The Lived Experience and Sense of Place among Family Sponsored Late-age Chinese Immigrants in Edmonton

by

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Abstract

Place is powerful in our life because to be human is to be emplaced. In the human geographic interpretation of place, a conceptualization of the emplacement of human experience has been underdeveloped for a long time. This dissertation contributes to this area of inquiry by adopting a phenomenological case study approach to examine family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants' lived experience and sense of place in Edmonton, Canada. The focus of this study is to explore the relationship between late-age immigrants and their places at different scales. This work presents how the research participants develop a relationship with place based on their subjective perceptions and experiences.

Two case studies are presented in this dissertation. The first study explores how the research participants identify and create a place for themselves as residents of Edmonton, Canada. In particular, participants' perceptions about Canada are examined as a developmental process in relation to their family power relations and self-efficacy. The second study compares and contrasts perceptions and experiences of place between two groups of research participants: those who live in urban neighbourhoods and those who live in suburban neighbourhoods. Participants' age, race, ethnicity and where they live in the city contribute to the similarities and differences of their perceptions and experiences of places.

The contributions of this research are two-fold. Theoretically, this research contributes to a scholarly understanding of the role of place in human life by establishing two frameworks to illustrate the relationships between participants and their places.

Substantively, the research challenges the stereotype of sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants in Canada by revealing their roles and contributions in both their families and in society.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Qiqi Wang. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "The Lived Experience and Sense of Place among Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Edmonton", ID No. Pro00029599, April 2, 2012.

Dedication

To my family

Without your patience, understanding, unconditional support, selfless contribution, and most of all love, the completion of this work would not have been possible.

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List of Abbreviations

BC: British Columbia

CIC: Citizenship and Immigration of Canada

CMA: Census Metropolitan Area

GTA: The Greater Toronto Area

GIS: Guaranteed Income Supplement

LINC: Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada

LRT: Edmonton Light Rail Transit

Mainland China: the geopolitical area under the direct jurisdiction of the People's Republic of China, excludes Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and Macao Special Administrative Region

OAS: Old Age Security Program

PGP: Parent and Grandparent Program

PRC: The People's Republic of China

US: The United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale

Place, which has "remarkable" power in human life (Aristotle, 1983, p. 21), has been overlooked by scholars for centuries (Casey, 1997). A research interest in place stems from an exploration of the question of "where", which is defined by Aristotle as one of the ten essential categories of every substance (Casey, 1997). Place is remarkable because it is a prerequisite for all things. The existence of an object and the occurrence of an event have to be in a place (Casey, 2009). In this sense, all social phenomena that we study are emplaced (Gieryn, 2000). Place, along with time and society, constitute the ontological triad of our understanding of all kinds of social being. Accordingly, our knowledge can be organized and classified into the disciplines of geography, history and sociology (Allen, 1997). Among the three disciplines, historical and social perspectives have long been widely used by scholars in explaining a phenomenon. In comparison, a geographic perspective focusing on how social problems are emplaced and contextualized has been underdeveloped for a long time (Allen, 1997; Casey, 1997, 2009). Reinterpreting place and an exploration of how a social phenomenon is emplaced are of great importance to the development of geographic studies (Appadurai, 1996; Casey, 1997).

People are immersed in place and could not live without it (Casey, 1997). Sense of place, which represents people's perceptual and cognitive reflections of place, can be used as a lens to examine how people interact with their places in psychological, social and environmental processes (Cosgrove, 2000; Foote & Azaryahu, 2009). In the era of globalization, how people endow places with meanings has been a significant topic in geographic studies of international migration (Escobar, 2001). Migrants may find it difficult to establish a relationship with new places in their receiving countries, after experiencing a disruption of attachment with their familiar places in their home countries

(Brown & Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Rowles & Ravdal, 2002). An examination of immigrants' sense of place allows a researcher to understand how they develop emotional bonds and attachments with place after they settle in their receiving countries.

The Chinese have a long history in Canada and are one of the largest ethnic groups in Canada today. The number of Canadians of Chinese origin reached 1,577,060 by 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Chinese immigrants have traditionally been unevenly distributed across Canada. Canada's largest metropolitan areas have received the majority of Chinese immigrants since the late 1970s (Chan, 2015). However, the number and the proportion of recent immigrants have increased rapidly in smaller metropolitan areas in the past decade (Statistics Canada, 2016b). For example, because of the booming oil and gas industry, the province of Alberta and its capital city Edmonton attracted large numbers of recent immigrants (Government of Canada, 2015b; Guo, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2015b). Chinese had been one of the largest Asian sub-groups in Edmonton and China was the third largest source countries of immigrants in Edmonton between 2006 and 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2015b). The number of ethnic Chinese in Edmonton reached 67,970 by 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2018b). Facilitating the dispersal of immigrants across Canada has been articulated by the government as a target of the recent immigration policy (Kane, 2016). However, little is known about the settlement experiences of Chinese groups in medium-sized Canadian cities (Guo, 2013). There is a clear and significant need for research to explore Chinese settlement in medium-sized Canadian cities such as Edmonton (Guo, 2013).

Family sponsored late-age immigrants have been one of the most controversial streams of family class immigrants in Canada. Advocates indicate that allowing the parents and grandparents of Canadian immigrants to immigrate to Canada benefits Canadian immigrant families (Government of Canada, 2012a; Hossen & Westhues, 2013; Zhou, 2012). On the other hand, family sponsored late-age immigrants have been criticized for adding excess burdens to taxpayers because of their low employment rate in the labour market and high reliance on government welfare (Government of Canada, 2012a, 2012b). China has been one of the top ten source countries of sponsored parents and grandparents to Canada since the early 1980s (Government of Canada, 2012b). Between 2007 and 2011, China was the source of 13-20% of sponsored parents and

grandparents (CIC, 2014) and Canada received 13,330 sponsored parents and grandparents from China between 2005 and 2010 (Government of Canada, 2012a). However, few studies have focused on the lived experience of sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants, especially those who settled in medium-sized Canadian cities (Da & Garcia, 2015; Zhou, 2012). This study is aimed at filling this research gap by examining family sponsored late-age immigrants' lived experience in Edmonton.

It has generally been believed that Chinatown and the suburbs are two types of settings in which to examine Chinese communities' settlement patterns in North America (Chan, 2004). Chinatown, although it has not been preferred by most Canadian-born Chinese and Chinese immigrants since the 1950s, has remained attractive to some elderly Chinese residents by providing affordable housing and a Chinese cultural environment (Chan, 1983; Lai, 2016b). In comparison, although the suburbs have accommodated an increasing number of Chinese immigrants since World War II (Lai, 1988), elderly Chinese residents in the suburbs are easily isolated due to a lack of access to their needed resources and services (Matloff, 1994).

Since the mid-1980s, one of the focuses of human geographic studies has been place-based comparative studies (Castree, 2005). Although a few comparative studies have examined different Chinese settlement patterns in large metropolitan areas, the differences between Chinese settlement in Chinatown and the suburbs are far from fully explored (Chan, 2004). A study comparing the lived experience and sense of place between late-age Chinese immigrants who live in Edmonton Chinatown and the suburbs will contribute to the field of place-based comparative studies.

1.2 Research Purpose and Objectives

The main goal of this project is to explore the lived experience and sense of place among family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants as they age in Edmonton, Canada. The thesis addresses two main objectives:

(1) To explore and describe how family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants identify and create a place for themselves as residents of Edmonton, Canada.
(2) To compare and contrast perceptions and experiences of place between two groups of

family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants: those who live in urban neighbourhoods and those who live in suburban neighbourhoods.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

I locate this study within a paradigm of social constructionism. Social constructionism is derived from multiple disciplines, including sociology (e.g. Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Mead, 1934), postmodern approaches (e.g. Foucault, 1971) and phenomenology (e.g. Schutz, 1967) (Andrews, 2012; Burr, 1995; Young & Collin, 2004). Social constructionism is built upon the assumption that reality is socially defined (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schwandt, 2003; Searle, 1995). In a social constructionist interpretation, everyday reality is understood as a hierarchy of meanings, and nowhere in the world is without meaning (Creswell, 2013; Kobayashi, 2013). The meanings are created by people through their daily interactions with others and are negotiated in cultural and historical contexts (Schwandt, 2003). In this process, social and cultural norms have been institutionalized to operate in individuals' lives (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Social constructionism is different from constructivism. However, Young and Colin (2004) argue that the two terms had been used interchangeably and subsumed under the generic term constructivism (e.g. Burr, 1995; Charmaz, 2003; Gergen, 1999). To differentiate the two terms, social constructionism examines the processes of social construction of reality while the constructivism focuses on the cognitive processes of how individuals produce knowledge (Young & Collin, 2004). Specifically, social constructionism focuses on how knowledge is sustained by social processes and asserts our social worlds are constructed through social practices and interactions (Gasper, 1999).

As a philosophical paradigm, social constructionism conveys abstract ideas and beliefs that inform this research (Creswell, 2013). The embedded assumptions, including

ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology[1], determine how one paradigm is different from another (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The philosophical assumptions of social constructionism provide several implications to this study (see Table 1.1). Social constructionism emphasizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meanings, but does not reject that there is an objective reality (Andrews, 2012; Miller & Crabtree, 1999). As an epistemological stance, constructionism views that reality is constructed by people who assign meanings to their world. The process of construction suggests that people create knowledge rather than merely find or discover it (Breckenridge, Jones, Elliott, & Nicol, 2012; Schwandt, 2003). Constructionism acknowledges that there are multiple ways for individuals to experience and create meanings. Therefore, constructionist research gives voices to participants and allows multiple realities to be described and interpreted (Charmaz, 2014; Creswell, 2013).

Table 1.1 Social Constructionist Philosophical Assumptions and Implications for My Study

Philosophical Assumptions	**Social Constructionism**	**Implication to My Study**
Ontological Beliefs (the nature of reality)	The reality is based on subjective perspectives, but objective reality exists.	Sense of place is socially constructed.
Epistemological Beliefs (how reality is known)	The reality is constructed when people created meanings in their social interactions.	Places are endowed with meanings by participants.
Axiological Beliefs (the role of value in research)	The nature of value judgment is subjective.	My value influences the research process; participants and I co-construct the reality.
Methodological Beliefs (the approach to inquiry)	The aim of the study is to present and interpret multiple perspectives of participants.	Voices of participants should be heard and understood.

Sources: (Andrews, 2012; Breckenridge et al., 2012; Charmaz, 2003; Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Miller & Crabtree, 1999; Schroeder, 2016)

From this perspective, I see sense of place as a social construction. Although place is a physical object, the way that we feel and understand it is through a subjective perceptive process. Individuals create a place of their own by attaching meanings to it. The aim of this research is to look for the complexity of varied and multiple meanings to

[1] Ontology refers to how we see the nature of reality. Epistemology focuses on how knowledge is constructed and understood. Axiology is concerned with how researchers deal with their values in a study. Methodology specifies the strategies used in the practice of research (Creswell, 2013, pp. 19-22).

a specific place. Overall, the sense of place presented in the study is co-constructed by the research participants and I. A more detailed discussion of sense of place is presented in the later section of this chapter (see section 1.5).

1.4 Methodology

Methodology, which refers to research strategies, determines how researchers conduct their studies (Creswell, 2013). This study adopted a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology was initially exemplified by Edmund Husserl in the early 20th century and had been widely applied in studying phenomena associated with human experiences and perspectives (Relph, 1970). The practice of phenomenology had been introduced as one of the key qualitative approaches in the disciplines of education, nursing, sociology, psychology, and other social sciences (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994). Empirical phenomenology questions how people experience the world in order to obtain in-depth and rich descriptions that provide the basis for a reflective understanding of the essences of their experiences (Moustakas, 1994; Van Manen, 1990). The phenomenological approach is appropriate to this study based on the following three considerations.

First, phenomenology is one of the most important roots of social constructionism. Social constructionism had been influenced by the phenomenologists including Nietzsche, Husserl, Heidegger, Scheler and Sartre (Owen, 1995). Constructionists see that reality relies on how the world is understood based on people's subjective everyday experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), which is in line with phenomenology's emphasis on the subjective aspect of reality. The constructionist worldview has been manifested in phenomenological studies, in which individuals describe their experiences (Moustakas, 1994). In phenomenological research, all research design and practice should focus on the description and interpretation of human's subjective experiences (Van Manen, 1990). In fact, individuals' everyday experiences are internalized in their subjective consciousness (Schutz, 1967).

Second, phenomenology acknowledges the uniqueness of every person and gives voice to individual participants (Van Manen, 1990). The aim of the phenomenological

approach, which is consistent with social constructionism, is to rely as much as possible on participants' experiences and perspectives. Every individual is an intentional subject who constructs his/her own lived-world based on intentionality (Buttimer, 1976; Relph, 1970). Intentionality, ranging from perceptions, thoughts, memories, imagination, emotions and desires, guides one's behaviors and actions (Relph, 1970). Intentionality determines a person's relationship with the world and allows one to be different from another (Smith, 2016).

It is possible to investigate what an experience is like for a group of people by using a phenomenological approach (Van Manen, 1990). Researchers are encouraged to examine a phenomenon through investigations of diversified and heterogeneous human intentions that contribute to the "plurality of worlds" (Buttimer, 1976; Relph, 1970, p. 194). Researchers can forge a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon by examining the common experience of carefully selected participants (Creswell, 2013).

Finally, phenomenology provides a theoretical basis to link people's lived experience with the essence of a phenomenon. In this study, participants' sense of place is the essence of their lived experience. Lived experience "involves our immediate, pre-reflective consciousness of life" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 35). Lived experience is temporal thus commonly reflects as past, partial and episodic presence (Van Manen, 1990). People's lived experience commonly points to the meanings of their experiences, which constitute the essence of a phenomenon. Therefore, exploring participants' sense of place through examining their lived experience is the target of this phenomenological research (Van Manen, 1990).

Transforming people's lived experience into an expression of the essence of a phenomenon usually involves two steps. The first step is a phenomenological process. Researchers commonly begin by investigating research participants' lived experience, then describe their lived experience and explore the associated meanings (Van Manen, 1990). The second step is a hermeneutic process. Researchers need to extract the essence of a phenomenon based on a diversity of individual participants' lived experience (Creswell, 2013; Van Manen, 1990). The hermeneutic process significantly depends on researchers' textual or symbolic interpretation of participant experiences. Accordingly, the phenomenological approach will be applied to this study in two steps. First,

participants' lived experience is investigated to generate in-depth and rich descriptions of their experiences. Second, the descriptions are transformed into an interpretation of the development of their sense of place— which constitutes the essence of this research.

1.5 Place and Sense of Place

1.5.1 Place

Place needs to be carefully defined here because it is the core concept in this study. The word "place" has been used loosely in English and can either refer to a location, a person's status in society or a subjective feeling associated with a location (Agnew, 1987; Relph, 2001). Since the 1960s, confusions of place have been increasingly clarified by geographers (Relph, 1976). No matter how place is defined by different scholars, ideas including emotions and sense, the body and everyday experience remain the core conceptual themes in human geography (Cresswell, 2013).

Human's lived experience in place has been a focus of recent phenomenological studies (Seamon, 2015). Scholars argue that place should be understood as a structure comprising physical entity and human experience rather than a subjective expression and a derivative of the subjective reality of human experience (Casey, 1996, 2009; Malpas, 1999, 2009; Seamon, 2015). From the human geographic perspective, the three basic components of place include physical settings, human activities, and meanings assigned by people (Cresswell, 1996; Entrikin, 1991; Relph, 1976, 2001). In particular, the specificity of place lies in the unique meanings that individuals attach to place (Entrikin, 1991).

The meaning that people assign to place is a focus in examining the human-place relationship (Relph, 1976). Individuals endow different meanings to a place based on their own experiences. The different meanings associated with a place reflect that individuals' subjective perceptions of a place are different from one and another (Entrikin, 1991). The differences in individual experiences and the diversity of subjective perceptions of place contribute to the complexity of meanings (Manzo, 2005). Meanings associated with place can be in the form of symbols, memories and

relationships that are associated with human activities (Relph, 2001). In addition, embedded cultural beliefs and value systems are also important social and spiritual aspects of place (Wilson, 2003).

The distinctiveness of place has been widely discussed by scholars. Place is distinct from location, region and space. Lukermann (1964) explains that place is established on locations by integrating nature, culture, flows of people and goods. However, this understanding does not distinguish place from the concepts of region and area (May, 1970). Shamai (1991) argues that place is different from region because it is inherently perceptual and can be claimed by feelings. Space is perceived as more abstract and universal compared to the limited, particular and bounded notion of place (Escobar, 2001; Massey & Jess, 1995). Scholars argue that space is not just an objective structure, but can also be constructed through a socialized process (Hubbard, Bartley, Fuller, & Kitchin, 2002). For example, people's spatial practices generate a space functioning as an urban system (Hubbard et al., 2002).

The scale of place has not been explicitly defined by scholars (Agnew, 2003; Shamai, 1991). In the sociopolitical context, towns and cities are commonly used to specify places. In comparison, nation states stand for places on a larger scale (Agnew, 2003). A local articulation of place has been raised by some scholars in examining people's relations with their communities (Escobar, 2001; Massey, 1994). Escobar (2001) argues that the local articulation is to "focus on the domain of everyday, immediate practical activity and on the embodied and place-based lifeworld of practical and social life" (p.150). However, given that people's networks may extend beyond local scale, the place under study may range from a local to a global scale (Escobar, 2001; Massey, 1994).

Place is developed over time because people and people's activities that are emplaced are ever-changing. As described by Relph (1976): "Place is not a simple undifferentiated phenomenon of experience that is constant in all situations, but instead has a range of subtleties and significances as great as the range of human experiences and intentions" (p. 26). Place is changing over time as people attach meanings to it and socially construct it (Convery, Corsane, & Davis, 2012). Overall, place should be viewed

as an ongoing process rather than a single point in which persons and settings interact (Smaldone, Harris, & Sanyal, 2005).

1.5.2 Sense of place

Sense of place is developed in the process that people assign meanings to place (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009; Relph, 1976). Sense of place has become a focus in human geography since the end of the 1970s. The idea of sense of place articulates the subjective nature of human environmental experiences, which challenges the dominant trend of objective models of human behaviours (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009). The significance of sense of place lies in its perceptual and cognitive dimensions on human activities and humanistic perspectives on geographical phenomena (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009).

Sense of place reflects an interdependent relationship between people and place (Convery et al., 2012; Knox, Marston, & Nash, 2009). Knox et al. (2009) argue that the interdependence between people and place is a "continuous two-way process" (p. 7). As people live in places, they gradually adjust and change themselves to adapt to their environment; reciprocally, places are modified and constructed by inhabitants to meet their needs (Knox et al., 2009). Overall, sense of place is a social construction (Knox et al., 2009; Relph, 2001). The bond between people and place is important because it is part of our identity (Convery et al., 2012). The development of sense of place is through a process of reinforcing individual identity with place (Rowles & Bernard, 2014). Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) suggest that the essential principles of our relationships to place include distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem and self-efficacy. For example, the distinction principle suggests that a place appears as identifiable and distinguishable to a person (Gustafson, 2001a). Similarly, Relph (1976) coined the terms "insideness" and "outsideness" to describe the extent to which people perceive their identities in relations with place. Seamon and Sowers (2008) argue that insideness and outsideness unfold a fundamental dialect in understanding place and human experience— from belongingness to alienation.

Sense of place includes both positive and negative feelings (Relph, 2001; Shamai, 1991; Tuan, 1977). Scholars use concepts such as belonging, protection, and comfort to

describe people's positive emotional bonds with places. Feeling belonging to a place is crucial for a positive perception about oneself, a feeling of trust from and for others, and a commitment to reside in the place (Arredondo, 1984). However, people's negative experiences of places are inevitable (Manzo, 2005). For example, people's feelings about a place can be described as negative or ambivalent, such as disappointment, aggravation, and indifference (Relph, 1976). Places to which some people feel committed can also seem oppressive and imprisoning by others (Tuan, 1974). Compared to people's positive experiences of places, the negative aspects of experiences have been less explored in research (Manzo, 2003). Accordingly, Manzo (2005) suggests places where people have negative experiences require researchers' and policymakers' particular attention.

Sense of place can be described as an individual's distinct feeling or a common perception of a group of people. An individual develops his/her sense of place based on his/her own mix of personality, memories, emotions, and intentions (Relph, 1976). In comparison, a group of people who have a common background and similar interests and biases tend to develop similar attitudes and perceptions about a particular place (Relph, 1976). For example, wealthy people in upscale suburban neighbourhoods may develop the shared sense of place about a particular place in the city (Relph, 1976).

Sense of place is an appropriate tool to explore and grasp livedness of place (Stewart, 1996). Being human means being emplaced. Thus places are experienced by humans through their everyday lives (Malpas, 1999). An exploration of the dynamics of human lived experience and sense of place allows us to understand their intentions in specific contexts (Graham, Mason, & Newman, 2009).

1.6 Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation contains six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the rationale, purpose and objectives of this research, identifies the theoretical framework, discusses place and sense of place and presents the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 presents a literature review of five key domains relevant to my study. The five literature parts are organized to link ideas of previous studies to provide comprehensive references and research directions for this study.

Chapter 3 describes how the methodology is implemented in the practice of the research. Details of the recruitment techniques, interview practices and data analysis procedures are described. Furthermore, the strategies in ensuring rigour and my positionality are discussed.

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 present the main research findings and discussion of the study results. Chapter 4 fulfills Objective One by exploring how research participants identify and create a place for themselves as they are residents of Edmonton, Canada. Chapter 5 fulfills Objective Two by comparing and contrasting perceptions and experiences of place between urban and suburban research participants.

Chapter 6 summarizes the dissertation and highlights the major contributions of the research. It discusses research limitations, provides policy suggestions and suggests areas for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter provides a literature review that ties together five topics contributing to the understanding of this study. The first topic focuses on the particular group of people that are the focus of this study. The phenomenon of late-age migration and the policy controversies surrounding the admission of family sponsored late-age immigrants in Canada are introduced. The second and third topics focus on two types of Chinese settlement settings in Canada. The history of the rise and decline of Chinatowns in Canada is reviewed and the social construction of Chinatown is explained. In comparison, the definition of suburbs and the suburbs' functions in accommodating an increasing number of elders and ethnic minorities are discussed. The fourth topic focuses on the existing literature about the experiences of elderly Chinese immigrants living in Chinatown and in the suburbs. The last topic focuses on the cultural contexts that family sponsored late-age immigrants experienced in China. Changing family values and household practices of elder care in China are introduced.

2.1 Late-age Migration

2.1.1 Late-age Migration and Late-age Immigrants

The study of aging and place is multi-disciplinary and can be traced from the disciplines of social and health geography, environmental psychology, sociology, social policy and nursing (Andrews & Phillips, 2005). The first wave of substantive discussion of aging and place in published work can be found in studies of the spatial behaviours of older people (e.g., Golant, 1972), older people and their environments (e.g. Golant, 1984b), qualitative inquiry of spatial experiences of older people (e.g. Rowles, 1978) and the distribution of services for older populations (e.g. Warnes, 1982). By the mid-1980s, the body of geographic literature on aging and the older population had fallen into four main themes: locational access to services and facilities, spatial activities and

transportation patterns, people-environment relations, and residential locations and migration patterns (Golant, 1984a).

Late-age migration became a focus of geographic studies when increasing numbers of the older population engaged in long distance migration in the 1980s (Rowles, 1986). A large number of empirical studies have examined retirement migration from affluent areas, mainly in Europe and North America, to amenity areas on national and international scales (Gustafson, 2001b; Haas & Serow, 1993; King, Warnes, & Williams, 1998; King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000). In comparison, another trend of late-age migration is the movement to areas in which adult children and kin are located (Giles & Mu, 2007; Lin & Rogerson, 1995; Ng & Northcott, 2015). This type of late-age migration is usually associated with migration of highly-educated people or skilled workers from developing to developed countries (Hossen & Westhues, 2013; Wang & Lo, 2005). Elderly parents are usually sponsored by their adult children to immigrate to a better-off country to pursue a better life (Bures, Clark, Glick, & Bures, 2009).

A considerable literature has focused on the predicaments faced by elderly immigrants living and aging in their new countries of residence (Treas, 2008; Zhou, 2012). However, many of these studies fail to differentiate family sponsored late-age immigrants from the broad category of elderly immigrants (Da & Garcia, 2015). Elderly immigrants generally consist of two categories: those who immigrated earlier in life and those who were sponsored by their families to immigrate at late-age (O'Neil & Tienda, 2015; Scommegna, 2013). The two categories of elderly immigrants are expected to vary in many aspects, given that the age at immigration has an impact on immigrants' socioeconomic outcome, eligibility for government support, social networks and quality of life (Angel, Angel, Lee, & Markides, 1999; Wong, 2001). Elderly immigrants of the former category are usually part of the workforce in their receiving countries. They are more likely to be financially self-sufficient and familiar with social institutions (O'Neil & Tienda, 2015; Scommegna, 2013). Elderly immigrants of the latter category, who commonly spend most of their lives in their countries of origin, are more likely to be less familiar with host society institutions and are less likely to integrate into mainstream culture (Treas & Mazumdar, 2008; Treas, 2002). My study focuses on the late-age migration phenomenon and only includes research participants of the latter category.

Late-age immigrants of ethnic minorities become one of the most vulnerable groups in Canada due to their compounded disadvantages in mainstream society (Novak & Chappell, 2010). Over the past few decades, the numbers of family sponsored late-age immigrants from India, China, the Philippines, Southeast Asia, West Asia and Africa have increased rapidly in Canada (Government of Canada, 2012b). These elderly immigrants, who are often categorized as visible minorities in Canada, easily fall into the situation of "double jeopardy" or "multiple hazards" caused by aging and their distinct disadvantage of belonging to ethnic minorities in their unfamiliar social and cultural environments (Bengston & Morgan, 1983; Dowd & Bengtson, 1978; Statistics Canada, 2015c). Compared to seniors of the dominant group, elders of ethnic minorities usually have insufficient English language and financial abilities, have lower educational attainment and have poorer health conditions (Northcott & Northcott, 2010; Novak, 2016). Poverty, discrimination and environmental stressors all contribute to the hardship that elders of ethnic minorities have to endure in their old age (Padgett, 1995).

2.1.2 Sponsored Late-age Immigrants in Canada

Canada used to receive large numbers of family sponsored late-age immigrants, most of whom were in the category of sponsored parent and grandparent of the family class (Bragg, 2013; Government of Canada, 2012b). Two-thirds of the principal applicants of the parent and grandparent category were 60 or older at the time of landing (Government of Canada, 2012b). Before 2010, citizens and permanent residents of Canada could easily bring their parents or grandparents to Canada through the Provincial Nominee Program and the Federal Family Reunification Program (Bragg, 2013). From 1980 to 2010, sponsored parents and grandparents accounted for 12% of all immigrants to Canada (Government of Canada, 2012b).

Since 2010, with an aim to decrease the intake of sponsored parents and grandparents, the Canadian government has made a significant adjustment in their immigration policy (Chen & Thorpe, Bragg, 2013; 2015). First, the government placed a two-year pause on incoming applications for the Parent and Grandparent family class to clear the backlog in unprocessed applications (Government of Canada, 2011). Second, an annual intake cap has been placed on the re-opened Parent and Grandparent (PGP)

program since 2014 (Bragg, 2013). Between 2004 and 2013, the average number of the annual intake of sponsored parents and grandparents was above 17,000 (Government of Canada, 2015a). By contrast, the annual quota of the PGP program was 5,000 in 2014 and 2015, and 10,000 in 2016 and 2017 (Government of Canada, 2017c). Although the 10-year, multiple-entry Parents and Grandparents Super Visa Program was introduced as a supplementary program, the mandatory purchase of Canadian medical insurance added a financial barrier for many potential applicants who experienced financial hardship in paying for health care (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2013).

Canada's programs for admitting parents and grandparents as permanent residents have been criticized for adding a long-term excess burden on taxpayers (Government of Canada, 2012a). Family sponsored parents and grandparents have been seen as an economic burden on Canada's health care and welfare programs. Family sponsored parents and grandparents reported the lowest annual income among immigrants of all categories (Government of Canada, 2012a). Furthermore, they were less likely to report employment earnings than immigrants of other categories (Government of Canada, 2012b). Due to their lower income levels, family sponsored parents and grandparents drew a higher proportion of income from the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) [2] than did those born in Canada (Government of Canada, 2012a, 2015c). To address these challenges, the sponsorship validity period for parents and grandparents has been extended to twenty years since 2014. Correspondingly, more restricted qualifying criteria have been applied to emphasize the economic capacity of sponsors (Franklin, 2015). The Canadian government considered that changes to the PGP program were necessary to be "sensitive to Canada's fiscal constraints" (Government of Canada, 2012c). The stringent regulations reflected the government's measures to ensure that "sponsored immigrants do not become dependent on the state" (Franklin, 2015, p. 2).

The changes in family sponsorship policies have been criticized for discriminatorily adding institutional barriers for Asian-Canadian families to sponsor their parents and grandparents to live in Canada (Chen & Thorpe, 2015). Since the 1980s,

[2] Family sponsored parents and grandparents are eligible to apply the GIS after their adult children's sponsorship validity period. Before January 2, 2014, the validity period was ten years (Government of Canada, 2013c).

Asia has replaced Europe as the main source region of immigrants to Canada (Government of Canada, 2013a). Between 2004 and 2015, the top three source countries of immigrants of all categories were India, China and the Philippines (Government of Canada, 2015a, 2017a). Correspondingly, these three countries were among the top ten source countries of sponsored parents and grandparents from 1980 to 2010 (Government of Canada, 2012b). Between 2005 and 2010, Asian countries including India, China, the Philippines, Iran and Vietnam contributed two-thirds of immigrants admitted through the PGP program (Government of Canada, 2012a, 2015a). Therefore, restrictions applied to the PGP program have particularly affected Asian Canadian families (Chen & Thorpe, 2015).

Critics argue that the current immigration policy of Canada, which is aimed at maximizing economic outcomes, overlooks the social benefits brought about by the reunion of immigrant families (Franklin, 2015; Neborak, 2013). First, providing support to parents is a family value common among Chinese, South Asians, Koreans and Filipinos (American Association of Retired Persons, 2014; Da & Garcia, 2015; Hossen & Westhues, 2013; Lee, 2007; Ng & Northcott, 2015). In this sense, sponsoring parents or grandparents to live in Canada is a means for Asian immigrants to perform their family obligation of elder care. Second, studies find that parents and grandparents contribute to Canada through supporting their adult children to enter the labour force, providing childcare to their adult children and volunteering in their communities (Da & Garcia, 2015; Government of Canada, 2012a; Hossen & Westhues, 2013; Zhou, 2012). Scholars argue that evaluating sponsored parents and grandparents' economic contributions based merely on their performance in the labour market is problematic, because their contributions in transnational caregiving have been devalued (VanderPlaat, Ramos, & Yoshida, 2013; Zhou, 2012). There is a need for empirical and analytical studies examining the roles and impacts of sponsored parents and grandparents in the families of their adult children and in society (Zhou, 2013).

2.2 The Context of Chinatown

2.2.1 A Brief History of Chinatowns in Canada

Chinatowns emerged in Canada when some of the earliest Chinese immigrants moved voluntarily or were forced to move to a confined area on the fringe of city centres (Lai, 2016a). The earlier Chinese settlers were cheap labourers who came to Canada to make a living between the 1850s and 1880s (Chan, 2015; Zucchi, 2007). At first, Chinese immigrants did not live in areas with a high concentration of Chinese (Anderson, 1991). However, early settlers of dominant groups saw the Chinese as perpetual aliens and foreigners (Dawson & Dawson, 1991). In Victoria, Nanaimo and some gold-mining towns, city governments enforced physical segregation on the Chinese (Lai, 2016a). Therefore, many earlier Chinese immigrants, who suffered severe discrimination from the host society, moved to Chinatowns (Zucchi, 2007).

In the 1880s, with the arrival of an increasing number of Chinese immigrants, Chinatowns were built across Canada (Dawson & Dawson, 1991; Lai, 2003). Between 1881 and 1884, more Chinese labourers were recruited to Canada for a daunting task — building the B.C. section of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Chinese workers were blamed for taking away jobs and faced intensified racial antagonism. The Canadian government passed the Chinese Immigration Act in 1885 and imposed a head tax on every person of Chinese origin entering Canada. As a result, Chinatowns in Calgary, Edmonton and Toronto were established as some Chinese migrated to these cities for job opportunities and to avoid racial antagonism (Dawson & Dawson, 1991; Lai, 2003).

Many Chinatowns in Canada experienced a population decline after the federal government passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1923. The Act prohibited people of Chinese origin or descent from entering Canada for several decades (Chui et al., 2005). Chinatowns in towns or small cities such as New Westminster, Hamilton, Cumberland and Moose Jaw gradually vanished (Lai, 2003). Not until 1967, did Canada eliminate the restriction of applicants' race and place of origin in immigration policy, which opened the door to large waves of Chinese immigrants (Chui et al., 2005).

Many Chinatowns in Canada experienced a deterioration after World War II (Lai, 2016c). In old Chinatowns in Calgary, Edmonton, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, residents and organizations were forced to move to new places in their cities during the 1960-70s' slum clearance and urban renewal movement (Lai, 2016b). More importantly,

most Chinese immigrants who came to Canada after 1967 preferred to settle in suburban neighbourhoods rather than in Chinatowns (Lai, 2003). Although some cities implemented subsequent plans to revitalize old Chinatowns, most Chinatowns still failed to attract the majority of Chinese immigrants to reside (Lai, 1988).

Early Chinese settlers and the post-1967 Chinese immigrants have different perceptions about Chinatown. The early Chinese settlers saw Chinatown as a safe place sheltering them from an anti-Chinese society (Anderson, 1991). More importantly, the early Chinese settlers in Chinatown were bonded by their Cantonese origin and clan relationships (Chiang, 2014). The vast majority of Chinese who came to Canada between 1885 and 1949 were from Guangdong (Chiang, 2014). In comparison, the post-1967 Chinese immigrants were better-educated, and came to Canada as skilled workers, entrepreneurs and professionals (Guo & DeVoretz, 2006; Lai, 2003). In particular, the number of Mandarin-speaking immigrants from Mainland China increased rapidly in Canada since the 1980s (Guo & DeVoretz, 2006). The Mandarin-speaking Chinese immigrants, who usually have a different regional cultural background than the earlier Cantonese immigrants, do not consider Chinatowns as their homes (Lai, 2003).

Since the 1970s, Canada's Chinatowns experienced a process of redevelopment and rehabilitation (Lai, 2016b). During the late 1970s and early 1980s, new Chinatowns were established by immigrants from Hong Kong and other Southeast Asian countries near the old Chinatowns in inner cities of Edmonton, Ottawa and Vancouver. In Toronto, the concentration of Chinese immigrants and businesses resulted in the emergence of new Chinese commercial and residential areas including Chinatown West, Chinatown East, Scarborough Chinatown and Mississauga Chinese Centre (Lai, 2016b). Ethnic businesses flourished in these new Chinatowns and catered to the needs of an increasing number of Chinese immigrants (Lai, 2016c). City councils of Calgary, Ottawa, Victoria and Winnipeg also launched rehabilitation programs to repair old facilities, build new buildings, maintain heritage components and attract visitors to Chinatown. In Calgary and Edmonton, between the 1980s and 2012, several multi-story buildings were erected to provide Chinese seniors housing in Chinatowns (Lai, 2016b).

2.2.2 Understanding the formation of Chinatown

Scholars have different perspectives on the formation of Chinatowns in Canada (Luk, 2005). The conventional perspective defines a traditional Chinatown as a physical entity in which early Chinese immigrants lived and established their businesses (Lai, 1988). Chinatown is considered as an ethnic enclave, which refers to a spatially confined area with a concentrated group of ethnic minority people (Luk & Phan, 2005). In comparison, the cognitive perspective, typified by Anderson (1991), claims that Chinatowns in Canadian cities were racialized and segregated by governments that sought to establish a European cultural hegemony. In particular, the latter perspective, which explains the development of Chinatown within a historical process from the viewpoint of power relations, informs that racism and racialization are important concepts for understanding the formation of Chinatown (Luk, 2005).

The concepts of racism and racialization provide important insights for understanding the geographic division of spaces and social-spatial inequalities in urban landscapes (Hubbard et al., 2002). Racism refers to ideologies of racial hierarchies that categorize people into races that are either dominant or subordinate (Miles, 1989). As a belief system, racism is reflected in any attitudes and beliefs that signify, reinforce, maintain and reproduce racial hierarchies (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992). Racism can be expressed in individuals' actions and can be embodied in policies and rules of social institutions (Henry & Tator, 2002). Racialization describes a process in which meanings of superiority and inferiority are attributed to particular objects (Miles, 1989). More importantly, racialization is a socially constructed process (Hubbard et al., 2002; Miles, 1989). For example, white people obtained power over other racial groups in the process by which they colonized different parts of the world (Lewis, 2004). The process of racialization allows hegemonic relations to be reflected on specific objects, such as British colonies (Miles, 1989).

The racial hegemony of different groups of people can be reflected in physical place (Train, 2006). In other words, the power relations between dominant and subordinate groups are reflected in people's daily activities in place (Train, 2006). For example, Chinatown and other ethnic neighbourhoods, which emerged in inner cities in the late 19th century, are typical racialized places in Canada. Chinese, Jewish or Italian

groups, who were perceived by the dominant group as racial, ethnic or religious minorities, had to live concentrated in urban neighbourhoods. Compared to the dominant Scottish Presbyterian immigrants, people of other racial groups were weaker in economic, social and political power (Zucchi, 2007). The formation of inner-city ethnic neighbourhoods is a reflection of the struggles of minority groups to establish a sense of place and to overcome their marginalization by wider society (Teelucksingh, 2006).

2.3 The Contexts of the Suburbs

2.3.1 Defining the suburbs

The definition of suburbs has been flexible in the literature because a wide range of places can be labelled as suburbs (Forsyth, 2012). In the Canadian contexts, the urban/suburban classification has been controversial in existing literature (Gordon & Janzen, 2013). Some studies indicated that the process of urbanization resulted in a majority of the nation's population living in urban settings (Artibise, 1988; Martel & Caron-Malenfant, 2007). However, Gordon and Janzen (2013) criticized the broad categorization of urban areas and estimated that two-thirds of the Canadian population lived in suburban neighbourhoods.

Scholars have sought to define suburbs in a variety of ways. In particular, the differences between suburban and urban neighbourhoods have been a focus of scholars' attempts to define the suburbs. Some criteria that are commonly used to define urban/suburban differences include physical location, period of development, transportation modes, administrative or political boundaries, and density and dwelling types (Bunting, Filion, & Walker, 2010; Forsyth, 2012; Gordon & Janzen, 2013; Turcotte, 2008; Walks, 2001). Other than the above indicators, the suburbs can be examined based on residents' age, race and cultural heritage (Forsyth, 2012). A person's choice of a neighbourhood reflects the person's sociocultural identity and economic position (Ray, 1999). In this sense, the suburbs are also imbued with historical, social and cultural meanings through human activities (Ray, Halseth, & Johnson, 1997).

Here this study adopted three criteria, including the traditional definition of

central core (Broadway & Jesty, 1998; Ley & Frost, 2006; Turcotte, 2008), the housing structure type (Broadway & Jesty, 1998; Dunham-Jones & Williamson, 2011; Turcotte, 2008), and main mode of transportation (Forsyth, 2012; Patterson, Saddier, Rezaei, & Manaugh, 2014) to define urban/suburban differences (the urban/suburban differences of the urban and suburban study sites are demonstrated in 5.2.2.1).

An old criterion used by Canada Census defines that the suburbs are on the outskirts of a municipality (Turcotte, 2008). By contrast, the central core of a city is urban (Turcotte, 2008). The central core commonly consists of the central business area of the municipality and some adjacent mature residential neighbourhoods (Broadway & Jesty, 1998; Ley & Frost, 2006; Turcotte, 2008). This definition specifies the suburbs as being within the metropolitan area, but outside of the city's core (Turcotte, 2008).

Housing structure type is a key criterion to differentiate suburban neighbourhoods from urban neighbourhoods (Broadway & Jesty, 1998; Dunham-Jones & Williamson, 2011; Turcotte, 2008). The share of non-single-detached dwellings in a neighbourhood is an indicator of the level of urbanization (Bunting et al., 2010; Patterson et al., 2014). The age of the housing stock has also been used as an indicator to determine the level of urbanization of neighbourhoods. For example, Broadway and Jesty (1998) define the inner city as containing a relatively high share of dwellings built before 1946. Similarly, Walks (2001) uses the age of the housing stock to differentiate the inner area from mature suburbs, new suburbs and exurbs in Toronto's metropolitan area.

Transportation mode is also an important criterion of urban/suburban classification (Forsyth, 2012; Patterson et al., 2014). Specifically, the differences between urban and suburban areas are reflected in urban and suburban residents' means of transportation (Forsyth, 2012). Flint (2008) defines the suburbs as "spread-out, drive-thru, car-dependent" (p. 2). Although some suburban areas support public transport and cycling (Pucher, Buehler, Merom, & Bauman, 2011), the suburbs are widely considered primarily automobile based (Dunham-Jones & Williamson, 2011; Forsyth, 2012).

2.3.2 Aging in the Suburbs

Canadian suburbs have been widely considered less supportive for seniors because the car-dependent environment "leaves less mobile seniors isolated" (Miller,

2017, p. 1). Therefore, a suburban stereotype in North America is that seniors are moving from the suburbs to the urban core as they age (Patterson et al., 2014). In the suburbs, funding is more likely to be invested in schooling rather than in senior care. Therefore, older adults may experience a lack of accessible supportive services in their decaying single-detached suburban houses (McIlwain, 2011). In comparison, older adults may find it easier to age in urban neighbourhoods because public transit is better, and healthcare services and shopping centres are more accessible (McIlwain, 2011).

The findings of a recent empirical study tell a different story, indicating that in fact an increasing number of Canadian seniors remain in the suburbs rather than move to the urban core (Patterson et al., 2014). The researchers examined seniors' moving behaviour from 1991 to 2006 in Canada's six largest Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) including Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver. The findings show that the proportions of seniors living in the suburbs had been increasing over time in the six cities. However, the study did not explore the reasons contributing to the residential pattern of Canadian seniors (Patterson et al., 2014). The same trend has been observed in the United States (Cox, 2014). According to the Census data of the United States, the number of seniors living in the suburbs of Metropolitan areas increased rapidly between 2000 and 2010, compared to a decline in the number of seniors living in urban cores (Cox, 2014).

The choice of older adults to age in the suburbs is coincident with the idea of aging in place, which allows the elderly to age in their homes and communities for as long as possible (CDC, 2013). Aging in place is advocated by policymakers at various levels because it decreases the cost of government-funded institutional care (Government of Canada, 2014; Health Canada, 2001; WHO, 2007). More importantly, research finds that older adults prefer to remain in their homes and neighbourhoods even when facing increased frailty (Godfrey, Townsend, & Denby, 2004; Rowles, 1993). As described by Rowles (1993): "older people, particularly as they grow more frail, are able to remain more independent by, and benefit from, aging in environments with which they are accustomed" (p. 65). Older adults are likely to develop strategies based on their familiarity with their homes and neighbourhoods to deal with their declining mobility (Lawton, 1985).

Aging in place allows older adults to maintain their attachments to their familiar places (Smith, 2009). Individuals develop their attachments to place through their frequently performed activities and accumulated local physical-spatial knowledge (Rowles, 1978). Lawton (1985) argues that a person can develop a state of residential knowledge when "one gets to know how to find neighbourhood resources, how to use transportation, and who one's friends and neighbours are" (p. 508). The state of residential knowledge helps to maintain older adults' self-competence and independence, which in turn supports them to live in their neighbourhoods for as long as possible (Lawton, 1985). Furthermore, for older adults who have lived in their neighbourhoods for a long period of time, the local place and people are essential in supporting their self-identities (Rowles, 1993). Accordingly, for these older adults, leaving their familiar neighbourhoods and disrupting their established attachments to place are like "[abandoning] the self" (Rowles & Ravdal, 2002, p. 88).

2.3.3 The Expansion of Ethnic Minorities to the Suburbs

Old stereotypes of suburbia are characterized by strong class, ethnic and racial homogeneity (Evenden & Walker, 1993). The history of suburbanization in North America has suggested that the suburbs were built primarily to house a native-born white middle-class population (Harris, 1984; Jackson, 1985). More importantly, the settlement of the white middle class in the suburbs is interpreted as a result of their escape from the disordered inner cities in which ethnic minorities are concentrated (Jackson, 1985). Previous studies have emphasized the white middle-class identity of residents and described various public and private mechanisms that maintain the racial homogeneity of the suburbs (Evenden & Walker, 1993; Ray et al., 1997).

In the past three decades, the ethnic composition of Canada's suburbs has become increasingly diversified. An increasing number of ethnic minority groups have settled in the suburbs (Daniel Hiebert, 2000; Mendez, 2009). The Chicago School's classical assimilation theories (e.g. Park, 1928; Warner & Srole, 1945) explain the expansion of ethnic minority groups in the suburbs as part of the process by which these groups assimilate into the host society (Zhou, Alba, Logan, Stults, Marzan, & Zhang, 1999; Mendez, 2009; 2009b). The classical assimilation theories are mainly generated based on

the experience of early European immigrants who came to the United States at the turn of the 20th century. According to the assimilation theories, immigrants of ethnic minority groups, after experiencing a process of social contact, competition and adjustment, will abandon their own cultural patterns in favor of the ones of mainstream society. As a result, immigrants of ethnic minorities will converge into the middle-class mainstream society in socioeconomic status and residential spaces (Zhou, 2009b).

Some scholars argue that, rather than a collective process of assimilation, ethnic groups' expansion to the suburbs also reflects individuals' choice of neighbourhoods (Alba et al., 1999). Massey (1985) argues that individuals of ethnic minorities are driven by the better living environment in the suburbs. Based on the above assumptions, Massey (1985) formalized a spatial assimilation model, referring to the movement of ethnic minority groups from urban enclaves to the suburbs, where the white middle class predominates. This spatial assimilation model has been empirically supported by a large number of studies (Alba et al., 1999).

Existing literature suggests a more complex picture of emerging patterns of ethnic settlement in Canada's suburbs (Mendez, 2009). In some cases, the expansion of ethnic minorities to the suburbs is not consistent with the assimilation hypothesis. First, over the past few decades, recent immigrants, most of whom are members of ethnic minorities, have been likely to settle in suburban neighbourhoods upon their arrival in Canada. In particular, residential clusters of ethnic groups have formed in suburban neighbourhoods and attracted a considerable number of new immigrants (Hou, 2004). Second, sometimes earlier immigrants moved from the inner city to suburban neighbourhoods to live in clusters of their ethnic groups. As a result, the suburban clusters of ethnic groups have developed and accommodated a large number of ethnic minorities (Hiebert, 1999; Smith, 2004). Portes and Zhou (1993) argue that today's non-white immigrants may have different pathways of assimilation. Some immigrants may maintain their social interactions within their minority communities, whereas others may selectively assimilate into the mainstream while drawing on the considerable resources of their ethnic communities (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

2.3.4 Chinese Settlement in the Suburbs

Chinese communities settle in the suburbs of North America in either concentrated or dispersed forms (Luk, 2005; Skop & Li, 2005). The former form is known as an ethnoburb, which represents a significant concentration of a particular ethnic group in the suburbs (Zhou, 2009a). In the past two decades, studies have focused on the former form and examined suburban Chinese comminutes in large Metropolitan areas, such as San Gabriel Valley in Los Angeles, Bay area in San Francisco, Queens County in New York, Richmond Hill and Markham in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and Richmond in British Columbia's Lower Mainland(Tseng & Kim, 2009; Zhong, 2013; M. Zhou & Kim, 2003; Zhuang & Chen, 2017). In comparison, less attention has been paid to the dispersed form of Chinese settlement in the suburbs, which are more likely to be examined in medium-sized cities or remote communities (Da & Garcia, 2015; Hsiao & Schmidt, 2015). However, scholars argue that the dispersed form of Chinese settlement should not be neglected because it has the potential to form ethnoburbs (Luk, 2005; Skop & Li, 2010). The term "invisiburbs" describes places where the Chinese community can be felt but does not exist in concrete forms (Skop & Li, 2010). Invisiburbs can appear in any area where the number of immigrants is increasing but has not yet to reach a critical threshold to form an ethnic neighbourhood.

The formation of Chinese ethnoburbs in metropolitan areas shows a pattern that recent immigrants are directly settling in suburban clusters of their ethnic groups rather than moving from the inner city to suburban neighbourhoods (Zhuang & Chen, 2017). Although Chinese ethnoburbs sometimes have been referred to as new Chinatown or suburban Chinatown (Fong, 1994; Luk, 2005), they are different from traditional ethnic enclaves in the inner city in a variety of ways including "underlying dynamics, community and economic structures, socioeconomic profiles of residents and neighborhoods" (Li, 2005, p. 32). The reconstruction of global geopolitics and economic systems, as well as the dynamics of local demographic and cultural change all contribute to the formation of each unique ethnoburb (Li, 2009; Tseng & Kim, 2009).

The formation of Chinese ethnoburbs has contributed to the development of suburban ethnic shopping centres in metropolitan areas (Zhuang & Chen, 2017). For example, some scholars examined the role of ethnic business in shaping the landscape of

ethnoburbs by focusing on the case of the Pacific Mall in Markham of the GTA (Lau, 2009; Wu, 2009; Zhuang & Chen, 2017). The findings show that the suburban Chinese shopping mall provided community spaces for dining, entertainment and community services. More importantly, the ethnic businesses in ethnoburbs create new economic niches that provide employment and funding opportunities to serve the social mobility and settlement needs of Chinese immigrants and wider society (Zhuang & Chen, 2017). Overall, the development of suburban ethnic shopping centres play important roles in retrofitting existing Chinese ethnoburbs in large metropolitan areas (Lung-Amam, 2015; Zhuang & Chen, 2017).

2.4 Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Chinatown and the Suburbs

2.4.1 Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Chinatown

Chinatown has been an important site to examine the daily lived experience of elderly Chinese immigrants (Chan, 1983; Novak, 2016; Wong, 2001). Although most Chinatowns in Canada have experienced a decline and a loss of residents, some Chinatowns still house a considerable number of elderly Chinese immigrants (Lai, 1988; 2016b). Scholars indicate that Chinatown has provided a supportive environment to elderly Chinese immigrants, especially those who live apart from their adult children and struggle to manage an independent life in Canada (Chan, 1983; Matloff, 1994). First, Chinatown provides a variety of services and resources catering to the needs of elderly Chinese immigrants (Matloff, 1994). Chinatown allows elderly Chinese immigrants to stay in their familiar cultural environment, speaking their native languages, interacting with their elderly Chinese peers and enjoying Chinese food (Chan, 1983; Novak, 2016; Wong, 2001). Second, the compact layout of the businesses and community services in Chinatown allows less mobile elderly Chinese immigrants to conveniently access their needed services. Elderly Chinese immigrants see that having convenient access to Chinese organizations and grocery stores as an important benefit to living in Chinatown (Chan, 1983).

Although the advantages of Chinatown in accommodating elderly Chinese immigrants have been sufficiently explained in previous studies, some scholars argue that the disadvantages of Chinatown should not be neglected (Chan, 1983; Matloff, 1994; Yu, 2016). Researchers find that elderly Chinese immigrants in Chinatown commonly endure poor living conditions (Chan, 1983; Lai, 1988). Chinatown is likely to have the common problems of run-down urban neighbourhoods including inadequate sanitation, high noise levels and overcrowding (Krause, 1998). Furthermore, affordable seniors' housing, green spaces, parks and public amenities are found to be inadequate in Chinatown (Chan, 1983). However, elderly Chinese immigrants who have low educational attainment, insufficient English language and limited financial abilities live in Chinatown because they are socially and linguistically incapable of leaving (Chan, 1983; Vorsatz, Speeth, & Kam, 2015; Yu, 2016).

Elderly Chinese immigrants can be marginalized from mainstream society by isolating themselves in Chinatown. Haines and Mortland (2001) argue that the dependence of ethnic groups on their enclave communities engenders a vicious cycle. Once elderly Chinese immigrants find that they have been socially isolated from mainstream society, they increasingly rely on their enclave communities. So long as Chinese immigrants live and socialize entirely within Chinatown, they would rather not leave their cultural comfort zone (Yu, 2016). Critics argue that such isolation hinders the acculturation process of Chinese immigrants and decreases their power in wider society (Vorsatz et al., 2015; Wong, 2001; Yu, 2016).

2.4.2 Elderly Chinese Immigrants in the Suburbs

The number of elderly Chinese immigrants has increased rapidly in suburban North America in the past decade. On the one hand, the wave of Chinese immigrants who came from China to North America in the 1980s has reached the retirement age (Zhou, 1992). Most of these immigrants have settled in the suburbs for over twenty years and want to stay in their familiar neighbourhoods (Wu, 2015). On the other hand, sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants, who follow their adult children to settle in the suburbs, contribute to the increased population of elder Chinese in the suburbs (Healy, 2015; Yu, 2015).

The rapid increase in the population of elderly Chinese in the suburbs of North America has gained the attention of researchers in recent years (Hwang, 2008; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006; Yu, 2015). Although some suburban areas were traditionally considered less preferred by elderly Chinese immigrants due to a lack of supportive services and resources (Matloff, 1994), studies show that development of social institutions and community services have benefited suburban elderly Chinese residents in Metropolitan cities (Hwang, 2008; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006; Yu, 2015). Research finds that in the supportive services in suburban neighbourhoods, including community centres, Chinese-speaking health care providers and social clubs all support elderly Chinese immigrants to age in place (Hwang, 2008).

Compared to elderly Chinese immigrants living in ethnoburbs, those who live dispersed in suburban areas are more likely to feel bored and lonely (Healy, 2015; Wong, 2001). The demand for culturally sensitive services and transportation services has been strong among elderly Chinese immigrants who live dispersed in suburban areas (Healy, 2015). There is a clear need for researchers and policymakers to pay more attention to the establishment and delivery of supportive services for elderly Chinese immigrants who lived dispersed in suburban areas (Chiang, 2015; Healy, 2015; Hwang, 2008; Wong, 2006).

2.5 Family Culture in Mainland China

2.5.1 The Importance of Family Culture

Family support is pivotal in facilitating the adaptation of family sponsored late-age immigrants to the new environment in their receiving countries (MacKinnon, Gien, & Durst, 2001; Treas, 2008). Family members play important roles in compensating late-age immigrants for the loss of familiar interactions and services in their home countries. Late-age immigrants intend to reunite with their families in a new country, which means that they leave behind their social networks, properties, and much of their familiar lifestyles in their homelands (Kao & Lam, 1997). The loss of their friends, neighbours, colleagues and other social networks often leads to the social interactions of late-age

immigrants becoming limited to their immediate families (MacKinnon et al., 2001). Therefore, the interactions of late-age immigrants with their families are reinforced after they settle in a new country. Accordingly, it is common that family sponsored late-age immigrants depend on their adult children's navigation, financial, transportation and language support to adapt to the customs of a new society (Treas, 2008).

Based on the traditional family values of many Asian countries, the immediate family is the most accessible resource for family sponsored late-age immigrants to depend upon. For example, family sponsored late-age immigrants from many Asian countries are expected to receive considerable support from their adult children (Kamo & Zhou, 1994). However, the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of elder care are distinct among Asian countries and ethnic groups (AARP, 2014; Balgopal, 1999; Kao & Lam, 1997). For example, in Indian culture the obligation of adult children to provide unconditional respect and care to their parents is intertwined with Hindu beliefs (Balgopal, 1999; Sharma, Khosla, Tulsky, & Carrese, 2012). In comparison, although Filipino culture encourages respecting elderly parents, the family hierarchy is relatively loose and parental authority is not always maintained (Balgopal, 1999).

The above examples show that the subtleties of family values and household practice among different cultures should be carefully considered by researchers. Some previous studies tend to use a broader categorization of late-age immigrants, such as Asian Canadians or Asian Americans (Durst, 2010; J. Treas & Mazumdar, 2002). The diversity in ethnic, socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the groups of late-age immigrants is often neglected (Hwang, 2008). Given that late-age immigrants have commonly lived most of their lives in their home countries, it is important to examine how the social contexts of their home countries shape their family values and household practices (Treas, 2008; Treas & Gubernskaya, 2016).

2.5.2 Traditional Family Culture of China

Filial piety (Chinese: 孝, xiao) has historically been one of the most influential Confucian values in Chinese culture and contains important ideas about how children should treat their parents (Chen, Bond, & Tang, 2007; Hwang, 1999; Yeh & Bedford, 2003). Filial piety emphasizes the obligation of adult children to their parents and the

family (Whyte, 1997). The Confucian doctrine of filial piety demands that adult children perform their utmost in serving the needs of their parents and should show reverence and obedience to their parents (Qi, 2015). The everyday practice of filial piety is reflected in the authority of elderly parents in decision-making and proper care that adult children provide to their parents (Lan, 2001; Whyte, 1997). A co-living arrangement of adult children and elderly parents is generally considered to be culturally-appropriate and necessary to ensure that adult children's support and care is accessible to their parents (Zimmer, 2005).

Some scholars argue that the norm of reciprocity provides a fundamental mechanism of filial piety (MacKinnon et al., 2001; Qi, 2015). Reciprocity emphasizes an equal interpersonal exchange of favor or obligation (Chinese: 关系, guanxi) (Hsiung, 2013; Qi, 2015). The relationship between parents and adult children reflects a social exchange (Blau, 1964). In the process that parents bring their children up, they contribute love, knowledge and material resources to their children. Reciprocally, adult children are expected to return the contributions of their parents. The value of filial piety helps to maintain an equal exchange in the parent-child relationship (Pyke, 1999).

The idea of filial devotion is greatly promoted today in China through political legitimation and propaganda (Jacobs & Century, 2012; Qi, 2015). The Constitution of the People's Republic of China explicitly places the obligation of elderly care on the shoulders of adult children (Logan et al., 1998). In 2012, the Chinese government issued *The New 24 Paragons of Filial Piety* to encourage adult children to perform their family obligation in elder care (Jacobs & Century, 2012). Overall, filial piety, a value that is historically embedded in Chinese culture, is enforced by the government as a social value (Qi, 2015).

2.5.3 Challenges to Traditional Family Culture in China

Although filial piety has been widely recognized as one of the most important values in China, some scholars argue that the sociocultural basis of filial piety has been weakened since the 1950s (Qi, 2015; Whyte, 1997). A series of political movements, the Chinese Economic Reform, and the invasion of American culture all had an impact on public attitudes and expectations of elder care in China (Qi, 2015; Whyte, 1997).

First, the political movements in the 1950-60s contributed to a decline of the status of elderly parents in their families in China. For thousands of years, the venerable status of elderly parents in Chinese families was maintained through their control of power resources, such as money, land and other property (Yang, 1957). The government implemented land reform between 1951 and 1953, and later established the People's Commune system. After the land reform, privately-owned land and property were transformed into collectively-owned property (Keong, 1967; Whyte, 1997). As a result, families lost their most important private properties that they could pass on to their children and future descendants. Furthermore, in the Cultural Revolution, young people learned to show their ultimate loyalties towards the Party and the Party leader to obtain social resources including education, employment, food and housing. In contrast, elderly parents, who lost their power resources such as lands and properties, experienced a decline of authority in their families (Whyte, 1997).

Second, the economic reforms implemented in 1978 further weakened the dependence of adult children on their parents. China had been in an agrarian society for thousands of years. It had been a tradition that young people depended on the lands and properties inherited from their parents to make a living. Elderly parents were able to influence who their adult children married because they controlled the resources as well as the power in a family (Yang, 1957). China gradually established a market economy after 1978 (World Bank, 2016), and an increasing number of young people make a living in the market economy. Accordingly, young people have obtained more freedom in choosing a marital partner (Lan, 2001). As a result, the husband-wife bond in nuclear households has become the primary focus of family life in contemporary Chinese society (Whyte, 1997).

Finally, the development of individualism in China has contributed to changes in family values. Since 1978, people in China have been increasingly exposed to American culture through mass media products. In particular, people in China associated individualism with American culture (Triandis, 1995). Individualism promotes self-actualization and independence. By contrast, filial piety, which allows parents to depend on their adult children to the utmost, is considered to be against individualistic values (Triandis, 1995). Whyte (1997) argues that the impact of individualism may reinforce

the desires of young Chinese adults for autonomy from their parents. Furthermore, the implementation of the one-child policy has facilitated the development of individualistic values in China's only-child generations. The one-child policy implemented between 1980 and 2015 fostered numerous child-centered families (Qi, 2015). Studies find that children who are the only child in their families are self-interested and self-oriented in their social lives (Cao, 2009; C. Wang et al., 1991).

2.5.4 Contemporary Attitude and Practice of Family Obligation

Scholars have been interested in interpreting changes in family values and household practices of elder care over the past ten years in China (Hansen & Pang, 2008; Qi, 2015; Whyte, 2005; Yan, 2009). The recent China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey (2016) reveals some important findings about the attitudes of Chinese seniors towards elder care and current practices in their families.

First, seniors' expectations of the roles of their adult children in elder care have changed in today's China. Traditional filial piety views the role of adult children in providing care and supporting their elderly parents as incontrovertible and irreplaceable (Chen & Liu, 2009). The Chinese proverb "Yang Er Fang Lao" (Chinese: 养儿防老), which means bring up children for the purpose of being looked after in old age, indicates the expectations of parents of the roles of their children in elder care (Chen & Liu, 2009). However, the results of the China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey show that 40% of the respondents consider the proverb "Yang Er Fang Lao" not applicable today. Over half of the respondents consider that the liability for elder care should be taken by themselves and their spouses (21%), the government (10.5%) or shared between families and the government (19%) (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016). The diversified attitudes among respondents show that the notion of "Yang Er Fang Lao" is no longer dominant in Chinese society. There is a growing awareness among Chinese seniors that the responsibility for elder care should be transferred from their adult children to social institutions.

Second, an interdependent relationship between elderly parents and their adult children has become prevalent in China. The results of the China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey show that a majority of respondents are both care receivers and caregivers

in their extended families. On the one hand, nearly half of the respondents reported their adult children as their primary caregivers. On the other hand, a considerable number of the respondents are engaged in housework in their children's families. For example, nearly 40% of the respondents help their adult children with childcare. One-third of the respondents help their adult children with household chores (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016). Overall, the findings of the survey show that a mutually supportive relationship between elderly parents and their adult children exists widely in Chinese families. Qi (2015) argues that the interdependence between elderly parents and their adult children, which represents an exchange in their relationship, supports the structural basis of the family obligation of elder care.

Third, the living arrangements of the elderly in China have diversified. The results of the China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey show that nearly half of the respondents do not live with their children or grandchildren. In comparison, the remaining respondents live either in two-generation or three-generation families (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016). The results indicate that the traditional three-generation household is not the dominant living arrangement in Chinese families. Instead, elderly parents commonly live separately from adult children. The change in living arrangements of the elders is associated with a change in family values in China. Research finds that adult children who live apart from their elderly parents are no longer considered against filial piety in today's China (Whyte, 2005; Yan, 2009).

Finally, institutional care in China is underdeveloped and the quality of care service cannot meet the expectations of the elders. The results of the China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey show that less than 5% of the respondents have experience of using community service for the elderly in China. A majority of the respondents expressed that they would not go to nursing homes because they do not trust the quality of the care provided (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016). Furthermore, state provision of care for the elderly cannot provide sufficient protection for seniors in China. As shown in the results of the survey, although more than 70% of the rural respondents receive government pensions, only 17% of them find the amount of their pensions sufficient to cover their living expenses (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016).

A comprehensive welfare system for the elderly is still far from being well-established in China (Qi, 2015).

To summarize, the results of the China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey (2016) show that although traditional values and the household practices of filial piety have changed in China, adult children still play a pivotal role in providing care and support to their elderly parents. Under the current contexts of China, social institutions cannot replace the role of adult children in supporting their elderly parents. When adult children leave their elderly parents to settle in another country, elderly parents can be jeopardized because both the institutional care system and the welfare system cannot ensure the security of elders in China. The results of the China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey (2016) indicate that nearly 50% of the respondents live in empty nest households, in which their children live in different cities or have gone abroad. It is challenging for elderly parents to age in empty nest households, where they find it difficult to obtain support from their adult children.

2.6 Summary and Directions of the Research

The five domains of literature reviewed in this chapter provide a knowledge base for understanding family sponsored late-age immigrants' cultural background in China and the contexts of Chinatown and the suburbs in Canada. The insights gleaned from the existing literature provide several useful directions for this study.

First, family sponsored late-age immigrants from Mainland China should be studied to contribute to our understanding of family sponsored late-age immigrants to Canada. The existing literature shows that the benefits that sponsored late-age immigrants bring to their families and society may have been devalued. Family sponsored late-age immigrants are stereotyped as a group on welfare who are receiving care and who have no economic value in Canada. However, the bias against family sponsored late-age immigrants may contribute to a general overlook of their vulnerabilities and their disadvantaged positions, both in society and in their families.

Second, Chinatown and the suburbs, which represent two distinct Chinese settlement patterns in Canada, are important settings to examine the lived experience of

late-age Chinese immigrants. Although Chinese settlement in Chinatown and the suburbs are prevalent in Western countries, comparative studies examining Chinese settlement in the two settings are rare (Chan, 2004). The importance of understanding Chinese settlement patterns has not been fully recognized in the academic community, therefore more comparative research is needed to present the dynamics and characteristics of different Chinese settlement patterns (Chan, 2004). My study will contribute to the understanding of urban and suburban Chinese settlement in a medium-sized city in Canada.

Finally, it is important to carefully examine the sociopolitical contexts of China to understand how the family values of family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants are influenced by their earlier life experiences. Although late-age immigrants commonly live most of their lives in their home countries, the effects of late-age immigrants' earlier life experiences in their home countries are often overlooked by researchers (Treas & Gubernskaya, 2016). For late-age immigrants who are sponsored by their adult children to come to Canada, adult children are their most accessible resources and their relationship with their children has a significant impact on their lives. Therefore, understanding the cultural background and family values of family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants is critical to generating an understanding of their experiences in Canada.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes the implementation of a phenomenological case study. Following an explanation of the research design, the process of participant recruitment, data collection and analysis, and the strategies for ensuring rigour are reported. Lastly, a critical reflection of the researcher's positionality is discussed.

3.1 Research Design

3.1.1 Study Design

This study adopted a phenomenological case study design to guide the implementation of the research. A case study "investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in depth and within its real-world context" (Yin, 2014, p. 16). A phenomenological approach provides in-depth and rich descriptions of people's experiences and presents a reflective understanding of the essences of experiences (Moustakas, 1994; Van Manen, 1990) (see 1.4 for a discussion of phenomenology). The combination of the case study method and the phenomenological approach is aimed at emphasizing the strengths of the two methods. Specifically, the case study method is used to define the research problem and guide the research procedures. In comparison, a phenomenological approach is utilized to guide the data collection, analysis and my role in this research.

The case study method is loosely defined in the literature, but it has been widely applied in social research (Yin, 2014). A core issue of case study research is choosing the case(s) to be studied. Once the case(s) can be identified, a variety of research methods can be applied in doing the case study (Stake, 2005). One of the strengths of case study research is that it is based on specific contexts. In a word, the case study method allows researchers to investigate and explain a complex phenomenon by focusing on a small sample of accessible cases in given contexts (Stake, 2005).

The phenomenological approach is used for probing phenomenological

interpretations of the results of the study. One of the strengths of the phenomenological approach is that it encourages personal narratives of lived experience (Van Manen, 1990). Accordingly, phenomenology informs this study to capture the lived experience of participants through in-depth interviews. Furthermore, phenomenology provides well-established analysis methods for exploring meanings embodied in participant narratives (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004; Van Manen, 1990).

The phenomenological case study design is compatible with the social constructionist framework of this study. Social constructionism claims that social reality depends on how individuals attach it with meanings (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schwandt, 2003; Searle, 1995). Accordingly, a phenomenological case study is aimed at reflecting that the socially constructed reality can be expressed through participants' descriptions, interpretations, and understandings of their experiences of a phenomenon (Stake, 2005). Furthermore, a phenomenological case study allows people to make sense of their lives through creating meanings (Stake, 2005). The essence of a phenomenon is conveyed and drawn from meanings attached to it by individuals (Schwandt, 2003; Stake, 2005). In this sense, the personal experiential knowledge of participants is valued in a phenomenological case study. Readers are allowed to immerse themselves in the narratives of participants to obtain participant experiential knowledge and meanings (Stake, 2005). Overall, the phenomenological case study method is appropriate to examine how different participants construct their reality based on their experiences.

3.1.2 Defining Cases of this Study

Defining the case is emphasized by scholars as a fundamental issue in case study research (Stake, 2005). The "bound context" allows a case to link to a phenomenon occurring in a specific circumstance (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 25). Baxter and Jack (2008) argue that defining the case can ensure that the investigation is feasible in scope. The criteria that are commonly used to define cases include time, place and activity (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

A case study can involve multiple layers of analysis. The first layer of analysis commonly focuses on a single case or multiple cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Researchers can select one bounded case to examine an issue in a single case design (Stake, 1995,

2005). Researchers can also use the multiple case study design to predict similar results or to anticipate contradictory results (Yin, 2014). The second layer of analysis usually focuses on embedded units of a case or cases (Yin, 2014). Setting embedded units in a case study allows researchers to look at the specific phenomenon in detail and to enhance the operational flexibility of the study (Yin, 2014). However, researchers should ensure that the subunit level of analysis can be linked to the research question and the targeted social phenomenon (Yin, 2014).

This study involves two types of case study designs. The first study design is the single-case study with embedded multiple units (see Figure 3.1 for an illustration of this study design). This design is aimed at answering the first research question: how family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants identify and create a place for themselves as residents of Edmonton, Canada. The single case involved in this design is the sense of place among family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants in Edmonton. The embedded unit is the individual research participant (see Table 3.1 for the research question, the case and the units). The results of this single-case study design will be presented in Chapter 4.

The second study design is the multiple case study with embedded multiple units (see Figure 3.1 for an illustration of this study design). The design is aimed at answering the second research question: how the perceptions and experiences of place varied between two groups of family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants, those who live in urban neighbourhoods and those who live in suburban neighbourhoods. The first case is the sense of place of urban family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants in Edmonton. The embedded units of analysis are individual participants who live in urban Edmonton. The second case is the sense of place of suburban family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants in Edmonton. The embedded units of analysis are individual participants who live in suburban Edmonton (see Table 3.1 for the research question, the cases and the units). The results of the multiple-case study design will be presented in Chapter 5.

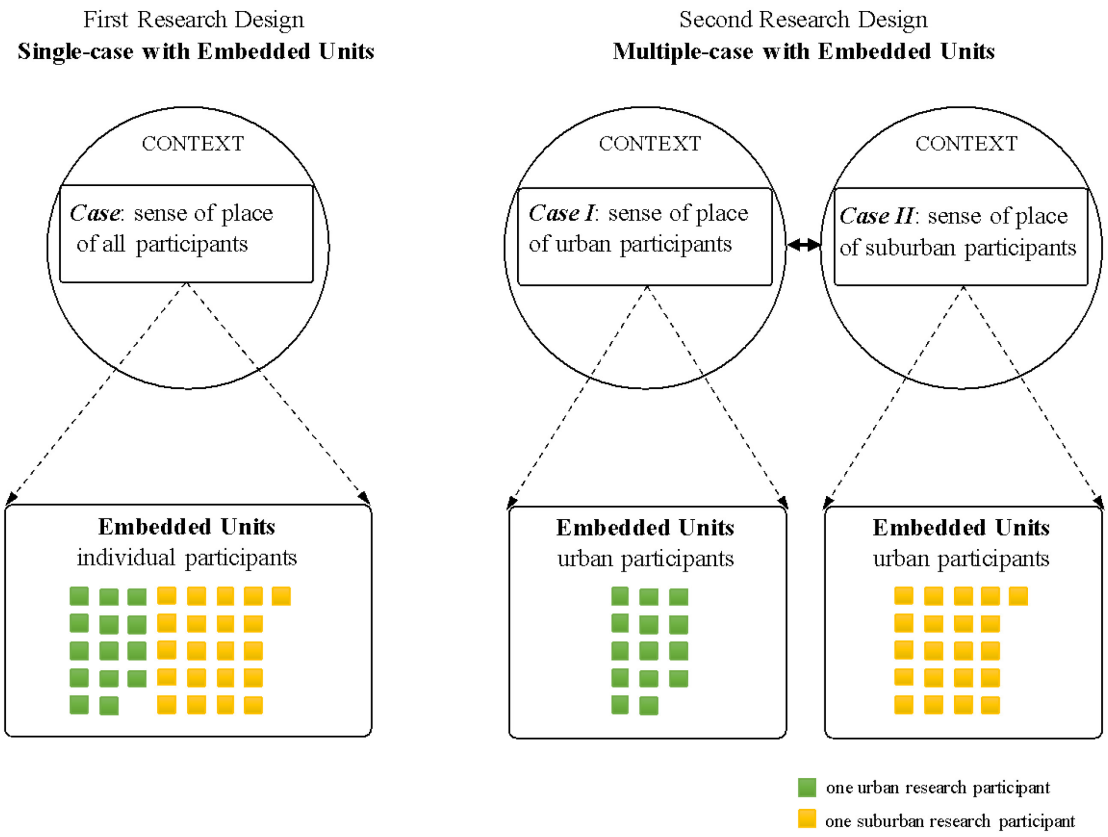

Figure 3.1 Two Types of Case Study Design of the Study

Table 3.1 Cases and Units with the Correspondent Research Questions

Study Design	**First Study**: single-case study with embedded multiple units	**Second Study**: multiple case study with embedded multiple units	
Study Cases	The development of sense of place among research participants in Edmonton, Canada	*Case I*: sense of place of urban participants in Edmonton	*Case II*: sense of place of suburban participants in Edmonton
Units of Analysis	Individual research participants	individual participants who live in urban Edmonton	individual participants who live in suburban Edmonton
Research Questions	How family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants identify and create a place for themselves as residents of Edmonton, Canada?	How the perceptions and experiences of place vary between two groups of family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants: those who live in urban neighbourhoods and those who live in suburban neighbourhoods?	

3.2 Research Process and Ensuring Rigour

Rigour is key for ensuring the overall quality of the research process because it determines the trustworthiness of the research findings. The rigour of a research process is generally influenced by transparency, validity, credibility and reflexivity (Given, 2008). The research process is presented here to show how every research step influenced the trustworthiness of data. I tried to make the research process as transparent as possible to readers. The research procedures are described, and the concrete actions of problem-solving and the strategies for improving the validity of the research are reported (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010; Pratt, 2008).

3.2.1 Recruitment

3.2.1.1 Community Entry and Recruitment

Thirty-five elderly Chinese immigrants were recruited to participate in this research: twenty-one from convenience sampling, two from opportunistic sampling and twelve from snowball sampling (see Table 3.2 for samples by categories). The urban group has 14 participants and the suburban group has 21 participants.

Table 3.2 Sampling Method and Number of Participants

Sampling Method	**Convenience** Poster and my social network	**opportunistic**	**snowball**
Number of Participants	21	2	12
Urban Group	10	0	4
Suburban Group	11	2	8

I started participant recruitment through convenience sampling (Patton, 2002). I utilized the social networks of my friends, colleagues and acquaintances to help with participant recruitment. I also put up posters in public places including a Chinese library, community centres, Chinese restaurants and grocery stores, and the website of Edmonton China online forum. For example, the first two participants were the grandparents of a friend of mine. I was able to access a relatively closed community through the couple who had lived in Chinese Elders' Mansion in Chinatown for over 10 years. Chinese

Elders' Mansion is an age-segregated residence and is partitioned by a security gate. Therefore, it could be difficult for me to find an entry point to this community. The couple also introduced me to the Mansion's manager, who gave me his permission to put up recruitment posters in the buildings. With the old couple's introduction, and with them vouching for my trustworthiness and legitimacy, I recruited four participants in Chinese Elders' Mansion.

My social network also helped me to access potential participants who lived outside Chinatown. I found it difficult to recruit suburban participants because the potential participants lived dispersed in the suburbs. With the referral of a friend of mine, a staff member of a local community center helped me to recruit participants. The staff member, who served as the key informant and the gate-keeper, introduced and promoted my research project to the clients of the center. In total nine participants were recruited through the help of this staff member. In addition, participants were recruited though my study information posters in public places such as community centres, public libraries, seniors' residences, supermarkets, and the EdmontonChina online forum.

Opportunistic sampling was used when new opportunities of collecting valuable data emerged during data collection (Patton, 2002). The study originally planned to recruit participants who lived in Edmonton's central core and in the southwest. Later participants who lived in Edmonton west were also recruited. I realized that participants who lived in Edmonton west could provide supplementary data of participants' experiences in suburban Chinese seniors housing. Therefore, I expanded the suburban site to include both Edmonton southwest and west.

Snowball sampling was used to follow up the initial recruitment of research participants. I asked some participants to distribute research flyers to their friends. Snowballing helped me to recruit potentially critical or information-rich participants (Patton, 2002).

3.2.1.2 Selection of Participants

Purposively selecting research participants is a strategy to ensure rigour in case study research (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). A clear description of the procedure of participant selection provides the context of a case study (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010). The participant

selection criteria define the researched group. Commonly used criteria of participant selection include their place of origin, age, immigration category and location of residence (Creswell, 2013).

First, the research participants were elderly Chinese immigrants who were born and grew up in Mainland China. Elderly Chinese immigrants who came from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asian were excluded from this study. Although a large number of Canada's residents identify themselves as Chinese, they can be classified into subgroups based on their origins and generations (Anderson, 1991). This criterion ensures that all participants have experience living in the sociopolitical contexts of Mainland China. Given that Mandarin is the official language of China and Cantonese is the most popular dialect in the Chinese southern coastal area (Norman, 1988), participants who spoke either Mandarin or Cantonese were included in this study.

Second, the participants were family sponsored immigrants who came to Canada after the age of 50. This criterion requires that participants who came to Canada later in life can permanently live in Canada and have access to government benefits (Elgersma, 2010). I originally recruited 37 participants. However, based on this criterion, one participant who came to Canada earlier in life and another who is entrepreneur immigrant were excluded from the sample.

Finally, individual participants were categorized into urban and suburban groups for cross-site comparison. Only participants living either in Edmonton's central core or in Edmonton southwest and west were recruited to this study.

3.2.2 Data Collection

3.2.2.1 Interviewing

Data were collected from my interviews with the research participants and my observation of the study sites. The in-depth interview is the principal technique used for the data collection and provides the richest data of this study. Interviewing is recommended by the phenomenological approach as an effective technique to explore and gather experiential narrative material (Van Manen, 1990). Researchers can probe

comprehensive and in-depth information about participants' perceptions, opinions and feelings through interviews (Patton, 2002).

This study obtained ethics approval from the Research Ethics Boards of University of Alberta[3] (see Appendix A for the ethics approval letter). To ensure that the participants were not coerced to participate in this study, I gave every participant sufficient time to consider whether they would voluntarily participate in the interview. At least a week ahead of each interview, an information letter containing the research purpose, the interview process and the research ethics was mailed to participants. I prepared the information letter and informed consent in Chinese based on participants' reading preferences. I answered questions regarding participants' concerns about the research before each interview. Every participant signed an informed consent form before the start of an interview (Dunn, 2010) (See Appendix B for the informed consent).

I used ten primary questions and a simple list of keywords to guide the semi-structured interviews (Dunn, 2010) (see Appendix C for the questions). I usually started interviews by encouraging participants to talk about their life stories and allowing them to spend ample time talking about their experiences. I was able to obtain participants' pre-reflective attitudes and immediate consciousness of their experiences in both China and Canada (Van Manen, 1990). Then I asked questions to investigate participants' experiences and perceptions of their neighbourhoods, ethnic places or locales of their interests. My questions also explored participants' family life, social networks beyond families and their expectations of care. These questions allowed me to obtain a holistic understanding of participants' experiences in Edmonton, Canada.

All my interviews were conducted in Mandarin or Cantonese. I could not verbally communicate with three participants who spoke Cantonese. Therefore, two bilingual interpreters joined in my interviews with three Cantonese-speaking participants. Both interpreters signed a confidentiality agreement to prevent disclosure of the information relevant to the participants and this study.

Most interviews lasted between one and two hours in length. All face-to-face interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed in Chinese. The sample size of this study

[3] Study title: The Lived Experience and Sense of Place among Urban and Suburban Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Edmonton (Study ID: Pro00029599)

depends on the adequacy and the usefulness of the data (Sánchez-Ayala, 2012). When no new themes emerged during subsequent interviews, data collection was considered as reaching saturation (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Fusch & Ness, 2015). I conducted initial data analysis while I collected my research data. I completed data collection when I found that the sample reached saturation.

3.2.2.2 Observation of the Contexts

My observation of the study sites includes the participants' neighbourhood settings and their regularly-visited places such as grocery stores, libraries, seniors' centres and parks. Some of the observation was conducted during the interviews. I took notes to record my observation and my thoughts that came out during the interviews (Dunn, 2010; Patton, 2002). Some observation was conducted after the interviews. Places that participants frequently mentioned were noted for later observation. These notes were transcribed with my added annotation and reflection to become the data of observation.

The data collected from my observation allowed me to enter participants' lifeworld to understand their experiences and perceptions (Van Manen, 1990). For example, I came across homeless people every time I visited my participants in Chinatown and had a sense of the concentration of homelessness there. I also observed street fighting and sometimes felt unsafe to walk in Chinatown. In comparison, most of the suburban neighbourhoods that I visited were quiet, clean and safe. However, I observed that the public transportation in some suburban neighbourhoods was inconvenient when I had to wait half an hour to take a bus. Overall, my observations allowed me to obtain experiential knowledge of participants' daily lives, which contributed to my understanding of the participants' sense of place.

3.2.2.3 Ensuring Rigour in Data Collection

Construct validity is important in ensuring that every procedure in the data collection is appropriate to the research question (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010). Construct validity examines the extent to which the research actions lead to an accurate observation of reality. Strategies that ensure construct validity include triangulation and a careful explication of the data collection procedures (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010).

Using multiple sources of data is important in ensuring triangulation of a researched phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Yin, 2014). Interview and observational data allow the phenomenon to be examined from multiple angles (Patton, 1990). According to Stake (1995), collecting data from varied sources allows researchers to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the researched phenomenon.

Interpreters' translation influences the trustworthiness of the data (Lopez, Figueroa, Connor, & Maliski, 2008). To ensure participants' words could be accurately translated, I asked the interpreters to translate the words of the three Cantonese-speaking participants without adding their interpretations. Furthermore, I asked the interpreters to listen to the voice records to double-check the accuracy of their translation. These two measures helped me to capture key information from the interviews and improve the trustworthiness of the data (Lopez et al., 2008).

I used member checking to improve the credibility of data. Participants were given options for reviewing their transcripts (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I sent transcripts back to participants upon their requests and allowed them to clarify ambiguous and inaccurate information. This strategy enabled participants to check the validity of the data and provide feedback on my interpretations (Richards, 2009). Furthermore, through regular meetings with my supervisor during the data collection process, I was able to obtain appropriate suggestions to solve problems. For example, my supervisor's advice helped me deal with the relationship between myself and individual participants . Such interaction also helped in probing in-depth information from interviews. This working approach ensures investigator triangulation because it allows the research phenomenon can be examined from different perspectives (Baxter & Eyles, 1997).

3.2.3 Data Analysis

The thematic analysis was applied to the data analysis of this research (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012; Lindseth & Norberg, 2004; Van Manen, 1990). In a phenomenological study, the aim of the thematic analysis is to recover themes containing embodied meanings in participants' narratives (Van Manen, 1990). The data analysis went through the following three phases: familiarizing myself with the data, conducting

structural analyses and comparing themes between cases.

3.2.3.1 Familiarizing Myself with the Data

Researchers should allow themselves to be immersed in the data to grasp the depth and breadth of the content of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the early stages of data analysis, I benefited from transcribing all the interviews myself. Listening to the voice records and typing the interview conversations gave me a sense of the cumulative data as a whole (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I also read in an active way by adding my reflections and thoughts on the margins of the transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Repeated reading of data during the research process allowed me to discover additional meanings that emerged from the data. During the data analysis, I encountered the situation that I felt no more useful meanings could be grasped in the existing data. This situation might indicate that a researcher's preunderstanding of the data is too superficial or inappropriate (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). To deal with this problem, I allowed myself to be immersed in the data through repeated reading of the transcripts. My familiarization with the data enabled me to identify new perspectives from the participants. I expanded my knowledge from relevant literature, revised my preunderstanding of the data and identified new meanings in the texts (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004).

3.2.3.2 Structural Analysis

A structural analysis is used for the first case study design — a single case with embedded multiple units. A structural analysis is a process in which themes are generated based on the meanings identified from the transcripts (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). The thematic structural analysis was applied in this study to explore the meanings of participants' experiences (Van Manen, 1990). Through an inductive process, themes were generated to make up the experiential structures of my understanding of participants' experiences (Van Manen, 1990). The data analysis was carried out using the software Nvivo 10.0 (Bazeley, 2007). Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) facilitates data storage, coding, retrieval, comparing and linking (Patton, 2002). The results of the structural analysis are presented in Chapter 4.

The thematic structural analysis includes three steps: (1) identification of meaning units; (2) condensation; and (3) generation of sub-themes and themes (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004; Moustakas, 1994). The first step involves searching and identifying meaning units throughout the texts. A meaning unit is defined as a segment of transcript text. It can be either a sentence, a few sentences, or a paragraph containing just one meaning (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). The meaning units usually contain participants' important statements of their experiences (Moustakas, 1994). The second step happened when meaning units were condensed to generate codes. In this process, the essential meanings of meaning units were concisely expressed (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). The third step includes the generation of sub-themes and themes. Sub-themes were developed when codes were grouped. Collections of issues or topics were compared and sorted into sub-themes (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). Lastly, themes were assembled by sub-themes through the same procedures.

3.2.3.3 Comparing Themes Between Cases

Comparing themes between cases is the strategy used for the second case study design — comparing two cases with embedded units. The cross-case comparison is aimed at exploring how and why perceptions and experiences of place vary between urban and suburban participants. The results of the analysis are presented in Chapter 5.

The analysis was conducted in the following two steps (see Figure 3.2 for the process). The first step is the data analysis within each case. Sub-themes and themes were generated within the urban group and the suburban group, respectively. The second step is the data analysis between the two cases. Themes of each case were compared and contrasted to explore the similarities and differences between the two groups of participants. In order to make sure that the two cases are comparable under the same categories, I examined if a (sub)theme that emerged in one case was also a salient (sub)theme in another case (Lauckner, Paterson, & Krupa, 2012). In total, five cross-case themes were identified through a process of comparing common (sub)themes between the two cases.

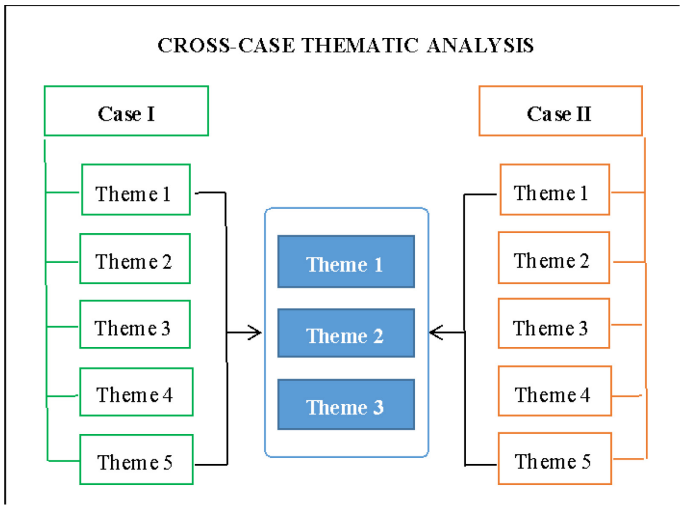

Figure 3.2 Procedure of Cross-case Thematic Analysis

3.2.3.4 Ensuring Rigour in Data Analysis

Internal validity, also known as logical validity, determines whether the data causally led to the research findings (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010; Yin, 2014). In particular, I used the strategies of peer debriefing and constant comparison to ensure the internal validity in the data analysis process (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Glaser & Strauss, 2009).

First, the strategy of peer debriefing was used in the data analysis. I worked together with two researchers in carrying out the initial data analysis. Both were graduate students at the University of Alberta, one in the environmental sociology program and the other in the human geography program. Both could read in Chinese and had experience in conducting qualitative data analysis. I distributed copies of interview transcripts to each of them. Based on my research proposal and the interview guide, the two researchers and I worked independently to generate meaning units from the transcripts. Later we worked collectively to compare and discuss our meaning units. At last we achieved consensus on defining the codes and generating sub-themes and themes (Cope, 2010; Lindseth & Norberg, 2004; Moustakas, 1994).

Second, I used the constant comparison strategy to check the consistency and accuracy of the themes and sub-themes applied in my study (Gibbs, 2007). I was careful to ensure that the identified themes and sub-themes were not based on non-representative participants or events (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I tried to avoid purposively searching for presumed patterns between the cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I also paid

particular attention to deviant behaviors of participants and considered whether they could be incorporated into the theoretical framework or be used to support arguments (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010; Silverman, 2010).

Finally, I used the constant comparison strategy to facilitate the translation of Chinese into English in the data analysis phase. The transcription, the initial coding, and the initial data analysis were carried out in Chinese to ensure the clarity and credibility of the data (Suh, Kagan, & Strumpf, 2009). The Chinese-English translation was conducted when the sub-themes and themes had been identified in the data analysis. The sub-themes and themes were translated into English phrases. I adjusted the translation between English and Chinese words to seek the best cultural and contextual meaning-matching during the analysis of the transcripts. For example, the Chinese language has no exact equivalent to the word neighbourhood, which refers to a geographically localized community in North American contexts. I initially used the Chinese word "community" (Chinese: 社区) to indicate a neighbourhood. Later I redefined neighbourhoods as a small area in which participants lived (Chinese: 小区) (Lu, 2007; Shklarov, 2007). Because verbatim translation from Chinese to English is almost impossible due to contextual and grammatical differences between the languages (Carlson, 2000; Temple, 2002), the constant comparison strategy helped to maintain the original meanings of the data as much as possible.

3.3 Positionality

Positionality is a critical issue in social scientific inquiry because researchers' places in social structures and institutions influence their understandings of the world (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, & Watts, 2000). Phenomenology views that a researcher, who is an intentional subject in his/her own world, stands for a point of view to explain the phenomena being studied (Van Manen, 1990). Researchers are expected to be aware of their positions in research and to declare their personal subjectivity and the possible sources of bias from the preparation to the end of the research (Dowling, 2010; Iosifides, 2003). In this phenomenological research, a self-reflection of my positionality is necessary because it helps readers to understand how my point of view can create bias

and affect research conclusions (Creswell, 2013; D. W. Smith, 2016). I situated myself in this research as an international student in Canada who was well-informed about Chinese culture. In drawing up a personal description of my lived experience in both China and Canada, I found that my cultural background and experiences influenced the project — from recruitment of participants to the interpretation of findings.

3.3.1 My Personal Experiences

The journey of this research began with me attempting to develop a dissertation topic to accommodate my own interests and experiences. My multiple roles in my life, as a grandchild in a three-generation family in China, an international student in Canada, and an adult child in a family in Canada, all influenced this study.

My experience of living with my grandmother in a traditional Chinese three-generation family shaped my initial interest in understanding human aging and the circumstances of older people in their social and cultural contexts. I lived with my grandmother for eighteen years. In my blurred childhood memory, my grandmother usually spent her time alone and sought to entertain herself to pass time. Dealing with family relationships in a three-generation household seemed challenging for everyone in the family. I rarely remember truly enjoyable quality time among the three-generations in my daily life. My grandmother became increasingly isolated at home in her final years due to her declining health. My mother, who had a full-time job and was also the caregiver of my grandmother, my father and I, suffered a lot of pressure from taking on multiple responsibilities. I saw that being old was a lonely process as my grandmother gradually disengaged from the family and society. I realized that changes in Chinese culture were having a negative impact on traditional family living arrangements. This was the first important lesson that I learnt from my lived experience.

Coming to Canada to pursue graduate studies was another significant experience in my life that influenced this research. My perception of Canada underwent a huge change after I arrived in Edmonton. I had never set foot in a foreign land before coming to Canada, and all my knowledge of Canada was from books, TV shows, movies and websites. In my initial perception, Canada was a faraway place characterized by maple trees, magnificent natural landscapes and multicultural ethnic immigrants. However, this

original impression had been substituted by some new perceptions after I arrived in Canada. I clearly remember my first winter in Edmonton, in the unanticipated freezing cold, I was beset with a number of frustrations associated with language and cultural barriers. In those days, I was an outsider filled with nostalgia. I saw Canada as an alien land that I could not integrate in. As time passed by, I became familiar with the social and cultural institutions of Canada and I felt competent and comfortable in my everyday life. And then one day, after a vacation abroad, when my flight landed in Canada, I felt relaxed, refreshed, and peaceful and had a thought of "I was home". I realized that I was emotionally attached to Canada and saw it as my second home.

The change in my perceptions of Canada generated my initial interest in exploring human-place relationships. I had been wondering whether I changed myself to adapt to places or if I changed my places to better suit my needs. When I considered a topic for my doctoral dissertation, exploring sense of place among elderly Chinese immigrants in Edmonton became a natural choice. I believed that my interest in understanding human-place relationships, my lived experience in a three-generation family in China and as an international student in Canada, would be an asset for me to understand how elderly Chinese immigrants perceive place, either globally or locally.

In executing the research project of my dissertation, I had a baby and became a mother. Following Chinese tradition, my husband and I invited our parents to come to Canada to help with childcare. The change in my family life enabled me to situate my new role as an adult child living in a three a three-generation family. Living with my parents and parents-in-laws allowed me to examine four elderly Chinese migrants' lived experience in Canada and perceptions of place at close proximity. My lived experience once again provided me a unique resource for my project, particularly in understanding how family life would influence elderly Chinese immigrants' sense of place of Canada.

My three life-defining experiences shaped how I understood the world and influenced my personal subjectivity of this research. I found that the research also became part of my life and I am sure that it will inspire my future academic pursuits based on my life experiences.

3.3.2 The Impact of My Positionality to the Study

Participant recruitment is a complicated and challenging process in this study. Initially, I believed that, as a Chinese student who spoke Mandarin, I would have no problems recruiting participants from the Chinese community in Edmonton. However, I encountered several difficulties. Few potential participants responded to me after I put up posters in public places. I also found it difficult to approach the Cantonese community in Chinatown because I could not verbally communicate with them. However, my interpersonal network within the Chinese community in Edmonton helped me to recruit participants. In Chinese culture, the personal connections or special bonds in interpersonal networks are usually called "guanxi" (Chinese: 关系) (Hsiung, 2013). The culture of guanxi emphasizes that an individual's social network can be transferred to others to achieve utilitarian purposes (Luo, 1997). It is customary for people to cultivate an intricate guanxi web as large as possible and for as long as possible (Hsiung, 2013). Using my guanxi web to recruit potential participants had both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, through the transfer of guanxi, I could access potential participants through the social networks of my friends and acquaintances. My guanxi web also allowed me to approach some hard-to-reach potential participants, such as elders who were isolated at their suburban homes. On the other hand, a large number of potential participants did not have a chance of being included in my study because they were not in my guanxi web. However, in a case study, researchers are allowed to investigate a phenomenon by focusing on a small sample of accessible participants (Stake, 2005). Participants recruited through my guanxi web were not necessarily representative of the entire community of the sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants in Edmonton.

My ethnic background supported my exploration of in-depth information about participants' perceptions and experiences. My experiences of growing up in Mainland China and my proficiency in communicating in Mandarin allowed me to establish an initial rapport with potential participants. Some participants indicated that they felt comfortable when they heard me speaking fluent Mandarin in our initial contact. I usually shared my background with participants before each interview. I was aware that participants trust me because we have the same ethnic and cultural background. The

rapport between participants and I helped to develop rich conversations in interviews (Abu-Lughod, 1988; Sánchez-Ayala, 2012). Most participants were very willing to share their stories. Some of them wept several times talking about their experiences in Canada during the interviews. I believed that my identity as an "ethnic insider" encouraged these participants to expose their true sentiments and real thoughts to me. I doubted that these participants would easily trust a researcher from a different ethnic or cultural background.

My female identity facilitated me to explore the power relations between participants and their adult children. My family role as a daughter or daughter-in-law in my own extended family engendered my interest in participants' relationships with their adult children. During the process of participant recruitment, I found that sometimes adult children of the participants acted as gatekeepers in determining whether their parents could participate in the research. For example, one adult child insisted on sitting in my interview with her parents to supervise her parents' responses in the interview. I could understand some participants' dependence on their adult children and their subordinate position in their extended families. Furthermore, my identity as a wife and a caregiver in my family encouraged me to explore participants' contribution in a domestic environment. Overall, my female identity allowed me to obtain rich data of participants' perceptions and experiences in their families in Canada.

I recognized that my personal experiences facilitated my development of an empathetic understanding of participants' experiences and sense of place in Edmonton, Canada. Like most of the participants, I have encountered many of the issues described in the interviews. The participants and I had many common experiences living in Edmonton such as feeling excluded by mainstream society, having insufficient English language ability and shopping regularly in Chinese grocery stores. The common experiences between participants and I allowed me to experientially understand participants' feelings and perceptions as they lived in Edmonton and Canada (Van Manen, 1990).

My role in the study influenced the research design, its implementation, and the interpretation of the results (Finlay & Gough, 2003; Sánchez-Ayala, 2012). As a cultural and ethnic insider, my identity provided instrumental support for me to conduct this study. A discussion of my positionality provided examples of how my personal

characteristics guided me to apply appropriate strategies in data collection and interpretation. The elaboration of my role in the study enabled a critical self-reflection of my personal bias and subjectivity, which might influence the validity of the research presented in this thesis (Dowling, 2010).

Chapter 4: Development of a Sense of Place in a Process Leading to Independence

4.1 Introduction

This chapter, focusing on the first research objective, explores and describes how family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants identify and create a place for themselves as residents of Edmonton, Canada. Sense of place, a term that signifies a person's subjective perceptions of place, is used as a lens through which examine the process by which people assign meanings to place (Foote & Azaryahu, 2009; Relph, 1976). This study is an exploration of family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants' sense of place, especially in terms of being in a new country.

This study focuses on participants' Chinese cultural background and their earlier experiences in China. Given that these late-age immigrants have lived most of their lives in China, it is important to examine how the sociopolitical contexts of China shape their values and experiences (Treas, 2008; Treas & Gubernskaya, 2016). Although some scholars have explored the plights of elderly Chinese immigrants in Canada (Chan, 1983; Da & Garcia, 2015; MacKinnon et al., 2001), the earlier life experiences of them and the impacts of such experiences on their aging processes have rarely been explored (Zhou, 2012). This study will fill this void by examining participants' early life experiences in Mainland China and the influence this has on their later life experiences in Canada.

This study focuses on the place of origin and time of immigration in examining participants' lived experience in Canada. The principle of time and place is emphasized by the life course perspective in understanding immigrants' later life paths in their receiving countries (Treas & Gubernskaya, 2016). The life course perspective, which has been articulated by scholars in recent years, seeks to bridge micro-level individual experiences with macro-level social structure by incorporating various social factor analyses (Bengtson, Burgess, & Parrott, 1997). Although this study is not aimed at exploring how social factors in participants' earlier life experiences contributed to their

later life outcomes (Hareven, 1994; Treas, 2008; Treas & Gubernskaya, 2016; Zhou, 2012), the life course perspective can still throw light upon linking the cultural contexts and participant experiences in both China and Canada.

This study is aimed at presenting how the participants make Canada a meaningful place to live. Participants were allowed to define a place based on their perceptions and experiences. More importantly, this research explores how these elderly immigrants deal with negative relationships with place. Although sense of place includes both positive and negative feelings (Relph, 2001; Shamai, 1991; Tuan, 1977), existing research has tended to focus on positive affective bonds with places (Manzo, 2005). Places where people have negative experiences are as meaningful as places where their needs are not satisfactorily met (Kuribayashi & Tharp, 1998). Scholars have called for a broader understanding of emotional relationships to place that incorporates positive, negative and ambivalent feelings (Chawla, 1992; Manzo, 2003).

This chapter contains descriptions of participants' experiences and perceptions and interpretations of participants' sense of place. Specifically, the first section introduces participant characteristics and explores how the social contexts of China shape participants' family values. The second section examines participants' experiences in both society and in their families in Canada. The last section explores how participants' perceptions of Canada and life paths develop over time.

4.2 Participant Characteristics and Cultural Backgrounds

4.2.1 Participant Characteristics

A description of participant characteristics is an effective means to define the case under investigation (Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010). The participants of this study are 35 family sponsored and low-income late-age Chinese immigrants living in Edmonton, Canada (see Table 4.1 for the participant demographics). First, all participants were sponsored by their adult children under the family reunification program of CIC (Citizenship and Immigration of Canada). Second, all participants came to Canada after the age of 50. Most participants were aged between 65 and 84 when they participated in

the study. Third, although 34 participants were retired[4] and received a pension in China, nineteen participants had an annual disposable personal income of less than $10,000. In comparison, in 2013, Canadian senior women had a median income of $21,900, while senior men had an income of $32,300 (Hudon & Milan, 2016). Among the 16 participants whose annual income was between $10,000 and $30,000, thirteen participants were supported by Canada's Old Age Security (OAS) pension program. Finally, most participants experienced a change of living arrangement in Canada. Thirty-four participants lived in their adult children's households for at least one year. Most of them later chose to live apart from their adult children and lived an independent life in Canada.

Table 4. 1 Characteristics of Research Participants

Category		Number
Age at immigration	50-64	14
	≥ 65	21
Length of residence in Canada (years)	≤ 4	11
	5-10	11
	≥ 10	13
Age	60-65	1
	65-74	16
	75-84	15
	≥ 85	3
Living arrangement	With adult children	14
	Living Independently	21
Living with adult children over one year	Yes	34
	No	1
Annual disposable personal income in Canada (Canadian dollars)	< 10,000	19
	10,000-30,000	16

4.2.2 Family Values in Mainland China

An explanation of the value of filial piety and contemporary family values in China, which have been introduced in Chapter 2 (see Page 29, 31 and 32), provides a

[4] The mandatory retirement age for urban employed men is commonly 60, for employed women is commonly 50 or 55 (Ministry of Civil Affairs of China, 2008).

cultural background for understanding the participants' relationships with their adult children in Canada. First, for participants, accepting their adult children's sponsorship to immigrate to Canada is consistent with the traditional value of filial piety. As mentioned in Chapter 2, according to the Chinese traditional family values, adult children should not be exempt from their filial responsibilities, even if they travel far away from their parents (Yang, 1980). Confucius said: "While his parents are alive, the son may not go abroad to a distance. If he does go abroad, he must have a fixed place to which he goes" (Confucius & Legge, 1971). In this sense, the migration of participants from China to Canada allowed them to better access their children's material and emotional supports.

Second, although adult children are considered as the obligated caregivers of their parents, family values and household practices in China have changed since the 1950s (Qi, 2015; Whyte, 1997) (see 2.5.3 and 2.5.4 for a detailed discussion). Chinese seniors have experienced a change of living arrangements and relationships with their adult children. The recent China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey shows that nearly half of the respondents live apart from their children and grandchildren. Furthermore, most respondents see complete dependence on their adult children as being infeasible. In comparison, most respondents maintained an interdependent and mutually supportive relationship with their adult children (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016).

Finally, adult children are practically the most dependable caregivers of their parents in today's China (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016). The development of institutional care in China has not met public expectations and the quality of available care services is not trusted by Chinese seniors (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016). In the absence of state-provided elder care, families and adult children in particular still play irreplaceable roles in elder care in China (Qi, 2015). Therefore, participants' needs of care and support provided by their adult children can be an important motivation leading them to come to Canada.

4.3 Findings

Based on an examination of participants' lived experience in Canada, the findings show that participants commonly experienced a lack of capability, living with their adult

children for a few years, and a process to become independent in Canada. The data indicate that most participants did not have sufficient language and financial abilities to live in Canada. In a co-living arrangement, participants obtained important language and financial support from their adult children. In order to maintain an interdependent relationship with their adult children, participants took care of their grandchildren and contributed to domestic work in their adult children's families. The data also show that most participants sought to change their living arrangement and to be independent through going to work, obtaining institutional support, and increasing capability to live in Canada.

4.3.1 Finding 1: A Lack of Capability

4.3.1.1 Insufficient Language Ability

Most participants indicated that they did not have sufficient English language skills to live in Canada. Only one participant reported feeling confident about her English ability. The remaining thirty-three participants reported having problems reading, speaking and understanding English. English is one of the two official languages in Canada and 98% of Edmontonians use English at work (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Most participants found that a lack of English language proficiency affected their daily social interactions. For example, one participant described feeling disabled because her language barrier negatively influenced her daily life.

> *Because of the language barrier, I am like a deaf person living here. I cannot read, like an illiterate person. Do not mention to integrate to the society [A07].*

Participants developed negative perceptions about Canada because they were frustrated with their insufficient English language ability. Several participants mentioned that a lack of English language competency caused them to feel alienated and insecure.

> *The biggest problem is language. I do not feel safe here. When I went out, I could not ask for directions. Especially at night, I dared not going out. I do not understand English, and I am not familiar with any places [B02].*

One participant argued that her negative feelings about Canada were attributed to a lack of capability to live there.

I cannot say that I am not satisfied with Canada. However, my abilities restrict my personal development [A07].

Twenty-nine participants indicated that they did not have a chance to learn English in their earlier years in China. Among these participants, some of them only learned Russian, and the remaining participants never had a chance to learn a foreign language. According to the education policy of the Government of China, Russian became the primary foreign language taught in secondary schools nationwide between the early 1950s and the early 1960s. In comparison, English education was less likely to be promoted in schools and universities in China between the early 1950s and the late 1970s (Bolton & Graddol, 2012). Most participants, who were born between the 1930s and 1940s experienced an absence of English education in China when they went to school and college. Therefore, the absence of English education during the 1950s in China contributed to the insufficient English language skills of most participants.

4.3.1.2 Insufficient Financial Ability

Twenty-one participants indicated that they did not have enough savings to cover their expenses in Canada, whereas they could afford to be financially self-sufficient in China. Most participants went to work in the 1950s-70s when a single wage system was implemented in China. The socialist wage system, which emphasized economic egalitarianism and sought to equalize income distribution, contributed to an overall low-income level among Chinese people (Liu & Qin, 2010). Furthermore, before the economic reforms initiated in 1978, private enterprises and investments were absent in China (Liu & Qin, 2010). Therefore, before 1980, these participants did not have other sources of additional income. As a result, participants who spent their whole life working in State-owned institutions and enterprises in China continued to have a low income as they grew old. By 1978, the average annual disposable income of urban residents was only 343 Chinese Yuan (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2008). Since the late 1980s, most urban residents experienced an annual increase in pension income, allowing them to become better-off (China Business News, 2015).

All participants experienced a decrease in financial ability after they immigrated to Canada. Their savings and incomes were devalued when they exchanged their Chinese

Renminbi[5] to Canadian dollars. Although most participants reported that they had formal wage employment and received pensions in China, they were unable to be financially self-sufficient in Canada. For example, the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security of China reported that the average monthly pension of urban residents was about 2000 Chinese Yuan in 2014, which was only equivalent to 200-300 Canadian dollars (China Business News, 2015). As described by one participant, the pension that he received in China was far from enough to cover his living expenses in Canada.

> *You know the income of an ordinary Chinese senior. The exchange rate is 6.5:1. One thousand Canadian dollars is seven thousand Chinese Yuan. Our monthly expense is only one thousand Yuan in China. We do not have a budget to afford a monthly expense of seven thousand Yuan in Canada [A10].*

Participants developed negative perceptions about Canada when they experienced a decrease in financial ability. Some participants expressed that they felt unsettled and lacked a sense of belonging to Canada when they experienced financial hardships.

> *I have a pension and a health care plan in China. China is my home… I feel belonging to where I have enough funding. I think, so far, China is most kind to me [B04].*

> *We once planned to go back to China… We cannot afford to live here. If we have enough funding, we would feel at ease to settle here rather than to go back to China [A10].*

One participants mentioned that obtaining additional income sources in Canada was critical for them to live in Canada.

> *We were under pressure because we were financially insufficient to live here. We need some additional funding [B11].*

Some participants mentioned that the first ten years after they immigrated to Canada were the most challenging period in coping with their financial predicaments.

> *The problem is that we have not yet lived here for ten years. The ten-year period is most difficult [A11].*

The ten-year period mentioned by the participants coincides with their adult children's sponsorship validity period (Government of Canada, 2017b). Given that all

[5] Renminbi is the official name of the currency in China. Yuan refers to a unit of the Renminbi currency (Phillips, 2010).

participants immigrated to Canada before 2012[6], their adult children were obliged to sponsor them for ten years. In the ten-year period, adult children must provide financial and other support to ensure that their sponsored parents do not have to apply for social assistance (Government of Canada, 2012a, 2017b). Accordingly, participants are financially dependent on their adult children because they have limited access to additional financial support in their first ten years in Canada. After the ten-year period, participants are eligible to apply for the OAS pension program, which allows them to have better financial security (Government of Canada, 2015d).

To summarize, most participants developed negative perceptions about Canada because they experienced a lack of language and financial abilities in their lives. The findings of this study show that participants' inadequate language skills and insufficient financial abilities are attributed to China's monopoly sociopolitical institutions. The participants' common cultural background and disadvantages in language and financial abilities contributed to the similar ways that they evaluated Canada (Relph, 1976).

4.3.2 Finding 2: Living with Adult Children

4.3.2.1 Dependents of Adult Children

<u>Seeking Elder Care, Language and Financial Support</u>

Coming to Canada to stay with an adult child who can provide support and elder care was associated with participants' sense of safety. Most participants expressed that they could not obtain enough support from the current health care and welfare institutions in China. For example, one participant explained that, without the support of her adult child, her outlook in China was not optimistic.

> *Our pension can only support us when we are healthy. When we have some serious health conditions, we are game over. If I need to have an operation, the cost will be several hundred thousand yuan [B09].*

Another participant indicated that she chose to stay with her only child in Canada to avoid being left in hospitals or nursing homes in China.

[6] The sponsorship validity period of parent and grandparent immigrants has increased to twenty years since January 2, 2014 (Government of Canada, 2013c).

The reality is that we only have one child. When we become very old and experience a loss of self-care ability, who can take care of us?... The answer is that we have to stay here. We discussed this for a long time and reached the consensus[B06].

Thirty-three participants lived with their adult children and obtained their children's financial support in their first a few years in Canada. Participants indicated that living with their adult children decreased their housing and grocery expenses.

My son is responsible for all of my expenses in Canada since we lived together[B01].

I do not need to use my own money… My daughter is good. She gave us some money from time to time [B06].

Some participants indicated that a co-living arrangement allowed them to conveniently obtain their adult children's language assistance in accessing health care resources, acquiring information about government policies and handling correspondence.

My husband does not understand English. I just understand a few words. We are reliant on our children, only the children, to live in Canada. Their help is very important [B14].

Adult children's language and financial support helped participants to adapt to a new environment in Canada. Living in their adult children's homes allowed participants to feel safe and comfortable in Canada.

I felt quite comfortable and secure when I lived with my son. I lived in my son's house. He owns the house and he has cars. Everything was ready for us to use… Without my son, we face more problems to live here and we have to solve them by ourselves [A10].

Expecting a Repayment

Participants saw that the traditional value of filial piety provided a rationale for their dependence on their adult children. Some participants saw the support provided by their adult children as a repayment. As describe in Chapter 2, social exchange theory explains filial duty as an implicit moral contract governing a reciprocal relationship between parents and children (Lan, 2001; Pyke, 1999). Parents who spend their best years undergoing all kinds of hardships to raise their children are expected to be paid

back by their children. Children owe their parents a debt, and they are obliged to provide substantial support to their parents as a repayment (Sung, 1995). For example, one participant indicated that moving from China to Canada allowed her to live a better life. She considered that being sponsored by her child to live in a developed country was her child's repayment to her.

> *We are here to receive the children's reward to us. They lived in a developed country and owned a house. They thought that they had the ability to invite us to live together. This is a kind of reward from children to parents. I felt the social environment, the air quality, and the overall living environment are excellent [B15].*

A co-living arrangement of adult children and elderly parents is considered a necessary practice of filial piety (Zimmer, 2005). As described by one participant, an adult child who failed to provide daily care to his mother in a co-living arrangement was considered to be violating filial piety.

> *When I was a new immigrant in Canada, one day I visited a friend who lived alone in a senior housing. My friend has been a widow since she was young. However, her son, who already owned several stores, left her to live alone. My tears dropped and I felt that her son was heartless… It was very difficult for her to bring her son up [A08].*

Some participants also expressed that, in a co-living arrangement, feeling being respected and cared for by their adult children were important to their relationship. The spiritual aspect of filial obligation emphasizes that children should show their respect, deference, and compliance to their parents, which are important to secure parents' authority in a family (Yeh & Bedford, 2003).

> *My son is quite filial. He is the best. He cares about me. Every night, he accompanied me at home. Sometimes we watched TV together. He set up the Chinese TV channels for me. A lot of my friends found it difficult to live with their sons, but I never had this feeling [B1].*

4.3.2.2 Caregivers of Adult Children

Contributing to Domestic Work

Twenty-five participants were involved in taking care of their grandchildren in Canada. Although being a caregiver of their grandchildren is in line with the

participants' traditional role in three-generation families (Goh, 2006; Xie, Defrain, Meredith, & Combs, 1996), providing childcare meant that they lost valuable time and opportunities to integrate into Canadian society. For example, one participant argued that taking care of her grandchildren used time that could have been used to improve her English language ability.

> *When people asked me why I did not go to English class to improve my language ability, I told them: I had no time. I had to take care of my three grandchildren [A08].*

Participants' transgenerational caregiving occurred at the expense of their preferred lifestyles. Participants saw their lives as boring and isolated when they were confined within their adult children's homes taking care of their very young grandchildren.

> *I spent eight and a half months in Canada looking after my grandchild. I wanted to go back desperately. With the return ticket in hand, I looked at the calendar day by day. I brought the baby back to China when he was seven months [B06].*

> *I thought only about taking care of my grandchild after I came to Canada. However, when my grandchild was one year old, I felt that moving to Canada was a mistake. My life was boring here… I wanted to go back desperately, I even cried for that [B09].*

Participants were also responsible for household chores in their adult children's homes. Some participants reported that they were relied upon extensively by their adult children to do these chores. Sometimes the load of domestic work, including cooking, housekeeping, and laundry, could be very oppressive for participants. For example, one participant complained that she could not afford to overwork in her daughter's home anymore.

> *We are physically unable to overwork anymore. I help my daughter and live with them. I am old and want to live a peaceful life. They ask a lot from us. Even if I want to help, I am not physically able to [B05].*

Some participants saw that their contributions to childcare and housework benefited the younger generation by enabling them to focus on career development in Canada. In particular, participants' daughters or daughters-in-law, who have traditionally

been the primary caregivers in a family, were able to lessen their burden of domestic work and pursue a better career in Canada.

> *We took care of all the grandchildren and shared the burden of our children. Our efforts enabled them to work without concerns. Otherwise they had to stay at home taking care of the kids.… They used to have a lower family income. My daughter-in-law was trained as a computer technician in China. She could not find a job here. Then she took courses in accounting. Now she is a certified accountant. Her annual income used to be $30,000. Now her annual income is $66,000 [B04].*

Participants expressed that they expected a reciprocal relationship between them and their adult children. In other words, when they provided childcare and housework to their adult children, they expected that their contributions would be valued by their children and that they could receive considerable care from their children. However, participants often felt that they were on the sidelines of their adult children's lives. Fourteen participants reported that they lacked quality time with their adult children and often felt lonely and isolated at their children's homes. For example, one participant was frustrated because the family exchange between his adult child and him was not equivalent.

> *Both of us lost weight here. In fact, we enjoyed our life in China. We find that our life here is not easy. We are tired. In China, we did not need to do household chores when we lived with our younger daughter.*
>
> *Here they bought what they liked to eat. For example, they bought cheese, but we do not like it. We just need flour, which is very cheap in Costco, to make some steamed bread and wheaten food. We did not expect them to provide a high-quality life to us, not at all. We did our best to contribute to them. However, they did not see [that we are sacrificing for them]. They do not understand why we are tired [B11].*

Losing Power in a Family

Participants commonly experienced a loss of authority and a degradation of status in their children's families. Participants reported lacking power in decision-making, feeling reluctant to make demands on their children and making compromises in their relationships with their adult children. The unbalanced power relationship between participants and their adult children threatened the co-living family structure. Some participants expressed a strong desire to live apart from their adult children to escape the unbalanced power relationship.

> *Our daughter does not support us to live apart. If we move into seniors housing, we cannot help her with the household chores. In addition, she must afford our living expenses in seniors housing. They are not happy about that. We cannot insist and we feel embarrassed because we do not have the financial ability to live in the seniors housing [B05].*

Some participants implied that being financially dependent on their adult children contributed to their loss of power in their extended families. Correspondingly, participants saw that an increase in their financial ability was important to reinforce their family authority. For example, one participant described a power struggle between her husband and her son. The father sought to be financially self-sufficient to maintain his authority in the family.

> *My husband was upset in our son's home. He squabbled with my son about petty matters. My husband wanted to do some part-time jobs and move out of our son's household. My son did not agree because he could afford our expenses in Canada. But my husband insisted and fell out with my son. Al last my son gave up. Then my husband went to work [B08].*

Participants reported feeling alienated and embarrassed about their declining status in their families. Some participants described that they felt that they were a burden on their children in Canada. Use of the term "burden" indicates that participants perceive themselves as troublesome and disturbing dependents of their children (Lai, 2010). These negative feelings erode elderly immigrants' self-respect and increase their likelihood of developing depression (Maiter, 2003).

> *Our living expenses became a heavy burden on our children here. They have to buy our groceries and pay for our health insurance… We feel not comfortable about that. Therefore, we plan to go back to China to relieve the burden on our children [B15].*

To summarize, although participants and their adult children maintained an interdependent relationship in a co-living arrangement, most participants saw that they were disadvantaged in their power relations with their adult children. Although participants contributed to their adult children's families by doing domestic chores, they found it difficult to obtain their expected support, care, and family authority from their adult children. As a result, some participants sought to change their living arrangement, as well as the unbalanced power relations with their adult children.

4.3.3 Finding 3: Exerting Independence and Finding a "Place" in Canada

4.3.3.1 Working to Increase Financial Ability

Ensuring financial self-sufficiency is seen by the participants to be an essential step towards becoming independent in Canada. Participants obtained their needed extra income mainly from two sources: a pension from the Government of Canada and income from working in Canada. Sixteen participants who were enrolled in the OAS pension program reported that they could be financially self-sufficient. Twelve participants, before they were eligible for the government benefit, achieved financial self-sufficiency by working in Canada.

Most working participants could not find a decent job other than doing manual work in restaurants, hotels, food factories, care centres and households (See Table 4.2 for the occupations of participants). Because of their old age and insufficient English language ability, working participants perceived themselves as being less likely to be hired by employers. Furthermore, the participants' competencies were devalued because they lacked English language proficiency and their professional skills and work experiences were not recognized in Canada. For example, one participant, who used to be a doctor in China, worked as a nursing attendant in Canada to earn extra income.

> *I graduated from the Second Military Medical University and I was an obstetrician and gynecologist in China, but I could only work as a nurse in Canada… My English language ability was poor, I could not communicate with patients… I needed money and I had to work to make a living… You can image, I am a petite woman, sometimes I needed to transfer people who were much bigger than me. I suffered back pain because my back was hurt at work [B09].*

Table 4.2 Participants' Job Areas and Workplace in Canada

	Requiring professional skills		Not requiring professional skills	
Workplace	University	Care Centre	Restaurants, hotels, food factories	Households
Number of persons	1	1	8	6

Note. A total of 12 participants reported work in Canada after they retired in China. Some participants worked more than one job in different workplaces.

Although most jobs that participants were eligible to do were unstable and low-paid, participants saw that working benefited their lives by increasing their autonomy and expanding their social networks. Therefore, most working participants were resistant to their hardships at work and maintained their employment in Canada. For example, one participant described that, although her husband felt his work physically challenging, going to work enabled him to adapt to his life in Canada.

> *My husband knew that he had to endure the hardship of work. It was not easy for him to get this job. No one wants to hire elders. The manager initially indicated that my husband was not appropriate for the job and declined his job application. For sure he would like to hire someone younger and robust. My husband promised that he could do anything in any department; once he felt incompetent at work, he would resign. He felt tired for sure, but he never complained… My husband does not want to be a burden on his son.*
>
> *My husband gradually got used to his life. He expanded his social networks and felt connected with his colleagues. He was not isolated… He felt that the life here somewhat like the life in China. Of course, his life in China was the best. However, his life in Canada was not bad [B08].*

Benefiting from the shortage of manual labourers in Edmonton, participants could be employed despite the fact that they were less-preferred job candidates. Statistics show that, from 1992 to 2012, Alberta's employment gains outpaced the Canadian average (Government of Canada, 2013b). In particular, Edmonton and Calgary generated the most employment gains in the province of Alberta (Government of Canada, 2013b). For example, one participant argued that Edmonton was a friendly city because it allowed him to gain employment and be financially independent.

> *We think Edmonton is most appropriate for us to live. Why? We can live independently and be economically independent. We did not want to depend on our daughter … If we live in Vancouver and Toronto, we cannot find part-time jobs. They would not hire us. Younger people could not find a job there… Therefore, we think Edmonton is the best [B11].*

4.3.3.2 Obtaining Institutional Support to Ensure a Sense of Safety

Obtaining institutional support allowed participants to develop a sense of safety to age in Canada. Most participants were aware of Canada's social security system, including the availability of subsidized seniors housing, publicly-funded health care and the OAS pension program. This social security system allowed participants to feel supported and to live an independent life in Canada.

I live in a government subsidized seniors housing. Living here is very economical. I live on a tight budget and I only need to pay $120 a month for the rent. Water, power, and TV cost additional $70. The rent is based on the government policy. The rent for a bachelor apartment is less than $200 a month. A Chinese couple recently moved in. They pay $270 a month… I am not worried about my life here. I think that I have no problem to live here… There are social security and public health care. I am not afraid of getting sick. I do not need to worry about the medical cost even if I have a serious disease. As long as I can walk into a hospital, the medical cost and daily meals would be covered. This is an amazing society [A11].

Of twenty-one participants who lived apart from their children, sixteen participants lived in government-subsidized seniors housing (see Table 4.3 for their housing types). According to the Seniors' Self-Contained Housing Program of Alberta, participants only needed to pay 30% of their household income as rent for an apartment (Government of Alberta, 2015). This policy helped participants who had a meager income to set up an independent living arrangement by paying affordable rents.

Table 4.3 Independent Living Arrangement of Participants

Housing types	Government-subsidized seniors housing	Seniors housing	Condominium
Numbers of persons	16	2	3

Some participants described a change in their expectations of their adult children's roles in elder care. For example, one participant argued that she did not consider her adult children as her primary caregivers anymore. She considered that going to a nursing home was a smart choice rather than relying on her family for support.

I used to consider how could I live by myself. It was not easy for me to raise my son from a kid to a grown-up… Now I realized that everyone should live by herself. Children have their own lives. Do not interfere their lives. I feel great now. It takes time to realize it… It is not realistic to keep the adult children at my bedside. I won't blame my children. If I need help, I can ask help from Chinese community centres and nursing homes. Therefore, I have nothing to worry about… I felt assured after I visited a nursing home… If I am unable to take care of myself someday, I will go to that place. The nursing home is better than my child [A08].

Another participant indicated that she had a strong sense of safety in Canada because she considered Canada's social system to be reliable. In comparison, receiving

the in-home care arranged by her son in China could not offset her feeling of insecurity to age in China.

> *My son lives in China. A lot of my friends asked me to go back China: "you are old. You need to stay at your son's home instead of going far away to Canada. If you have any problems in Canada, you son would not be at your side to take care of you." ... If I am in China, I do not need to do anything. There will be a nursing aide to take care of me. The house is large and my son lives alone. My daughter-in-law passed away… But I told my son, after I considered that, I still wanted to go back to Canada. I like here… I feel safe here. Here, people's life is valuable. The lives of people are considered important. When a person died, the body was carefully examined to investigate the cause of death. This would not happen in China [B04].*

Participants saw that the completeness and affordability of the elder care services supported them to age in Canada. In comparison, the care services provided in China were unable to meet participants' expectations.

> *I think that such kind of care service is impossible in China. My friend lives in a seniors housing, which provides complete care service to the tenants. For example, bathing and nail trimming are free. I think these benefits are good, very good. I think Canada takes care of elderly people very well [B14].*

> *A care worker helped me with bathing. My house was cleaned every two weeks by another care-worker. I paid them. I felt very comfortable living in such a seniors housing… I hope seniors in China can have such seniors housing in the future [B16].*

4.3.3.3 An Increase in Capability

Participants commonly experienced an increase in their capability to live in Canada. Twenty participants took English language courses in Canada. The English language courses were offered to participants for free by community centres, churches or government-funded English language training programs such as LINC (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada). Although there was some disagreement, most participants, after having some English training, reported an increase in confidence of their daily conversations in English.

> *We want to integrate into society. We took English classes in churches… I can communicate with people using simple English words when I shop [A05].*

Most participants reported that learning the skills and customs necessary for

participating in society was challenging for them. One participant described living an independent life in Canada as a learning process.

> *We struggled to be independent. We went shopping, saw a doctor, took public transit, participated in community activities, and went to the library. We interacted with broader society. We got acquainted with a lot of friends. Some of them have lived here for several decades. We acquired a lot of information from them, such as the government policy and social benefits for elders. We started to take English class… It [the process to be independent] was very difficult and painstaking [A10].*

Participants saw that their ability to live an independent life in Canada as an achievement. For example, one participant was proud of experiencing a transformation from being dependent on adult children to being independent in Canadian society.

> *I have a sense of achievement. The achievement is that I can be self-reliant. We used just to be grandpa and grandma who helped our children in childcare. Now we are independent individuals in society. We like being part of society [A10].*

Another participant felt that being independent had a positive impact on her relationship with her adult children and improved her self-esteem.

> *I am independent. It is a happy thing. I think that being independent is important for seniors. If I am still financially dependent on my child, I would lose self-respect. Furthermore, we need to think positively about being independent. We do not need to live on other's support. Adult children have their life goals and they raise their children. I would rather not to bother them [A11].*

Experiencing an increase in capability allowed participants to regain autonomy in their lives. Participants were likely to experience a loss of independence in Canada due to a lack of English proficiency and financial ability (MacKinnon et al., 2001). When participants increased their English language and financial abilities, they usually felt more confident in managing an independent life in Canada. Accordingly, their perceptions about Canada changed as they lived an independent life in Canada. For example, one participant described that her life in Canada was the same as her life in China when she obtained sufficient independence in Canada.

> *We were very independent in China… After we moved to Canada, our life became challenging. We became stressful because we did not want to depend on our daughter… We once planned to go back China when we found that we did not have the autonomy in Canada… We realized that being independent was crucial for us to live in Canada. We went to work and saved the money in our pockets.*

We benefitted from this. Choosing what to buy are up to ourselves... My life here is the same as my life in China [B12].

4.4 Discussion

4.4.1 The Framework: Identity and Place

The findings of this chapter reflect a process of participant identity change and its impact on the participants' relationship with place. Identity and place are two key concepts that need to be explained here. Identity refers to individual characteristics or personalities that allow a person to be distinguishable from others (Hauge, 2007). Identity is shaped through our interactions with the world and formed through a self-awareness and a self-reflection process (Casey, 2001). People can identify themselves with place. Therefore, our identities are based in part on place. The places in which people have lived shape their environment preferences and the environments that they may seek out in the future (Hauge, 2007). In this sense, place and self are intertwined and cannot be separated from each other (Casey, 2001).

This study utilized a life course perspective to examine how participants' earlier life experiences in China shaped their identities and influenced their later experiences in Canada. The findings show that participants' identities were socially created in the sociopolitical contexts of China within the specific historical period. The social structure determined participants' social roles and family values that were widely accepted in Chinese society. The established systems of roles and values influenced the construction of participant identities (Breakwell, 2010). Participants experienced a change in social context and pattern of social structure. Accordingly, participants suffered from the pressure of changing their identities when they immigrated to live in Canada (Breakwell, 2010; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, & Breakwell, 2003).

Figure 4.1 shows a process by which participants' identities and their relationship with place changed in Canada. The data collected in this study reflect how participants identified themselves in Canada and defined their relationship with Canada in two stages. In Stage 1, Participants' identities, which were reflected as their insufficient language and financial abilities and their interdependent relationship with their adult children,

determined their initial perceptions about Canada. In Stage 2, participants' identities and perceptions about Canada changed as they adjusted their relationships with their adult children and improved their language and financial abilities to live in Canada. The next two sections will discuss the framework presented in Figure 4.1 in more detail.

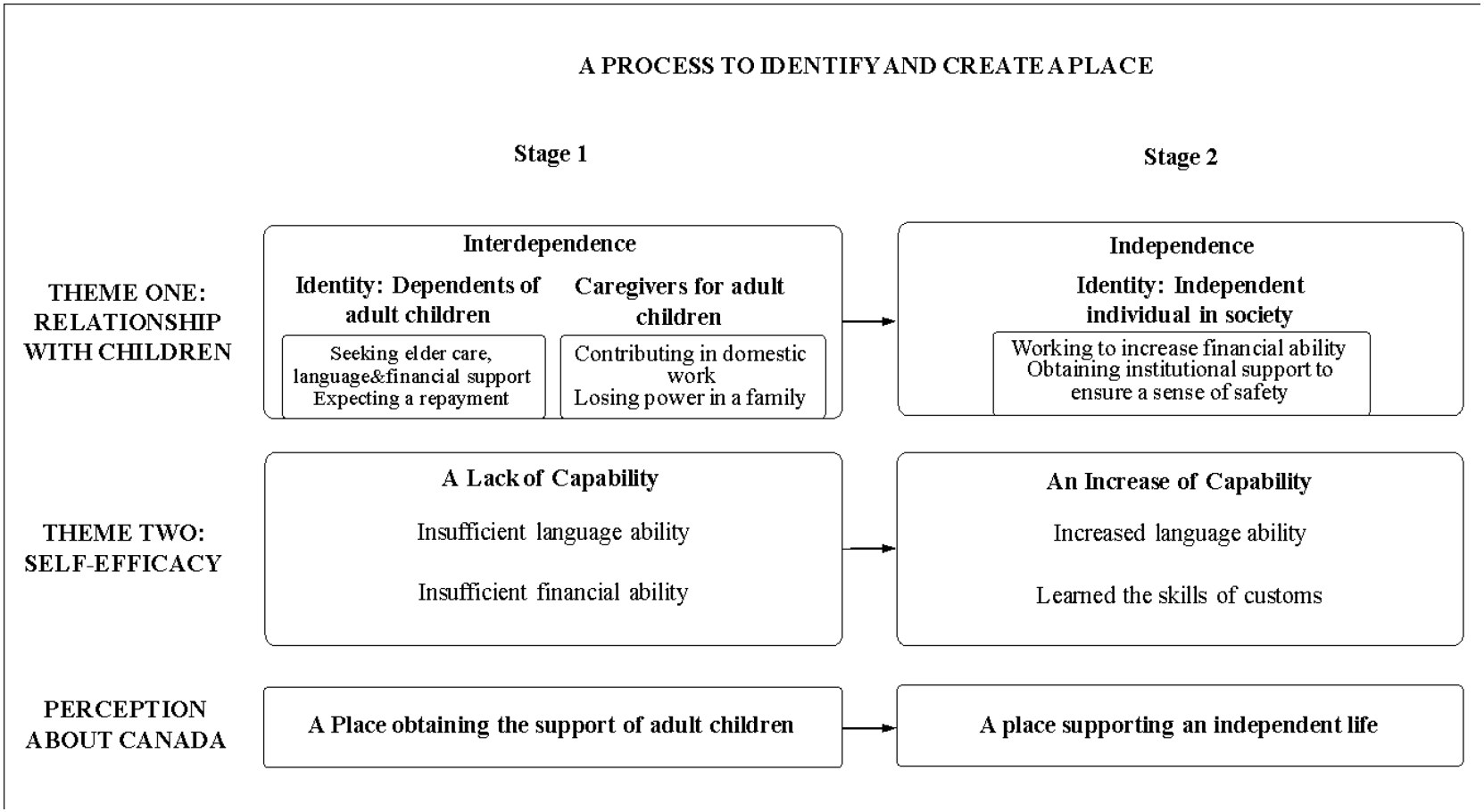

Figure 4.1 Conceptual Framework of Chapter 4

4.4.2 Theme One: Family Relations, Place and Identity

4.4.2.1 The Change of Relationship with Adult Children

The relationship between participants and their adult children influenced participants' identities and perceptions about Canada. When participants left China to settle in Canada, they experienced a disruption of attachment between them and their familiar places, which might threaten and attenuate their original identities (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Rowles & Ravdal, 2002). In other words, participants' migration is at the cost of abandoning their long-established relationship with places and this threatens their identities. Accordingly, participants needed to establish their connections with Canada, to substitute for their lost human–place relationship and identities in China (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

Stage 1 of Figure 4.1 presents how participants identified their connections with Canada when they encountered relocation-associated challenges. Participants initially established their connections with Canada based on their relations with their adult children (Gustafson, 2001a). Upon arrival in Canada, participants depended on their adult children and considered Canada as a place that allowed them to age with the support of their children. As repayment for their adult children's sponsorship, participants also played important roles as caregivers in their adult children's households. In other words, participants' identities were both dependents and caregivers for their adult children. However, participants commonly experienced a loss of power and a decline of status in their coresidence with their adult children. As a result, the interdependent relationship between participants and their adult children, which originally supported them to live in Canada, became weakened.

Stage 2 of the figure presents how participants attached new meanings to Canada when their initial bonds with Canada were disrupted due to their changing relationships with their adult children. Participants adjusted their lifestyles through going to work, moving out of their adult children's households, and seeking institutional support. The identities of participants changed from being dependent to being independent. Participants' identities and activities affected what Canada meant to them (Relph, 1976;

Teo & Huang, 1996). As a result, participants saw Canada as a place that supported them to live an independent life.

4.4.2.2 Understanding the Intergenerational Power Dynamics

An explanation of intergenerational power dynamics is important to generate an understanding of the relationship between participants and their adult children, which influenced participant identities and perceptions about Canada. The findings of the study show that the power relations between participants and their adult children were influenced by the participants' financial abilities. The impact of family economics on intergenerational power dynamics has been observed by different scholars in different societies (Collier, 1997; Feng, 1966; Stone, 1977). In particular, Feng (1966) indicated that the origin of filial piety and parental authority is built upon the ownership of the family estate and resources. In an agrarian society, parents have the power to allocate family assets and properties to adult children and they own the authority of a family. Filial piety thus provides a moral basis to keep the authority of parents and the subordinate position of children in a family system (Feng, 1966). Under this hierarchy, parents can be assured of old age support provided by their adult children as long as they are in control of family assets (Wang & Anderson, 2014). Accordingly, parental authority may experience a decline when adult children become less dependent on family resources (Lan, 2001). Scholars indicated, in the process of modernization, that power relations between elderly parents and adult children have experienced a transformation when adult children can find a job and make money in the market economy (Collier, 1997; Stone, 1977).

The results of this study demonstrate that moving to Canada elicited a seismic shift in the traditional relationship between participants and their adult children. Adult children's power in a family was established when they financially sponsored their parents to live in Canada. Adult children further secured their power in their households by bringing back incomes from employment. In comparison, participants, upon their arrival in Canada, were dependent on their adult children's financial support. Accordingly, participants' financial reliance on their adult children contributed to a decline in their statuses in their families. Although participants played important roles as

caregivers in their adult children's families, they found it hard to increase their power in a family through their unpaid domestic work (Treas & Mazumdar, 2002).

The results of the study show that participants were dependents as well as caregivers in their extended families. The participants' dual roles in a family reflects an exchange of resources between them and their adult children. Social exchange theory explains that intergenerational relationships provide channels for the exchange of resources and power in a family (Pyke, 1996). In family exchanges, elderly parents and adult children acquire their own needs by making their part of contributions. This type of family exchange has been observed in Eastern and Southern Asian, and Soviet Jewish immigrant families. Elderly parents in these immigrant families usually helped their adult children with shopping, household chores, and childcare in exchange for the care and support provided by their children (Fukuyama, 1993; Min, 1998; Orleck, 1987). The findings of this study reveal that the intergenerational power dynamics is the fundamental basis of the family exchange between participants and their adult children.

4.4.3 Theme Two: Self-efficacy, Place and Identity

The findings of this study show that participants' self-efficacy influenced participants' identities and perceptions about Canada. Self-efficacy, which refers to an individual's belief in his/her capability to meet situational demands, is an important aspect of individual psychological well-being (Bandura, 1977; Leibkind, 1992). Self-efficacy, along with continuity, distinctiveness and self-esteem, are four fundamental principles to examine human-place relationships (Breakwell, 1986; Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). As a process, identity can absorb new components and adjust to maintain the four principles (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). Individuals feel their identities being threatened if they are unable to adjust their identities to comply with these principles (Breakwell, 2010). Accordingly, people feel self-efficacious when they perceive that their lives in a place are manageable (Bandura, 1977). In comparison, when individuals feel that they are lacking self-efficacy in a place, their relationship with the place is in a tension (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

Stage 1 of Figure 4.1 presents participants' perceptions about Canada when they lacked a self-efficacy to live in Canada. Participants perceived their lives in Canada as

unmanageable because they felt that they lacked the necessary financial and language abilities to live in Edmonton, Canada. Most participants initially depended on the support provided by their children. Accordingly, participants saw Canada as a place in which they lived on their adult children's support. However, most participants, who were not content with their statuses in their families and the society, struggled to increase their self-efficacy in Canada. Participants attempted to increase their financial and language abilities because their identity of self-efficacy had been attenuated after they moved to Canada.

Stage 2 of the figure presents how participants defined Canada when they increased their self-efficacy to live in Canada. Most participants increased their self-efficacy through improving their financial and language abilities and learning customs of mainstream society. In particular, Edmonton's strong economy and ample employment opportunities enabled 12 participants to earn additional income and achieve financial self-sufficiency. After participants experienced an increase of self-efficacy, they saw that Canada supported them to live an independent life. In this sense, participants felt self-efficacious and maintained their identity of self-efficacy in Canada.

Participants saw that being able to live an independent life in Canada allowed them to maintain a continuity of self. The continuity of self-identity is an important principle to understand the human-place relationship (Breakwell, 1986, 1992). Here place acts as a referent or media to the past self. The past self refers to an individual participant who used to be independent in China. Participants obtained a sense of continuity of identity once they were able to live an independent life in Canada. Obtaining independence allowed participants to link with their past selves and maintain the continuity of identity in Canada (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

4.5 Conclusion

4.5.1 The Relationship Between Place and Identity

Place has been an essential concept in human geography and an examination of people's subjective experience and perception of place has been a focus of studies since

the 1970s (Hauge, 2007). Place is a significant aspect of identity because our self-definition are based in part on place (Casey, 2001). However, place is not emphasized in mainstream identity theories and there have been few studies examining place-identity relationship. An exploration of place-identity relationship will both broaden general psychological identity theories and expand our knowledge of the meaning of place in human geography (Hauge, 2007).

The findings of this study demonstrate that the influence of place on identity can be seen as a result of the interaction between each participant and their place (Hauge, 2007). The relationship between participant identity and place is reflected at two levels. On the first level, the physical and symbolic features of places are embodied in participant identities (Devine-Wright, 2013). In this study, China and Canada are two places that not only refer to physical environments, but also contexts attached to social and cultural meanings (Hauge, 2007). The findings show that China's specific sociopolitical contexts and cultural environments influenced the identities of participants by shaping their social roles and family values. The social institutions of Canada also influenced the expectations of participants in receiving elder care and their skills and abilities necessary for participating in society.

On the second level, participants adjusted their relationship with place through changing their identities. Some participants experienced negative consequences upon moving from China to Canada, such as insufficient language and financial abilities (Cheng & Chou, 2015; Devine-Wright, 2013). The findings of this study show that participants deployed coping mechanisms, which included adjusting their relationship with their adult children and enhancing their self-efficacy. Participants experienced a transformation from being dependent on their adult children to being independent. As a result, they resisted relocation-associated challenges and re-established meanings in Canada (Anton & Lawrence, 2016).

4.5.2 Understanding the Process of Becoming Independent

Over the past three decades, researchers have observed that some sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants seek an independent lifestyle by living apart from their adult children and becoming financially self-sufficient (Chan, 1983; MacKinnon et al., 2001;

Tsai & Lopez, 1998; Wong et al., 2006). Researchers argue that late-age Chinese immigrants seeking independence is a reflection of a desire to adopt the lifestyle of the host society. In other words, elderly Chinese immigrants become independent in the process by which they acquire values and learn the customs of the dominant culture (Da & Garcia, 2015; Hossen & Westhues, 2013; Wong et al., 2006).

The findings of this study suggest that, over time, participants regained the independence that they lost when they immigrated to Canada. The study data suggest that participants could live an independent life in China when they had sufficient language and financial abilities. However, when participants came to Canada, factors such as insufficient language and financial abilities, timidity about the change of cultural environment and inability to drive, all became barriers for them to manage an independent life (Kuo, 2010; MacKinnon et al., 2001; Rathbone-McCuan & Hashimi, 1982). In this sense, participants commonly experienced a curtailment of independence in Canada (MacKinnon et al., 2001). However, when participants increased their language and financial abilities and learnt the customs of society, they obtained their needed independence in Canada. In this sense, the participants' transformation from dependents of their adult children to independent individuals was a reflection of their efforts to regain their independent lifestyle in Canada.

4.5.3 The Voice of the Sponsored Late-age Immigrants

The findings of this research expand our knowledge about negative feelings and experiences of family sponsored late-age immigrants in Canada. The results of this study reveal that the experiences of family sponsored late-age immigrants in both mainstream society and in their extended families contributed to their negative perceptions about Canada. The first type of negative experience was associated with the challenges that participants encountered in engaging with mainstream society. As shown in the results, participants developed negative perceptions about Canada when they experienced insufficient language and financial abilities. The second type of negative experience was associated with participants' dependence on their adult children. The results of this study showed that the unbalanced power relations between participants and their children

contributed to an unequal family exchange between them. As a result, they developed negative perceptions about Canada.

Participants' perceptions of their roles in their families allowed researchers to hear the voices of this vulnerable and disadvantaged group in Canada. Although the relationship between adult children and elderly parents can be examined from either side's perspective, the perspectives of the latter are often overlooked (Lin, Bryant, Boldero, & Dow, 2015). Furthermore, the perspectives of the adult children only tell one side of the story. For example, some studies find that adult children exaggerate the support that they provide to their parents, overstate the care demands of parents and neglect parents' contributions to their families and to society (Kim, Zarit, Eggebeen, Birditt, & Fingerman, 2011; Shapiro, 2004). This study redresses the imbalance of research in this field by revealing participants' disadvantages and vulnerability in their families and in society.

Chapter 5: Comparison and Contrast of Urban and Suburban Perceptions and Experiences of Place

5.1 Introduction

This chapter, focusing on the second research objective, compares and contrasts perceptions and experiences of place between two groups of family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants: those who live in urban neighbourhoods and those who live in suburban neighbourhoods. Through a comparison of age, length of residence, financial ability and family structure of the two groups of participants, this study presents how participants' perceptions and experiences of place are similar or different in Edmonton.

A brief description of Edmonton is necessary for the generation of an understanding of why sponsored late-age immigrants' lived experiences are worthy of study. Edmonton is Canada's second most populous medium-sized city and is the urban supply and service centre for resource extraction activities in western Canada (City of Edmonton, 2014a, 2016c; Tassonyi, 2017). In recent years, Edmonton has attracted a large number of immigrants because its economic and employment growth have been strong (City of Edmonton, 2014b, 2016c). The proportion of residents of Asian origin has increased rapidly in Edmonton and accounted for nearly one fourth of the population in 2011 (City of Edmonton, 2014a, 2016a; Statistics Canada, 2015b). Edmonton's changing ethnic composition is reflected in the settlement patterns of ethnic groups. Evidence shows that ethnic concentration has emerged in Edmonton's southeast and southwest, in which a majority of the city's increased population settled between 2009 and 2014 (Agrawal, 2015; Chaudhry, 2015; City of Edmonton, 2016a; M.A.P.S. Alberta Capital Region, 2013).

An examination of the settlement pattern of the Chinese community in Edmonton is necessary, given that this community is one of the city's largest Asian sub-groups (Statistics Canada, 2015b). Mainland China is the third leading source of recent immigrants to Edmonton (Statistics Canada, 2015b). The population of Chinese origin in Edmonton reached 57,715 by 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Mandarin, the official language of China, has become the most spoken non-official language in households in

Edmonton (Chaudhry, 2015). However, except for a few scholars who contributed to our understanding of earlier Chinese immigrant settlement in Edmonton's Chinatown, little research exists that examines the recent settlement pattern of Chinese immigrants in Edmonton (Dawson & Dawson, 1991; Hoe, 1976; Lai, 1988; 1995, 2013). More studies are therefore needed to reveal Chinese immigrants' experiences of different settlement patterns in Edmonton (Agrawal, 2015).

The study presented here is a comparative case study examining family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants' experiences in urban and suburban settings in Edmonton. This chapter begins with an introduction of the urban and suburban participants' demographics and study site contexts. The findings based on data analyses of the urban and suburban groups are presented in two sections. At the end of this chapter, the cross-group comparisons and contrasts are summarized and discussed.

5.2 Participant Characteristics and Research Contexts

5.2.1 Participant Characteristics

5.2.1.1 Urban Participant Characteristics

The urban group includes 14 research participants (see Table 5.1 for urban participant characteristics). More women than men participated in this study because women represent a greater percentage of the target group. The ratio of females to males in Canada's senior population increases with increasing age (Hudon & Milan, 2016). Therefore, the gender ratio of participants reflects the natural differences in life expectancy between women and men in Canada. For example, in the Chinese Elders' Mansion, which was a primary site for recruiting participants, most tenants were female, and a considerable number of them lived alone (M. Wong, personal communication, July 5, 2012). Accordingly, five of the seven participants recruited in the Mansion were widows living alone. Furthermore, most potential participants that I could approach through my social networks were female. Previous research indicated a gender difference in old people's experiences of disengaging from social interaction (Davidson, 2011; Victor, 2005). Compared to men, women in old age are more likely to maintain

their relationship with friends, relatives and colleagues (Davidson, 2011). Therefore, female participants were easier to recruit to this study because they were more likely to remain active in their social networks.

Most urban participants were over 75 years of age and belonged to the middle-old age group (Treas & Wilkinson, 2013). With the advancement of age, elders commonly experience a decline in physical mobility (WHO, 2007). Compared to their younger cohort, middle-old aged persons generally spend more time on solitary activities and less time participating in sports, exercises and recreational activities (Treas & Wilkinson, 2013).

Most urban participants had resided in Canada for over 10 years and were financially supported by the OAS program in Canada. Half of them worked in Canada after the age of 55 to earn extra income. Most urban participants lived independently in apartment type housing. All of them did not drive and had a high reliance on walking and public transport.

5.2.1.2 Suburban Participant Characteristics

The suburban group included 21 research participants (see Table 5.1 for suburban participant characteristics). The sex ratio of the suburban participants is more balanced than that of the urban participants. Most participants lived together with their spouses.

Most suburban participants were younger than 75 years old and belonged to the young-old age group (Treas & Wilkinson, 2013). Compared to their older cohort, young-old age persons commonly have better physical capabilities. Therefore, young-old age persons are expected to use their leisure time more often in socializing and participating in a variety of activities (Treas & Wilkinson, 2013).

Most suburban participants, who had resided in Canada for less than ten years, were still in the validation period of their adult children's sponsorship (Government of Canada, 2017b). Fourteen participants had a very low disposable personal income (less than $10,000), which was well below the national seniors' annual median income ($25,000) in 2012 (Statistics Canada, 2014a). Therefore, more than half of the suburban participants lived with their adult children to obtain essential extra financial support. Six

participants had worked in Canada. Most suburban participants lived in houses and used public transit as their primary mode of transportation.

To summarize, urban and suburban participants vary in many aspects including length of residence, family structure, financial ability and residential structure type. In particular, the urban and suburban groups belonged to different age cohorts. Compared to urban participants, most suburban participants were younger, came to Canada more recently, and had an insufficient financial ability in Canada. As illustrated in Chapter 4, participants experienced a process which transitioned them from being dependent on their adult children to being independent of them in Edmonton. Most urban participants accomplished this transformation. In comparison, most suburban participants were in the transitional stage. Most urban and suburban participants used public transport most often in their daily lives.

Table 5.1 Urban and Suburban Participants' Characteristics

Category		Urban group (14)	Suburban group (21)
Gender	Male	3	8
	Female	11	13
Age (years)	60-74	4	14
	75-84	8	6
	≥ 85	2	1
Length of residence (years)	≤ 4	2	7
	5-9	5	10
	≥ 10	7	4
Living arrangement	With children	2	12
	Independently	14	9
Annual disposable personal income in Canada (dollars)	$<$ 10,000	2	14
	10,000-30,000	12	7
Work experience in Canada	Yes	7	6
Residential structure type	Apartment	14	7
	House	0	14
Main mode of transportation	Public transit	12	20
	Walking	2	1

5.2.2 Contexts of the Study Sites

5.2.2.1 Urban and Suburban Characteristics of the Study Sites

The urban site included fourteen urban participants who resided in Edmonton's central core area (see Figure 5.1 for locations of urban participants). In comparison, the suburban site included twenty-one suburban participants who resided in Edmonton southwest and west. Fifteen participants were scattered in eight neighbourhoods in Edmonton southwest. The remaining six participants lived in Edmonton west (see Figure 5.1 for locations of suburban participants). The two sites show different characteristics in the housing stock and the main mode of transportation.

The urban site, which consists of the central core area and some adjacent mature residential neighbourhoods, has a higher housing density (Broadway & Jesty, 1998; Ley & Frost, 2006; Turcotte, 2008). The apartment is the dominant residential structure type in the central core area. Residents in the central core area used diversified modes of transportation, including automobile, public transit, walking, and bicycling (see Table 5.2 for the ratio). In comparison, the house is the dominant residential structure type in Edmonton southwest and west. Around two-thirds of residents in both southwest and west indicated the automobile as their main mode of transportation.

The housing stock comparison shows that the urban site has a more compact residential layout. The compact layout in the urban site can facilitate its residents to walk and take public transportation in their daily lives (Turcotte, 2012). By contrast, Edmonton southwest and west have a much lower residential density. Accordingly, most residents in Edmonton southwest and west are more reliant on the automobile as a mode of transportation (Turcotte, 2012). Overall, most residents in urban and suburban sites reported the automobile as their main mode of transportation. By contrast, inability to drive became a common weakness of all research participants.

Table 5.2 The Housing Type and the Transportation Mode of Urban and Suburban Sites

Site		Residence structure type			Main mode of transportation			
		Apartment[7]	House[8]	Others	Public	Walk	Car[9]	Others
Urban	Central core	81%	15%	4%	27%	18%	51%	3%
Suburban	Southwest	16%	83%	1%	16%	1%	79%	4%
	West	34%	63%	3%	14%	5%	76%	5%

Source: (City of Edmonton, 2015)

[7] According to the census data, the category of Apartment includes those 1-4 stories and those above 5 stories. Detailed definitions see: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/ref/dict/dwelling-logements013-eng.cfm

[8] The category of house includes single detached, duplex, fourplex and row house.

[9] The category of car includes respondents either as drivers or passengers who rely on automobiles including cars, trucks, and vans.

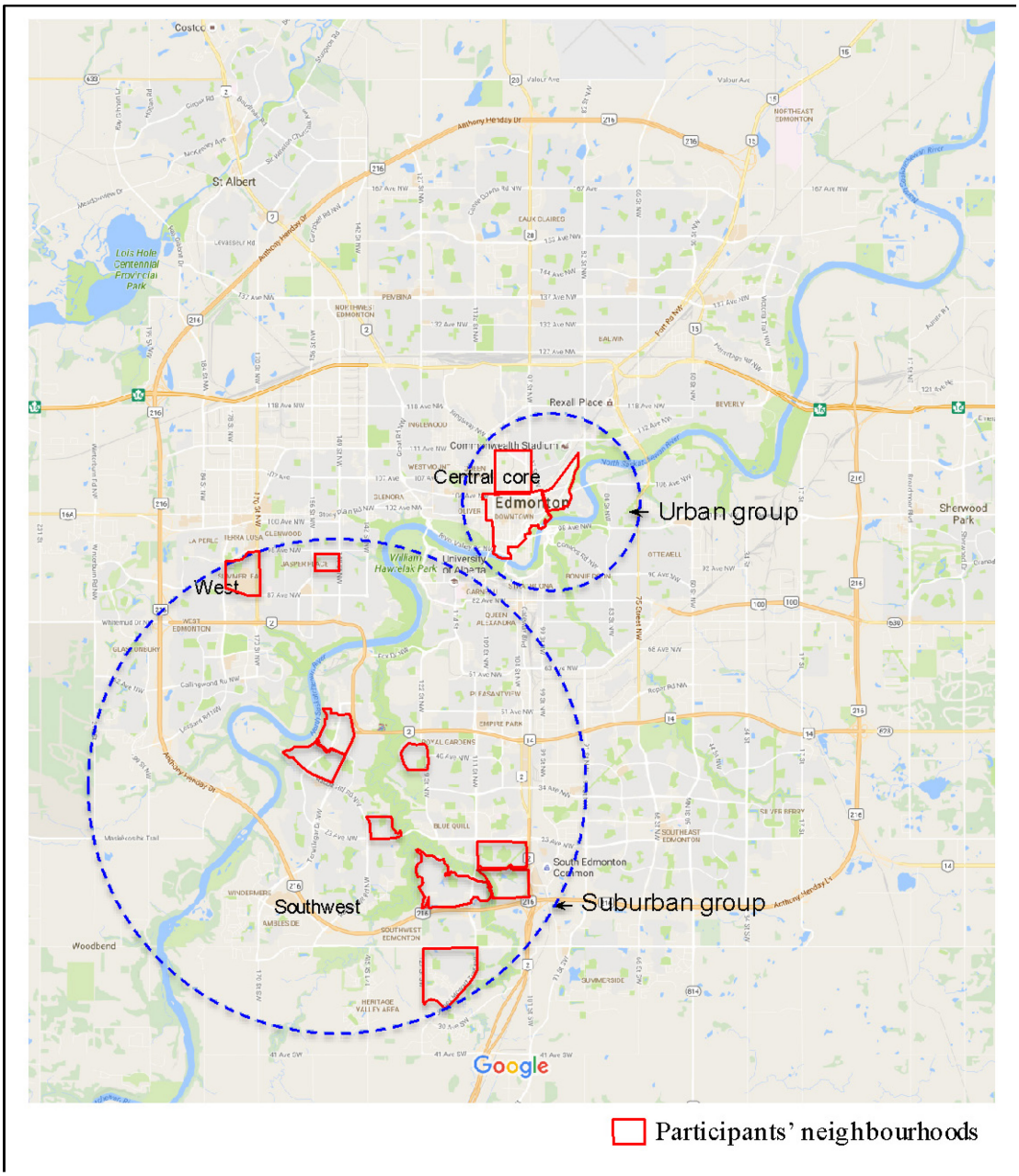

Figure 5.1 Locations of Urban and Suburban Participants
Map source: Google map; City of Edmonton (2016d)

5.2.2.2 Contexts of the Urban Site

Seven participants lived in Chinatown, and the remaining seven participants lived around Chinatown (see Figure 5.1 for locations of urban participants). Edmonton's Chinatown, which is the core area of the urban site, includes two areas, Chinatown South

and Chinatown North[10] (see Figure 5.2 for the locations). Chinatown South functions as a Chinese cultural centre (City of Edmonton, 2016b). Availability of housing for Chinese seniors is dominated by the Chinese Elder's Mansion Towers I & II. According to an informal conversation with the manager of these properties, the two high-rise buildings are the largest Chinese seniors housing in town and can provide independent living options for 190 households (M. Wong, personal communication, July 5, 2012). In addition, the Edmonton Chinatown Care Centre provides assisted-living and long-term care services to seniors (Edmonton Chinese Care Centre, 2016). Besides residential and care services specific to elderly Chinese immigrants, Chinatown South also houses a few Chinese associations, such as the Chinatown Multi-Cultural Centre and several clan associations (Lai, 1995).

Chinatown North has been developed as an ethnic commercial area since the late 1970s (Lai, 2013). Businesses in Chinatown North cover all aspects of people's day-to-day living, including banks and financial institutions, drug stores and pharmacies, eye care and vision services, hair and beauty salons, herbalist and acupuncture, restaurants, cafés, delis, bakeries, groceries and supermarkets (Chinatown & Little Italy Business Association, 2014). Furthermore, the ASSIST Community Service Centre, formally known as "Chinese community Service Centre", is also located in Chinatown North (Assist Community Service Centre, 2013).

Edmonton's Chinatown is considered as important community spaces rather than an ethnic enclave (City of Edmonton, 2016b). However, since the 1970s, Edmonton's Chinatown has failed to achieve its development potential, in spite of its proximity to downtown (Lai, 1995). It has been underdeveloped due to a loss of competitiveness of ethnic businesses, a decline of the consumer base and an increased concern for public safety (City of Edmonton, 2016b). Since 2016, the city of Edmonton implemented a Chinatown project to develop a sustainable and vibrant Chinatown. Particular strategies have been developed to preserve Chinatown's unique heritage and promote the revitalization of the community (City of Edmonton, 2017).

[10] Here Chinatown South and North are introduced as separate entities. But later in this chapter, participants use "Chinatown" in a general way to indicate either Chinatown South or North.

5.2.2.3 Contexts of the Suburban Site

Chinese immigrants settled in suburban Edmonton through two pathways—movement from Chinatown to the suburbs, and direct settlement in the suburbs. Many earlier immigrants moved from Chinatown to suburban neighbourhoods in the 1960s and 1970s. In comparison, skilled workers, investors, and entrepreneurs from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China settled directly in the suburbs since the 1970s (Lai, 1995). The results of the 2014 municipal census show that Chinese is one of the most spoken non-official languages in suburban Edmonton. In particular, people who spoke either Mandarin or Cantonese most often at home were most likely to settle in Edmonton southwest, west, city centre, north, and northwest (M.A.P.S. Alberta Capital Region, 2016a).

Edmonton southwest has been a popular settlement area for the Chinese community because it is known for its good public security (low crime rate) and high-quality primary and secondary education (EdmontonChina, 2004, 2015). Residents of Chinese origin are the biggest ethnic minority group in Edmonton southwest (M.A.P.S Alberta Capital Region, 2009; 2014). Chinese (including Mandarin and Cantonese) became the most spoken non-official language in households of the southwest by 2014 (City of Edmonton, 2015). In some neighbourhoods, over 12% of the households reported their most spoken language was Chinese (City of Edmonton, 2015). In comparison, citywide only 3.8% households reported their most spoken language was Chinese (City of Edmonton, 2015).

Edmonton west has also been a popular Chinese settlement area. The 2014 municipal census shows that Chinese language, after Tagalog (Pilipino, Filipino), was the second most spoken non-official language in the households of Edmonton west. Nearly 2000 households in Edmonton west reported that they spoke either Cantonese or Mandarin most often at home (M.A.P.S. Alberta Capital Region, 2016b). The only Chinese seniors housing outside Chinatown is located in Edmonton west (M. Wong, personal communication, July 5, 2012). This housing, known as the Chinese Alliance Manor, offers independent living options for 36 households of elderly Chinese immigrants (Alberta Seniors Housing Directory, 2016).

Chinese ethnic businesses and community services have expanded to Edmonton southwest and west. For example, Chinese grocery stores such as the T&T supermarket opened one branch in Edmonton west in 2002 and another in the southwest in 2015. Chinese herbal medicines and services such as acupuncture can be found in Edmonton southwest and west (City of Edmonton, 2015). The ASSIST Community Service Centre opened its Southwest branch in 2013 to serve the needs of an increasing number of Chinese immigrants and other ethnic groups in Edmonton southwest (Assist Community Service Centre, 2016; Maimann, 2013).

5.3 Findings

The findings of cross-group comparison and contrast were generated through two steps. First, data analyses were conducted within the urban and suburban groups, respectively. Accordingly, themes were developed within each group. Second, themes of urban and suburban groups were compared and contrasted to explore why perceptions and experiences of place differed between the two groups. The findings within each group are summarized in three themes, including accessibility and local practice, discrimination, and safety and threat.

5.3.1 Perceptions and Experiences of Place of Urban Participants

5.3.1.1 Accessibility and Local Practice

Accessibility and a Change of Activity Pattern

Most urban participants saw themselves as having a relatively high level of accessibility. Accessibility here refers to the extent to which participants could access the services that they needed. Participants' accessibility was determined by the availability of needed local resources and ability to reach destinations (Yu, 2016). Given that most of them had lived in Edmonton for more than 10 years, the accessibility of urban participants might have been facilitated by their improved English language skills and accumulated knowledge of the public transit system, (Lawton, 1985; Rowles, 1978).

More importantly, all urban participants indicated that their accessibility was facilitated by extensive public transport networks and the compact layout of businesses in the central core area. Urban participants were more likely to walk or take public transit because public transit was convenient, and their destinations were usually within walking distance. Urban participants' perceptions of their accessibility were reflected in their comments such as "*the public transportation is so convenient*", "*I am close to stores and malls"* and *"we like walking to stores*".

Some urban participants also indicated that they increased reliance on proximate resources with the advancement of age. A decline of physical mobility and a disengagement from recreational participation are common among middle-old aged persons (Treas & Wilkinson, 2013). For example, one participant described that she changed her activity pattern when she experienced an age-related decrease in physical mobility.

> *I used to be active. I went to church every week with my husband... I am old, and I feel reluctant to go. I usually played Mahjong with my friends at home. It is a good way to maintain interactions with friends [A05].*

Shopping in Ethnic Grocery Stores

Chinatown played an important role in accommodating the daily needs of urban participants. In particular, the compact layout of ethnic stores in Chinatown provided convenient access for urban participants to do their grocery shopping (see Figure 5.2 for the layout of businesses in Chinatown North). One participant indicated that the concentration of medium-sized grocery stores in Chinatown North allowed her to visit different grocery stores within walking distance.

> *Grocery shopping, I go to Chinatown most often. I do not want to go to another place, not convenient… I usually walk to Chinatown… I usually shop in two Chinese grocery stores, the Lucky 97 Supermarket and the 99 Supermarket [A03].*

Most urban participants could frequently visit grocery stores in Chinatown to shop for their daily groceries. In Mainland China, doing daily grocery shopping is a common daily activity of elders (Zhang, 2016). Therefore, these urban participants could maintain their traditional shopping behaviour because they had convenient access to

grocery stores. For example, one urban participant saw that having convenient access to grocery stores was a benefit of living in Chinatown.

> *If the weather is not good, I just do grocery shopping in the United Supermarket nearby. We like to have convenient access to a supermarket. It is around the corner. Shopping is very convenient… Green onion or tofu, I can have it immediately [A01].*

Urban participants also indicated that Chinatown's ethnic grocery stores were special because they sold an assortment of groceries that were rarely found in ordinary supermarkets. Urban participants reported that they usually bought fresh Chinese leafy greens, a variety of soy products, Chinese sauces and seasoning, coarse grains, and different cuts of meat and organ meats in ethnic grocery stores in Chinatown.

> *Stores such as Wal-Mart, Real Canadian Superstore, and Save On Foods, their goods are for Western people. We Chinese need some Chinese groceries, definitely, have to shop in Chinatown for the ethnic groceries [A05].*

Figure 5.2 Urban Participant Locations and Chinatown Resources

Map source: Google map; Edmonton Historical Board (2011); (D. C. Lai, 1995)

Volunteering in Chinese Communities

Some urban participants participated in their community in Chinatown through volunteering and helping their peers. Eight urban participants reported that they volunteered at the Edmonton Chinatown Care Centre, the Chinese Elders' Mansion, the ASSIST Community Service Centre, and the Edmonton Chinatown Chinese Library. For example, one participant, who volunteered as a caregiver in the Care Centre, considered volunteering as part of her daily life.

> *I usually volunteered at the Care Centre three mornings a week. I was there from 9am to 1 pm. In the morning, I helped the seniors to get out of their rooms and to do some exercise. I fed them during their lunch time [A04].*

Participants saw that volunteerism promoted a sense of reciprocity in the elderly Chinese community in Chinatown. One participant argued that she volunteered in the Care Centre because she anticipated receiving support and care from other elderly Chinese volunteers in the future.

> *The Care Centre will be my next destination… I helped someone today, and someone will help me in the future [A01].*

Participants saw that seniors helping seniors was important to support elderly Chinese immigrants who struggled to manage an independent life in Edmonton. The mutually supportive networks in the elderly Chinese community helped to address transportation difficulties, language barriers, and mental health problems. For example, one participant indicated that earlier immigrants' support was critical for newcomers to adapt to their lives in Edmonton.

> *We earlier immigrants need to help recent elderly immigrants. I told a friend: "if you have any difficulties, call me, I will do my best to help you". I have been here for 25 years and I have experience dealing with all kinds of difficulties. I know how hard it is to adapt to an independent life [A08].*

5.3.1.2 Discrimination

Urban participants reported two types of perceptions of discrimination. Seven Mandarin-speaking participants experienced discrimination from Cantonese. In

comparison, three Cantonese-speaking participants who came from Guangdong province in China expressed a sense of solidarity generated by their Cantonese identity.

Mandarin-speaking participants indicated that they were seen as the alienated minority by Cantonese immigrants[11] in Chinatown. For example, one participant argued that she felt offended when Cantonese immigrants labeled her as an outsider.

> *They called me "the outsider" (Chinese: 外省人; wàishěng rén). I was angry about that. Some Cantonese in the church called me the outsider too. I did not know that they labeled people who are not Cantonese as outsiders. I always felt that they looked down upon us [A08].*

Cantonese-speaking participants saw that living in Chinatown allowed them to obtain a sense of belonging. For example, one participant argued that living in Chinatown was comfortable because she could speak her native language with her fellow Cantonese in her daily life.

> *Our first few years in Canada were challenging for us. Our neighbours were Canadian and we felt somewhat uncomfortable. We felt like outsiders who were different from Canadians. We ate different food and spoke different languages. We felt better after we moved to Chinatown. We live near a Chinese culture center. We obtained a sense of belonging. We felt comfortable living here. All residents here are Chinese. We speak the same language and we are like-minded. I get along with my neighbours very well. I have good friends. I have friends who come from my hometown. This is perfect [A01].*

Tenants of the Chinese Elders' Mansion fell into the Cantonese and the Mandarin groups. Tenants from the county of Taishan in Guangdong formed the biggest subgroup of the Cantonese group. Cantonese and Taishanese immigrants were the earliest Chinese settlers who established Chinatowns and contributed to the development of Chinese communities in Canada (Chan, 2011). From 1885 to 1949, over 95% of Chinese immigrants to Canada were originally from Guangdong. About half of the earlier immigrants were from Taishan (Chiang, 2014). Therefore, Taishan tenants were likely to feel dominant in the Mansion. By contrast, tenants of the Mandarin group easily felt that they were subordinate and marginal. For example, one participant reported a power struggle between Taishanese tenants and the Mandarin group.

[11] Cantonese immigrants, as indicated by participants, included Chinese immigrants from Guangdong and Hong Kong, and Cantonese Vietnamese.

Most tenants in the Mansion are from Taishan… When I tried to communicate with them, they pretended that they did not understand my language. They even mocked my accents… We Mandarin seniors are the minority. Several of us got acquainted and hung out together.

Some people (The Taishanese) are selfish. Every week, when the latest Chinese Newspapers arrived at in the lobby, they grabbed more than their need to distribute to their fellows…They form a clique to maximize their interests [A02].

5.3.1.3 Safety and Threat

Threat

An important part of urban participants' relationships with Chinatown stems from the issue of public safety. The major threats identified by urban participants were crime and homelessness in and around Chinatown. Most urban participants reported experiences of being followed and asked for money. They also expressed concerns about criminal activities such as break-ins, burglaries, drug dealing, and street fighting in their neighbourhoods. Urban participants' safety concerns reflected that the major problem in Chinatown and its vicinity was a high incidence of crime and violence. According to the 2010 neighbourhood indicators, the number of incidents of violent crime in the neighbourhoods of Boyle Street and McCauley, where Chinatown is located, were ten times higher than the city's average crime rate (City of Edmonton, 2010). For example, two participants described that criminal activities were common in Chinatown.

Did you see a street fight around the corner? It was a fierce fight. A guy pulled another guy's hair and kicked him in the knee. His nose was broken [A03].

We had several break-ins last month and cash was stolen from our apartments. We were informed to pay attention to strangers. They followed us to go into our building. The burglaries just happened recently. This is bad [A04].

Urban participants also expressed their concerns about the concentration of homeless people in their neighbourhoods. The 2014 Edmonton Homeless Count showed that homeless people were most likely to concentrate in the Downtown and Boyle Street neighbourhoods. Edmonton had a total of 2,307 homeless people by 2014, of which nearly half were aboriginal. Many homeless people suffered from at least one mental illness or addiction (Homeward Trust Edmonton, 2014). One urban participant indicated

that the concentration of aboriginal homeless people contributed to the deterioration of her neighbourhood.

> *They are aboriginals. They caused troubles from time to time. They really scared me. Sometimes they asked for money. We often saw them around and we felt uncomfortable seeing them. They were too dirty. They even left excreta there. Five or six persons slept in the Zhongshan Lane (just beside the Chinese Elders' Mansion). They were not supposed to stay there [A04].*

Safety and Threat

Although urban participants saw criminal activities and homelessness in their neighbourhoods as threats, most of them felt that they were powerless to change their lives. As a result, most urban participants accepted the threats as part of their lives and expressed that they would age in their current neighbourhoods. For example, one urban participant adjusted his life with some spatial and temporal constraints caused by public safety issues in his neighbourhoods.

> *Considering the safety issues, we usually do not go out in the early mornings or at night ... The aboriginals scared me when they were drunk [A01].*

Urban participants saw that the complete care service in Chinatown offset their concerns about public safety issues in their neighbourhoods. Most urban participants felt secure to age in their current neighbourhoods because they relied on the complete care service in Chinatown.

> *The homelessness bothered me… But the care service provided in our mansion is good. Living here is good for me [A05].*

> *Here is very organized. The management is good. Services are arranged for us, step by step. If you are not doing well, you can apply to go to Chinatown's Care Centre. For us, these services are excellent [A02].*

5.3.2 Perceptions and Experiences of Place of Suburban Participants

5.3.2.1 Accessibility and Local Practice

Distinct from the urban participants who actively participated in volunteer activities in Chinatown, suburban participants reported that they did not find many volunteer opportunities. Although some suburban participants mentioned that they were interested in volunteer opportunities in Chinatown, their mobility constraints became

barriers to regular visits to Chinatown. Therefore, most suburban participants were likely to participate in activities that were conveniently accessible to them in the suburbs.

Accessibility and Mobility Constraints

Suburban participants, compared to urban participants, commonly experienced lower levels of accessibility. As described in Chapter 4 (see page 57), a lack of English language skills contributed to participants' barriers to accessing transportation resources. The data also indicated that inadequate transportation in the suburbs contributed to suburban participants' low level of accessibility. Compared to the extensive public transit routes in Edmonton's central core, the southwest and the west have more limited bus routes. The LRT (Edmonton Light Rail Transit) line only extends to the northeast corner of the vast southwest (City of Edmonton, 2015).

Suburban participants were more likely to report lacking autonomy and efficiency in transportation. This is reflected in their comments such as "*I usually spent one or two hours on public transit"* and *"public transportation is inconvenient and frustrating for me*". They also reported problems including insufficient time to get on and off the LRT, a lack of shelters at bus stops and low service frequency on bus routes.

Inability to drive exacerbated suburban participants' transportation difficulties. Most participants did not have a chance to learn to drive when they were young in China. There were less than 20,000 private passenger vehicles in China by 1985 (NBCS, 2006). Before the 1990s, most people in China took public transit, biked or walked to commute (Chang, 2000). Therefore, most participants had never considered that an inability to drive could be a barrier in their lives before they came to Canada.

> *I liked cycling in Tianjin. I went to most places by bike. However, it is impossible for me to bike here [B08].*

> *When I was in China, if I had a medical emergency, I could call a taxi to go to a hospital immediately… In Canada, I need my child [to handle this situation] [B15].*

Most suburban participants expressed that they experienced mobility constraints when trying to access the community resources of Chinatown. Mobility is measured by the travel time and the distance of a trip. People who experience mobility constraints cannot travel as far or as frequent as they desire (Yu, 2016). Although sometimes

suburban participants found community resources in Chinatown attractive, the inconvenient public transportation became a barrier for them to access the resources that supported their interests. For example, one suburban participant described that a troublesome trip to Chinatown was a barrier for her to visit Chinatown for grocery shopping.

> *I usually do grocery shopping in Sobeys, which is close to my home. Occasionally I went to Chinatown. I got up early if I went to Chinatown. I took a bus and transferred to LRT… I do not like LRT. I use a walker. The train started to move before I could sit down, every time. There is a risk of falling. I do not shop in Chinatown in summer. I am worried that the delis lose freshness on my way home [B14].*

One suburban participant changed her daily activity pattern because participating in proximate activities saved her a lot of time spent on transport.

> *I used to visit Chinatown frequently. In the recent two years, I went to Chinatown less often… I spent more time on transportation than on the community activities. I spent four hours on transportation… I have gone swimming four times a week in a community centre nearby [B01].*

A lack of financial self-sufficiency reinforced the mobility constraints of suburban participants. Most suburban participants, whose annual disposable income was less than $10,000, could not afford their groceries. Therefore, more than half of the suburban participants indicated that their grocery shopping places were determined by their adult children. For example, one participant indicated that she could not go to Chinatown for grocery shopping as frequently as she wanted to because her son was less likely to shop in Chinatown.

> *We commonly go grocery shopping with our child. They like to shop in supermarkets that are popular among western people. For example, Costco, my son thought that the products there are very fresh… We like Chinese greens, but we only drop by Chinatown occasionally to grab some vegetables [B02].*

Tai Chi participation in Southgate Mall

Eleven suburban participants living in Edmonton southwest reported that they had experiences of practicing Tai Chi at Southgate Mall, which is a large shopping centre in Edmonton south (see Figure 5.3 for its location). Southgate Mall is connected to the Southgate Transit Centre, which is an important public transportation hub in Edmonton south (City of Edmonton, 2013b). These suburban participants indicated that they liked to visit Southgate Mall because they could easily access the place by bus or LRT.

> *When we think about go out for activities, Southgate is close to us. It takes 20 minutes to get there [B02].*

Suburban participants saw Southgate Mall as a gathering place for them and their elderly Chinese peers. The Tai Chi program[12] at Southgate Mall, which is a free program that runs daily from 8:30 to 10:00 in the morning, allowed suburban participants to make friends and meet friends.

> *My wife practiced Tai Chi and I walked in the mall. I got acquainted with some peers and we regularly met there… I would give my friends a call if I did not see them there [B14].*

The Tai Chi program in Southgate Mall also allowed suburban participants to interact with wider society. Suburban participants felt that Chinese immigrants became the dominant group when they gathered in a public place. One participant described that Chinese culture had an impact in Southgate Mall and he felt his Chinese identity was reinforced.

> *The majority are Chinese. There are some elderly immigrants from Britain, India… They all come here for the exercise. They are attracted by Chinese culture and philosophy (proudly) [B02].*

[12] As a traditional Chinese physical exercise, Tai Chi consists of continuous sequences of multiple slow movements with an emphasis on the integration of mind and body throughout (Macfarlane, Chou, & Cheng, 2005; Sandlund & Norlander, 2000). Tai Chi is one of the most popular exercises performed by groups of seniors in public places including squares, plazas or parks in Mainland China (Yao, 2015).

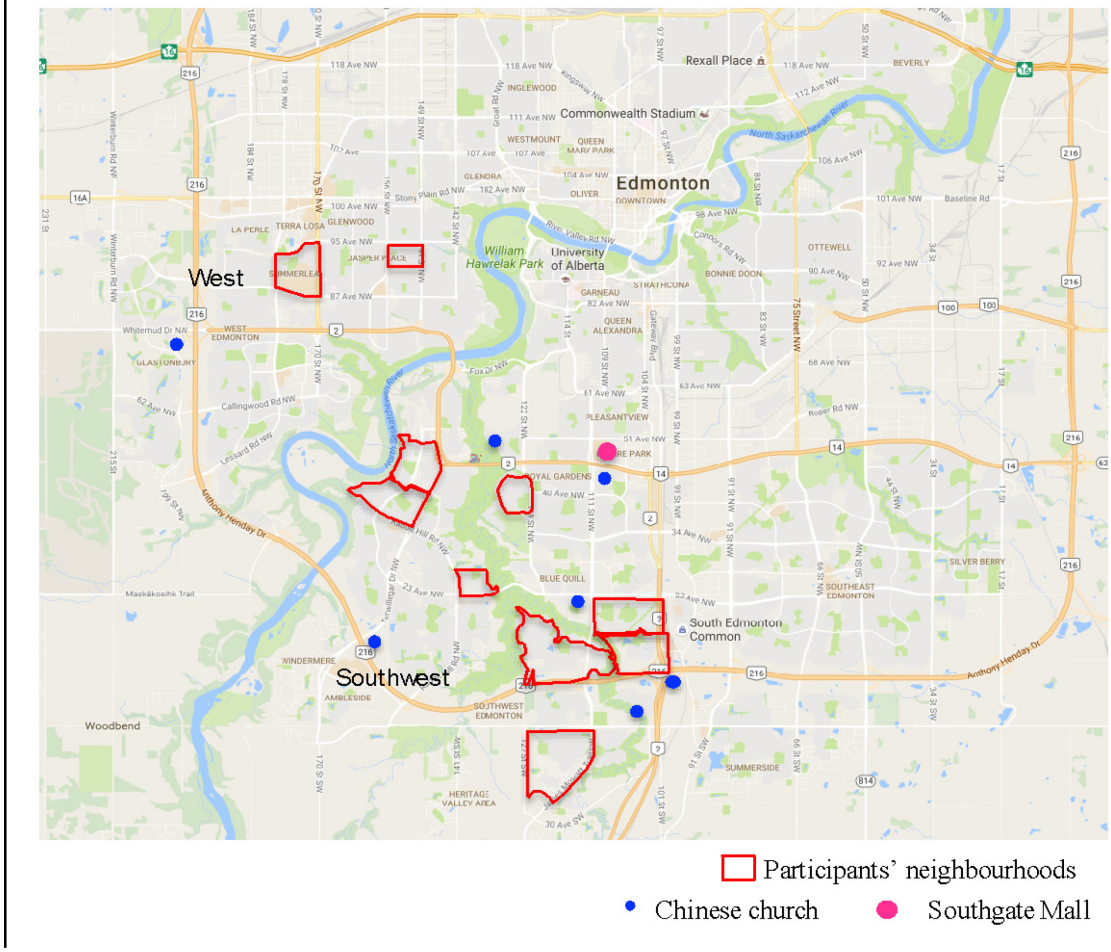

Figure 5.3 Participants' Neighbourhoods in Southwest
Map source: Google map; City of Edmonton (2016d)

Going to Chinese Church

Most suburban participants had experiences of going to church. The expansion of Chinese churches and ministries in Edmonton southwest and west enabled Chinese churches to become accessible to most suburban participants (see Figure 5.3 for their locations). Furthermore, going to church was convenient for most suburban participants because transportation could be provided by their adult children or other church members.

> *My daughter goes to church every week. Therefore, sometimes we took a ride to the church [B05].*

Going to church was an adopted lifestyle of suburban participants, given that most of them had no experience of going to church in China. Going to church reflected suburban participants' need for recognition by mainstream society. In 2011, nearly two-thirds of the Canadian population identified themselves as Christian (Statistics Canada, 2016a). Accordingly, some suburban participants saw that Christianity was part of mainstream culture.

> *Since we came to Edmonton, because Christianity is valued in this country, we became followers of Christianity. We were baptized and became Christians. My family members, including my grandchild, we are all Christians. Why we became followers? The government supports Christianity. The Good Friday and Easter are set as official holidays. The government attaches importance to it [B07].*

Among suburban participants who participated in church activities, more than half of them claimed that they did not have religious beliefs. These participants saw that going to church and having religious beliefs were two separate things. For example, one participant expressed that she did not have religious beliefs because she had received an atheistic education in China.

> *I would go to church when there were special activities or holiday celebrations, but I did not feel obliged to go to church. I believe in atheism because my cohort has been educated by materialism since we were young [B05].*

Most suburban participants saw going to church as an instrumental behaviour rather than a religious activity. Suburban participants participated in the Chinese community through attending church. Suburban participants acquired information about the community and wider society, and obtained help and support in Chinese churches.

> *We participated in Bible studies and pastor's sermons. We learned a lot from these activities, including domestic and international affairs, news in Edmonton and Canada nationwide. These talks covered a broad range of topics… We also established social networks. We met Chinese people from different places. We communicated and helped with each other. We became a family [B07].*

> *The church members are very helpful. When my husband passed away, church members came to help. They helped me to arrange the funeral. This is very helpful. I was touched and I appreciated them [B09].*

5.3.2.2 Discrimination

Distinct from the Mandarin-speaking urban participants who reported being discriminated against by Cantonese in Chinatown, suburban participants seldom reported being discriminated against by Cantonese. For example, a couple, who moved from the Chinese Elders' Mansion in Chinatown to the Chinese Alliance Manor in Edmonton west, reported that they no longer felt to be the minority in their interactions with Cantonese seniors.

> *Most tenants in Chinese Elders' Mansion are Cantonese. We did not have much interaction with them. We found it difficult to communicate with them. Here is better. Neighbours here are nicer and easier to get along with [B03].*

Suburban participants were more likely to report being discriminated against by white Canadians. Participants often used "Yangren", literally meaning ocean people, to refer to white Canadians who are Caucasion. Yang is an old term in the Chinese language to denote Europe. The meaning of Yang, which connotes an advanced civilization, was developed in the late 17th century when Europe colonized eastern and southeastern Asia. When Yang is used as a prefix of European imported merchandise, it indicates something rare and superior (Zhang, 2012). Therefore, suburban participants' use of "Yangren" reflected their perception of a racial hegemony of white Canadians over the Chinese. For example, one suburban participant differentiated Yangren from other racial groups and labeled himself as "yellow-skin".

> *Some Yangren seniors respect us and give courtesy to us. This is not easy because we are yellow-skin people… Some people are not Yangren, they are black or other skin color or from South America. They cannot represent Canadians [B03].*

Ten suburban participants reported being discriminated against by their Yangren neighbours. Relations between neighbours are emphasized in Chinese culture. The Chinese saying "a close neighbour is better than a distant relative" reflects that physical proximity allows mutual aid and obligation to be developed between neighbours (Saldov & Poon, 2001). However, most suburban participants found it difficult to establish close social ties with their white Canadian neighbours. For example, one suburban participant living in seniors' housing described that he felt humiliated because his neighbour did not respect his culinary tradition, which he considered a potent symbol of his cultural identity (Wilk, 1999).

A Yangren old lady is quite prejudiced against us. We cannot communicate. She called my son to complain about the odour of food that I cooked… She set a big fan in the corridor to blow away the odour from my apartment… This was not a normal behavior. This was a humiliation. She greeted everyone and gave a hug to her acquaintances, but she never spoke to us… I felt uncomfortable when I saw her [B12].

Some suburban participants reported that they experienced covert racism, which was associated with their feelings of being excluded and neglected in their neighbourhoods. For example, one participant described that his Chinese identity became a barrier for him to integrate into the local community.

We are the ethnic minority in this neighbourhood. There are only eight Chinese households in this neighbourhood. The remaining ones are all white. No one would like to socialize with us; maybe they think there is no need to interact with us. Chinese here are like the secondary citizens [B04].

Another participant described that there was an invisible barrier between the white and Chinese residents in his neighbourhood.

Between Yangren and Chinese, there is a, err…there is something. We already felt it. We do not expect that they treat us in the same way. I feel that they have a circle … It is not just language barriers between us… There are other barriers [B03].

Some suburban participants reported that they rarely participated in activities in their neighbourhoods because they were afraid of being discriminated against by their neighbours. For example, one participant indicated that she felt reluctant to access community resources in her neighbourhood because of the fear of being humiliated due to her language barriers and different ways of behaving.

There is a senior centre nearby. Sometimes we dropped by. Some seniors played poker and played Ping-Pong. Sometimes the centre provided complimentary breakfast. I rarely participated in these activities. There is a language barrier, we stood there like fools, and we did not know how to behave. Therefore, we did not think that we could participate in, although there are very good activities [B14].

5.4.2.3 Safety and Threat

Safety

Suburban participants commonly expressed that they were very satisfied with public safety in their neighbourhoods. They considered that the suburban environment was safe and peaceful.

> *The public security here is very good. If my apartment in China has a glass door, thieves could easily break in and take what they want. Although my apartment in Tianjin was installed an anti-theft network, thieves still broke in. Here is safer. One day I left home without locking my door. When I was back, nothing was lost. I think that the public security is excellent here. It seems that there is no murder for money. This is rare, I think [B08].*

Suburban participants expressed that they did not like Chinatown because it was unsafe. Some of them indicated that Chinatown was an impoverished, poor and dirty neighbourhood occupied by less-educated people.

> *I do not think that Chinatown is a good place. I feel that it is filthy with a lot of people. It does not seem like a safe place. Chinatown is not a very nice place… Residents in Chinatown, compared to the residents of Edmonton south, are less-educated and ill-mannered, aren't they? [B10]*

Suburban participants' negative perceptions about Chinatown became barriers for them to visit Chinatown. Therefore, although Chinatown provided community and care services to elderly Chinese, it became less attractive to some suburban participants. Most suburban participants expressed that they preferred to age in their current neighbourhoods.

> *Considering the environment, living here is better. I feel very safe here. I feel that Chinatown is not as quiet as here, and it is poor, with a lot of homeless people [B1].*

Threat

Suburban participants saw that a lack of appropriate care services was a big challenge for them to age in the suburbs. A lack of proximate care facilities, an absence of culturally-appropriate in-home care, and their mobility constraints became barriers for suburban participants to remain in the suburbs. For example, one suburban participant described a lack of appropriate care service in Edmonton southwest.

> *My husband had Parkinson's disease. In the beginning, I took care of him at home. After quite a long time, I was unable to take care of him at home because I could not move him. Then he was arranged to live in a seniors' centre in Capilano. The service there was not bad but it was not easy for me to visit him every day. I am over 80, using a walker, and took public transit to travel from the*

southwest to the northeast of the town. The senior centre was too far away. Later my husband was transferred to a hospital in downtown. However, the service there was bad [B09].

Most suburban participants faced a difficult choice: staying in the suburbs or moving to Chinatown. Although they enjoyed a safe environment in the suburbs, they anticipated difficulties in aging in the suburbs due to a lack of accessible care service. However, some suburban participants acknowledged that they might have to move to Chinatown to access care services in the future.

Chinatown has elder care service. I know a lot of people living there and receiving the care service… I think it is not bad to be my next destination… But I like my current residence… My son can come to my home in just 5 minutes… I have not decided whether I should move to Chinatown in the future. We will make the decision later[B12].

5.4 Discussion

The similarities and differences between the two groups reflect three themes of relationships between participants and their places. The cross-group comparison of the first theme shows that urban and suburban participants' different experiences of mobility constraints were manifested in place-based ways (see Figure 5.4 for the first theme). Although most urban participants experienced a significant mobility decline resulting from the aging process, the proximity to Chinatown's resources and the convenient public transit in the central core area facilitated urban participants to access their needed services. In comparison, suburban participants experienced mobility constraints because they were far away from Chinatown and lacked autonomy and efficiency in transportation. As a result, both urban and suburban participants rely on places that are proximate and conveniently accessible due to their significant mobility disadvantages. In this sense, all participants more or less experienced spatial constriction.

The cross-group comparison of the second theme shows that urban and suburban participants had different place-based experiences of social power relations (see Figure 5.4 for the second theme). Urban participants were divided into two groups based on their sub-cultures. In Chinatown, the Mandarin-speaking urban participants felt excluded and neglected by the Cantonese. In comparison, Cantonese-speaking urban participants,

who saw themselves as the majority, obtained a sense of belonging. By contrast, suburban participants were more likely to be concerned about racial hierarchy and to feel discriminated against by white Canadians in the suburbs. Overall, all participants identified whether they felt like insiders or outsiders based on their local contexts.

The cross-group comparison of the third theme show that urban and suburban participants had different concerns regarding safety and threat (see Figure 5.4 for the third theme). Most urban participants saw the high crime rate and homelessness in their neighbourhoods as threats to their daily lives. However, the completeness of care service provided in Chinatown allowed them to obtain a sense of safety and supported them to age in Chinatown. In comparison, although suburban participants enjoyed safe environments and wanted to remain in their neighbourhoods, they found it difficult to age in the suburbs due to a lack of accessible care services. Although moving to Chinatown would allow suburban participants to have convenient access to care services, most of them were reluctant to move because they had negative perceptions of Chinatown. The findings raise the theme of aging in place.

Figure 5.4 Conceptual Framework of Chapter 5

5.4.1 Theme One: Spatial Constriction

Previous research suggests that, compared to younger generations, elderly people experience spatial constriction. Spatial constriction refers to a constriction in the realm of

their daily activities (Rowles, 1978; Rubinstein, Kilbride, & Nagy, 1992). Elderly people who experience spatial restriction increase their interactions with their immediate surroundings to maximize the use of their limited life space (Lawton, 1985; Rowles, 1978). The intensified involvement with their immediate surroundings and most accessible resources can result in a perception of spatial constriction (Rowles, 1978). In this process, the spatial constriction in people's later lives leads to cognitive and experiential changes. Reciprocally, cognitive and experiential changes also reinforce spatial constriction (Rowles, 1978; Rubinstein et al., 1992).

Both elderly people's declined mobility and environmental barriers contribute to their experiences of spatial restriction (Lawton, 1985; Rowles, 1978). First, with the advancement of age, elders commonly experience a loss of muscle strength, a decrease in cardiac output and a weakening of the circulatory system (WHO, 2007). These physiological changes contributed to a decline of participants' physical mobility (Yeom, Fleury, & Keller, 2008). Second, the urban environment in North America has traditionally been criticized for lacking a consideration of the needs of elderly people (WHO, 2007). "The spacious layouts of many shopping malls, the wide expanses of the modern transportation terminal", and "some design innovations which aid and even charm younger populations" become constraints and barriers to elders (Rowles, 1978, p. 24).

The findings of this study show that urban and suburban participants experienced spatial constriction (see Figure 5.4 for the first theme). However, the main reasons contributing to urban and suburban participants' spatial constriction are distinct. Urban participants, most of whom were middle-old aged (75-84 years), experienced a decline of functional health. Accordingly, they experienced a weakening of the ability to move around their environment (Treas & Wilkinson, 2013). In this sense, the mobility decline associated with the aging process resulted in the urban participants' experience of spatial constriction (Rowles, 1978). However, urban participants benefited from their proximity to Chinatown. They made use of the resources in Chinatown by increasing their interactions with Chinatown. In comparison, suburban participants experienced spatial constriction because they had inadequate access to transportation and found it difficult to

get around. Because of the transportation constraints, suburban participants were more likely to access proximate resources rather than visit the hard-to-reach Chinatown.

Both urban and suburban participants' mobility constraints were reinforced by the challenges associated with their relocation to Canada in old age. Inability to drive, which was seldom considered as a transportation barrier by participants when they were in China, became their major mobility limitation in Canada. Compared to that, a majority of seniors in Canada get around mainly by driving their car (Turcotte, 2012), the participants lacked autonomy and efficiency in transportation. Furthermore, the findings of this study show that suburban participants relied on their adult children for financial and transportation support. Therefore, their mobility patterns, from doing grocery shopping to going to church, were also influenced by their children. As a result, participants selectively intensified their reliance on places that were proximate or conveniently accessible to compensate for their mobility limitations.

5.4.2 Theme Two: Insiders and Outsiders

The second theme of participants' relationships with place is associated with their ethnic identity and their perceptions of being insiders and outsiders (see Figure 5.4 for the second theme). Places can be socially constructed and territorialized by people in creating a geographic ordering of society (Cresswell, 1996). The boundaries of geographic areas can be delineated along racial or ethnic lines (Manzo, 2005). In this sense, place is a basic way to differentiate a group of people from others. Correspondingly, people evaluate their relationships with a socially bounded place to identify whether they feel like insiders or outsiders of the place (Relph, 1976). The relationships between people and place are commonly determined by the power relations between different groups of individuals. In general, the more powerful and dominant group creates the rules of differentiation and they then make the rules widely applicable to a bounded place (Cresswell, 1996). Based on their relationships with place, people are classified into mainstream and minority, insider and outsider. Members of a minority are commonly disadvantaged, subordinate and marginal in a bounded place (Cresswell, 1996).

Previous studies see Chinatown and the suburbs as places that have ethnic and racial boundaries. Chinatown has been traditionally considered as a spatially confined area in downtown with a high concentration of Chinese (Luk & Phan, 2005). Some studies have found that Chinese who either resided or frequently visited Chinatown reported experiencing less racial discrimination because they were away from white people in their Chinese enclave. In this sense, Chinatown shelters Chinese from being disadvantaged and discriminated against by the outside society (Zhou & Logan, 1989; Yu, 2015). In comparison, scholars indicated that some suburban areas in North America had been developed by British and other Europeans to house white a middle-class population (Evenden & Walker, 1993; Jackson, 1985). In this sense, the suburbs are socially constructed with strong white middle-class homogeneity (Evenden & Walker, 1993). Members of ethnic minorities are more likely to experience discrimination in the white middle-class populated suburbs, in which an racial homogeneity is ensured through public and private mechanisms (Evenden & Walker, 1993; Ray et al., 1997). For example, in the process of Chinese expansion to suburban Vancouver, Chinese investment and settlement had been resisted by the local white middle-class residents (Ray et al., 1997).

The findings of this study show that participants evaluated their racial or ethnic identities in relation to their places to determine whether they were insiders or outsiders (Relph, 1976). An individual usually feels inside of a place when the person has a strong sense of identity in that place (Relph, 1976). For example, the Cantonese urban participants were more likely to see themselves as insiders of Chinatown because earlier Cantonese Chinese established an ethnic homogeneity to ensure their dominance and interests there (Chan, 2011). By contrast, individuals feel like outsiders of a place when they develop a sense of strangeness and alienation in that place (Relph, 1976). For example, some Mandarin-speaking urban participants who were isolated and marginalized by the Cantonese saw themselves as outsiders living in Chinatown. Similarly, suburban participants who felt excluded and neglected by white Canadians saw themselves as outsiders residing in the suburbs.

5.4.3 Safety, Threat, and Aging in Place

The third theme of participants' relationships with place is associated with their sense of safety and threat and expectations of aging in their neighbourhoods (see Figure 5.4 for the third theme). Aging in place is a set of policies that allows elderly people to age in their homes and communities as long as possible (CDC, 2013). The benefits of aging in place at both the institutional and personal levels have been discussed by researchers and policymakers for a long time. Aging in place is supported by policymakers because it saves the costly option of institutional care (Government of Canada, 2014; Health Canada, 2001; WHO, 2007). Aging in place is also the choice of the elders based on their established relationships with place (Smith, 2009). Through the frequent interactions with local places, elders establish social networks, and accumulate local spatial knowledge in using transportation and obtaining resources (Lawton, 1985; Rowles, 1978). Older adults who accumulate local knowledge and establish attachment to their familiar places are able to build self-competence and independence to age in their homes and neighbourhoods (Lawton, 1985; Scannell & Gifford, 2010; Smith, 2009).

The comparison and contrast made between urban and suburban participants revealed the different aging-in-place experiences of two cohorts of Chinese immigrants in Edmonton. The urban participants, most of whom were older and had lived in Edmonton longer, found it difficult to age in their original homes and neighbourhoods. Therefore, they moved to Chinatown and endured the deteriorated environment to obtain community support for an independent life. By contrast, the suburban participants, most of whom were younger and came to Edmonton more recently, expressed a strong wish to remain in the suburbs rather than moving to Chinatown. The findings of this study show that the development of the Chinese community in Edmonton southwest and west allowed suburban participants to increase their social interactions in the suburbs. However, as suburban participants experienced a decline in mobility with advancing age, their needs for accessible care service increased. The findings show that suburban participants faced a lack of transportation support and an absence of accessible care services in the suburbs. If these conditions continue, suburban participants will face significant challenges to age in the suburbs. Therefore, how to support suburban participants and the elderly Chinese

community to age in the suburbs needs to be attentively considered by policymakers and service providers.

5.5 Conclusion

The findings of this chapter expand our knowledge about family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants' perceptions and experiences of place based on urban and suburban settings in Edmonton, Canada. Scholars articulate that an elaboration of local contexts is important to understanding how people establish relationships with particular places (Ehrkamp, 2005; Massey, 1994). However, immigrants' interactions with local places have been long-ignored in transnational migration studies. Too often, researchers only see places as containers of people's activities rather than a process of social construction (Ehrkamp, 2005). My study paid particular attention to the long-ignored gap in transnational migration studies through a careful examination of the local contexts in Edmonton. Through an introduction of the contexts of Chinatown and Edmonton southwest and west, and descriptions of participants' activities in ethnic grocery stores, Southgate Centre, and Chinese churches, readers are able to understand how participants established relationships with local places based on where they lived in the city.

One clear focus of this study is on participants' identity and local practice. There is a growing academic concern about how the globalization of economy and culture has influenced the relationship between people and place (Escobar, 2001). The transnational flows of goods, capital, information, and people result in a transformation of culture and place (Appadurai, 1996). In this study, participants can be considered as "migrants of identity" (Rapport & Dawson, 1998, p. 4). The interaction between people and place can be seen as a two-way process. On the one hand, places influence how people see themselves through shaping their lifestyles and preferences of environment. On the other hand, people change their places through their daily interactions with places (Hauge, 2007). For example, the findings of this chapter show that some of the participants' identities, such as their daily grocery shopping habit and inability to drive, were shaped and developed in China. When participants moved to Canada, as immigrants, they attached Chinese culture and their identities to their local places (Escobar, 2001). Some

urban participants saw ethnic grocery stores in Chinatown as important to their daily lives because they maintained their traditional shopping behavior by frequently visiting these stores. Similarly, although an inability to drive became participants' major transportation constraint, they increased their interactions with their proximate places.

The findings of this study contribute to our understanding of why elderly immigrants of ethnic minorities tended to avoid some community resources that are available for them (Mio et al. 2008). Previous studies find that elderly immigrants are more interested in the activities of their own culture because they are familiar with and capable of fully participating in these activities (Mazumdar, Mazumdar, Docuyanan, & McLaughlin, 2000). The findings of this study show that, other than language and cultural barriers (Himes, Hogan, & Eggebeen, 1996; Leung & McDonald, 2006), participants avoided participation in activities, either of their own culture or mainstream culture, to avoid racial discrimination. Participants experienced different forms of discrimination in both urban and suburban contexts. In the suburbs, participants saw that the racial hierarchy was obvious and they experienced covert discrimination from white Canadians. In Chinatown, Mandarin-speaking participants were discriminated against by Cantonese immigrants. The findings show that ethnic and racial barriers that impeded participants from participating their communities remained. The findings also have important policy implications for service providers. In Canada, a large number of people who identify themselves as Chinese have distinctive ethnic identifications (Anderson, 1991). As the findings show, Mandarin-speaking participants and Cantonese-speaking participants are different from the vernacular languages that they speak to the cultural practices they follow. It is necessary for service providers to develop appropriate services and programs to cater the needs of different Chinese sub-groups based on their origins and vernacular languages.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Research Objectives

The study presented in this thesis investigated the relationships between 35 research participants and their places in Edmonton, Canada. The thesis begins with an introduction to the rationale, the purpose and objectives, and the theoretical framework of this research. Place and sense of place, the core concepts of this research are defined and explained (Chapter 1). Through a literature review of geographic studies on late-age migration, elderly Chinese settlement in Chinatown and the suburbs, and an examination of Mainland late-age Chinese immigrants' cultural background, a comprehensive understanding of the research gaps and directions for this study is delivered (Chapter 2). Then the thesis proceeds with a description of the methodology and implementation of the research (Chapter 3). The results of the study are presented in Chapters 4 & 5. Chapter 4 explores and describes how participants identify and create a place for themselves as residents of Edmonton, Canada. The findings show that participants' identities and perceptions about Canada changed in a process through which they sought an independent life in Canada. Chapter 5 compares and contrasts perceptions and experiences of place between urban and suburban participants. Urban participants, who had lived in Canada longer, developed stronger English language skills, had better financial ability and made the active choice to live in the central core area of Edmonton. Urban participants also experienced a spatial constriction caused by declining health, established their perceptions of being insiders and outsiders and found that they could age in place. By contrast, suburban participants, who had lived in Canada for less time, were trapped in their relationships with their adult children and lived in the suburban area of Edmonton. Suburban participants experienced a spatial constriction caused by inadequate access to transportation, saw themselves as outsiders residing in the suburbs and found it difficult to age in place. Taken together, all of these chapters contribute to an exploration of the development of sense of place among family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants as they age in Edmonton, Canada.

6.2 Research Contributions

6.2.1 Theoretical Contributions

Theoretically, this research establishes two conceptual frameworks that elaborate two systematic relationships between participants and their places. The first conceptual framework illustrates participants' identity change in a process in which they identify their relationship with the country of Canada (in Chapter 4). Theories of place and identity processes have been well documented in environmental psychology and the relationship between identity and place has been a core concern of geographical inquiry (Breakwell, 2010; Drozdzewski, De Nardi, & Waterton, 2016; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). The conceptual framework, through examining participants and their activities in a developmental process, contributes to our understanding of how sponsored late-age immigrants' identities and perceptions about Canada change over time.

The second conceptual framework illustrates the human-place relations of participants who lived in the urban area and those who lived in the suburban area (in Chapter 5). The framework, which is based on the application of the cross-case comparison method, shows similarities and differences between the two groups of participants. More importantly, it shows the interrelationships between aging, race and place. The aging process caused participants' significant mobility constraints, which led them to intensify their interactions with their proximate places. Participants' race and ethnicity determined their perceived relationship with a socially bounded place and their feeling of being insiders or outsiders.

6.2.2 Substantive Contributions

This research contributes in a substantial way towards developing an understanding of the role of sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants in their families and in society. Family sponsored late-age immigrants have long been considered as a group of non-working age people who add pressure on Canada's health care and social security systems (Government of Canada, 2012a; Harris, 2016; McLaren & Black, 2005). However, the self-reliant image of participants revealed in this research is different from the stereotype of family sponsored late-age immigrants in Canada. The findings of the

study show that participants, rather than being a burden on their adult children and society, were important contributors in their adult children' families and in society.

First, participants contributed to their adult children's families by providing childcare for their grandchildren and performing household chores. Sometimes participants were relied upon extensively by their adult children to be responsible for household responsibilities. Accordingly, participants' adult children benefited from obtaining substantial free time to recharge and advance their careers. In particular, participants' contributions in a domestic environment allowed their adult daughters or daughters-in-law, who used to be hands-on caregivers in traditional Chinese families (Lan, 2001), to be freed from their traditional role of being a housewife in a family. In this sense, participants' contributions to the domestic environment supported their children's ability to survive and thrive in Canada.

Second, participants' efforts in managing an independent life in Canada benefited the society by filling job vacancies and through volunteerism. In order to be financially self-sufficient, some participants took jobs that were insecure, temporary and low-paid in Edmonton. Furthermore, some participants volunteered in their communities with great enthusiasm to provide physical or mental support to their elderly Chinese peers. Overall, the findings of this study suggest that participants were not only essential contributors to their adult children's families, but also workers in the service industry and volunteers in their communities. In this sense, participants' experiences demonstrate that family sponsored late-age immigrants can contribute to both the social and economic fabric of Canada.

6.3 Study Limitations

The first limitation of this study exists in the study sample. Although the criteria for participant selection gave equivalent importance to potential participants who speak Mandarin or Cantonese, the ratio of Mandarin-speaking participants to Cantonese-speaking participants was 4:1. Twenty-eight research participants were Mandarin speakers. In comparison, only seven participants who came from the Guangdong province reported Cantonese as their first language (including three monolingual

Cantonese speakers). Because I speak Mandarin rather than Cantonese, I found it much easier to approach potential participants who spoke Mandarin than those who spoke Cantonese. In this sense, my inability to communicate in Cantonese contributed to a small sample of Cantonese-speaking participants of this study.

Although this study only had a small sample of Cantonese-speaking participants, the comparison between Mandarin-speaking and Cantonese-speaking participants provided important research findings. The findings of this study show that Mandarin-speaking and Cantonese-speaking participants had different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, which influenced their perceptions of being insiders or outsiders of place. The findings corroborate that people's linguistic characteristics are important indicators to show their self-identified ethnicity (Ray, 1999). In other words, participants' linguistic characteristics are as important as their place of origin to reflect their self-identified ethnicity and influence their sense of place.

The second limitation of this study is related to the generalizability of the research findings. Case study research is based on specific contexts and cases. Therefore, the findings of a case study research project are considered not generalizable to the larger population (Baxter, 2010; Gerring, 2004). However, case studies are concerned with the meaning of the findings rather than making generalized hypothesis statements (Yin, 2014). In this sense, the strength of the case studies of the 35 participants' sense of place in Edmonton is that it allows the researcher to investigate in depth and to provide analytical explanations (Stake, 2005). Furthermore, the results of case studies are transferable to other similar situations when the details of the research process are revealed as much as possible and the cases are clearly defined (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Gibbert & Ruigrok, 2010; Yin, 2014). For example, the contexts of Edmonton and the characteristics of participants are important criteria to the transferability of this study. Theoretically, the findings of this study may be transferable to other medium-sized cities such as Calgary and Winnipeg. However, it is necessary to compare the research contexts between cities and state their differences in demographic trends, economic and employment growth, and recent settlement patterns of Chinese immigrants.

6.4 Policy Suggestions

Population aging has been identified by United Nations as one of the most significant social transformations that concerns both developed countries and developing countries in the 21st century (United Nations, 2015). The challenge associated with population aging is especially prominent in developed countries in Europe and North America (United Nations, 2015). In Canada, nearly 15% of the Canadian population were age 65 or over by 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2015a). Although China is a developing country, the increase of the older population has been rapid over the past decade. Similar to Canada, in China the proportion of persons age 60 and over reached 15.2% by 2015 (United Nations, 2015). Such a demographic transformation has a profound impact on many aspects of a globalized world, including immigration and the labour market, service businesses and industry, and family relationships and structures (United Nations, 2015).

This study, based on an examination of a group of family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants' lived experience and sense of place in Canada, reveals that the issue of world population aging has a complex consequences for aspects of individual, community, national and international life (United Nations, 2002). The challenges and issues associated with family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrant require the attentions of policymakers and service providers of different levels. The United Nations identifies that ensuring enabling an supportive environment for older persons as one of the three priorities of the International Plan of Action on Aging (United Nations, 2002). Governments are expected to play a central role in mobilizing resources and implementing policies to foster such supportive environments (United Nations, 2002). This study identifies the following key issues that are needed to be addressed in policymaking and service-provision from international scale to local scale.

6.4.1 Developing institutional care in China

A large Chinese aging population require enhanced security to age in China. The findings of this study show that late-age Chinese immigrants came to Canada to reunite with their adult children because they saw family support necessary in old age. Although participants saw that coming to Canada to stay with an adult child was consistent with the

traditional Chinese family culture, they also found it difficult to age in China because they could not depend on the underdeveloped institutional care services. In this sense, the absence of institutional care programs and underdeveloped care services reinforces Chinese seniors' reliance on the support and care provided by their adult children (Qi, 2015). Therefore, immigrating to Canada to stay close with their adult children is a means for elderly Chinese parents to compensate for an inability to age-in-place in China.

A comprehensive institutional care system needs to be established to support Chinese seniors to age in their homeland rather than being relocated to a foreign country. This issue needs to be addressed in Chinese government's policy in dealing with a rapidly aging population. China' population aged over 60 reached 222 million by the end of 2015 and was expected to reach 400 million in the middle of this century (Cou, 2015; Government of China, 2016). However, a weakening of family obligation of aged care and a change of family structure all threaten the family support to Chinese seniors' (Qi, 2015; Whyte, 1997). The political, economic, and cultural changes since the 1950s in China contribute to a weakening of family supportive system (Qi, 2015; Whyte, 1997). The proliferation of 4-2-1 families[13] in China implies that it is not feasible for older people to completely depend on the care provided by their adult children (Jiang & Sánchez-Barricarte, 2011).

Findings of the 2014 China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey show that the demand of institutional care and services is high among Chinese seniors. However, the institutional care services in both urban or rural China are far from meeting the needs of Chinese seniors (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016). Public cultural bias, insufficient community resources, a lack of diversity services, and poor estimation of consumer affordability all contribute to a low accessibility of care services among Chinese seniors (China Longitudinal Aging Social Survey, 2016; Deloitte, 2014). Furthermore, data also indicates that Chinese seniors expect the government to take a stronger role in providing care for the aged. The Government of China should take the responsibility to establish a state provision and a comprehensive welfare system to

[13] 4-2-1 family structure refers to four grandparents, two parents, and one working Chinese in a household. China's one-child policy implemented between 1980 and 2015 caused the increase of 4-2-1 families. It is expected that there were 1.58 million 4-2-1 families in China by 2015 (Jiang & Sánchez-Barricarte, 2011).

provide better security of older people in China (Jiang & Sánchez-Barricarte, 2011; Qi, 2015).

6.5.2 Facilitating family reunification of parents and grandparents

The government of Canada should continue facilitating family reunification under the Parent and Grandparent Program (PGP). The experiences of the 35 research participants revealed in this study challenge the stereotype of late-age immigrants, who are on welfare and with no economic value (Government of Canada, 2012a; K. Harris, 2016). However, the proportion of immigrants of family class had shrunk dramatically since 1994, even if the Government of Canada claimed facilitating the reunion of families as a key objective of the current immigrant system (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2013; Government of Canada, 2012a; Statistics Canada, 2016b). Although the Government of Canada increased the 2017 PGP intake cap up to 10,000, the expected demand far outweighed the supply (CIC News, 2016). In 2016, more than 14,000 applications were submitted in three days, causing the PGP to be closed ahead of schedule (CIC News, 2016). The 2017 PGP adopts a lottery system to ensure that everyone who wishes to apply PGP has an equal opportunity to complete an online application form within 30 days. Ten thousand eligible individuals will be randomly drawn from all applicants to proceed a full application (Government of Canada, 2017c). However, the supply cap of the program remains. It is expected that only one fifth of applicants have the chance to submit a complete application (K. Harris, 2016). Under such circumstances, the allowable number of immigrants in PGP should not be reduced to further expand the supply gap.

6.5.3 Providing late-age Chinese immigrants' needed services

More Chinese seniors housing should be established to meet the needs of an increasing number of late-age Chinese immigrants in Edmonton. The findings of this study show that participants needed affordable housing and preferred to live with their Chinese peers. Accommodating late-age Chinese immigrants in Chinese seniors housing has three advantages. First, as the findings of this study show, concentrated living allows participants to maintain group identity and cultural continuity. Second, service providers

find it easy to deliver services or organize community activities in Chinese seniors housing. A high concentration of Chinese elders in a neighbourhood is an important determinant of the formation of a social network. Social services are facilitated by a specific channel of communication: "the more seniors talk to one another about support services, the more they come to see these services as beneficial, and the more willing they are to use them" (Lum & Springer, 2004, p. 3). Reciprocally, service providers are more likely to set up their service agencies and to do outreach in a place with a high concentration of Chinese seniors (Lum & Springer, 2004). Third, providing more independent seniors housing can prevent unnecessary nursing home placement and save the cost of institutional care (Perez, Fernandez, Rivera, & Abuin, 2001).

Immigrants' accessibility to needed services must also be addressed. The findings of this study show that participants who have a low level of accessibility experienced mobility constraints and a decline of independence. Services and resources that are close or conveniently accessible to participants are important to support them aging in place. Late-age Chinese immigrants' accessibility can be improved through two ways—establishing proximate services and providing transportation support. For example, participants identify that accessible care services are an important condition that support them to age in place. Particularly, suburban participants feel threatened to age in the suburbs due to a lack of accessible care services. Culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate care services need to be developed in the suburbs to support them to age in place. In addition, shuttle services can be provided to transport participants to their needed care services. In recent years, senior day care centres have successfully accommodated a large number of suburban elderly Chinese immigrants in the US. One of the featured services of these centres is providing shuttles to transport these seniors between mass transit stations and the centres (Healy, 2015). Correspondingly, providing transportation support is important for service providers to promote the accessibility of seniors who experience mobility constraint.

6.5 Future Directions

There are a number of directions that can build on this research in the future and two directions are discussed here. First, one potential direction is conducting a survey investigation to understand family sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants' needs of supportive environments in Edmonton. Elderly immigrants of ethnic minorities usually face additional challenges and barriers in accessing services in health care, community services and residential resources (Damron-Rodriguez, Wallace, & Kington, 1995; Morgan & Sampsel, 1994; Tsai & Lopez, 1998). Therefore, they have particular needs of supportive environments.

The findings of this study contribute to our initial understanding of the qualities of supportive environments for late-age Chinese immigrants in Edmonton. For example, participants experienced a variety of barriers to age in place, including a lack of accessible care services and transportation resources, overt and covert discrimination, and public safety problems. Based on these initial findings, a survey research project could be conducted to investigate the needs for supportive environments of a larger population of sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants, especially those who came to Canada after 2014. Since January 2, 2014, the sponsorship validity period of parent and grandparent immigrants has increased to twenty years (Government of Canada, 2013c). The change of policy means that recent sponsored late-age Chinese immigrants will not eligible to get any government benefits and they will need a more supportive environment if they seek to be independent. It is important for policymakers to understand the needs and priorities of these late-age Chinese immigrants through such a survey research project and adopt pertinent measures in providing supportive environments to them (Edmonton Seniors Coordinating Council, 2011).

Second, a similar study could be applied to elderly Chinese immigrants who came to Edmonton, Canada earlier in life to provide a comparative case study to this study. As introduced in Chapter 2, elderly Chinese immigrants who were sponsored by their families to immigrate at late-age and those who immigrated earlier in life are two categories of elderly immigrants. The two categories of elderly immigrants vary in social status, financial ability, social interaction and degree of integration (Angel et al., 1999;

Wong, 2001). Recently, a large number of Chinese immigrants who came from China to North America in the 1980s have reached retirement age (Zhou, 1992). These immigrants are better educated, came to Canada as skilled workers, entrepreneurs, and professionals, and became an important part of the workforce (Guo & DeVoretz, 2006). Therefore, this group of elderly Chinese immigrants are likely to be familiar with the host society' institutions and are easy to integrate into the mainstream culture (Treas, 2008; Treas & Mazumdar, 2002). More importantly, most of these immigrants have been settled in the suburbs for over twenty years and want to stay in their familiar neighbourhoods (Wu, 2015). I expect that there will be a lot of interesting findings based on comparisons between the two categories of elderly Chinese immigrants' lived experience and sense of place in Edmonton.

Third, the social power relations in place need to be further examined by scholars in our growing multi-ethnic and multi-racial society and in multi-generational family structures. The findings of this study suggest that power relations between different generations in an immigrant family and between multi-ethnic groups in society have been important topics in the social life, law and politics in Canadian contexts. The recent demographic trends in Canada show that the experiences of recent immigrants in medium-sized cities should be a focus. Canadian provinces including Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have had the highest immigration rates since 2012. Correspondingly, the population of more recent immigrants has increased rapidly in medium-sized cities such as Calgary, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina (Statistics Canada, 2016b, 2018a). Furthermore, the government of Canada has announced that it will accept one million immigrants over the next three years (Harris, Hall, & Zimonjic, 2017). The influx of immigrants of economic class, family class and humanitarian class further challenge the growing multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-generational populations of medium-sized cities (CISSA-ACSEI, 2017). Therefore, it is important for Canadian researchers and policy-makers to consider how to mediate the power relations in our society to cope with some predictable social challenges brought about by the influx of forthcoming immigrants.

On a final note, in an increasingly globalized world, late-age immigrants' aging experience in a foreign land has become an important topic in studies of aging and place

(Andrews & Phillips, 2005). As argued by Kalache (2013): “In aging, we long for what we have left behind. I call this aging in a foreign land”. Studies on aging have largely ignored the experiences of immigrants while research on immigrants has tended to overlook older adults (Treas, 2014). Research addressing late-age immigrants’ aging experiences in their receiving countries should be further examined in future geographic studies.

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Appendices

A: Ethics Approval Letter

Notification of Approval

Date:	April 2, 2012
Study ID:	Pro00029599
Principal Investigator:	Qiqi Wang
Study Supervisor:	Theresa Garvin
Study Title:	The Lived Experience and Sense of Place among Urban and Suburban Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Edmonton
Approval Expiry Date:	April 1, 2013

Approved Consent Form:	Approval Date	Approved Document
	4/2/2012	Inf letter and consent_English_revised.pdf
	4/2/2012	Inf letter and consent_Simplified&traditional Chi.pdf

Thank you for submitting the above study to the Research Ethics Board 1. Your application has been reviewed and approved on behalf of the committee.

A renewal report must be submitted next year prior to the expiry of this approval if your study still requires ethics approval. If you do not renew on or before the renewal expiry date, you will have to re-submit an ethics application.

Approval by the Research Ethics Board does not encompass authorization to access the staff, students, facilities or resources of local institutions for the purposes of the research.

Sincerely,

Dr. William Dunn
Chair, Research Ethics Board 1

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system).

B: Information letter and informed consent

INFORMATION LETTER FOR RESEARCH STUDY

The Lived Experience and Sense of Place among Urban and Suburban Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Edmonton

Research Investigator	Supervisors	
Qiqi Wang	Dr. Theresa Garvin	Dr. Candace Nykiforuk
PhD Student	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor – Centre for
Human Geography	Human Geography	Health Promotion Studies
1-26 ESB	1-26 ESB	3-300 ECHA
University of Alberta	University of Alberta	University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2E3	Edmonton, AB, T6G 2E3	Edmonton, AB T6G 1C9
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780-709-5055	780-492-4593	780-492-4109

Background

You are invited to participate in a research project conducted by Qiqi Wang, a doctoral student in Human Geography at the University of Alberta. As an immigrant elder who came to Canada from China, you are being asked to share your experiences about what it is like to live in your neighbourhood. Current research shows that sometimes elders find it easier or harder to fit into their homes and communities, and that where they live in the city (Chinatown or suburban neighbourhoods) can make a difference to how satisfied they feel with their lives. Your participation will help us better understand your likes and dislikes of where you live, and how we can help Chinese elders live a better life in Edmonton.

Purpose

This study focuses on the lives of elderly Chinese immigrants in Edmonton. The research aims to understand what the elders need to feel like they belong. The findings will explain how a neighbourhood can satisfy the needs of elderly Chinese immigrants.

Study Procedures

This study will recruit about 40 elderly Chinese immigrants, half from Downtown and half from suburban neighbourhoods in Edmonton. Participants are both those that have seen information posters and volunteered to take part, as well as those recommended by service providers, community agencies, and friends. To participate, you will take part in a one-hour interview talking about your daily life including where you go, what you do, and how you feel about the places that you live in and visit, etc. These

interviews can take place in your home, or we can meet in a public place like a coffee shop or library. With your permission, interviews will be tape-recorded and then transcribed word-for-word. In order to participate in this project, you must have been born in Mainland China, immigrated to Canada at some point in your life, be age 65 or older, live in either downtown or a suburban neighbourhood, and speak fluent English, Mandarin, Cantonese or other Chinese dialects. Each participant (a couple who participate in an interview together will be considered as one participant) will receive a 20 dollar gift card of T&T supermarket at the end of an interview as a token of thanks for participating.

Confidentiality, Use of Data, Security

If you participate in this research, what you say will be kept confidential. This means that no one but you and the research team will know what you said or even if you participated in the research at all. Once the interview is complete, you will have the opportunity to select a false name (pseudonym), which will then be used for the rest of the project. When your interview is transcribed, all identifying information will be removed so that no one can find out who you are or what you said. The information provided by you and all the other participants will then be put in a large database of responses, which will be analyzed collectively. If you would like to receive a copy of the research results in the future, your name and address will be collected and stored separately from the interview data.

The findings from this research will be used in Qiqi Wang's PhD dissertation, as well as in publications for academic journals, presentations to academic conferences, and for public talks and teaching purposes. In all these cases we may use direct quotes from participants to support the research findings, however those direct quotes will not contain any information that will allow you to be identified as the source.

According to University of Alberta policy, once interviews have been transcribed all of your identifying or contact information will be removed from the files and on January 1, 2013 we will destroy any materials that can link you to specific comments. Only the members of the research team identified on this form will know that you participated in the research.

The data for this project (without identifying information) will be kept at the University of Alberta in a password-protected file on a secure server in a locked lab. Only the research team will have access to this data. According to University of Alberta policy this data will be kept for a minimum of 5 years in the Community, Health and Environment Research lab. After 5 years, all electronic and print copies of the data will be destroyed.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in the research is completely voluntary. You do not have to answer any specific questions during the interview, and you can stop the interview at any time without explanation. Once the interview is completed, you will be offered the chance to look at a written copy of what you have said and make changes, deletions or additions. You have the right to refuse participation or to withdraw consent at any time during the interview process. If you withdraw from the study prior to December 31, 2012,

we will destroy the paper documents, permanently delete computer files relevant to you, and remove your information from the research. After this time all identifying information will be removed from your information and we will be unable to identify which information belongs to which participant.

Benefits

There may be few direct benefits to you as an individual participating in this study. However past research has shown that some people learn about themselves and their lives by talking out loud about their life experiences. In addition, some people get satisfaction from knowing that they are contributing to making things better for other people. The larger benefits of this research include a better understanding of the needs of Chinese elderly immigrants, and potentially better services for this important group.

Risk

There is minimal risk to you in participating in this research. Some people feel uncomfortable talking about their lives and experiences, and others might participate only because their friends and family say they should. However as mentioned previously all participation is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw from the research or may refuse to answer any questions.

Participant Rights

You have the right to refuse to participate, to refuse to answer any questions and to withdraw from the study completely prior to December 31, 2012 without explanation. You have the right to ask questions about the project, and to know how the information will be used in the future. You have the right to receive a copy of the research findings from this project and are welcome to contact any member of the research team at any time if you would like to talk about the project.

You will be given a copy of this information letter and the consent form to retain for your own records.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by Research Ethics Board 1 at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Participant Informed Consent

The Lived Experience and Sense of Place among Urban and Suburban Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Edmonton

Statement by the participant:

I have read and understood the information letter attached to this consent form. I understand that I am a voluntary participant and that I have until December 31, 2012 to withdraw from the study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research project and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have received a copy of this information sheet and informed consent form to keep for my own records.

I agree to participate in this study. Furthermore:

I would like to be contacted in the future to review the written copy of my interview	Yes	No
I would like to receive a copy of the final project results	Yes	No

Printed Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Witness to informed consent:

Printed Name of Researcher: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____

Date: _____

C: Questions for interviews

The Lived Experience and Sense of Place among Urban and Suburban Elderly Chinese Immigrants in Edmonton

1. Tell me the story of how you came to live in Canada and Edmonton.

Probes: immigrant experience; length of residence; life course; sense of place; identity.

2. Which parts of Edmonton are appealing/ unappealing to you, or which are appealing/ unappealing to you to live in?

Probes: reasons for immigration; advantages and disadvantages of living in Edmonton; sense of place/ belonging.

3. Do you feel Edmonton is home? Why? Do you still feel your hometown is home? Why?

Probes: sense of belonging; public services; natural environment; social institution.

4. Tell me about a normal day for you in your neighbourhood?

Probes: residential location; accessibility; social interaction; routines; disposable income; health conditions; wellbeing; sense of place; identity.

5. What are some things about the neighbourhood that you like and dislike?

Probes: mobility; transportation; safety/fear; accessibility; relationship with neighbours; involvement; activity (social, physical).

6. Do you prefer to live in downtown/suburban neighbourhood? Can you compare the different neighbourhoods you lived before?

Probes: comparison and contrast between downtown and suburbs; perception of different neighbourhoods; sense of place.

7. How and to what extent do you interact with Chinese community members in Edmonton?

How and to what extent do you interact with non-Chinese groups or individuals?

Probes: social networks; place making; cultural environment; integration; language.

8. Can you talk about your family? Do you spend time together? What activities do you engage in with your family?

Probes: gender difference; family relationship; influence of culture; the role in a family; living arrangement; family income; wellbeing.

9. What do you think the major barriers that hinder you to integrate in Canadian society? What do you think the major impetus that helps you to integrate in Canadian society?
Probes: access to proper social services; economic conditions; disposable income; language; culture; integration; ethnical minority; social services.
10. If you could change anything about your life right now, what would it be?
Probes: like and dislike in neighbourhoods, sense of place, expectations; ideal lives of aging; possible policy initiatives.