compose it impact their makers, in turn shaping the selves that they are.

An essential purpose of home then is as a repository of objects, which are symbols that concretely express the valued aspects of self and shape the development of self. The meaning of objects is individually defined and varied, for example, objects can provide links to the past, act as projections into the future, act as tokens of love and respect, demonstrate positive family ties, reflect ethnicity and religion and can provide respite from stress and conflict through pure enjoyment of them (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Rubinstein, 1987). Rubinstein (1990) notes that older adults become connected to objective features in the home, by giving them meaning that refers to the person, their needs and activities over their lifetime. These links may vary in their intensity, starting from a meaningless inventory of all of the items in the home and ending with an attachment to an object that is so strong that the object is subjectively fused with the person. Objects in between may represent minimal investment of the self (personalization) or may be stronger, representing an extension of the self, where the feature represents direct, key aspects of the person. Sixsmith and Sixsmith (1991) also

noted that objects inside the house prompt reminiscence and remembering in older adults, which assisted them to keep memories of the past and the people in it intact and alive.

According to Belk (1992) objects are especially important for sustaining the identity of older adults and this is even greater for those that immigrate. Belk notes that among SAIs who have immigrated to the United States favourite objects tend to be religious objects, along with photographs of ancestors and current family, furniture associated with a major transition in social status, and Indian artefacts. The use of these Indian artefacts in providing security and cultural identity is highlighted by the much higher incidence of decorative Indian objects in immigrant homes than in India where they were never cited as favourites (Belk, 1992). In fact Belk notes that Indian immigrant homes often have entire rooms devoted to Indian artefacts. He further notes that family photographs are favoured for prominent display to show the importance of and attachment to the extended family present and left behind.

Immigrant Research

Empirical studies and some ethnographic studies of various immigrant ethnic groups exist which look at a variety of variables and ethnographic features. The following serious limitations to the applicability of this research to this discussion should be kept in mind: First, only certain ethnic groups are represented. The research mainly originates in the United States, which has large Hispanic and African-American populations that are not common to Canada. Second, it must be remembered that the American system is often referred to as a melting pot, that is, assimilation into the larger society is the expected course for immigrants.Third, while one's culture is shown to be very influential, the degree to which an individual is represented by cultural generalizations varies. The

age groups of the people studied may include, or be entirely composed of, younger adult immigrants whose experience may not be generalizable to older adults. Some of the studies seek to connect variables with outcomes through secondary analysis of large databases, each of which limitations have in that the data were gathered for different purposes. Thus, there is a potential for spurious conclusions, as relevant and causative variables may not have been measured. Finally and most obviously, none of these studies look at the expectations of older adults, nor their preferences for living arrangements, and their connection to the meaning of home. None of these studies examine the development of the meaning of home to immigrant elders over time and factors that help and hinder it. That being said, the research has been examined for common themes and insights into some aspects of the immigrant experience and variables that could have an impact on the host country becoming the new home. A summary of these studies can be found in Appendix B.

A common theme in the research summarized in Appendix B is that one's cultural background affects one's living arrangements (Choi, 1999; Kamo and Zhu, 1994; Katz & Lowenstein, 1999; Kritz, Gurak and Chen, 2000; Wilmoth, 2001). Enormous variety exists in living arrangements from culture to culture and, within cultures, according to gender, marital status, income/wealth and the number of children a woman has. Older adults who are single, low income, functionally disabled, unable to speak English or recent migrants are more likely to live with their children (Choi, 1999; Kamo and Zhu, 1994; Katz & Lowenstein, 1999; Kritz, Gurak and Chen, 2000; Wilmoth, 2001). These observations intuitively make sense, as these seniors are in effect dependent on their family for support. However, this is a description of who they live with and it should not

be inferred that these arrangements have the same meaning as home does. There are also interesting findings showing that in some cases the situation is reversed and that it is the older parent who provides the support for adult children and grandchildren (Choi, 1999). These older adults saw this as a means of contributing to their family and as such it provided them with a valued role and source of esteem. Dominican older adults saw their children's assimilation into American culture and the economic success in it, as a source of pride and achievement on their part and as a reward for their sacrifices (Paulina, 1998). Indo-Americans saw their children's assimilation as a rejection of their culture and thus as a failure (Pallasana, 1998). Japanese immigrant mothers defined themselves as cultural transmitters, which was accepted and appreciated by their Japanese-American daughters. Russian elders appear to be unable to fulfill traditional roles and are powerless to find new ones (Fitzpatrick & Freed, 2000; Gusovsky, 1995). Their grief and critical loss of friends and roles, amongst other factors, places them at great risk for mental breakdown and depression (Fitzpatrick & Freed; Gusovsky). They were the only group, whose country's negative socio-political history was noted to have been carried with them, compounding their loss and social isolation.

In general, races/cultures that have a strong commitment to extended family relationships, strong filial bonds and live in multigenerational families in their country of origin, can be counted on to recreate it in their new home. Preferences for living with married over single children were seen and attributed to cultural beliefs (Kamo & Zhu, 1994). These are more commonly seen in Asian immigrant cultures. It seems likely that older adults who share these traditional values and are able to fulfill them in Canada

would be better able to find meaning that is congruent with their idea of home and would have some experience of home because of this.

One of the common themes expressed by elder immigrants is the positive role of religious/spiritual participation in helping them to cope (Hao and Johnson, 2000; Paulino, 1998). In fact, Hao and Johnson found that it was especially protective for immigrants against the development of emotional and mental problems. It helps older adults to make sense of their life, but also functions as a critical source of social support, while offering the chance to converse in one's mother tongue. Not surprisingly, the lack of adequate and accessible mosques and temples was voiced as a serious problem by the Indo-Americans (Pallasana, 1998).

In cultures where the adult child has previously immigrated and who also has a primary cultural role to look after an aged parent, the aged parent has often begrudgingly followed the child, describing themselves as having had no choice but to leave (Gusovsky, 1995; Pallasana, 1999). The impact of this perception in relation to their meaning of home remains unexplored in the literature.

Katz and Lowenstein (1999) used a unique perspective in their study of the adjustment to life in the new country, as experienced by multigenerational families. They found that past and current intergenerational relations, and to some extent the current family functioning, were the most important variables of all, on the adjustment of the senior generation. They also found that the generations differed in their motivation for sharing accommodations, with older adults noting strengthened intergenerational relations as the most important reason and younger generations noting the economic benefits. This study also found that the availability of formal government supports, with

which they were satisfied, also helped them to adjust. In keeping with this, older Dominican adults noted that they would benefit from formal social assistance with the completion of forms and to acquire public housing (Paulino, 1998).

Home as a Political-Economic Entity in the Older Adult Immigrant Context

The meaning of home, as described earlier, conceptualizes home from an individualistic perspective that is highly associated with one's personal identity (Despres, 1991). This socio-psychological perspective was the focus of this study. However, it must be noted that personal experience is not the only force that can act on the constitution of the meaning of home (Despres). Home is constructed and reconstructed in the larger context of a variety of societal forces (Rakoff, 1977), that may exert negative influences on their personal experience. It was beyond the scope of this study to fully explicate all of the forces that could impinge upon the meaning of home, but this should not be construed as diminishing their importance and potential impact. Societal forces as seemingly innocuous as municipal land zoning and housing policies have favoured the single owner single-family detached house as the North American suburban standard. This excludes multigenerational household compositions, which are favoured by many ethnocultural groups (Despres, 1991). Such policies also exclude available and affordable subsidized housing, which was found to be missing for lower income elderly immigrant Koreans who wanted independent living (Kim & Lauderdale, 2002).

As well, international disparity across nations shows economic inequalities exist between races and ethnic groups and within subgroups in the same country (Darity & Nembhard, 2000). Lower socioeconomic status among ethnic minorities has been

correlated with persistent negative effects on health outcomes for people of lower socioeconomic status (George, 2005; Kahn & Fazio, 2005; Williams, 2005). Adding gender and age to the mix renders older women of color potentially even more vulnerable and disadvantaged regarding accessibility to services, adapting to new cultures, and acquiring income (Brotman, 2003; Constable, 1999; Estes, 2004, McConatha, Stoller & Oboudiat, 2001; Meulders, Plasman, &Rycx, 2004; Morioka, Sacks & Yeo, 2004; Solari, 2002). Furthermore, opportunities to immigrate to Canada have lessened for elderly ethnic women, as a result of Canadian immigration policy that requires their admittance through sponsorship in the family class, which can devalue their contributions (Dyck & Dossa, 2006) and can leave them marginalized and dependent on their families (McLaren & Black, 2005). Consideration of such forces for older ethnic immigrants is essential to understand the impact of social policy and other structural exigencies on an individual's ability to make the new place home.

Asian Indian Religion and Values

South Asian culture is very diverse and has many religions, languages and people of various socioeconomic and educational backgrounds (Choudhury, 2001). In spite of this, people's behaviour is largely influenced by the dominant Hindu traditions and values (Choudhury; Bumiller, 1990). Although Hindu religion is complex, a review of its main beliefs is beneficial given its influence on Indian culture and the importance of culture in shaping the meaning of home.

Hinduism and SAI values

Hinduism asserts that because people are different there are many different paths towards finding God (Brahman), which is conceptualized as a state of supreme reality

encompassing total being, awareness and bliss (Smith, 1991). Hinduism also asserts that God incarnates into various forms, which creates divine beings or deities that exist in unseen worlds and that closeness to God can be achieved through temple worship, rituals, sacraments and personal devotionals to these beings.

The Vedas are the ancient scriptures, which contain the following basic tenets of Hinduism. In Hinduism, each life is broken into four stages (student, householder, retirement, spiritual wanderer), through which one progresses and which dictate one's primary responsibilities and appropriate behaviours (Smith, 1991). There is a distinct hierarchical social order, wherein one's station in life, occupation and roles are defined by the caste into which one was born, of which there are four main groups (seers, administrators, producers and followers), that have today proliferated into over three thousand subcastes (Smith, 1991). The castes function under many proscriptions (for example different castes cannot drink from the same source and are not to intermarry) and higher castes benefit at the expense of lower castes (Smith, 1991). The fifth and lowest status group, which evolved more recently, is known as the untouchables.

Hindu religion purports that one's soul (jiva) is reincarnated through a number of subhuman and then human bodies, with each past decision/action determining ones present situation, which is called karma (Smith, 1991). Implicit in karma's moral cause and effect law is that each person is totally responsible for their own present condition, for today is a product of past desires, thoughts and deeds, and also that they will have the future life that they are now creating. It also means that Hindus live in a world in which there is no chance or accident and that the world is a training ground for the ascent of human spirit (Smith, 1991).

The Hindu holy book also mentions the concept of dharma which is the law that governs correct or obligatory gender based behaviour (devoted female and provider/protector male) and incorporates loyalty to the family and especially filial responsibility of children to unconditionally care for aging parents (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). The proper fulfillment of your dharma will favourably influence your karma leading to fewer rebirths and evolution towards Brahman (God), while failure to do so will result in difficulties in this life and the next (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998).

As mentioned earlier, Indo-Americans saw their children's assimilation as a rejection of their culture and thus a failure on their part as parents (Choudhury, 2001; Pallasana, 1998). This finding is not surprising in light of SAI cultural values, which remain quite traditional (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). While SAI culture represents diverse ethnic groups and religions, they tend to share one attribute; they come from a collectivist culture in which the family is the centre of all social organizations (Choudhury, 2001; Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). Collective identity is valued and group membership (for example, family, religious group and caste) and the internalization of group values define one's identity (Choudhury, 2001; Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). Family needs are seen to supersede those of the individual and individualism is seen as self-centred (Choudhury, 2001). Families typically live in joint households headed by a father. They stay together until the death of the father, whereupon the sons typically separate the household and the owned property (Conklin, 1976).

In contrast to Western values of autonomy and 'doing what one wants', is the value of what Sinha (1990) calls "embeddedness"(p. 478). Strong emphasis is placed on maintaining good relationships with in-group members, including cooperating with them,

caring for them, making self sacrifices for them and glorifying their achievements, while out-group members may be treated with indifference and even hostility (Sinha, 1976).

SAIs are also described as having a preference for hierarchy that is seen in the hierarchical arrangements of castes, states of mind, objects, gods and goddesses (Sinha, 1990). In the hierarchy of groups, in-groups are superior to out-groups, with the family being the most important in-group (Choudhury, 2001; Sinha, 1990). Status within groups is ascribed on the basis of age, gender, seniority or the type of relationship (e.g. father-son). As per dharma, older adults are revered and obeyed and "To respect, honour, and look after one's parents is considered a moral obligation and an ideal of human life" (Choudhury, 2001, p. 378). The expectations for sons are higher then for daughters as sons eventually assume family responsibilities, while daughters marry and move away to become a part of the new family (Choudhury, 2001). Well known and symbolic literary epics help to reinforce the power structure and "the desire to preserve and continue the core values that they exemplify remains very strong amongst most South Asian immigrants" (Choudhury, 2001, p. 379).

Women's roles vary according to education and socioeconomic status in India, but Choudhury (2001) notes that whether it is egalitarian or patriarchal, women are socialized to a prescribed role "encompassing dutiful wife, obedient daughter-in-law, and loving mother" (p. 379). Indian epics portray women as dutiful, self-sacrificing, self-denying and powerful (Bummiler, 1990; Choudhury, 2001). Daughters are taught to consider their in-laws' home as their real home upon marrying. Marriage is permanent and happiness or sadness is fated as a result of one's karma (Choudhury, 2001). The dominant force in the house is, and remains, the mother-in-law (Bummiler, 1990;

Choudhury, 2001). This custom is so ingrained that, in Choudhury's interviews with immigrant Indian women, conflict with the daughter-in-law was the most frequent source of strain and stress. The participants described their own past behaviour as dutiful daughter-in-laws, in which they served and gave without expectations of anything in return. Consequently, when their turn came to be matriarchs in their son's homes, which contained Westernized SAI daughter-in-laws, they were hurt, angry and sad when the prescribed roles were not sustained (Choudhury, 2001).

The act of asking and expecting traditional mother in-laws to participate in family cooking and housework duties, once they join their children's two-working-parent households in the United States, was perceived by some of these women as being abusive and exploitative (Pallasena, 1998). Thus, while these traditional mother-in-laws state that they did not expect to be rewarded when they were daughter-in-laws, they did act with the expectation that someday their turn would come to be the family matriarch.

Upon being widowed women customarily stay with the oldest son and have a consultative role in decision making, but typically defer final decisions to them when they feel that the son is mature enough to make good decisions (Vlassoff, 1990). Vlassoff's study of widowed women in India also found that, while widows may transfer lands and decision making to the sons with whom they lived, the widows often continued to work in the fields so that they were not economically dependent on their sons. Since widows are entitled to the benefits of their husband's ancestral lands, they would often transfer the land to the son in exchange for being looked after as long as they lived. This finding is important because it demonstrates that, while widows appear to relinquish their power, in reality they choose when to let their sons have full control/authority and they

use it to secure their futures (Vlassoff, 1990). They may also continue to have enhanced economic power through income from paid work. Widows without sons could live with married daughters, although these women were less happy than those that lived with sons even if they were financially better off than their counterparts living with sons (Vlassoff, 1990). Being unhappy, although well cared for, was seen by Vlassoff to reflect the cultural value of having sons. A third scenario that occurred for widows was when their sons refused to let them live with them and refused to provide financial support. While this occurred infrequently, it did occur and these widows could not qualify for a destitute pension because they had earning sons. Rather than cause their sons embarrassment they went hungry (Vlassoff). This response is not surprising given that in SAI culture "one does not disclose personal and family matters to outsiders as this action might dishonor and shame the family" (Choudhury, 2001, p.380).

Sikhism

One final pertinent topic is Sikhism, as it is the dominant religion of the participants. The Punjab region of India lies in the north western corner of India and is the birthplace of Sikhism ("Punjab at a glance," 2003). Sikhism was founded about 500 years ago by Guru Nanak and the nine divinely inspired prophet-teachers, called Gurus that succeeded him ("Sikh Religion," 1990). Each one of the Gurus represents a divine attribute (humility, obedience, equality, service, self-sacrifice, justice, mercy, purity, tranquility, royal courage) that Sikhs aspire to possess and express ("Sikh Religion," 1990).

The original Sikh movement in effect sought social reform that arose in response to maltreatment from wars between the Muslims and Hindus and systematic

discrimination inherent in the caste system. While Hindus often see Sikhism as a sect of Hinduism, Sikhs reject this notion outright (Smith, 1991). Sikh teachings reflect a belief system which includes the following: there is only one God who is a loving Creator that is attainable through meditation and remembrance of God's name, all religions must be respected, people must follow their own path to God, all humans are equal regardless of gender, race, and caste, Sikhs must live a moral life of hard work, service and charity to others and worship to attain union with God, and they must strive to create a socially just society ("Sikh Religion," 1990).

The Sikh place of worship is a Sikh Temple (Gurdwara) and may be a beautiful building such as the holiest Sikh temple, the Golden Temple in the Punjab city of Amritsar, or a small room in one's home (Chilana & Zabel, 2005; "Sikh Religion," 1990). Any place that contains the divine scriptures (known as the Guru Granth Sahib), which are the holy texts of the ten Guru's and has Sikhs present, may be called a Gurdwara. Lastly, of special importance is the tenth and final Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh who created a voluntary order of the Sikhs, called the Khalsa, following persecution of Sikhs in 1799 by Muslim Moghul rulers (Chilana & Zabel, 2005; "Sikh Religion," 1990). The Khalsa was created to uphold the Sikh values during difficult historical times and it requires that they maintain five articles: uncut hair (kesh), ceremonial sword (kirpan), metal bracelet (kara), hair comb (kanga), and under-shorts (kaccha) that show their faith and commitment to the teachings of the Gurus. In honour of Guru Gobind Singh, Sikh names to this day contain the name Singh (Chilana & Zabel, 2005).

The preceding discussion captures only the main beliefs and values of some Indian groups, omitting for example, Muslim and Christian Indians. Although Sikh and Hindu beliefs conflict at times, Hindu values and beliefs regarding roles, dharma, karma and the socially pervasive caste system exert influence on Sikh beliefs. For this reason, both Hinduism and Sikhism are germane. It is beyond the scope of this research to review social issues that may also influence the meaning of home of the participants, such as the women's rights movement in India and dowry issues. They do does, however, highlight the vast differences in values and customs that must be kept in mind and that may influence Indian immigrant's meaning of home, both past and present.

Sikh Political-Historical Context in Canada

Historical development of the diaspora Sikh community in Canada may have had some influence on the participants post-immigration meaning of home. Sikh emigration to Canada dates from 1880-1920, when the political economy in British Colonial India pushed agriculturalist Sikh males out of Punjab to supplement family incomes, through either service in the British army or international migration (Dusenbery, 1997). By the end of 1910 approximately ten thousand Sikhs had entered North America establishing themselves agriculturally in California and in "lumber, mining, and railroad building in British Columbia" (Dusenbery, p.740). Many Sikh organizations were founded between 1900 and 1920, including the oldest organization in Canada, the Khalsa Diwan Society, which opened the first Canadian Gurdwara in Vancouver in 1908 (Dusenbery, 1997; Nayar, 2004).

Early Sikh immigrants faced overt prejudice (Hunter & Wood, 2000; Nayar, 2004) and fought discriminatory proposals and laws that attempted to remove them

and/or restrict their admittance. Their fight culminated in the steamship Komagata Maru incident (Hunter & Wood; Nayar). The Komagata Maru was refused docking rights when it landed in Vancouver in July of 1914 with 376 East Indians aboard (Hunter & Wood; Nayar). Canadian officials refused to allow them to disembark, leaving them with little food and water and stormed the ship intending to drive them out of Canadian waters (Hunter & Wood). The ship sailed away and large scale Sikh immigration did not occur again until 1960 (Hunter & Wood), when Canadian Immigration laws were liberalized (Dusenbery, 1997). For the Sikhs that remained, formal restrictions limited their place in Canadian society, such as, being denied the ability to vote, serve on a jury or in the military and to work in public positions. These restrictions remained in place until 1947 when India gained independence from Britain and Canada changed its immigration laws (Hunter & Wood, 2000). Informal restrictions affected their lives with respect to housing, education, public services, and labour rights into the 1960's (Nayar, 2004).

Initiation of the national Liberal government policy of multiculturalism under Pierre Trudeau in 1971 resulted in large influxes of East Indians into Canada during the decade that followed (Dusenbery, 1997; Nayar, 2004). This prompted Sikhs to develop ties with the federal Liberal government that actively supported the creation of the National Association of Canadians of Origins in India (NACOI) an ethnic political organization charged with articulating the interests of all Indo-Canadians (Dusenbery). However, even before the rise of the popular nationalist Sikh movement, an organization called the Shiromani Akali Dal successfully argued to the Canadian Sikh masses that Sikhs were a distinct ethnocultural group that should have separate and unique status

from other Indians (Dusenbery), and they consequently refused to be represented by the NACOI and failed to gain recognition from the state.

The 1970's Sikh influx promoted local division and tension in the Vancouver Sikh Gurdwara community between incoming more orthodox Sikhs and established Sikhs, who had had little option but to take on a more modern and integrated lifestyle, in order to be upwardly mobile in the assimilation oriented society of the preceding two decades (Nayar, 2004). This drove the development of active leftist anti-racism groups who took on immigrant-based racism and combated exploitation of farm workers. While local Sikhs were embroiled in who should control Vancouver Gurdwaras (orthodox versus unorthodox) general Sikh opinion was also forming that Sikhs in India were being marginalized by the Indian government (Nayar). Perceiving threat on these two levels resulted in the development of local organizations charged with promoting religious orthodoxy, which ultimately spawned two internationally organized groups, who were supporters of an Independent Sikh religious state (called Khalistan): the Akhand Kirtani Jatha and the Babbar Khalsa (Nayar). The most well known leader of the Babbar Khalsa was Talwinder Singh Parmar, who was later named as a prime suspect in the Air India bombings of 1985 (Nayar).

Sikhs saw themselves as a distinct community. A lack of political recognition, due to their refusal to be represented by the NACOI in the 1970's, lead to the development of about 40 Sikh organizations in the early 1980's (Dusenbery, 1997). They formed the Federation of Sikh Societies to promote and maintain Sikh culture, religion and heritage and as a voice for Sikh people and concerns at all government levels (Dusenbery). The Federation possessed credibility with Sikhs and government but was "undermined by

internal factionalism and by the rise of pro-Khalistan sentiments among Sikhs in Canada" (Dusenbery, 1997, p.743). Two pro-Khalistan organizations, the World Sikh Organization (WSO) and the International Sikh Youth Federation (ISYF), have competed for control of Canadian Sikh institutions and Gurdwaras since the early 1980's (Dusenbery). The WSO lobbied unsuccessfully for membership in the Canadian Ethnocultural Council (the key national multicultural advisory, research and monitoring body) and was denied on the basis that the NACOI is the designated body for Indo-Canadians (Dusenbery).

Nayar (2004) reports that most local Sikhs remained detached from the pro-Khalistani separatists and held unity meetings in the early 1980's. However, ISYF supporters disrupted them and fights broke out. Individuals that spoke out against pro-Khalistanis and its violent approach were met with personal assaults, such as the attack on would be British Columbia Premier Ujjal Dosanjh in 1985 (Nayer). Local political dissent between moderate and fundamentalist Sikhs occurred over the use of chairs and tables in Gurdwaras, which was heavily covered in mainstream media. Celebration of the assassination of Indira Gandi by some Sikhs in 1984, the murderous rioting in India associated with it, followed by hundreds of deaths due to the Air India bombings of 1985 and the above mentioned local political disputes perpetuated a negative collective view of Sikhs, as importing their domestic disputes, and it associated them with terrorism (Dusenbery, 1997; Nayar).

The enactment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1985, the Employment Equity Act in 1986, and the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 helped to combat discrimination and advance socioeconomic integration of Sikhs (Dusenbery; Nayar).

However, Dusenbery, who compared the Canadian Sikh Diaspora to the Singapore Sikh Diaspora, a model minority, reports that Canadian Sikhs have been and remain marginalized "...they are the negatively stereotyped ethnic Other who, in offending the self-image of the liberal (white) Canadian majority, is deemed undomesticable and therefore literally unrecognizable" (p. 755). Further, since Canadian Sikhs refuse to be grouped with and represented by the NACOI they are not recognized at the state level as a unique ethnocultural group in spite of Canadian policy that purports an ethnocultural group is determined by a sense of belonging to this group and a "collective will to exist", which Sikhs clearly demonstrate (Dusenbery, p. 742).

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical models of the meaning of home have not yet been developed (Despres, 1991). As a result, relevant concepts were identified and have been presented below. They were used to inform and construct the presented Immigrant Elders' Expanded Meaning of Home Model, which organizes these concepts and shows how the meaning of home might evolve over time for older adult immigrants.

Place Identity

Place identity is a component of a person's self identity that evolves from and represents an individual's environmental past (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983). It is comprised of cognitions (memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings) and ideas of behaviour that relate to the physical settings that make up the day to day existence of every person (Proshansky et al.). Thus, it is not only what we think and feel about a day to day environment, but also what it is supposed to be like, what should happen in it, and how the person and others are supposed to behave in it. It has implicit cultural and social origins and it is the "physical environment 'database' against which every physical setting experience can be 'experienced' and responded to" (Proshansky et al., 1983, p.66). Place identity forms the backdrop against which a new place is judged.

The most significant day to day setting for older adults is the house, although place identity also incorporates other daily settings as experienced by the individual, for

example shopping and the social relations involved in them. Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) note that place identity serves five functions: (1) to allow comparison and judgement of a current setting; (2) it is a source of meaning for a particular setting; (3) it influences one's tastes and preferences for the built environment (house design, decorating style); and (4) it determines if an environment contains the needed requirements as related to its purpose. Proshansky, et al. also note that it has a fifth, expressive function wherein a person seeks to express his/her place identity in a current unmatched setting in order to decrease the discrepancy between the two places.

Environmental Skills

Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) provide important insights about managing an environmental change and the outcome of being unable to do so satisfactorily. They note that when incongruence between one's place identity and the actual environment occurs, changes must occur in order to rectify this. These changes will involve adjustment in the following areas: the setting, the behaviour of others in that setting, and one's self. In order to achieve these changes one must have and use three environmental skills. First, a person must have environmental understanding or the ability to know about the setting, and evaluate the differences between the actual and the preferred setting and know what must be done to alter the environment. Secondly, the person must have environmental competence or the ability to function and behave properly in the setting as per his or her understanding of it. Lastly, a person must have environmental control or the skill and/or authority to make the change(s). Understanding the environment is a skill that is used initially upon emigrating. It is fully realized through one's competence or ability to function and act appropriately in it. This skill requires at

the very least an ability to speak the language, a basic idea of the rules governing social situations/interactions (e.g., shopping and public transportation) and the physical ability to go into the world to learn and interact. These skills then, are a part of the personal resources that an older adult immigrant must have and be able to use to try and create congruence between their Canadian home and their place identity.

Place Attachment

Low and Altman (1992) define place attachment as "the bonding of people to places" (p.2). In their discussion they note that, regardless of the source studied, place attachment is an integrated concept marked by feelings towards places. By this, they mean that the emotions that represent place attachment cannot be broken down into component parts. Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) note that "life experiences may have an emotional quality that suffuses the setting to produce an affective bond with the place itself" (p. 139). It may be an individual attachment or a collective one, wherein a cultural group consensually shares attachment to a place, with the latter being especially important during times of relocation and upheaval (Low & Altman). As well, it is the social relations and experiences that generate affective attachments, but which occur through the medium of the environment that are central to place attachment, as opposed to the place itself. It provides a sense of security and control to life, through associated symbols of the place, which link and bond past and present family, friends, culture, nation and religion (Low and Altman).

Rubinstein and Parmelee (1992) looked at place attachment specifically with respect to the elderly. They found that attachment behaviour for older people is a life course phenomenon, or a process of record keeping that enables an older adult to

remember, organize and access important feelings about one's life. It maintains one's sense of continuity and identity, thereby protecting and strengthening the self from negative changes. It may then also be a way to support ongoing competence and independence. They stress that it is a dynamic process that conjoins time and space, that it can be expressed on a continuum from tiny objects through rooms, homes, communities and beyond, and that links key developmental themes and self-identities with a particular place. Thus, simply being in a space does not guarantee attachment to it.

Rowles' (1983) three-year study of the older adults of Colton, California found that these older adults differentiated themselves from others in the community and beyond by having a sense of insideness that was expressed in three ways: physically, socially and autobiographically. Physical insideness is described as detailed, internalized familiarity with the physical environment that facilitated and enhanced their ability to get around in it in spite of sensory-related functional losses. Social insideness is being integrated into the community, such that one has status and belonging in it, and can give and receive practical and social support. Most important to the well being of the older adults and their attachment to a place was autobiographical insideness, which is an idiosyncratic medley of remembered places in which incidents occurred, that span a person's lifetime. These places and the incidents that make them memorable are woven into a model of who the persons believe they are, once were and what they believe the world is like, in effect an autobiography of the self. Rowles notes that the places making up the autobiography do not need to be physically participated in, nor even in existence any more. People may become involved in such spaces by projecting themselves to environments displaced in space or time. Preserving these incident places is done

symbolically through cherished personal possessions, ongoing participation in the place either physically or through reminiscence, and by talking to others who had experienced the same environment. Rowles' work can be connected to a life course perspective, which acknowledges multiple dimensions of space and time on later life outcomes (Quadagno, 2005).

McAuley's (1998) findings support and extend Rowles' conceptualization and find that place attachment is not a constant: it can change as the person changes. Further, social-historical factors, racial identity, and events that occur outside of the group can shape the degree of attachment. This may result in increased feelings of attachment to previous places for immigrant older adults who are racial minorities. McAuley noted that insideness is used to distinguish "us from them" reiterating its importance to identity formation (p.35).

In discussing the importance of place attachment theory to elderly immigrants a number of themes are apparent. First, older adults do become attached to places over their lives, which occurs through subjectively defined, dynamic and person specific bonds. Thus, to understand their meaning of home entails discovering each person's unique autobiographical story of places, which is tied to self identity. In this sense, it seems that place attachment is not highly differentiated from place identity, as a concept of self. Attachment to a place, however, is likely to result in shaping one's place identity, especially so for attachment that occurs during the formative years. Attachment can occur to a place that is not a part of one's day to day life and it continues to occur after a person has an established place identity. Furthermore, bonds can occur to a place in spite of one's place identity. Thus, while there is overlap, attachment refers to positive feelings

about a specific place, while identity is the "world-view" that evolves out of daily experiences in places. Secondly, attachment is a function of social relations and experiences associated with places, which helps to construct an ongoing sense of self and ability of the self to function capably, irrespective of actually being in that place. This is very important for a number of reasons. First, it means that place attachment for the home left behind cannot be expected to diminish upon emigrating. In fact, it may even be intensified because of the loss of physical settings intrinsic to it. The length of residency in the former home for elder immigrants suggests that there may be many and longstanding attachments to places because the former home is the source of place identity. It also suggests that the immigrant elder's sense of self can be supported during the stress and loss of relocation as follows: through reminiscence of past places and accomplishments, by bringing symbolic personal items of these events and places, by having a social network of friends, family and community to become a part of in the host country and by participating in a collectively shared place of importance such as a Church or Temple. Thus, maintaining place attachment for the former home and objects brought from it is adaptive, regardless of whether or not place attachment occurs in Canada. However, new attachments need to be made in order to continue to maintain self-identity and to provide the meaning upon which home is based.

Churchman and Mitrani's (1994) study of 60 immigrant university students found that there were differing levels of attachment at the new apartment, neighbourhood and country levels, on the basis of perception of the difference (not real or objective difference) between old and new ones. There was a negative correlation such that the greater the number of perceived differences between old and new, the less attachment to

the new country. Perhaps even more important than the number of perceived differences was the direction of preference, that is "Preference for the new is associated with attachment to the new, and preference for the old is associated with the lack of attachment" (Churchman and Mitrani, p. 32). For example, while an older adult Chinese immigrant may have lived life in a communist regime, which is very different from the social democracy of Canada, they may prefer the latter. This is significant because it indicates that just because Canada is different does not preclude the possibility that a person may prefer it in spite of its incongruence, which would facilitate attachment to it.

Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home Model

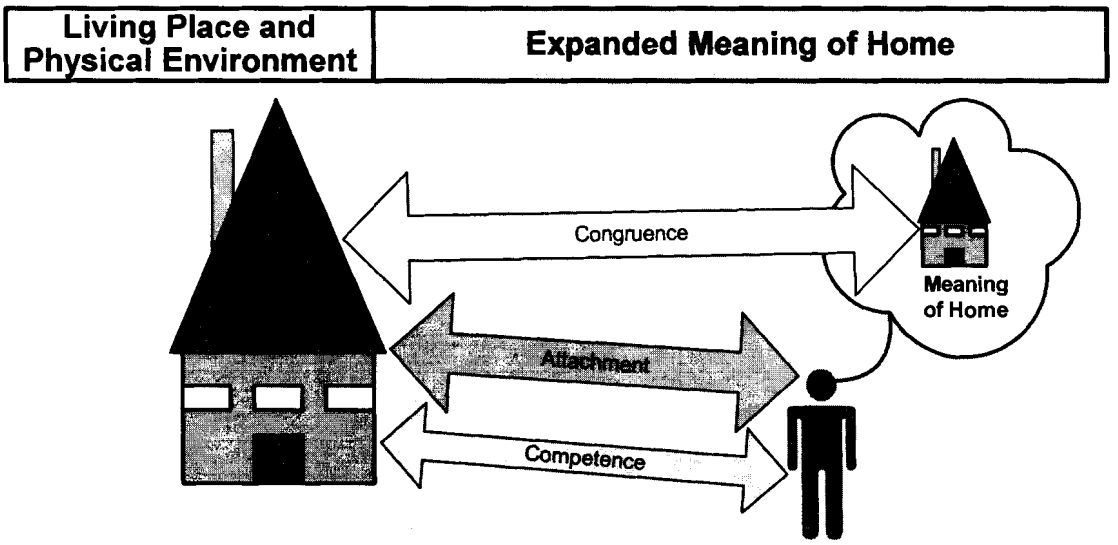
From the diverse literature reviewed in the previous sections an Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home Model (see Figure 2) was developed to systematically integrate and organize the information. The model also served to frame the research questions and the interview guide. General points about the model are made below, followed by a more detailed explanation.

Firstly, it is crucial to note that the Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home Model includes and expands the meaning of home beyond Despres' (1991) ten categories. Despres' work on the meaning of home describes people, events, objects and ideas that are important or meaningful to a person, but which also occur in and/or are related to the built structure of a home and the community. Thus, categories like speaking the common language, being attached to a special place or understanding the rules for shopping (barter versus fixed pricing) are not included by Despres as being important about home because they are intrinsic to it, as they are the source and substance of each person's place identity. In addition, these categories of home are often taken for granted

until they are left behind. The model expresses the notion that immigration expands the meaning of home to include a larger environment including the country of origin, as well as attachment to places in it, and the ability to function competently, which are taken for granted prior to immigrating (Case, 1996). The expanded meaning of home also includes the congruence between the meaning of home and the current home environment or place (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Representation of the Expanded Meaning of Home

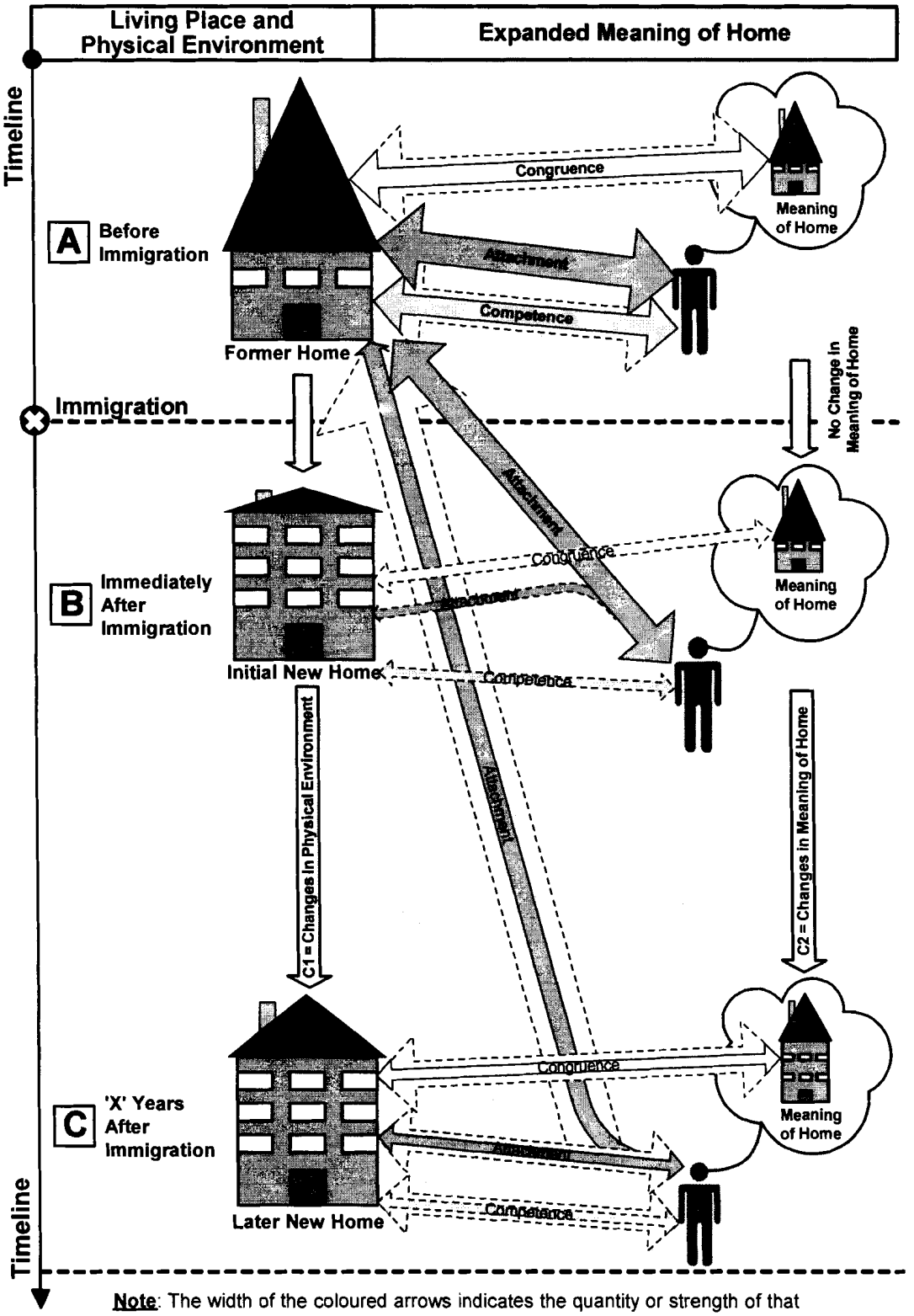
Includes congruence between the meaning of home and one's living place and physical environment, attachment to places and ones ability to function competently.



The model posits that the expanded meaning of home is constructed from three components: (1) congruence - between the current living place and physical environment and the meaning of home, (2) attachment - emotional bonds to places, and (3) competence - ability to function effectively in the environment, each of which is represented as an arrow between the immigrant elder and the current living place. The width of the arrow indicates the quantity or strength of that component, with greater width indicating a greater amount. Some of the component arrows in the model (see

Figure 2) have dotted lines, which indicate the potential for that component to be greater or stronger across individuals.

Figure 2: Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home Model



Note: The width of the coloured arrows indicates the quantity or strength of that component (wider = greater amount).

Secondly, a social systems ecological approach, as described by Altman (1976) underpins the model. It views environment and behaviour as a single intertwined unit where the environment impacts the person and the person impacts the environment (Altman). There are changes and evolution over time, in concert with real and perceived internal and external events, people, and environments - all of which are in themselves interacting and changing over time. The utility of this approach for the meaning of home to an immigrant elder is that it acknowledges that the older adult is affected by his/her former home and experiences, by the new place and what occurs and is available in it. Also, that the new place is impacted by the older adult and that these interactions continue to occur and shape both the elder and his/her environment over time (Altman).

Thirdly, the model depicts the transitions that may occur in the expanded meaning of home over time, for immigrant elders following immigration. Whether or not the new dwelling becomes a meaningful home or the immigrant elder forms attachments to places in the new environment, or to what degree he or she is able to function socioculturally is uncertain. Variations as individual as each person are expected. However, because of the importance of home to a person's identity and well being it is suggested that changes in both the person's idea of home and in the home environment will be the most productive for reconstructing home and realizing its benefits. These transitions and the factors that may influence them occur along a continuum of time giving the model a temporal aspect, which is particularly salient for the elderly, as the time they have available may be limited.

Timeline

Before Immigration

As seen in Figure 2, Section A of the model, initially the older adult is living in what will become their former home/country. It is assumed that the greatest fulfillment of the three components of the expanded meaning of home exists here, until some change occurs which prompts immigration. It may be, for example, that a loss of congruence and/or competence develops, which provides part or all of the impetus. For example, older adults experience declines in their ability to manage (competence component) or incongruence in the meaning of home (congruence component), which they cannot rectify in any way other than to immigrate. The dotted lines show the potential loss of congruence and/or competence. As shown in Section A, strong and multiple attachments to places exist and they are not believed to impact the decision to immigrate.

Immediately after Immigration

Section B in the model is the time immediately after immigrating. At this time incongruence is expected between the initial new home and the meaning of home because in its physical sense home is something that was left behind. The congruence arrow is narrow to indicate that there could be some congruence in the initial new place since it contains whatever pulled them to Canada, which Gutman (1986) notes will most likely be children/family that have previously emigrated. As well, if the older adult has visited these family members for any length of time congruence may be greater. The attachment arrow has two branches one is the same width as prior to immigrating indicating the attachment to former places remains as strong as when the person lived there. The attachment arrow also has a second dotted portion as there is potential for place

attachments to exist in the initial new home if the older adult has spent time in the new place previously. The competence arrow is dotted to show that a range in the ability to function competently is expected across individuals. If Canada is new and unfamiliar competence will likely be low, however previous stays and/or a sociocultural background similar to Canada's will enhance competence.

Upon settling into the initial new home the immigrant elder begins to compare this place with the home left behind, assessing both losses and gains. While the losses may be many, there may also be gains, such as family reunification (Boyd 1991; Gutman, 1986) and enhanced healthcare. In addition to losses and gains some things will simply be different, for example climate. This process continues over time. It is posited that the more congruent the new place is with the idea of home the easier it will be to reconstruct home.

"X" Years after Immigration

Section C of the model depicts any number of years after immigrating, which is represented by "x" years. It is from this point forward that an older adult must deal with the issue of whether or not the new place will become home and if so, how it can be accomplished. The reconstruction of home is not believed to be a fixed one. It is very conceivable that the immigrant older adult may not be willing or able to reconstruct their meaning of home; the potential exists but may not be realized, as shown by the dotted congruence arrow. Golant (1984) found that the impact of the environment (community, neighbourhood and dwelling) on an older person's wellbeing is seen in the consequences individuals associate with daily transactions in it. This underscores the importance of reconstructing the meaning of home, as well as, the need to function competently on a

day to day basis. The dotted attachment and competence arrows indicate that pre-immigration levels of both may or may not be recouped. It is expected that attachments to previous places will always continue to exist although they may be lessened as new attachments are formed in Canada. This is shown in the model by the long moderately wide arrow to the former home and the thinner arrow to the later new home. However, if the older adult is not willing or able to make new attachments it could also result in an even greater attachment to the former home, as shown by the dotted lines.

Two changes may occur to make the transition from initial new home to later new home, both of which enhance congruence. The initial new home is physically changed to reflect one's meaning of home (C1 in the model) and/or one's meaning of home is redefined to correspond with the initial new home (C2 in the model). It seems likely that a combination of both would best facilitate feeling at home in the new place. C1 and C2 are believed to be influenced by 4 factors: (1) Family and community support available (2) cultural background of the immigrant older adult, (3) personal resources of the immigrant older adult and (4) formal supports (government and non-profit programs) available.

Personal Resources

Personal resources are defined as the skills, abilities, assets, attitude, personality and sociodemographic attributes that are unique to each person and influence each person's ability to cope, learn, function and adapt to the host country, to the degree that they would like to. They are a product of life experiences and genetics, and include socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds. They are represented in the characteristics that can be used to describe an individual. A few such characteristics have been noted

previously: the skills required to achieve environmental understanding and competence (e.g. language acquisition) and pessimistic/optimistic responses to new environments and environmental preferences. Other personal resources are: age, gender, level of education, values, self-esteem, rigidity/flexibility, perceived control, attitude, sociability as seen in extroversion/introversion, socioeconomic status (at the time of departure and upon entering Canada), city or rural identity (Feldman, 1990), and the social acceptability of the ethnic group to which the elder belongs in the dominant culture (Berry, 1990). As well, a person's accumulated physical and financial assets are captured in this concept. Personal resources affect person-environment transactions. The potential relevance and impact of these variables on an older adult immigrant's ability to reconstruct home in Canada are significant and many, individually and in intersection with each other.

Berry's (1990) concept of acculturation attitude is the final personal resource. He notes that, typically, the process of acculturation is described as a cultural change that is initiated by the meeting of two or more autonomous cultures. However, he differentiates acculturation, which he defines as collective changes occurring at the population level, such as social structure and political organization, from psychological acculturation, which are changes that occur at the individual level, such as behaviour, identity, values and attitudes. He remarks that this is due to the different levels affected and because not every individual participates to the same extent in the collective changes that are underway in the group to which they belong. Thus, a person has an acculturation attitude that can take four different forms. First is assimilation, which is seen when the newcomer does not wish to maintain his/her identity and interacts daily with the dominant culture to assume its values and become a part of it. Second is separation, which occurs when a

person values maintaining their cultural identity and avoids interaction with the dominant society. Third is integration, wherein a person is interested in maintaining the integrity of their culture while moving to participate in the larger society through daily interactions with others. Last is marginalization, which occurs when there is little interest in maintaining the original culture and in interacting with ethnic or larger society groups. These people are on the margins of two cultures, unaccepted and unsupported by both. Acculturation attitude is very important to understanding the degree to which an older adult immigrant will participate in the larger society, which will influence their ability to function in it and form attachments. As well, it suggests that older adults who choose a separation approach may still be able to make a meaningful home in Canada if their new place contains a large enough ethnic enclave and family support for their self imposed separation. In this case, the attitude may even be adaptive if they have other limited personal resources for interacting with the environment. Acculturation attitude is also important in a family context. If the immigrant older adult has a separation attitude and values and interacts with only their culture and one of their children has an assimilation attitude, rejecting the values and customs of the older adult, while another has an integration attitude these differences can set the stage for conflict on many levels. This would have a significant impact on the older adult's congruence and attachment.

Purpose of the Research

The concepts and theory identified in the two previous sections demonstrated that the impact of late-life immigration on the meaning of home remains unexplored in the literature. This research sought to provide exporatory answers to the following research questions: What is the meaning of home for older South Asian Indian adults that

immigrate to the Vancouver area? Is the meaning of home different after immigration and if so, how? The data were also used to test the applicability of the Immigrant Elders' Expanded Meaning of Home Model.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

Research Design

This research explored the meaning of home for mainly Sikh, SAI older women who had immigrated to the Greater Vancouver area using a cross-sectional mixed-method design. The main investigation consisted of a taped, translated, single three-hour, face-to-face, post-immigration interview of nine South Asian Indian (SAI) women, eight of whom were Sikh and one Hindu (see Appendix C). Thoughts regarding what had been retrospectively important about the former home, and what was important about their Canadian home were solicited. The second part consisted of the administration of a survey questionnaire (see Appendix D) that gathered data on the pre and post-immigration meanings of home to a non-random sample of 40 SAI older adults present at a SAI senior's centre or Temple (Gurdwara). The survey data were used to generally inform the topic and corroborate findings from the interviews.

"Qualitative research makes the often invisible, unreflected aspects of life explicit. It gives voice to the ordinary." (Sankar & Gubrium, 1994, p. ix). Its tradition contends that "...there is a reality out there to be studied, captured, and understood..." (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). A mixed, inductive-deductive approach was utilized that emphasized the latter. This allowed for the discovery of new data and the use of associated theory and concepts, such as, Despres' (1991) established categories of the meaning of home and place attachment. Since Despres' categories have not been

established in the elderly immigrant context, a flexible approach was required. The adaptability of qualitative inquiry was well suited to this, as well as the need to remain open to whatever data the participants' experiences would reveal.

Use of the second method, the administration of the questionnaire served two purposes. First, it provided data that generally illuminated the topic. Second, the use of more than one information source or "data triangulation" strengthened the study by enhancing the validity of the findings (Patton, 2004, p.247).

In qualitative inquiry the researcher is the interpretive instrument and his/her perspective is a part of the context for the findings (Patton, 2004). As such, this researcher's ethnic dissimilarity from the participants as a Western, Caucasian, Canadian born younger adult can be expected to have had some influence on the development of rapport and the participants' responses. They may have responded less openly and/or less truthfully, by providing answers that they thought would be socially desirable, because of their perceptions of me as a foreigner, and/or to avoid being judged.

In order to reduce the impact of the researcher on the research process Patton (2002) advises the researcher to conduct interviews with an attitude of "empathic neutrality", wherein the researcher seeks to be seen as understanding, caring and interested in the participants, but neutral or non-judgmental about the information that they provide (p. 569). My work as a nurse over the past 18 years has provided many opportunities to use empathic neutrality, as it required developing effective client-centred relationships (Perry & Potter, 1998). Nursing is typically seen as a caring profession which further promoted the notion that this researcher was caring and interested (Perry & Potter). In addition, each interview was conducted with the self-awareness that I was

from a Western based Caucasian culture in order to try to minimize researcher impact and bias (Patton). Open dialogue was promoted by my consistent effort to be reflexive, which Patton describes as attentiveness to my perspective, as well as the participant's.

Signed informed consent in accordance with Simon Fraser University ethical standards for human research was obtained by the translator from each of the participants. It provided them with information about the research, voluntary participation, freedom to withdraw at any time without adverse consequences, and the maintenance of confidentiality. There were a few episodes wherein the participants appeared to experience brief feelings of longing, as evidenced by tearing of the eyes, when discussing their former home. At these times, they were gently reminded that this study had no rights and wrongs and they did not have to answer or continue if they did not feel comfortable doing so. One participant did have a short period of quiet sobs, at which time the interviewing ceased and her sadness was compassionately respected. She composed herself in less than two minutes and then was asked if she wished to continue per the above process, which she chose to do. All of the participants remained in the study.

Qualitative Methods

Interview Participants

The qualitative portion of the study collected data from a convenience sample of nine mainly Sikh South Asian Indian (SAI) elderly women, all of whom were known to the recruiter/translator through her position as Programs Manager at the Progressive Intercultural Community Services Society (PICSS). Participants had to be aged 50 years and over, and must have immigrated to Canada at age 50 or older. The questions were

provided to the participants in advance of the first interview in their written language, in order to maximize the clarity and depth of their responses. The utility of this was questionable in this population, as some participants were illiterate and many did not appear to have the read the questions. Only women were chosen for the in-depth interviews because, as mentioned above, home generally has more importance for them. They were each given $10.00 as an honorarium for participating.

Recruiting SAI participants was challenging because, as noted by Nayar (2004), "It is rather a closed community, quite wary of outsiders" (p. 21). This view was supported by a participant who stated that even within-group discussions amongst older adult SAIs are kept at a superficial level, "Our people do not talk, it is polite conversation." Further, these older adults were not likely to speak English (BC Stats, Immigration Highlights, issue 01-1), which required a translator to mitigate the language barrier. The participants were recruited by the study's translator. She was asked to find women who met the selection criteria and who were as articulate as possible, in order to maximize responses. The first participant that was interviewed was the one who was brought to quiet sobs when thinking about her home in India, as she felt that she had been deceived into coming to Canada and had no choice but to stay. This experience may have created a selection bias in the sample that was not realized at the time, as the translator's subsequent choices were women whose narratives were generally positive in nature and free from tension.

The interviews were held in the chosen language of the participant: Hindi, Punjabi or Gujerati. Each of the participants asked the translator where she was from in India and they were pleased with her answers regarding her family's origins. Some of them said

that they knew some of her father's family and advised this researcher that they were well respected. It was critical to have a respected and trusted person who could also speak the language. Using the same translator for all interviews minimized translator error and enhanced the reliability of data collection (Patton, 2004).

SAI older adults were chosen for the following reasons. Canadian immigration trends have seen a substantial change in the continents from which immigrants originate. Historically, they have been European in origin but, since about 1960, more immigrants have been arriving from Asia than from Europe, with European born immigrants steadily declining during this time (Ng, 1998). For the past twenty years, India has ranked as one of the top source countries of immigrants to Canada and for many years during the 1980's it was the single top source for British Columbia (BC) (BC Stats, Immigration Highlights, issue 01-1). Asian non-Indian immigrants represent people arriving from Hong Kong, China and Taiwan, as the largest group of immigrants (BC Stats, Immigration Highlights, issue 01-1).

In comparison to this group, the immigrants from India collectively show unique sociodemographic characteristics that facilitated the research. First, between the years 1996 and 2000, 81% of all Indian landings were family related as compared to 30% for other major Asian countries and 29% from all other sources (BC Stats, Immigration Highlights, issue 01-1). BC Stats notes that the higher percentage of family landing for Indians show a higher proportion of sponsored parents and grandparents and fewer spouse/children sponsorships than other landings (BC Stats, Immigration Highlights, issue 01-1). Further, a little less than one half of all Indians that come to BC settle in Surrey or Abbotsford with the majority going to Surrey (BC Stats, Immigration

Highlights, issue 01-1). This means that the SAI group provides the largest base of immigrant elders in the Vancouver area Lower Mainland, which enhanced participant availability. Given that Canadian immigration policy continues to enable family reunification and Indo-Canadians make the best use of it to bring in their parents and grandparents, India is likely to continue to be an important source of older adult immigrants to Canada, about whom relatively little research exists.

Sample sizes in qualitative research are smaller than quantitative research, since it seeks a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study and not the achievement of statistical power in order to make assertions about a population (DePoy & Gitlin, 1998). Fifteen interviews were proposed in order to achieve a recommended saturation in the themes within the data (Gubrium & Sankar, 1994; Patton, 2002). This number was not achieved, as the recruiter/translator was injured in a motor vehicle accident en route to the tenth participant, which resulted in a chronic disability that precluded her from conducting further interviews. As a result, the total participant number remained at nine.

Interview Procedure, Schedule and Instrument

The interviews were conducted between December 2003 and February 2004, at times convenient for this researcher, the translator and the participants. Participants were advised in advance that they would need to be interviewed alone, which meant that the interviews occurred in the daytime either in the morning for those with kindergarten aged grandchildren whom they cared for, or after lunch when toddler grandchildren were likely to be napping. Participants with older school age grandchildren usually requested times after lunch. The request that they be alone was made to maximize truthful answers, minimize distractions and to prevent any negative family consequences for the women.

As noted earlier, SAI culture tends to be generally closed to outsiders which applies even more so to discussing personal and family information. This was an important consideration, as this researcher was an outsider from the participants' perspective. The female gender of the translator and the researcher was also felt to be an important consideration for interviewing female participants because of the patriarchal nature of SAI culture.

Rapport building began in the initial stages of the meeting to convey empathy and understanding without judgement of the participant's comments (Patton, 2002). This was initiated through small talk between the participant and the translator. Each participant made social inquiries about the translator's family, family of origin, and regarding her sons because of their previous knowledge of her. They also inquired about the researcher's birth place, number of children, and number of male children. It was unanticipated, but important to the participants, that this researcher had children and sons, likely owing to the high cultural value placed on having children and having a son.

Some participants also inquired as to why a white nurse was interested in the meaning home for older SAI women. They were advised that the researcher was from the Canadian prairies and is married to an immigrant whose culture, language and background is very distinct from hers and whose in-laws immigrated to Canada as older adults. They were told that this has resulted in family challenges about where and what home is, language and food issues and differing values all of which prompted this research. The participants responded very positively to this with some inquiring about the researcher's relationship with her mother-in-law. The nature of this relationship was disclosed. It was important to them and they approved of her daily involvement in our

home and the cooperative and respectful nature of this relationship. They indicated that they had had similarly involved mother-in-laws and laughed at our shared experience. This was unanticipated, but this honesty and sharing of personal information was beneficial in enhancing trust, shared understanding and in psychologically reducing the differences in ethnicity and age.

As the interviews were held in participants' homes, the researcher was also regarded as a guest. The translator advised the researcher that SAI custom was such that tea was always offered (Indian chai, sweets, foods). The first two interviews were initiated with us declining tea in the hope that we could get right to interviewing once the purpose of the research was reviewed and the consent form was signed. This was not culturally possible, as following the preliminary inquiries mentioned above, the early participants insisted that we take tea and food, which we did, to not appear to be rude. However, it added time to the interviews, which was not in the budget. Given this, the remaining interviews were scheduled so that they would not coincide with, or occur too close to meal times, with the best time being after lunch, when the declining of food might be accepted by the participant on the basis of having just eaten lunch. We always eagerly accepted chai, but insisted that food not be prepared, otherwise the women would have been slighted and the translator would have been perceived as acting in a culturally inappropriate manner. Maintaining the translator's social position and relationship with these women after the research was also a consideration. As chai takes some time to prepare, we used it to set up the tape recorder and to plan the seating. However, accepting chai but turning down food was not seen as an acceptable compromise by the participants. They insisted that they at least prepare a small amount of food.

The preparation of food for a guest appeared to be strongly ingrained and the women who were self-reported as good cooks appeared to enjoy the opportunity to display their talent to make good Indian food for this researcher. Since we had no choice but to accept the food from the participants, we decided to ask them to prepare it about halfway through the interview. This gave us all a break, as three hours is a long time. This time was used to review the findings, refocus and/or clarify the information with the translator and to provide her with specific direction for the remaining time. We also would ask the participant about items that she had brought with her from India and photographs were taken of those items, with her permission, if they were located nearby. Items in other places in the home were left for the end of the interview.

Most of the interviews were interrupted briefly by family members who were introduced and then came and went. It was likely that there was an element of curiosity, but mostly it appeared that the sheer number of household members, especially in the joint families, made being alone for three hours highly unlikely. If a male family member came home, the participant would excuse herself quickly and jump up to go to the kitchen, where she would offer to prepare food. If it was a daughter-in-law, she would offer to make tea, which would be proudly approved of by the participant. We declined it in the interests of time and the participants accepted this, as they had already made tea at the beginning of the interview.

All of the interviewees were alone, as requested, at the start of the interview, except for one. The one exception was Shivbeer (a pseudonym), whose husband answered the door and invited me in. It was my understanding at that time that the translator was already there, although she had not yet arrived. The husband spoke English

quite well and invited me in to sit and then made polite inquires about me including: total number of children, number of male children, educational background, and the nature of the research. He provided his educational background and then made polite small talk about India. He appeared to be deciding whether or not his wife would be allowed to participate, although she had already agreed with the translator to do so. When his inquiries were satisfactorily responded to, he called for his wife, introduced her and then promptly sent her to make tea and food. The translator then arrived. Although food was declined he politely and simply would not allow her to be interviewed until she had made a meal, which included chai, and until this researcher and the translator had eaten what he thought was a reasonable amount of food.

The interview was allowed to go ahead, but he answered the questions for her. When this occurred, the participant's nonverbal expression indicated flashes of humiliation and anger, which she controlled by stiffening her sitting posture and then lowering her eyes and head. She offered no verbal comment. With the situation somewhat tense, this researcher asked the translator to ask the participant's husband if it would be possible for his wife to answer the questions since the research was about what women think. The translator looked somewhat uncomfortable, but spoke to the husband who replied that he had answered because his wife was uneducated. The translator appeared more uncomfortable, and he then reiterated to me in English that his wife was too uneducated to contribute, for example, she did not even know her birth date. In the hopes of salvaging the interview, this researcher asked him to answer the demographic questions and suggested that his wife answer the ones about home because they were about her feelings, which did not require an education in order to speak of. This

researcher also informed him that, while the interviews were just for women, men's opinions would be gathered in a survey, which he approved of. The participant appeared pleased with this compromise and her husband accepted it somewhat reluctantly. He did seem a bit puzzled that the opinions of an uneducated woman could be of value. During the first few questions he spoke to her in Punjabi and then advised me in English that he had provided her with a date (e.g. the year they married). About one third of the way through the interview he crossed his arms over his chest, closed his eyes and sat back on the couch, and physically withdrew from the conversation. He never left the couch and he periodically half opened the eye that was closest to this researcher, presumably to let me know that he was still paying attention. She appeared to speak freely, as he occasionally disagreed with her responses, which resulted in a comfortable banter between them followed by his backing down and accepting her opinion.

The interviews were taped and notes were recorded during the process by this researcher. As information was collected, it was interpreted by the translator and relayed to this researcher to ensure understanding and to stay focused on capturing the desired information. As such, the process was a very active one. The researcher had eighteen years of professional interviewing experience, which facilitated the development and use of active interviewing skills that were applied to this research. Valid and complete data can be collected through conscious listening, focusing/refocusing the discussion, clarifying the participant's statements and observing for verbal and nonverbal congruence (Perry & Potter, 1998). The questions were open-ended and revolved around defining their idea of home at the three time periods listed in the model: before immigration, at the time of immigration and years later, depending on the current length of residency. As

well, information on pre and post-immigration place attachment, changes in place attachment, their motivation for migrating, meaningful items brought with them, current favourite space in the home, places they go out to, and the impact of reminiscing about their former home on their feelings was requested (see Appendix C).

Demographic data (see Appendix E) was also collected from the participants during the interview, which also included a tour through their residence. Photographs were taken of meaningful objects and spaces, types of furniture and their arrangement, home modifications and home personalization, to explore Despres' (1991) second category of the meaning of home, which states that home is a reflection of one's ideas and values related to how they see themselves. A photograph of their previous home was obtained when possible.

A second interview to confirm this researcher's findings and/or to dig deeper into any of participants' responses was not initially planned, based on the experience of Choudhury (2001). She was denied a second interview to review the accuracy of her transcripts in her qualitative research with 10 elderly SAI women regarding resettlement issues because the women in her study were concerned that family members might become suspicious, and that it would deepen their sense of loss and regret for having immigrated. Although this finding was not supported by this study, a second interview to review a summary of the data gathered was not considered, due to a lack of time and funding.

Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Interview Participants

As shown in table 1, the participants ranged in age from 58 to 74 years, with a mean age of 69. Four were married and resided with their spouses. One remained married, but her husband resided in India where he had returned shortly after immigrating to Canada with his wife, as he missed India too much. The remaining four had been widowed prior to migrating. One participant was Hindu from New Delhi, while the rest were Sikh from the Punjab region. Two thirds of the participants self rated their health as good or better (5 participants good, 1 excellent). Two self-rated their health as "fair" related to hypertension or diabetes and one said it was "poor" because she has been suffering from depression from staying alone in the daytime for the past seven years since immigrating.

Table 1: Sociodemographic characteristics of the interview participants

Variable / Value	Percent % (n=9)
Age at last birthday	
56 – 60	11%
61 – 65	11%
66 – 70	33%
71 – 75	44%
Marital status	
Married	56%
Widowed	44%
Religion	
Hindu	11%
Sikh	89%
Indian province of origin	
New Delhi	11%
Punjab	89%
Educational background	
No Schooling	11%
Primary School	22%
College/University Degree	67%
Year immigrated to Canada	
1986 – 1990	11%

Variable / Value	Percent % (n=9)
1991 – 1995	56%
1996 – 2000	33%
How well speaks English	
Cannot speak or understand	22%
Speaks and understands poorly	22%
Speaks poorly, understands well	22%
Speaks and understand well	33%
Self rated health	
Poor	11%
Fair	22%
Good	56%
Excellent	11%
Acculturation attitude	
Keep own and avoid Canadian culture	44%
Join in Canadian culture, while keeping own	56%

All of the participants lived with a child or children, as part of an extended family. Four lived in joint families composed of themselves, their children and their spouses, and any children they had produced. The remaining participants had formed an extended family in which they lived with only one of their children, usually the eldest son. The two women that did not have sons lived with their daughters.

Two of the women, who were also university graduates, worked in a part-time capacity outside of the home, teaching Punjabi to English speaking Indo-Canadian children at the Sikh Temple (Gurdwara) and a Sikh School. The sample represented an atypically well educated group, with only one woman who had no education, which is typical of this generation (Nayar, 2004). Two women had received a grade 8 education and the remaining six had acquired college or university level education. It is likely that the high level of education achieved by this sample accounted for their association with PICSS and their agreement to participate. Two thirds of the sample had never visited Canada before migrating here.

The acculturation attitude (Berry, 1990) that was recalled from the time of immigration was split with four participants categorized as having an integration acculturation attitude of joining in Canadian culture, while keeping their own culture. Five participants were categorized as having a separation attitude and planned to keep their own culture and avoid Canadian culture.

Data Analysis

"The challenge of qualitative analysis lies in making sense of massive amounts of data" (Patton, 2002, p. 432). It requires that raw data be reduced to patterns and themes by sorting trivia from significance (Patton). Patton advises that only one absolute rule applies in qualitative analysis "Do your very best with your full intellect to fairly represent the data and communicate what the data reveal given the purpose of the study" (p.433). This rule guided the coding of the data at all stages.

In this study, 27 hours of face-to-face taped interviews were translated into English by the recruiter/translator who was present at the interviews in order to generate word for word transcripts. They were read through and compared to this researcher's notes taken during the interviews, to verify that they accurately represented the interview content.

Coding the qualitative data

The transcripts were entered into a program for qualitative analysis, ATLAS.ti 5.0, to facilitate coding, comparison and to elucidate findings. The literature and thesis proposal were reviewed. Then, each transcript was read through to get an overall sense of the participant's experience and for obvious key ideas. It was read through again line by

line and a short phrase or code that captured the meaning or summarized the content of a segment of raw data was assigned to that data. These segments of data were actual quotes from the interviews with a code attached. Some codes were free, meaning that they were chosen by this researcher, while other codes were concepts from the literature, such as one of Despres' (1991) categories, or place attachment, while others were demographic information, such as acculturation attitude (Berry, 1990). For example, the statement "I was in charge, my house. In India." from one participant was coded as "Meaning of home before - security/control," as it fit with Despres' definition of this category. Lengthy descriptions of the home in India, which often included the number of and types of rooms in the home, how the yard looked and what farm animals were there, were coded as "description of home in India." All raw data were assigned a code and some data were assigned multiple codes if it contained more than one idea. This ensured that all data and all ideas were captured.

The ATLAS program maintains a list of all of the original quotes, as written in the transcripts, which have been attached to a code. All quotes assigned to a code were regularly reviewed and compared to each other by this researcher, so that reliable coding occurred over time. By clicking on any quote assigned to a code, the program finds and opens that code in its original transcript allowing the researcher to re-examine it and its original context. This feature further erhances the validity of coding and coding over time (Patton, 2002).

Analyzing the codes; grouping into larger concepts

Once all of the raw data were reduced to a list of codes, the codes were analyzed for similarities that could be grouped into a larger idea. Most of these larger concepts

were taken from the literature. For example, fourteen codes concerning why they "Came to Canada" and three in relation to "Immigration triggers," which were derived from 66 quotes from the original transcripts, were all assigned to a larger concept of "Immigration motivation." The codes on the meaning of home were grouped according to the timelines defined in the purpose of the research: meaning of home before immigration and meaning of the Canadian home now. Four unanticipated codes that came out during the interviews and related to the "meaning of the Indian home; now" were grouped and labelled as such. The codes were analyzed thematically in a process that involved defining the key elements occurring within the individual accounts and looking for differences and similarities in these themes between participants (Patton, 2002).

The code that challenged

Once the codes were grouped into larger concepts, a meeting was held with the project's senior supervisor Dr. Chaudhury to review the coding process and discuss the larger concepts and themes derived from the codes. At this time, a discussion occurred about the description of intense supportive neighbour networks, which were mentioned by seven of the nine participants and which had been a very important experience of being at home in India before immigrating. It was originally coded as "Meaning of home; before-neighbourliness" and was defined by this researcher for coding purposes as, "Neighbourliness/intense social networks: Interacted and friendly with neighbours in India; others children were like family, mutually supportive, helpful, cared for each others kids, invite the neighbours to weddings. Source of social support, social capital and socializing." An example of a quote illustrating this notion comes from one participant, who was a pharmacist in India:

> [The sector 11 house, why did you feel that was your home?] Our kids grew up there; we used to take care of each others' kids. Even my husband used to say go take care (of the neighbourhood children). They (neighbours) used to help us, we used to help them. When my kids couldn't get admission (admitted to a coveted school), they helped to us to gain admission. I even gave injections to the kids without their parent's permission.

The literature reviewed did not explain or capture the intense supportive neighbourly networks described by the participants. This researcher's initial analysis left this notion as labelled above, and as an eleventh category of the meaning of home.

An updated literature search with a view to exploring this finding was done. This led to finding Nayar's (2004) extensive social study which gathered information about three generations of Vancouver area Sikh community through one hundred face-to-face interviews. It discusses the characteristics and beliefs of immigrant elder Sikhs as a result of their originating from a traditional society and it provided important information about the collective nature and values of Sikh society. The "intense neighbourliness" was given careful and ongoing thought in light of Nayar's findings, the original literature and theory about the meaning of home, and the outstanding meaning of home codes which did not fit neatly into any of Despres' (1991) categories. The outstanding meaning of home codes concerned ideas such as "home is where the Sikh Temple (Gurdwara) is within walking distance and visited every day", "home means living in joint family." Further, this researcher was pondering how it was that the majority of participants maintained that they felt at home here when there were such big differences in the two places and a noted decrease in the number of categories of meaning of home met in Canada, as compared to India. Deliberation lead to the realization that all of the codes were describing the commonly held sociocultural beliefs about what home means in India. The codes were

thus grouped and renamed as the code "meaning of home before; socioculturally congruent." Some of the outstanding codes in the "meaning of home; now" category were also reviewed and fit nicely into "meaning of home now; socioculturally congruent", such as, "lives in a joint home", "maintaining cultural practices", "establishing their role as a respected elder", and "behaving the same way here as they did in India." This last code was the only one which required significant contemplation during the data analysis.

Quantitative Methods

Research Design

The second portion of the study gathered information using an exploratory cross-sectional questionnaire (see Appendix D). Criteria for participation in this portion of the study were that participants had to be aged 50 years and over, must have immigrated to Canada at age 50 or older, (although as it turned out 7 immigrated between the ages 30 and 49), and that they were present at a SAI senior's centre or Sikh Temple (Gurdwara) when the surveyor was there. The questionnaire was administered to both men and women in order to supplement and legitimize the main interview findings, while also acquiring data from men, as their meaning of home may be different than the women's.

Survey Procedure, Schedule, Instrument and Data Analysis

The questionnaire data were collected in November 2003 and February, May and November 2004. The surveyor was the same translator/recruiter that conducted the main interviews. She stood in the non-prayer area of the Sikh Temple (Gurdwara), which she described as an area where Sikhs chat and socialize. She randomly approached and asked people if they would answer the questions. She asked the questions in Punjabi and circled

the answers in English. She also attempted to recruit participants from among people she knew, who attend senior's events at the Progressive Intercultural Community Services Society (PICSS), a non profit service-based organization that advocates for and develops major programs and partnerships in support of the SAI community, where she works. Unfortunately, this researcher did not ask the surveyor to keep count of the number of people at the temple who refused to participate. However, she did note that those who declined offered the same reason, "I cannot answer. I am not educated." When she advised them that her questions were about their experiences of home, they still maintained that they could not contribute because of their lack of education.

The questions were derived from a questionnaire used by Despres (1991) describing 10 categories of the meaning of home and used with her permission. It was adapted to include questions on: place attachment pre and post migration, the importance of Indian, food, temples and maintaining SAI values in the home. Univariate and bivariate analyses of the data were undertaken using SPSS 13.

Survey Participants

Table 2 presents a summary of the sociodemographic characteristics of the 40 questionnaire participants, which were chosen as they may have an effect on the meaning of home. The sample was made up of 42.5% women and 57.5% men. The women ranged in age from 58 to 82 with a mean age of 67.8 years. The men ranged in age from 54 to 90 with a mean age of 69.5 years. The sample was predominantly married (87.5%) with the remaining 5 participants being widowed (12.5%). Participants were predominantly Sikh (85%), with the remaining 15% being Hindu. Just over three quarters (77%) were from the Punjab region with 20% being from Delhi and one participant being from Balle.

About one third of the sample or 67.5% reported that they spoke English poorly or not at all, while the remaining one-third or 32.5% said that they spoke it well or very well, with 10 of those 13 people reporting the latter. More participants (60%) self reported their health as poor or fair than as good or excellent.

Table 2: Sociodemographic characteristics of survey participants

Variable / Value	Frequency	Percent (n=40)
Age Group		
50-59	8	20.0%
60-69	14	35.0%
70-79	11	27.5%
80-90	6	15.0%
No Answer	1	2.5%
Gender		
Female	17	42.5%
Male	23	57.5%
Marital Status		
Married	35	87.5%
Widowed	5	12.5%
Religion		
Hindu	6	15.0%
Sikh	34	85.0%
Indian Province of Origin		
Balle	1	2.5%
Delhi	8	20.0%
Punjab	31	77.5%
Educational Background		
No Schooling	7	17.5%
Some Primary School	2	5.0%
Primary School Grad	10	25.0%
Some High-School	8	20.0%
High-School Grad	5	12.5%
Some College/University	1	2.5%
College/University Degree	7	17.5%
Kind of Work O/S Home		
None	26	65.0%
Farm Work	8	20.0%
Other Type of Work	6	15.0%
Age at Immigration to Canada		
30 - 39	3	7.5%

Variable / Value	Frequency	Percent (n=40)
40 - 49	4	10.0%
50 - 59	17	42.5%
60 - 69	14	35.0%
70+	1	2.5%
No Answer	1	2.5%
Years in Canada		
0 - 9	23	57.5%
10 -19	10	25.0%
20 -29	5	12.5%
30+	2	5.0%
Living Arrangement		
Alone	1	2.5%
With Spouse Only	11	27.5%
With Daughter	3	7.5%
With Son	17	42.5%
With Son(s) and Daughter(s)	6	15.0%
Rotate Among Children's Homes	2	5.0%
How Well Speaks English		
Cannot Speak	13	32.5%
Poorly	14	35.0%
Well	3	7.5%
Very Well	10	25.0%
Self Reported Health		
Poor	12	30.0%
Fair	12	30.0%
Good	12	30.0%
Excellent	4	10.0%
Acculturation Attitude Upon Immigration: Keep Own Culture		
Yes	40	100.0%
Acculturation Attitude Upon Immigration: Join Canadian Culture		
No	16	40.0%
Yes	24	60.0%

Seven participants (17.5%) came to Canada between the ages of 30 and 49 years, while the majority (82.5%) came at an older age of 50 or more (40% of the participants came at age 60 or more). The length of stay in Canada ranged from 1 to 34 years, with a mean of 12.4 years. Twenty-three (57.5%) of the participants have been in Canada for

nine years or less. One quarter have been here between 10 and 19 years and 17.5% have been here for 20 or more years.

One participant (2.5%) lived alone and 27% lived with a spouse only. The remaining 70% of the participants lived with their children. Twenty of them or 50% lived in an extended family with a son (42.5%) and only 3 participants lived with a daughter (7.5%). Six participants or 15% lived in a joint family with their sons and daughters, while two (5%) rotated living at their children's homes.

The education level of the sample was quite varied: 17.5% had no education, 30% received some amount of primary school education, 20% had some high school, 12.5% completed high school, while 20% of the sample had some amount of or completed a college/university degree. As such, about one third of the sample (32.5%) had a high school or higher education, while the remaining two-thirds (67.5%) had no school to some high school. Of the 67.5% of people who had no school to some high school, the majority of them (47.5%) had a grade school or less educational level. Two thirds (66%) of the participants did not work outside of the home, while 20% did farm work and 6 people (15%) did other non-farm work outside of the home, such as, cashier, factory worker, security guard and lunch room supervisor.

In terms of their acculturation attitude (Berry, 1990), 40% of the participants planned to maintain a separation attitude, while 60% of the participants came with an integration attitude. No one came intending to assimilate into Canadian culture.

CHAPTER FIVE:
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Overview of Emergent Themes and Categories

The research used the Immigrant Elders' Expanded Meaning of Home Model and Despres' (1991) meaning of home categories to guide the search for themes and clarify the findings. This chapter describes the most common categories of the meaning of home that emerged from the data. Direct quotes that best embody the findings are presented. Grammatical errors typically reflect participants who spoke in English, although they may also represent translator error. The translator was raised in Canada, but spoke Indian languages before English and uses them in her home and work life. Angle brackets have been used to clarify the content of some quotes. Pseudonyms have been given to the participants to ensure their anonymity.

Before Immigrating

Meaning of Home

As stated earlier, the meaning of home is that which is understood as being significant about home to that person. There is no single meaning of home. It is a multidimensional concept wherein different meanings of home co-exist, which coalesce to form an overall and inherent sense of what home is to each person (Sixsmith, 1986).

Home pre-immigration was a source of positive feelings and intimate relationships that existed over time

Each of the participants was able to identify a dwelling in India that they defined as home when they lived in India. As found in the literature on home (Dovey, 1985; Porteous, 1976), they differentiated it from places where they lived and they provided reasons for their choice. Home was described by all of the participants as a place of positive feelings; where they felt good. Nasib stated "Whatever time passed, it was good time" and Harbans stated that what made her feel at home "... was the love, that's all. One another's love, tied us together."

The source of these positive feelings was the length of time spent in that home in combination with family relationships associated with home. Of particular importance were the birth, raising and education of children and time spent with other female family members. Balwant stated "We stayed in the house; our kids grew up in the house. They got educated in the house." Balwant gave birth to three of her four children in her home of 52 years. Nasib stated "of course you feel good, but the love of your sister, all the kids being together, the street you lived on, you remember." Participants who lived in joint families broadened the relatives that they included in their description of home, for example Harbans stated, "we were a big family. My husband's three brothers, plus their kids." Home is recognized as the centre of emotional relationships (Despres, 1991; Porteous; 1976, Sixsmith, 1986;).

Home pre-immigration was a place of sociocultural congruence

Home as a place of sociocultural congruence means that the participant's sociocultural values, beliefs and ways of behaving, in effect their place identity was

congruent with their daily lived reality (Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff, 1983). Many of the participants stated that they spent their early married, adult years in large towns or cities living in government rental housing, a benefit that they were entitled to as a result of their husbands having higher status "government jobs." The houses that they defined as home were built on owned land (family owned, purchased by them, government given) or in villages geographically near the farm lands. The four that worked in paid employment (three teachers and one pharmacist) were within walking distance of their work places.

The day to day sociocultural descriptions of living in India, including the intense social networks typical of SAI traditional culture represented the next most commonly described aspect of home (Nayar, 2004; Tandon, 1968). Harbans stated "my neighbours are like my family." Gurmail also described her neighbours as family and stated that their involvement in the raising of her children exceeded her own, such that she doesn't really know how they were raised:

> They were like family members. I brought up my kids when I did not have servants, my son used to call the neighbour mama. School mom to me and home mama to the neighbour. When my son had chickenpox, it was 10 o'clock, and I said I will go to school [her work place]. My neighbour said I'll take him home, I told her that it is contagious, she said "what if my own kids have it, I would not take them out." She took him home, her daughter got chickenpox...these are the things I remember and these things are not here. I don't even know how my kids grew up.

Shivbeer described it as, "Your love is stronger there. If someone gets sick here, who goes to their neighbours house, does someone? [There] the whole community raised the kids. I knew all the village people." Shivangi who suffered from extreme motion sickness was unable to travel and described her neighbour's assistance as, "Very, very

nice. I never used to go anywhere. They used to buy new stuff. Go grocery shopping for me."

Home as place that is congruent with one's sociocultural beliefs and behaviours is not described in Despres' (1991) categories. Dovey (1985), however, notes that the types of patterns and experiences seen in the home environment arise from one's sociocultural order and that because the sociocultural order of home is so pervasive, it is an aspect that is taken for granted when studying home. Lewin's (2000) conceptual discussion of home and elderly immigrants hypothesized that culture is one of three important components of home for this group, which these participants strongly supported in their descriptions of their supportive Indian neighbour networks and daily social functioning.

In addition to these intense supportive neighbours, the participants described the active social aspect of SAI life. Balwant stated, "We always had programs, weddings. There was always socializing. Everybody get all the relatives together, as well as, easy access to a Gurdwara." When asked if there were many interactions other than weddings she stated, "Yeah, yeah. It was always somebody comes like my sister-in-law, and we used to sit and we used to go to the farm and meet people on the way." Gatherings of relatives occurred commonly in the form of daily drop-ins of whoever showed up wanting to visit, which is typical of SAI culture (Bumiller, 1990; Tandon, 1968). Harbans described her life in India, "We also had five or six guests every day... sometimes they would stay, sometimes they visit for a few hours." Visits ranged from hours, to days and as long as a month and always without notice. Most often, it was extended family members, typically women with children and these visits were fondly remembered. Harbans recalled enjoyable summer times when she said, "my sister-in-law's kids used to

come every summer holidays and stay for a month. Even my niece's kids would come to spend the summer... it is very good, it was fun." Rajinder, whose husband was a politician, described her active social life, "When my husband was there, he used to be very sociable person; we had company all the time. Two of my daughters got married there."

Easy access to and frequent attendance at a nearby Sikh Temple (Gurdwara) was mentioned as a part of the daily life in the Indian home. Jagbinder stated, "I always went to a Gurdwara. I would go to the Sikh Temple (Gurdwara) with my friends. In the morning at 3 am or 4 am. We would clean there. We would pray there." When asked if there was a local Gurdwara in her Indian home Shivbeer stated, "Yes, very near. Yes, you could walk. We went often. We went to the near one. We have two."

A common female social event enjoyed by middle and upper class Indian women is the kitty party (Bumiller, 1990), wherein a group of women meet monthly and each contribute a set amount of money, which is given away to whomever draws a slip that month. The winner hosts the next month and is excluded from future draws until all attendees have won. Only Rajinder, whose socioeconomic status was quite high in India, stated that she attended kitty parties, as a part of her social life in India.

Sixsmith (1986) found that the social networks and relationships in and associated with home were of "utmost importance" (p. 291). Indian roles and duties within the home and regular worship were maintained by all of the participants, including the four women who worked outside of the home. Shivbeer, who was from a very wealthy family, stated proudly that she was the "first woman pharmacist in Chandigarh." The other three participants worked as teachers in a girl's school, which was considered to be one of two

honourable jobs for women of their generation (the other was a clerical government position) (Tandon, 1968).

The participants' comments on their husbands' association to home was only in relation to their role as the decision maker. This is not surprising given that SAI culture has historically given men a superior position such that "Status, authority, and property were possessions of the male descent group..." while "Early twentieth century women in India continued to occupy an inferior position within the family; her only hope for increased status was in the birth of sons and onset of old age" (Kalavar, 1998, p.19). As well, there was traditionally no social mixing of the sexes even in the home (Tandon, 1968) and marriages are usually arranged, as the need to procreate and fulfil one's duty are SAI reasons to marry, in contrast to Western "love" based marriages (Bumiller, 1990). Nasib describes how she came to live with her husband and his family because they were able to ensure that she would not go hungry:

> My father was an engineer in Burma. He used to say, "I'm going to get my daughters educated and get them married to educated men, not farmers." When my father-in-law came to ask for my hand, he said "we don't have a lot of land. You eat food." My father replied, "very well then you can take care of my daughter".

Decision making by the men was usually comprehensive and occurred in a variety of areas including doing the day to day shopping for some, choosing furniture, determining where they would live and build their homes, and managing the family and the titleship of lands. Shivangi described her husband's authority as, "Whatever he wanted to do he did." Shivbeer stated she did whatever her husband told her to "If he says we're going to India. I go. If he says we're going to Canada, I come." Harbans stated, "It was my husband that made the big decisions about the house and my brother-in-laws took

care of the farm." Jagbinder appreciated her husband's decision to give her land title, which granted her status that she would not otherwise have, "My husband was very intelligent. The property was in my name." In her case, the oldest male in her joint family possessed the highest authority, as she lived in a "Joint family for 30 years, two sisters-in-laws, their three daughters, two brothers, one who married my sister... my father-in-law was in charge." Regarding the division of labour and duties in the participant's families, Gurmail noted aptly that while a man has the authority in the home "he does not have as much responsibility as I have."

In spite of the subordinate and often subservient position these women held as compared to the male family members, their comments about their husbands, while few, described positive qualities and they appeared to come from genuine affection. Bumiller (1990) noted that in India love grows out of a marriage and is defined "as long-term commitment and devotion to the family, which can be developed only with much patience and time" (p. 31). It is not required that the husband's family be kind to women who marry into it (Bumiller), as noted by Gurmail who stated, "My in-laws were very nice, they were unique."

Home pre-immigration was an indicator of status

As mentioned earlier, the participants residentially came from cities or large towns and made their homes on owned land in villages situated fairly close to more urban towns. Despres (1991) noted that home is a place that indicates one's socioeconomic status. The status and educational level of neighbours was important and was mentioned by all participants as described by Rajinder who stated "well-educated and high status people lived in the neighbourhood" and Jagbinder who mentioned proudly that "We had

all engineers all educated people. Government employees. We had some professors... they were all professionals."

The home itself was also a symbol of higher socioeconomic status (Despres, 1991). It was important to the participants that the homes that they built were made of cement, an indicator of higher socioeconomic standing, as noted by Balwant who said "our home is cemented (pakka) because they are better quality and higher status." Shivbeer concurred stating, "People who are well off they make cement houses... and they require less maintenance...if you have a mud house, you have to maintain a lot."

The majority of the Sikh participants had one or more servants, such as a cleaning lady, gardener, or someone to help look after the animals. Those who owned a cow or buffalo proudly noted it, because it meant that they could produce milk and dairy products, especially important in India during hot dry spells (Bumiller, 1990). Because phones in India were rare and Indian electricity was notoriously unreliable (Bumiller, 1990), Jagbinder noted "Nobody else had what we had. We had a phone" and Nasib proudly described herself as the envy of her neighbours for having a generator, "The light used to go [out]. We had a generator for light, when that light goes. Even the neighbours used to get jealous of us, why we had light and they did not." Each of these things about home demonstrated the participant's higher socioeconomic status in India.

Home pre-immigration was a place of activities related to meeting basic needs

The participants described their Indian home as a place where they had access to local markets and access to larger shops and markets in nearby towns that they travelled to. Jagir noted that she had a market "...just little bit away. We had shops, vegetable market, clothing stores. But you could not do proper shopping. [For that] we had to take a

rickshaw, or a scooter it was not a walking distance." They provided rich descriptions of their homes and the amenities available to them that shaped their sense of home and provided needed goods not available from their farm. Home was described as a place of activities related to basic needs in Despres' (1991) sixth category.

The participants did not describe home as a place of hobbies and leisure interests in addition to activities related to basic needs, which Despres (1991) included as a part of the home as a place of basic needs category. This conception appears to be influenced by the Western cultural notions implicit in Despres' categories. The participant's day to day lives revolved around staying at home unless they were at work, maintaining the home, raising the children, cooking, cleaning, and laundry, some of which was done by servants, and socializing with other women.

Home pre-immigration was a place of ownership

Ownership was of great importance to the participants and was found to be a requirement of home. While this finding may also be influenced by Western culture, it may not be, as most of the participants started out in government rental housing. Rental houses were not described as home suggesting that they were perceived as temporary accommodation. The places defined as home were always owned and usually built. Shivangi stated it "Felt very good. My, my house. So it was important that I was able to own it as well." Jagir said that her home was her home because "Because it was my own, my own." Nasib said "We made it with our labour our money. We decorated it to our liking no one gave it as a gift. We got it custom home built." Harbans described how her home was built on ancestral lands "We had built a home on our farm." Seven of the nine participants built the place, which they defined as home.

Despres' (1991) ownership category includes the home as an economic investment. None of the participants described this as an aspect of home. This suggests that home as an investment may be a Western cultural notion.

Home pre-immigration was a place of permanence and continuity

The importance of home being associated with one's roots and ancestors was also mentioned by three of the participants. Shivbeer stated, "I feel happy, that was ours, hereditary house." Nasib stated, "We stay long time at one house in India. We have roots there in India. Roots are stronger. Everybody knew our grandfather." These comments fit into Despres' (1991) fifth category of the meaning of home: permanence and continuity. This meaning was one of the most frequently cited categories described in Sixsmith's (1986) research into the meaning of home.

Home pre-immigration was a place of modification

The pre-immigration home was decorated. However, personalizing it so that it represented one's tastes, preferences and interests through objects, as found in Despres' (1991) second category, was not mentioned by the participants. Some participants described putting in a garden of beautiful flowers. Some did their own decorating and some did not. Shivbeer did her own decorating stating, "I decorated the house. Same way as the houses here." The other participants had it done by others in the home, such as their husbands (as part of their decisive/authoritarian role), their daughters, or as a group effort. Shivangi stated, "My daughter was fond of decorating. The younger one. She was very fond of doing it. She did it mostly." and Nasib stated, "We decorated it to our liking." Decorating represented the main source of modification of the home. One participant mentioned making renovations, as needed.

Home pre-immigration was a place of individual control

Despres' (1991) first category lists home as the sole area of individual control and a place that provides physical security. Four of the nine participants described the control aspect of this category when they said that home was a place where they were in charge. Jagir stated it outright "I was in charge, [in] my house in India." Nasib stated that she shared being in charge with her sister "[So, a brother who married his wife's sister. In a house like that, who is in charge?] We were both in charge... it was my sister and myself we used to take care of all the expenses of the house."

However, the safety and security of the home was not mentioned as a specific meaning. Gurmail was brought to tears when she described surviving murderous riots and looting of homes that occurred in 1984 when Prime Minister Indira Gandi was assassinated. They survived as a result of fleeing their home and "hiding for seven days." Jagbinder described her childhood experience of the Indian civil war of Independence in 1947, "We used to be ruled by the British. 1947. There was a war.... Well during the war everything was snatched from us. We had nothing. My brothers would sell food that my mom would make for people." In the context of these political upheavals no one was safe at home and this may explain why the home was not described as being a secure place. It may also be that because the lives of Indian women have traditionally been without rights and social equality, such that security was not a significant feature for them (Bumiller, 1990).

Home pre-immigration was generally not described as a refuge

Despres'(1991) seventh category, home as a refuge, where you can act independently and choose the level of interaction, was mentioned by only one participant,

Harbans, who said, "In India, the bedrooms are not defined as personal rooms. Sometimes there were five people sleeping in one room." When asked if their room was a special place because it was private, she stated, "Yes, yes, yes, because my husband wanted peace, he used to read a lot." Harbans noted that because of the numbers of people living in them "it was crowded", which made the ability to choose the level of seclusion difficult. This finding may be linked to the socioeconomic status of the participants. However, in traditional SAI culture a preference for living in joint families is documented and this may also account for this finding (Nayar, 2004). As Nasib noted, "We lived in the joint family for 30 years. Two sisters-in-law, their three daughters, two brothers, one who married my sister."

Home pre-immigration was a source of income

Home was a notable source of income for three of the participants. Jagir stated, "Our home had five rooms. One living room, four rooms, two were given for rent." Gurmail said, "We had rented the other two portions of three bedrooms on the main floor and the four bedrooms upstairs portion was ours." For these people, the income generated from home afforded them the ability to survive more easily. This meaning has not been described in the literature on the meaning of home. The income generating aspect of home would most likely be a function of lower overall income. However, commenting on this finding without the context of other income sources and expenses, which were not investigated, would be premature.

Home pre-immigration was a place of congruence

Congruence, as defined in the model, is the degree to which the home lived in matches one's idea of home, which is ultimately derived from one's place identity, a part

of the self made from cognitions and behaviours that relate to physical settings of daily life (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). The participants had distinct thoughts and feelings about what things and which people made up their home and how people in it should behave, which defined the home in India for them. They had an idea of home and they lived it. This fits with Proshansky et al.'s notion of one's place identity serving to provide the source of meaning for a place. As mentioned earlier in the theoretical chapter, one's place identity has an implicit cultural and social origin, which was well supported by the participants' descriptions of life as a dutiful Indian wife and mother amidst intense and active social networks. Proshansky et al. also note that place identity has a comparative function, wherein the current setting is judged against the needed requirements. In the case of these participants their environments became incongruent when they no longer contained the needed requirements of a child, who had previously emigrated or upon the death of their husband. This is supported by Sixsmith's (1986) research on types of homes, which found that the extent to which a place is recognized as home depends on "the extent to which it fulfills the person's requirements, their changing objectives, and circumstances." (p.285).

SAI elders place critical importance on their children. As noted by Kalavar (1998), "Children assume responsibility for the care of their parents as a part of dharma or duty." (p. 27). "Duty (dharam)(*sic*) and honour (izzat) are wide spread cultural values in India and also integral to the culture of the Sikhs of Punjab." (Nayar, 2004, p. 48). Nayar also states that "Duty is the fulfilment of one's wide range of responsibilities within the household; it is also directly linked to 'respect'." One shows respect by fulfilling one's duty, and one expects respect for having fulfilled one's duty. Even more

important, it is the duty of children to show respect to their elders." (p. 51). As such, SAI elders expect to live with and be cared for by a child and preferentially a son, which has a basis in the patriarchal nature of Indian society (Singh, Broota and Broota, 2003).

The cultural value of filial obligation, as described above, provided the impetus for the participants to immigrate. Shivbeer stated, "My children got married here. All my children were here. So we came. We wanted to be with our kids." Nasib stated she came because of "My love for the children. My children brought me here." Gurmail describes her motivation for coming:

> My elder son came, came in the 87, and we came in 93 he came for marriage. [What motivated you to come to Canada?] Actually we didn't want to move here at all, my children said please come. Please come... they said, please come if you don't like it than you don't have to stay here. they said, come and try, you have grandchildren here.

All of the participants stated that they were brought here by their children and that they came willingly except for Shivangi, who initially said that it was God who brought her, "No, I never thought of living here. The Gods said that this is where you are going, God brought me here. It was written for me to eat here [Canada]." Later on she indicated tearfully that she was deceived into coming, as she came only to visit and then her daughters would not let her return, "They told me I'm only visiting for three months on a six-month Visa. If you don't like it you can go back...but they didn't let me go back." She did, however, acknowledge that because of her widowed status she would not be "comfortable there [in India] either."

Widowhood for elderly SAI women requires that they go to live with their children. Traditionally females are looked after by their fathers and then their husband's extended family (Bumiller, 1990). If widowed, their sons become responsible for them

(Nandan, 2005). Unlike elderly couples, who remained in India for some time before coming to Canada, older widows do not appear to have an acceptable place in Indian society (Tandon, 1968). Jagbinder pointed this out in her comment "After my husband died, I did not want to stay there [in India]. People there are different. For a woman, it is not easy to stay when she is a widow." Other participants were less direct, but echoed that they could not stay "because what would I do there, alone" (Nasib). Tandon noted that young Indian widows present a great social problem, since SAI "people would not accept remarriage at any cost, they did not know what to do with them." A young widow is a burden. She cannot be remarried, her misfortune is seen as her fault and her in-laws perceive her as bringing evil luck and banish her from participating in family life, and relegate her to servitude in the house (Tandon, 1968). The occurrence of widowhood in these traditionally oriented participants, after their adult children have emigrated, appears to reduce the congruence between the experience of home in India and the conceptual meaning of home, which then prompts her immigration to live with children.

Home pre-immigration was a place of competence

Competence in the model is defined as the ability to function effectively in the environment. When describing home in India, the participants described themselves as able to function quite effectively. They possessed what Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff (1983) call environmental understanding and environmental competence in their day to day lives. That is, they had thorough knowledge about the setting itself, their homes and community (environmental understanding) and they had the ability to function and behave properly in their Indian home according to SAI values and roles (environmental competence). They fulfilled their traditional roles as loving Indian

mothers, dutiful wives and obedient daughter-in-laws in accordance with SAI ethno cultural values. They were able to speak a common language, knew the rules governing social situations/interactions (e.g., gender based rules, shopping, transportation, family events, weddings) and could go into the community and successfully interact (e.g. employment, attending the Gurdwara).

Immediately After Immigrating

The model posits that when an immigrant elder first comes to Canada, by definition, home is the place that they left and they begin to evaluate the new place through comparison. Differences, as recalled retrospectively, were noted upon immigrating and usually applied to objects, while changes were noted over time.

Differences

Ng (2001) states that although little research exists that examines the response of new immigrants to their new environment it deserves attention because the physical environment will crucially impact settlement in a new society. Jagbinder stated that she found little difference between Canada and India, "If you had gone to India and seen some of these places. You would think you are in Canada." Most participants did, however, notice differences. Some differences were seen negatively, some positively, and some were not assigned any value, but were simply noted. The differences tended to be concrete. Examples of neutral and concrete differences were described by Shivangi who observed that, "Nobody uses steel dishes here" and by Rajinder who noticed the large buildings and transportation trucks, "Big buildings, big trucks. I always counted how

many tires they had 32 tires, 30 tires, 28, really I was counting tires." Other differences noted were: different plants, currency and more taxes.

Homes in India were described as being architecturally different than here, which was consistent with Rapaport's (1969) discussion of variations in house forms and which is partly attributable to the climate. They were described as open and often had open roof top terraces and larger open rooms. Harbans notes this in her description of her home, "It was two rooms on a terrace. Open balcony. When it was really hot, we would bring our bed outside. In the wintertime we would sit in the sun during the day. Eat peanuts. Even downstairs was open." Nasib also noted this difference, but in a negative way, "We remember fresh vegetables, fresh air, open house. Here we are closed in. No fresh air here."

Some participants noted the absence of servants in Canada and this difference was the biggest change for Jagbinder, "In India, when you go to work you have someone to make tea for you. You just order it and tell others to clean it up when you're done. Here you have to do everything yourself."

Three participants noticed little or no difference in the weather. Shivbeer stated, "I did not notice too much different. It is the same, and we have heat inside the houses here when we feel cold." Four other participants stated that there was a big change in the weather for them. Ng (2001) notes that there may be ethnic differences in the cold response that makes it more difficult for some ethnic groups to acclimatize as compared to other groups.

Differences in social systems were noted and the systems here were preferred. Gurmail liked the healthcare system. Participants two and four appreciated the retail

market system, and lack of corruption here, which was also found in Nandan's (2005) research on SAI immigrants. Jagir stated:

> I like the system, the stores. The market, you don't bargain, the price is the price. But the system in India, people might not like it, but that is the system. You have to bribe or beg to get something. Someone was sick in the hospital [here], and we were going to visit to them. My daughter said, let me phone the hospital and ask if they been discharged. I was surprised to know that you can do this.

Items Brought when Immigrating

All of the participants brought items (see Appendix F) upon immigrating except Rajinder, who brought nothing because she came not planning to stay. She stated that she would have brought photographs otherwise. The most common item brought were photographs of family members, which were brought by seven participants. They were of deceased husbands where applicable, their own wedding ceremonies and their children's, female relatives, their husbands' families, and treasured gardens. Family photographs were always prominently displayed, which Belk (1992) noted was done to show the importance of family. Shivbeer stated that she did not bring photographs because "there was no photo album made when I got married."

Four participants brought their prayer book the "ghutka" and another three brought items that were links to their past. Jagbinder a Pharmacist who has great affection and respect for her now deceased father-in-law stated, "My father in law was a doctor. I brought the memory (a reminder). He made medication in this (showing a carved rock mortar and pestle)... It cost us money to bring this. It is heavy." Shivbeer who did not have a photo album to bring stated, "I brought this embroidered tablecloth", which was quite large, detailed and finely stitched, and that she had made prior to her

marriage. The other object linking a participant to the past was brought by Harbans, who stated, "I brought Phulkari (shawl), it was my mother's old one. Traditionally when girls got married, they brought it to their new home." Belk's (1992) findings of SAI who had immigrated to the USA and had rooms filled with Indian artefacts was not replicated in this research. It is possible that Belk's participants did this because American culture and policy asserts that assimilation is the expected acculturation attitude. Perhaps his participants need these items to help maintain Indian identity, when mainstream culture requires the immigrant to take on American values and identity. However, the reason for this finding remains unknown.

Only three participants brought items that were symbols of their own identity. This is not surprising given that Lower Mainland Sikhs, as noted by Nayar (2004), come from a traditional society, which means that they possess a collectivist orientation wherein "...the individual identifies with the group to which he or she belongs. The self's differentiation from the group is very weak" (p. 26). It follows that since individualism is not a primary source of SAI self identity, representing self through objects was not imperative and indeed such objects may not exist. Two participants brought items related to their work identity. Gurmail who worked as a head mistress in a school brought her employee identification card. Jagbinder brought her "injection box", which had formerly belonged to her father-in-law and that she used when she worked as a pharmacist in India. Harbans, who has a personal interest in religious studies, brought books on various religions, including the Sikh prayer book, religious books discussing the meaning of Sikh scriptures, and a Christian Bible.

The homes often contained a picture of Guru Nanak, the first Sikh Guru, but none were brought from their homes in India. This was likely because their children had already established their homes with the pictures in them. The only Hindu participant Shivangi did not bring religious icons because, "You can get everything here. Why would you bring from there." She did set up a Hindu temple on a bookshelf, which she used for daily worship and prayers.

"X" Years after Immigrating

Meaning of Canadian Home

Descriptions of the present Canadian home contained fewer categories of the meaning of home, as compared to those associated with the home in Indian pre-immigration. They also revealed one category that was not previously identified: the importance of having a room of one's own.

Current Canadian home is a place of positive feelings and intimate relationships

The most important meaning of home in India pre-immigration was related to caring relationships and this remained the most important and frequently mentioned idea about home post-immigration. However, the post-immigration relationships mentioned were fewer in number and were centred on supporting their adult children and raising and/or spending time with their grandchildren.

The role of SAI elders is one wherein they are to be respected and honoured by virtue of their age (Nayar, 2004) and, as stated by Nandan (2005), it is "equated with wisdom and privilege" (p. 181). As mentioned earlier, it is also the duty of children to look after their parents. As such, the reunification of these older adult SAIs with their

children in Canada fulfilled family duties. "In traditional Sikh families, duty and respect are central to family relations...", as they ensure that the family functions smoothly and in this sense it is a critical part of feeling at home (Nayar, 2004, p. 52). In spite of the differences between India and Canada, the participants stated that they felt at home. Jagbinder said, "Yes I feel my home is here, because my kids are here." Shivbeer stated she felt at home, "... because I get the same love." Nasib described her situation:

> Sometimes I read newspapers and magazines, whatever I can get my hands on. My grand daughter listens to holy music I brought it for the other grandchildren also.When I first came up for the first eight months, we wanted to go back, but not now. I read my "Ghutka" (holy Sikh bible). I spend a lot of time with my grandchildren. I don't want to go back to live there. My husband, like here, would be out all day in India too.What would I do all alone, sitting at home in India. At least I have my grandchildren and kids here.

The importance of grand parenting was also mentioned by Shivbeer who stated, "My grandchildren are here and my children are here. So I feel more comfortable here. We are happy to stay here." SAI elderly have a duty to grandparent wherein they traditionally exercise control and power by caring for and running the house, advising and guiding grandchildren, and by giving permission to their children and grandchildren to do things (Nayar, 2004). Fulfillment of this duty was only possible if they came to live in Canada with their children and grandchildren. Shivbeer traveled to India with hers, "The grandchildren have a very good attachment. They go to India with us...My grandchildren do not go to their mom, they come to me." All of the women insisted on doing the main cooking for their families, with some sharing it with daughters or daughter-in-laws. Preparing ethnic foods allows economically dependent immigrant older adults to contribute to family upkeep, demonstrate family devotion and maintain cultural heritage (Treas & Mazumdar, 2004).

The provision of care and advice to children and childcare to young grandchildren extended the mother role for the participants, in addition to reducing family childcare costs. Jagbinder stated "I feel I have been born again to take care of my kids." As mentioned earlier, the dutiful mother role is the most powerful one for a married woman and the extension of it likely enhanced their feeling at home in Canada, as none of them appeared to be distressed by it, nor described feeling that they were being exploited. This sense of being 'exploited babysitters' has been described in the American literature (Diwan, Jonnalagadda, & Balaswamy, 2004; Durvasula & Mylvaganam,1994; Pallasana 1999), which investigated mainly Hindu South Asians, but was not evident in this group. This may be because of this group's socioeconomic status, their predominantly Sikh faith, or because they wanted to portray a positive image to the translator or researcher. A study by Treas and Mazumdar (2004) interviewed 33 immigrant elders from eight different countries, none from India, who routinely travelled between their homeland and their immigrant children's homes in the United States. They found that these transnational older adults, three quarters of whom were women, routinely extend their mother role as a natural extension of a life time spent helping kin. Further, they often take on major responsibility to raise the grandchildren forging strong bonds with them as a result. Jagir provided a good example of this regarding her grandson, "He will come every day to me [and ask] are you okay? [What grade is he in?] Grade six. I brought him up. He slept with me up until [he was] five years old." In taking on these care giving roles, they provided practical support and "...preserve the traditions that give meaning to family relationships" (Treas & Mazumdar, 2004, p.115). They became "cultural intermediaries" who teach and reinforce ethnic language, foods,

religion, family values and ties, all of which may promote family solidarity and maintain traditional SAI ways (Treas & Mazumdar, 2004, p.115), as long as this is consistent with their children's culture within the home.

Current Canadian home is a place of continuity of self

Home in Canada was found to be socioculturally congruent with Indian roles and values, and it was also a place of continuity of expression of these values, as the participants often cited behaving and doing things in the same ways, that they did in India. This was the next most commonly described dimension of home in Canada. Rubinstein (1990) found that current elements of personhood or a person's self characterizations were expressed in the physical environment and that this was "... an important aspect of the relationship between the older person and the environment" (p.132). Shivangi noted that, unlike Canadians, she never napped on the sofa. Instead, she behaved the same way here as she had done in India, "I never sleep on the sofa. I go inside (to my bedroom) and sleep. Nobody in India sleeps in the living room, it's considered to be bad there." Harbans and Balwant had a type of Indian cot, a "dewan", which is used for lying down and relaxing. Jagir, who created women's groups in India, formed a social group of women here, which she enjoyed, "I used to drop my grandson to school; I made a little group there too." Most of the older women interviewed attend a Sikh Temple (Gurdwara), SAI groups and events at the Progressive Intercultural Community Services Society, which likely helped satisfy some of their cultural need for social belonging and connectedness. Jagbinder informally looked after local SAI children, as she had done in India and described how she sometimes counselled kids here to quit smoking.

> I always meet people. Sometimes when I get to the bus stop, there are kids smoking cigarettes. I tell them not to. I speak in English. I tell them not to use these cigarettes and I'll give you some fruit instead, if you throw them away... [Do they listen?] Yes sometimes. There is to be another boy, he had earrings. I told him if you want something in your mouth like cigarettes have a lollipop or something. Cigarettes are not good for your health.

Harbans and Gurmail described establishing very friendly relations with their neighbours, albeit not as thick as the ones they knew in India. Home is a "constant factor symbolically", which preserves a coherent sense of self through life's transitions and changes in circumstances (Sixsmith & Sixsmith, 1991, p. 189).

All of the participants lived in large predominantly SAI neighbourhoods and reported being able to shop as needed to acquire ethnic foods and items. The SAI community in Vancouver Lower Mainland appears to be institutionally complete. This term refers to the ability of an ethnocultural group to obtain ethnocultural specific goods and services though a wide variety of its ethnocultural specific businesses and organizations (Breton, 1964; Fennema, 2004). The large SAI ethnic presence in the Vancouver Lower Mainland appears to have greatly facilitated their competence to function and provided congruence between their pre-immigration idea of home and the Canadian home.

Current Canadian home is a place that's owned

Ownership was a requirement for home in India and it was for the Canadian home, as well. When asked, Harbans stated that she was at home now because, "Yes. Now we *own* the house. Before we rented, and had the burden my head that it was not our house."

Room of my own is important in current Canadian home

Four participants mentioned having their own room here as being important, which did not come up as important in the Indian home. Jagir stated, "My bedroom is my special room" and Gurmail stated her favourite place is, "My room, my room." For these women it seemed that their pleasure stemmed from having a private place, which may have simply been a luxury that they had not had before. It may have also represented a new experience of home for them, as described by Despres' (1991) seventh category, home as a refuge where you can retreat from outside pressures, act independently and choose the level of seclusion. Rajinder stated that she did feel at home here, but in India, "...that was my house. This is my daughter's house. So I keep aloof, I stay in my room. Yeah, I don't want to interfere in the family." Rajinder was a fundamentalist Sikh that was detaching herself from worldly things and whose daughter she admitted was much less religious than she. Having her own room appeared to provide her a way to withdraw from what might have been pressures or tension provoked by religious differences with her daughter.

Current Canadian home and the mother-in-law role

The notion of not interfering in their children's lives was mentioned by some participants. Bumiller (1990) states that Indian women endure their subservient roles as daughters and wives awaiting their role as a mother-in-law, as it affords them great power to direct their daughter-in-laws, and that it can be used abusively by them. Harbans provided this description of the deference and service provided to her mother-in-law in India, "We used to give a lot of time to our mother-in-law. A lot. We never left her alone. Even when the electricity goes, all the kids and every body had a duty to fan her (for) a

half an hour each. She was a good woman too. I even got up 10 times at night to take her to the washroom." She admired her mother-in-law because she was as considerate of the women's needs in the home, as she was of the mens, as seen in this statement, "My mother-in-law was very fair women, conscientious, she made sure there was a place for women at the back, where they could sit in the water in the summer heat." The participants described themselves as not wanting to interfere because they had mother-in-laws who did not interfere. As such, it seemed that this deviation from the authoritarian aspect of the expected mother-in-law role was not a function of immigrating, but a personal choice that they would have had to make had they moved in with their children in India. However, this notion was not validated with the participants.

Intergenerational tension only came up overtly in one instance, over long standing differences in religiosity between Rajinder, who was more religious and her less religiuos daughter. Rajinder was in spiritual preparation for her death and was simplifying her room by removing items, which her family countered by using her 'empty' room for storage. She stated, "I like my room to be vacant type, empty. Vacuum cleaner, there are machine in there. Press table (ironing) is there. They feel that my room is empty, and they keep putting stuff." A second participant, Jagbinder alluded to tension when she said that she had denied her children's request to sell her Indian home, although she stated that she understood their desire to do so, as it would help them to buy one here. There were no other suggestions of tension in the narratives. This is in contrast to Nayar (2004) who described significant intergenerational tensions in the Sikhs that she interviewed, due in large part to generational differences in subscribing to Indian values. It is likely that not finding significant intergenerational tensions is partially due to the lack of inquiry about

this subject, as the interviews predated the publication of Nayar's study. As well, older immigrant Sikhs feel strongly pressured to save face, which limits full disclosure of personal information (Nayar, 2004). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the translator may have selected homogeneous participants that have very harmonious intergenerational relations, in order to avoid unpleasant encounters. The notable lack of tension may have also been related to the high educational level of this sample. Mirowsky and Ross (2005) note that, among other factors, education increases problem solving effectiveness, which may have been used to resolve intergenerational conflicts. The participants' attitude of non-interference and/or the young age of some of their grandchildren may have also contributed to this finding.

Meaning of Indian Home

Indian home kept and visited regularly

The Indian home continued to play an ongoing part in the meaning of home post-immigration. None of the Indian homes had been sold. They were either closed between visits, maintained by a servant, or portions of them were rented out. Except for the Hindu participant, who had not been able to afford to make a return visit, all of the others, irrespective of personal or family income, routinely travelled back (every 6-18 months) to either their Indian Home or to a family member's home near their Indian home, usually the former, and stayed on average for three months. Nandan (2004) found that the option of visiting India regularly was important to the ten participants that she interviewed regarding adaptation to American culture. Harbans, who had been in Canada for seven years at the time of interview stated, "I been to India five times. [I go] Every year and half, before every six months." She had just returned from her usual three-month visit to

India and reported when asked, that she never thought of permanently returning there. Five of the participants stated quite simply that they have never thought of returning permanently. Four participants did report that they had thought of returning permanently, but denied having a plan to arrange this and acknowledged that it would not happen. When asked if she ever thought about returning permanently, Rajinder replied, "Yes I have, whenever I remember, I still feel (that way). I like to go today."

Indian home at present, a source of continuity of collectivist and sociocultural values

The Indian home appeared to play an important role in maintaining the continuity of collectivism for the participants that were able to travel. All of them reported that when they returned they were received by their neighbours/community as if they had never left. Jagbinder stated, "Yes, when we go to India, they all come and visit us." Harbans stated, "[I have] a lot, a lot of attachment with the community, they carry me in their hands (meaning they care for her). [Do you stay with your neighbours?] Yes. They are the ones that take care of me, feed me when I go back." Shivbeer stated that for women the meaning of home was in the relationships associated with it, "Because for women home is not only four walls. When we go back to India, we have a place where we can go...it is the same people come running to us when we go visit." One study of SAI elder's social networks in Dehli, India found that on average they were comprised of 25 persons, 54 % of whom came from the neighbourhood itself (van Willigen, Chadha, & Kedia, 1995).

Jagir noted, however, that women's roles were changing in India. She said "Now, people are telling me that India has changed. People have gotten busy. Everybody used to get together and cook for large number of people. Nowadays more women are working."

Ongoing modernization of India may have diminished the availability and perhaps even the existence of the intense social networks that these participants had experienced when they lived in India and were still experiencing as a part of their Indian home. Harbans described the impact of immigration stating, "Some villages are haunted, because everybody from the town is in foreign countries."

Place attachment for Indian home at present, remains strong

All of the participants reported that they remained strongly emotionally attached to their home in India except Rajinder. She was a fundamentalist Sikh who was detaching herself from all earthly things and focusing on spiritual preparation for her death:

> Yes, I believe my time is near now. It is time for me to go so I am ready to go (she speaks of death). I don't want to be attached to anything. I have started wearing cream-colored (clothes), I don't even want to be attached to colours... I feel I am in the last stage. I should be thinking good and not have attachment.

For the remaining participants, the strong bonds that they had were related to the positive feelings associated with day to day people when they lived in India and which occurred over lengthy residency, and/or to the homes hereditary nature or connection with their deceased husbands. Shivangi stated, "My heart is still there." Jagbinder stated, "Yes. I love sector 11... My attachment is to the house I lived in 25 years." Gurmail captured the essence of place attachment when she said, "It is not the house. It is the attachment that we remember. People, the neighbours. I remember more especially the two families that were our tenant. People say tenants, but we were a group." Jagir who was depressed at her perceived aloneness here, stated that the language barrier here was her greatest problem and that attachment to her Indian home was because, "You feel you can talk to anyone in India, you feel you can talk to yours in your own language."

Two of Rowles' (1983) components of place attachment: social insideness and autobiographical insideness apply to this research. Belonging to a social group or having social insideness resulted in Rowles' participants developing some place attachment to their home. Rowles states, however, that autobiographical insideness may be more important to the development of place attachment. Autobiographical insideness is the maintenance of self identity through incidents that are associated with places over one's lifetime. This conceptualization seems to be somewhat biased towards Western individualism. His concept of social insideness, however, is the foundation of the traditional Indian value of collectivism. For these SAI participants, the self was the person who fulfilled prescribed duties in order to achieve respect, and who provided respect to others who fulfilled their duties. This was achieved in relation to belonging to two main groups, the family and the neighbour networks. As such, it seems that their place attachment may have been more grounded in social insideness than autobiographical. However, the intense social networks which these participants had come from, also formed the mesh in which their selves fit, and they were place-based. In this sense, autobiographical insideness was of primary importance. It is hypothesized that, because the traditional SAI self exists in relation to her role within a collective, they had to go back to their former home to fully experience that key aspect of self.

Six of the participants noted that their attachment was decreasing with time and this finding was also supported by the survey. Nasib stated, "[My] attachment has changed. It has become less with time." Jagir stated that her attachment to her Indian home was decreasing because of the relationship she had developed with her grandson, "No it is becoming less [for my Indian home]. It is increasing here. I am close to my

grandson." None of the participants stated that their attachment to their Indian home had increased as a result of immigrating.

Indian home, at present can be a source of intergenerational conflict

Jagbinder, who had been in Canada for six years, and who had just returned from a four-month trip to her Indian home, was the only participant whose desire to return caused family trouble. She reported her children's response to her desire to return as, "Even my kids say, why you give us tension. You are always saying the wrong things. They don't like that. Although they really love me a lot." She was also the only participant for whom the Indian home was a source of tension, as her children wanted to sell the Indian Home in order to use the income to buy a home here. She stated, "Now my children want to sell the house. Not a very big house, but it is my husband's memory. I don't want to sell it. But some times I think we're staying here for rent. They [the kids] want their own home (non rental in Canada)." She noted that, in addition to her attachment to the Indian home, it served a practical purpose for visiting.

Indian home at present, a practical source of housing/income when visiting

As noted above, the Indian home was needed as a place to stay when visiting India. Four participants made this point. Jagbinder stated, "Where do you stay in India when you go, if you don't have your own place? Who will keep you? Shivbeer said, "When we go back to India, we have a place where we can go." In addition to this, the three participants who rented out a portion of their home, accumulated the income in an Indian account to fund return trips. Harbans, who leased their farm to a couple, stated, "Yes we put that in a joint account. Who ever goes to India they use that money."

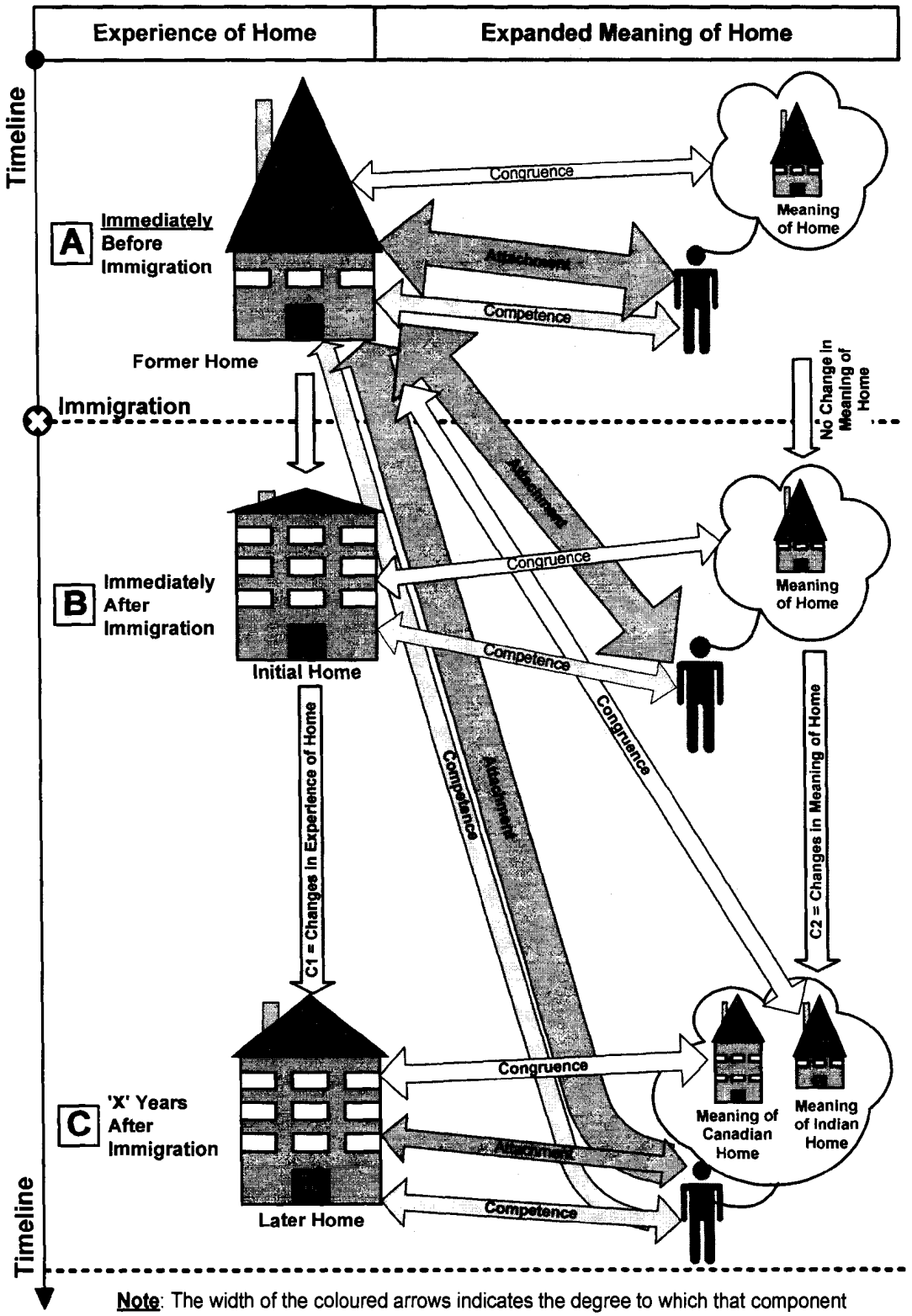
Now has two homes; here and there

Only one participant, Shivbeer, defined herself as having two homes, one in India and one here in Canada with her children. She stated, "When we go to India we talk about this home to our neighbours, vice versa. [So does she feel that she has two homes?] Yes, it is reality, I do have two homes." This duality was not explained by Shivbeer and, as it was made at the end of the interview, further probing was not possible due to time constraints.

SAI Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home in model format

The findings obtained from the in-depth interviews are shown in Figure 3 using the Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home model. As can be seen, attachment was strong and persisted "X" years later. The participants were competent in their former home and remained fairly competent in Canada, although somewhat less so here. Their former home was congruent with their idea of home until they aged or became widowed, which may have prompted their immigration. The immigration enhanced their congruence by reuniting them with children, which preserved sociocultural expectations about home. Congruence "x" years later was split, as the former home and the new home both had meanings that were congruent with their overall meaning of home. Their competence was similarly split because they possessed competence to function in both homes. Changes in the experience of home in Canada (C1 in the model) did occur, as evidenced by the changes in who constitutes their home relationships and by adopting a care giving cultural emissary role. The feeling of being at home in Canada with fewer categories of home expressed here, and the new meanings of the Indian home suggests that changes occurred in the conceptual meaning of home (C2 in the model) over time.

Figure 3: SAI Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home (Revised)



Note: The width of the coloured arrows indicates the degree to which that component is expressed (wider = greater degree).

Changes and Adjustment

Changes

The participants described changes, with the most obvious change being reunification with their children. As noted by Shivbeer "I felt very happy that I was united with my children." Nasib a teacher, who worked outside of her home, described current changes in her family's behaviour at home, the meaning of home, and noted that these were transitional issues of immigrants that would not affect future generations of her family.

> Here we do the work and go into our rooms. In India after eating everyone sits together and chat. Here home is an investment. We move every two years. We stay long time at one house in India. We have roots there in India. Roots are stronger. Everybody knew our grandfather... In India, your uncles and Aunts and your grandparents, everybody lives there, your roots are stronger there. Maybe after two or three generation, we will feel the same in Canada. Our kids will feel the same. My grandchildren, they would not want to go back to India they won't know anybody there, it is different here, wherever you go that is where your home is.

Shivangi noted that life was easier for her daughter here culturally, as her divorced single mother status was shameful in Indian culture, but was more acceptable here, "It is easier for this daughter (because she is a divorcee)." Other changes were seen in relation to Western values, such as self-orientation, individualism and individual choice as noted by Gurmail, "making decisions is Canadian. Like "I'm going shopping", it doesn't matter what your schedule is" and the quest for monetary gain. Jagir noted, "This country is such that every body goes after money." Shivbeer commented on the lack of Indian-like neighbourly networks in Canada, "Nobody helps here. Neighbours don't help. Even if you're a senior. It's strange."

The need for their children to succeed and establish themselves, and in doing so take shift work as new immigrants, was not seen as a positive change. Jagir noted, "People are too busy building homes instead of spending time together." Gurmail noted that, "...everybody's very busy, especially [with] this shift work. The kids don't meet each other." It was at her insistence that her children refocused their priorities and their schedules, "I did not like their lifestyle. I told them to please make your shift one. Now my son has changed the shift. Now they changed their shifts so they could see their children. They didn't see their children before." (Gurmail).

Changes within their own people were not commonly described, but one participant, Rajinder acknowledged her displeasure over the political division and controversy between more liberal Sikhs and orthodox Sikhs in Vancouver Lower Mainland temples. She stated than in the Sikh Temple (Gurdwara): "Here is too much politics, it should be like India, no politics."

Adjustment

Knowing people from the same place in India facilitated adjustment. Shivbeer stated that she felt comfortable here because she had neighbours from her small village, "Some people are from the same village...they were very few at the beginning, but now there's lots when I go for the walk, I meet people.... it was a small village that is why I did not feel out of place or awkward." Adjustment occurred in two ways. The first was within the family as an added member, whose category of elder and mother-in law had cultural implications. This adjustment was related to establishing a place within the extended family. It didn't appear to be influenced by Canadian values and would have occurred had they stayed India. The second adjustment occurred in moving to a new country,

culture, and community. This difference appeared to be minimal for this group because of the institutional completeness of the SAI community, as described earlier, and which made SAI ethnic groups, temples, foods, services and items easily within reach. Participants stated that they and/or their family members shopped at Fruiticana and other smaller ethnic shops routinely and with ease. Diwan, Jonnalagadda, and Balaswamy (2004) support the importance of living in an area where you feel you comfortably belong, as they found that positive affect of SAI immigrants who had immigrated to the United States was related to social integration and the sense of belonging and relationship to the larger community, which is facilitated for immigrants in ethnic enclaves.

That said, four participants described the change in language as one of, if not the greatest change, that they had had to deal with. Those who spoke English believed that it made their life here easier and those who did not stated that they thought they would have been better off if they could speak English. Jagir stated, "You should know the language and you should have the driver license. Those two things I feel are very important." The ability to speak the language of the host country is an often-used measure of acculturation (Boyd, 1991) and it has been found to promote the well being of immigrants (Diwan, Jonnalagadda, & Balaswamy, 2004).

Adjustment was also seen to be a function of a participant's individual ability and/or what the Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home Model refers to as a personal resource. Personal beliefs and their usual cognitive coping mechanisms were used by some, such as Harbans, who said, "It is up to you to adjust. It is your own thinking how you are with others." Gurmail had a life philosophy of trying to deal with lived reality, "Some things we are in the habit of remembering the past. We live in the

past or in the future, but we don't live in the present, which is the most important. I try to live in the present." Shivbeer described her more practical life span approach for dealing with change, "Change with time; I had the wood burning stove before and after had the gas one."

Jagir, who perceived herself as depressed at her aloneness, suppressed her wishes when they did not mesh with her children's and stated, "I killed my desires." Shivangi was unhappy because she never had a son and because she had to accept her move to Canada. She stated "You have to think of this as your home. You have to think, this is your home. You have to make yourself feel that this is your home. Especially your daughter's house you should be with your son and daughter-in-law, ideally. (Long woeful and resigned sighs)."

Acculturation attitude (Berry, 1990) was a personal resource that was essentially split between two attitudes. When asked about their intent at immigration time to remain separate from or join in the Canadian culture, four participants said that they wanted to remain separate from Canadian culture and five said that they wanted integration. This was supported by similar survey findings. The integration responses were possibly provided because the participants thought it to be a more acceptable response given the ethno-cultural divergence between them and this researcher.

Reminiscing about her Indian home, for Shivangi, the participant who was forcing herself to accept her situation, resulted in sadness and tears. Shivangi's Hindu beliefs and lack of control and sorrow related to her current situation was unique in this group. When asked what she remembered most about her Indian home she responded:

> Everything, everything. What can I do? (appears distressed)... [How do you feel when you remember?] I remember my home (sniffing). (She began to cry). I never thought I would come to Canada. My husband would say I will go first, then you come. I would say I don't want to go. You go. I never thought, I never thought...Oh god (a long sad sigh) it is God's play. He shuffles things around. He shuffles people around.

Her distress was related to her Hindu kharmic beliefs, which means that her past behaviour had resulted in her current unhappiness, and her failure to accept what she had "earned" and what she was now experiencing would result in more negative kharma in a future life.

Jagir, whose children worked in the daytime, was self-reportedly depressed because here people did not constantly surround her, "Because I stay alone, I do get depression. [Hmm...did you have depression before?] No it's because I stay alone." More than half of the twenty-five SAI women interviewed by Kalavar (1998) in her research examining life satisfaction among predominantly Hindu elderly SAI immigrants to the USA described feeling lonely and isolated as they spent their days alone, missed the social networks of India and could not speak English, which appeared to be the case for Jagir. Aside from Shivangi and Jagir, the remaining participants did not describe any adjustment concerns and they found reminiscing to be an enjoyable and positive experience that they engaged in frequently. They also reported that they felt at home here.

CHAPTER SIX:
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF SURVEY FINDINGS

The survey results were analyzed in order to elucidate any changes that occurred over time and after immigration, using the Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home Model. The model originally posited that after immigrating there are two changes that may occur: a change in the physical environment (C1) and a change in the meaning of home (C2). As a result of the quantitative analysis this researcher realized that C1 needs to be a broader notion. In addition to the change in the physical environment, C1 also includes the change in living place and the social, cultural and psychological environment of that place, which is the actual experience of home.

Immediately upon immigrating, a person comes to live in the initial new home and encounters the lived experience of that home. However, he or she continues to carry with them the same meaning of home, which may or may not be realized in the experience of home. C2 remains as originally proposed, because no significant change in the meaning of home (the conceptual ideas of what a home should be) can happen at the instant of stepping off of an airplane. However, it is possible that this change will slowly occur over the years spent in Canada.

In the model, the change in the expanded meaning of home is conceptualized as: changes in the meaning of home (what is significant about home to that person), as well as change in the congruence between the experience of home and the meaning of home,

change in place attachment to the old home in India and to the new home in Canada, and change in competence. Analysis of these concepts was undertaken as the data allowed.

It should be noted that, because of the small sample size (n = 40), most of the variables were dichotomized in order to ensure enough cases for statistical analysis, however, this process reduced the validity of the findings. The responses to the survey questionnaire (see Appendix D) were recoded as follows: "agree" and "agree somewhat" answers were coded as "agree" while "neutral", "disagree somewhat" and "totally disagree" were coded as "disagree." The chi square statistic (χ^2) was used to determine if any crude relationships existed between variables. The tables used in this research all have one degree of freedom which means that χ^2 must achieve 3.84 or greater to be statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level.

Difference in the Experience of Home

Difference in the experience of home between the old home in India and the current home in Canada was examined by comparing the responses to the same questions asked about the former home in India and the new home in Canada. For example, "Home was a place where I knew my neighbours" (in India) and "Home is a place where I know my neighbours" (in Canada). Table 3 shows the proportion agreeing with the statements included in the questionnaire. Unfortunately, the last seven items in the table have missing data from questions on the old home, as the translator missed photocopying one page in the survey.

Table 3 shows that, overall, there were few differences between the two places across the items. The largest percentage difference between the items occurred in the area

of "personalization of the home", which 100% of the participants stated that they could do in India, but that only 80% said that they could do in Canada. The next largest difference occurred in "home being a place where I know my neighbours", which was the case for 100% of the participants in India, but was only the case for 81.6% in Canada. The third greatest difference occurred in "home as protection for my savings". 92.3% of the participants stated that was the case for their home in India, while it was only true for 76.9% in the case of their home in Canada.

Table 3: Experience of home (% agree)

	Valid Percent		
Home was/is	**Former home in India**	**New home in Canada**	**Difference**
A place where I feel physically safe	97.4%	94.9%	-2.5%
Has enough space and rooms	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
A familiar place (smells, furniture, objects)	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
A place where I can be myself	97.5%	94.9%	-2.6%
A place I can personalize to my taste	100.0%	79.5%	-20.5%
A place to own	97.5%	89.7%	-7.8%
A protection for my savings	92.3%	76.9%	-15.4%
An investment from which I can benefit	71.8%	63.2%	-8.6%
A place where I know my neighbours	100.0%	81.6%	-18.4%
A place of love and togetherness	-	97.5%	-
A refuge, a place of quietness	-	94.9%	-
A place I feel comfortable bringing people in	-	89.7%	-
A refuge, a place of quietness	-	94.9%	-
A place I feel comfortable bringing people in	-	89.7%	
A place that tells people what status I have in society	-	84.6%	-

Table 4 shows that of the participants who had lived in Canada longer than 10 years 88.2% reported that in Canada, home was a place that they could modify/personalize, as compared to 72.7% of the participants who had resided in Canada for less than 10 years. Table 5 shows that 88.2% of the participants who had been here longer than 10 years reported that they now knew their neighbours, compared to 76.2% of the participants who had resided in Canada for less than 10 years. These two findings,

although not statistically significant, suggest that the new home in Canada has become more like the old home in India over time, as suggested by the model.

Table 4: Home is a place I can personalize, by the number of years in Canada

			How many years in Canada		
			1 to9	10 to34	Total
Home is a place I can personalize to my taste	No	Count	6	2	8
		%	27.3%	11.8%	20.5%
	Yes	Count	16	15	31
		%	72.7%	88.2%	79.5%
Total		Count	22	17	39
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 1.414$, 1 df, ns

Table 5: Home is a place where I know neighbours, by the number of years in Canada

			Number of years in Canada		
			1 to9	10 to34	Total
Home is a place where I know my neighbours	No	Count	5	2	7
		%	23.8%	11.8%	18.4%
	Yes	Count	16	15	31
		%	76.2%	88.2%	81.6%
Total		Count	21	17	38
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.907$, 1 df, ns

Difference in the Meaning of Home

Some of the components thought to be important to the meaning of home in Canada (what is significant about home to that person) are shown in table 6. The high agreement rate suggests that these are important concepts for elderly SAIs.

Table 6: Meaning of home in Canada

Category	Valid Percent Yes Answers
Practicing my religion makes me feel at home	97.4%
Being reunited with my family makes me feel at home	97.4%

Category	Valid Percent Yes Answers
Being able to go to the temple makes me feel at home	89.5%
Being able to buy Indian food is very important to feeling at home	92.1%
Being able to socialize with Indians is very important to feeling at home	92.1%
Being able to wear Indian clothing is very important to feeling at home	89.5%
It is best for our family if adult children maintain Indian values and ways at home	86.8%
It is best for our family if grandchildren maintain Indian values and ways at home	84.2%

Change in the meaning of home between the time before immigration and at survey time was measured by asking the participants whether they thought that the meaning of home had changed since coming to BC. The answers to this question were almost evenly split. 19 participants agreed that the meaning of home had changed, while 19 disagreed and 2 did not answer.

Bivariate analysis indicated that the age at the time of interview was not significantly associated with a change in the meaning of home (see table 7).

Table 7: Change in the meaning of home, by age at the time of interview

			Age at interview		Total
			54-67	68-90	
The meaning of home has changed to me since I came to BC	No	Count	10	9	19
		%	50.0%	52.9%	51.4%
	Yes	Count	10	8	18
		%	50.0%	47.1%	48.6%
Total		Count	20	17	37
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.032$, 1 df, ns

Bivariate analysis also determined that the number of years in Canada had no significant effect on the meaning of home (see table 8).

Table 8: Change in the meaning of home, by the number of years in Canada

			Number of years in Canada		
			1 to9	10 to34	Total
The meaning of home has changed to me since I came to BC	No	Count	8	11	19
		%	38.1%	64.7%	50.0%
	Yes	Count	13	6	19
		%	61.9%	35.3%	50.0%
Total		Count	21	17	38
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 2.661$, 1 df, ns ($p=0.11$)

Table 8 shows an interesting negative relationship, wherein only 35.3% of the participants who had been in Canada longer than 10 years reported that the meaning of home had changed since they immigrated, compared to 61.9% of those who had been here for less than 10 years. This is in contrast to the Immigrant Elder's Expanded Meaning of Home Model, which posits that the idea of home remains unchanged initially and then may change and evolve over time. It may be that the participants responded to changes in the experience of home and how it is different from India, rather than changes in their concept of what is significant about home.

The above suspicion was confirmed by a strong negative relationship between the participants' acculturation attitude and change in the meaning of home since immigrating. All of the participants answered that they intend to keep their own culture with 60% stating that they plan to join the Canadian culture (integration attitude, Berry, 1990) and 40% having no plans to join the Canadian culture (separation attitude, Berry). As shown in table 9, only one quarter of those with an integration attitude reported that the meaning of home has changed since immigrating, compared to 92.9% of those who had no plan to join the Canadian culture (separation attitude) ($\chi^2 = 16.286$, 1 df, $p < 0.001$). Logically

people who immigrate planning to integrate into Canadian culture would be open to and/or expecting to make some changes in their meaning of home and so the findings should reflect that that they were more likely to report a change in the meaning of home and not less likely as described. It is thus believed, that the participants who came intending to integrate reported less change because they expected changes in the reality of home that did occur, and that were therefore not perceived as change. Thus it captured the experience of home (C1), but not changes in the meaning of home (C2), which was the question.

Table 9: Change in the meaning of home, by plan to join Canadian culture

			Plan to join Canadian culture		
			No	Yes	Total
The meaning of home has changed to me since I came to BC	No	Count	1	18	19
		%	7.1%	75.0%	50.0%
	Yes	Count	13	6	19
		%	92.9%	25.0%	50.0%
Total		Count	14	24	38
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

χ^2 =16.286, 1 df, ss ($p<0.001$)

Two variables were found to be statistically significant in determining acculturation attitude (Berry, 1990): educational background and the ability to speak English. As shown in table 10, 92.3% of the participants whose education was high school or greater planned to join the Canadian culture (integration attitude, Berry) at immigration time, compared to 44.4% of the participants with a lower level of education (χ^2 =8.376, 1df, $p < 0.01$).

Table 10: Plan to join Canadian culture upon immigration, by educational background

			Educational background		
			No school to some High school	High school grad to university degree	Total
Plan to join Canadian culture	No	Count	15	1	16
		%	55.6%	7.7%	40.0%
	Yes	Count	12	12	24
		%	44.4%	92.3%	60.0%
Total		Count	27	13	40
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

χ^2 =8.376, 1 df, ss ($p<0.01$)

As shown in table 11, 84.6% of the participants who could speak English well or very well planned to join the Canadian culture (integration attitude, Berry,1990), compared to 48.1% of the participants who could not speak English or who speak English poorly (χ^2 =4.862, 1 df, $p < 0.05$). The ability to speak English was more a measure of education rather than an independent variable, as those who had high school or higher education ware 54% more likely to speak English well (χ^2 =11.884, 1 df, $p < 0.01$).

Table 11: Plan to join Canadian culture upon immigration, by ability to speak English

			Ability to speak English		
			Cannot speak/poorly	Well / very well	Total
Plan to join Canadian culture	No	Count	14	2	16
		%	51.9%	15.4%	40.0%
	Yes	Count	13	11	24
		%	48.1%	84.6%	60.0%
Total		Count	27	13	40
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

χ^2 =4.862, 1 df, ss ($p<0.05$)

The age at immigration to Canada was found to have little effect, with those who immigrated at 56 years or younger being 16.1% more likely to plan to join Canadian

culture than those who immigrated at 57 years or older. However, this finding was not statistically significant (χ^2 =1.043, 1df, ns). The length of stay in Canada was also found to have no effect on acculturation attitude (2.1% difference, χ^2 =0.017, 1df, ns).

Difference in Congruence

The model postulates that there will be a high level of congruence between the old home in India and the idea (meaning) of home, pre-immigration. This was supported, as 39 of 40 participants agreed with the statement "My home matched my ideas on what was important about home" and only one participant disagreed.

Congruence between the experience of the Canadian home and the idea of home was tested by asking if "the place I currently live in matches my idea of home". The majority of the participants (n=30) agreed that it matches, while 7 disagreed and 3 provided no answer.

Bivariate analysis indicated that all of those (100%) who had immigrated at the age of 56 or younger agreed that the place that currently lived in matched their idea of home, as compared to 68.4% of those who had immigrated at the age of 57 or older (see table 12).

Table 12: The Canadian home is congruent with the idea of home, by the age at immigration

			Age at immigration to Canada		Total
			30-56	57-71	
The place I currently live in matches my idea of home	No	Count	0	6	6
		%	.0%	31.6%	16.7%
	Yes	Count	17	13	30
		%	100.0%	68.4%	83.3%
Total		Count	17	19	36
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 6.442$, 1 df, ss ($p<0.02$)

The relationship between the length of stay in Canada and the congruence of the Canadian home with their idea of home was not statistically significant (see table 13).

Table 13: The Canadian home is congruent with the idea of home by the length of stay in Canada

			Length of stay in Canada		Total
			1 to 9	10 to 34	
The place I currently live in matches my idea of home	No	Count	5	2	7
		%	23.8%	12.5%	18.9%
	Yes	Count	16	14	30
		%	76.2%	87.5%	81.1%
Total		Count	21	16	37
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 0.757$, 1 df, ns

Table 14 shows a moderate positive relationship between the level of education and the congruence of the Canadian home with their idea of home. All of the participants who had high school education or greater agreed that the place they currently lived in matched their idea of home, compared to 70.8% of those with a lesser education.

Table 14: The Canadian home is congruent with the idea of home by the education background

			Educational background		
			No school to some high school	High school grad to university degree	Total
The place I currently live in matches my idea of home	No	Count	7	0	7
		%	29.2%	.0%	18.9%
	Yes	Count	17	13	30
		%	70.8%	100.0%	81.1%
Total		Count	24	13	37
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 4.676$, 1 df, ss ($p<0.05$)

No association was found between the congruence of the Canadian home and gender.

Difference in Place Attachment

The model posits that place attachment to the new home in Canada will develop over time and the attachment to the old home in India will remain strong. To test this, the participants were asked if they were more attached to their former home in India than to their home here. The sample was split on the issue of attachment to the Indian home with 15 participants agreeing that they were more attached to their Indian home, while 23 disagreed and 2 provided no answer. 29 participants agreed that they have become attached to some places in Canada since immigrating, while 7 disagreed and 4 provided no answer.

The only statistically significant variable related to "attachment to the home in India" was found to be the length of stay in Canada. Among the shorter stay participants, who had been in Canada up to 9 years, 57.1% were more attached to their home in India,

compared to 17.6% of the participants who had been in Canada from 10 to 34 years (see table 15).

Table 15: Attached more to the home in India, by the length of stay in Canada

			Length of stay in Canada		Total
			1 to9	10 to34	
I am more attached to my former home in India than to my home here	No	Count	9	14	23
		%	42.9%	82.4%	60.5%
	Yes	Count	12	3	15
		%	57.1%	17.6%	39.5%
Total		Count	21	17	38
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = 6.134$, 1 df, ss ($p<0.02$)

No relationship was found between the attachment to home in India and the following variables, as they were all ns: Age at the time of the interview ($\chi^2 = 0.949$), age at immigration ($\chi^2 = 0.087$), gender ($\chi^2 = 0.045$) and level of education ($\chi^2 = 0.369$).

CHAPTER SEVEN:
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Findings

Meaning of Home

The meaning of home changes

The literature reports a number of categories that make up the meaning of home for persons who remain in their home and country of origin (Sixsmith, 1986; Despres, 1991). This research sought to determine if changes in the meaning of home occurred for older adult SAIs who had immigrated in late-life. This study revealed that changes in the meaning of home after immigration did occur.

Change in the meaning of home was reflected in the reduction of categories associated with home post-immigration, as well as in the development of a new dimension of the Canadian home (a room of one's own). In spite of the reductions, the Sikh participants stated that they did feel at home here. This suggests, as noted by Mallett (2004), that being at home is related to a particular affect of feeling at home. It also suggests that the meaning of home is not a static concept and that there may be certain core or baseline meanings integral to giving one the sense that they are at home, and which were satisfied in the Canadian home. Mallett supports this notion stating that the boundaries of home are not permanent and that places do not have an essential or fixed meaning, because meaning is constantly being constructed and negotiated. The home before immigration and the present Canadian home were both described as places of

positive feelings and intimate relationships and relationships with different family members in the two places. In India these were primarily relationships involving household chores, raising their children and with close female family members. In Canada they resumed caring for and assisting their adult children although now in an adult capacity; they cooked and they assumed a coveted grandparent role.

Ownership was a requirement for a place to be home, irrespective of the country. The former Indian home also remained an important place because it became a base of operations and a source of income for return visits that meet their need to preserve and belong to their strong neighbourly networks. The survey found that getting to know their Canadian neighbours over time led participants to feel at home here. These findings support the notion that there can be an evolutionary change in the meaning of home across places and also over time.

The meaning of home is socioculturally based

The ability of SAI elders to feel at home in spite of satisfying fewer categories of the meaning of home post-immigration, having language barriers, and in light of the differences between modern urban Canada and traditional rural Indian life, appeared to be a result of four factors: the portability and expression of their traditional roles and values (respect, honour, duty, and collectivism) in their homes, their establishment of culturally appropriate family relationships, return trips to India, and the ability to function on a daily basis within a similar and large ethnic community.

The construction of self varies in relation to the sociocultural values that form it (Rubinstein & Madeiros, 2005). Consequently, the construction of home will vary in accordance with values and self identity. Modern Canadian culture is based on Western

values of individualism and distinctiveness, separation from others, differentiated self identity, and merit and achievement based status (Nayar 2004; Rubinstein & Madeiros, 2005) and the literature reviewed on the meaning of home has findings that reflect these Western values. Home is socioculturally constructed.

The responses from the participants in this study demonstrated the powerful influence of sociocultural values and the self that they engender. They constructed home in Canada according to the traditional SAI roles and values that governed home in India. It is the duty of SAI children to care for their parents in old age, which was shown by children inviting their parents to immigrate to Canada to live with them. The older adults came because living with a child is essential to meet requisite cultural norms for the meaning of home in old age and because for widows it appears to be the only viable social option available. It is quite simply what one does and how one spends one's old age. It allowed them to express their role as a knowledgeable elder with its inherited high status. As well, the women received ongoing respect and honour for fulfilling the role that they most associate with home, the dutiful mother. In the current Canadian home they were vitally important maintainers and transmitters of SAI foods, values, religion, language, history and customs for their families and children. In doing this, they ran their children's homes providing much needed day to day supports, "free" childcare, food preparation, and advice to immigrant children struggling to establish themselves vocationally and economically. Traditional living arrangements (extended and joint families), values and roles were well maintained in the participants and were defining features of feeling at home for this group.

In essence, the participants felt at home because they lived according to traditional SAI ethnocultural values and roles in Canada. This, however, is contingent upon their children agreeing to live according to traditional roles and values, which was found to be the case in this research and typical of SAIs in the work done by Nayar (2004). Undoubtedly Indian children behaving in Western ways would create intergenerational tensions found in some Sikh families by Nayar (2004), which in turn would negatively impact their ability to feel at home in Canada.

The institutional completeness of the SAI community, as seen in the large ethnic SAI neighbourhoods, groups, shops, services and foods available to the participants enhanced their sense of being at home because it was congruent with life before Canada and because it allowed them greater competency in their day to day lives. Their homes reflected traditional SAI culture and values and their community was largely Indian, which undoubtedly promoted their sense of feeling at home. These communities, and the culture they preserved, were a manifestation of Canadian multicultural policy which is embraced by first and second generation Sikhs, as it enables them to live in their traditional ways (Nayar, 2004). Nayar noted that it does, however, hinder the social integration of third generation Sikhs, into the Sikh community, because they often ascribe to modern values.

Interestingly, one participant defined herself as having two homes, which Sixsmith (1986) found in her research on the meaning of home and eight of the nine participants routinely traveled back to their Indian home (the remaining one could not afford it). This suggested that the sample contained primarily higher socioeconomic status participants. These participants maintained strong links to their former homeland

through their homes, which is common in SAI culture (Nayar, 2004). No one had sold her former home in India. They needed them as a place to stay when visiting India, but they also ensured that the owners remained a part of their original intense active social networks of neighbours, who were in one case, all extended relatives. The most important collective is the family whose success hinges on being a part of a larger collective, the intense social networks formed by neighbours (Nayar, 2004; van Willigen, Chadha, & Kedia, 1995). This is because in traditional societies where these participants originated from they provide help for shopping, trading farm goods, connections/access to education, health and amenities, childcare, advice, practical help when you are sick and some social control in the case of family abuse/problems (Nayar, 2004; Tandon, 1968). These networks provide critically important social capital when living in India (van Willigen, Chadha, & Kedia, 1995) and they appear to support the aspect of their self identity, which exists in relation to being a part of that group. The networks arose out of decades of living in the Indian home, they include many extended relatives and they were a way of living. As such, they cannot be fully and easily re-constructed in Canada and this presumably has some bearing on their regular return trips. That said, the survey found that more time spent in Canada is correlated with participants getting to know their neighbours better, which resulted in them feeling at home.

Although items were brought, personalization of the home with objects did not appear to play a large role in the meaning of home for these participants. Making the home a personal place is not in keeping with the collectivist orientation or non-individualist nature of traditional Indian culture and this may explain this finding (Choudhury, 2001; Pettys & Balgopal, 1998).

Pre-immigration home as a source of income

The former home as a source of income was a unique finding of this research, although the sample was small. Many of the participants rented out portions of their pre-immigration home in order to generate income. This dimension has not been described in the literature on the meaning of home. Home as a place that generates survival income may form a part of the basis for immigrant's strong attachments to home.

Having a room of one's own

The importance of having one's own room in the Canadian home to four of the participants deserves mention, as this was the only meaning of home which was not previously described in India. As such, it may be a new meaning, but it may also reflect the fuller living arrangements of their Indian homes or the use and availability of space in contemporary Canadian family houses.

Place attachment and the temporality of home

Strong place attachment bonds to the former Indian home were described by the participants, which grew out of positive events that occurred in the Indian home over the majority of their adult lives. This attachment arose in part out of the intense neighbour networks. Rowles (1983) work found that place attachment grows in part out of social insideness or the sense of belonging and having status within a community group. This is the foundation of traditional SAI functioning from a collectivist mode and a like group was not easily reproduced here. The cultural importance of social insideness appears to have motivated their frequent and lengthy return trips to their Indian home. The need to live in a family collective is fulfilled in Canada and returning to the original neighbourhood collective, which in effect takes them back in time, also fulfills this need.

Home then is also a temporal concept (Despres, 1991; Dovey, 1985; Sixsmith, 1986), in that the overall meaning persists and is nurtured over time, but it is no longer fulfilled in one place at one time. Survey participants who had been here more than 10 years indicated that Canada had changed and become more homelike because they now knew their neighbours. This suggests that over time positive events with family in Canada may occur and some acceptable version of the supportive neighbour networks develops and/or ideas about what constitutes a network change to fit whatever neighbour networks are developed by the participants, as a part of the acculturation process.

Adjustment is Multifaceted and not Required

It appeared that there was no absolute need for the participants to adjust to Canadian values and modes of living. Living in a large SAI ethnic neighbourhood, including old neighbours from the same village in one case, ethnic stores, and accessible Gurdwara's, made the environment "friendly," to the extent that English fluency was not as important, although it was unanimously defined as an asset and having a language barrier was defined as problematic.

Adjustment and preserving SAI ethnocultural traditions

Cognitive coping mechanisms were used by most participants post-immigration to adjust ("change with the times") and those who used them were most content and reported feeling at home. Adjustment was supported by reconstructing a crucial meaning of home namely the development of positive culturally appropriate intimate relationships (Nayar, 2004). This occurred through their children and via strong relationships with grandchildren. The relationships were perceived as positive because 'they get the same love', which is culturally defined as respectful and dutiful treatment of an elder (Nayar).

Many of the women assumed the matriarch role that is culturally owed to them as an elder, although its expression was changed (Bummiler, 1990; Choudhury, 2001). Rather than becoming a pampered authoritarian the older adult SAI women took on new roles as family caregivers and cultural transmitters, by cooking Indian food and raising the grandchildren, which is traditionally done by the daughter-in-law, and by speaking Indian languages. This provided these women with the *control* to ensure that things were done their way, which maintained SAI ethnocultural traditions, while recreating the most important meaning of home.

The modified matriarch role also allowed these elderly SAI women to provide practical help for their children who may have been struggling to establish themselves. Since an Indian woman's primary duty is to be a good mother (which means that she will do anything that she can for her children's well being) she also assigns herself an important and almost invaluable obligation, which she can achieve and which will garner her greater respect for, as noted by Singh (2000), an Indian's greatest life accomplishment is children. The daughter-in-laws worked outside of the homes, but this appeared to be the extent to which things diverged from traditional practices. The participants remained subservient to their husbands and deferred to their sons. The gendered nature of "work" can be seen in this sample.

Acculturation attitude is a preference and choosing a separation attitude was supportable because of extended family/joint family structure living arrangements, being looked after by one's children, and Canada's national policy of multiculturalism and choice (Nayar, 2004). At the time of immigration, all of the participants had intended to keep their culture and those who were interested in integration into Canadian culture

were more likely to speak English and to be educated at a high school level or higher. All of the participants brought items, mostly the Sikh scriptures (Guru Grant Sahib), photos, or items connecting them to the past. The better educated women brought more symbols of self, presumably because education promotes self differentiation.

Place Attachment Remains Strong

Place attachment to the home in India remained strong and most of the participants reported that place attachment was the same. Routine return trips were common and are thought to fulfill a dimension of the meaning of home that could not be quickly or easily reconstructed in Canada. Regular participation in these groups supported self identity, which was culturally constructed and was expressed by being a member of this group and participating as one.

Despres' (1991) Categorization: The Immigrant Elder Context

This research found themes consistent with most of Despres' 10 categories in the pre-immigration home. Despres' categories could, however, benefit from revision and broadening. The literature that they were derived from is biased and represents North American Caucasian notions of people who remained in single family homes. Therefore, it did not explore the larger notion of home as a place of sociocultural congruence. For example, Despres' second category states that home is a reflection of one's ideas and values related to how they see themselves. She states that it is important that home expresses individual preferences, tastes and character and that it can be seen in objects, decoration, furniture and possessions. This assumes an individualistic orientation, in

which development of the self and acquisition of items that represent self, and the self one wishes to be, is valued and sought after.

In the case of traditional SAI elderly who are collectivist and oriented towards maintenance of the group's well being, fulfillment of roles and duties and religious values, and for whom focusing on the self is unacceptable and reproached, displaying items or decorating to express the individual's self or how one wants to be perceived does not fit. Despres' (1991) North American based description of home is really an example of a North American home being socioculturally congruent with North American values. Thus, an additional category emerged from this data, namely that home is a socioculturally congruent place, where ethnic, social, cultural and religious values and beliefs are translated post immigration in things such as relationships, living arrangements, religious participation and symbols, social networks, food and language.

Despres' (1991) categorizations also did not mention place attachment. The literature on place attachment was applicable to the meaning of home in the immigrant elder context. Attachment to home was found to be a key concept in the meaning of home in this context, as it remained quite strong. Place attachment was one of the things that was significant about the pre-immigration home and arose out of it and including it is warranted by these findings.

Lastly, some of Despres' (1991) categories contain more than one idea and it is recommended that these ideas be separated. For example, category one is "security and control." The participants of this research that reported having control (or who were self-described as "being in charge") in their Indian home did not, however, mention security as a feature of control.

Methodological Reflections

A number of important points arose out of doing this research that bear mentioning. Awareness of them will facilitate future research with this population.

As already mentioned, SAIs are a fairly closed group with culturally prescribed values and gender specific roles and duties. Honest and open discussion was promoted by the following factors. First, it was important to the participants that the translator came from a respected Punjabi family, was a respected female member of their community, and that she and this researcher both had sons. In addition, this researcher's personal experience as part of an immigrant family with a traditional, involved, patriarchal and out spoken mother-in-law appeared to be very important to them. The participants laughed and were put at ease when they realized that in spite of our age and ethnic differences, that we had a shared understanding and common experience. However, it was important to them that this researcher not only know the challenges of living with an outspoken mother-in-law, but also to respect her even if her ways were not mine. This conveyed a sense of respect for their way of life. Establishing some rapport between the participants and the researcher turned out to be a crucial to initiating the research process with elderly SAI because of the cultural importance of this value (Patton, 2002).

Early on in the research it was apparent that the participants were generally not able to think conceptually. Asking them what made their home feel like home would result in a somewhat confused and blank stare. It soon became apparent that prompting them to describe something concrete was necessary to stimulate the responses that contained the important categories of home. They were asked, for example to: describe your home, the number of rooms, who lived at home, the neighbours, and who did the

decorating. Successfully interviewing them requires that the interviewer first determine their level of understanding (Patton, 2002).

Nayar (2004) found that distinctive thought forms exist in generational groups and influence the way in which they communicate. This was also the case for these participants who showed an orality mode of thinking, which is typical of traditional collectivist based societies like the one these participants come from (Nayar). Orality means that they think in "here and now" concrete terms, which are directly based on personal experience, and where ideas merge into continuous thought streams, in which thoughts accumulate without priorization (Nayar). This was seen when participants described their individual experiences as "we", when they struggled with the sense of their past, as they could not always confirm the order of events in time, such as, when they rented and when they owned and in their need to be frequently refocused. They often answered fairly straight forward questions by narrating lengthy and extensive stories that contained many details that were not always chronologically ordered. It would have been helpful to realize that they communicate from this perspective before beginning the research.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should explore the meaning of home for other ethnic groups, within ethno-religious subgroups, such as Hindu SAI versus Sikh SAI, age, socioeconomic status and gender differences in immigrants. Longitudinal data exploring the meaning of home pre and post-immigration, which is measured at intervals over time is needed to address the complexity of this subject. Work exploring the significance of return trips would determine if it is fulfillment of the meaning of home or some type of

adjustment strategy and would provide clarity on this issue. As well, the difference in relationships between the former and the new home, the lack of identification of home as a place of security, the cross-cultural importance of objects to elderly SAI, and the income generating aspect of home all warrant further investigation. Research that investigates the impact of second and/or third generation SAIs who subscribe to Western values and who live with SAI immigrant elderly may reveal very different findings than these participants expressed. Research that explores the development of neighbour networks in Canada is also warranted. Work that focuses on the impact of the broader societal forces on the ability to reconstruct home is lacking. Lastly, examining the importance of having one's own room in the new home for SAI elderly is needed. Valid measures of home also need to be developed in order to make reliable comparisons.

Limitations

The research has a number of limitations. Since data were only gathered at one point in time the influence and impact of living in Canada, which may have reshaped the meaning of home, cannot be discerned. A truer comparison would be obtained by exploring the meaning of home longitudinally: before they immigrate and then ideally a number of times "x" years later. As well, the validity of participant's responses may have been affected by the retrospective nature of the data collection, i.e. recall inaccuracies may have been a factor.

The researcher was an "outsider" or not ethically similar to the participants and a translator was used, which may have influenced their responses in a more positive direction. A selection bias may have occurred resulting in the translator selecting participants with intergenerational accord, as suggested by the lack of intergenerational

tensions in the sample. No attempt was made to investigate the impact of political and economic forces on these participants' construction of home in Canada. The findings then are specific to female, generally well-educated, late-life, mainly Sikh SAI immigrants from families of intergenerational solidarity, who immigrated to the Vancouver lower mainland sponsored in the family class. The higher socioeconomic status would likely impact their ability to make return trips and to problem solve intergenerational concerns and other ones, related to the acculturation process.

The survey sample was not random which reduces its validity and reliability (DePoy & Gitlin, 1998). It was also small at n=40, which means that significant findings may not have been picked up which really do exist. Because the survey instrument has not undergone any inter-item reliability it is not known if the questions asked actually independently measured the concepts and, as mentioned in the survey analysis, measurement error was suspected regarding differentiating between the experience of home and the conceptual meaning of home and because some of the questions were double barrelled (DePoy & Gitlin). As well, some of the survey questions related to the categorical meanings of home now appear to be somewhat culturally biased from a Western mode and so information may have been missed because the right questions were not asked. For example, questions exploring the collectivist nature of SAI home life were not addressed, because of the individualistic orientation of the questions used.

Other data may have been missed simply because the questions were not asked. For example, the survey participants were not asked if they had two homes because it was not known that this might be the case. The question as to whether or not they feel at home was also not asked. As well, none of the interview participants mentioned home as an

investment before or after immigrating and it is a more modern and Western conceptualization. The survey participants may have answered the questions simply because they were asked and, thus, felt the need to provide at least some answer or even an acceptable answer. It may also have been that having a female of the same SAI cultural background biased the survey responses, especially since more than one half of the survey participants were men. Further, the accuracy of the verbal translation of the survey questions asking what was requested could not be verified. Lastly, nothing is known about the survey participants who declined to participate, except that they were self described as uneducated. However, since other uneducated people did participate, it suggests that there may be other characteristics of these people that were not represented by the sample.

Studying the meaning of home for immigrant elders is a very complex and demanding undertaking that requires more than a cross-sectional approach. It involves keeping track of data gained before immigration, immediately after and over time and the factors that influence this data. It also involves that which is significant about home before immigrating, after, and which is conceptually carried in ones head, as well as the lived reality of home in the new place and, in the case of these older adults, in the former home also. It also requires a life course perspective that considers the sociocultural factors of the previous home and the new home, the degree to which a person subscribes to them, availability of ethnic supports, and consideration of personal attributes, historical, political and economic factors, and relevant policies.

Conclusion

This study was the first to investigate changes in the meaning of home, for the immigrant elderly and more specifically elderly Sikh SAI immigrants who have immigrated to Canada, at the request of their immigrant children. In spite of its limitations it did provide interesting findings. It clearly demonstrated that changes occurred in the number and types of meanings associated with home after older adult SAIs immigrate, which did not necessarily preclude the new home from giving them the sense that they felt at home. It also showed that certain categories of the meaning of home may have core meanings. It found a unique meaning of home (as an income source) which has not been identified in the literature to this researcher's knowledge. It also underlined the tremendous influence and importance of home as a place that is congruent with one's sociocultural beliefs.

The Immigrant Elders Model of the Expanded Meaning of Home was very helpful for conceptualizing and organizing the large amount of information that was gathered and which reflects different points in time. The expanded meaning of home was labelled as expanded because it built on or expanded the meaning of home described in the literature to include place attachment, congruence between the former and new homes, and competence in the new home and the larger environment. This study supported this expanded meaning and suggests that rather than an expanded version it is a more fully developed version of the same concept, which could have utility for studying the meaning of home for groups other than the immigrant elderly.

This study found that the meaning of home has a temporal component that can be fulfilled by moving forward over time in the new home and by returning to the pre-

immigration home and to social networks of the past, which appears to fulfill unmet meanings in the new home, while supporting a self identity that is collectively rooted. The findings are a starting point for future research as they fill in some of the gaps regarding the meaning of home and changes that occur in this meaning for late-life SAI immigrant elders.

APPENDICES

Appendix A Meaning of Home Literature Summary

Reference	Study Type	Contributions/Findings
Case, D. (1996). Contributions of journeys away to the definition of home. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 16, 1-16.	Phenomenological	Interviewed married couples of unknown ages, one time lasting 1.5-2 hours on 'being at home' and 'being way from home' in the context of taking near and far journeys from home. Majority had dual careers and dependent children. Findings: Being at home is defined through: 1. Routine-familiar household routines, the objects used in them (eg. own bed, familiar foods) and spatial organization of these objects/ rooms that contain them - and not through physical boundary changes 2. Togetherness- social aspect of being available to interact with family friends neighbors. Home is the link to the larger community. Routine and togetherness are rituals that are the essential sources of comfort and security and the foundation of 'being at home'.
Despres, C. (1991). The meaning of home: Literature review and directions for future research and theoretical development. Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, 8(2), 96-114.	Conceptual	Reviews empirical literature on the meaning of home from 1974-1989, of mostly North American origin. Compiles 10 categories of the meaning of home from those most commonly identified in the literature. Discusses the 4 theoretical approaches that were used in the literature and argues for integrated approach to future studies. Notes that the literature has two main biases 1. Selection (usually white middle-class participants that live in owned single detached homes) and 2. Interpretation (lack of sociological and political-economic influences).
Dovey, K. (1985). Home and homelessness. In Altman, I & Wemer, C.M.(Eds.), Human behavior and environment,vol.8: Home environments (pp 33-64).London: Plenum press.	conceptual	Lists 3 properties of home: 1. Order – spatial, temporal and sociocultural 2. Identity- reflects self and 3. Connectedness- home is a series of /connections between the person and people, places and the past. These three properties come to exist through social and spatial processes that are dialectical (e.g. Social – private versus public; e.g. Spatial- journey versus returning to home). Discusses homelessness in terms of six items that have eroded the traditional sense of home – (e.g. rationalism). Finishes with environmental design recommendations.
Lewin, FA. (2001). The meaning of home among elderly immigrants: Future directions for research and theoretical development. Housing Studies, 16(3), 353-370.	Conceptual	States that it is important to study the meaning of home for elderly immigrants from various cultures in order to gain insight into between group differences. Believes that identity, gender and culture will be the most influential components that effect the meaning of home. Argues that research should use experiential, phenomenological and developmental perspectives.
Mallett, S. (2004). Understanding home: A critical review of the literature. The Sociological Review, 52(1), 62-89.	Conceptual	Examines the main and recurring ideas about home in the literature in order to facilitate discussion between disciplines. Concludes that how home has been understood depends on the disciplinary and methodological perspective used and the broader social and historical contexts.
Porteous, J.D. (1976). Home: The territorial core. Geographical Review (66), 383-390.	Conceptual	Home is an exclusively controlled territory, which confers three things: 1. Identity (creation and projection of self and image of self via personalization with objects, decor, layout) 2. Security (psychic security-privacy, expression of self through personalization, and physical-space that is defended from outsiders) 3. Stimulation (through making, modifying and personalizing the home, competition with other homeowners, and defence from intruders). Home is a fixed reference point from which reality is structured- all geographical space is dichotomized as either home or non-home. Provides refuge, autonomy, belonging, and continuity through objects and reproduction of home as one travels, and it is culturally rooted. Loss of the sense of home induces grief, trauma, and health may decline.

Reference	Study Type	Contributions/Findings
Rubinstein, R.L. (1989). The home environments of older people: A description of the psychosocial processes linking person to place. Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences, 44(2), S45-53.	Ethnographic	Ethnographic interview of 7 American seniors (4 female,3 male), aged 68-90, for a half day , every week for 4 months, with 3 seniors continuing for 2 years. All had high school education, two with college. The men were married, women widowed/divorced. Six had children. Length of residence varied from never moved to moved 40 times in 77 years. Seniors give the home environment meaning in three domains, which reflect: 1.sociocultural standards for decor/layout 2. Varying degrees of attachment to environmental objects/features based on the association with routines, needs, and their life history (expression of self) 3. The bodily experience of the place so as to produce sensory comfort (color, sound, visual stimuli) and manipulation of the home to make up for declining functional abilities.
Sixsmith, J. (1986). The meaning of home: An exploratory study of environmental experience. Journal of Environmental Psychology, 6, 281-298.	Phenomenological	22 postgraduates (14female, 8male) age range of 22-29 years, who described past present and possible ideal homes along with places that are not home, which were then categorized by 'what home is to me'. Findings: Places described as home cover a wide range (19 types found/described); home does not signify a single place (mean number of homes = 5.5); home varies from person to person; home has varying degrees of existence as a physical place and may not even have a physical component (spiritual home); home can endure over time but it can change as persons needs change. 20 categories of the meaning of home were identified (e.g. belonging, privacy, type of relationships, physical structures), which were then assigned to three larger aspects of how home is experienced (personally, socially, physically). Also found that home has a temporal component.
Sixsmith, A.J. & Sixsmith, J.A. (1991). Transition in home experience in later life. Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, 8(3), 181-191.	Phenomenological	Interviewed 63 men and women aged 65 years and older, living independently, 2-6 times. Found that common changes faced by seniors effected their accounts of home. Loss of non- home places (fewer social contacts and retirement) makes the home more significant. Home provided a source of remembering and reminiscence. An increased awareness of death leads to the desire to remain in the current home. The home provides enduring continuity in the face of life transitions/changes. Home is a symbol of competence and ability and allows one to preserve their independence.
Somerville, P. (1997). The social construction of home. Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, 14(3), 336-244	Conceptual	Reviews literature on the meaning of home. Discusses the theoretical approaches used in the literature and argues for a new approach that he calls "social phenomenology." Elucidates 3 meanings of home (privacy, identity, and familiarity) from this perspective.
Swenson, M.M. (1998). The meaning of home to five elderly women. Health Care for Women International, 19(5), 381-393.	Phenomenological	Interviewed 4 elderly women (75-87 years old), all: high school graduates, widowed lived in the same house in the same rural town for 30 years or more, now living alone, for 5-10 hours to discuss what it has been like living there. Findings: 3 major patterns that home is the centre of: 1.Self (mastery over the environment and personalization maintain self identity, self-esteem, autonomy, self sufficiency, connections with the past, psychological support. 2. Caring-for others as a nurturing, protective, defensive place, caring for the land which required ownership and which was symbolic of self in particular their functional ability. 3. Reach- a starting point for outside activities and to return to.
Van Der Geest, S. (1998). Yebisa Wo Fie: Growing old and building a house in the akan culture of ghana. Journal of Cross Cultural Gerontology, 13 (4), 333-359.	Anthropological	Lived amongst and interviewed 35 elderly people roughly half male and female in small rural town in eastern Ghana over a three year period. The meaning of home is culturally defined. It is: a monument to the builders, as it continues to bear the builders name through successive generations, must be built in ones hometown as it is the sole symbol of belonging in the town and it is shameful to be in town without having one to live in. The home is a symbol of having lived a worthwhile life- a virtuous person will be able to build a house, from which he will experience, respect, beauty, love security and memory. It also provides the place for children to stay in order to look after the elders requiring assistance.

Appendix B Relevant Immigrant Studies Summary

Reference	Study Type	Major Issue/Findings	Limitations
Choi, N.G. (1999). Living Arrangements and Household Compositions of elderly couples and Singles: a Comparison of Hispanics and Blacks. Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 31(1-2), 41-61.	Empirical N=259 Hispanic & 152 black couples; 298 Hispanic & 341 singles; used people aged 60+. Data from 1989 & 1990 Panel Studies of Income Dynamics - US	Looked at: Effect of ethnic origin on the likelihood of elderly living with their children; effect of poverty and health on living arrangements of elderly. What are the determinants of living arrangements of the elderly. Variables: age, gender, employment status, income, poverty level, perceived health, housing status, living arrangements, household composition, national origin, place of birth. Findings: there are different living arrangements in blacks and Hispanics. Hispanic couples are more likely to head a household containing relatives. Hispanic singles more likely to live as a dependent in children's home. Hispanic elderly more likely to head a household with younger children and blacks more likely to head household with grandchildren, in both cases these elderly couples are believed to be a primary source of economic, instrumental, and emotional assistance to the young.	Looked at only Hispanic and blacks, of which there are relatively few in Canada. Sample is mainly native born. No information about preferences.
Fitzpatrick, T.R. & Freed, A.O. (2000). Older Russian Immigrants to the USA Their Utilization of Health Services. International Social Work, 43(3), 305-323.	Literature review of empirical studies related to Russian Jewish immigration to the U.S.	Looked at: Russian Jewish immigration. Findings: Primary motivations for old Jewish Russians to immigrate to US are the expectation of their adult children that they join them. Upon arrival in the US, the older Jewish Russian immigrants experience significant loss associated with their authority in their family and their professional status. Losses are compounded by age and health related illnesses that force elders to be more dependent on the adult children. Social cultural beliefs require friendships to be intense intimate relationships, even more than marriages. Lost friendships result in lost instrumental and social support. Severe grief reactions and Despression are very common in the first six months after immigrating. Their distress and mental disorganization prevent them from learning English, which increases their dependency on children and further compounds their loneliness, Despression, isolation and their inability to access government services.	
Gusovsky, T. (1995). New beginnings: Older Russian Immigrants in the United States. Journal Of Geriatric Pyschiatry, 28(2), 219-233.	N= 4 case studies (2F/2M) of Russian seniors that recently immigrated to the U.S. and then required psychiatric care.	Looked at: the case examples of 4 senior Russian that immigrated to the U.S. to understand the impact of dislocation and cultural change on their emotional needs. Findings: The history and condition of the homeland effects adaptation to the new place. Seniors had been socialized to have healthy cultural paranoia under the communist government are unable to initiate new contacts and to find social support. The participants also experienced significant unresolved pressures and losses resulting from recent and rapid social, political and economic decline and social breakdown in the Soviet Union. Cultural beliefs about friendships also effect adaptation. Russian culture places great value on friendships and the seniors left deeply supportive, lifelong close, trusted friends behind and were unable to reestablish such relationships, which provoked feelings of grief, loss, sadness, and inadequacy. Being unemployed and thus unproductive, unable to speak English and thus talk about their feelings left them angry and at times enraged. The participants saw their life experiences as "irrelevant " in the new country to younger family members. Role loss and conflict occurred with acculturated children and grandchildren when they failed to support traditional roles and family interdependence. They felt out of control, disconnected and that they had no choice but to come as they had to follow their children. All of the seniors required culturally sensitive psychiatric treatment as provoked by the above.	Small sample size, anecdotal and so may not be representative of older Russians.

Reference	Study Type	Major Issue/Findings	Limitations
Hao, L. and Johnson, R.W. (2000). Economic, Cultural, and Social Origins of Emotional Well-Being; Comparisons of Immigrants and Natives at Midlife. Research on Aging, 22(6), 599-629.	Empirical Age 51-61, born between 1931 and 1941 N=614 immigrants N=8,582 natives Health and Retirement Study, wave 1 (1992), University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research	Looked at: The impact of economic, cultural and social factors on emotional well being of US immigrants and natives at midlife. Variables: Income, wealth, country of origin, religious affiliation, family structure, kin networks, age, years of residence, age at arrival, physical health problems, employment and emotional well-being (11/14 items from CES-D Depression scale), level of satisfaction with 9 aspects of their lives and life as a whole, if doctor diagnosed emotional/psychiatric problems and if received treatment/medication for the problems. Findings: Religious affiliation and participation is important for immigrant's and native's well being, but participation is more protective for immigrants, especially for life satisfaction and interpersonal affective problems. Being in a couple is more protective for immigrants than for natives. Determinants of emotional problems vary with ethnic groups. Education, marriage and financial stable kin networks were related to fewer emotional problems.	Not seniors. Majority of the immigrant sample (60%) arrived before age 30 and 85% arrived before age 40, thus long residency.
Kamo, Y. and Zhu, M. (1994). Living Arrangements of Elderly Chinese and Japanese in the United States. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 56, 544-558.	Empirical Age 65+ N=2,814 Chinese N=2,596 Japanese N=3,902 non-Hispanic Whites Public Use Microdata Samples –1980 US Census of Population and Housing	Looked at: The effect of acculturation, economic and demographic factors on elderly Japanese and Chinese living arrangements. Variables: Acculturation (foreign birth, non-English used at home, length of residency and education), marital status, country of origin, employment, income, physical disability, number of children, availability of children, the (US) State of residence. Findings: Patterns of living arrangements vary among Chinese, Japanese and non-Hispanic Whites. Overall, elderly Chinese and Japanese were more likely to live in an extended family household than whites, regardless of marital status, State of residence and gender. These people were more likely to live with married than single children were. These findings are related to racial ethnic/cultural preferences and beliefs regarding filial responsibility and living in extended families, which persisted for Japanese and Chinese born and culturally assimilated in the US.	Data on number of children was collected for females only. Chinese were mostly new immigrants. Japanese were mostly long residence immigrants. No information about preferences.
Katz, R. & Lowenstein, A, (1999). Adjustment of Older Soviet Immigrant Parents and Their Adult Children Residing in Shared Households. Family Relations. 48(1), 43-50.	N= 100 multigenerational families, Randomly sampled from Absorption Ministry list, with older adults aged 60+ & three generations living together for a minimum of 6 months. All left Russia for Israel. Qualitative questionnaire and quantitative 2 hour interview data.	Looked at: the adjustment to life in a new society of the two adult generations living in a multigenerational family structure and to identify the main factors that affect this adjustment process. Variables: Quantitative: demographic information, mastery of Hebrew, self-perceived health, satisfaction with 10 formal (government) support services. Family functioning (distinguish healthy from unhealthy), intergenerational solidarity, participantive adjustment (willingness to stay, satisfaction with immigration decision, general life satisfaction, perception of life (boring/interesting, lonely/many friendships, disappointing/great), self assessed Hebrew proficiency. Qualitative: patterns of living arrangements in both countries, household role division, financial issue, decision making processes, advantages and disadvantages of shared living. Findings: Past and present intergenerational solidarity and current family functioning affect adjustment among older generation above all other variables and hardly effect the younger generations. (Older generations attribute greater importance to family relations). Older persons experience a loss of role and status to a greater extent than younger generations. Being married led to better adjustment for the older generation and had no impact on the younger generation. Satisfaction with formal support networks was related to better adjustment in the older generation. The qualitative data indicated that younger generations emphasized the economic benefit of living together, whereas older generation emphasized the intergenerational solidarity as the most important reason (different motivation).	No control group

Reference	Study Type	Major Issue/Findings	Limitations
Kritz, M.M., Gurak, D.T. and Chen, L. (2000). Elderly immigrants: their composition and living arrangements. Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, 27(1), 85-114.	Empirical Age 60+ N=278,174 Foreign born N=24,229 Natives Data from 8% Public Use Microdata Samples – 1990 US Census	Looked at: How the living arrangements of immigrants of specific origin groups differ from each other and from natives. Variables: age, gender, income, marital status, functional limitations, education, percentage arriving before 1950 (45%), citizenship, English fluency, living arrangements. Findings: Foreign born elderly less likely to live alone and more likely to live with their children, but this varies with ethnic origin. Females are over twice as likely as males to live alone and much less likely to live with spouse only. The longer elderly immigrants live in the US, the more likely they are to live alone and to speak English fluently. People with functional limitations are more likely to live with their children. The main reason elderly immigrants live with children was limited financial resources and the next important reason was a lack of English fluency. Sociodemographics characteristics and functional limitations had no different impact on living arrangements in elderly immigrants than natives. In general, Asians and Latinos are more likely to live with their family.	Almost half of the sample arrived before 1950. No information about preferences.
Pallasana, R.B. (1999). Getting Old in the U.S.: Dilemmas of Indo-Americans. Joumal Of Sociology and Social Welfare, 27(1), 51-68	Ethnographic N=30 Indo-American seniors, aged 60+ (12M/13F), From 3 cities in Eastern and Midwestern USA Classified into 3 groups:(1) those who came before1965-usually single male students,(2) those who came after 1965, usually professionals, married with children, (3)"no choice", came as an elder because adult child (mostly sons) had immigrated	Looked at: Understanding how the Indo-American elderly from 3 cities in Eastern, Midwestern U.S. were adapting to getting old in the U.S., especially overall coping and adaptation. Findings: Findings varied for the three groups but found the following themes. Pervasive ambivalence about having immigrated to the U.S. for all participants with third group very vocal in wanting to spend old age in country of origin. Women expressed preference to live in South Asia. Elderly whose children were married and had no identification with culture of origin expressed tremendous sense of failure, questioning decision to immigrate and feeling guilt at not having returned to home when children were young. Spiritual needs are not met (too few and inaccessible mosques/temples). Fear of nursing home placement (their "utmost fear"- and seen as abandonment) voiced by all participants and of what will happen to spouse if they should die (expressed by men of their wives that have low education/lifelong homemakers). All participants felt negatively about winters ("agony"). Groups 1 and 2 regularly visit country of origin and this is pleasant and helpful in meeting their sociocultural need (worry with advancing age journey is too straining). Group 3 concerned about expense of trips and no one to stay with in country of origin. In group 3 in women only, anguish was expressed over disrespectful treatment from children and their spouse and grandchildren. Some of these women felt that they were bought over to the U.S. be the 'babysitter/maid' for the family and that they were being exploited. Group 3 generally felt "out of place" in the U.S.	Only one of the groups interviewed are immigrant elderly; the remaining are long stay residents. Small sample size, most of sample are employed professionals, middle to upper middle incomes only

Reference	Study Type	Major Issue/Findings	Limitations
Paulino, A, (1998). Dominican Immigrant Elders: Social Service Needs, Utilization Patterns, and Challenges. Journal Of Gerontological Social Work, 30(1-2), 61-74.	N= 10 Dominican immigrant elders (6M/4F) from inner-city NY seniors centre, used to form a focus group, lasted 90 minutes.	Looked at: Determining what the social service needs, concerns, and resources known to the participants. Findings: The immigration process is viewed as a temporary one; they migrate with the intent to return to the Island. Eight of the participants were Spanish speaking only. Overall experience in U.S. Is positive: seen as opportunity to make money to send to relatives in Dominican Republic They were stoic about their choice of environment and family commitment and saw themselves as having made sacrifices for their children. Themes emerged as follows. First to feel fulfilled/complete they needed public housing (most of money spent on rent and children supplementing this). They wanted social assistance in completing government forms for assistance/citizenship. Stressful events were coped with through a strong sense of spirituality and by helping others that were seen as worse off than themselves. Spirituality shapes their worldview through one's destiny being guided by God. Self described as feeling satisfied with life, their present situation, and their achievements in life, which was measured by the circumstances of their children; their children are not factory workers but employed professionals. Also consider themselves to be actively involved in family matters, decision making and as caregivers for the grandchildren, from which they derive a sense of respect, acceptance, and self-esteem.	Small sample, participants from a seniors group and so may not be representative, had been in U.S. for 6- 31 years, very heterogeneous group: all had cardiovascular health problems and low education, but were active community volunteers and 9 of the 10 have adequate mutually supportive family relationships.
Usita, P.M. (2001). Interdependency in Immigrant Mother-Daughter Relationships. Journal of Aging Studies, 15, 183-199.	Ethnographic Post WWII immigrant Japanese mothers that married Americans and their adult daughters. Time 1 interviews (1-3 hours): N=22 Mother & Daughters,(10 dyads): Mothers aged 45-71, with X=58 Daughters aged 21-43, with X=30 Time 2 interviews (1.5 – 2.5 hours): N=8 M+D, 4 dyads	Looked at: Influence of social geography, interdependency expectations, and life events on the experience of interdependency for mothers and daughters as described under Study Type. Findings: The mothers had enduring ties to Japanese values and were willing to transmit the culture to the grandchildren and had a persistent wanting of what is best for their daughters. The daughters were deeply concerned for their mother's well being as they noticed the social isolation of the mothers and so involved them significantly in their lives. Daughters appreciated mother's role as a cultural transmitter. Daughters played the key role in mother's adjustment to the new place through meeting of social needs. Interdependency expectations were informed by Japanese values.	Age of mothers. Sample and focus is very specific
Wilmoth, J.M. (2001). Living Arrangements among Older Immigrants in the United States. The Gerontologist, 41(2), 228-238.	Empirical Age 60+ N=63,953 Foreign born 10% of White older adults, N not given Data from 5% Public Use Microdata Samples – 1990 US Census	Looked at: What are the living arrangements of different immigrant groups. Are they determined by individual or cultural characteristics? Variables: income, education, functional limitations, number of children, acculturation (age at immigration, the year of immigration, English proficiency), gender, marital status and race/ethnicity. Findings: There is considerable variation across the 11 immigrant groups. Overall, dependant living arrangements are highest in single female immigrants. Migration at age 60+ increased the likelihood of living with family. Recent migration and poor English fluency increased the likelihood of living with family. Functional limitations increased the likelihood of living with family for singles. Higher number of children increased the likelihood of living with children. When individual characteristics controlled for, immigrants were still more likely to live with family.	Half of the sample is Hispanic. Only one fifth immigrated at age 60+. Three-quarters arrived before 1985. Over one half arrived before 1965. 78% have no functional limitations. Data on number of children was collected for females only. There was no information about the gender composition and the proximity of children. No information about preferences.

Appendix C Face to Face Interview Questions

These are the questions that you will be asked to respond to during the interview. Please read them and think about them over the next week.

Before Immigrating (thinking back before you came to Canada)

Think about the homes that you have lived in, ones where you really felt at home. What memories come to your mind, about:

- The physical characteristics of the homes?
- The community that you lived in?

What was it about these homes that made you feel at home?

Do you have any attachment to these homes and community now? Has your attachment changed?

Upon immigrating to Canada (think about when you first came to Canada)

Tell me what motivated you to come to Canada? (expectations, perception of choice).

At first, what were the major changes for you in the home and the community and were they important to you (gains, losses, expected and unexpected; preference)?

What are the personally meaningful objects you have brought with you (for example photographs)? Was there anything that you wanted to bring but could not?

Since immigrating (now that you have been here for awhile)

Do you have a favourite space in your home? Tell me about it: where, why, people & items in it, visiting frequency, satisfaction with frequency. If unable to visit, do you imagine being there and how does this affect you?

Have you made any changes to the place you live in now to make it feel more like your home (built structure, decorating, objects, worship room, yard/garden, furniture)?

Do you reminisce and talk about your old home? How does this make you feel (helpful, supportive or sad)?

Where do you go out to in the community and why do you go there?

Have you made any new relationships or friendships since immigrating? What effect have they had on your sense of feeling at home?

Do you feel at home here (why/why not)?

Have you been able to return to your previous home? If so, what effect did the visit have on your ideas about home?

Appendix D Survey Questionnaire

Note: *All questions in the Survey Questionnaire offered the following five answer choices:*

Agree;	*Agree somewhat;*	*Neutral;*	*Disagree somewhat;*	*Totally disagree*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

Please read each statement and circle one answer that best fits what you truly think.

Part 1 Think back to the home that you lived in before immigrating to Canada. Answer the following questions about that home.

1. Home was a place where I felt physically safe.
2. Home had enough space and rooms for my daily needs.
3. Home was a place in which I felt familiar with the spaces, the smells, the furniture and the objects.
4. Home was a place where I could act the way I wanted and be myself.
5. Home was a place I could modify and personalize the way I wanted according to my personal tastes.
6. Home was a storehouse for the objects and material possessions that were meaningful to me.
7. Home was a place that gave me a sense of belonging somewhere, of having roots.
8. Home was a place of love and togetherness, a place where I could strengthen the relationships with the people I care for.
9. Home was a refuge, a place where I could get away from outside pressures, find peace and quietness, and be alone when desired.
10. Home was a place where I felt comfortable bringing people in.
11. Home was a place that tells people what status I have in society.
12. Home was a place to own.
13. Home was a protection for my money.
14. Home was an investment from which I could benefit.
15. Home was a place where I knew my neighbours and the neighbourhood.
16. I was very attached to my home
17. My home matched my ideas about what is important about home
18. I knew the way around my house, in my head, which helped me to get around more easily

Part 2 Think about the where you are NOW living when you answer the following questions.

19. Home is a place where I feel physically safe.

20. Home is having enough space and rooms for my daily needs.
21. Home is a place in which I feel familiar with the spaces, the smells, the furniture and the objects.
22. Home is a place where I can act the way I want and be myself.
23. Home is a place I can modify and personalize the way I want according to my personal tastes.
24. Home is a storehouse for the objects and material possessions that are meaningful to me.
25. Home is a place that gives me a sense of belonging somewhere, of having roots.
26. Home is a place of love and togetherness, a place where I can strengthen the relationships with the people I care for.
27. Home is a refuge, a place where I can get away from outside pressures, find peace and quietness, and be alone when desired.
28. Home is a place where I feel comfortable bringing people in.
29. Home is a place that tells people what status I have in society.
30. Home is a place to own.
31. Home is a protection for my savings.
32. Home is an investment from which I can benefit.
33. Home is a place where I know my neighbours and the neighbourhood.
34. Practicing my religion makes me feel at home
35. Being reunited with my family makes me feel at home
36. The place I currently live in matches my idea of home
37. The meaning of home has changed for me since I came to British Columbia
38. I am more attached to my former home in India than to my home here
39. Being able to go to the temple to worship really helps make me feel at home
40. Being able to buy the ingredients for cooking Indian food is very important to feeling at home
41. Being able to socialize with other Indians is very important to feeling at home
42. Being able to wear Indian clothing/articles is very important to feeling at home
43. It is best for our family here if adult children maintain Indian values and ways in the home
44. It is best for our family here if grandchildren maintain Indian values and ways in the home
45. The things that I brought with me to Canada really help me feel at home
46. I know my way around my home in my head, which helps me to get around easily

47. Canada is very different than I expected and it will never feel like my home
48. My children have lost some important Indian values since coming to Canada, which I cannot accept.
49. Because of circumstances I feel that I had no choice but to immigrate to Canada
50. I was attached to some places in Canada before immigrated
51. I have become attached to some places in Canada since I have immigrated

Appendix E Demographic Information Questionnaire

1. Age at last birthday _____
2. Gender
   a. female
   b. male
3. Marital status
   a. married
   b. widowed
   c. other _____
4. What is your religion?
   a. Sikh
   b. Muslim
   c. Hindu
   d. Christian
   e. other _____
   f. no religion
5. Which province in India do you come from?

   _____
6. What is your educational background?
   a. no schooling
   b. primary school
   c. some high-school
   d. high-school grad
   e. some college/university
   f. college/university degree
7. Please estimate your annual household income

   _____
8. Do you have a personal income from any source?
   Yes
   No
9. Do you work outside of your home?
   Yes
   No
10. If you work outside of your home what kind of work do you do?

    _____
11. What year did you immigrate to Canada?

    _____
12. On average, how many months per year do you live in Canada.

    _____

13. Do you intend to return to India permanently some day?
    Yes
    No

14. What are your living arrangements?
    a. I live alone
    b. I live with my spouse only
    c. I live with my daughter.
    d. I live with my son.
    e. I live with my son(s) and daughter(s)
    f. I rotate among my children's homes
    e. other _____

15. List the number of living children that you have and the city that each lives in?
    a. sons:
        number: _____
        cities: _____
    b. daughters :
        number: _____
        cities:_____

16. How well do you speak English?
    a. Well
    b. Very well
    c. Poorly
    d. Cannot speak English

17. Please rate your health.
    a. Excellent
    b. Good
    c. Fair
    d. Poor

18. Have you used any government information or programs to help you adjust to life in British Columbia?
    a. Yes
    b. No

19. When you came to Vancouver did you expect to join the main culture in some way or remain separate from it? I planned to:
    a. Keep my own culture and avoid Canadian culture
    b. Let go of my culture and take on a Canadian culture
    c. Join in Canadian culture while still keeping my culture
    d. Let go of my culture and avoid Canadian culture.

20. Did you visit Canada before deciding to immigrate? If yes, what cities did you visit and how long did you stay in each?

    _____

21. What motivated you to immigrate? Please list the reasons.

    _____

Appendix F Items Brought

Item (Source)	Item Description
Shivangi	
Item 1 (Cdn)	A Hindu Temple has been created on a bookcase shelf. The golden framed photo is the Goddess Shivji. The centre of the Temple contains Shivling (a black statue holding a broad bowl) onto which water is poured as an offering to please her. She is the most innocent of 3 original Gods and so she desires only water. Prints of other Gods/Goddesses to whom prayers are offered are also present.
Item 2 (Cdn)	Mala beads are stored near the Temple. They are used to track the number of times that a Gods name is said. The beads must be moved inward as counting occurs to ensure good luck.
Item 3 (Cdn)	Wall plate of the Goddess Laxani, Goddess of wealth. Her puja (prayer) is done first.
Item 4 (Ind-@ imm)	Photograph's of the participant's deceased husband and them as a couple. Same bookshelf as the Temple.
Jagbinder	
Item 1 (Ind-@ imm)	Daughter and son-in-law's wedding (in India) photo.
Item 2 (Ind-@ imm)	Father-in-law's carved rock mortar and pestle, which he used to practice medicine.
Item 3 (Ind-@ imm)	The Sikh prayer book Ghutka (wrapped in orange fabric).
Item 4 (Ind-later)	The 1st icon of Elephant God Gnesh.
Item 5 (Ind-later)	Chairs (piddha), they are low because they used to be used by the floor fire. The chair and the chess set were brought later from India.
Item 6 (Ind-later)	A basket brought later by her son. When her parents lost everything in the 1947 Indo-Pakistan partition, her mother became poor and spun thread out of cotton. The spools were put in this basket for selling in the market. Her son brought it for her to remember her mother.
Item 7 (Ind-later)	A blanket she brought too. It was made from her mother's thread.
Item 8 (Ind-later)	The 2nd icon of Elephant God Gnesh.
Item 9 (Ind-later)	The 3rd icon of Elephant God Gnesh.
Item 10 (Ind-later)	The 4th icon of Elephant God Gnesh.
Item 11 (Ind-later)	The 5th icon of Elephant God Gnesh.
Item 12 (Ind-@ imm)	Husband's framed photo.
Item 13 (Ind-@ imm)	Photo album of her past life.
Item 14 (Ind-@ imm)	Father-in-law's doctor box shown next to a cassette tape for sizing.
Shivbeer	
Item 1 (Ind-later)	Family photo album - home in India.
Item 2 (Ind-@ imm)	Embroidered table cloth

Item (Source)	Item Description
Item 3 (Ind-@ imm)	Ghutka (wrapped in blue cloth).
Item 4 (Cdn)	Large picture of Guru Singh in the living room.
Item 5 (Cdn)	Large picture of Guru Nanak in the living room.
Jagir	
Item 1 (Cdn)	A picture of Guru Singh
Item 2 (Ind-@imm)	Her husband's photo.
Nasib	
Item 1 (Ind-@ imm)	Framed floral needlework done by her in India.
Item 2 (Ind-@ imm)	Photo of her in grade 10 next to the photo she received at that time of her future husband.
Item 3 (Ind-@ imm)	Her wedding photo, at age 18.
Item 4 (Ind-@ imm)	A photo of her in her garden at home in India. She remembers her garden a lot.
Item 5 (Ind-@ imm)	A photo of her and female family members at home in India.
Item 6 (Ind-@ imm)	A photo of her garden/land at home in India.
Item 7 (Ind-@ imm)	A photo of her home in India in the background.
Item 8 (Ind-@ imm)	A photo the man hired to clear the land for their home.
Harbans	
Item 1 (Ind-@ imm)	Her shawl (phulkari) made by her grandmother, passed on to her mother and then to her. Traditionally, when a girl gets married she brings it to her new home.
Item 2 (Ind-@ imm)	Large photos of her high school graduation and her teaching colleagues where she worked for 25 years, prominently displayed in the living room.
Item 3 (Ind-@ imm)	Husband's teaching colleagues photos.
Item 4 (Ind-later)	Indian tea pot (gadhvi) brought on the 5th visit.
Item 5 (Ind-@ imm)	A large framed picture of her on her land and with her home in the distance on the right.
Item 6 (Ind-@ imm)	Photos of her house in India. The top photo is looking out from the back of the house. The middle photo shows the front gate. The bottom photo shows the home. The photo of the front gate shows a garland with red decorations, indicating that a boy was born.
Item 7 (Ind-@ imm)	Religious books.
Item 8 (Ind-later)	SAI arts/literature books.
Item 9 (Ind-@ imm)	A photo of her mother-in-law.
Item 10 (Ind-@ imm)	Framed embroidered Indian scenery of women churning butter.
Item 11 (Cdn)	An Indian cot (dewan) used to relax outside when it is hot, in the same way they did in India.
Gurmail	
Item 1 (Ind-@ imm)	Large family photos of her husband's grandmother (left), her husband (middle) and her father-in-law (right). The photos are prominently displayed.

Item (Source)	Item Description
Item 2 (Ind-@ imm)	A photo of her mother-in-law (in the white shawl).
Item 3 (Ind-@ imm)	Framed needlework done by her.
Item 4 (Cdn)	A towel depicting the Golden Temple in Amritsar, prominently displayed on the wall above her bed.
Rajinder	
-	No items
Balwant	
Item 1 (Ind-@ imm)	A large picture of her grandson in the mustard and wheat fields of their farmlands.
Item 2 (Ind-@ imm)	The daily prayer book (Ghutka) kept next to her daughter's picture of Guru Nanak.

Legend:

(Ind-@ imm) brought from India at immigration
(Ind-later) brought from India at a later date
(Cdn) Obtained in Canada

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