SHAPING THE MEANING OF OLD AGE:
Exploring Differences In Resources And Opportunities Among Immigrant Seniors

by

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1990

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
Master of Arts

in the Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

Approval

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Degree: Master of Arts

Title of thesis: Shaping the Meaning of Old Age:
Exploring Differences in Resources and Opportunities among
Immigrant Seniors

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Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Shaping the Meaning of Old Age: Exploring Differences

in Resources and Opportunities among Immigrant Seniors

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Abstract

Due to the liberalization of immigration policy in the late 1960's, a growing segment of Canada's aging population consists of first-generation Canadians who emigrated from countries linguistically and culturally different from Canada. However, to date, few studies have focused on this segment. This study focuses on immigrant seniors, investigating factors that may influence their attitudes toward old age.

The theoretical orientation of this thesis is resource theory as articulated by Williamson et al. (1982) in 'The Politics of Aging: Power and Policy' and, in Dowd's (1980) 'Stratification Among the Aged'. Dowd's approach focuses on the processes of exchange of resources, and permits a micro-level analysis, while assuming a stratification framework which takes into account economic and political structural forces. This study examines four social and economic resources: education, personal income, family authority and community integration. To explore macro-level constraints, the concept of opportunity structure is used.

The main source of data is interviews that collected information from a sample of 250 suburban immigrant seniors, aged 55 and over. The sample was drawn from five ethno/linguistic groups: Portuguese, German, Cantonese/Chinese, Korean, and Punjabi. To explore the social context of the respondents supplemental data were collected, including local historical and ethnographic studies, census data, and personal interviews with service providers working within each of the five groups.

Findings indicate a strong association between each of the four resources and immigrant seniors' attitudes toward old age. However, inequality of opportunity for resources across ethnic groups, and between men and women in a number of the groups, suggests the need for a supplemental explanation of differences in attitudes toward old age.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my husband, my two children, my mother, and all my close family who have supported me through the long haul.

I would also like to dedicate this to the older persons I met personally or through the stories told to me by the interviewers while researching this piece of work. I found a special dignity and courage in many of these persons. I hope that this study will benefit their lives in some way.

Acknowledgments

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Chapter I. Introduction

Shaping the Meaning of Old Age

There is no single pattern to the way humans grow old. The flourishing field of gerontology is evidence that there is no simple description of aging. A major focus in aging research has been physical or biological aging, but increasingly attention is being paid to the critical aspect of social aging. Why is it that not all humans experience the later years of life in the same way? Why, for example, are there variable perceptions and attitudes about old age; what role do cultural images, economics, social policies, social or historical situations play in molding experience and attitudes? Because the study of later life has become a major focus in the social sciences only in the past twenty to thirty years, there are still many questions as to what determinants affect experience and attitudes in later life.

Anthropologists have been particularly interested in the development and the effects of generalized culture-specific ideas about old age. Cultural ideas are the generalized images of what constitutes a normal, expected life for a group or a society (Neugarten, 1969). Fry (1984) and Keith (1990) describe these images as filters rather than templates for the life course. The fibers of any cultural filter, they argue, are constantly being stretched and shaped by individuals. To speak of cultural ideas or values is to speak of how ideas, passed on through socialization, are shaped or changed. Achenbaum (1985:145), writing about cultural images and definitions of old age, states, "Our views may echo previous sentiments or parallel long-standing beliefs, but they will never fully resemble them because the normative foundations and the sociocultural milieu that sustain the realm of ideas and imagery are constantly evolving."

Achenbaum (1985) argues that people manipulate cultural ideas, expectations, and images to fit the conditions of their lives. Down through the ages images and ideas of old age have been changing. Scientific and technological changes have transformed definitions of old age (Achenbaum, 1985). For example, studies examining dementia and aging have found that loss of memory, formerly characterized as a part of growing old, is related to disease processes. There are still many unanswered questions relating to loss of memory in older persons, but this discovery has had a positive impact on expectations of later life. No longer is it assumed that people will lose their memory as they age.

Other factors affect images and expectations of old age. Keith (1990) points to an interaction between social policy and ideas about aging, arguing that cultural ideas about aging can influence the type of social policy a society puts in place, but that policy can also change existing norms and expectations. For example, effective housing policy (policy which encourages secure, affordable housing designed for older people) assists older people to continue living independently and encourages the perception that older people are productive and resourceful – people who can care for themselves.

Social and economic variations within a society can affect the experience and perception of old age. Social policy and economics, for example, can influence the meaning and definition of old age (Dowd, 1987). In industrialized nations, the implementation of retirement policy has had a profound impact on the definition of old age as older persons are required to leave paid work. Retirement policy defines for our society who is old. Sixty-five years old (and more recently early retirement at 55 years) has become a recognizable transition point or life stage. But the effects of retirement have not been singular. With accumulated economic resources, retirement and the later years are seen by some as a time for freedom from responsibilities, the

reward for years of hard work. According to Achenbaum (1985), the American middle-class elderly are well on the way to defining retirement as the entry point to leisure years.

But not all older people, even in the most affluent nations, experience retirement as leisure. Simmons (1945) pointed out, "in no society do the aged constitute a homogeneous group." There are still significant portions of the older population who have few or no financial resources and who experience retirement and old age as a time of growing dependency on family or state. Thus, old age for many is seen as a period of increased confinement and dependency (Dowd, 1980).

Gerontologists who have investigated the effects of social and economic variations on the meaning and quality of life for older persons have found that the major differences in psychological state and individual perceptions of aging are related to social participation/integration, socioeconomic status, and health (Culter, 1973; Edwards and Klemmack, 1973; George, 1990; Larson, 1978; Markides and Martin, 1979; Markides et al, 1981; Palmore and Kivett, 1977). Further findings point to differences associated with structured gender relations (Connell, 1987; Gee and Kimball, 1987; Victor, 1991; Willamson et al, 1982). One of the more recent foci is variation related to ethnicity (Gelfand, 1982; Hozberg, 1983; Markides, 1989; Mindel, 1983; Rosenthal, 1983).

Canadian Social Research on Aging and Ethnicity

The last two decades have seen increased research interest in the social aspects of Canada's aging population. Studies relating to changing demographics, family relations, social support networks, economics, gender differences, housing, health and service delivery, have been conducted (McPherson, 1990). However, for the most part, research has been limited to the investigation of the lives of the (white) Anglo or

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French populations of Canada. Recently the focus has expanded; studies are now investigating the lives of older persons in a variety of ethnic groups (Anderson, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Chan, 1983; Chappell et al, 1987; Driedger et al., 1987; Gerber, 1983; MacLean et al, 1987; Ujimoto, 1987; Wong, 1985). These recent studies reflect the fact that Canada's senior population is becoming ethnically more diverse. There has always been ethnic diversity, but since the 1950's a growing proportion of immigrants from non-traditional source countries (other than United States and Britain) has increased the ethnic mix. This trend is likely to continue; Canada's fertility rate is low, and it is believed that in order to sustain economic growth Canada will need to augment her population through immigration (Economic Council, 1991).

While the field of ethnicity and aging is expanding, it is not yet possible to answer questions about the factors which shape the meaning and the life situation of persons from various ethnic backgrounds (Markides, 1991). Are the factors which seem critical in shaping the experience and perception of later life for the major ethnocultural groups the same for other ethnic groups? Many questions related to the importance of social participation, socioeconomic status, health, and gender have yet to be answered.

It is known that ethnic groups in Canada differ from one another. Studies of ethnic stratification document differences in economic and political opportunities (Alfred and Wakefield, 1991; Beems and Robson, 1985; Bolaria and Li, 1985; Buchignani and Indra, 1985; Driedger and Chappell, 1987; Li, 1988). Education and employment opportunities have not been equally distributed across the various groups in Canada. Visible minorities in particular have faced overt and covert discrimination.

But there are also findings that suggest that differences *within* ethnic groups are significant. Within-group differences in socioeconomic status can be significant, as shown in Beem and Robson's (1985) study of Indo-Canadians in Vancouver. Ujimoto

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(1987), and Sugiman and Nishio (1983) report major differences between immigrants and subsequent generations of Japaneses-Canadians, arguing for a generational approach to studies in the area of ethnicity. Their findings point to within-group differences in cultural values, based on generation. Also, the first generation shares the experience of immigration. For example, many first generation persons feel that they have two homes and continue to feel like foreigners even after twenty or thirty years in Canada.

To further Canadian sociological research on age and ethnicity, this thesis seeks to investigate the lives of immigrant (first generation) seniors from five ethno/linguistic groups: German, Portuguese, Punjabi, Chinese and Korean. This thesis explores these seniors' ideas and opinions about old age and how they are shaped by social conditions. This study examines the variations in responses among a sample of immigrant seniors to the question, "What does old age mean to you?" The **'meaning'** of old age in the context of this thesis is defined by the responses to this question. The responses are examined in two ways. First, comments are grouped into reoccurring themes or domains (e.g., responses that alude to old age and relationships to the family). The thesis explores the frequency with which various themes occur in the overall sample and in each ethnic group. Second, the thesis examines the responses in terms of general attitude or feeling. For each response the question is asked: Does the comment indicate a direction of feeling or attitude - either negative or positive? For example, a response such as "old age is the worst, you just become useless and a concern to your children", indicates a negative feeling towards old age. This second aspect of the response, attitude toward old age, is the major component which is utilized in the comparative analysis.

The central question of the thesis is: Do social conditions influence the attitude toward old age of immigrant seniors? This study will focus on one major component

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of social life. By utilizing a theory of resource availability and allocation, this thesis will investigate variations of resources among immigrant seniors in relation to attitudes towards old age. A broad definition of resources will be used, a definition which encompasses social resources (community networks and involvement, and authority or decision-making roles in families) as well as basic resources such as income and education. The thesis will also explore opportunites, or the allocation of resources, in relation to ethnicity and gender.

The outline for the thesis is as follows. Chapter II reviews relevant research, outlines the theoretical perspective which frames the analysis, sights related research, reviews the research hypotheses and clarifies concepts. Chapter III provides a description of the survey method and the supplemental sources of data which are utilized for this study. Chapter IV describes the findings of the analysis. After providing a general overview of the descriptive characteristics of the total sample, this chapter examines the reponses to the question, "What does old age mean to you?" and explores group diferences in attitudes towards old age. There is then a examination of the relationship among four resources and attitudes toward old age. The subsequent sections of this chapter describe the results of a group by group analysis which focus on differences in opportunities for resources, differences that relate to historical, economic, political and cultural factors. The five sections also describe the most frequent types of comments about old age in each group, the variation of resources within the group, the relationship between resources and attitude toward old age, and the effect of gender on the relationship between resources and attitude toward old age. Chapter V summarizes the similarities and differences among immigrants, and relates findings to the theoretical framework presented in Chapter II.

Chapter II. Thesis Perspective

To address the question of differences in ideas and attitudes toward old age among immigrant seniors, social theory which deals with the interweaving of individual lives and social structures is required. At the most general level, this thesis is concerned with the relationship between social factors and psychological states for individuals in old age. George (1990), summarizing U.S. research on this relationship, reports that the most consistent social structural predictors of psychological state (such as well-being and life satisfaction) among older persons are *socioeconomic position* (measured as financial resources), *attachment to social structures* (social involvement in formal organizations and informal networks), and *same age density in residential environment*.

In the field of gerontology there has been general recognition that social factors influence the experience and perception of later life. Yet within the field there is no paradigm that draws together existing knowledge of this later period of life. There is theory that focuses on individual life experience, and there is theory that focuses on social structures and the organization of inequality. But theory which links the two levels of analysis is less developed (Markides, 1991).

Williamson et al (1982) examine studies which focus upon issues concerning the status and power of older persons. In their review they use a perspective which can be labeled resource theory. The basis for this perspective is taken from two sources: the first, the work of Lenski (1966, 1978) which examines power and status as they relate to the control of surplus resources; the second is work in sociology of the family which examines the link between resources and power in families. Control of valued resources is the central tenent of the two streams. In the family studies research most

of the initial work using this framework focused on three resources: education, occupational prestige and income.[1]

Resource theory proposes that individuals have needs, desires and objectives, and that individuals require resources in order to obtain what they want. The theory proposes that through the process of exchange of resources persons exercise power and acquire what they need or desire. Power is seen as the bases for status and prestige.

Dowd's (1980) exchange theory, an extension of resource theory, expanded the scope of the theory to issues related to old age. Dowd theorizes that material resources are crucial in old age because they are valued and readily exchangeabl. However, he suggests there are other things that can be exchanged in social relations that allow certain individuals power. For example, there may be a group of older persons who have the same material resources, yet some of those individuals are more autonomous. The theory suggests that some individuals possess other non-material resources that are valued: a valued position, such as a the presidency of a club; a strong peer network; a charismatic personality; knowledge; membership in a large ethnic group which provides services for seniors (the concept of resource is defined in a following section).

A major contribution of Dowd's (1980) work is the focus on the exchange process. Dowd (1980:35) proposes that the level of an individual's resources is linked to autonomy (defined as control over one's life). The link is the "exercise of power" through the exchange process. Every person, according to resource theory, has some resources. When a person has adequate resources, he or she is more likely to be able to impart his or her will, and defend his or her rights. Resources are both what

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[1]For a summary of the early work in the field of family relations, see Williamson et al. (1982: 191-213).

individuals have and what individuals want from others. For example, an older person without many resources may need or want transportation. Without resources, such as cab fare, this person acquires a ride from a relative and, in exchange for the ride, may offer approval or respect to the persons offering the ride (giving to the other a measure of status).

Dowd (1980) also postulates that resources are not all valued equally and that not all persons have equal access to the most valued resources. One way resources become valued is through scarcity. Not everyone owns a car, whereas respect can be offered by anyone. Also, resources can be more valuable if they are acceptable for more types of exchanges. Money is exchangeable for a wider variety of desired objectives, whereas a charismatic personality is valuable in a narrower range of exchange processes. Also, resources can have a set value (structured value) that has been set in place due to past exchanges. For example, childcare has a low value almost universally, although there is some variation.

In the transportation example, the individual with the vehicle has a valued resource. In the exchange, the person with the less valued resource enters the process because he/she wants the ride but is able to offer a less valued resource only. In the exchange, the individual, because his/her resource is of less value, may also be left indebted to the individual with the vehicle.

The lack of valued resources, Dowd (1980) states, leads to growing dependency: a state in which control over one's life is lost and the individual either withdraws (from trying to get what he/she wants or needs) or is forced to use compliance (or other less valued resources) to reciprocate in exchange relationships. In order to have autonomy, older persons need resources with which they can exercise power. "Power is acquired through the ability to satisfy one's needs without having to depend upon or become indebted to other people" (Dowd, 1980:34). In his analysis of aging, Dowd argues that

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old age can be a time of dwindling valued resources and declining sources of valued resources.

Dowd and Willamson et al. stress that one of the consequences of having more resources is autonomy. They do not state that autonomy fosters positive attitudes about later life, although the assumption is implicit that control over one's life is positive and, as such, should enhance psychological well-being. It could be argued that this assumption is ethnocentric; that in some cultural contexts individual autonomy is not as important to individual psychological well-being and that dependency may not be seen as a negative outcome.

This is an issue that is not addressed by Dowd or Williamson et al. The position that will be taken in this thesis is that autonomy, defined as control over one's life or the freedom to choose, does not negate choosing to be in a "dependent relationship" [2]. Dependency for Dowd implies powerlessness. But a dependent relationship may be (in some cultural situations) a choice. A person may choose to allow others to care for him/her or may choose to allow others to make some kinds of decisions for him/her. The difference between dependency and a dependent relationship is that dependency is not chosen, since dependency implies powerlessness, whereas a dependent relationship is a personal choice which implies power. In the case of a dependent relationship, it is assumed that the individual still holds some valued resources (possibly a position of authority, or credit from past exchanges).

In their study of older persons, Williamson et al. (1982) and Dowd (1980) examine not only the level of the resources that individuals have available for exchange but also the political and economic relations that structure the accessibility of resources for

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[2]It could be argued that if a person has power to control his/her life, he/she is not in a dependent relationship but rather in an interdependent or even a independent relationship because choice is involved. The position of this thesis is that one can label a relationship where an older person gives major decision-making to someone else a dependent relationship.

older persons. In effect, their work links older individuals with the broader social context. This thesis utilizes the concept of *'opportunity structure'* to examine the social context of the respondents. To a large degree, an individual's or group's *'opportunity structure'* is determined by formal economic and political forces (Light and Bonacich, 1988). Opportunities are defined as socially constructed possibilities. The concept implies that the choice of, and access to, resources is affected by opportunities preconditioned by economic or political structural relations. Economic and political relations can be formalized into cultural norms, for example, dictating that women stay in the home and care for children.

An example of the how this concept is used is provided by Light and Bonacich (1988) in their description of the opportunity structure which curtails the employment choices of many Korean immigrants in Los Angeles. They conclude:

> Korean concentration in small business was, to a certain, extent a product of efforts to push immigrants into a particular type of economic adaptation ... This was not a vast conspiracy but their concentration was not strictly a matter of free choice ... The social system in which they found themselves exerted subtle influences such that their choices were channeled in one direction rather than another (1988:353).

As with the Koreans in Los Angeles, groups – minority ethnic groups, older persons, women – are channeled in directions that are not entirely of their choosing and which can have an impact on resource availability. For example, many immigrants who are sponsored by children arrive in Canada late in life. Because of government policy English language training has been targeted to children (who must attend school) and to persons destined for the employment market. Lack of English can limit access to recreational programs in community or seniors' centres, and the choices of where persons go, or whether they are able to perform everyday tasks independently e.g., banking, going on medical visits. In this example, access to resources is limited by the lack of opportunity to learn English as conditioned by state policy. Neither

Dowd or Williamson et al have investigated structured relations vis-a-vis ethnicity. This thesis proposes to extend Williamson et al. and Dowd's analyses to an examination of the structuring of opportunities as it relates to ethnicity.

Discussion of Theoretical Bias

The issue of whether the theory incorporates western values and assumptions needs to be addressed, because of the cultural diversity of immigrant seniors and since resource theory and its extension in exchange theory, have been utilized only in studies of older person's in western industrialized nations. This concern relates not only to this study; the problem of finding culturally appropriate (non-eurocentric) theory has emerged as a central issue in social anthropology (and in ethnogerontology). In this study, some of the concerns which relate to assumptions of the theoretical perspective are addressed by the methodology (see Research Methods chapter). However, some issues cannot be dealt with in this way and are raised to acknowledge the limitations of this research.

As previously stated, resource theory assumes that autonomy, or control over one's life, is important to older persons regardless of cultural background. This assumption emphasizes the centrality of the individual and his or her sense of self. It discounts the context of group membership in the evaluation of well-being by persons raised in cultures that place a high value on the group.

In the present study, no assessment was made of the degree to which sense of well-being was individualist vs. group-oriented. The only suggestion that can be made, in this regard, is that in every group respondents raised issues and problems he/she wanted resolved or changed. It is argued here that people who want things to be different for themselves desire control over their environment and relationships. They do not want things done for them nor are they content to allow the directive of a group

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to guide their future. However, individual vs. group-orientation are extremes along a continuum, and this research is limited because it did not assess the placement of individuals and groups on this spectrum.

A second assumption which may be problematic is that social relations are based on instrumentality. Both resource and exchange theory hold that people interact because they need and want something from others. It can be argued that instrumentality is a philosophical approach rather than a universal "given". It is probably more appropriate to explore culturally diverse groups with a recognition of the possibility that social relations may either be more adversarial, or be based more on feelings and/or shared meaning. The supposition of instrumentality is built into the current approach and, thus, it can be seen as a possible bias.

A third concern is that resource and exchange theory make assumptions about the process of social exchange. One is that the process of exchange is always between individuals. Although these theories acknowledge processes of exchange between groups (macro-level processes), there is no recognition that the process of exchange at the individual level may not always take place between two individuals. However, the process of exchange may have cultural variations; for example, individuals may make exchanges by proxy, where resources are exchanged by an appointed other.

Related to process, is the unexplored assumption that exchange operates in the same manner for men and for women. In highly patriarchal cultures, this may not be the case. There may be two different (i.e., gendered) sets of valued resources and views of power and well-being. For example, a woman may have no material possessions or power in relation to men, but, within the social context of women, she may have valued resources, such as skills or position. Issues of process and gender are major foci that need to be explored. However, it is not possible to examine these issues in the

present study since it is limited to data which were collected for purposes other than the research at hand.

One should acknowledge the possibility of bias due to eurocentric assumptions, but it is important to note that these seniors have been influenced by western thought and culture. It is, however, difficult to assess the degree to which western values and beliefs affect each individual or each group.[3] The seniors in this study now live in a large urban setting in a western industrialized nation. Although most have social networks with others of similar background, none are totally isolated from the influences of the mainstream culture. Many have children, and/or grandchildren who are to some degree integrated into Canadian society. Second, many seniors or their children immigrated to Canada because they were influenced by western culture and ideology and chose Canada for this reason. This, however, does not mean that such persons do not retain some of their original culture, but rather that it is unlikely that there has been no western influence.

A last area concerns the valuing of specific resources. The present research may have neglected some resources that are highly valued, or have examined some resources of little relevance to some individuals or groups. Because of the nature of this study (i.e., similar to secondary analysis), it is not possible to estimate the value respondents place on various resources. The study selected a limited (i.e., limited by data avaiability) number of resources that gerontologists (e.g., Geroge, 1990) report to be central to seniors living in an urban industrialized environment (and some resources anthropologists have found essential to seniors in non-industrial settings). One resource for which value may vary across groups is community involvement. While this resource may not be considered valuable to persons who have not been involved

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[3]The following comments relate to seniors from groups other than the Germans. All other groups have a cultural background that differs in some respects from that of western industrialized societies.

in organizations beyond the family, there is reason for examining community involvement as a resource.

In an urban (and especially a suburban) industrial setting, community informal networking beyond the family (i.e., networking with peers) does not happen easily. It tends to occur spontaneously where there is ethnic residential density (e.g., Chinatown) but in dispersed groups networking is an intentional act. When social networking is restricted (due to reasons such as transportation problems, cultural norms, lack of social meeting space or even inexperience in attending organized events), persons may identify depression and loneliness as problems, but still not value organizational involvement. For example, among both the Portuguese and the Punjabi communities family networks are valued very highly. Yet these are the groups (especially the women) who report the highest levels of depression. Seniors are aware that life in an urban setting is different;they missed talking and working with neighbours, the women missed meeting other women informally while shopping or working. Yet, these women would likely state that family is their most valued resource and discount the importance of community involvement.

In summary, inherent in all social theory are assumptions. Particularly in research that focuses on culturally diverse persons, theory can bias the research. It is, therefore, essential to point to possible areas of bias. With resource/exchange theory areas of concerns are: the assumption of an individualistic sense of self, of instrumentality as the basis for social relations, of exchange as a one to one process which operates essentially the same for both genders. Finally, it is important to note that this study does not have the data to assess adequately which resources are the most valuable to individuals or groups, and this could also bias the conclusions.

Ethnogerontology

As mentioned previously, resource/exchange theory has not been used for studies

which focus on ethnicity and aging. Nevertheless, anthropologists, through

crosscultural comparisons of societies/social groups, have shown that the control of

resources is a key factor in evaluating how well older members fare (Fry, 1988;

Hamer, 1972; Nydegger, 1983; Press and McKool, 1972; Silverman and Maxwell,

1983; Teitelbaum, 1987). Also, some studies in ethnogerontology have investigated

resources as they related to persons in later life. In reviewing some of the findings in

the field, one of the major problems is the lack of consistency in the focus of analysis.

Studies have focused on a wide variety of aspects such as: social status, levels of

autonomy, power, and psychological state (life satisfaction, morale, self-esteem).

Although there have been a variety of foci, researchers have generally been

interested in the factors or resources that contribute to positive life experiences and to

positive assessments of life. While the following review describes studies which have

a range of foci, it demonstrates there is some consistency in some resources or factors

which may have a positive influence on life experiences or attitudes.

Education

Williamson et al. (1982) emphasize the link between education and status of the aged,

a proposition first set forth by modernization theorists. The proposition posits a

relationship between loss of status of older persons and the increased educational

attainment of their children (Cowgill, 1972). Williamson et al. (1982), reviewing studies

on status and power arrangements in families, found that the most consistent predictors

of the level of power and status of family members was education level and income.

One reason education is a key factor lies in is its relationship to employment

opportunities. In her examination of societies experiencing industrialization, Fry

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(1988:466) observed that altered economic opportunity favours skills that are more universal. She states, "formal education certifies the acquisition of selected abilities, namely, literacy and mathematics. Lack of skills constitutes an effective barrier to full participation in new opportunities." In many countries where education has been introduced or extended, children acquire skills that parents do not have. This opens new opportunities to younger members of the family and can directly affect intergenerational power relations within families. Also, lack of literacy and basic mathematic skills can be a barrier to full participation in a urban industrialized environment.

McAdoo (1982), investigating older African-Americans of lower socio-economic status, concludes that these seniors are in a very precarious position and only strong kin networks keep them from being institutionalized. One particular obstacle is the low level of education among older African-Americans; as Sussman states, "the low level of education of elderly blacks acts as an obstacle in self-help efforts and in linking with bureaucratized human service system that control resources" (1985:431).

Education and knowledge are not necessarily equated by the members of a society/social group. Knowledge, which incorporates life skills and historical/cultural experience, is sometime valued and can give prestige to older persons. Revivalistic movements, as in the aboriginal groups in Canada, have renewed the value of forms of knowledge that older members possess (Amoss, 1981). But cultural knowledge is not always viewed as valuable. Dosanjh (1990) reports that among South Asians in Canada, the knowledge of older persons whose children are attempting to make a new start and to get ahead economically is not as valued as it once was.

Canadian studies have examined differences in education level (among persons 55 years or older) across ethnic groups. Driedger and Chappell (1987) use average educational attainment as one indicator that differentiates groups. In Driedger and Chappell's ethnic typology, groups such as the Italians, Greeks and Portuguese are

classified together as "low status urban groups," whereas, Jews, Chinese and Northern Europeans are classified as "high status urban groups." Differences in education are said to account for lower income attainment of the low status groups.

Economic Status

Differences in economic status by immigration status and ethnicity are well documented in studies based on census data (e.g., Boyd, 1980; Gerber, 1983; Li, 1988). Boyd's (1989) study focuses on disparities in income in later life between foreign-born and native-born Canadians, and across ethnic groups. She reports that the income of older immigrants from the U.S., U.K. and Northern European countries have incomes similar to native-born Canadians, whereas older immigrants from Third World countries have significantly lower incomes.

Lack of economic resources can lead to dependency on family members for survival. While social provision is in place to assist older persons, not all seniors receive government assistance. The Old Age Security Act stipulates that persons must be resident in Canada at least ten years to be eligible for benefits. Therefore, immigrants who come to Canada late in life and do not have financial resources are totally dependent on the financial support of family. The consequences of economic dependency include family stress and conflict. As Steinmetz and Amsden (1983:176) found, "economic dependency produces a loss of control, a loss of self-esteem, and thus a loss of power and prestige for elderly persons."

Economic dependency can take the form of dependency on the state, which can make a older person vulnerable to new forms of social control (Williamson et al., 1982). Older persons who are completely dependent on government assistance may feel powerless to criticize services or social policy, a situation similar to dependency in a family situation

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where an older person feels that he/she has lost the right to complain because others are paying the bills or caring for his/her needs.

However, the negative consequence of economic dependency can be partially mediated by cultural attitudes and situational factors. An age-related example is found in McCay's (1987) work, although it does not relate to immigrants. She found that dependency on government assistance is not viewed negatively by Newfoundland outport populations. Persons turning sixty-five are given a community birthday party to celebrate the beginning of Old Age Security (OAS) payments. In these communities, where employment is uncertain, the regularity of OAS is favourably anticipated. OAS payments also represent an important part of the overall economy of these outports; therefore persons attain a measure of status upon turning sixty-five.

Community and Peer Involvement

Research concerned with the social integration of the aged has found that involvement in organizations is beneficial to older adults. For example, Walls and Zarit (1991) report that African-American churches offer a wide range of services and function to enhance the status and self-esteem of members. This finding is corroborated by Hurh and Kim (1984) who observed Korean churches to be a valued resource for that group. Ceullar (1978), in his study of older Mexican-Americans, shows that the seniors club offers not only information and services for seniors, but acts as an arena where individuals can increase their power and prestige.

Blau (1979), in a comparative study of three ethnic groups, reports that for all groups older persons who are most socially involved have the highest level of morale and remain living independently the longest. Blau also reports ethnic differences in peer interaction: Mexican-American seniors interact with fewer peers than either African-American or Anglo seniors. The degree of interaction with peers differs within groups according to

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socioeconomic status: higher SES African-American and Anglos have higher levels of interaction. Among Mexican-Americans, there is only a slight difference between low and high SES seniors. Although Blau does not make the conclusion, a lack of peers may have more impact on morale than low socioeconomic status among Mexican-American seniors.

General findings in the social support literature suggest that peers are particularly important to older persons (Adma and Blieszner, 1989; Mathews, 1986; Peters and Kaiser, 1985). Involvement with family and peers appears to be positively related with well-being, although family relations can have a negative effect if they are perceived as too demanding (Crohan and Antonucci, 1989). Whereas family relations can have a mixed impact, relations with peers are less likely to have negative effects (ibid.). These issues have not been thoroughly explored across various cultural or ethnic groups.

Cultural norms influence peer interaction. Norms relating to involvement outside the home may be a factor affecting the likelihood of involvement with peers. A report from Anziani Italo Canadesi (1991) (Federation of Canadian-Italians) states that older members of the Italian community, particularly women, are likely to be isolated from peers. Social groups (focusing on hobbies, games, and recreational activities) were consequently formed in an attempt to break down the isolation; however, because of cultural norms, women were reluctant to attend. Yet changes in behaviour did take place – over a three year period 51 groups were formed, 25 of which involved women. The outcome of involvement, as reported by the Federation, was improved mental health. The groups also afforded the opportunity for information dissemination on issues related to health, transportation and social services.

Within ethnicity and aging research, *family support* has been the major focus. Family decision-making or power relations within families has not been a primary research focus. Ethnographic material, such as that presented by Dosanjh (1990), indicates that this could be an important research area. Dosanjh, in a general portrait of Indo-Canadian seniors, describes the loss of authority which has occurred for many new immigrant seniors. She states that for older adults who immigrate to Canada sponsored by their children and with few assets, a change in family relations is experienced: "their role changes a lot (after they arrive), their authority seems to slip away...They are totally dependent on their children, because, back home they would have had their land to themselves, but here they don't have any money" (1990:31).

Findings indicate the complexity of family support, and the need to examine further, not only support, but the role of obligation and power relations. A debate in the literature concerns the degree to which supportive family structures vary by ethnic group. Blau (1979) and Mindel and Wright (1982) conclude that seniors of visible minorities have stronger family support networks, and therefore more support, than their white counterparts. There are others who argue that these findings may reflect class differences. The research of Adam (1980), Cantor (1979), and Sokolovsky (1990) shows that when the number of family members, socioeconomic status, and functional ability are controlled, most of the variation in the quantity of family support across ethnic groups disappears.

One of the problems with the family support research is the underlying assumption that more family support for seniors is positive. This assumption is challenged by the findings of both Cantor (1979) and Bengtson and Morgan (1987), who report that Hispanic-Americans, recipients of the highest levels of family support, are much more

likely to show symptoms of mental stress than either white or African-Americans. A related assumption is that large family networks (the "traditional" family system) are beneficial for all older persons. Cohler and Lieberman (1980) in examining family networks, ethnicity, gender, and psychological stress, found that women who are the most embedded in familial networks (i.e., are kin-keepers and have little involvement outside of family) show the highest levels of psychological impairment, whereas the same level of embeddedness has an opposite effect for men. These works point to the need to examine relations in families more critically.

Summary and Discussion

Research into factors (or resources as examined from an exchange/resource theory perspective) which have an impact on positive adaptation of older persons in various ethnic or cultural groups has only begun. Preliminary findings in ethnogerontology seem to confirm that education, income, and community integration/involvement affect the lives of older persons in a variety of groups. Although family authority or family decision-making has not received much attention, the family support literature suggests that some seniors receive substantial amounts of support from their families. There are questions as to the extent that differences in family support are cultural, and whether higher quantities of family support should be viewed as positive in all cases. Research has raised questions relating to older women and the allocation of resources and power in families, but to date no major studies have thoroughly investigated this relationship.

Research Hypotheses

The general hypothesis to be tested is that there are differences among immigrant seniors' thoughts and attitudes about old age, and that some of the differences can be accounted for by variations in levels of resources. In addition it is hypothesized that the availability of resources is related to economic, political, and historical opportunities as conditioned by ethnicity.

The specific hypotheses to be tested are:

1a. Immigrant seniors who have more formal education are more likely to be optimistic about aging than immigrant seniors with little or no formal education.

1b. Immigrant seniors who are economically secure are more likely to be optimistic about aging than immigrant seniors who have fewer financial resources.

1c. Immigrant seniors who feel that they make the decisions in the family or share that decision-making with a spouse or other household members are more likely to be optimistic about aging than immigrant seniors who feel others make most of the family decisions.

1d. Immigrant seniors who are more involved with peers and organizations are more likely to be optimistic about aging than immigrant seniors who are less involved with peers and organizations.

2a. There are differences in the levels of resources among ethnic groups.

2b. Some of the differences in the levels of resources are due to opportunities to acquire resources.

2c. Opportunities to acquire resources are related to political, economic, historical and/or cultural factors.

Thesis Concepts

To clarify the focus of this thesis, it is important to define the concepts that will be utilized. In this study, *"ethnicity"* is defined as a relational term demarcating a system of social differentiation. Ethnic divisions are seen as social constructions which exist only as long as they serve an internal or external purpose. The conditions for the production and reproduction of ethnic labels are constantly changing. These conditions are often external to a group - conditions such as economic and political forces. For example, ethnic labelling plays a role in justifying economic/class subordination (Anthias and Yuval-Davies, 1983). But the process of demarcation can be internal or subjective, a process of self-imaging. A number of characteristics (language, culture, religion, shared history, political or social structures, etc.) can be used to mark the boundaries of groups, both internally or externally.

The ethnic labels that will be used throughout are products of the researcher. Differentiation is based on structural and historical, and, to a lesser degree, cultural components. The ethnic label identifies persons who have a common country/region of ancestral origin, who share a particular history in relation to the dominant groups in Canada, and who have an infrastructure - organizations, media, social networks, and services - which serves persons who are linguistically and culturally similar. Ethnic labels may or may not relate to individual's own ethnic labelling. For example, the Punjabi label is used here to refer to persons who emigrated from the Punjab district in India. Some respondents may identify themselves as Punjabi, others as Sikhs, still others as Indo-Canadians.

The second concept that is central to this thesis is *"resources"*. Resources are defined as tangible and intangible goods or assets that are perceived to be valuable and useful. There are many types of resources: *personal characteristics* such as strength, beauty, charm, integrity, courage, intelligence, and knowledge; *material resources*

such as money or income, and property; *relational resources*, such as influential friends or relatives, caring children, ethnic networks and organizational affiliations; *valued positions* that ascribe authority, such as a political office, a position in a formal organization, and parents in a family. And, finally, less generally acknowledged as resources are *reinforcers*, such as respect, approval, and recognition. (Adapted from Dowd, 1980:38.) The study, however, will be limited to investigating four social and economic resources.

Chapter III. Research Methods

The prime source of data for this study is a survey of immigrant seniors in five

ethnic groups –Punjabi, Korean, Chinese, Portuguese, German. The survey was

conducted by the Burnaby Multicultural Society with the financial assistance of the

Seniors Independence Program (SIP), Health and Welfare Canada. The interview

schedule construction, sampling, and data collection took place between December

1989 and August 1990[4]. In addition to the survey data, background information about

the five ethnic groups was gathered from ethnographic studies, historical studies and

census data. To supplement the background material, a number of formal and informal

interviews (approximately three interviews per group) were conducted with service

workers in each of the communities to gather information on the local infrastructure,

culture and history of the groups.

Survey Background

In 1988 the Executive Director of the Burnaby Multicultural Society (BMS)[5]

became aware, as she spoke with community services personnel in the municipality,

that minority immigrant seniors (seniors who could be identified as first-generation

Canadians by either by linguistic, visual or cultural characteristics) were

underrepresented or unrepresented in community programs and services. She also

identified that little was know about the conditions (e.g., health, social integration, life

satisfaction) of minority seniors in Burnaby. An exploratory workshop, bringing

together service providers (some of whom were ethnic settlement workers) and a small

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[4]For more background about the study, see Martyn, 1990.

[5]The Burnaby Multicutural Society is a non-profit organization funded by the United Way, and municipal, provincial and federal grants. Its mandate is to assist in the integration, participation and just treatment of all cultural groups in Burnably.

group of immigrant seniors, was held in 1988. Participants shared what they knew about issues faced by immigrant seniors. There was general agreement that a research project would be beneficial, especially if it involved personal interviews. Participants suggested areas which could be addressed in interviews with seniors and identified methodological concerns.

A design team was established in 1989. The team consisted of the Executive Director of the BMS, a cultural relations worker and two social researchers (Dr. Kam Prasad and Dr. Peter Lomas). A project coordinator was added to the design team in January 1990, when the project formally started. Due to health reasons, the first coordinator withdrew from the project. A second coordinator was hired, but for personal reasons left after one month. The author, who in March was hired as a consultant to the project, subsequently took over as coordinator in April 1990 and saw the project to completion.

Project Design

The three major objectives of the project were: first, to assess immigrants seniors' awareness, use and barriers to use of public programs and services[6]; second, to gather data on the information and support networks of immigrant seniors; and third, to explore the daily activities of seniors and their perception of their present situation.

The study population was first defined by place of residence. Five municipalities were chosen because they reflect a trend of increasing variation in cultural composition. The five municipalities selected – Burnaby, New Westminister, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam, and Coquitlam – represent a block that borders the city of Vancouver to the east.

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[6]This objective was the primary focus of the project because the project was sponsored by a service organization and because funding was available for needs assessment.

Within the geographic region, five groups were selected on the basis of native language spoken. The decision to limit the groups to five was made so that each sample group would be large enough to facilitate between-group comparisons. The five groups were selected to provide a range in terms of group size, degree of "visibility", and time of the first "wave" of immigration. The study population was also defined by age and immigration status – only immigrants who arrived in Canada as adults and who were 55 years or older at the time of the survey were included.

Two hundred and fifty individuals – twenty-five women and twenty-five men from each of the five groups – were to be interviewed. It was determined that it would be impossible, given time and funding limitations, to sample on a random basis. The plan was to draw the sample from as many sources as possible and to have a maximum of two respondents provided from any one source. It was anticipated that the sample would be reasonably representative. Interviews were to be conducted by persons from the same ethno-linguistic, gender and age group (if possible) as the respondents.

Community Involvement and Sampling Process

From January to March 1990, a concentrated effort was made to contact, by letter and by phone, groups and key individuals (community leaders and high-profile persons from the five groups) to acquaint people in the communities with the survey and to ask for their assistance in locating respondents. Two months into the project it became evident that sampling was going to be more difficult than anticipated. There were many seniors who were not associated with groups.[7] Also, there were reservations on the part of some ethnic and religious organizations surrounding breach of privacy in regards to providing the names of seniors.

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[7]The number of seniors who could be identified as participating in groups was much lower than would be expected estimating with census counts.

In mid-spring, an outreach staff person was hired to contact community leaders and groups about the objectives of the survey. Efforts were made by the outreach worker to attend any event or group meeting where immigrant seniors might be present. This process increased access to informal networks as groups became more confident that involvement in the project would assist their community members.

When seniors were initially contacted, some were reluctant to be interviewed. The reasons for reluctance varied: some seniors were nervous that the government might use the information they gave against them; some could not understand the purpose of the survey; others believed their families would be angry if they discovered they had spoken to an outsider; and some were uneasy about having a stranger come to their homes. To accommodate some of the concerns, interviewers spent time prior to the main interview explaining the reasons for the survey and the measures that would be taken to keep the information confidential. Also, some of the interviews were conducted in public places such as churches, temples, restaurants, parks, and shopping centres. The limitation of two respondents from any one source or group was adhered to for the most part. Also, only one person in any household was sampled.

The main sources for sampling were the following:

- Informal networks – community members who gave us one contact that led to a number of other individual contacts or organizations (ethnic organizations and centres in Vancouver that had knowledge of, or contact with, individuals in the suburbs)

- Chance meetings on the street

- Religious centres

- Ethnic directories

- ESL classes

Census data (Statistics Canada, 1986) were used to estimate what portion of the sample should be drawn from each municipality and, as much as possible, these guidelines were followed (see Appendix II for Census statistics). Checks were made of other factors such as age, education level, and income, to insure the sample was as representative as possible.

Interview Schedule and Pretest

An interview schedule was the main measurement tool used for surveying the seniors. The interview schedule was developed and reviewed by members of the original design team which included a gerontologist, a sociologist and three persons from the staff of the Burnaby Multicultural Society. The schedule was also reviewed by Dr. Ujimoto, a researcher in the area of aging and ethnicity, and by Dr. Milstein, a researcher on aging. The schedule was pre-tested on ten seniors, two from each of the five groups. The final schedule included an introductory set of open-ended questions about old age and fourteen subsections on topics such as awareness of community services, health, transportation, housing, finances, employment, and family structure. Although most of the questions were close-ended, there were ample opportunities for comments. Interviewers were instructed to encourage seniors to talk about themselves and to note any concerns. If an interviewer felt there was something different about the issues raised by the respondent, or there was something particularly interesting about the interview session or the respondent, notes were added after the interview was completed.

Interviewers and Translation of Interviews

The design team was aware of the importance of the interviewers establishing rapport with the seniors. Therefore, the selection of the interviewers was based on three criteria: their previous involvement with seniors, or being seniors themselves;

their interactive skills and interviewing experience; and their bilingual abilities.[8] Fourteen interviewers in all were hired over the sampling period.[9]

The interviewers were encouraged to see themselves as a critical part of the research team. They were invited to offer suggestions and to provide comments on the respondents and the interview sessions. A day-long workshop led by Dr. Lomas was held with interviewers to discuss interview methods and to go over, question by question, the interview schedule looking for potential translations problems. After ten pilot interviews interviewers were again asked if there were any translation problems and slight adjustments were made to the schedule.

The original plan was to translate the interview schedule. However, as the interview schedule took longer to construct and be reviewed by other researchers (see section on interview schedule), time did not permit translations. For all but three questions, (one being the question on the meaning of old age) a number of possible responses were anticipated and included on the schedule. Interviewers checked appropriate response categories; if no response category fit, or if there were additional comments, most interviewers immediately translated this information on the schedule. However, some interviewers preferred to make notes in their first language. Translations and additional comments about the interview session were recorded immediately after the session.

Translation is problematic for any research that involves different language groups. There is always the problem that it may be impossible to translate an exact meaning into English. One specific concern related to the present research is the

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[8]Interviewers were recruited through a general advertisement for the positions and through recommendations from settlement workers and key persons in the ethnic communities.

[9]Four interviewers were unable to complete twenty-five interviews. Reasons included: conflict with work; schedules (two interviewers who worked fulltime found it difficult to complete all twenty-five interviews); family events (conflicting with summer plans); and personal reasons.

translation of the concept 'old age' in the question which asks respondents what old age means to them. This concept may have multiple connotations when translated. Responses from across the groups appear to be fairly consistent; they indicate that seniors understood that this question concerned their understanding and experience of later life. In a number of cases, respondents stated that they understood that the question concerned later life, or the last stage of life, but they themselves were not there yet. This indicates that there is consistency in recognising that later life is somehow different, a recognizable life stage, but there are differences as to when this period begins. Because respondents did speak about themselves (whether in the present or the future) and did not seem to have a problem with the idea that the question was conceptualizing a period or a stage of life, it is the feeling of the researcher that there was an overall understanding of the intent of the question.

Project Advisory Committee and Distribution of Findings

Originally the project design called for two community advisory committees, one of seniors and one of service providers. However, a single project advisory committee was formed in mid-May composed of both seniors and service personnel. A joint group was established because the coordinator felt that more would be gained by having the two groups review the progress of the project together. The committee met bi-monthly to discuss the sampling process and the data as they were processed. One of the final functions of the committee was the hosting of a workshop which reported the preliminary findings of the study.

In combination with the formal results, the workshop provided a forum for community service providers, ethnic community leaders, and bilingual seniors to discuss the findings of the survey. Six of the interviewers attended the workshop and each spoke about the seniors they had interviewed. A second presentation of the

findings was made to immigrant seniors. For the second presentation, invitations were sent to the five participating communities inviting seniors to a lunch and presentation (transportation and translation was provided by BMS volunteers). After the presentation, seniors discussed the study and made suggestions as to a possible follow-up to the survey.[10] Seniors' comments indicated that the survey findings represented the issues about which they were particularly concerned. Presentations were also made to university students and professional groups.

The project report was published in March 1991 and distributed to ethnic organizations, service providers and interested researchers. A supplementary report was produced for the Burnaby Parks and Recreation Department, focusing specifically on variation in immigrants seniors activities and community involvement.[11]

Validity Considerations

Value-Free Research

Few would argue that a researcher is able to stand outside or apart from what he/she is studying. From the selection of a research issue, to the theory or perspective which frames a project, to methodological choices that are made, the researcher is engaged in that which he or she is attempting to describe or analyze. Further, researchers do not come to research value free. As Babbie (1986:176-77) states:

> Individual scientists cannot be value-free, anymore than we can be truly objective. All of us have values, beliefs, opinions, biases, expectations, and other points of view that influence what we see. Sometimes you can recognize how your values are affecting your research and take steps to counteract such

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[10]The Burnaby Multicultural Society took the recommendations of the seniors and for one year ran a demonstration project.

[11]The project report and the supplementary report were prepared by this author. The supplementary work was made possible by a four month research internship from Norcen Energy and the Canadian Association on Gerontology. In the six months after the completion of the project, the author and the executive director of BMS were actively involved with the Burnaby Parks and Recreation Long Range Planning Team which was preparing plans to increase the accessibility for immigrant seniors to seniors' centers and general recreational facilities.

influences. Sometimes you can do no more than acknowledge what your point of view may be.

It is, therefore, the task of researchers to attempt to examine their own motivations, assumptions, and beliefs, and even to examine the paradigm which underpins the entire research process in order to assess how the research may be affected. While it is not possible to identify all the assumptions or the beliefs that may have influenced this piece of work, some can be articulated.

One major influence on this research is that its original conceptualization was provided by a service provision organization. One assumption that is rooted in the service provision paradigm is that people have problems which society should alleviate. In this instance there was the assumption that immigrant seniors had problems that the community of Burnaby should address.

A second assumption which influenced the research was a prevalent belief among service professionals that "they (immigrant families) take care of their own". This is based on a belief that immigrant families are more "traditional" and (traditionally [back in some former time] the state, or organizations beyond the family, were not needed to care for the sick or the elderly). BMS felt this was not the case, and the survey was a way to test an assumption that could be limiting services to immigrant seniors. BMS had anecdotal data that suggested that immigrant families provided much of the support required by seniors, but that there were other seniors who needed more assistance than a family could provide or who did not have family or community assistance. For example, the BMS had heard stories of a number of older immigrants who had been thrown out of the family home and had nowhere to turn for assistance.[12]

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[12]If they ask for help within their communities they bring disgrace on themselves, for raising children who do not look after them properly.

Because of these assumptions, the orientation of the research was problem identification. This orientation is neither right nor wrong but does have implications for the research process and findings. This framework (as every framework) limits observations so that only a narrow slice of the "reality" of the respondents is captured. Having some awareness of its own perspective, the original design team did try to broaden the focus of the research by examining daily activities, information networks and general feelings about life.

At the analysis stage, the author, whose orientation is rooted in studies of social stratification and power relationships, was aware that her personal perspective could influence the analysis. Care was taken to hear both the positive and negative life experiences within each group especially within a group such as the Punjabi which some indicate are lower on the social hierarchy (Indra,1979). Also, the author assumed that gender inequality would be present in all the groups. To counter this assumption, the author attempted to focus on an area where women have been known to have the advantage (community relations). There was also a deliberate attempt not to treat women as a homogeneous category and to examine the constraints and the advantage of some groups of women over other groups of women and even some groups of men.

The author was surprised by some of the findings; it is clear that certain stereotypes which she held were challenged in the research process. For example, the finding that the Korean community was so well organized and that many of the Korean seniors were actively involved in the operations of several organizations was a surprise. This suggests that a stereotype of immigrant seniors needing others to do things for them had been in operation even though the author went into the study believing in the contributions and competency of older persons. Also, it was surprising (to the author) to find some persons with little or no personal income

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who were satisfied with their economic situation. Income is often taken as the primary resource, but the finding indicated that other resources can be just as significant.

Insider/Outsider Research

The author (and project coordinator)[13] is a second-generation Canadian and an outsider to all five ethnic groups. This outsider status has implications for the research process and findings. Bengtson and associates (1977) have articulated some of the problems of outsider research. Outsiders, they state, face the problems of understanding the subtleties of language and customs. Second, especially among minority groups, the outsider researcher must deal with group suspicion and distrust of the researcher and his/her motives. Third, an outsider is more likely than an insider to hold stereotypes about respondents. With minority research, there is also the possibility that outsiders have a racist or elitist bias. At the other extreme, outsiders can fall prey to reverse racism or the romantization of group characteristics.

Insider researchers face limitations also. Maykovich (1977), writing on research on minority communities, states that minority researchers (insiders) are not necessarily free of the problems of non-minority researchers: they may have prejudiced views of certain members of their community, may carry elitist attitudes, may be selective in the choice of respondents, and may have problems with objectivity. For example, insiders may see certain behaviour as commonplace and therefore unnotable; whereas, an outsider may be able to see and describe commonplace behaviour for the very reason he/she does not understand it.

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[13]As project coordinator, I oversaw the interview team, the sampling process, the data entry and analysis.

It appears, then, that there are limitations for both insiders and outsiders. Merton (1978), in his classic article on insider and outsider research, adds a new angle to the debate. Merton argues that the insider/outsider debate is rooted in conflicts between social groups. He claims the debate has redirected the focus of inquiry, i.e., that social scientists are less likely to be focused on the precision of methods or the logical structure of a work; rather the focus becomes the status of the researcher. However, he argues that because every person carries multiple statuses (e.g., gender, race, class, culture, nationality, age, regionality) a researcher is an insider only on a narrow spectrum of characteristics.

Merton does not invalidate the claim that the researcher who is closer in life experience to those he/she is studying has access to certain understandings that a person who is further from that experience may not share. But the outsider has qualities, such as distance from those whom he/she is attempting to study, that give him/her a perspective different from someone who is closer to the group being studied. Merton (1978:44) argues that "insider and outsiders, in the domain of knowledge, (should) unite" to bring both sets of strengths to the research process .

It is the position of the author that valid data can be gathered by outsiders as well as insiders. First, an outsider researcher must be prepared to test his or her assumptions; as Merton suggests, to be prepared to go against his/her own inclinations. Second, as Bengtson et al. (1977) assert, an outsider needs to be open and non-exploitive (i.e., to work with the concerns of the group and to offer the data back so they can be used by the group). A process of collaboration, where the researcher encourages dialogue with members of the groups at all stages of the research, is one

way to overcome some of the limitations of outsider research. With the research at hand, this approach was followed as much as resources would permit.[14]

Other aspects of this outsider research enhance its validity. Within the five communities key persons offered the information necessary to access informal networks. If this had not taken place the validity of the project would have been in question. Also, the Project Advisory Committee (including some seniors and some direct service providers from five ethnic groups) offered on-going support and evaluation of the work. The interviewers also were an on-going source of information and critique. The addition of a Punjabi women to the project staff was an invaluable source of validation. While she was hired to do outreach work and to speak to individuals and groups in the five communities about the study, she also provided insights which assisted with sampling and analysis.

A number of studies focus on the validity of responses (examining possible bias and respondent deceit, intentional and non-intentional) and report: that the degree of bias is inverse to the degree of social distance between the respondent and the interviewer (Williams, 1964); that there are substantial or systematic distortions only with racially-specific questions (Campbell, 1981; Schaeffer, 1980); and that there is little distortion with non-sensitive ethnic questions (Weeks and Moore, 1981). These findings suggest that when research involves respondents who are linguistically or culturally different from the researcher, interviewers who have less social distance from the respondent can alleviate some of the outsider limitations. Also, the validity of questions may be determined by the degree to which questions can be seen to be racially or ethnically loaded.

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[14]Involving the community is an extremely time consuming task. The one event which brought together immigrant seniors to discuss some of the results was a major organizational feat.

With the research at hand, to narrow social distance, there was an attempt to match interviewers and interviewees on ethnicity, gender and age (where possible). However, there is no way to match on all statuses or to match on the other forms of indentification within a group (most groups are factionalized politically, religiously, etc.). Also, the questions that were asked in the interviews were mainly general in nature, thus lowering the likelihood of deception. There are, however, two questions that could be tagged as possible places for distortion.

The first is the question on family decision-making.[15] This question could be seen as somewhat culturally loaded, especially for groups where it is traditional for men to make most family decisions. For example, in a group such as the Portuguese, where almost every man stated he made most of the decisions, this unanimity may be an over-statement (i.e., the culturally expected thing to say) and some men may share decision-making with their wives.

The second question is the one on the meaning of old age. Some of the initial statements in response to this question seemed to be culturally appropriate in nature. However, as respondents went on to describe their thoughts in more depth, these initial statements could be tested for distortion. For example, a culturally expected response for a Chinese senior might be "old age is normal growth." This in itself says little about the individual's own ideas. It is only when the individual continues with a statement such as, "old age is happy if you can get out to see your friends" that it seems that the respondent is going beyond a general culturally-defined response.

As relatively little research has focused on immigrant seniors, collaboration with community members was ongoing to assess the validity of the research. Also, presentations were made to groups from the various communities to check the

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[15]The question asked, "Who makes most of the decisions about family matters?"

accuracy of the analysis. Feedback from presentations to seniors, direct service providers and ethnic community leaders indicates that the survey reflects a realistic portrayal of the communities surveyed.

In hindsight, the validity of the survey may have been reduced due to the large number of areas the study tried to cover. This range of foci meant that no single area was probed in depth. In research there is always a tension between breadth and depth. Is it better to focus on a small number of issues and do in-depth interviewing in order to find out a lot about a very few issues? Or is it preferable to cover a larger number of focus areas in less depth in order to aquire general knowledge about a range of issues. Because BMS did not have much information about immigrant seniors to begin with, the second focus was chosen.

Measurement of Dependent and Independent Variables

The operationalization of the demographic, independent and control variables[16] explored in this study are found in Appendix 1[17]. The dependent variable was constructed from responses to the open-ended question, "What does old age mean to you?" The coding of the dependent variable was performed by the principal researcher and one other person. The second coder was chosen for her background: an anthropology graduate student, formerly a immigration settlement worker and an ESL (English as a Second Language) instructor.

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[16]A note on the reliability of the measures. To increase the reliability of the survey, a great deal of time was spent anticipating possible responses. Many of the response categories were not used (eliminated at the time of data entry because there were no cases), but it was felt that in order to make reliable comparisons, responses needed to be as similar as possible (taking into account that there would already be some slight differences due to translations). Second, the questions were reviewed by two researchers (as outlined in the section on the construction of the interview schedule), the design team and the interviewers, to insure that the wording was clear and the questions were as straightforward as possible. Third, one question was asked twice to check if the respondents responses were reliable.

[17]The full interview schedule can be found in Appendix 6.

The coding of the two researchers was fairly close (see Appendix for a breakdown). An inter-rater reliability could not be calculated because the researchers varied on how much additional information each took into account. While, "What does old age mean to you?" was the main question that was coded, the two questions that followed it were similar (asking the respondent to talk further about later life). Some respondents carried on where they left off in their response to the first question. Each coder decided independently how much of this additional information to use.[18] Therefore, the number of cases for each domain varies by coder.

Responses were first coded into eight themes or domains.[19] Each domain had a three or four point range. The range for three point domains was negative, neutral or indeterminant, or positive. Finally, the eight variables (one for each theme) were collapsed into one variable. The two code sheets for each respondent were examined to assess if the comments were more of a positive, neutral or negative nature. In most cases it was fairly clear whether the responses were mainly negative, neutral, or positive. However, to be more precise, values for each variable (from both coding sheets) were added and the average value was used for the new collapsed variable.

In each domain the frequency represents the number of respondents who made comments regarding the domain or theme. For example, the first coder considered 52 of the 250 respondents to have made comments in the domain of income, whereas the second coder, making less use of the of subsequent comments, indicated that 45 of the 250 respondents made comments on income.

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[18]Additional data were used if they clarified the response to the question on the meaning of old age.
[19]The following is a list of the domains that were constructed: income/economic security; cognition (general feelings); health, which included negative comments about health status at present and negative concerns for the future; dependency; family relations; social relations,which included an additional category beyond generally negative -negative social relations due to language barrier; religion/spirituality; work/recreation, which included a positive "no more work" and a positive "still working" or "time for volunteer work."

The dependent variable, attitudes toward aging, is similar to other measures of psychological state. As stated previously, George (1990) examined the various ways studies have measured well-being, morale, life satisfaction and positive attitudes and perceptions of old age. Her finding indicate that the various subjective measures of well-being share similar qualities and tend to be highly correlated.

The data which are used here do not allow for an examination of all resources. The choice of resources that will be examined in this thesis is based on the work of anthropologists comparing the status of older persons in societies worldwide[20] and gerontological studies in United States (George, 1990). These studies indicate, with some consistency, that economic resources, relational resources, and valued positions or authority may be useful concepts in understanding the experience and attitudes of elderly persons.

The four independent variables under investigation are: **education level** (measured as number of years of formal education); **income** (personal yearly income measured as an ordinal variable); **family decision-making** (the responses to the question, "Who makes most of the decisions about family matters?") and **community involvement.** This is a composite variable, constructed from questions on the level of involvement with peers, groups and organizations, and on satisfaction with social interaction.

The controls for the analysis are ethnicity and gender. Ethnicity, measured as country/region of origin, could not be fully utilized as a control due to the small number of cases in some categories of the independent variables. Gender was used in conjunction with ethnicity, as it was found to have little influence as a control alone. However, for some ethnic groups it was a critical element of the analysis.

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[20]Fry (1988:450), summarizing the comparative studies of anthropologists Maxwell, Silverman, Press and McKool.

Methods of Data Analysis

The analysis begins with a univariate review of demographic variables, inspection of the responses to the question of the meaning of old age and an examination of the major resources that were investigated in the survey. The distribution of demographic variables and resources by ethnic group is also explored .

The multivariate analysis begins with a examination of the relationship between the four independent variables (education, income, community involvement, family decision-making). Then, the level of association of each of the independent variables with the dependent variable, attitude toward aging, is ascertained, using Somers' D as the measure of association. Somers' D is an appropriate measure for ordinal data that are related asymmetrically. An elaboration model is used to study the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. To control for ethnicity and gender, and to explore the background and the context of the respondents, a group by group analysis is conducted.

Non-survey Data

A library search was conducted to obtain material (historical, ethnographic and demographic) about the five ethnic communities from which the samples were drawn. For the Chinese and the Indo-Canadian communities, there were numerous studies from which background material could be obtained. For the German and Portuguese communities, there was limited local data but ample data on the groups in Canada. The Korea community in Vancouver was the only group which has not been the focus of a major study. Because Korean communities in the United States are much larger and have been in place for a longer period, there have been studies conducted on these communities. Therefore, American studies were used for background on the Korean immigrant communities. The interviews with local community leaders focused on the

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general information about the comunity in Vancouver and also how the community in Vancouver is similar to or differs from American communities.

The general data about communities were used to answer the questions about history (who came or was allowed to come to Canada; social and economic relations with the Canadian system, community development) and the present ethnic infrastructure in relation to the opportunity structure of seniors. The material provides some of the context of the repondents' communities and thus aids the analysis (what factors are shaping the meaning of old age).

Methodological Limitations

As the author was not involved at the design stage of the survey, this study has similar limitations to that of secondary analysis. As with studies which use secondary data, there are areas not covered, and areas where information about key issues is too brief. For example, in the area of family decision-making, it would have been helpful to explore further with respondents: what kind of decisions are made by what members of the family, whether the pattern of decision-making has been in place over the individual's life course, or whether the pattern had changed in later life.

Also, there were limitations due to the sampling method. Even with careful sampling (which the author coordinated), there is no way of knowing if the individuals who were not interviewed are similar in certain characteristics to the surveyed respondents and if segments of the population are underrepresented or not represented at all.

There are also the limitations of working with interviewers. Within the communities there were different factions (economic, religious, political), and it was difficult to judge the position the interviewers held in the community and how they were perceived. As much as possible, the research team tried to get approval for the study

from many factions or groups within the communities. This approval was sometimes necessary before seniors were willing to give interviews.

Chapter IV. Findings

The first section of this chapter provides a brief description of selected demographic characteristics of the immigrant seniors who participated in the survey. The second section describes variations in attitude toward old age among the respondents. Following sections explore differences in level of resources (for the total sample and for the five groups) and the relationship among the major resources in the study. This is followed by a presentation of the findings that test the research hypotheses concerning the relationship between the four major resources variables and attitude toward old age. Issues which explore the question of opportunities for resources are presented prior to commencing the group-by-group analysis.

The subsequent sections of Chapter Four focus on each group separately. To situate the seniors, a brief sketch of each community is provided focusing on: the history of the community in Canada, present-day community characteristics, and community differences in relation to opportunities for resources for seniors. Each section then examines the comments seniors made in response to the question, "What does old age mean to you?" This examination describes the domains mentioned most frequently, types of comments by domain, and the degree of variation of attitudes within the group. After general attitudes are examined, the relationship between seniors' resources and their attitudes toward old age is investigated (with particular attention to gender differences).

The main focus of the group-by-group analysis is with in-group comparsions but some comparisons across the groups are made to highlight differences.The sections are ordered, beginning with the Germans, who display most positive attitudes to aging,

followed by the Koreans, Chinese, Portuguese and finally the Punjabi who are the least positive.[21]

Demographic Characteristics

As presented in Table 1, the age breakdown of the sample is as follows: 41% are aged 55-64 years; 39% are aged 65-74 years; and the remaining 19% are over 75 years of age. There are slight differences in age distribution across the five groups. For example, the Portuguese sample is on average the youngest; census data indicate that this lower average age is an accurate reflection of the age composition of the Canadian Portuguese communities, e.g., census data indicate only 3.5% of the Portuguese in Canada are over 65 years of age, compared to 10.3% of Germans and 6.7% of Chinese (Secretary of State, 1988:59).

The majority of senior immigrants in the sample are married, 72% overall (Table 1). Never marrying is rare; only two men have never married. Approximately one-quarter of the sample is widowed. Although not shown in Table 1, in all groups women are more likely than men to be widowed (Martyn, 1991).[22]

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[21]For the remainder of the thesis, 'groups' is used to refer to the sample groups and 'community' is used to refer to the larger ethnic community in the Lower Mainland of Vancouver.

[22]This is most pronounced in the Korean sample in which 63% of women are widows compared to 4% of men. In part, this is related to immigration in the Korean community older women often come to Canada to be near children after the death of their husband (personal interview).

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Sample

	Total	Punjabi	Portug	Chinese	Korean	German
Sex						
Female	50	50	50	50	50	50
Male	50	50	50	50	50	50
Age						
55-64	41	46	66	38	28	29
65-74	39	38	18	42	52	47
75+	19	16	16	18	20	24
Marital Status						
Married	72	74	78	71	65	75
Never Married	1	0	2	0	0	2
Widowed	22	24	18	23	33	11
Divorced/Separted	5	2	2	7	2	12
Residence in Canada (Years)						
0-2	3	0	4	10	2	0
3-10	39	59	16	60	56	2
11-30	34	37	54	30	42	6
31+	24	4	26	0	0	92
Immigration Entry Status						
Dependent	54	80	28	78	78	6
Sponsored	19	20	44	2	2	26
Independent	27	0	28	20	20	68
Living Arrangements						
In Children's Home *	43	86	26	62	40	2
Live Alone	10	4	4	8	14	18
With Spouse (children)**	13	6	32	10	6	10
With Spouse (no children)	34	4	38	20	40	70
Total Respondents	(250)	(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)

*With or without spouse,
**In one's own home with one or more children living at home.

One of the major differences across groups concerns immigration pattern (years of residence in Canada, Table 1). To a large extent, immigration patterns have been controlled by government policy. Prior to the mid-1960's, immigration from Asian and Third World countries was highly restricted. As Table 1 indicates, only the Germans and the Portuguese arrived in large numbers before 1960. The German seniors in the sample immigrated almost exclusively during this period (92% of

seniors sampled), arriving in the wake of war. Since that time there has been only minimal migration from Germany because the incentive to emigrate decreased significantly as Germany rebuilt and began to prosper economically. As the data reflect, Portuguese immigration took place mainly in the late 1950's and into the 1960's (72% arrived prior to 1969). Since then migration to Canada has continued but the numbers are much smaller. In the sample, the Koreans, Chinese, and Punjabi arrived, for the most part, between 1980 and 1988. In these three communities –Koreans, Chinese, and Punjabi– the peak period of immigration was the mid 1970's. Although many seniors did immigrate at that time, more arrived after the peak period as their children settled and were able to sponsor them.

Three categories of immigration entry status are used here: persons who immigrated as *independents*, persons sponsored by relatives other than children (*sponsored*), and persons sponsored by children (*dependents*).[23] In this study, the category 'sponsored', refers to persons sponsored by relatives other than children who are legally bound to assist the new immigrant financially if needed. Usually the sponsor is a brother or sister, or in the case of some of the Portuguese women, a spouse or fiance.

When a wife is sponsored by her husband, he is financially responsible for her and, therefore, she is a dependent. But in this analysis the author has not categorized these women as dependents. This was done to note the special situation where children become legally responsible for parents.[24] There are some similarities between women who are sponsored by a husband and parents who are sponsored by children; both are legally placed in a dependent position. A major difference, however, is that the women

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[23]The official categorization system includes Independent Class (which includes Assisted Relatives); Family Class who are persons sponsored by a close relative, and Refugee class. (In the sample there were no seniors who entered Canada as refugees.)

[24]Children in the general population have some legal responsiblity for aging parents, but the government offers economic assistance that is not available to new immigrants. Also, most seniors who immigrated have social needs (due to language or cultural changes) about which children must be concerned.

in this study who were sponsored by a spouse arrived in Canada at young ages. As a result, when these women reach sixty-five they are entitled to financial benefits, such as Old Age Security. Persons sponsored by children are more likely to migrate later in life; if they cannot support themselves financially, they are dependent on their children in their senior years.

As shown in Table 1, of the immigrant seniors sampled, 54% arrived in Canada as 'dependents', 19% were 'sponsored' and 27% immigrated 'independently'. The differences across the groups are marked; for example, in the Punjabi group, not one person had immigrated independently, whereas, in the German group 68% had done so.

Living arrangements among immigrant seniors are also quite varied (see Table 1). Among the overall sample 10% of persons live alone, 34% live with a spouse only, 13% live with a spouse and have children still living at home, and 43% live in their children's home (with or without a spouse). The Punjabi seniors are most likely to be living in their children's homes (86%). In contrast, only 2% of Germans are likewise accommodated.

Are these living arrangements a matter of choice or are they linked to economic necessity or are they a consequence of cultural expectations? When asked if they would choose to move out of their present living arrangement if they had the means and the support, approximately 16% of the total group stated they would move. Of the Punjabis sampled, 40% indicated they would choose to move.[25]

One Korean community leader stated that culturally it is expected that older persons will live with their children, but if the parents have the financial means, they may

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[25]This was particularly marked for female Punjabis, many of whom indicated that the in-home situation was not a happy one. Some stated that they felt they were being taken advantage of, expected to do the majority of childcare and housework. This was also evident for women in the other groups to a lesser degree, with the exception of German women, most of whom were not living with children.

choose to live on their own (personal interview). A preference for living apart from children is also reported for a sample of senior Chinese living in Metropolitan Toronto (Lam, 1981). Comments by survey respondents indicate that conflict (among parents, children, and children's spouses) is lower when seniors live independently. There is, however, a preference to live close to their children, albeit separately. Koreans are the most likely to prefer this residential pattern. There were, however, senior Koreans who were happy living with their children, especially if it affords them closeness to their grandchildren.

What Does Old Age Mean To You?

Seniors respondents were asked to respond to the question, *"What does old age mean to you?"* The question was asked early in the interview session (after interviewers introduced themselves and provided a brief period for respondents to ask questions or raise concerns). (This question was placed early in the interview to avoid respondents being influenced by the kind of questions that came after.) The responses vary widely in content, length, and magnitude of feelings.

Comments fall generally in eight major themes or domains: economics or income, health, dependency, family, social relations, spirituality, work, and generalized cognition. Almost all seniors (97%) made cognitive (feeling) statement such as, "Old age is great" or "Everyone grows old" or "I'm not happy about growing old". Of those who made such statements, 35% made negative statements, 12% made neutral comments, and 54% gave a positive response.

The second most frequent theme was health. Negative comments in the health domain took two forms: present health concerns, and future health concerns. Of the 198 persons who made comments in this domain, 60% made comments relating to deteriorating health in the future. Some (10%) of the statements are neutral, such as,

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"Old age means I'll have time to look after my health." And there are seniors (17%) who made positive statements relating to health, comments such as, "I expect my good health to continue in old age."

Over one-third of the respondents comment on aging and social relations. Some state old age restricts their social activities and involvements. A second group of negative comments relates to language ability. Some seniors (29% of 99) stated their social relations in old age are restricted because they lack English. But there are many (38% of 99) who feel old age is a time of increased social contacts because of additional free time.

The subject of family relations is raised by 25% of the sample. Comments are both negative (44%) and positive (45%). Negative comments generally relate to the fear that old age means changed family relations, e.g., children no longer listen to parents, or children no longer value parents. But an equal number of seniors make contrary comments. For example, some state that old age is the time when parents receive more respect from their children. Also, some respondents feel old age is a time when they can enjoy their children and their grandchildren because they no longer have to be responsible for them.

Comments in the dependency domain are predominately negative; of the 56 persons who make dependency-related statements, 93% are negative in nature. As one person states, "In old age we just become a burden on our children." The few respondents who made positive statements about dependency state that old age is a time to relax and let one's children take care of them.

Some seniors (45) explicitly state that income is related to their feelings about old age. Most of this group (73%) make negative comments. The majority assert that old age is a time of insecurity because of inadequate income. The positive comments relate to old age as a time of freedom, if income is adequate.

Thirty-eight seniors (15%) make work-related comments. The majority of these comments are positive, referring to old age as a time when one did not have to work as much or when one can stop work if he/she desires. But, there are others who state that old age means continued hard work, or forced non-work.

The spirituality domain is mentioned on by only 33 persons, almost all (91%) of whom make positive statements, e.g., "Old age is a time I can devote myself to prayer" or "Because I believe in God I have no fear of old age." An example of a negative statement is, "God takes everything good away when one gets old."

For each of the themes on aging a range of feelings and attitudes were expressed. In order to compare the 250 seniors, it was the attitudual aspect of each theme that was collasped into one factor. A reading was made on whether comments were generally positive, neutral (or the views were indeterminate as either negative or positive), or negative. As indicated in the previous chapter, this generalized variable was created for the purpose of analysis.

As shown in Table 2, 31% of the seniors express a generally negative attitude toward old age, 28% state a neutral or indeterminate view, and 41% express an overall positive attitude about old age. Attitude toward aging varies across the groups: the majority of Punjabi seniors have a negative attitude about aging; only a small percentage of Chinese, Koreans and Germans are negative in their attitude toward old age; the Portuguese display a unique pattern, with an almost equal split between those expressing positive and negative attitudes.

Table 2. Attitude Towards Old Age By Ethnic Group

| | Column Percent | | | | | |
	Total	Punjabi	Portug	Chinese	Korean	German
Overall Attitude						
Negative	31	60	42	14	20	18
Neutral	28	16	22	46	32	26
Positive	41	24	36	40	48	56
Total Respondents	**(250)**	**(50)**	**(50)**	**(50)**	**(50)**	**(50)**

Resources

Before examining the relationship between resources and attitude toward old age, a general description of the variation of resources in the total sample and across the groups is presented. (See Table 3) The first resource, English ability, while not a major focus in this study is important.[26] In this group of immigrant seniors 30% have no English ability, while 29% are fluent in English. Almost all the German seniors surveyed are fluent; in the other groups, far fewer -20% of the Portuguese, 16% of the Chinese, 12% of the Koreans and 8% of the Punjabi. The Punjabi group are the least fluent overall, the majority (56%) having no English.

In the suburbs and elsewhere, one of the factors that may influence the lives of seniors is proximity to peers, family, and ethnic facilities. Although there are "pockets" of each of the groups spread throughout the suburbs, most seniors are effectively separated from peers. Also, almost all ethnic stores, services and organizations are situated in the core of the city. Thus, transportation is a resource that needs to be considered. As their main source of transportation, 35% of the seniors

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[26]English is a valuable resource, but in some ethnic communities seniors can manage well without English although it can limit choices, e.g., recreational, shopping, etc.

Table 3. Distribution of Personal, Economic, Social and Relational Resources;

	Column Percent					
	Total	Punjabi	Portug	Chinese	Korean	German
English Ability						
No English	30	56	20	32	40	0
Minimal-Fair	41	36	60	52	48	10
Fluent	29	8	20	16	12	90
Transportation						
Others	35	45	40	34	30	28
Bus	35	53	14	48	50	12
Drive Self	29	2	46	18	18	60
Family in Greater Vancouver						
(Family members other than spouse)						
No Family	8	6	2	6	6	18
Relatives, No children.	6	2	12	2	4	10
Children (with or without Grandchildren)	63	74	38	72	80	52
Child. + Sibs (with or without Other rel)	23	18	48	20	10	20
Family Decision-making						
Others	40	70	48	50	24	8
Shared	20	8	4	24	8	56
Self	40	22	48	26	68	36
Education (Years)						
0-4	39	66	84	30	14	0
5-11	36	26	10	42	46	56
12	14	4	2	4	24	34
13+	12	4	4	24	16	10
Annual Income (Individual)						
$0-$5,000	29	36	20	52	22	14
$5,001-$10,000	36	56	24	40	42	20
$10,001-$15,000	16	8	16	6	22	30
$15,001 +	18	0	40	2	14	36
Community Involvement Peers & Groups						
(other than family)						
None-Minimal	23	52	32	14	8	8
Some	27	12	46	36	28	14
Much	50	36	22	50	64	78
Total Respondents	(250)	(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)	(50)

report they are reliant on others, 35% use the bus, and 29% drive themselves (Table 3).

Transportation mode is closely associated with income; those in the higher income

brackets are more likely to drive themselves.

A person's mode of transportation can be related to cultural norms. Punjabi and Portuguese women indicate heavy reliance on others to drive them places. Comments by respondents and community workers suggest that, in the Portuguese and Punjabi communities, it reflects badly on a family if an older women takes the bus; women are expected to stay at home, and the husband or children are expected to take proper care of older women. The Punjabi women who were interviewed indicate that household responsibilities is one of the main reasons they do not go out. Also, all but one of the Punjabi women state that there are problems taking the bus due to lack of information and English fluency. Punjabi men use the bus, although they too lack English fluency. Some men state they had some assistance from peers who introduced them to the bus system; they had learned to take the bus by travelling together with friends from the suburbs to community centres, etc. in Vancouver.

There is little doubt that family and extended family networks can be a very important resource in the lives of older people. Almost all seniors sampled have some family close by; only 8% have no family (other than spouse) in the Lower Mainland (Table 3). An additional 6% have no children, but all of these persons have brothers and/or sisters close by. There are slight difference across the groups. The Portuguese are the most likely to have siblings living in the Lower Mainland; 48% of the Portuguese have siblings in the area compared with the other groups for whom the range is 10-20%. The Germans are the least likely to have children (or at least to have children in the Lower Mainland); 28% of Germans have no children (or children that were living in the Lower Mainland) compared to other groups who display a range from 8-14%.

Since recent research indicates that family assistance can have both positive and negative implications, it is necessary to develop a more in-depth assessment of family relations. This study did not perform an in-depth family assessment, but respondents

were queried about decision-making in the family. This measure is a partial indicator of individual authority within the family.

Decision-making ability in the family is a resource; it is also an indicator of relations based on power. Of the total sample, 40% indicate others make most of the family decisions, 20% indicate shared decision-making (with either a spouse or with children), and 40% feel they make most of the decisions (see Table 3).[27]

For most of the groups, shared decision-making is viewed as positively as self decision-making. Seniors who share decision-making are as positive in their general comments about their families as those who make most of decisions themselves. However, the German women are an exception; German women who state they make most decisions themselves are more positive than those who share family decision-making. This may indicate that German women value autonomy or that shared decision-making is not equal sharing, i.e., that husbands make major decisions.

The greatest contrast in regard to family decision-making is between the German and Portuguese men, on the one hand, and the Portuguese and Punjabi women, on the other. Only 4% of the German and Portuguese men indicate others make most family decisions. Among Portuguese and Punjabi women, 92% and 84%, respectively, state that others make most decisions in their family.

The contrast between Portuguese/Punjabi women and German/Portuguese men initially suggests differences related totally to gender. However, the influence of gender is partial. Only 12% of German women feel others make decisions for them, whereas 56% of Punjabi men report that others make most family decisions. The interviewer of the Punjabi men, in a post-interview session, reported to the author that

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[27]For persons living alone, this measure may not be a good indicator of family power relations. However, not all persons who live alone feel they have authority. For example, some of the older women who live alone feel it is a son or daughter who makes most decisions.

this question was difficult for some of the men to answer. This was the point at which some began to talk about their family situation and the pain they felt at being in a circumstance where they felt powerless. The comments made by these men related to a loss of authority upon migration to Canada, which some attributed to having little money, not owning a home, and the new values their children were adopting. The issue of family decision-making will be examined in more detail in later sections.

One of the resources that many immigrant seniors lack is formal education. In the total sample, 39% have fewer than five years of formal education, while one quarter has twelve or more years (See Table 3). The Portuguese and Punjabi groups have the least amount of formal education; 66% of Punjabis and 84% of Portuguese have less than five years of formal education. Low levels of education often means illiteracy. Seniors who cannot read are dependent on others to fill out forms, to assist them with shopping and other daily tasks, etc. Also, having little or no formal education may be a factor in the reluctance of seniors to take formal English classes. In a urban industrialized environment, lack of education can also mean few employment opportunities.

Among the Chinese, 70% have at least five years of formal education. The Chinese have the largest percent (24%) with thirteen or more years of education. The Koreans also have a significant proportion of well-educated persons (16% have thirteen or more years of eduation) but 14% have less than five years of schooling. All the German seniors have at least five years of education and 10% have thirteen years or more.[28]

For the total sample, 18% have a personal annual income that exceeds $15,001 (See Table 3). There are only 3 women in this category. No Punjabi and only one Chinese

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[28] The role of well-educated seniors in the development of senior organizations will be discussed in later sections.

senior has an incomes exceeding $15,001. The Portuguese and the Germans have the highest levels of income on average, 40%, and 36%, respectively. It might be expected that the Germans would have the largest portion of higher income seniors because as a group they have an annual income comparable to the general population of non-immigrants (Boyd, 1989). However, the Portuguese in this sample have a high proportion of persons aged 55 - 64; thus, more Portuguese have not retired (and still have employment income).

Although there is variability with regard to income, it should to be noted, the majority (65%) have incomes of less than $10,000. Also, within the total sample 29% have incomes of less than $5,000 a year. Many within this latter category have no personal income.[29]

The final resource to be described is community involvement. As mentioned previously, this is a composite variable which combines involvement with peers (measured as both level of frequency and satisfaction with levels of interaction), and attachment to community organizations. For all but the Germans, community organizations refer to ethnic-oriented organizations or programs led by community workers of the same ethnicity (See Figure 1).

Some seniors articulated the importance of community involvement. As one women stated, "our children do not understand us, and we will always feel like foreigners here, but with our friends we are understood". In the total group, 23% have little involvement outside the home or family networks, 27% have some involvement and 50% have considerable or much involvement (Table 3).

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[29]While there was no response category for 0 income (the lowest catagory was 'under $5,000'), some respondents indicated they had no personal income and this was noted by interviewers.

Figure 1. Organizations and Places Attended by
Respondents in the Last Year*

Germans

Community Centres
Confederation Seniors' Centre
Austria Vancouver Club
Churches
ERIKA senior club
Legion
Valley Outdoor Association
Century House
German Benevolent Society
Volunteer-Block Watch, Tax Clinic

Chinese

Strathcona Community Centre
Kensington Community Centre
Kwan Yick Club for Elderly
Success
Chinese Old Age Centre
Clans Society
Kensington Chinese Seniors
Chinese Elderly Citizen Association
Homa Chinese Elderly Association
Churches-Elderly groups

Korean

Killarney Community Centre
Korean Senior Citizens Society
Churches - women's group, choir
Exercise Group
Korean Hiking Group

Portuguese

Portuguese Catholic Church
Portuguese Club (men only)

Punjabi

Killarney, Sunset, and Hyde Creek
  Community Centres (men only)
Gurdwaras (Sikh Temple)

* Only organizations and places mentioned by more than one respondent are listed.

Again, there is variation across groups. In the Punjabi group, the majority (52%) have

only minimal community involvement. In contrast, in the Chinese, Korean and

German groups, the majority have considerable involvement. This is especially true of

the German group where 78% have much community involvement. As with other

resources, opportunities play a significant role in group differences. (In later sections

of the chapter opportunities for community involvement within each group are

discussed.)

To summarize, immigrant seniors vary in level of resources. Some of this variation

appears related to ethnicity. Some resources vary by group more than others.

Resources which display the greatest variation across groups are years of formal

education, community involvement, English ability, and decision-making patterns.

There is a smaller across-group variation in income, transportation and, presence of family members in the Lower Mainland.

Association Between Resources

Before analyzing the relationship between resources and attitudes toward old age, one question remains to be answered; do the persons who have a high level of one resource also have a high levels for other resourcess ? For example, is a person who has a high income more likely to be involved in the community than a person with little or no income? Table 4 presents paired associations, measured by Somers' D, between the four main resources being investigated in this study.

Table 4. Association between Four Study Resources

		Somers' D
Education	Community Involvement	.50
Income	Family Decision-making	.40
Education	Family Decision-making	.39
Family Decision-making	Community Involvement	.26
Education	Income	.16
Income	Community Involvement	.12

As Table 4 illustrates, there are some strong positive associations between the four resources. The strongest relationship is between education and community involvement (Somers' D = .50), indicating that seniors who have more than four years of education are much more likely to be involved in the community than those with little or no education. The reasons why educated seniors are more likely to be involved will be discussed in a later section concerned with opportunites for resources.

Two other relationships are also quite strong: the relationship between income and family decision-making; and the relationship between education and family decision-making (Somers' D = .40 and .39, respectively). These findings corroborate the findings of resources theorists who have studied power relations within marriage and

have reported that individuals with higher levels of income and/or education have more marital decision-making power (Williamson, et al., 1982).

A weaker association is found between family decision-making and community involvement (Somers' D = .26). Persons who make most family decisions themselves or share decision-making are somewhat more likely to be involved in the community than persons who have others making most of the family decisions. It may be that persons who have more decison-making power in the family feel freer to indulge in social involvements in non-family networks.
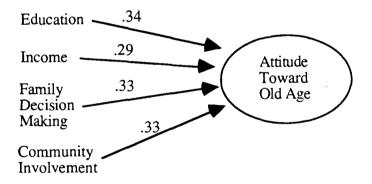
For older immigrants there is a weak association between education and income (Somers' D = .16). Boyd (1989) an Li (1988) report that persons who are foreign-born (with the exception of Northern Europeans and Americans) do not attain the income level of native-born Canadians with equivalent education. The weak relationship found here could be due to the fact that some educated immigrants migrate to Canada to be with children. Because they lack English, or because of their age, many of these persons have not sought employment here and therefore their income can be limited to OAS (if they have been resident in Canada more than ten years) or family assistance.

The weakest association is between income and community involvement (Somers' D = .12). This weak relationship is one of the notable findings of the study. While income seems to have a impact on many aspects of life, for this group of seniors low income does not negate involvement in the community. If income does not limit community involvement, the question can be asked --what does? As indicated above, the lack of formal education appears to be one barrier to involvement. (In subsequent sections, factors which relate to opportunities in each ethnic group are explored.)

Resources and Attitudes Toward Old Age

The central task of the analysis involves tests of the major hypotheses, as set down in Chapter Three (Figure 2). Each of the four main resources has a moderately strong positive relationship with attitude about old age. The magnitude of the association for the four resources is similar --education being slightly stronger (Somers' D = .34) than family decision-making and community involvement (Somers' D = .33) and income (Somers' D = .29).[30]

**Figure 2 Association between Four Resources
and Attitude Toward Old Age**

A discussion of how each of the four resources may affect attitudes is provided in the summary of the findings.

An elaboration model was constructed to test for interactions between the four resource variables in their relationship with attitudes toward aging.[31] (See Table 5) The most important finding is that there are no major interaction effects

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[30]An association of .10 indicates little or no relationship, .10 –.20 indicates a weak relationship, .20–.30 a moderate relationship and above .30, a moderately strong to strong relationship.

[31]Interaction occurs when an observed relationship between two variables is explained, or partially explained, by the action of a third variable.

(i.e., relationships which become considerably weaker when other variables are controlled). This, in effect, means that each variable has an independent effect on attitude toward old age.

Table 5. Elaboration Model
Association between Four Resources and Attitude Toward Old Age

Zero Order Relationships With Attitude Toward Aging	Income .29	Decision-making .33	Education .34	Comm. Involvement .33
Partial Relationships:				
Income				
0 to $10,000		.28	.35	.30
$10,001 to $15,000		**	.27	.35
$15,001 +		**	.24	.37
Family Decision-making				
Others	.31		.35	.29
Self/Shared	.17		.20	.30
Education				
0- 4 years	.34	.32		.22
5 years or more	.24	.20		.27
Community Involvement				
Little	.22	.24	.13	
Some	.20	.19	.14	
Much	.30	.32	.30	

* Association measured by Somers' D
** Too few cases

However, there are some interaction effects; in a number of the partials, the relationship is, to some degree, reduced. The most notable interaction occurs in the relationship between education and attitude toward aging. When community involvement is controlled, the relationship in two of the partials is reduced. The finding suggests that for persons who are uninvolved or have some involvement in the

community, level of education does not have much effect on attitude toward old age Rather, the fact that they do not have community involvement is the stronger predictor of attitude. In other words, community involvement has more impact on how an individual feels about old age than education background; those in this lesser involved groups who are educated are not more positive about old age than persons with lower levels of education. Among those who are highly involved in the community, the more educated are more positive about old age than persons with little or no education.

For persons who share family decision-making or make family decisions, the relationship between education and attitude toward old age is reduced. This suggests that among persons who have some or most familial authority, amount of formal education is a less important predictor of attitude. As Table 5 shows, among persons for whom others make decisions, a higher level of formal eduation affects overall attitude toward old age. A person without the resource of family position may need other resources; education is one which could compensate.

The third point of interaction in the relationship between education and attitude concerns income. Persons who have an adequate income are relatively positive about old age, regardless of amount of formal education. The relationship between education and attitude, however, is only moderately reduced and it appears that those who have a higher level of formal education and income are more likely to be optimistic in their attitude toward old age than those who have higher income and little or no formal education.

The last interaction that is worthy of note concerns the relationship between income and attitude about old age. Among persons that make most of the decisions in the family themselves or share in decision-making, the relationship between income and attitude is reduced. Similar to the relationship with education, some control at home

may make other resources less important. Among those who have others making most family decisions, income can be an important assest.

Gender and ethnicity are also incorporated in the analysis as controls; see Appendix 3 for association between resources and attitude toward old age, controlling for ethnic group and gender. In Appendix 4, the relationship between ethnic group and attitude toward old age controlling for gender is displayed. The data presented in Appendices 3 and 4 are incorporated into the text of the following sections of this chapter. Ethnic group could not function as a control in all cases; in a number of groups there was little variation in some resources. For example, controlling for ethnicity in the relationship between education and attitude toward old age for groups such as the Germans (in which all respondents had more than four years of education) or the Portuguese (in which few respondents had more than four years of education) was not possible. Because ethnicity is expected to be important, especially in relation to opportunites for resources, a group-by-group analysis is undertaken (the findings are presented in subsequent sections).

A group-by-group analysis is also needed because of gender variation. Gender has a varying relationship with resources and attitude toward old age. For example, the relationship between income and attitude toward old age, which is not strong for the entire sample, seems to be strongly related to gender. In addition, when ethnicity is controlled, in some groups (in particular the Portuguese) gender is critical to relationships. Therefore, to investigate the relationship of ethnic group and gender a group-by-group analysis is performed and, where the distribution of cases allows, measures of association are computed (Appendix 3).

Opportunities and Resources

While each of the four resources is associated with attitude toward old age, there is still the question of whether there is equality of opportunity regarding resources. In the case of some resources, inequality of opportunity in later life for immigrant seniors is the consequence of prior differences in life chances. In that access to education in various countries of the world was not (and continues not to be) equal, there are seniors who have had few opportunities for education. Thus, country of birth (and rural vs urban birthplace) has much to do with the opportunities seniors were afforded in relation to education.

Income opportunities are related to many factors. In this study, one factor concerns length of time in Canada. Persons arriving later in life have a more difficult time finding employment. Also, immigrants arriving in their senior years are not eligible for OAS benefits for ten years. Gender is also a factor that structures opportunities for income. For example, German women who have been in Canada the same number of years as men and who have comparable education to German men have significantly lower incomes. Also, the structuring of occupational opportunity may have an impact on income. For example, most of the Punjabi men sampled have similar education levels to the Portuguese men but Portuguese men have reached higher income levels (even when the younger average age of Portuguese men is accounted for). Many of the less well-educated Punjabis in Vancouver, who have arrived in the last twenty to thirty years, have found their occupational opportunities limited to farm labour. Some of the structuring is due to marketplace pressure[32] but also job finding networks (a family

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[32]If there is need for cheap labour; as in the berry industry in the Lower Mainland, certain groups who can be differentiated, such as visible minorities, or groups with less power, such as women, older persons or unskilled immigrants, may find few occupational opportunities elsewhere. This issue will be raised in the section on the Punjabi community.

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member or friend employed in a certain type of job finds others jobs in the same area) cannot be discounted.

Opportunities to be the main decison-maker in the family, or to share that position, may not be equal among older immigrants. Cultural valuing of certain resources, such as child care skills, may delineate the position of family members. There is also the factor of immigration policy. As Rosenthal (1990) suggests, immigration policy stipulates seniors who are sponsored are classified as dependents; children are given the legal responsibility for the economic and social needs of their parents. There is high correlation between seniors who were sponsored by children and seniors who felt that others made the most of the decisions in their family. This legal relationship may undermine the authority of parents even if parents work and are contributing to family income.

If, as the data suggest, there is a relationship between community involvement and attitude toward old age, the question that this raises is: does every ethnic group have the equal opportunities for seniors involvement? Ethnic groups display significant variation in the proportion of seniors who are involved. (Recall from Table 3 that only 22% of Portuguese seniors are highly involved compared to 78% of German seniors.) Cultural expectations may limit seniors involvement outside family networks; however in the group-by-group analysis, opportunities for involvement are shown to be unequal due in part to differences in ethnic infrastructure (such as differences in meeting places, types of organizations and senior programming). Also, some groups (for example the Koreans) have seniors who possess the skills and education to create their own places for involvement; other groups have few seniors with such skills.

A. The Germans – "We tried to hide being German."

The group-by-group analysis begins with the Germans, the group which indicates the most positive attitudes toward old age. To understand the broader social context and the opportunitiy structure of this group, a brief history and description of the German community is presented.

The Canadian German Congress in 1991 celebrated the 300th anniversary of German immigration to Canada. Over the years, the flow of immigrants has been uneven. The last large "wave" of German immigration began in the late 1940's and peaked in the mid 1950's, beginning at the close of World War II. At the end of the war, persons of German descent in Canada pressured the Canadian government to allow some of the large number of displaced Germans into Canada. In June 1947, the Canadian government moved to accept some of these displaced persons. In 1948 alone, 50,000 Germans arrived in Canada (McLaughlin,1985). This humanitarian act made a strong impression in Germany; in 1950, when the Canadian government began to allow the general entry of Germans, many who were eager to emigrate chose Canada because of its earlier acceptance of displaced persons.

The immigrants who entered Canada in the period after World War II were a mix of persons from across the spectrum of social classes. Many who came to British Columbia were professional, business and trades persons (McLaughlin,1985). Most had a level of education comparable to that of the Canadian population. As Grumpp (1989), in her study of Germans in the Vancouver area, points out, they entered the job market quickly and easily at all levels. In a short time, Grump continues, they increased their incomes and, as a group, surpassed the national average income.

But the immigration process for the Germans who immigrated in the post-war period was not without its problems. The reception the German immigrants received was not what they expected. Many experienced discrimination and some of the survey

respondents remember the period bitterly. As they stated, they felt doubly victimized by the war and by their reception in Canada. Under the strained conditions of the post-war period, many of these new immigrants chose to assimilate, learning to speak English with as little an accent as possible, deciding against joining any formal German associations or ethnic churches, and in cases, some choosing to marry non-Germans (Grumpp, 1989). Because this group is not a visible minority and is culturally similar to the majority of Canadians, their efforts to integrate were not thwarted.

Of the five ethnic communities in this study, the German community has the least organized ethnic infrastructure. In part, this is the result of past discrimination related to the war. As one senior German women stated, "It is only in the last ten years or so that we feel like we can be more open in gatherings, we can begin to feel proud of who we are and what we accomplished." There is, however, some ethnic infrastructure in the Vancouver area. There are stores that cater to German clientele, a few ethnic churches, heritage German classes, social clubs such as the Alpen club, and services organizations such as the German Old Age Pensioners Club, and the German Benevolent Society. However, for the size of the community in the Lower Mainland (see Appendix 2), ethnic organizations are few.

For the most part, Germans have been characterized by a high level of involvement in the wider community. With the exception of the two world wars, Germans have done well in Canada, both economically and socially. Given this context, we turn to examine what German respondents say about the meaning of old age.

In their comments about old age, all but two seniors make general feeling or cognitive statements. The majority of these statements are positive, e.g., "Old age is an interesting and exciting time" and "It means having the freedom to do what I want to."

Still there are those who held quite opposite views; one women states, "Old age means most of my life is over" and another, "Old age is miserable."

One-half of the Germans made comments in the domain of social relations. Again most of these comments are positive. Visiting (either locally or aboard) and club activity are common themes. Also, one-half the group referred to health; the most frequent type of comments, are concerns over future health (42%). The next most frequent type of comment relates to work, usually focusing on time for hobbies and other enjoyable pastimes. Also, the themes of income, family, and dependency received fewer comments, but the comments in these three areas are almost exclusively negative. The spirituality domain is not mentioned by any of the Germans surveyed.

The Germans differed from other groups in two ways: the low frequency of comments on the theme of family and the absence of comments on the theme of spirituality. Also, this group was unique in that the majority of comments are positive. As we have seen 56% of German have a generally positive attitude toward old age (See Table 2).

It is not possible to say that all Germans are positive about old age. Can we account for in-group differences? The association of resources with attitudes toward old age could not be measured for all resources. All Germans had more than minimal education and there are very few who had others making most of the family decisions. For the remaining two resources there is a measurable relationship. The association between income and attitudes toward old age is .23 (Somers' D) and the association between community involvement and attitudes is .31 (Somers' D). (See Appendix 3) Although the relationship with income is weaker, the two measures show a similar relationship as with the total immigrant senior sample.

Gender, for this group, is a predictor of attitudes toward old age: 68% of German men are positive in their attitudes toward old age, whereas, only 44% of women make similarly positive statements (See Appendix 4). The more optimistic attitude of men is possibly related to their higher incomes. In the German group there was not one women who had a personal income above $15,001 a year. Of the German men, 72% had incomes that exceeded $15,001 a year, and only two out of 25 (8%) had incomes that fell below $10,000 a year. Because there were no women who had an income above $15,000 a year, it was not possible to test empirically whether, for women, the lower level of optimistic attitudes is related to income.

Besides an income advantage, German men are also more likely to make most of the family decisions; 72% indicate they make the decisions, 24% state they share decision-making, and only 4% (one man) felt others make most of the decisions in the family. There were fewer German women who felt that they make most family decisions themselves, only 48%. Forty percent felt they share decision-making, and 12% state others make most family decisions.

The German group differs from the overall sample in terms of the relationship between decision-making and attitude toward old age. In the other groups shared decision-making and making most decisions by oneself are both associated with positive attitudes (and, therefore, were combined in one category). But in this group this was not the case, thus shared decision-making and decision by self were examined separately.

German men who share decision-making are more likely to be optimistic about old age than their male counterparts who made decisions by themselves. Of the men who share decision-making, 84% have positive attitudes toward old age, compared to 67% of the men who respond that they made family decisions primarily by themselves. For women shared family decision-making does not have the same relationship to

attitudes. Of the women who state that they share decision-making, only 33% have positive attitudes toward old age compared to 60% of the women who make decisions by themselves. These results suggest that family power relation issues relate to gender.

An interesting aside in the analysis of the German group (in relationship to the discussion on gender) is that marital status has a strong association with attitude about old age (Somers' D = .34)[33]. Germans who are either widowed or divorced are less optimistic about old age. But gender needs to be taken into account as there are very few divorced or widowed men in the sample. Some of the gender difference in attitude toward old age is possibly due to the higher percentage of females who are widowed or divorced.

The relationship between marital status and attitudes may be affected by cultural values. The findings in the German community support the proposition made by Matthews (1979) in her study of older women. Matthews concluded that widowed mothers "have a weak power base from which to successfully negotiate relationships that are to their advantage...The family is a sacred institution and failure to be a member of a loving, intact, stable family is seen and often accepted as personal failure" (1979:135-36).

Matthews' findings apply to the German sample but not the Korean sample. A significant portion of the Korean female sample is widowed; however, there is little association between marital status and attitudes (Somers' D = .08). Perhaps in Korean culture being widowed is not a major disadvantage; possibly after a spouse dies older women have more power and freedom. This is a finding that calls for more exploration into the cultural valuing of certain relationships and resources.

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[33]The relationship between marital status and attitude toward old age, controlling for ethnic group, was tested for strength of association. No table was produced for this test. The German group is the only group for which marital status and attitude are measurably associated.

When interviewed, seniors were asked to identify organizations in which they have been involved. As Figure 1 illustrates, the German seniors identify more non-ethnic organizations than ethnic-specific organizations. German seniors are involved in community centres, senior centres, churches, and sports and recreational groups. They also volunteer for programs such as Block Watch and income tax forums for seniors. Grumpp (1989) reports that informal ethnic networks do exist and most Germans stay in contact socially with other Germans. For the majority of senior Germans surveyed here, informal networks are not exclusively German. Most have German friends, but almost all stated they socialize with non-Germans as well.

The availability of both ethnic and non-ethnic organizations and networks affords German seniors the most opportunities of all the groups for places of involvement. The overall level of involvement reflects this; 78% of seniors participate in their community (in the German community and in mainstream society). Only a small percentage of German seniors have a low level of involvement with peers and in community organizations.[34]

In summary, the Germans are the most assimilated group of the five. Some of the assimilation and the lack of an ethnic infrastructure is due to wartime and post-war discrimination. Of the five groups, German seniors are the most likely more to have higher levels of resources (examined in this study) and to be optimistic about old age. Many of these seniors commented on old age as a time to increased and enjoy social relations, a period to delight in more free time. Not all were so positive; some spoke of old age and increased problems with family and income, and growing dependency on others.

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[34]It can be noted that a few of the older Germans mentioned that, as they got older, they wanted to find places to be with other older Germans where they could speak German and share memories of their younger days. These comments suggest the need for more organizations or events to bring older Germans together.

The majority of Germans seniors: are fluent in English, drive themselves, make most of the family decisions or share in decision-making, have incomes that exceed $10,000 a year. Also, all Germans in the sample had more than five years education. Finally, the feature that sets this group apart from the other four groups is opportunities for community involvement. The higher (than for the total sample) average levels of resources of this group seems to be associated with a higher percent of seniors who are optimistic toward old age.

Within the group those who are more involved in the community and have higher income are more likely to have positive attitudes toward old age. For this group, there are gender differences that are critical. Women have less income, less perceived family power, and are, overall, less optimistic than the men. The women are also more likely to be widowed or divorced which, for this group, has a negative impact on attitude toward old age.

B. The Koreans – "Because I believe in God, I have no sad feelings toward old age."

Of the five groups, the Koreans are the newest to Vancouver and the smallest in total population. Before 1967 there were few persons of Korean origin living in the Lower Mainland. With the liberalization of immigration policy, the immigration of Koreans to Canada increased. In 1986 there were 4,800 persons in the Vancouver area who had Korean as their mother tongue (See Appendix 2). In 1990, the population in the Lower Mainland was estimated as 11,000 by local leaders (personal interview).

Because of the relative newness of Korean-Canadian communities, no major studies have been conducted. The Korean communities in the United States are larger and have a longer history; thus, there is more research on American Korean communities. Light and Bonacich (1988), in a major study of Koreans in the Los Angeles area, report five major reasons for Korean immigration. First, after the Korean war, Korea

began a process of Westernization (more specifically Americanization); thus, for many

Koreans the U. S. was viewed as a desirable destination. Second, many Koreans

perceived a threat from the north and decided to emigrate. Third, some left in search of

political freedom, as Korea was, and continues to be, run by a military dictatorship.

Fourth, Korea's rapid economic expansion had "fall-outs" – some who were dislocated

chose emigration as a solution. Finally, some middle class persons left in pursuit of

perceived economic opportunities in the United States.

Koreans immigrated to Canada for many of the same reasons (personal interview) .

In addition to the reasons cited in the American study, some Korean-Canadians came

to be close to family or chose Canada as a peaceful place to retire. Finally, Canadian

missionaries were among the Christians who established educational institutions,

hospitals and churches in Korea. Some of the first converts and their children migrated

to Canada. One respondent told me he had a very positive image of Canada because of

a missionary he knew as a boy (personal interview).

Although the Korean community is somewhat more concentrated in the city core

than in the suburbs, the community is dispersed throughout the Lower Mainland

(Statistics Canada, 1990). One of the consequences of lack of residential density is that

there has been little notice of this community by mainstream society. There is no

'Koreatown' in Vancouver as there is in Los Angeles. Although the Koreans are a

visible minority and individually may feel some discrimination, in the time they have

been in Vancouver there have not been any major racial incidents which relate to the

Korean community.

One of the main features of the Korean-Canadian community is its high level of

education. According to 1986 census data, Koreans in B.C. are more than twice as

likely as other B.C. residents to have some university education or a degree (44% of

Koreans in B.C. have attended university) (Alfred and Wakefield, 1990). The present

study found that 24% of seniors had at least 12 years of formal education and an additional 16% had attended university.

Many Koreans had the resources to make a relatively smooth start in Canada. Many brought a good education and some brought economic assets as well. But, as in the United States, opportunities for new immigrants were not as great as many Koreans anticipated (Light and Bonacich, 1988). While many Koreans came to Canada with degrees in the social, education and science fields, few found employment in the fields in which they were trained. One in three Korean immigrants to B.C. have found, or created employment in the retail sector (Alfred and Wakefield, 1990).

A recent story of an older couple in Toronto is a excellent example. This upper-middle class couple left Seoul with the dream of taking their wealth and starting a new life in Canada, a country with a political system they admired. The husband demanded that the wife not take her china as it would not be good enough for the life they would lead in Canada. The man started a small business that he knew nothing about and failed. He lost everything. This man, a very well educated man, now works as a janitor. He can never go back to Korea and he cannot even tell the rest of his family what has happened to him in Canada. This man is very unhappy, believing he has failed himself and his family (Yi, 1991).

The majority of the Korean immigrants in Vancouver are from Seoul, and are accustomed to an urban environment. This is one factor that helps to explain how the community has organized itself relatively swiftly in a new urban environment. Also, the resources Koreans brought to Canada enabled the community to establish an infrastructure quickly. An element of this infrastructure is the Korean press (there are presently three weekly papers). The first paper, which began in the mid 70's, is published weekly and is delivered to every church and Korean business in the Lower Mainland. It contains information about services and events, listings of addresses for

churches, and other information new immigrants might need. In comparison, the Portuguese paper is published monthly; it provides information about Portuguese services but its focus is news from Portugal.

Another dimension of the Korean infrastructure is the Korean phone directories. The Korean Society tries to keep a listing of all Koreans in the Vancouver area. There is also a directory specifically for seniors that lists Koreans over 55 years old. (There is no comparable seniors directory in any of the other four ethnic communities).

Hurh and Kim (1974), writing about Koreans in the United States, argue that the Korean church is the most salient feature of Korean communities. They found that more than 70% of Koreans were regular church attendees. They also point out that many of the Koreans were not Christians prior to emigration but have found the church to be a source of support, a place providing a sense of community, and a place where they can find meaning to a life that is radically altered with immigration.

The church is also important to Vancouver Koreans. Of the Korean seniors who were sampled, 86% were actively involved in a Christian church. A founder of one of the first Korean congregations in the Vancouver area estimates that there are now 28 congregations throughout the Lower Mainland. These churches represent most of the major Protestant denominations and there are also one or two Catholic congregations.

The number of churches illustrates two features. First, there is great diversity within the Korean community with regard to Christian beliefs and practices. Second, the Korean community is able to set up new organizations quickly. There are advantages for seniors in having so many churches: choice and proximity.

One women stated that the church is important to the community because it is the place where people get the help they need to get established. A new person can come to church and obtain information on, for example, setting up a business or available accommodation. Persons can also make new social contacts and join social groups. As

she pointed out, the churches have ladies groups, children's groups, Sunday school, choir, as well as boards and committees. Also, some Korean seniors stated that the minister visits them when they are sick. Two seniors indicated that their churches provide them with transportation to and from church.

Given this contextual background, we can look at how Koreans view later life. In the Korean group almost half the seniors (48%) are generally positive in attitude about old age. What is unique about this group is the number of persons who related spirituality to their attitude about old age (17 made statements that incorporated a spiritual aspect). All but one of the comments in this domain are positive in nature. Korean women are more likely than men to comment on a positive relationship of spiritual beliefs and old age. As a number of women state: "Because I believe in God, I have no sad feeling toward old age", "I am happier in old age. I feel I am getting close to going to heaven and to meeting Jesus."

Almost one-half (21) of the Korean seniors comment on social relations. Comments are diverse (8 were of a negative nature and 8 were positive). In the negative comments, the general feeling is one of isolation from the mainstream society because of the language barrier. As one women states, "My regret in old age is that I cannot do volunteer work because I do not speak English." An example of a positive type of comments is a statement by a women who liked spending time with friends and wanted to find a place in her area where she could start a Korean seniors' groups. The theme of helping others emerged more often within the Korean group than any of the other groups.

Comments within the domain of family relations were also quite frequent (14). Positive comments were most often made by women who stated that they are happy in old age because it is a time to enjoy their grandmother role, or they are happy because they were living with their sons. Korean men are more likely to make negative

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statements about the changes in family relations that came about after moving to Canada. As one man states, "I am alone and have no hope. I blame Western philosophy for destroying my home."

Most of statements in the domains of health (28 responses in total), income (8 response), and work (4 responses) are negative. Like other groups the most frequent comment in the domain of health is the fear of deteriorating health in the future. In the domain of income and work the comments are predominately made by men. Korean men are concerned that old age means loss of income. Also, three of the four men who made work related comments spoke of the unhappiness they are experiencing in old age because of failed business ventures.

In summary, the one area that differentiates this group is the presence of statements of a spiritual nature. Also, gender differentiated the type of comments that are made: women made more positive spiritual, social and family comments; men made more likely to make negative statements about family, income and work. But, in overall attitude there is only a slight gender difference, with 48% of both sex positive, but slightly more women neutral and very few women negative (8%). More men were negative in attitude toward old age (32%) (See Appendix 4).

For the Korean group the relationship between resources and attitude toward old age can be measured for all four major resources.(See Appendix 3) For income and community involvement the association decreased slightly (from the measure for the total group), but both remained moderately strong predictors of attitude (the relationship between income and attitude is Somers' D= .23; between community involvement and attitude is Somers' D= .30). For education and family decision-making there is a major reduction in the association with attitude (Somers' D = .10, Somers' D = .01 respectively). These reductions are further explored with gender (in the following discussion of gender differences).

These findings suggest that, of the factors investigated, community involvement is the best predicator of attitude toward old age. As mentioned previously, Koreans – of all ages – are heavily involved in churches. But churches are not the only Korean organization with which seniors are involved. Many of the seniors are members of the Korean Seniors Society which is very active. Some indicate that they had been, or are presently, involved in the leadership of the organization.

Is the relationship between resources and attitudes toward old age the same for men and women? The relationship between education and attitude toward old age can only be measured for women (all Korean men interviewed had more than five years education). For the women, the association between education and attitudes about old age is .21 (Somers' D). (See Appendix 3)

The direction of the relationship between decision-making in families and attitude toward aging was not expected. Women who have others making most of the decisions were not more negative in their attitudes. The measure of association (Somers' D = -.17) indicates that women who make most of the decisions or sharing decision-making are more negative in attitude than women who have others making decisions. This finding warrants further investigation. The same relationship does not appear to be the case for the men. For the few Korean men who do not feel they were making most of the family decisions or sharing decision-making, all are negative in their attitude about old age.

For Korean women there is not enough of a spread in income to allow for a test of the relationship between income and attitude to old age (almost all women have personal incomes below $10,000). For men there is a strong association between income and attitude (Somers' D= .29). Income appears to be an important predicator of attitude toward old age for Korean men.

Women are more involved in the community than men. In fact, the number indicating 'low involvement' was so small it was not possible to measure the relationship between community involvement and attitude for women. For Korean men, the situation is slightly different. As was mentioned, Korean men are not as involved in the community as the women. It is possible, therefore, to compare men who are not as involved, with those who are heavily involved. For Korean men there is a strong association between community involvement and attitude toward old age, (Somers' D = .44).

The data suggest that community involvement, particularly in the church, is a crucial resource. For Korean women, it may be particularly important because they lack economic resources (88% of this group has an income level below $10,000 a year). Yet within this group of low income women, only 9% have negative attitudes about old age. This provides an example of how resources other than income can influence seniors' attitude about old age.

In summary, almost half of this group are positive in their general attitude toward old age. Of the four resources, community involvement is the best predictor of attitude. This group of seniors has, within the ethnic community, opportunities for involvement in many Korean churches (although there were a number of seniors who feel opportunities for involvement are too limited). This involvement may explain why comments about old age have a strong spiritual component for many Koreans. Second, income is also an important resource, particularly for men. For Korean women, education is an important resource. Family decision-making is less associated with attitudes for this group. For women, there is an unexpected negative relationship between family decision-making and attitude toward old age that warrants further investigation.

C. The Chinese – "She is happy, her children live near by."

The history of the Chinese in British Columbia is one of oppression. In 1858, when the first Chinese came seeking gold in B.C., they were not welcomed. In 1871 after British Columbia joined Confederation, one of the first moves of the new government was to disenfranchised the Chinese settlers (Chan, 1983). Soon after, Canada imposed the first Chinese head tax on every Chinese person who intended to sell his or her labour power for wages. The tax was increased in 1900 and again in 1903. To finally end the flow of Chinese immigration in 1923, the state past the Oriental Exclusion Act.

From the start of the immigration to Canada, most of Chinese were young men. Even as the community grew in numbers, when Chinese were contracted to work in Canada on railway construction, only men were allowed entry. With policies like the Oriental Exclusion Act, few Chinese men were able to bring wives to Canada.

Because of the treatment by the white population of B.C. and due to the fact that the community consisted mainly of single men, the Chinese community organized and found the means of taking care of themselves. Thus, racism – which included political, social and economic disenfranchisement – spawned a community bound tightly together out of necessity.

In 1947, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed and the limited entry of the wives and children of Chinese-Canadians began. The community slowly began to grow. Since 1962, with the repeal of the discriminatory clauses of the Canadian immigrations law and with the development of the "point system" the Chinese community in the Greater Vancouver has mushroomed. Hong Kong, People's Republic of China, Taiwan and Vietnam have all be sources of Chinese immigrants.

Hong Kong has been a main source of Chinese immigration to B.C. One of the push factors in 1967 for many immigrants from Hong Kong was the Hong Kong riots (Yee,

1985). Also, uncertainty about Hong Kong's political future pushed people to migrate. Hong Kong-Chinese came to Canada in search of a more peaceful environment and a more democratic and just political system. Many of the seniors in the survey commented that although they missed their friends in Hong Kong, they were happier in Canada because they had peace of mind which they attributed to Canada's political security.

Of the five groups, the Chinese group is the most heterogeneous. Although most of the seniors in the group immigrated from Hong Kong, not all had lived their lives in urban centers. Some of this group was born and raised in rural areas in the south of China. One indicator of these differences is the distribution in educational levels. Of the fifty seniors sampled, there are as many with high levels of education as there are persons with little education. Despite their differences in background, they have one major resource in common, the large Chinese community in Vancouver.

According to Census data, the Chinese in 1986 represented 8% of the total population in the Greater Vancouver area. Of these, 70% were immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1990). The highest residential density in 1986 was in the area of Chinatown, but in central Vancouver through to the south slope there were also large populations of Chinese (ibid.). In the municipalities which were sampled for the present study, there are two areas of high Chinese residential density, one is the south slope in Burnaby and the other is in Coquitlam.

The Chinese community in Vancouver is the most institutionally complete of any minority immigrant group. Chinatown represents an urban center unto its own where a Chinese person can find almost any service required. This community has the largest ethnic media, including radio, television, and daily newspapers. It is also unique in that it has its own independently operated immigrant settlement service (founded in 1973). This organization has, in the last ten years, added a seniors' division to its

operations. The seniors division works with other seniors organizations to plan events such as the Chinese Seniors' Fair which is becoming an annual event.

The Chinese Seniors' Fair is a unique program in that it is ethnic specific. All demonstrations and displays are translated into Cantonese and Mandarin. At the 1992 event there were thirty-three exhibitors; many exhibitors were medical organizations, but a number of other organizations were involved, such as the Fire Department, the People's Law School, B.C. Housing, seniors' groups, and community centres. As yet, these type of events do not exist for other ethnic groups in Vancouver.[35]

Chinese seniors are involved in a wide variety of community organizations (see Figure 1). The Chinese, are similar to the Germans in terms of involvement in a wide variety of organizations. Although the Chinese use general facilities such as community centres, the programs they attend are mainly directed and run by Chinese staff. For example, both Strathcona and Kensington Community Centres have Chinese programming. Also, there are a number of Chinese seniors organizations available (see Figure 1). Some seniors are involved in churches, but the proportion involved is much lower than with the Koreans. Whereas 86% of Koreans are actively involved in religious organizations, only 40% of the Chinese are involved.

For senior Chinese, the majority of organizations and facilities are located in Vancouver, not in the suburbs. Thus, Chinese seniors living in Vancouver may be more involved than the survey sample. As Table 4 indicates, only 14% of the Chinese have little or no community involvement, but the proportion involved at the highest level is less than that of the Koreans or the Germans. It is possible that suburban Chinese are somewhat limited by the location of facilities and organizations.

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[35]In Montreal there is a similar event for the Portuguese community, and in Toronto for a number of ethnic communities.

In comments about the meaning of old age, many Chinese make positive cognitive statements (43% of the 49 responses) such as, old age is a rewarding and happy time. As one senior states, "If one can accept this cycle, and can live a happy life with persons around, then he or she would live the life merrily." This group has the largest number of neutral or indeterminant comments (35% of the 49 cases). The most common comment was "Old age is natural growth.", or as one man asserts, "This a natural process and so one has to be prepared psychologically."

Family is also a domain that receives a majority of positive comments (10 of the 12 cases). Some seniors relate the positive accomplishment of raising children while being relieved that the burden of responsibility is over. In the domain of social relations (15 cases) comments are split: some are positive – "I can get out, so I am happy" – while others are negative – "I like growing old in Canada, but my friends are all in Hong Kong."

This group has the highest frequency of health related comments (36 cases). The majority are comments related to the fear of deteriorating health in the future. Characteristic of some of the more negative comments is this person's statement: "Old age means the approach of death … it is the deterioration of health, loss of memory and these will bring the unsound family relations."

The Chinese group has the lowest frequency of comments in three domains: income (3 cases), work (3 cases) and dependency (2 cases). In the overall, or generalized variable, the Chinese group have the lowest porportion of seniors who have a negative attitude toward old age (only 14%). Almost half of the group, 46%, have more neutral or indeterminant attitude toward old age.

The Chinese group reported low incomes. For the total group there were only three persons in the $10,001 to $15,000 range and only one person with an income above $15,000 (the association and income and attitudes was not measured). Worth noting is

that nine persons drive themselves. In other groups with similar low income levels (like the Punjabi group) very few persons drive. This suggests that income may not be the best, or the only, indicator of economic level. For older persons, it may be necessary to assess economic level in other ways, such as total assets include: material possessions such as home and/or car; gifts or exchanges from children; investments and securities; and outstanding loans to relatives. Therefore, even though this group had overall low income there may be some seniors who are economically secure.

The relationship between education and attitude toward old age is not as strong for the Chinese as it is for the total sample (Somers' D = .22). But, the relationship between education and attitude is being partly suppressed by gender. There is a strong relationship between education and attitudes for women (Somers' D = .38). For men, there is only a slight relationship (Somers' D = .14). It is unclear from the data why there is this gender difference. One suggestion is that men (and they were only five) who had little education had enough education (either formally or in the workplace) to gain basic literacy and math skills.

The best predictor (of resources tested) of attitude toward old age for the Chinese is family decision-making (Somers' D = .35). This relationship was even somewhat stronger for women (Somers' D = .40) than for men (Somers' D = .34). Community involvement seems to have less of a relationship with overall attitudes (Somers' D = .17). For those who are most involved, 44% have a positive attitude about old age, whereas only 14% of the uninvolved are positive in their attitudes. However, there is a somewhat complex interaction among gender, family decision-making and community involvement as it relates to attitude.

When family decision-making is controlled, the association between community involvement and attitude toward old age increases. For Chinese seniors who make most of the family decisions themselves, or who feel they share in the decision-

making, the association of community involvement on attitude is moderate (Somers' D = .27). For those who have others making most of the family decisions, community involvement is even less related to overall attitude (Somers' D = .18).

If gender is controlled, the relationship takes a new twist. For women who feel others are making the family decisions, there is a very strong positive association between community involvement and attitude (Somers' D = .48). For women who share decision-making or feel themselves to be the principal family decision-maker, the association between community involvement and attitudes no longer exists (Somers' D = .06). These findings suggest that for Chinese women who have little power in their families, involvement outside of family networks may be critical and may act as a compensating resource. Women who have authority in the family may feel less need to be involved in the community.

It appears that family power relations influence attitude about old age. Five out the twenty-five women sampled wanted to move out on their own; all five women had a negative attitude toward old age (association between wanting to move and attitudes Somers' D = .73). The same women who wanted to move out indicated that others make the family decisions. Also, comments indicate that there are family problems, especially in relation to daughters-in-law.

For the Chinese men who have others making family decisions, there is a slight negative relationship between community involvement and attitude (Somers' D = −.14). This suggests that for men the fact that others make the family decisions, or that they are not in a position of family authority, is a crucial factor which over rides the importance of most other resources. But, for men who feel they have authority or share the decision-making, community involvement is also important and as such is positively related to attitudes to old age (Somers' D = .34). It is noteworthy that community involvement may be a compenstating reseources for women who lack a

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family decision-making position, but for men this lack is not compensated by community involvement. This may indicate that for certain groups, as with the family authority for Chinese men, there are key resources, which if lacking, cannot be easily compensated for.

One component of community involvement is the ability or opportunity to interact with friends. For Chinese men, peer interaction seems to be more important for positive attitudes about old age than involvement in organizations. For this group of Chinese men, transportation and meeting with friends are strongly related to attitudes toward old age. Being dependent on others for rides is associated with negative attitudes about old age. Of the nine men who depended on rides, none is positive about old age. In contrast, of the eight men who drive themselves, five are positive about old age. The relationship between transportation and attitudes is strongly positive (Somers' D = .44). Also, the frequency with which Chinese men meet friends has a strong positive relationship to attitude about old age (Somers' D = .37).

In summary, almost half the Chinese group were neutral in their attitude toward old age. The majority of the Chinese have more than 4 years education and half the group are involved at the highest level in the community. However, this group lacks English ability, and income (92% have annual income less than $10,000). This group is mobile, the majority use the bus, and some drive themselves. Also, Chinese seniors benefit from some of the opportunities the Chinese community in Vancouver provides. What they lack are opportunities for involvement that are closer to home.

Family relations is a central factor as it relates to attitudes to old age. The majority of Chinese seniors sampled live with children. (It should be recalled that this is a sample of suburban Chinese seniors, the majority of seniors in Chinatown do not live with children.) Women who are unhappy living with children, and would prefer to

move out, are negative in attitude toward old age. Within this group there is a stated preference of living close to, but not with, children.

For this community there is a complex relationship between gender, family decision-making, community involvement as they relate to attitudes to old age. For Chinese men the situation of having others make most of the family decisions seems to have a strong negative impact on attitude toward old age. For men who make most family decisions, or who share in decisions, community involvement is a good predicator of attitudes. It would seem for men the most important aspect of community network is involvement with friends. Finally for men, those who drive themselves seem more positive about old age. For women, education seems to have an impact on attitudes. Also, for these women, especially those who have others making most of the family decisions, community involvement seems to have a strong positive influence on attitudes.

D. The Portuguese – "I was too busy, I had no time to learn English."

In the 1950's, Brazil, which had been a choice immigration destination for the Portuguese, tightened its immigration policy so that Portuguese emigrants began looking in new directions for places to settle (Anderson and Higgs, 1976). Canada became one of the preferred locations. The largest wave of Portuguese immigrants entered Canada in the 1950's and early 1960's. The majority of immigrants who came at this time were from the Azore islands and from rural areas on the Mainland, areas where economic conditions were the poorest. Economic opportunity was the prime reason for immigrating.

Most immigrants in the earliest period were unskilled young men with little formal education. After finding employment, these men sent for their spouses, prospective brides, and other family members, especially siblings (Anderson and Higgs, 1976).[36]

The Portuguese community in Vancouver is relatively small, compared with Toronto's and Montreal's. According to the 1986 census, the Portuguese population in the Greater Vancouver area was 10,955. The Portuguese Consulate estimated the population in this area to be closer to 16,000 in the late 1980's (Horta, 1989).

Being unskilled when they arrived in Canada, the majority of Portuguese enter the workforce as labourers. The main occupational opportunities in Vancouver in the 1950's and 1960's were in the construction industry or janitorial service. Many women also worked outside the home, taking whatever work they could find. The majority of women found domestic jobs or factory work which required no previous skills or English ability.

Over the course of their working careers, few Portuguese immigrants move outside the working class. Using 1981 Census data, Li (1988) found that 89.7% of the Portuguese in Canada were in the working class (measured as occupational prestige). This percentage is the highest for of any ethnic group in Canada.[37]

Advancing economically was a prime goal of the pioneers. The Portuguese worked very hard to further their economic position (Horta, 1989). Though traditionally women were expected (and still are, but to a lesser degree) to stay home, their incomes make an important contribution to the household. But women's income was not just important to the household, it was important to the women. Horta (1989) found that working outside the home was a major sign of independence which women viewed to

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[36]Of the five groups, the Portuguese are the most likely to have siblings in the lower mainland. Half of those interviewed indicate they have brothers or sisters living close by.

[37]The next comparable group is the Italians, of which 79.9% are concentrated in the working class.

be a positive difference between life in Canada and life in Portugal. To quote an interview recorded by Horta (1989:153):

> I have been a cleaning women ... I would have preferred to do something else, but what can I do? I don't speak enough English. Still that job is better than nothing. I have a good reason to get out of the house and above all I have my own independence. I even have my own car.

> My husband is now talking about going back to Portugal. But I think that is not such a good idea. Going back to what? To have the same life as my grandmother had? Going back to take care of the chickens and running after the pigs while he spends his time talking and drinking with his friends. I prefer to stay. If you ask around there are many women who think like me.

As this woman has pointed out, the position of women has changed with their income-generating ability, but as the survey data indicates, access to resources for women remains problematic (see following discussion of women's resources).

A feature of the Portuguese community is its isolation from mainstream society, related in part to the relatively low English skills of the majority of Portuguese immigrants. When the bulk of the Portuguese arrived there were few English classes available. Those that were available had long waiting lists and were expensive. Also there was little incentive to learn English. Most of the early arrivals were able to find work through friends or relatives. As they arrived with few assets, work, not learning English, was their first priority. Often Portuguese men found employment working with other Portuguese and so did not learn English on the job.

As with the men, the work women found did not require English. Work and family were the priorities for Portuguese women. As one women stated, when she first came she worked very hard, cleaning at night and looking after the house and children in the day. She had no time for learning English. Most English classes were inaccessible to Portuguese women, as the majority never learned to drive, and bus travel by women was not culturally acceptable.

Related to the lack of English skills is the desire of many Portuguese (men in particular) to return to Portugal to retire or at least return for part of each year. Some have purchased or are planning to purchase a second home in Portugal (personal interview). There continues to be strong attachment to Portugal in other regards as well. Most Portuguese have dual citizenship, many continue to use their voting rights, and many send money back to family in Portugal. Also, the Portuguese newspaper features news from Portugal over local news. As such, the community as a whole is informally networked but still very oriented toward Portugal. Economics and children (who are now at home in Canada) seem to be the strong ties that keep people from returning to Portugal.

How do the older members of this community view old age? In general, 42% of Portuguese respondents are negative and 36% are positive in attitude toward old age. On the whole the comments were either very negative or very positive. For example, in the cognitive domain statements include either words like fear, sadness, isolation, and weakness; or words like opportunity, enjoyment, and relaxation, to describe the meaning of old age.

What was particular about this group was the number of comments in the domain of dependency (15 cases, the large number of comments in this domain of any group). Comments about becoming dependent in old age were made by women and men, although more frequently by women. Most of these statements focus on the regret that old age means becoming dependent on children. In two other domains, income and work, the Portuguese also make the highest frequency of comments. Income comments (13 in all) are split – half negative and half positive. The positive comments stated that because the money is saved, in old age they can enjoy themselves. Negative comments focus on the fear that there is not, or might not be, enough income in old age. Work related comments (11 in all) are made mainly by men. The majority of

these are positive. As two men state, "Old age is the reward for hard work, a time to relax" also, "The work is done and the money is saved. Old age is the opportunity to enjoy life to its fullest."

There are only 6 comments in the domain of family, and all of them are positive. The majority of statement make the relations that individuals are happy in old age because they have their children around them. In the area of social relations, what is noteworthy is that this group made the least comments of any group. Also, in the domain of spirituality the lack of comments (no comments in this domain) is important to note.

The association between resources and attitude for the four study resources is very strong. The use of gender as a control is critical in the analysis of the Portuguese group. The correlation between gender and attitudes is very strong (Somers' D = .51). Most notable is the difference in negative attitudes; 64% of women are negative about old age compared with only 20% of men.

The relationship between education and attitude was strong (Somers' D = .50). There was only one women that had more than four years of education and therefore no measure of association was made. For men, education attainment does differentiate attitude toward old age (Somers' D = .37).

There is strong association between decision-making and attitude (Somers' D = .52). However, the resource of family decision-making is almost exclusively male. Only one man stated that others make most of the decisions and only two women stated they made most of the family decisions or shared that position. In this group the traditional position of men as the decision makers is still upheld. Older women in this community may feel they have more power in the family in Canada than their mother or grandmother had in Portugal (as observed by Horta, 1989), but as in the case of the

women respondents, the position of women in the family decision-making is still less powerful than that of men.

The relationship between income and attitudes is very strong (Somers' D = .50). When gender is controlled the relationship is reduced for men (Somers' D = .16) but is even stronger for women (Somers' D = .60). Women who have higher incomes are more likely to be positive in their attitude toward old age. For men, income is not as strong predictor of attitudes.

The association between community involvement and attitudes is fairly strong (Somers' D = .33). When gender is controlled the relationship remains the same for men and slightly increases for women (Somers' D = .38). This suggests that attitudes toward old age for women in particular, but also men, may become more positive with more involvement in the community.

The opportunities for involvement at the time of the study were minimal. The main centre for involvement outside of family is the Portuguese Catholic Church, Our Lady of Fatima. The women's group at the church is the only organization which is exclusively for Portuguese women. It is important to recall that the Portuguese community is approximately 16,000 and this is the only Portuguese Catholic Church in the lower mainland. Although the majority are involved in the church, 36% of the group indicate they are not involved with the church. For many, involvement is limited to attendance for worship and for major celebrations.

In addition to the church there is the Portuguese Club, which has been in operation since 1964. For the most part, the club operates a center where unemployed and retired men come and meet with friends, play cards, or just talk. There are two community centres that have programs for Portuguese seniors. All four of the organizations mentioned above are in Vancouver. As the sample here was drawn from the suburbs,

involvement in these organizations is dependent on transportation. Therefore, women, and some of the men who do not drive, are unlikely to attend such facilities.

Lower levels of resources such as English ability, education, community involvement (and perhaps urban orientation) may account for some of this group's more negative attitude toward old age. As presented in Table 2, 42% of the Portuguese were negative in their attitudes toward and perceptions of old age. This is significantly different than the Chinese, Korean, and German groups in which only 14% – 20% of those groups had negative attitudes.

The seniors who were sampled, even though the majority have lived in Canada for more than twenty-five years, had limited English. Women in particular have poor English skills; 32% of women, compared to 8% of men cannot speak English at all.

This group, in general, lacked formal education. Only 16% have more than four years of education, the lowest percentage of the five groups . In contrast every German sampled had more than four years of formal education. Even among the Punjabi seniors, who have the lowest levels of other resources under investigation, 34% have more than four years of formal education. Given the low level of education among the Portuguese, illiteracy is not uncommon. As one community worker stated, one the major regrets of many older persons is that they cannot read any language (personal interview).

Community involvement is low. Family networks predominate over peer networks and involvement in community organizations. One in three Portuguese seniors have only minimal community involvement. Of the five groups, the Portuguese have the lowest percent (22%) at the most involved level. In contrast, 78% of German seniors and 64% of Korean seniors are involved in community organizations.

As stated in the introduction, most Portuguese in the Vancouver area were originally from rural areas. Within the Portuguese group many who had lived in

Canada for twenty to thirty years yet still do not feel "at home." Many indicate they felt "cut off", especially women who never worked outside the home. As one women stated, "I do not know much of what happens outside my home." Some of the respondents commented that life in Canada is more comfortable (because they came from such poverty) but they are not happy here because they miss the social life in their home village.

Portuguese do, however, have economic resources. In many regards the Punjabi and Portuguese are similar, e.g. education background, rural origins, community involvement, but income set them a part from the Punjabi. The average level of income in the Portuguese group is not low (slightly lower than the average level for the German group). The majority of the group have a income above $10,000 a year and 40% have an income above $15,000. As noted earlier, the Portuguese sample contains a higher percentage of persons aged 55 to 64, thus many of those who were sampled have not yet retired and have employment income rather than income from pensions or government sources (the predominate sources in other groups). The majority of the Portuguese seniors also have economic assets beside their income, such as a home and a car (mainly driven by men). There is, however, a significant gender difference. Men have higher incomes overall; 72% of the men have incomes above $15,000 compared with only 8% of women.

Family decision-making was almost evenly divided between those indicating others make family decisions (48%) and those who stated they themselves make most decisions or shared decisions-making (52%). As mentioned, this resource is male-dominated, with only two women sharing in the decision-making or making decisions themselves.

Income and decision-making power are not the only resources in which men have the advantage. Women also have fewer resources related to language ability,

transportation, and community involvement The relationship between gender and English ability was discussed above. In regard to transportation, there are only two Portuguese women who drove, the majority relying on others for rides. Portuguese men, on the other hand, have no problems with transportation, as almost all drive.

To summarize, each of the four resources were found to be strongly associated with attitudes toward old age. Gender was also found to be strongly related to attitudes. There were also gender differences in the magnitude association of the major resources and attitudes. For women income and community involvement were found to have the strongest association. Education and family decision-making could not be measured because women lack both resources. For men, the resources of a formal education (from greatest association to least), community involvement and income appear to bolster positive attitudes toward aging. Too few men had others making most family decisions to test the relationship. In all resources men were more likely to have higher levels than women. This is true for the major resources, but also for the resources of English ability and transportation. Compared to other group, however, this group lacks the resources of formal education and community involvement which could account, in part, for the some less optimistic attitudes in this group compared to the other groups. There are fewer opportunities for community involvement for these seniors than for seniors in other ethnic groups.

E. The Punjabi – "Old age is just to survive."

Among the first Punjabis to arrive in Canada were veterans of the Boer War; some whom had visited Canada while in military service and perceived that there were economic opportunities here (Singh, 1987). Also among the first to immigrate were sons of land owners in the Punjab. After the annexation of the Punjab in 1848, the

British imposed land taxes. Some families who owned land sent their sons abroad with hopes of raising the cash to pay taxes and to acquire more land (ibid.). The early Punjabi community in the Lower Mainland was predominantly young male labourers, most of whom were not planning to stay permanently in Canada.

The majority of those who first came from India were Sikh; soon after their arrival in the Lower Mainland they established a place of worship. The temple, or Gurdwara, became the center of community life. The Gurdwara played a central role in the community then, as it does today. The Gurdwara was the place where people would meet and get information and/or assistance. In the early period, without the support of families, the Gurdwara served to assist newcomers with settlement problems. In the early part of the century, it was also the political center for the group, agitating and organizing in the struggle for fair treatment of its members in Canada. (Buchignani, 1981)

From the beginning of Punjabi immigration to Canada the wider society displayed prejudice and discrimination. Indra (1979) found, reviewing articles from local newspapers for the period between 1905-1914, that the Sikhs had been placed near the bottom of the ethnic/racial hierarchy. The most poignant statement of race relations in that period was the Kamagata Maru incident which occurred in 1914. As the government could not officially ban the immigration of British citizens, it created a policy which would make immigration from India as difficult as possible. The policy stated that persons had to make a continuous journey from India. But local members of the Punjabi community devised a plan, hiring a vessel to bring prospective immigrants from India. The incident ended with the Kamgata Maru, the ship hired by the community, being turned back to India at gun point. Immigration officials had found a way, through a technicality, to disallow the entry of the passengers.

As was stated previously, immigration policy has had a critical effect on the development of ethnic communities. At the start of World War II, there were only 1,100 Sikhs in B.C., and the community was still predominately male. In all there were only fifteen families (Bolaria et al, 1985:147). With changes in immigration policy in the 1960's, the community changed radically. Since the 1960's there has been immigration from India although majority of the present community in the Lower Mainland arrived between 1967-1977. The present population of Indo-Canadians in the Vancouver area is 50,200 (Statistics Canada, 1990). The community is no longer predominately male since the majority of immigrants since the 1960's come with family.

A large portion of those who entered Canada after 1967 were well educated and skilled. In 1981, 30% of the community had some university education (Bolaria et al., 1985). By 1981, census data indicate that 50% of those in the workforce had white collar or professional positions (ibid.). Women and older persons, however, were over represented in low paying labor intensive jobs.

A study of the Indo-Canadian community in Vancouver reports a great deal of economic and social variation within the community (Beem and Robson, 1985). Beem and Robson found that higher SES members are more likely than lower SES members to live in areas where there is low residential density, to report that there is discrimination against Indo-Canadians, and not to feel discriminated against. Persons who are lower SES, are more likely to live in close proximity to other Indo-Canadians in densely populated areas, to be from rural areas in India, to be Sikh (rather than Hindu or Moslem), and to have experienced discrimination and hostility from non-Indo-Canadians.

These findings are consistent with that of Indra (1979), i.e. that the Indo-Canadian community, and the Sikhs in particular, are still near the bottom of the ethnic/racial

hierarchy. Media images of the community are negative, with the amount of coverage exceeding the size of the community. As Indra (1979) states, any transgression by persons of Indian descent has been accentuated by the media.

Bolaria, et al. (1985) argue that economic exploitation lies at the root of racial problems. It is this economic exploitation and discriminatory treatment that distinguishes the Punjabi group of seniors from the other four groups that have been discussed in the present study. To some extent economic exploitation is an experience shared by immigrants in general, but there is a difference in degree of exploitation. The majority of employed Punjabi seniors are farm labours. As Sharma (1983) states, no other group of labourers in B.C. work under such poor conditions or receive such low wages.

Of the five groups of seniors, this is the only group that identified racism and discrimination as issues of everyday life. This not to say others who were sampled, or groups besides the Punjabis, do not experience racism, but that this is the only group in which members made unsolicited comments about these matters. The comments related to discrimination focused on the workplace and neighbourhood safety. The majority of seniors interviewed had worked or are presently working as farm labourers. Seniors who had worked on the farms two main issues: lack of employment alternatives to farm labour, and lack of legal protection from unscrupulous contractors, who pay them when they like and how much they like[38]; and from unsafe spraying

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[38]Because these seniors have no fluency in English, contractors arrange crews and transportation from the city to farms in the Fraser valley and act generally as middlemen. For these services contractors sometimes take a large cut of the seniors' income. If seniors complain they can lose their only opportunity for income. Sanghera (1990) tells the story of one local woman who attempted to assist in the organization of a union. The woman was blacklisted and was not able to find farm work locally for three years.

practices. As one man states:

> Farm owners do not care about the welfare of their workers. When they spray the berries they do not take precautions with how the spray affects workers. Workers eyes get red. Sometimes they get breathing problems also. Last year my eyes were affected and now I am afraid to work.

It is clear from the comments that this work is hard for seniors. Seniors complain that the hours are too long (workers are picked up by buses or vans at designated spots between 5 and 6 a.m. and returned between 6 and 7 p.m.) and that workers do not receive fair compensation for their labour. Why then are these seniors willing to put up with such conditions?

For many seniors this is the only income that they have. In the Punjabi sample, 80% of the seniors were sponsored by children to come to Canada, and would have arrived with few or no financial assets. Also, 59% of these seniors have been in Canada ten years or less, they are not eligible to receive government assistance. Also, some seniors express that there is an expectation that everyone, including seniors, will contribute to the family income. A few men also state that adding to the family income was the only way they had any status in the family, given their lack of property and home ownership. A small number of the seniors were afraid that if they did not help financially, the family would throw them out of the house.

Another reason for working on the farms is that the fields are one place where seniors get to see each other. For much of the winter, for the women in particular, seniors are house bound and have little opportunity to meet with peers (this point will be further explored). One Punjabi young person commented that her grandmother goes to the farms every summer to gossip and visit, and this helps her miss India less (personal interview).

The second area of discrimination is the nieghbourhood. A few of the seniors interviewed are afraid to go out on the streets because of verbal and physical violence by local teenagers. One women who stays home in fear states:

> Punjabi women cover their heads with long scarves and men wear turbans. Sitting in our homes we are bored, isolated and lonely. When we make the effort to go out, the young children or youth tease us and call us unrespectful names. They pull our dupatta (scarf) so that our heads get uncovered, and with the men they push off their turbans and make fool of them.

For others, discrimination is more subtle. Some state, that because of their dress and their customs they feel non-Indo-Canadians do not understand them and therefore treat them with less respect in stores, on the buses and in the street. Even subtle discrimination can limit opportunities. If seniors are afraid to walk in the neighbourhood, or feel ashamed or nervous shopping alone, their participation in the community is limited and they can become more dependent on their children .

Overall, the Punjabi group is the least optimistic about old age: 60% are more negative in their attitude toward old age. Some of the general words that seniors use to describe the meaning of old age are, old age is "hardship", "more isolation", "more deppression". Negative comments were related to five domains. The first is family relations: of the 28 cases (the most family related comments of any group) 71% are negative. As one man states:

> I feel my identity may be lost, the younger generation of my family would have no respect for my feelings. My peace of mind may be disturbed, I may feel myself as stranger in my house.

Or as another man reports:

> In old age you start losing the value - you do not have much to say in the matter - children start behaving differently when you grow old.

The second domain that this group relate negative attitudes is social relations. Of the 23 statements, the most frequent types of comment are feelings of isolation due to a lack of English and differences in culture.For example, one women states: "Old age is

more loneliness, the language and culture is making us isolated." A few seniors concluded such remarks with a statement that they would prefer to return to India where they felt more comfortable, but could not because this was now their children's home.

Work, income and dependency each received similar frequency of comments. (approximately 13). The most frequent work comment is old age is more work and hardship. Others are unhappy that old age means they can no longer work or that no one wants to hire them. The theme of old age as a time of decreased income is common among this group. In comments related to dependency the word frequently used is burden. One women states:

> I work in the fields so I will not be a burden on my children, but when you grow old you need somebody to look after you like a small baby. What can I say. Old age is the hardest age to live.

One-quarter of this group made generally positive statements. There are those who are happy and that state old age is good. Most positive statements include such comments as old age is good because our children respect us more, or our responsiblities to our children are complete so now we can enjoy our free time with no worries. The domain that received the most positive statements was spirituality. Comments centered on the themes of old age as the time that is now free for prayer, for more frequent trips to the temple and for thoughts of the after life.

In summary, this group comments were more negative in nature than the other groups. Family relations, social relations, work, income and dependency are the domains associated with negative statements about old age. More positive statements related to family and spirituality.

In that this group has more seniors negative attitude toward old age than are found in other groups, how generally does this group differ? As mentioned previously, the majority of the group (56%) have no English ability, and many (66%) have little or no

formal education. Almost all (92%) have incomes less than $10,000 a year. This group has the highest number of persons dependent on others as their sole source of transportation. Also, members of this group have the least say in family decision-making; 70% indicate that others make most of the family decisions. Finally, the Punjabis are the group with the least involvement outside of home and family networks; 52% have little or no involvement with peers or in community organizations. Lower levels of resources could account for the greater degree of negativity in attitude toward old age, relative to the other four groups.

Within this group almost one-quarter of the Punjabi seniors made comments that are mostly positive in nature. What differentiates these seniors? There is a gender difference – slightly more men than women are optimistic about aging. The Punjabi men do not have an advantage over senior women in relation to income, a difference that in the other groups is significant. Men have a slight educational advantage, 52% of the men received more than four years of education compared to only 16% of the women. Also, men indicate more involvement with peers and community organizations (there were no women in the high level of involvement category, compared with 72% of the men).

A measure of the relationship between income and attitude is not presented because of the lack of higher income cases for either sex. However, a subjective measure of individuals satisfaction with income is possible. Only four (out of 25) women feel their incomes are sufficient, and these are the women who were more optimistic about old age. Very closely related to this is the issue of living arrangements. Punjabi females are the least satisfied with their living arrangements, of all groups, male or female. Of the twenty-five women interviewed, seventeen (61%) responded that if they had adequate support would they prefer to live on their own. One respondent summarized the feeling of others, "When you get old you need your own small house

so that you can live with pride, you will get respect from your children, you can live in your own way, visit your friends and your friends can visit you." The few women who stated that their income is sufficient are also the women who are satisfied with their living arrangements. Many of the women who are unhappy with their living arrangement know that they do not have the resources to live independently. The two issues repeatedly raised by these women are the lack of respect (children not listening to them), and expectations that they should provide child care and look after the house.[39]

The comments of the women above illustrate a number of points. First, seniors would like to own their own homes, for reasons of family power. If they owned a home, this asset would elicit respect from their children and the wider Punjabi community. Instead they live in their children's homes where they tread lightly. As one woman said, "They take care of me, so I have to do as they say, what else can I do?" Second, inviting people over is not only important for social interaction but also for exchange processes (I invite you over and you are expected to reciprocate equally or better). Without a home of their own, seniors do not feel free to invite people over, and are not involved in this form of exchange.

For the Punjabi group the relationship of education and attitude toward old age is lower than for the total sample. For the Punjabi group it is crucial to examine education and attitude in relation to gender. Because only a small number of women are educated in this group (16%) it is not possible to get a good measure of association. Examining the cross tabulation of education by attitude (about old age)

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[39]In India when a women marries, she is expected to move into her husband's household and assume a position under her mother-in-law. Punjabi women, especially those who arrived in Canada as seniors, have found that most of the daughters-in-law go out of the home to work. These young women, because they bring in an income, have more authority in the household than the older women. Also, for cultural and financial reasons, many older Punjabi women are expected to care for children.

and controlling for gender, it is noteworthy that the women with more formal education are not more optimistic about old age than the women with little or no education. It is possible that, related to strong cultural norms in regards regarding the role of women, the education of women is not valued. This relationship requires further study.

For men, education is a resource which differentiates attitude to aging. The measure of association between education and attitudes toward age for Punjabi men is .50 (Somers' D). This is a significant difference and indicates that education is an important resource for men. From the comments made by men with more education, part of the importance seems relate to respect or status in the family. Being that many seniors have very well educated children, children may not appreciate or acknowledge the worth of general wisdom that is accrued over a life time. There were numerous men who stated that their children do not listen to or respect them. Yet, this was not so for all Punjabi men. In the case of some men who had some formal education there were statements that aging afforded more respect. One such man stated it thus, "I feel that in old age I have more responsibilities now, as my family members come more to me for help and advice." Since education is highly valued in the community, older educated men may be afforded more status in the community, as well as at home, which could also account for their more optimistic views.

Issues around power in the family are very most complex in this group. Because most of the Punjabi seniors live in large households (66% in households with more than six persons) family dynamics are difficult to assess with the survey data.

There is only a weak relationship between family decision-making and attitude toward old age for this group (Somers' D = .09). This is point worth exploring. What seems apparent from general comments made in interviews is that seniors have little say in family matters, that it was sons and then daughters-in-laws (seniors live most

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often in the homes of their sons) who made decisions in the household. Many are angry and upset about the situation in which they found themselves. In India, it was stated, it would be the parents who would have more of the power in the home. But here older persons cannot speak English, and cannot understand the culture, and so must depend on their children to take care of them.

The findings that decision-making is only weakly associated with attitude could mean a number of things. It may be that some of those who stated that they share in the decision-making or make most family decisions did so to save face. As noted previously, the interviewer of the Punjabi men reported that this was a difficult question for the men to answer, that the men were embarrassed to say that they did not feel they had authority in the family. It is also possible that some seniors do not feel a need to have a major say in family decision-making and are content to be cared for.

The relationship between community involvement (with peers and in the community organizations) and attitude about old age is strong for men (Somers' D = .33). Here again there are too few women involved outside of home and family networks to measure association. Only one women out of twenty five had been to any organization other than the temple. It is clear that involvement with peers and with the community is lower in this community than in the other four. Only the Portuguese were at all similar in this regard. But the question remains, what opportunities for involvement are there in this community?

As presented in Figure 1, the community organizations include the Gurdwaras and community centre programs. At the time of the study, there were no community centre programs in the municipalities surveyed. The men who attended such programs took the bus into Vancouver to attend. There is one community centre in Vancouver that offers a program for women. One woman had attended this program. (She was able to attend this program because one of her sons, with whom she stays at times, lives near

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this facility.) Similar to the situation with Portuguese churches, there are only a very few Gurdwaras in the Lower Mainland. This means that many seniors who want to go to the temple must take the bus or wait until a family member is attending and will provide transportation.

Cultural norms may limit involvement for women: older women are expected to stay at home and work. Opportunities for involvement may also be limited by the lack of education and the rural origins of seniors. Planning and running organizations are not skills most individuals from rural labouring background would have acquired. Many of the Korean seniors who were interviewed stated that they had leadership roles in the Korean Senior Society, in their churches or in other recreational clubs. Not one Punjabi senior identified a similar leadership role. Community centre programs have been organized and are run by younger members of the community (as is also the case with the Portuguese). Within groups such as the Germans, Chinese and Koreans, older persons are organizing, and volunteering for community organizations.

When the idea of the present survey was circulating in the various communities that were to be interviewed, there were members of the Indo-Canadian community who felt the survey was unnecessary because they believed that seniors did not need anything but home and family. The seniors who were interviewed stated otherwise. Both the women and men stated that they wanted places near their homes where they could meet with peers and feel respected, get information about health concerns and find out for themselves about services that are available to seniors.

Men who attend the community centre program in Vancouver expressed the important role these places play for them. For the men who attend the centre programs, a main concern is distance. At least one man in the sample group had to stop going to the program because his health was such that the round trip on the bus became too

long. Also, a number of men expressed that the programs are run only two days a week which means there is still too much idle time in the week.

In summary, the Punjabis have the least resources of the five groups. Racism and discrimination may be a factor in limiting the opportunities for acquiring resources. The members of this group have low levels of education, income, authority in the family, and community involvement. These factors could account for the higher proportion of seniors in this group who were negative in their attitudes toward old age. Among Punjabi men differences in attitudes related to the level of formal education and involvement in the community. The women in this group who express positive attitudes about old age are those that were satisfied with their income and their living arrangements.

Summary

This study, an exploratory study into the lives of older immigrants, has made a number of preliminary findings about some resources which contribute to positive attitudes toward old age. The study does not attempt to explain all the resources or other factors that may influence the attitudes of older persons, but has focused on a few crucial social and economic resources.

It was found that senior immigrants who have more income, formal education, family decision-making power or community involvement are more likely to have positive attitudes toward old age. Each of the tested resources was found to have an independent association with attitudes.

1a. Immigrant seniors who have more formal education are more likely to be optimistic about aging than immigrant seniors with little or no formal education.

For the seniors in this study, a formal education may be related to positive attitudes about old age in a number of ways. First, education may be seen as a measure of

status, or a necessary prerequisite for understanding what is happening in a modern urban environment. For example, some of the Punjabi men who were well educated stated that they are given more respect and are turned to for advice; whereas Punjabi men who are not formally educated complained that their educated children did not seek their advice. Second, formal education usually means skills in literacy and mathematics. Lack of formal education can mean dependency on children for tasks, such as banking, reading labels in a shopping stores, gathering information, or filling out forms. Exchange theory suggests that the more tasks that a person has to have others do for them, the greater the possibility for becoming indebted and for the loss control over one's life.

1b. Immigrant seniors who are economically secure are more likely to be optimistic about aging than immigrant seniors who have fewer financial resources.

Income as a resource for these older persons may influence attitudes in many ways. For some seniors, having sufficient income means having the resources to make choices, such as the freedom to travel, to go on trips to the homeland or to visit children who do not live in close proximity. Income is also related to housing; some of the seniors living with children would choose to live independently if they had the resources. And finally, income determines if a person can purchase services rather than ask children to provide needed assistance. As one German man stated, when his wife was ill he was able to hire a nurse to look after her. Not all seniors have that choice.

1c. Immigrant seniors who feel that they make the decisions in the family, or share decision-making with a spouse or other household members are more likely to be optimistic about aging than immigrant seniors who feel others make most of the family decisions.

This relationship can be stated inversely, individuals who lack the authority to make most of the family decisions or share in that process are more likely to be negative in their attitude toward old age. From the examination of the data, the loss of or lack of authority in the family may be due to immigration (where children sponsor parents), or may occur when parents have to move in with children (most likely in situations where individuals have no alternative living arrangements or when the move was not a choice). In both cases individuals may be negative in attitude because they feel they have lost something. This may be particularly true for men who have had a great deal of authority and upon immigration lose that authority to children who are then legally responsible for their parents.

Gender is related to family-decision-making for some of the groups. In the Portuguese and the German groups most men stated they make most of the decisions. In every group women are more likely than men to have others make decisions for them. German women who share decision-making are found to be less optimistic about old age than their counterparts who make most of the family decision themselves (i.e., who have more authority). Women are more likely to be in a situation in which they have never had much say in the family. One such woman stated her situation this way, "Other people have always made the decisions. When I married I moved in with my parents-in-law and when my husband died I had to move in with my children. I feel sad and alone now. I stay mostly in the house."

The Korean women are the exception; the relationship between family decision-making and attitudes is inverse. Many of the widowed Korean women state they have others make most family decisions. These women are not more negative in attitude than their counterparts who make decisions themselves. What seems to be suggested by the data is that some of the women who have others making family decisions are quite happy living in their son's homes (i.e., this arrangement is their choice), whereas,

women who live alone make most of their own decisions, but the authority they have is only over themselves. These are only suggestions about the exceptional relationship; further study is needed to make stronger conclusions.

1d. Immigrant seniors who are more involved with peers and organizations are more likely to be optimistic about aging than older persons who are less involved with peers and organizations.

As stated, community involvement remains the strongest influence on attitudes after interaction is accounted for. For some seniors who lack other resources, such as income or family authority, being involved in organizations can influence how old age is perceived. This is well illustrated by the Koreans, many of whom lack higher incomes but are involved in the community and are optimistic about old age. It would seem that being involved with peers may be a source of new information, as with the Punjabi men who taught each other how to take the bus. Peer involvement has many psychological benefits, such as the exchange of concerns and problems. And organizational involvement can act as a resource in a variety of ways (information, status as a consequence of taking a role, services provided by peers or organizations) which could influence attitudes. As one man states, he looks forward to going to the community centre; there he learns things from the speakers and obtains and shares news about the community.

Although it was found, through examining the association between resources, that persons with high levels of one resource may also have higher levels of other resources (e.g., the strongest associations are between education and community involvement, income and family decision-making, and education and family decision-making), there is evidence from the data that even higher levels of a single resource may influence attitudes toward old age. One example is the Portuguese men who

lacked education and community involvement but have adequate incomes and thus seem optimistic in their attitude about old age. There is also the example of the Chinese women who have little income and have others making decisions for them, but are active and involved in their community and are seemingly optimistic about old age.

2a. There are differences in the levels of resources among ethnic groups.

One of the strongest findings of the study was that there is a wide variation in the level of resources among immigrant seniors. For example, in some groups the proportion of those who have above a basic education is high (in the case of the Germans, the total group is well educated). Other groups, such as the Portuguese have only a small portion of seniors with more than five years education. For every resource investigated, the German have the highest average levels, and for most of the resources the Punjabi have the lowest average levels. There are groups who have high levels of one resource and not others. For example, the Koreans have higher average community involvement, but lack income and English abilities.

2b. Some of the differences in the levels of resources are due to opportunities to acquire resources.

It was found that immigrant seniors do not have the same opportunities for resources. Education opportunities are not equal worldwide. Also, in most countries men have more opportunity for education than women. The best example of present differences in opportunity is the variation in opportunities for peer and community involvement. The opportunities for involvement in community organizations for German or Korean seniors far exceed those for Portuguese or Punjabi seniors. For example, Korean seniors are likely to be in close proximity to organizations (such as ethnic churches) and have information about alternatives (from the weekly newspaper distributed at Korean stores, restaurants and churches).

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Also, the opportunities for involvement with peers differs from group to group. For example, there are more opportunities for Chinese women than Punjabi women. Not only are there more places Chinese women can meet peers, they are not tied to the home by cultural norms to the same extent as Punjabi women, and finally, Chinese women are freer to take the bus. Also, the Chinese women, unlike the Punjabi women, are more likely to have lived in urban environment and have the skills and knowledge to negotiate in a city.

2c. Opportunities to acquire resources are related to political, economic, historical and/or cultural factors.

It was shown that state policy can influence opportunities for resources. For example, some countries have not provided equal access to education. In Canada, access to government assistance is not equal. Old Age Security, for instance, is not available to residents who have lived in Canada less than ten years. There are also restrictions to the Canadian Pension plan (only persons who have paid into the plan over their working career) that affects many immigrant and other women. State policy allocates resources, such as English courses for persons destined for the marketplace and does not provided the same availability for seniors, women with small children, or women who do not intend to enter the marketplace.

Economic relations may channel the most vulnerable groups into low paid, labour-intensive jobs. This was shown to be the case with Punjabi seniors. Also, economic relations have had an effect on the formation of ethnic communities, as immigration policy is reflective of the needs of the marketplace.

There is a connection between the education level in a community and opportunities for community involvement. In communities where there is a higher level of education, there is more opportunity for community involvement because educated

seniors are involved in the development and on-going operations of organizations. In communities that do not have a pool of educated seniors, such as the Portuguese and the Punjabi, there is slower development of programs and services and the organization of such groups is dependent on younger service providers.

Summary of Group Themes

One aspect of an ethnic groups is that members share some similar social or historical conditions. The individual seniors in this study differ, in many respect from others in their own ethnic communities, but as much as they differ, they still are likely to share common orientations, experiences, etc. The following summarizes some of the group differences that emerge from the group-by-group analysis.

One of the main themes that emerges from the analysis is that of family. Within the broad focus of family there are a number of areas which relate to family styles and changing family relations --the balance, or the changing balance, between family and community involvement; living arrangements; and the roles of men and women within the family.

Each of the five groups has a different balance between family and community involvement. Of the five groups the Punjabi and the Portuguese appear to be the most family focused and Germans the most community focused. For Punjabi seniors, the high value placed on the family represents care and security in old age, and a strongly held set of expectations regarding care for parents. But this orientation represents a double-bind for many seniors. For example, community that puts a high value on the family is not likely to put energy into seniors' housing, or securing space for older persons to meet with peers. Therefore, for seniors whose families do not live up to cultural expectations or who have little or no family, there is no support system. Also, seniors are reluctant to complain about feelings of isolation or mistreatment for fear

that their family will turn against them. Although the Indo-Canadian community in the Lower Mainland is large and continues to grow, opportunities for involvement beyond the home are expanding very slowly.

In contrast, the Chinese seniors expressed a changing balance between family and community involvement. There are two possible explanations that surface in the data. First, moving to greater community involvement may be a way for some Chinese seniors to deal with stress involved in changing family relations. A second reason may be the growing opportunities for community involvement. The Chinese community is the fastest growing immigrant community in the Lower Mainland. As such the ethnic enclave for the Chinese seniors is expanding. There are more and larger celebrations (Chinese New Year is becoming a major event in Vancouver), new Chinese services and organizations, and expanded seniors' housing. One example of organizational development is in urban seniors' centres. In the past two years, Chinese seniors have begun to take out membership in the seniors' centres in Burnaby. At one centre, there were over a hundred new members in one three months period. Because of the number of Chinese seniors involved at this centre, a Chinese coordinator was hired to run Chinese-specific programs.[40]

As with differences in the balance between family and community involvement, all five groups differed in regards to living arrangements. For example, the majority of Portuguese seniors own their own homes. Couples either live alone or have adult children (and sometimes their children's families) living with them. Living arrangements change if a senior becomes widowed or there is prolonged illness of one or both parents. At such time, the parent or parents move into the home of a child. Typically a widow moves in with a daughter.

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[40]The hiring of a Chinese staff person was made possible through the efforts of the Chinese seniors themselves. A group of seniors organized and wrote up a proposal and secured funding for the position.

The German seniors are similar to the Portuguese in that they are likely to be living in their own home with only with a spouse. German seniors are the least likely to be living with children or have children still in the home. Korean seniors are as likely to be living independently as to be living with children. In the sample, the majority of Chinese seniors are living with children (but as has been stated elsewhere, many Chinese seniors live in seniors apartments adjacent to Chinatown). Few Punjabi, Korean, Chinese seniors own their own home.

In the Lower Mainland the majority of Punjabi seniors live in homes owned by their children, although joint ownership (i.e., adult family members all contribute to the financing of the family home) is also possible. Sometimes parents have a room or a suite in the home. But a number of Punjabis, particularly women, comment that they would like to have their own house. Men who are not homeowners feel a loss of authority; however, they are less likely than women to want to move out on their own. Part of the difference is attributable to the roles and expectations of men and women. Although older men indicate a lack of control and authority over sons, there are indications that younger wives and younger women are somewhat under the control of older men and seem to care for their needs. Older women, it would seem, are expected to continue to serve in the household which includes many members.

Women in all groups, with the exception of the Korean women, indicate some negativity around the role of older women in the family (the issues of gender and ethnicity are discussed in final chapter). Chinese women mention strained relationships with daughters-in-law. Punjabi women commented on their loss of authority to daughters-in-laws and the lack of respect from their children. Portuguese women express more concern over becoming a burden to their children. German women in their responses to the issue of family decision-making, indicate the desire to have more power in family issues. Korean women are the most positive, indicating

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pleasure in the grand parenting role. It should be recalled that the majority of Korean women sampled are widows. The roles and expectations of a widow may differ greatly from those of a wife. Also, it is possible that Korean women are more reluctant than other groups to speak negatively about their role or their family because of cultural norms that relates to women and to family privacy.

The theme of declining authority of men in the family surfaced in the Punjabi, Chinese and Korean groups. The Korean and Punjabi men interviewed tend to place the blame on western culture. The Punjabi men also state that their declining authority is due to factors such as: older men's lack of economic assets; children who are more educated than fathers; their position of dependency due to poor English language proficiency. For Chinese men, the loss of authority, or the position in the family where others make most of the family decisions, is problematic. Among the Chinese men, those who have others making the family decisions are those most likely to be pessimistic about old age.

A second major theme in the data is that of church and spirituality. The difference between the Germans and the Koreans in this area is significant. First, among the German seniors there is very little religious attendance, not one senior linked the church or spirituality to the meaning of old age. However, for the Koreans involvement in the church is paramount. Although there are variety of denominations, from fundamentalist groups (the Full Gospel church or the Seventh Day Adventists) to mainline denominations (Methodist and Presbyterian), the majority of the Koreans in Vancouver (in fact, almost every Korean respondent in this study), are actively involved in a Christian church.

Involvement in the churches can be seen as one strategy for assistance in the settlement process. Some Koreans, who were not Christian prior to immigration, became active in Christian churches because the churches are the most organized

Korean institutions in Canada. Whether the Korean churches are an intentional or unintentional settlement strategy, they are an undeniable aspect of Korean life in Vancouver. Among the seniors interviewed, church involvement represents a significant component that extends beyond involvement in family networks. Church involvement for these seniors represents contact with peers, involvement in community activities, access to services (e.g., visits when ill, information exchange) and spiritual growth. Korean women particularly commented on the importance of Christian spirituality and how their Christian faith inspired their optimism about later life.

Involvement in the Christian church may contribute in other ways to the settlement process. The churches appear to serve as a bridge between east and west. These churches have a distinctive Korean culture but engage in traditions of the denominational church body involving western mythology and culture. For example, Christian celebrations such as Christmas and Easter are western religious and secular events. Involvement in these Christian celebrations is thus a form of acculturation. While other groups have found religious institutions to be instrumental in the settlement process, the extent of involvement is particularly high in the Korean case.

A third major theme is identification. Whereas seniors in the other four immigrant express an ethnic indentity that is tied more closely to their lingusitic group, the Germans express a self- identity that extends beyond German networks and German organizations. This orientation or identification is perhaps due in part to the reception they received when they arrived in Canada in the post war era. Because of the timing of their immigration, these Germans had to chose between assimilation or discrimination.

The outward orientation may also be due in part to a lack of extended family. Of the five groups interviewed, the Germans are the least likely to have extended family

in the Lower Mainland. In other groups, particularly the Portuguese, chain-migration has been the norm, ensuring that large portions of family immigrated to Canada. The Germans were more likely to arrive as individuals or couples, leaving extended family behind. Networks of German friends are important to most Germans, but through work and other community activities Germans have acquired friends and have established connections that are not premised upon ethnic identity.

For the Germans, integration has been quite easy. Because they are similar to the general population in education, religion, culture and appearance, integration was not as impeded. Some groups may wish to move out into the community but face subtle or overt obstacles. Many Korean seniors, for example, expressed a desire to be more involved in other aspects of society, but face barriers relating to language and racism.

A further example of the Germans' outward orientation is the kind of travel in which many German seniors are involved. Germans spoke of the retirement years as a time for travel and activities such as camping. (The two interviewers for the Germans were both seniors; when the majority of the sampling was taking place they both took time off to travel.) In all groups there were persons who traveled, but some, for example, Portuguese seniors this travel was almost exclusively to their homeland. Although Germans make trips to Germany, they also travel to other destinations for 'recreation'.

The Portuguese not only have a more pronounced inward orientation, they also express a stronger connection to their homeland. This is the only group in which seniors (more often men) talk about returning to the homeland to retire. There are a few Punjabi seniors who are so unhappy with their lives that they stated that wanted to return to India. This, however, is impossible because there is no family in India to take care of them. The homeward orientation of the Portuguese may be significant in a number of ways. First, energy and resources are used to stay connected with the

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homeland. Some seniors have purchased a second house in Portugal and some spend extended periods of the year there. Also, the one local Portuguese newspaper focuses on news from Portugal rather than news and information about Vancouver.

Finally, ensuing from the theme of identification is that of alienation. Many Portuguese seniors, for example, feel alienated from the mainstream of society, perhaps in part, because of their orientation towards their homeland. For all groups except the Germans, lack of language is seen as a major factor fostering alienation. For the Punjabi seniors, however, the issue is feeling intentionally cut-off. For this group, racism is a significant issue. There are a number of factors which make these seniors likely targets of racism. First is their high visibility due to skin colour and dress. Second, there has been an increase in residential enclaves which accentuate the visibility of the group. In contrast, the Koreans are a small and highly dispersed community which makes them a less visible presence. In one way the increase in residential segregation may benefit seniors by creating more opportunities for peer contact. Men, in particular, find places to meet and spend time with peers. But residential enclaves may be the targets of racist attacks if ethnic tension continues to grow. Three of the twenty-five Punjabi seniors spoke of harassment on the streets near their homes.

The themes presented touch on a few of the differences among the groups. Some of these differences are related to culture. However, differences among groups are in part due to the variations in the level of resources (e.g., differences in living arrangements) and opportunities (e.g., differences in the levels of community involvement). The summary of themes also emphasizes the importance of examining ethnic variations in the study of older immigrants.

Chapter V. Discussion and Conclusions

The theory that directed this examination was: resources are the basis for individual autonomy; persons who have control and the freedom to choose what they want for themselves will view old age more positively than individuals who are dependent because they lack the resources with which they can exercise the power to get what they need in a resource exchange process. As exchange theory suggests, without a strong resource base, a person requires more assistance and consequently becomes more dependent.

Each of the resources used to test this theory was found to support the theory. The relationship between the resources and individual's attitude toward old age is moderately strong, thus, the explanatory power of the independent variable is also only moderate. As the theory is interpretative (i.e., it does not specify what resources may be the most valuable), it is not possible to know if the four resources in this study were the most valued resources for these seniors. This characteristic of the theory is both its strength and its weakness.

The strength of this perspective is that it is adaptive to particularities such as age, cultural differences, and environment. For example, the theory assumes that there can be a different value on resources at different points in a person's life; certain resources may be valuable to older persons but not to a young adult; or certain resources may be more valuable in an urban setting than in a rural environment. But a drawback is that a complete test of this theory would require an enormous amount of data: first, to evaluate at the individual and/or the group level what are the most valued resources; then to examine if these resources are exchanged as the theory suggests; then to measure the degree of autonomy or dependency of individuals as it relates to their resources; and, finally to affirm if those with more autonomy are generally more

positive in their attitude toward their life. The data did not allow for such a study. At most, the findings from the data suggest that this thesis has some validity and is worth exploring in further studies.

The theory does not specify the importance of the life history of the individual. The findings of this study suggest this is an important aspect that should be incorporated. Theory that examines an individual life as a career could add a new perspective to resource theory and further help to explain differences in levels of resources in later life.

One major feature of the theory is that it allows for the examination of diverse influences. The theory does not assume that only economic resources or only social resources are crucial. The theory allows for the possibility that because a person lacks one valued resource it does not mean he/she is without resources. An older woman may have little income, but may have many friends and be the president of the ladies' league. It does, however, point out that resources can be used to get more resources. The older person who has an adequate income can own a car, can be more mobile and involved in the community, and can give others transportation which may give him/her a position of status within his/her peer group.

One of the virtues of the theory is that is does not focus solely on the individual as if the individual and his/her resources were in a vacuum. The theory directs research to examine the allocation of resources, for individuals as well as groups. Although the theory is underdeveloped at the macro-level (role of the state, how economic relations structure the allocation of resources, etc.) the directive is there to push the analysis beyond the individual.

A further extension to the theory is the directive to examine the complex dimensions of historical patterns of structured relationships. Both ethnicity and gender were seen to be critical to the analysis because of the way they structured the

opportunities for resources, and in some cases specified which resources may be more valuable for some situations. It was also found that ethnicity and gender needed to be examined together. A study of gender alone would have indicated that gender has little importance in relation to resources and attitude. It was only when gender was examined with ethnicity that it became evident that gender relations are structured in different ways for different groups.

Discussion on Gender, Culture and Ethnicity

A major focus of feminist research has been on the subordination of women. Yet within feminist debates, there is a growing recognition that although women share common issues of oppression and subordination, the structure of gender relations may vary greatly. Feminist perspectives are beginning to recognize that differences related to age, race, ethnicity and culture have to be critically examined in relation to gender (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983; Lorde, 1992). The present research reveals such differences, e.g., the structured relations which influence the lives of older Punjabi women and an older German women are quite different.

The constraints on women are organized by many factors. In this study, we saw that lack of available resources and problems with their allocation can adversely impact women. Cultural values, roles and expectations also constrain and organize the lives of women.[41] This is not to say that all women in one group share the same experiences (for example, social class accounts for some internal differences), but there are common influences which relate to ethnicity. The following discussion provides some comparative examples. These comparisons are presented to stress the value of examining gender relations in specific rather than universal terms.

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[41]It is to be noted that "culture" as used in this study is not static. One of the issues facing many seniors is that their culture is changing rapidly and/or the culture of their children is different from their own.

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For German women a number of observations can be made from the data. First, men still have more authority in the family than women. Comments made in the interviews suggest that there has been some change towards women having more power in family decision-making (which may be related to German women's workplace involvement and their monetary contributions to the household economy). One-quarter of the German men stated that they share decision-making (in comparison, no Portuguese men stated that decision-making is shared). However, women indicated otherwise. Their comments present a description of sharing that is not equal, or sharing on some aspects of family life and not others. These findings suggest that the relations between husband and wife may be a focal point of the constraints of German women.

German women have certain advantages that other immigrant women do not share. There is less cultural expectation that they assist with the care of grandchildren or provide care for their own children beyond the teenage years. In the four other groups, care of grandchildren was a central activity for at least one-half of the women (Martyn, 1991). For some groups childcare is a choice, a way to feel useful and a resource that they can offer to their children in exchange for other types of assistance. But for others childcare is not a choice – it is an expectation. For example, the comments of Punjabi women suggest that childcare is not an option and that this responsibility is one of the factors that tie women to the home.

Another difference between German women and most other immigrant women is that the majority of these women live only with their spouse. While Korean women, except for widows, also live only with a spouse, in the other groups it is common to have older unmarried or married children still in the household. Additional family members in the home correlates with additional household responsibilities and work. (This does not appear to be the case for men who live in extended family settings.)

The implication is that German and Korean women are freer to pursue their own involvements beyond the family.[42]

Changing cultural values are having a profound effect on women. In some ways, the changes have freed women from certain restrictions and obligations. For example, women's involvement in paid employment has allowed them an income which may translated into more power in the family. How much power this translates into varies by the magnitude of the income and its proportion of the total household income. Some Chinese women, who had never had an income prior to their senior years, mentioned that Old Age Security payments increased their freedom.

But there have been changes that have decreased certain groups of women's power. For many older women, particularly Punjabi and to some degree Chinese women, power over younger women (daughters-in-law and daughters) has decreased. A number of older Punjabi women recounted how they had spent their younger married life under the power of their mothers-in-law and mothers and assumed that they would be equally powerful when they were older. This, however, has not been the case. Many younger women, either by choice or necessity are involved in paid employment. Involvement in the workforce means less time in the home and, therefore, less time to cater to older women. Also, personal income gives younger women some power in the household. Younger women are more educated, more likely to be bilingual, and more aware of how to negotiate the urban environment than the majority of older women. Subsequently, younger women feel less obligated to be under the power of their mothers and mothers-in-law. Many of the older women feel bitter, a lost generation which has paid for younger women's present privileges.

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[42]This is also the case with Chinese women who live in Chinatown, most of whom live alone or with a spouse only.

In all of the groups women are more constrained, and had less power and less access to resources than men. However, there are significant differences across the ethnic groups in structured relations: between husbands and wives, between women and their children and their children's families, and between women and the wider society. These differences require specific and further examination.

Future Research

This study touches the surface only of a rich area for further research. In the area of community involvement alone there are numerous directions for further work. Are all types of involvement equally valuable? Which aspects of involvement are most important – the number of peers, the frequency of visits, the type of information that is it exchanged, or the affective exchanges? And finally, do seniors who have a position (a status or role) in a organization benefit more than persons who are only marginally involved?

In this study there was a distinction made between those who had little or no education and those that had more than four years formal education. Years of education is a rough indicator of certain skills. A more comprehensive study could identify what type of knowledge and training seniors need, how education is valued in certain groups and how in some groups formal education commands respect.

There are many questions that can be explored in relation to income. Are there ways to measure economic resources that are more appropriate for seniors? Are there other variables that need to be considered, such as living arrangements. For example, where affordable housing is available, a low income level may not be as problematic as a situation where an individual pays out a significant portion of income for rent or upkeep on a home. Also, a study in itself could explore the situation of seniors who are in families where the income is pooled. Some Punjabi seniors in particular indicate

that their income goes into the household and, therefore, they did not feel they had personal income or at least control over their income.

One of the most complex but important areas yet to be explored is that of power relations in families from different cultural or historical backgrounds. The study of gender relations in families has begun this process but needs to be extended in ethnicity studies and intergenerational studies.

Finally, studies are needed that will go beyond the resources selected for this study. It would be appropriate to begin a study using resource theory by discussing with individuals which resources were most important and valuable, or to begin with a period of participant observation where exchanges could be examined to determine which were the most common types of resources exchanged.

Concluding Comments

In later life the allocation or new sources for resources may be limited. As Dowd (1980) suggests many resources dwindle in old age. But this study found that persons can be involved in the community even if they lack other resources. For women in particular, but also for seniors who have been in Canada less than ten years, income levels will likely be very low throughout their later years[43]. Also, education may be fixed; although attempts have been made to teach older persons literacy skills, it is easier for an individual to increase his/her involvement with peers and the community.

Opportunities for involvement differed from group to group and in some groups between genders. Ethnic groups which lack resources in the form of seniors with

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[43]It is unlikely that Old Age Security payments will increase substantially in the next number of years. It is also unlikely that the Old Age Security policy on eligibility will change. There were concerns raised by family members that a survey drawing attention to immigrant seniors could increase existing resentment towards such persons. Family members had heard statements from Canadians who believe that older immigrants should not be allowed into Canada and should not receive healthcare or OAS even after ten years, that only persons who have contributed to the economy throughout their working careers should receive government assistance.

strong organizational abilities may need assistance from government, nonprofit organizations and younger members of the community to create local meeting places for seniors, clubs or socials in which seniors can be involved and play a role in running. There may also be a need for educating ethnic communities that are more family oriented on the benefits of community involvement for older persons. The Italian Federation in Toronto program for seniors is an example of how new initiatives can challenge existing cultural norms. In this case two norms were challenged: first, women do not want to or need to be involved in groups outside the family; second, older persons do not need to learn new things. As the coordinator stated, it took time to involve women in the clubs, but once the idea was accepted the clubs expanded rapidly (personal interview).

Also, there is the possibility that increasing seniors' ability in English could increase their community involvement. ESL (English as a second language) classes can be a form of community involvement. Attending classes can be a source of peer contact, and most ESL classes offer information about services, opportunities for community involvement, recreational alternatives, transit information, etc.

These findings suggest that persons who live in closer proximity to peers may be more positive about old age. This may indicate the need for more seniors' housing (available alternative housing can be seen as a resource). In the Korean, Portuguese and Punjabi communities, there is no ethnic-specific seniors' housing. The Korean Senior's Society is now working on plans for seniors' housing. But in the other two communities, no plans are under discussion. When asked, younger members of these two communities stated that older members do not need seniors housing because children take care of their parents (personal interviews). Seniors themselves stated otherwise. In both communities there were persons who divulged that seniors housing was what they wanted even though it was not an acceptable idea in their community.

To conclude, seniors thoughts about old age, and their attitude toward it, may be influenced by cultural beliefs about old age. But attitudes are also strongly influenced by individual circumstance and levels of resources. Levels of resources differ among immigrant seniors. To understand the opportunity structure for resources, it is essential to examine the economic and political factors which relate ethnicity to the structure of gender relations.

This study suggests that seniors imagine what old age will be like based on their reserve of resources. If an older individual is dependent on the good will of children for survival, or is limited in community involvement, he/she may see the future only as a sea of uncertainty and dread. As one women with few resources and who is cut off from peers laments:

> When you get old there are too many problems. I don't have much money. And because I cannot afford a place for myself ... I am not free to do anything-I cannot go to sleep or rest anytime or meet with friends. But instead I live with my children. We are a burden on them, we have no place to go -we are stuck with them and we bear everything. Then what I have to do is wait for my death.

However, if an individual feels he/she has the resources to obtain what he/she needs and wants, he/she is more likely to view old age positively. The last comment is that of a senior who is active in the community and whose income is over $30,000 a year: "Old age is a period to look forward to, a time of enlightenment, with freedom to enjoy life creatively, to share experiences, and to seek and promote better ways to enjoy life."

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Appendix 1 Measurement of Variables

Demographic and Control Variables	Measurement
Age (number of years)	1=50-54 2=55-59 3=60-64 4=65-69 5=70-74 6=75-79 7=80-84 8=85 plus
Marital Status	1=Married 2=Never Married 3=Widowed 4=Separated/Widowed 5=Other
Gender	1=Male 2=Female
Residence in Canada	When did you immigrate to Canada?
Immigration Status	Were you sponsored to immigrate to Canada? 1=No 2=Yes
Sponsorship	Who sponsored you to come to Canada?
Living Arrangements	How many live in your household? Who else lives in the household? (from list of relatives) Which of the following describes where you lives? 1=Singe family home 2=Semi-detached/townhouse 3=Apartment in building 4=Cooperative housing 5=Basement suite relatives or friend 6=Basement suite non-relatives 7=Room with shared facilities 8=Seniors apartment 9=Other

Independent Variables	Measurement
English Ability	Please Rate Respondent's English? 1=Cannot speak English 2=Poor 3=Fair 4=Good 5=Fluent in English
Transportation	How do you usually get around? 1=walk 2=Bus 3=Taxi 4=Driven by family 5=Rides arranged by community 6=Drive themselves 7=Other
Family in Greater Vancouver	Do you have relatives living in the Greater Vancouver area? (check from list)
Family Decision-making	Who makes most of the decisions about family matters? 1=Self 2=Spouse 3=Son(s) 4=Daughter(s) 5=Daughter(s)-in-laws 6=Son(s)-in-law 7=Brother/Sister 8=Grandchild(ren) 9=Nephew/Niece(s) 10=Other Kin 11=Non-relative 12=Shared
Education Attainment	How many years of Formal Education have you completed?
Income	Annual personal income (not including other household member) 1=Under $5,000 2=$5,001-$10,000 3=$10,001-$15,000 4=$15,001-$20,000 5=$20,001-$25,000 6=$25,001-$30,000 7=Over $30,000
Community Involvement Friends	How often do you meet with friends? 1=Never 2=Rarely 3=Occasionally 4=Often
Peer Interaction	Are you satisfied with the amount of interaction you have with friends? 1= No 2=Yes

Involvements (non-peer)	Do you participate in: 1=Never 2=Rarely 3=Occassionally 4=Often Religious activities? Social Dancing? Sports/Exercise (group)? Volunteering? Social Club? Educational courses?
Recreational	Which recreational facilities have you used? Ethno-specific facility, immigrant-serving facility, community centre, club, seniors centre, school, other.

Dependent Variable	Measurement
Attitude toward old age	What does old age mean to you? (Open ended) Coded as follows For all 9=No comments in this area A.Income/economic security 1=Negative 2=Neutral 3=Positive B.Cognition (general feelings) 1=Negative 2=Neutral 3=Positive C.Health 1=Negative 2=Negative Future 3=Neutral 4=Positive D.Dependency 1=Negative 2=Neutral 3=Positive E.Family relations 1=Negative 2=Neutral 3=Positive F.Social relations 1=Negative 2=Negative due to Lack of English 3=Neutral 4=Positive G.Religion/spirituality; 1=Negative 2=Neutral 3=Positive H.Work/recreation 1=Negative 2=Neutral 3=Positive "no more work" 4=Positive "still working" or "time for volunteer work."

Appendix 2 Census Statistics on Ethnic Communities

Population of Burnaby, New Westminster, Port Moody, Port Coquitlam, Coquitlam for Five Groups, by Mother Tongue: 1986.

	Population aged 55 years and older	Total Population (all ages)	Percent
Chinese	1,428	8,755	16%
Punjabi	460	3,065	15%
Portuguese	135	900	15%
German	2,970	6,395	46%
Korean	140	950	15%

Source: 1986 Census Data

Population of Vancouver for Five Groups, by Mother Tongue: 1986.

	Total Population of Vancouver
Chinese	76,150
Punjabi	20,835
Portuguese	10,955
German	35,720
Korean	4,800

Source: 1986 Census Data

Appendix 3 Association between Resources and Attitude Toward Aging, Controlling For Ethnic Group and Gender

German

	Male	Female	Total
Education	** (-)	** (-)	** (-)
Income	** (-)	** (+)	.23
Decision	** (-)	** (-)	** (-)
Commun.	** (-)	** (-)	.31

Korean

	Male	Female	Total
Education	** (-)	.21	.10
Income	.29	** (+)	.23
Decision	** (-)	-.17	.01
Commun.	.44	** (-)	.30

Chinese

	Male	Female	Total
Education	** (-)	.38	.22
Income	** (+)	** (+)	** (+)
Decision	.34	.40	.35
Commun.	** (-)	.19	.17

Portuguese

	Male	Female	Total
Education	.37	** (+)	.50
Income	.16	.60	.49
Decision	** (-)	** (+)	.52
Commun.	.34	.38	.34

Punjabi

	Male	Female	Total
Education	.50	** (+)	.22
Income	** (+)	** (+)	** (+)
Decision	.08	** (+)	.09
Commun.	.33	** (+)	.17

*Somers' D is measure of Association
** Cannot be measured due to skewed distribution: either a lack of cases in (-) lower categories or in (+) upper categories.

Appendix 4 Ethnic Group By Attitude Toward Old Age, Controlling For Gender

	Men				Women			
			(Row Percent)					
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
Punjabi	52	20	28	(50)	68	12	20	(50)
Portuguese	20	24	56	(50)	64	20	16	(50)
Chinese	20	44	36	(50)	8	48	44	(50)
Korean	32	20	48	(50)	8	44	48	(50)
German	8	24	68	(50)	28	28	44	(50)

Appendix 5 Coding Frequency For Dependent Variable

Coding Frequencies From Responses to the Question on the Meaning of Old Age, By Coders.

	Negative		Neg. *Extra		Neutral		Positive		Totals	
	R1	R2	R1	R2	R1	R2	R1	R2	R1	R2
Income	41	33			2	3	9	9	(52)	(45)
Cognition	77	82			26	51	120	110	(223)	(243)
Health	27	16	118	80	19	15	34	25	(198)	(136)
Dependency	47	37			9	1	1	2	(57)	(40)
Family	28	28			4	4	46	31	(78)	(63)
Social Relations	10	22	40	29	5	10	50	38	(105)	(89)
Spirituality					1	3	31	30	(32)	(33)
Work	9	8	6	9	1	4	10	17	(26)	(38)

* R1 and R2 stand for Researcher 1 and Researcher 2
*Extra --in three domains there were two type of negative responses

Appendix 6 Interview Schedule

0.1   NAME OF INTERVIEWER:

0.2   SUBJECT: PHONE:
        ADDRESS:

0.3   LOCATION: 1. Burnaby   3. Coquitlam
                     2. New Westminster   4. Port Coquitlam
                     5. Port Moody

0.4   GROUP: 1. Punjabi   4. Portuguese
                     2. Korean   5. German
                     3. Chinese

0.5   GENDER: 1. Male   1. Female
0.6   SOURCE:

Interviewers, for each close-ended question, circle one response unless otherwise indicated (e.g. Up to 2, up to 3). Record additional information in the margin or on a separate sheet of paper. Stress the confidentiality of their responses and that their participation is voluntary. They do not have to answer all the questions if they do not wish. State that the project is funded by the National Department of Health & Welfare, and carried out by Burnaby Multicultural Society. Since 55+ is often considered retirement age in Canada, this survey includes people in this age grouping. The purpose of the survey is to determine the adequacy and suitability of services for seniors of different ethnocultural backgrounds.

START INTERVIEW OVER

1. OLD AGE

1.1   WHAT DOES OLD AGE MEAN TO YOU?

1.2   WHAT KINDS OF PROBLEMS DO YOU EXPECT TO HAVE AS YOU GET OLDER?

1.3   ARE YOU AS HAPPY IN CANADA AS YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN HAD YOU STAYED IN YOUR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN?

2. LANGUAGE

2.1   HOW OFTEN DO YOU SPEAK ENGLISH AT HOME?

        1. never   3. occasionally
        2. rarely   4. most of the time

2.2   HOW GOOD WOULD YOU SAY YOUR ENGLISH IS?

        1. cannot speak English   4. good
        2. poor   5. fluent in English
        3. fair

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WHAT OTHER LANGUAGES DO YOU SPEAK AT HOME?

		never	rarely	occasionally	most of the time
2.3	Punjabi	1	2	3	4
2.4	Korean	1	2	3	4
2.5	Cantonese	1	2	3	4
2.6	Toi San	1	2	3	4
2.7	Mandarin	1	2	3	4
2.8	Portuguese	1	2	3	4
2.9	German	1	2	3	4
2.10	Other(s):	1	2	3	4

2.11   HOW MANY PEOPLE LIVE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD?   number:

2.12   HOW MANY OF THEM SPEAK ENGLISH ONLY?   number:

2.13   HOW MANY OF THEM SPEAK ANY OF YOUR OTHER LANGUAGES?   number:

2.14   HOW MANY OF THEM SPEAK BOTH ENGLISH AND ANY OF YOUR OTHER LANGUAGES? number:

2.15   HAVE YOU TAKEN ENGLISH CLASSES IN CANADA?

     1.   no   2.   yes

2.16   HAS A FRIEND OR RELATIVE TRIED TO TEACH YOU?

     1.   no   2.   yes

2.17   LENGTH OF COURSE IN MONTHS:

2.18   WHERE DID YOU LAST STUDY ENGLISH?

     1.   college
     2.   community centre or library
     3.   night school
     4.   paid tutor
     5.   religious organization
     7.   other(s):

2.19   WHAT PROBLEMS HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED TRYING TO LEARN ENGLISH? (circle up to 3)

     1.   not needed (e.g. family interprets)   6.   too old
     2.   lessons not available   7.   lack of interaction
     3.   cost (too expensive)   8.   lack of suitable books/teaching aids
     4.   transportation to classes   9.   Other(s):
     5.   time

3. AWARENESS OF SERVICES

HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF, USED, WORKED, OR VOLUNTEERED FOR ANY OF THE FOLLOWING HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES? (CIRCLE UP TO 2)

3.1 Pharmacare

    1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                       3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                       4. used it before
                       5. worked for the organization

3.2 Medical Services Plan (MSP)

    1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                       3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                       4. used it before
                       5. worked for the organization.

3.3 handyDART

    1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                       3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                       4. used it before
                       5. worked for the organization

3.4 Local Health Units

    1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                       3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                       4. used it before
                       5. worked for the organization

3.5 B.C. Council of Human Rights

    1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                       3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                       4. used it before
                       5. worked for the organization

3.6 MP or MLA constituency office (politician's office)

    1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                           names of their MP(s) and MLA(s) if known:
                       3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                       4. used it before
                       5. worked for the organization

3.7 Senior Citizens Repair Service

    1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                       3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                       4. used it before
                       5. worked for the organization

3.8   Senior Activity Centre

        1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                                       name of centre if known:
                                  3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                                  4. used it before
                                  5. worked for the organization
                                  6. volunteered for the organization

3.9   SUCCESS

        1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                                  3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                                  4. used it before
                                  5. worked for the organization
                                  6. volunteered for the organization

3.11   OASIS

        1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                                  3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                                  4. used it before
                                  5. worked for the organization
                                  6. volunteered for the organization

3.11   Legal Services Society

        1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                                  3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                                  4. used it before
                                  5. worked for the organization
                                  6. volunteered for the organization

3.12   Meals on Wheels

        1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                                  3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                                  4. used it before
                                  5. worked for the organization
                                  6. volunteered for the organization

3.13   Bus Pass

        1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                                  3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                                  4. used it before
                                  5. worked for B.C. Transit

3.14   Ministry of Social Services and Housing

        1. no   yes —> 2. heard of the name only
                                  3. know what the service is but haven't used it
                                  4. used it before
                                  5. worked for the organization

3.15   Homemakers

    1.   no   yes —> 2.   heard of the name only
                              3.   know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.   used it before
                              5.   worked for the organization

3.16   Memorial Society

    1.   no   yes —> 2.   heard of the name only
                              3.   know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.   used it before
                              5.   worked for the organization

3.17   New Horizons

    1.   no   yes —> 2.   heard of the name only
                              3.   know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.   used it before
                              5.   worked for organization

3.18   Arthritis Society

    1.   no   yes —> 2.   heard of the name only
                              3.   know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.   used it before
                              5.   worked for the organization
                              6.   volunteered for the organization

3.19   Old Age Pensioners Organization

    1.   no   yes —> 2.   heard of the name only
                              3.   know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.   used it before
                              5.   worked for the organization
                              6.   volunteered for the organization

3.20   Exerience Unlimited

    1.   no   yes —> 2.   heard of the name only
                              3.   know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.   used it before
                              5.   worked for the organization
                              6.   volunteered for the organization

3.21   Housing Information (Seniors Bureau)

    1.   no   yes —> 2.   heard of the name only
                              3.   know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.   used it before
                              5.   worked for the organization
                              6.   volunteered for the organization

3.22　Volunteer Grandparents of B.C.

    1.　no　　　　　yes —> 2.　heard of the name only
                              3.　know what the service is but haven't used it
                              4.　used it before
                              5.　worked for the organization
                              6.　volunteered for the organization

WHAT OTHER SERVICES HAVE YOU HEARD OF, USED, WORKED, OR VOLUNTEERED FOR?

    3.23　　　　　　　Heard of:

    3.24　　　　　　　Used:

    3.25　　　　　　Worked for:

    3.26　　　　Volunteered for:

3.27　WOULD YOU LIKE MORE INFORMATION ON ANY OF THE ABOVE SERVICES?

    0.　no　　　　　　　　　　　1.　yes, specify:

4.　GETTING INFORMATION

HOW OFTEN DO YOU USUALLY GET INFORMATION ON COMMUNITY SERVICES?

		never	rarely	occasionally	most of the time
4.1	Family	1	2	3	4
4.2	Ethno-specific TV	1	2	3	4
4.3	Ethno-specific radio	1	2	3	4
4.4	Ethno-specific newspaper	1	2	3	4
4.5	Ethno-specific brochure in English	1	2	3	4
4.6	Translated brochure	1	2	3	4
4.6	Friends of same ethnicity	1	2	3	4
4.7	Ethno-specific religious org'n	1	2	3	4
4.8	Doctor/nurse of same ethnicity	1	2	3	4
4.9	Ethno-specific telephone directory	1	2	3	4
4.10	Ethno-specific organization	1	2	3	4
4.11	Ethno-specific library	1	2	3	4
4.12	Immigrant serving org'n	1	2	3	4
4.13	Mainstream TV	1	2	3	4
4.14	Mainstream newspaper	1	2	3	4
4.15	Friends of different ethnicity	1	2	3	4
4.16	Mainstream brochure	1	2	3	4
4.17	Mainstream religious org'n	1	2	3	4
4.18	Doctor/nurse of different ethnicity	1	2	3	4
4.19	Mainstream telephone directory	1	2	3	4
4.20	Mainstream library	1	2	3	4
4.21	Other(s):	1	2	3	4

5. POSSIBLE PROBLEM AREAS

Have any of the following been problems for you within the past year? (Note to interviewer: they will have the opportunity to talk about any problems they may be having soon). ·

		never	rarely	occasionally	most of the time
5.1	Communicating in English	1	2	3	4
5.2	Getting information on services	1	2	3	4
5.3	Form filling	1	2	3	4
5.4	Transportation	1	2	3	4
5.5	House or garden maintenance	1	2	3	4
5.6	Physical or mental health	1	2	3	4
5.7	Meal preparation	1	2	3	4
5.8	Shopping	1	2	3	4
5.9	Immigration problem	1	2	3	4
5.10	Legal problem	1	2.	3	4
5.11	Financial problem	1	2.	3	4
5.12	Housing	1	2	3	4
5.13	Employment problem	1	2	3	4
5.14	Social/recreational opportunities	1	2	3	4
5.15	Other(s):	1	2	3	4

6. TRANSPORTATION

6.1   HOW DO YOU USUALLY GET AROUND?

1. walk
2. bus
3. taxi
4. driven by family/relatives

5. rides arranged by community
6. drive themselves
7. other(s):

TO WHAT EXTENT IF ANY ARE THE FOLLOWING PROBLEMS FOR YOU IN GETTING AROUND?

		never	rarely	occasionally	most of the time
6.2	Responsibilities at home	1	2	3	4
6.3	Bad weather	1	2	3	4
6.4	Illness or disability	1	2	3	4
6.5	Language	1	2	3	4
6.6	Lack of information	1	2	3	4
6.7	Distance to bus stop	1	2	3	4
6.8	Finding someone to drive	1	2	3	4
6.9	Affording taxi	1	2	3	4
6.10	Other(s):	1	2	3	4

7. HEALTH

7.1 DO YOU THINK YOU ARE AS HEALTHY AS YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN IN YOUR OLD COUNTRY AT THE SAME AGE?

    1.   not as healthy
    2.   as healthy
    3.   healthier

HAVE YOU HAD ANY OF THE FOLLOWING HEALTH PROBLEMS IN THE PAST YEAR?

		never	rarely	occasionally	most of the time
7.2	Problems with your vision	1	2	3	4
7.3	Problems with your hearing	1	2	3	4
7.4	Problems with your teeth/gums	1	2	3	4
7.5	Problems with your stomach	1	2	3	4
7.6	Problems with your heart	1	2	3	4
7.7	Problems with your back	1	2	3	4
7.8	Problems with your feet/legs/joints	1	2	3	4
7.9	Problems with your energy level	1	2	3	4
7.10	Emotional problems or depression	1	2	3	4
7.11	Problems with alcohol	1	2	3	4
7.12	Problems with prescription drugs	1	2	3	4
7.13	Other(s):	1	2	3	4
		3	3	3	3

WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (Circle up to 3)

7.14	would not or did not seek help	1.	did seek help	2.	did not
7.15	family member (specify relationship:)	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.16	friend (specify type of friend:)	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.17	family or friend with professional skills	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.18	religious leader	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.19	community leader	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.20	worker in ethno-specific agency	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.21	worker in immigrant-serving agency	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.22	community centre	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.23	local health unit	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.24	fortune teller or faith healer	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.25	acupuncturist	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.26	chiropractor or physiotherapist	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.27	doctor or nurse	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.28	emergency ward	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.29	dentist	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.30	hearing or eye specialist	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.31	psychologist, psychiatrist, mental health worker	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.32	social worker or counsellor	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.33	herbalist or health food store	1.	same ethnicity	2.	different ethnicity
7.34	other(s)				

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP   **IF DID SEEK HELP**

7.17   Was the help received generally satisfactory?

0.   no   1.   yes

7.18   What if anything was satisfactory about help received?
(Circle up to 2)
1.   nothing
2.   convenient
3.   effective
4.   friendly
5.   cost (affordable)
6.   fast
7.   other(s):

7.20   Why did you decide not   7.20   What was unsatisfactory
7.21   to seek help?   7.21   about the help received?
7.22   7.22

(Circle up to 3)
a.   inconvenient
b.   difficulty establishing phone contact
c.   difficulty explaining problems
d.   difficulty completing forms
e.   cost (too expensive)
f.   office hours not suitable
g.   concern over sharing personal or family information
h.   staff too hurried or seem disinterested
i.   difficulty obtaining service from someone who understands the culture
j.   long waits
k.   frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
l.   lack of explanation about treatment
m.   difficulty communicating in English
n.   didn't know where to go
o.   difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
p.   other(s):
q.   not effective
r.   solved problem themselves

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8. MEAL PREPARATION

8.1 HAVE YOU HAD ANY DIFFICULTIES PREPARING YOUR MEALS OR MAINTAINING YOUR HOME IN THE PAST YEAR?

        0. no   1. yes, specify:

8.2 WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (circle up to 3)

a. would not or did not seek help		
b. family (specify member(s):)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
c. friend (specify type of friend:)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
d. family or friend with professional skills	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
e. religious leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
f. community leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
g. ethno-specific service	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity

h.

i.

j. community centre

k. Meals on Wheels (worker brings food to the house)

l. other free meal service (client goes to the place to eat)

m. doctor or nurse – i.) same ethnicity ii) different ethnicity

n. homemaker from same culture (comes in to cook/clean)

o. homemaker from different culture (comes in to cook/clean)

p. other(s):

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP   **IF DID SEEK HELP**

8.5 Was the help received generally satisfactory?

          0. no   1. yes

8.6 What if anything was
8.7 satisfactory about help received? (Circle up to 2)

        0. nothing
        1. convenient
        2. effective
        3. friendly
        4. cost (affordable)
        5. other(s):
        6. fast

8.8 Why did you decide not	8.8 What was unsatisfactory
8.9 to seek help?	8.9 about the help received?

(Circle up to 3)

a. inconvenient	j. long waits
b. difficulty establishing phone contact	k. frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
c. difficulty explaining problems	l. lack of explanation
d. difficulty completing forms	m. difficulty communicating in English
e. cost (too expensive)	n. getting information on community and government services
f. office hours not suitable	
g. concern over sharing personal or family information	o. difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
h. staff too hurried or seem disinterested	p. other(s):
	q. not effective
i. difficulty obtaining service from someone who understands the culture	r. solved problem themselves

9. SHOPPING

9.1　HAVE YOU HAD ANY DIFFICULTIES DOING YOUR SHOPPING IN THE PAST YEAR?

0.　no　　　　　　　　　　　1.　yes, specify:

WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (Circle up to 3)

a.	would or did not seek help		
b.	family (specify member(s):)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
c.	friend (specify type of friend:)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
d.	family or friend with professional skills	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
e.	religious leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
f.	community leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
g.	ethno-specific agency	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
h.			
i.			
j.	community centre		
o.	other(s):		
p.	information service	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP　　　**IF DID SEEK HELP**

9.5　Was the help received generally satisfactory?

0.　no　　　　1.　yes

9.6　What if anything was
9.7　satisfactory about help received? (Circle up to 2)

0.　nothing
1.　convenient
2.　effective
3.　friendly
4.　cost (affordable)
5.　other(s):
6.　fast

9.10　Why did you decide not　　　9.10　What was unsatisfactory
9.11　to seek help?　　　　　　　9.11　about the help received?

(Circle up to 3)

a.	inconvenient	j.	long waits
b.	difficulty establishing phone contact	k.	frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
c.	difficulty explaining problems	l.	lack of explanation
d.	difficulty completing forms	m.	difficulty communicating in English
e.	cost (too expensive)	n.	getting information on community and government services
f.	office hours not suitable		
g.	concern over sharing personal or family information	o.	difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
h.	staff too hurried or seem disinterested	p.	other(s):
i.	difficulty obtaining service from someone who understands the culture	q.	solved problem themselves
		r.	not effective

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10. IMMIGRATION

10.1   WHEN DID YOU IMMIGRATE TO CANADA?

10.2   ON WHICH CONTINENT WERE YOU BORN?

      1.   Asia, specify country:
      2.   Europe, specify country:
      3.   Africa, specify country:
      4.   The Americas, specify country:

10.3   ON WHICH CONTINENT DID YOU LAST LIVE BEFORE COMING TO CANADA?

      1.   Asia, specify country:
      2.   Europe, specify country:
      3.   Africa, specify country:
      4.   The Americas, specify country:

10.4   WERE YOU SPONSORED TO IMMIGRATE TO CANADA?

      0 .   no   1.   yes, specify:

10.5   Who sponsored you to come to Canada?

1.	spouse	5.	son(s)-in-law	9.	other kin:
2.	son(s)	6.	brother(s)/sister(s)	10.	non-relative(s):
3.	daughter(s)	7.	grandchild(ren)	11.	other(s):
4.	daughter(s)-in-law	8.	nephew(s)/niece(s)		

10.6   Are you still living with them?

      0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

10.7   HAVE YOU HAD ANY PROBLEMS RELATED TO IMMIGRATION IN THE PAST YEAR?

      0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (circle up to 3)

a.	would not or did not seek help		
b.	family (specify member(s):)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
c.	friend (specify type of friend:)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
d.	family or friend with professional skills	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
e.	religious leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
f.	community leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
g.	ethno-specific agency	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
h.			
i.	Canada Immigration centre	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
j.	immigration consultant	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
k.	other(s):		

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP   **IF DID SEEK HELP**

10.11   Was the help received generally satisfactory?

0.   no   1.   yes

10.12   What was satisfactory about
10.13   help received? (Circle up to 2)

0.   nothing
1.   convenient
2.   effective
3.   friendly
4.   cost (affordable)
5.   other(s):
6.   fast

Why did you decide not to seek help?   What was unsatisfactory about the help received?

(Circle up to 3)
10.14   a.   inconvenient
10.15   b.   difficulty establishing phone contact
10.16   c.   difficulty explaining problems
        d.   difficulty completing forms
        e.   cost (too expensive)
        f.   office hours not suitable
        g.   concern over sharing personal or family information
        h.   staff too hurried or seem disinterested
        i.   difficulty obtaining service from someone who understands the culture
        j.   long waits
        k.   frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
        l.   lack of explanation
        m.   difficulty communicating in English
        n.   difficulty getting information on community and government services
        o.   difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
        p.   other(s):
        q.   solved problem themselves
        r.   not effective

11. LEGAL

11.1   HAVE YOU HAD ANY LEGAL PROBLEMS IN THE PAST YEAR?

            0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (circle up to 3)

a.	would or did not seek help		
b.	family (specify member(s):)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
c.	friend (specify type of friend:)	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
d.	family or friend with professional skills	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
e.	religious leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
f.	community leader	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
g.	ethno-specific agency		
h.			
i.	worker of different ethnicity in mainstream service		
j.	community centre		
k.	lawyer of same ethnicity		
l.	lawyer of different ethnicity		
m.	legal aid	i.) same ethnicity	ii.) different ethnicity
n.	other(s):		

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP   **IF DID SEEK HELP**

11.5   Was the help received generally satisfactory?

            0.   no   1.   yes

11.6   What was satisfactory about
11.7   help received? (Circle up to 2)

            0.   nothing
            1.   convenient
            2.   effective
            3.   friendly
            4.   cost (affordable)
            5.   other(s):
            6.   fast

11.8   Why did you decide not   11.8   What was unsatisfactory
11.9   to seek help?   11.9   about the help received?

(Circle up to 3)

a.	inconvenient	j.	long waits
b.	difficulty establishing phone contact	k.	frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
c.	difficulty explaining problems	l.	lack of explanation
d.	difficulty completing forms	m.	difficulty communicating in English
e.	cost too expensive	n.	difficultly getting information on community and government services
f.	office hours not suitable		
g.	concern over sharing personal or family information	o.	difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
h.	staff too hurried or seem disinterested	p.	other(s):
i.	difficulty obtaining service from someone who understands the culture	q.	resolved problem themselves
		r.	not effective

12. FINANCIAL

FROM WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING SOURCES, DO YOU RECEIVE AN INCOME?

		Receive	Don't receive Aware of	Don't receive Not aware of
12.1	Canada Pension Plan (CPP)	1	2	3
12.2	Old Age Security (OAS)	1	2	3
12.3	Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS)	1	2	3
12.4	Shelter Allowance for Elderly Renters (SAFER)	1	2	3
12.5	Federal Spouses Allowance	1	2	3
12.6	Income Assistance (Ministry of Social Services and Housing)	1	2	3
12.7	Private pension	1	2	3
12.8	Foreign pension	1	2	3
12.9	Investments	1	2	3
12.10	Support from children	1	2	3
12.11	Support from family	1	2	3
12.12	Rental income	1	2	3
12.13	Employment income	1	2	3
12.14	Other(s):	1	2	3

12.15 WHAT IS YOUR ANNUAL INCOME BEFORE TAXES NOT INCLUDING OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS?

1. under $ 5,000
2. 5,001-10,000
3. 10,001-15,000
4. 15,001-20,000
5. 20,001-25,000
6. 25,001-30,000
7. over -30,000

12.16 IS YOUR INCOME SUFFICIENT TO MEET YOUR NEEDS?

0. no

1. yes, specify:

12.17 HAVE YOU HAD FINANCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE PAST YEAR?

0. no

1. yes, specify:

WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (circle up to 3)

a. would or did not seek help
b. family (specify member(s):)   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
c. friend (specify type of friend:)   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
d. family or friend with professional skills i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
e. religious leader   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
f. community leader   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
g. ethno-specific agency
h. worker of same ethnicity in mainstream service
i. Ministry of Social Services and Housing
j. community centre
k. moneylender   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
l. ethno-specific bank or credit union
m. bank or credit union for general public
n. housing registry or roommate service
o. tax clinic   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
p. other(s):

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IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP   **IF DID SEEK HELP**

12.21   Was help received generally satisfactory?

          0.   no   1.   yes

12.22   What if anything was
12.23   satisfactory about help received

        0.   nothing
        1.   convenient
        2.   effective
        3.   friendly
        4.   cost
        5.   other(s):
        6.   fast

12.25   Why did you decide not   12.25   What was unsatisfactory about
12.26   to seek help?   12.26   help received? (Circle up to 2)
12.27   12.27

(Circle up to 3)
    a.   inconvenient
    b.   difficulty establishing phone contact
    c.   difficulty explaining problems
    d.   difficulty completing forms
    e.   cost (too expensive)
    f.   office hours not suitable
    g.   concern over sharing personal or family information
    h.   staff too hurried or seem disinterested
    i.   difficulty obtaining culturally sensitive services
    j.   long waits
    k.   frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
    l.   lack of explanation
    m.   difficulty communicating in English
    n.   difficulty getting information on community and government services
    o.   difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
    p.   other(s):
    q.   solved problem themselves
    r.   not effective

13. HOUSING

13.1 WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING DESCRIBES WHERE YOU LIVE?
13.2
13.3
1.	single family home		7.	room with shared facilities
2.	semi-detached/townhouse		8.	seniors apartment
3.	apartment in building		9.	seniors home with care provided
4.	cooperative housing		10.	Other(s):
5.	basement suite relatives or friends' home			
6.	basement suite non-relatives or non-friends' home			

13.4 HAVE YOU HAD DIFFICULTY FINDING AFFORDABLE, SUITABLE HOUSING IN THE PAST YEAR?

0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

13.5 Where did you go for help if anywhere? (circle up to 3)
13.6
13.7

a.   would not or did not seek help
b.   family (specify member(s):)   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
c.   friend (specify type of friend:)   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
d.   family or friend with professional skills   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
e.   religious leader   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
f.   community leader   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
g.   ethno-specific agency
h.
i.
j.   community centre
k.   private contractor from same culture
l.   private contractor from different culture
m.   housing registry or roommate service   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
n.   cooperative housing   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
o.   public housing
n.   other(s):

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP   **IF DID SEEK HELP**

13.8   Was help received generally satisfactory?

0.   no   1.   yes

13.9   What if anything was
13.10   satisfactory about help received?

0.   nothing
1.   convenient
2.   effective
3.   friendly
4.   cost (affordable)
5.   other(s):
6.   fast

13.11 Why did you decide not
13.12 to seek help?
13.13

13.11 What was unsatisfactory
13.12 about help received?
13.13

(Circle up to 3)

a. inconvenient
b. difficulty establishing phone contact
c. difficulty explaining problems
d. difficulty completing forms
e. cost (too expensive)
f. office hours not suitable
g. concern over sharing personal or family information
h. staff too hurried or seem disinterested
i. difficulty obtaining culturally sensitive services
j. long waits
k. frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
l. lack of explanation
m. difficulty communicating in English
n. difficulty getting information on community and government services
o. difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
p. other(s):
q. not effective
r. solved problem themselves

14. EMPLOYMENT

14.1   DO YOU PRESENTLY HAVE A JOB?

      0.   no   1.   yes

14.2   Would you like to be working?

14.3   1. . full-time

         0.   no   2.   part-time

         1.   yes

14.4   HAVE YOU HAD DIFFICULTY FINDING EMPLOYMENT IN THE PAST YEAR?

      0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (circle up to 3)

a.	would or did not seek help	
b.	family (specify member(s):)	i.) same ethnicity ii.) different ethnicity
c.	friend (specify type of friend:)	i.) same ethnicity ii.) different ethnicity
d.	family or friend with professional skills	i.) same ethnicity ii.) different ethnicity
e.	religious leader	i.) same ethnicity ii.) different ethnicity
f.	community leader	i.) same ethnicity ii.) different ethnicity
g.	ethno-specfic agency	
h.		
i.		
j.	community centre	
k.	Camada Employment Centre (Manpower)	
l.	community job finding club or service	
m.	other(s):	

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP

IF DID SEEK HELP

14.8   Was the help received generally satisfactory?

         0.   no   1.   yes

14.9   What if anything was

14.10   satisfactory about help received? (Circle up to 2)

         0.   nothing

         1.   convenient

         2.   effective

         3.   friendly

         4.   cost (affordable)

         5.   other(s):

         6.   fast

14.11   Why did you decide not

14.12   to seek help?

14.11   What was unsatisfactory

14.12   about the help received?

(Circle up to 3)

a.	inconvenient	j.	long waits
b.	difficulty establishing phone contact	k.	frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
c.	difficulty explaining problems	l.	lack of explanation
d.	difficulty completing forms	m.	difficulty communicating in English
e.	cost (too expensive)	n.	difficulty getting information on community and government services
f.	office hours not suitable		
g.	concern over sharing personal or family information	o.	difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to service)
h.	staff too hurried or seem disinterested	p.	other(s):
i.	difficulty obtaining service from someone who understands the culture	q.	not effective
		r.	solved problem themselves

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15. NON-WORK RELATED ACTIVITIES

WHICH NON-WORK RELATED ACTIVITIES DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN?

		never	rarely	occasionally	most of the time
15.1	Baby-sitting(e.g.)	1	2	3	4
15.2	Games (e.g.)	1	2	3	4
15.3	Going to the park	1	2	3	4
15.3-1	Gardening	1	2	3	4
15.4	Housework	1	2	3	4
15.5	Music	1	2	3	4
15.6	Reading	1	2	3	4
15.6-1	Reading at home	1	2	3	4
15.6-2	Library	1	2	3	4
15.7	Religious activities	1	2	3	4
15.8	Social dancing	1	2	3	4
15.9	Sports/excercise (e.g.)	1	2	3	4
15.10	Visiting (e.g.)	1	2	3	4
15.11	Volunteering(e.g.)	1	2	3	4
15.12	Watch TV or radio(e.g.)	1	2	3	4
15.13	Woodwork, sewing or crafts	1	2	3	4
15.14	Other(s):	1	2	3	4
15.14-1	Interest/educational courses	1	2	3	4

HOW OFTEN DO YOU MEET WITH THE FOLLOWING?

		never	occasionally	monthly	weekly	daily
15.15	Family not in same household	0	1	2	3	4
15.15-2	Friends same age as you	0	1	2	3	4
15.16	Friends younger than you	0	1	2	3	4
15.17	Female friends	0	1	2	3	4
15.18	Male friends	0	1	2	3	4
15.19	Social club members same age as you	0	1	2	3	4
15.20	Social club members younger than you	0	1	2	3	4

15.21 ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE AMOUNT OF INTERACTION YOU HAVE WITH FRIENDS?

    0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

15.22 HOW OFTEN DO YOU MEET WITH PEOPLE OF THE SAME ETHNICITY?

    0. never   2. monthly 4.   daily
    1. occasionally 3. weekly

15.23 HOW OFTEN DO YOU MEET WITH PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT ETHNICITY?

    0. never   2. monthly 4.   daily
    1. occasionally 3. weekly

15.24 HOW DID YOU COME TO KNOW THEM?

15.25 IN WHAT CONTEXT DO YOU SEE THEM?

16. FAMILY

16.1 HAVE YOU HAD ANY FAMILY PROBLEMS IN THE PAST YEAR?

    0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

16.2 Were the problems with (Circle up to 5)
16.3
1. your children   4. your in-laws
2. your spouse   5. your relatives back home
3. your grandchildren   6. other relatives here
7. other:

WHERE DID YOU GO FOR HELP, IF ANYWHERE? (circle up to 3)

a. would not or did not seek help
b. family (specify member(s):)   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
c. friend (specify type of friend:)   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
d. family or friend with professional skills   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
e. religious leader   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
f. community leader   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
g. ethno-specific agency
h.
i. Family services   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
j. doctor or nurse   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
k. community centre
l. anonymous telephone crisis counselling service
m. other(s):
n. psychologist, psychiatrist or
mental health worker   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
o. Social worker or counsellor   i.) same ethnicity   ii.) different ethnicity
p. transition house or women's shelter

IF WOULD NOT OR DID NOT SEEK HELP

IF DID SEEK HELP

16.7 Was the help received generally satisfactory?

        0.   no   1.   yes

16.8 What was satisfactory about
16.9 help received? (Circle up to 2)

        0. nothing
        1. convenient
        2. effective
        3. friendly
        4. cost affordable
        5. other(s):
        6. fast

16.10 Why did you decide not   16.10 What was unsatisfactory
16.11 to seek help?   16.11 about the help received?
16.12   16.12

(Circle up to 3)

a. inconvenient   j. long waits
b. difficulty establishing phone contact   k. frightening or humiliating encounters in the past
c. difficulty explaining problems   l. lack of explanation
d. difficulty completing forms   m. difficulty communicating in English
e. cost too expensive   n. difficulty getting information on community and
f. office hours not suitable   government services
g. concern over sharing personal or family   o. difficulty establishing eligibility (if entitled to
    information   service
h. staff too hurried or seem disinterested   p. other(s):
i. difficulty obtaining service from someone who q. solved problem themselves
    understands the culture   r. not effective

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17. PERSONAL DATA

17.1   WHAT IS YOUR AGE: (estimate if not available)

1. 50-54	3. 60-64	5. 70-74	7. 80-84
2. 55-59	4. 65-69	6. 75-79	8. 85 plus

17.2   WHAT IS YOUR MARITAL STATUS?

1. married	4. separated/divorced
2. never married	5. other(s):
3. widowed	

WHO ELSE LIVES IN THE HOUSEHOLD?

17.3	Live alone	0. no	1. yes
17.4	Spouse	0. no	1. yes
17.5	Son(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.6	Daughter(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.7	Daughter(s)-in-law	0. no	1. yes
17.8	Son(s)-in-law	0. no	1. yes
17.9	Brother(s)/sister(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.10	Grandchild(ren)	0. no	1. yes
17.11	Nephew(s)/niece(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.12	Other kin:	0. no	1. yes
17.13	Non-relative(s):	0. no	1. yes
17.14	Other(s):	0. no	1. yes

DO YOU HAVE OTHER RELATIVES LIVING IN THE GREATER VANCOUVER AREA?

17.15	No other relatives	0. no	1. yes
17.16	Spouse	0. no	1. yes
17.17	Son(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.18	Daughter(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.19	Daughter(s)-in-law	0. no	1. yes
17.20	Son(s)-in-law	0. no	1. yes
17.21	Brother(s)/sister(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.22	Grandchild(ren)	0. no	1. yes
17.23	Nephew(s)/niece(s)	0. no	1. yes
17.24	Other kin:	0. no	1. yes
17.25	Non-relative(s):	0. no	1. yes
17.26	Other(s):	0. no	1. yes

17.27   HOW OFTEN DO YOU SEE ANY OF YOUR OTHER RELATIVES?

0. never	2. monthly	4. daily
1. occasionally	3. weekly	

17.28   WHO MAKES MOST OF THE DECISIONS ABOUT FAMILY MATTERS?

1. self	7. brother(s)/sister(s)
2. spouse	8. grandchild(ren)
3. son(s)	9. nephew(s)/niece(s)
4. daughter(s)	10. other kin:
5. daughter(s)-in-law	11. non-relative(s):
6. son(s)-in-law	12. other(s):

17.29 IF YOU HAD ADEQUATE SUPPORT WOULD YOU PREFER TO LIVE ON YOUR OWN?

    0.   no   1.   yes, specify:

17.30 WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION?

   1.   Christian   4.   no religious affiliation
   2.   Sikh   5.   other(s):
   3.   Buddhist

17.31 HOW MANY YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION HAVE YOU COMPLETED?

17.32 THANK-YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!DO YOU HAVE ANY FINAL COMMENTS ABOUT THE SURVEY OR ANYTHING ELSE WE HAVE DISCUSSED?

17.33 WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN RECEIVING A SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS IN ENGLISH?

17.34 IF I'VE FORGOTTEN SOMETHING CAN I CALL YOU BACK?

    0.   no   1.   yes, phone number:

———— THANK-YOU! ————

18. TO BE COMPLETED AFTER INTERVIEW

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

START TIME: END TIME:

MILEAGE/BUS FARE:

18.1 PLACE OF INTERVIEW:

   1.   Interviewer's home   2.   other:

SPECIAL CONDITIONS:

18.2 PLEASE RATE INTERVIEWEE'S ENGLISH:

   0.   cannot speak English   3.   good
   1.   poor   4.   fluently bilingual
   2.   fair

18.3 HOW HAPPY WOULD YOU SAY THE INTERVIEWEE REALLY IS WITH THEIR LIVING SITUATION?

———— THANK-YOU! ————