

UNIVERSITY OF DERBY

SOUTH ASIAN INDIAN AGEING: A  
QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION  
INTO EXPECTATIONS OF CO-  
RESIDENCE AND CARE AMONGST  
SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION  
ADULTS OF SOUTH ASIAN INDIAN  
ORIGIN IN LEICESTER

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## Abbreviations

DoE	Department of Education
DoH	Department of Health
IFA	International Federation of Ageing
SAI	South Asian Indian
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

## Glossary

South Asian Indian (SAI)	Person of Indian heritage
1 <sup>st</sup> Generation SAI	Those who migrated to the UK as older adults or as dependents on their adult children
2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation SAI	Those who migrated to the UK as very young adults either on work permits from Indian subcontinent or from the Africa (during Africanisation programmes or as Ugandan refugees).
3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation SAI	Those of Indian heritage born in the UK
Co-residence	Two or three generation households living jointly under one roof
Twice migrants	Migrants who came to the UK via African countries

## **Abstract**

Today in the United Kingdom (UK), ageing is considered to be an important aspect of social life in general and although overall South Asian Indians (SAIs) are relatively young compared to the indigenous white population, the number over the age of 60 is rapidly increasing. Over the last decade or so evidence-based practice within social work has been given a great deal of emphasis in public and professional life. This study is based in this spirit and emanates from personal and professional experience of working with an ageing population from a South Asian Indian background and focuses on the second and third generation of this settled minority.

The aspect of co-residence within South Asian Indian cultures has been given little attention both within academic and professional studies. The key aims underpinning this work and of the research reported in this thesis were to illuminate and explicate the problematical and challenging expectations of ageing, co-residence and care within different generations of SAIs in Leicester. Thus this study investigates the expectations of co-residence and care amongst a cohort of second and third generation SAIs who have been settled in the UK for 30 or more years.

Using interpretivist theoretical perspectives, 12 participants (8 from the second generation and 4 from the third generation of SAI 'settlers') were interviewed using in-depth semi-structured one-to-one interview techniques to collect data regarding their views and understandings of co-residence and care within the context of living in the UK. The data collected was thematically analysed and three themes, co-residence, expectations and acculturation/enculturation were identified for detailed exploration and analysis. Using interpretivist perspectives, these themes were used to identify meaningful patterns of behaviour and sentiment and to analyse the underlying symbolic sociocultural systems within the context of ageing within the SAI community in the United Kingdom.

The research highlighted the onset of some enculturation processes and a rapid change in social attitudes, particularly in relation to altruism, concepts of family, a gap in understanding the expectations of co-residence between generations and

the impact of these on second generation SAIs. The older participants yearned to be looked after by their adult children, feared being on their own and displayed anxiety at the prospect of not being looked after in their old age. They experienced and expressed concern at a loss of control in the decisions relating to co-residence for their current and future lives.

The study points to the lack of wider scale academic and practice-based research studies focused on the impact of changes in culture and family expectations, particularly in relation to co-residence, and recommends that : (a) the academic and professional discourses and theories on ageing incorporate aspects and experiences of migration and diversity of cultures and (b) researchers, practitioners and policy makers examine the needs of the ageing SAI communities in the UK in order to explore policies, procedures and initiatives that could enhance various forms of family living and to develop relevant evidence - based practice.

The outcomes of the research have implications for teaching and for practice. This is particularly so in cases where there has been a perceived failure to adopt understandings and practices in response to the identified changes. To this end a flow chart was developed that is recommended to be used as a guide and a tool for initial assessment for practitioners when working with this vulnerable group. It is hoped that this guide will have utility in terms of scope and reach when applied to the analysis and understanding of ageing in SAI communities in the UK.

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**“TRUTH IS WHAT STANDS THE TEST OF EXPERIENCE” (EINSTEIN, A. 1879 – 1955)**

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

This study is about understandings of the expectations of co-residence and care amongst the second and third generation British Asians of South Asian Indian (SAI) origin. Within this study, South Asian Indians in the United Kingdom (UK) have been defined as those whose ancestral home is in India and have migrated to the UK directly or indirectly from India. The study is around gaining critical insight into the innermost sentiments within family relations, and how these might impact on the ageing processes. This intention involves exploration of the cultural notions of co-residence and care, and of their subjective realities which themselves occur in the context of political and wider experiences impacting upon their lives.

Ageing is considered to be a vital feature of today's world particularly as there is a general rise in the ageing population worldwide, with the numbers of those aged over 60 projected to rise to two billion by 2020 representing 22 per cent of the world's population (Bloom, Canning and Fink 2011:1). Within the United Kingdom since 1951, the population of people over the age of 65 is said to have increased 80 per cent over six decades (Rutherford 2012:2), which brings with it major challenges for social workers, social work agencies, social scientists and policy makers. However, it is acknowledged here that there are differing ideas around population studies and what constitutes a problem (Dorling 2013).

According to the 2011 UK Census, South Asians in England and Wales make up 7.5% of the population, and represent the largest ethnic minority group (Office for National Statistics 2011). South Asian descent encompasses individuals who originate from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives and Sri Lanka and includes religions such as Hinduism, Sikhism, Christianity and Islam. The migration of South Asians to the UK has mainly been directly from these countries and from the former colonised countries in Africa and West Indies. Although there is a considerable diversity in terms of migratory pattern, rural-urban background, religion, languages, education and income, the group overall have a common ancestral home and have been described as sharing "similar

worldviews that impart common values and behavioural expectations” (Inman 2006:307). These commonalities exist across the differences and the venerated culture imparts a sense of commonality, even though this may be contested by some. The group not only share some core values, but within the UK context, also share the experiences of migration, settling in a new environment and coming to terms with differing cultural values. All these contribute to the commonalities which are part of the experiences of ageing in the UK.

South Asians in the UK are relatively young compared with the indigenous white population. However, as with the national trend, the number of people who are over 60 is rapidly increasing, and therefore a detailed appreciation of this group’s experience of ageing in the context of UK is not only timely, but necessary in terms of understanding and responding to the service needs of this group.

Amongst the South Asian ageing population, the Indian community have a long history of migration to and settlement in the UK compared to other commonwealth countries. This is partly due to the historical events, for example, which took place during the colonial era when many Indians were recruited into the British army and were required / encouraged to migrate from India to other colonised countries in Africa and West Indies to fulfil the need for both skilled and manual labour in those countries. Very many Indians were transported to Europe and other parts of the world in both World Wars to fight on behalf of the British and their Allies. This and other factors gave what appeared to many to be a special relationship between the British and the Indians. In return Britain offered a form of citizenship and a second homeland with safety and prospects. Later, Africanisation programmes in the former British colonies and political / economic upheavals in India and in some other African countries compelled many Indians to uproot and migrate to take up the place of refuge and safety that was promised through their British citizenship (Desai 1963). These South Asians of Indian (SAI) are the focus of this study.

Today in the UK, the SAIs have the highest percentage of those over 60 years of age compared to all other minorities (Rutherford 2012). Whether they migrated

directly from India or as settled minorities from African countries during the Africanisation programmes, they share their Indian cultural heritage and the experiences of migration and settling in the UK, and thus can be seen as a community in their own right. In traditional literature, community is often defined as related to a locality, as a social network and as relationship often due to common culture, interests or circumstances (Bauman 2001; Cree 2010); however, Cohen (1965) argues that it is an elusive term to define because it encompasses a wide variety of social processes as well as symbols, values and ideologies that have popular currency. Cohen (1965:12) argues that the use of the word 'community' implies that the members of a group have "something in common with each other" which "distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups", thus implying similarities and differences at the same time and embodies a sense of boundary which could encapsulate one's sense of identity.

Within SAI communities, there are differences in their histories of migration and migratory patterns, religious background and spoken language (Burholt 2004); however, they share a common colonial heritage, common struggles of settling and ageing in the UK, and in particular dealing with the tensions of settling in the UK in the early 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (Desai 1963; Patel 1998; Qureshi 1998; Ramji 2006a; Wray 2007), as well as the current tensions relating to the solidarity of family and extended family life. So despite the differences, the aspects of common core values, past historical associations, and the feelings of 'oneness' with people of one's own culture and/or struggles unite them as a community with "common circumstances and interest" (Cree 2010: 93). However, differing migratory patterns such as direct migration from India or indirect migration via African countries. Additionally, differing backgrounds such as rural-urban, skilled – nonskilled and professional – non-professional, as well as differing religious, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, all play a part in the narrative of migration and settlement. Besides this, despite the commonality of treatment during migration and settlements in Britain, the cultural, economic, religious and caste differences and affiliations within the SAI communities have somewhat been

retained , which could point towards issues relating to communities within communities. These do impact on the responses to and on experiences of change and upon how the relationships with host and other minority communities are shaped, experienced or managed by individuals within the SAI community, thus highlighting the dilemmas around assumptions of homogeneity. Cohen (1965), however, highlights that although such boundaries are largely constituted by people in interaction and in their perception, it is through symbols such as rituals and roles, such as those between gender or generations and commonalities of experiences, that the consciousness of community is maintained.

Furthermore, Cree (2010) cites studies that suggest factors such as class, income and housing also play a part in determining experiences of care and care giving to the ageing, and suggests that the working class have fewer resources to provide care. However, social class defined on the basis of occupation, property or capital may often be not directly relevant to migrants because of the very nature of their entry into the labour market. This may be shaped and experienced in common no matter what the social class origins of the migrants happened to be. This is in fact a matter for empirical investigation. Although class experience, to some extent, does shape ethnicity, ethnic identities cannot be reduced to class experience (Fenton 2010). Thus, some definitions of social class may not take account of ethnicity or cultural diversity particularly in terms of ‘caste’ systems which permeate the SAI community. The relationship of modern conceptions of class to ethnicity and its connections is extremely dense and complicated (Savage 2015). For example, in mapping class structure Savage (2015:174) identifies that although ethnic minorities are underrepresented among the elite, they are well represented in the middle class and among “emerging services workers” (ibid: 173). Savage argues that these ethnic minorities have not yet accumulated wealth, so although they have a “considerable amount of cultural capital, they have not been able to translate this into economic capital in the same way that white Britons have”. Thus in understanding social and class formations, as well as in understanding generational relationships within ethnic communities, it is very

important to understand the emergence of the diversification of classes and groups within the established social class or classes.

It is important to note here, that as part of the settling process most SAIs have been able to take advantage of the opportunities of free education available in the UK (Chambers 2012). This to some significant extent contributes towards social mobility in terms of class, the breakdown of the caste systems and the broadening of horizons as well as fostering individualism (Hall 1990; Jenkins 2004). Culturally, SAIs have reverence for education, hence the significance of experiences and opportunities people can now acquire through education (Chambers 2012; Ramji 2006b). This exposure to wider horizons will no doubt impact on how people develop understanding and construe their situations and predicaments in terms of family life and obligations. Hence there is a likelihood of tension between the solidarity which is the ideal of family life including the importance of extended family and ethnic community life, and the individualisation and individualism which are implicated in 'success' and mobility in the new environment (Chambers 2012; Hofstede 2001; Laungani 2005). These are the contradictions and tensions which provide us with a rich source of experience and human interaction within and beyond the family; which is a key focus of this study.

My interest in studying the experiences of SAI ageing in the UK is manifold. I am from a SAI background, migrated as a young person from an African country during the Africanisation programme, have settled and raised my family within the context of British society and am now 'ageing'. However, in the main, my interest stems from my over 40 years of living and working within this community as a community worker, as a qualified social worker, as an approved mental health worker, as a volunteer within the housing sector, as a tutor to qualifying social workers, as a lecturer in social work and as a researcher in the community. During these different stages of my personal and working life in the UK, I have come across a variety of circumstances, particularly those related to

social and psychological aspects of human relationships and its manifestations which are of significance to this study.

However, I am acutely aware of the challenges of researching an area that is sensitive within the SAI community, as well as being a practitioner in the community and an insider in terms of shared understandings of cultural heritage. This shared identity can be both an intellectual and an emotional challenge and can present dilemmas, particularly in terms of confidentiality. With regard to this problematic issue I have chosen to explore aspects of what is known as ‘insider research’. Hellowell (2006:483) describes an insider researcher as “an individual who may have an intimate knowledge of subjects chosen for the study” whilst Drake and Heath (2011:1) assert that it is more about “the researcher having some experience or insight into the worlds in which the research is being undertaken”, and put forward the notion of ‘hyphens’ populating the world of insider research as they move in and out of being insider-outsider and practitioner-researcher during the research process. As an insider researcher, I was conscious of the fact that I was proposing a practice-based process of examination, exploration and analysis of a cultural change in modern Britain and also of the importance of exploring the interplay of subjective desires and sentiments and experience in a context of personal and interpersonal/interfamilial ‘contests’. Also as an insider researcher, I was confident of my ability to gain the trust and confidence of the ‘objects’ of research and thus consciously attempting to portray them as ‘subjects’ of the discourse, with valid and authentic views and perspectives of their own. The dilemma of being an insider, a practitioner as well as a researcher exists in terms of the idea for research, what it is that needs researching, for what purposes, how ethical these are and whether this is addressed from personal, academic or social work perspectives. These were in essence existential issues and challenges for the objects and subjects of research and for me as the researcher. However, immersion in these processes via critical awareness and reflection on what is known and lived became an ‘existential’ matter and for me as a researcher the ‘epistemic subjects’ were the SAI(s) who were engaged with me in the generation of new, valid and self-critical knowledge.

Within social work practice, developing professional practice is about systematic use of the rigours of practice and research to develop knowledge that impacts and informs practice (Dominelli 2009; Hopkins- Burke, K. 2011). My teaching of social work practice perspectives have highlighted the practice, structural and organisational issues in relation to age and its meaning, emanating from diverse political, cultural, economic and social forces. For example in terms of provision of care; culturally within the SAI community provision of care by family is seen as obligatory and as part of duty, whilst within the UK context such provision of care is seen by many as a choice. In addition, during my professional career my practice and research had highlighted some aspects of shame, distress and dissatisfaction amongst South Asian older adults, particularly in relation to their expectations of filial obligations and joint family living. With the requirements for evidence-based practice (DoH 2005, 2001), there is a greater emphasis on research informed practice, and the ability to make professional judgements and autonomous decisions using a “distinct, theoretical, expert knowledge base” (May and Buck 1998:1), rather than practice that was or is based solely on unarticulated professional judgement (Dominelli 2009) or based on the myth that ‘South Asians prefer to look after their own’. My practice observations, based on a long period of professional work, are that in many cases the practice and policy perspectives in relation to South Asians have been largely based on the outcomes of research which have mostly emphasised language and diet needs, rather than being based on culturally meaningful ways of coping with stress, such as that relating to moving home or migration or settling in new cultures and the consequent impacts on the ageing processes.

These experiences have highlighted the range of issues that settling families face as they arrive and get to grips with the norms and expectations of the countries in which they have settled. However, two particular experiences were of particular significance to my perceptions and work; one when working within the housing sector as a founder member of a housing association and another when carrying out a small scale survey as part of a ‘Research Informed Curriculum and Teaching

Funding' (RICTF) grant. These exposed me to some emerging issues, particularly in relation expectations of filial obligations and the changes that were occurring within SAI family dynamics. These were particularly in relation to aspects of transitions within family, in relation to the question and features of ageing and around the consequences and expectations of care and care giving, particularly in respect of the aged via the medium of joint and extended family living. Social workers work in complex situations and the human interactions are often within complex changing social and political arenas, requiring mental agility, emotional maturity and to some extent innovation at every interaction. Therefore the task for practitioners working with SAIs is not just about understanding key issues, themes and debates located within their practice, but also to understand the cultural context and the "culturally specific assumptions" (Hockey and James 2003:130) that influence the life course and the ageing processes. It is this that the study aims to encapsulate, particularly in relation to its impact on ageing and it is this 'locus' of understanding which is new to the professional field upon which the claim for new doctoral knowledge in this thesis is based.

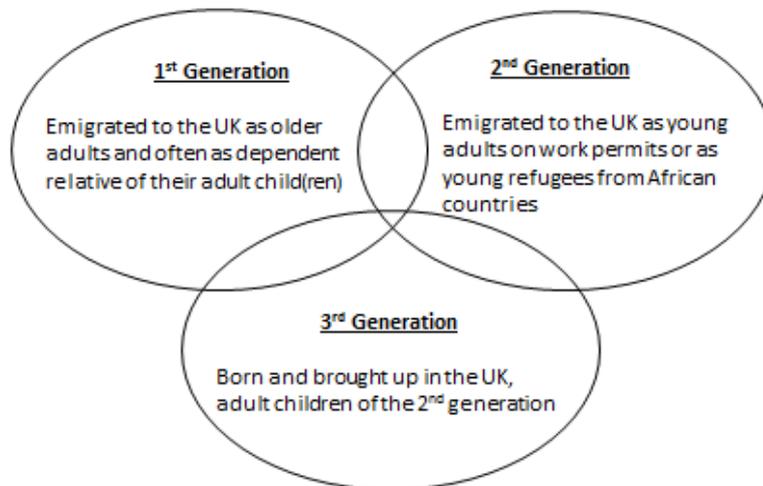
Culturally developed social norms act to serve as a form of identity and create sets of expectations and practices. Expectations defined as "supposition" (Hawker and Waite 2007: 285), emphasise these as a state of looking forward to something and these are known to shape one's reality and are central to one's experiences and understanding of one's situation (Lazarus 1991). Expectations are closely tied with one's attitudes, beliefs and the processes of socialisation (Hogg and Vaughan 2005). So if one is socialised and believes in revering the old for example, then these very beliefs will translate into expectations of reverence when a person herself/himself becomes old. The challenges arise when there are differing expectations between the family and society at large (Berry 1986). So for example, SAIs' strong traditional, collectivist, cultural values and beliefs may dictate that their individual identities and roles revolve around patriarchal family systems, interdependency and filial obligations (Lamb 2009; Laungani 2006). These can result in the expectations of social norms that dictate that older parents are cared for and reside with a son and his family. But societies with different

family cultures can create different sets of expectations and practices in relation to roles of the family.

So, within the context of the UK, if on one hand we have a collectivist, traditional and religion-based family system and on the other hand, a more secular, fluid, egalitarian and individualised family system (Bauman 2008), then this can present challenges, both for those SAIs that are ageing in the UK and those that are born and socialised within the context of the British society. Because one's expectations are said to be closely related to the individually held concepts of happiness and wellbeing (Lazarus 1991), an investigation into the differences in expectations between generations is considered an important aspect in understanding the ageing of SAIs. There is, in addition to this conception of the 'problematic' notion of shared and/or contrasting cultural and social values and practices, also a debate within social science concerning the role of action/agency versus that of determination/structure. Just how far an individual might be free to shape his or her own destiny within a given social and cultural matrix is a matter of on-going debate which has shaped social thought for many decades and continues to occupy a prominent position in intellectual debate on socialisation and identity. Jenkins (2004:176) argues that this is a matter of using strategic concepts to gain a better understanding of the relationship between individuality and collectivity. It is my intention in this thesis to explore and test such concepts within the empirical context of SAIs in Britain and their settlement into being an intrinsic and distinctive part of British society in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

As discussed earlier, within and alongside the national trend, SAIs in the UK are ageing as a definable group. The current ageing SAI population falls into two categories: one that migrated as older refugees with their adult children or joined their adult children in the UK as their dependents. I have used the term first generation SAI to describe this group. The second group, herein identified as the second generation SAI is the key focus of my study. They migrated to the UK either as young workers from the Indian sub-continent on work permits during the labour shortages in the 1950s or as young economic migrants and/or refugees

from African countries during the 1960s and 1970s. Having come to the UK more than 30 years previously, they are seen as the pioneers for the now settled SAI communities in the UK, and constitute most of today's ageing populations of SAIs. Members of this group were born outside the UK and were most likely socialised in a culture where expectations of filial obligations and communal living were the norm, whereas SAI adults born and brought up in the UK [from hereon I shall identify this group as third generation SAI], have been and are continuing to be socialised in an environment where individualism and nuclear family living is seen as a norm. For me, it is the combinations of these issues that have emphasised the importance and the need for academic and practice purposes, to research and understand the impact of changes and expectations on the ageing processes of this settled minority. The diagram 1 below indicates a visual representation of this context.



*Diagram 1: Summary identifying the three generations*

The challenges for these second generation SAI settlers included not only adapting to new economic and social environments and the linguistic demands of the host society but also that of bigotry on the part of some of the indigenous

inhabitants. At the time, the society at large was not able to prevent the impact of casual and in some cases institutionalised racism from affecting the lives of these new immigrants. They, however, in forging their way to settlement and making the UK their second homeland, have participated fully and actively as citizens, workers, taxpayers and have contributed to the economy of their second homeland. In many instances, besides raising their own children in the UK, this group have cared for their ageing parents, thus being an important resource to the state as well as to the first generation particularly at a time when racism for migrant groups in Britain was a significant reality (Robinson 2006). Research on settling processes indicates that such processes are “more difficult for those persons who are more distinct” from the dominant groups in terms of skin colour, religion, sexuality and culture (Padilla and Perez 2003: 44). Hence, over the last five decades or so, in adapting to life in Britain, this group, it can be argued, has faced multiple issues stemming from changing ideologies of assimilation, integration, and multiculturalism, as well as what some commentators such as Trevor Phillips, Stuart Hall, Tariq Modood and Lina Dominelli, have referred to as inherent structural racism within British society that interacted in supporting racism. For example, Enoch Powell’s attempt, in 1968 to use small-scale urban disturbances to support calls for greater immigration control and, in some cases, the repatriation of ‘foreign nationals’.

So now as this second generation SAIs age, it is important that their physical and psychological needs are identified and understood in the wider context of British society as well as in the more narrowly conceived family and cultural context in which SAIs find themselves. The focus of my study is, however, not racism in British society, though in exploring cultural issues to do with race, ethnicity, religion and identity it is often difficult not to engage with the impact and effects of racism and unfair discriminatory practices which especially new migrants can experience. The social and psychological needs of ageing SAIs are played out within a wider context which has undoubted negative aspects which may have been carried over from the past in the UK. Racial, ethnic and cultural difference is one of those key contexts. Undoubtedly relevant here also is the fact that few if

any modern societies are without the effects of their histories of colonialism, inequality and exploitation. An example is of course the divisive caste system which continues to disfigure many parts of the Indian sub-continent. The SAIs within Britain represent something of a microcosm of modern social change involving migration, adaptation, settlement, adjustment and the forging of a viable way of life within a Britain, which itself has undergone rapid and disruptive change within the last two generations. For example, within living memory Leicester has gone from being a major city without a noticeable black or Asian population to one where it asserts its black and ethnic majority and its positive opportunities for all ethnic groups and populations.

Although research has indicated that SAIs are fairly well settled in the UK (Patel 1998), there is a paucity of research in relation to changes within family support and its impact on the ageing processes of this settled minority community. Lack of data on these aspects of life creates several problems for the provision of accurate information to policy makers. For example, in relation to care giving there are variables which impact on our understanding of the issues. These include the knowledge of kin networks, older peoples' expectations, as well as motivations and knowledge of the availability and dynamics of exchanges such as differences in assistance provided by or received from sons and daughters willing and able to provide care. These factors and how we understand them are essential as family relationships may vary over time within and between societies. Some research such as Ballard (1994) and Qureshi (1998) studied ageing among some ethnic groups in the UK, but these studies were within Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities only and focused both on new and older arrivals to the UK. Other researchers on older South Asians in the UK have largely focused on those who migrated as older refugees or as dependents of their adult children, and these have largely been in terms of health and service needs (Giuntoli and Cattani 2012; Lindsay et. al. 1997; Victor, Martin and Zubair 2012). In addition, despite the wealth of information that is available on ageing and the psychology of ageing (Thompson and Thompson 1993; Stuart-Hamilton 2000), there is very little or only limited research on the effects that transitions, migration and settling in new

cultures have on the ageing processes themselves. It is therefore timely that the discourses and theories on ageing incorporate aspects and experiences of what is now a diversity of cultures in the modern United Kingdom.

Ageing processes involve intersections of biological, psychological and social processes; and migration processes inevitably result in the meeting of people of diverse backgrounds and cultures. Gramsci (cited in Forgacs 1988:326) suggests that "...each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations but of the history of these relations" and Lowenstein (2007), highlights that changes in circumstances such as migration, can impact on family relations and exchange of support between generations. Generations, however, evolve with differing speed and directions, often to cope with increasing economic, domestic, societal and global pressures. These shifts are complex and non-linear. Migration, for example, can impact on the development of affective bonds and shared values across the generations, and can contribute towards a generational gap in relation to social norms, expectations and cultural practices (Collier 2013; Izuhara 2010). Cultures evolve and theorists of acculturation (processes describing the absorption of newcomers into a society), and enculturation (processes of acquiring the necessary aspects of host culture), discuss various aspects of changes in culture and the stress which is encountered when new communities begin to settle in their host nations (Berry 1986; Weinreich 2009). The ideas around the systems of interdependence and independence within the family, which emanate from collectivist and individualist ideologies in particular, are of key importance to this study. As a practitioner in the community and an insider in terms of shared understandings of cultural heritage, expectations and language, the challenges posed by the co-existence of such diverse cultural systems were evident to me within the SAIs, particularly as their children grew up in the individualistic and culture of modernity (Giddens 1990) of their own country and questioned specifically the cultural expectations and the practicality of co-residence.

Co-residence is defined as living together (Hawker and Waite 2007), and usually refers to older parents and adult children living together. Within academic, social

and legal frameworks, the words co-residence and inter-generational co-residence are used whereby two or more generational household live together under one roof. In the UK, co-residence and multi-generational living arrangements have never been a norm (Laslett (1972 cited in Moody 2002:66) and this is reflected in the housing and social fabric of British society at large. However, some researchers have attributed the changes in the provision of care and the rise in older parents living on their own to the increasing levels of resources available to older populations via pensions and social security and on the emphasis given to autonomy, privacy and residential independence (Beck 2003; Craig 2012; Fenton 2010; Hofstede 2001; Kydd 2009; Llewellyn 2009). However, some researchers have highlighted the differences in the preferences for care and living arrangements amongst South Asians (Burholt and Dobbs 2010; Lamb 2009; Victor et. al. 2012), and these are attributed to cultural traditions of filial obligation and respect and care for elders. Our understanding of this thus relies on understanding SAI behaviour in its cultural contexts and on understanding values, concepts and belief systems. Values are considered as attributes of individuals as well as of collectivities, however, the impacts of the acculturation and enculturation processes on newly settled communities (Berry 1986; Weinreich 2009) cannot be overlooked.

Within what we understand as the culture and society of modernity, people believe that they have some measure of autonomy and freedom to choose the path in life they wish to take and therefore be 'free thinkers' and thus able to make up their own minds (Descartes 1637). The older SAIs may therefore try to incorporate the cultural norms and persistent values of their community in terms of co-residence, as they develop their lives and engage with the ageing process (Mehta 1998; Ramji 2006a). However, the attributes of autonomy and residential independence may be desired and sought after by younger SAIs, thus making the ideas of interdependence and co-residence in later life at odds within the UK context. This can present dilemmas for older SAIs and real challenges for those young SAIs who have been born and socialised within the context of British societal norms of residential independence. The focus of my study is on

understanding this phenomenon and exploring the level of prominence and emphasis given to filial obligations and joint family living (co-residence) by second and third generation SAIs, and whether the cultural expectations of care within the family home as one ages, is seen as relevant, particularly in a society where there are statutory obligations for state provision of care for the ageing.

Culture is manifested at different levels and cultural values are important factors in understanding behaviours and responses particularly in time of stress or in the face of other adversities. Part of my consideration in this thesis is whether this is a process of ageing and acculturation and therefore a phase or whether it is a growing phenomenon of rift in family dynamics. If it is the latter then this has an impact particularly for the ageing on their mental wellbeing, as well as for social and health care workers in terms of their practice and policy. It is an area that has not been previously studied in the terms I have outlined here.

The thesis therefore uses a sample from second and third generation SAIs in Leicester to offer insights into the lived experience of such groups. It seeks to promote deeper and more personal understandings of relevant “social phenomena” (Lewis 2009: 284) and to offer critical constructs and concepts to enhance practice. It focusses on the application of conceptual themes which help explicate and illuminate questions of ageing, care, and cultural adaptation within a community which is itself adapting to a wider and globalised world. Such themes are best examined and explored from within the social sciences and the influence of thinkers ranging from Beck (2003), Durkheim (1933), Freire (1972), Giddens (2009), Hall (1990), and Gramsci (cited in Forgas 1988) can be identified as being relevant to my theme. The thesis has engaged with the notion of ‘community’ which for many commentators has problematical qualities (Bauman 2001; Collier 2013). Methodologically the approach adopted in the thesis has been to apply and test conceptual material to see how and when it works, that is to say, how it yields insight and analysis which is critical and convincing. The thesis is evidence-based, but it is illuminative evidence in the sense that Margaret Mead used this term in 1928, when pioneering studies of growth and adaptation of

young people in Polynesia within a collective and family-based social and cultural reality. (Mead 2001:180) She argued that “the student of the more intangible and psychological aspects of human behaviour is forced to illuminate rather than demonstrate a thesis”. It is hoped that combining the outcomes of the research with the understandings and insights from professional and reflexive practice will contribute towards the creation of new knowledge and understanding within the professional field of social work practice.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress that credibility, transferability and dependability of research study is important in any planning of research. Hence, the key task of the study is to understand the significant issues, themes and debates that impact upon the older and the younger generations as well as practice and to use research and professional knowledge to identify gaps, offer insights and develop further constructs to enhance social work practice with the identified group.

### **1.1 The research question**

In the light of the introductory remarks concerning the SAI’s context and social location in modern UK society, the research question is - what are the expectations of co-residence and care amongst the second and third generation adult populations of South Asian Indian origin in Leicester?

The aims and the purpose of the study are to gather and critically understand the perceptions of the phenomena gained from the participants’ own experience and from their own identification of how they perceive their own social reality, particularly in relation to co-residence. Therefore the objectives of the study are to interview second and third generation SAI adults to ascertain:

- what the expectations of co-residence and care are amongst the second and third generations of SAIs in Leicester and
- the impacts on the ageing processes and on the social work practice needed for older SAIs.

The thesis uses the following ‘framework’ of concepts to explore understandings and analysis of SAI ageing and the cultural adaptations which accompany it.

These conceptual ideas are derived from the literature and evidence of social science in its 'humanistic' tradition and are concerned with the nature of lived experience and sentiment. Methodologically the work is focussed through the notion of immersion and insightful experience and also through the lens of professional practice which is reflexive and self-critical.

Framework concepts critically examined include:

- cultural assumptions
- traditions and deep rootedness of ideas
- parent-child and intergenerational relationships
- ambivalence
- expectations of co-residence
- acculturation
- enculturation

This study, therefore, has the potential to use academic and field research and professional knowledge, to identify key issues, themes and debates that impact on the experiences of this ageing population and to offer insights to understand the lived experiences of this settled minority community.

## **1.2 Summary of chapters**

The study is presented via five main chapters.

Chapter 1 introduces relevant concepts and research questions alongside a brief contextualisation of the subject of the thesis.

Chapter 2 critically explores a range of relevant literature in order to sketch the nature of the field relevant to the inquiry, locate gaps in the field and identify the key themes and emerging issues from the literature.

Chapter 3 examines a range of available research methodology and methods and provides a detailed account of how the research method was chosen and carried out. It also provides a rationale for choosing thematic analysis and details the range of processes thus followed to identify the emerging themes that are later

used to identify and analyse the findings. This chapter also examines the issues relating to reflexivity, ethics, validity and rigour relating to the research process.

Chapter 4 presents the findings in detail, and explores the meanings of three themes that emerged from the data: co-residence, expectations, and acculturation and enculturation.

Chapter 5 uses the findings from the field work, from reflexive professional practice and from relevant literature to synthesize and discuss the research outcomes. This chapter highlights implications for practice, proposes a flowchart that practitioners can adopt when working with the ageing SAIs, examines the strengths and constraint of the methodology; and reflects on the processes and highlights areas for future research.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis by summarising the overall research outcomes, examining the contribution of the research towards the creation of new knowledge and reflecting on the processes for achieving this. It also outlines the processes for wider dissemination of the findings and insights of the project as a whole.

The study therefore, hopes to demonstrate a sympathetic and powerful investigation into the social, familial and psychological impact and cost of shifting from one predominant form of community to another which is evolving through time and circumstance, as all communities must do. Emigrating and immigrating from one side of the world to another where you have to rescind your old passport, learn a new or strange language and make huge efforts not to lose touch with people, habits and customs is a huge challenge. This research and its chosen methodology allow insights into this experience and hopefully introduce dimensions of thought and practice which will equip the community itself and those with whom it must work in the future to better challenge and change our futures in accordance with our values and expectations.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the range of literature that highlights various aspects relating to the experiences and the ageing processes dealt with in the thesis, and sets out overarching issues, aims and a rationale for the field of study. There is a paucity of research on the ageing of migrant minority communities within the UK, particularly in relation to the challenges and experiences of growing older in their second homeland. Such challenges include the effects that transitions relating to migration (Collier 2013; Wray 2007), culture and settling in new cultures have on the ageing processes. As a result the literature search in relation to this study is necessarily broad. To understand the impact of ageing on South Asian Indian people within the British context, this chapter explores a range of issues including the wider aspects of age and ageing in the UK, the position of SAIs in the UK, culture and ageing within SAI contexts and concepts of transition and wellbeing. This chapter ends with a summary of the relevant literature and identifies emerging issues for the research phase of the project.

### **2.2 Wider aspects of age and ageing in the UK**

Ageing can be seen as a process that affects all humans and as a part of a pattern of events in one's life course (Phillipson 2013). A central concept in any discussion of ageing is the meaning of age itself, which refers to how individuals experience their lives as meaningful in the last stage of life or what old age means to society in general. Hence it is a powerful social and psychological dimension of our lives. Ageing can also be understood through its social relationships with institutions and resources. For example, Phillipson and Baars (2007: 70) in considering European and North American perspectives on ageing, highlight three main phases over the past half century that are used to understand ageing and the way social institutions have evolved. These are:

- *“ageing approached as an individual and social problem (roughly from the late 1940s to the 1960s)*

- *ageing treated as an economic and employment issue (from the 1970s to the 1980s)*
- *ageing constructed as a global issue and concern (from the 1990s and continuing)”*.

They argue that these changes reflect how ageing is understood in terms of social and economic institutions as well as on an individual basis. So for example, the development of pension systems and the designation of the retirement age can be seen as creating a climate of structured dependency (Townsend 1981). On the other hand bio-medical perspectives contribute to the construction of later life as medical and social problems (Estes and Binney 1989). We can also mention disengagement theory (Cumming and Henry 1961) which emphasises withdrawal from social relationships as a normal part of ageing. These outlooks thus provide insight into the social and psychological dimensions of ageing and link the individual's adoption of social roles to these perspectives and to our theoretical understanding of the issues which arise. Estes (1979), in discussing ageing as a social construction, highlights the contention that such processes can be seen at macro, micro and meso levels of organisation and that these influence the experience and conditions of ageing. For example, the influences of the state and economy at the macro level, the organisations and institutional structures at the meso-level and personal level interactions and assumptions about age-appropriate behaviours at the micro-level. Embedded within this is the question of loosening family and generational ties in the context of greater geographical and social mobility. All of these will contribute to our understanding and construction of ageing within society. In addition, such conceptualisations can also provide tools to tease out the social, economic, and political consequences which are likely to occur when people of different cultures, imbibing different moral values share and /or compete for available resources and services.

Cultures play an important and a powerful role in the development of one's identities, one's world view and to some extent control and shape private, familial and social behaviours (Hofstede 2001; Laungani 2005; Weinreich 2009). The explication of this in cultural terms is designed to illuminate the experiences,

perceptions and expectations which lie at the heart of the questions posed by the thesis. Laungani (2007:57), for example, identifies four core values/ factors that distinguish western cultures from eastern cultures. These are:

- *“Individualism – Communalism (Collectivism)*
- *Cognitivism – Emotionalism*
- *Free will – Determinism*
- *Materialism – Spiritualism”*.

However, Laungani (ibid: 58) cautions against over simplification of these values and suggests that they are seen as a continuum. Comparing British and Indian cultures, he suggests that “the constructs to the left of each factor are applicable more to British culture (and to western cultures in general) and those on the right to the Indian culture (and to eastern cultures in general)”. Thus in general, western culture is seen to promote individualism by emphasising personal responsibility, self-achievement and acquiring ones identity through these processes. Its emphasis on nuclear families and family life operates on a horizontal basis - that is, it is inclusive of two generations (parents and children and aunts and uncles) – and with less importance given to religion and rituals. The outcomes of its emphasis on rationality, logic, work, activity, freedom of choice and rigid adherence to conceptions of time, is that relationships are often seen as by-products of work and shared interests and hence feelings and emotions tend to be kept in check and reality is perceived through ‘scientific’ thinking (Laungani 2007). Eastern culture, on the other hand, is conceived as emphasising collective achievements, the collective nature of responsibility, the desirability of extended families, the importance of relationships and feelings, and stressing how spiritual transformation can help with becoming a better being. Family life is seen as running on a hierarchical model with flexible attitudes to time and where identity is prescribed and freedom of choice limited. Relations are based on caste and family and reality perceived through contemplation and inner reflection (Laungani 2007).

Individualism is seen as the dominant feature of contemporary western culture. Some writers (Sampson 1977 cited in Laungani 2007:59) see the practice of

individualism as in keeping with the philosophy of “humanism and secularism” with its emphasis on “scientific enterprise” as the basis for understanding the universe. However, Laungani (ibid: 59) argues that there are many writers who have suggested that “the ideas underlying individualism are incompatible with communal and collective interests”. These differing conceptualisations of culture are in reality ‘ideal types’ of formulations and may not exist in any pure form in any given reality that we may observe and experience. They are, however, helpful in our attempt to describe and analyse complex and changing cultural forms and behaviour. They thus may help us encapsulate essential attributes of a culture and aid our understanding. Such a process, it is argued in this thesis, is illuminative and is a part of the conscious methodology of professional work and research which is appropriate to the subject matter.

So to summarise, the overriding conceptual and philosophical focus of western and British socialisation, by and large, is individualistic in its orientation compared to most eastern and Indian cultures where the philosophical base is largely collectivist in its orientation (Hofstede 2001; Said 1978). Hence, within the British context, personal independence and the maintenance of autonomy in later life is seen as desirable (Burholt and Dobbs 2010; Hofstede 2001), and is encouraged via various socialisation processes such as the promotion of concepts of people as rights-bearing and as self-directed individuals (Chambers 2012; Hofstede 2001). Thus, individualism fosters the ideology of paying more attention to one’s own needs, taking advantage of opportunities for personal gain or enrichment and not holding back for the greater good of the group (Hofstede 2001; Hogg and Vaughan 2005). The ideology of collectivism, on the other hand, nurtures group interdependence and the expectations of the group to have a greater responsibility for its individual members. This will entail the willing sacrifice of opportunities for personal gain in favour of their sense of the greater good of the group (Hofstede 2001; Hogg and Vaughan 2005; Laungani 2007).

This is not to say that there is no place for collectivist ideology within western cultures. There is a long tradition of socialist thoughts which emphasise the value

and desirability of collectivist ideologies and action, and the very tenet of the welfare state 'ideology' in the UK is based on these principles. However, some authors such as Giddens (2009) and Castells (2000), suggest that the spread of capitalistic ideology within western cultures has deeply influenced the rise of individualism, its emphasis on materialism and on the overall relationship of society and family, particularly in relation to independence and care giving/ care receiving norms within the family. It is important to understand that each culture devises its own internally consistent set of rules and assumptions that influences/ guides the private and social behaviours of people in that culture and that these differing sets of values are by no means a measure of superiority or inferiority but an acknowledgement of difference. This is an important aspect of our understanding of the objects of study (the actual people under scrutiny), if we are to begin to appreciate the ageing processes of the settled SAIs in the UK.

The impact of increases in the ageing population is twofold. At the national level there are considerations of economic and social issues, such as pensions and the age of retirement; and at societal level, for example, there are social, health and psychological considerations such as institutional, familial, private or state care for older people. Another important issue within this debate is the fall in average family size in Britain from "3.5 to 1.7 children" (Hicks and Allen 1999:5), which means that besides there being a smaller working and tax- paying population to sustain national pension arrangements, smaller families mean there are difficulties in maintaining the family as a support system, thus putting further strain on the resources for the economic, health and social care support required for older people.

In addition, within western societies, the prevailing sentiments and values, and what can be termed 'ideologies', result in greater importance being placed on youth and individualism rather than on ageing (Stuart-Hamilton 2011). Consequently older people are often seen in terms of being unemployable, uneconomical and a burden to health care and society overall, which leads to a dominant discourse and stereotypes of age- related decline (Levy 2003). This can

give rise to structural as well as cultural ageist ideologies. There is of course a reality that old age does in most cases lead to a decline in functionality, performance and capacity for older people, but the 'grey' or silver generation are also known to assert their political and economic power in a variety of ways. In comparison with previous generations older people are living better and longer than ever before in human history. This phenomenon is certainly a prominent feature of modernity within western culture. Its impact of course on SAIs in Britain is one of the contextualising features of this thesis. Within these contexts, older people face losses in many aspects of their lives, including employment, status, friends and family members. The impact for older SAIs and in particular the second generation SAIs living in the UK, is that there is a further possibility of loss in the change in status from being pioneering and heads of households who are honoured for their age, to a status of being uneconomical and dependent. The experience of loss in such cases can be salient as older members adjust to a more youth-centred outlook (Nandan 2007; Rastogi 2007).

Within British society, high levels of social and occupational mobility during industrialisation and urbanisation may have contributed to a sense of loss of community life and contributed to some major changes in the collective values held in the wider society, and acceptance of values that support individualism. Hence within the indigenous ageing population, by and large, there is a wider acceptance of the geographical mobility of their adult children and a newer configuration of social support beyond family members. For example, some 44% of people over seventy in the general indigenous population had no close relative living nearby (DoE 2008 cited in Chambers 2012). So, today, older people are more likely "to live on their own or with a spouse rather than in a household with their adult children" (Chambers 2012:97). Evidence suggest that 37% of older people live alone (Office for National Statistics 2011); only a minority of older people, just over 11%, of over 65 live with their children ([www.ifs.org.uk/elsa](http://www.ifs.org.uk/elsa)), and within the general population, there are over 7.6 million single person household in England (BBC One 2016). These changing demographics, as well as ever-evolving material and cultural aspirations, impact upon the social and

psychological experience of ageing and can only be understood in the context of the individuals' journey through her and his life course.

In the UK, prior to the 20th Century, most older people worked as long as they possibly could and then depended primarily on their families to support them. If these older people could not work, did not have assets and had no families who were willing or able to care for them, then poorhouses and 'workhouses' were seen as a refuge, even though these were seen as places of great shame and degradation and absolutely the last places of 'refuge'. However, because life expectancy was shorter, and a combination of factors such as larger numbers of children, most families usually stayed in the same location as their parents, and many women did not work outside the home; there was usually someone in the family available to care and support the older people. We must of course remember that this portrait is also an ideal-typical picture. The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries saw masses of women enter the labour force in factories and workshops throughout the land. Domestic labour was also a paramount force in the social and economic structures of the industrial era. Notwithstanding the explosion of female labour power, there was always a 'dual' role for women involving the caring duties of family life in addition to work and labour inside or outside the home. Ageing, as well as labouring, was a gendered experience historically and remains so today.

In modern times there were significant changes in policies directed at older people from the period stretching from the 1950s through to the early 1980s. These varied from state-supported public welfare to retirement as major forms of social expectations and activities. For example, a contract between the state and individuals for those who were in need from 'cradle to grave' meant that the provision of welfare became the duty of the state and this was provided via public sector welfare services. The idea that the creation and the expansion of the welfare state has eroded the notions of looking after the older people within the family and encouraged the idea that families are no longer the main provider of financial or social support to their ageing members has been flagged by many

writers (Chambers 2012; Komter and Knijn 2006; Phillipson 2010). This has given rise to the feeling that the state and not the family exercises ultimate responsibility for the care of older people. Beck (2003) further endorses the notion that the creation of welfare state provision has led to ‘institutionalised individualism’ and has replaced traditional collectivist dependency on families with modern institutional dependencies. Chambers (2012) cited two different studies - Lowenstein and Daatland (2006) and Daatland and Herlofson (2013) - to highlight the contention that attitudes about the degree of care that adult children should provide for ageing parents were lower in England compared to that in Israel, Spain and other European countries. Chambers (2012) points out that whilst Spanish and Israeli respondents agreed to adult children living near their parents, the English emphasised living independently. Hence within the indigenous UK population, there has been a positive move away from the idea of unconditional support for older parents, which is in contrast to the expectations of reverence and care within South Asian and eastern cultures.

The majority of people in India expect to grow old within the extended family system (Lamb 2009). The extended family network includes “the child’s parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, sisters-in law, nieces, nephews, and other siblings in the household” (Laungani 2007: 138). Within this system, family life is often organised along age and gender- related hierarchical lines, however, relationships are identified as playing a central role and therefore there is a sense of continuity and stability, for old and young alike. Within the system, there are no clear boundaries between ‘I and thou’ and the values attached to the importance and the need for psychological and physical space and privacy in the west do not hold the same value within Indian extended family networks (Laungani *ibid*). Hence, there are expectations that people will grow older within and surrounded by family (Lamb 2009; Laungani 2007). Lamb (2015) further specifies that in India older people find it entirely appropriate to reside with, and receive care and depend on younger generations just in the same way as in the west it is seen as entirely appropriate for under- age children to depend on their parents. Laungani, however, highlights that the extended family networks in the large metropolitan

cities of India are gradually giving way to a 'Western-style nuclear family structure', and that with globalisation similar changes such as those experienced during the post-industrialisation process in the UK may have begun to emerge. These processes are likely to impact on family structures and on the ideas and sensibilities of younger people and can lead to the adoption of western values of individualism, rationalism and empiricism and have serious consequences for the old in India. For example, at present there is a lack of state provision for the old, as traditionally their needs were communally recognised and met within the joint and extended family system. This may not be possible in the future and this might have dire consequences for the old, if the present systems break down. However, Laungani (2007:154) identifies that "westerners" often see extended family systems in "structural" terms. He argues that the cultural roots of "deference to the views of the elders to a large extent is taken for granted and has remained unquestioned" over the centuries, and that participation in the collective activities within families has remained an integral part of family life in India. These fundamental cultural values of unquestioned deference to the old have to some extent been seen as having remained intact throughout migration (Diwan et. al. 2010; Lamb 2009; Mui and Shibusawa 2008; Ramji 2006a). For example, on practical level in the UK one can see younger adults carrying out the symbolic cultural ritual of touching elders' feet on important life milestones and on special occasions.

Within the UK and nuclear households, help and support, particularly for older people, is forthcoming in many instances only in the case of need or ill-health, whereas in the countries and families that promote interdependence, "merely being old would be sufficient for a member of the younger generation to provide help" (Burholt and Dobbs 2010:216). This exhibits regard for older persons that emanates from a different value base, whilst provision of support on the basis of need further endorses the ideology of older people being 'decrepit' (Liu and Kendig 2000 cited in Burholt and Dobbs 2010). However, there are dilemmas; collectivism promises security to some extent but at the same time impinges on one's freedom and these dilemmas between security and freedom are likely to

impact on how one absorbs or views the ideas of collectivism and individualism that might be prevalent for SAIs in the UK.

Phillipson (2010:17) suggests that the development of pensions and social security during retirement “provided the basis for a reconstructed and standardised life- course” that was built around education, work and leisure. The welfare state, he feels, has played “a vital role in moderating the relationship between generations”. However, many writers such as Giddens (2009), Hall (1990), and Cree (2000) identify generational rift and following the August 2011 riots, there has been mounting concern about the lack of understanding between younger and older people. Much of this is believed to stem from the breakdown in intergenerational relations and lack of understanding between younger and older people (BBC News August 2011; Izuhara 2010; Katz and Lowenstein 2010; Phillipson 2013).

From the 1960s onwards and until comparatively recently, there has been a trend in the UK towards small, nuclear, independent households and coupled with this, access to improved financial and housing resources has encouraged separate residences. Parents, as a result, have encouraged their children to aspire to separate residency once they become of age as part of their life-course. The situation by the 1990s was that only 5% of older people in the UK lived with an adult child (Chambers 2012) resulting in an overall decline in those living with members of kin, other than their spouse, thus expressing a move away from family-based welfare. However, with the introduction of austerity measures in the year 2010 and onwards, there has been a growing trend for adult children to leave the parental home somewhat later, and by the year 2016 this has become a significant trend affecting whole cohorts of young people from right across the social and economic spectrum in the UK.

However, overall, the improved financial and housing resources associated with the rise of relative affluence in the late 20th Century and beyond are not evenly distributed and research indicates that “older members of minority ethnic

groups... are more susceptible to poverty and social exclusion in old age” (Chambers 2012:99). In addition, those who experience migration also encounter issues with their national insurance contributions and their employment status before retirement age and these are just a few examples that impact on state pensions and the overall financial situation of migrants on retirement. It is acknowledged that migrants are not always in a position to make the same contributions as the indigenous population partly because of their employment status as well as attitudes towards pensions and benefits. For example, Nesbitt and Near (2001) in researching ‘Ethnic minorities and their pensions decisions’ found that employment status was a powerful determinant of pensions knowledge and that those with permanent secure employment were much better informed than those with broken work histories. Besides this they found that many South Asian men expressed strong support for an ‘intergenerational contract’, and that they believed that in their old age their grown-up children would provide financial support and social care and that this discouraged them from becoming well-informed about second tier pensions. The outcomes are that some migrants are likely to not be in receipt of same amount of benefit as indigenous people of the same age and as Wray (2007) highlights, this and the impact of migration have all influenced the overall quality of the ageing processes for the migrant communities.

Despite the existence of comparatively generous welfare provisions in the UK, overall the minority ethnic groups in the UK are more likely to experience poverty in their old age. Between 2010 and 2012, Runnymede, in conducting research on older Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) people and their current and future financial needs, found that older BME people were less likely to have a private pension, even among those in work, and are more likely to live in pensioner poverty compared to their White British counterparts ([http://www.ageuk.org.uk/Global/Conferences/Ageing\\_Ethnicity\\_Runnymede\\_doc%20pdf.pdf?dtrk](http://www.ageuk.org.uk/Global/Conferences/Ageing_Ethnicity_Runnymede_doc%20pdf.pdf?dtrk)). Although the findings within this research are not uniform for all BME people, and SAI older people fare better when compared to Pakistanis, Black Caribbeans, Black Africans and Bangladeshis, none- the- less compared to White British they were found to be more in danger of living in pensioner

poverty. So for older SAIs financial security is yet another dimension to consider, in addition to the issues relating to the attitudes, values and outlooks about family life and the impacts of migration and cultural transition on the experiences of ageing (Wray 2007). All these factors point to situations where within the UK there is a likelihood of difference and deficiency in the experience of ageing, and this is an area that is under-researched.

Research on family care within the majority white population in the UK is extensive, but there is less understanding of family care provision for its growing older ethnic population (Chambers 2012). For example, in considering care provision for the older people, the concept of filial piety (meaning to take care of and be good to one's parents) sits very uneasily in an 'individualistic society' and in a society where the state is deemed to have ultimate responsibility for the welfare of older people. It is clear that in many eastern cultures, social policies are based on such concepts and assumptions. For example, in Singapore the government expects co-residence with older parents via the 'Maintenance of Parent(s) Act' (1995) and there are tribunals for older parents if their children are neglectful in their care (Lee 1999); Chinese culture emphasises filial piety as "the foundation of morality"(Chow 2004); in India there is the 'The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizen Act 2009' (Lamb 2015) and furthermore in the Indian sub-continent, Hindu scriptures (Taittiriya Upanishad) advocate 'Matrudevo' and 'Pitrudevo Bhav' (reverence and care for parents). Whilst within British society, the extent of family change in terms of 'reconstituted families', the trend towards living alone and the impact of divorce all raise questions in relation to family life applied to ageing (Phillipson 2013) and point towards loosening ties between generations. The ideas of unconditional regard and reverence for parents, interdependence and development of intergenerational solidarity and relationships via extended family living are not easily tenable within the British context.

Since 1990, in the UK, there has been a legislative move to encourage community-based care via the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 and with the introduction of an overarching Care Act 2014, the UK

government has emphasised and promoted the notion of interdependence between different stakeholders. However, within the legislation, the notion of interdependence is agency and professionally based, rather than referring to family- based interdependence. Additionally, the introduction of these measures has been mostly due to austerity rather than for moral or familial reasons, hence they occupy a very different philosophical viewpoint. So for the UK's ageing SAIs, the expectations of reverence, respect and care within the extended family can present challenges, not only to the older and younger SAI generations, but also to social care workers as they focus on providing care as near to service users as possible.

### **2.3 South Asian Indians in the UK**

Although migration of SAIs to the UK has existed since Victorian times in the form of 'Laskars' (soldiers) and 'Ayahs' (nannies), most of the current ageing SAI settlers came to the UK as young workers during the labour shortages in the 1950s and from African countries during the 1960s (Robinson 2006), either due to 'Africanisation' programmes in their 'home countries' or from Uganda as 'refugees'. SAIs migrating from African countries are sometimes referred to as 'twice migrants' (Ramji 2006b) as they or their forebears initially migrated to African countries from the Indian subcontinent, mostly during the time when those African countries were colonised by Britain. Some of those coming to the UK from Uganda and Kenya, despite mostly holding British Citizen status, were subject to immigration controls and some had to spend an initial period of time in often squalid refugee camps (Somerville 2002). In response to the impact of large scale immigration and consequent cultural diversity in the UK, over a period of perhaps nearly 50 years, a bewildering range of policy paradigms such as assimilation, integration, multi-culturalism, anti-racism, social inclusion and social justice were devised and implemented by both major political parties and in association with a variety of different political interests and groups. Although at certain times it may have appeared that certain conceptions and paradigms were paramount in dealing with race, ethnicity, immigration and diversity, it can be seen with hindsight (Collier 2013; West 2013) that understanding of immigration

from any one of several perspectives was defective. It is not the purpose of this thesis to seek to explore the range and meanings of such a wide and diverse set of paradigms, though undoubtedly some of them have impacted on the subjects of this work. Where relevant they have been engaged with as intrinsic aspects of context for this study of SAIs in the UK.

Weber (1978) identifies ethnic groups as groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent partly because of physical similarities and/or customs or because of shared memories, which in the case of SAIs might well include the experience of living under colonisation and migration. Most of the countries that SAIs came from were former British colonies; as a result most had British Citizenship status and some exposure to British education systems and values. However on arrival many SAIs, although some were very highly qualified, were subjected to non-recognition of their qualifications and had to take up low paid menial and labouring tasks that the indigenous populations did not want to do (Westwood 1994). In addition to the adaptation to life in the UK, they faced day-to-day prejudice and overt and covert racism in their daily life and work (Robinson 2006). Coming to terms with the refugee experience of separation of families and sudden and involuntary cultural transplantation from Uganda and Kenya to the UK and other European countries was something that most East African SAIs had to contend with. Wray (2007:18) identifies that “the different types of discrimination they have encountered, such as poor employment conditions, hostility and marginalisation, have far reaching consequences that continue to have an effect in later life”. As discussed in chapter 1, it is this experience of migration and experiences of settling in the UK, that all SAIs share and this binds them as a community and overrides some of the inherent differences in terms of caste, religion and linguistic differences that do exist within the group. This is not to say that the experiences of discrimination and marginalisation were uniform throughout and within the SAI community, no doubt, literate/illiterate, professional/ semi-professional, and/or rural/urban background on entry for example, would all have contributed towards a graded and differentiated experience within what was commonly encountered.

Moving home is considered to be one of the most stressful events (Holmes and Rahe 1967) and the early pioneers amongst the SAI settlers had moved not only home but country as well, and in some cases in rather unplanned and traumatic circumstances. Westwood (1994) discusses the grief felt over the loss of the familiar, homesickness and the stress of becoming accustomed to a “foreign language” (English language and dialect) and a different philosophical outlook. However, despite the social and economic hardships that SAIs faced on their arrival, their eagerness and disposition to learn has served them well with regard to cultural consolidation, and as such, a majority of the ageing SAIs have congregated in the UK’s big cities to give themselves opportunities for kin interactions. Hence, over the years, with their strong and deep-rooted cultural background and work ethic, they have shown resilience, settled well (Patel 1998) and generally shown an ability to operate effectively when placed in two different cultures (Ibrahim et. al. 1997; Kumar and Nevid 2010; Ramji 2006a; Tummala-Nara et. al. 2012).

For many cross-cultural psychologists and researchers the question is how people adapt in a society that is culturally different from the one they come from and how we understand the link between culture and human behaviour? Bauman (2008:2), in proposing that “all societies are factories of meanings”, argues that society is “another name for agreeing and sharing” and also has “the power which makes what has been agreed and is shared dignified”. For Durkheim (1933) submission to the collective social conscience evinced through and by society could contribute to a liberating experience. Without the framework of social mores and rules and the deep internalisation of the moral codes of a society, people cannot act with belief and certainty. Migrants do not lose their culture when they migrate of course and indeed they may find comfort and support precisely through demonstrating that they have strong and meaningful cultural values and practices. Hence, in considering the impact of the new culture on these migrants, it is important also to take into account the culture they brought with them. In this way we can better understand the issues of integration, assimilation and the wider cultural exchanges that need to take place.

Acculturation is a term used to define and describe the processes of absorption of newcomers into a society. It has been defined as a process of “meeting of cultures” where the new settlers absorb and adopt the culture of the host community and we see the resulting changes in an individual’s behaviour, social activities, thinking patterns, values, and self-identity (Gordon, 1964; Sam and Berry 2006). These assimilation processes were sometimes based on the assumption that acquiring an identity meant losing another one and in the UK this notion of holding more than one identity has hardly been examined.

Enculturation is said to be “the process of becoming skillful in using tools, learning behaviour, knowledge and values that are part of the culture of one’s own group” (Vedder and Horenczyk 2006: 420) and where the new settlers adapt their own culture with some of the aspects from the host cultures (Weinreich 2009). Weinreich (ibid: 135) argues that “migrants and the offspring of migrants continue to enculturate elements of the various cultural manifestations available to them” and that this process may be unconscious and dependent on the level of cultural socialisation experienced by the migrant. He identifies that primordial outlooks impact and reinforces orthodox cultural values, whilst situationalist outlooks are more likely to enculturate “aspects that enable them to reformulate their sense of ethnic identity in radically different ways”. Ethnographic studies (Faver et. al. 2002; Kumar and Nevid 2010; Tummala-Nara et. al. 2012) point to SAIs being able to “selectively acquire and maintain values and practices of both cultures” (Kumar and Nevid 2010:274). However, enculturation and acculturation levels will differ between those who came to the UK as dependent relatives, as adults or at an early age and those who were born and socialised in the UK.

Farver et. al. (2002) suggest that SAI settlers retain a more traditional culture and outlook than that which currently exists in India and Burholt and Dobbs (2010:222) argue that Gujaratis in the UK are “culturally conservative and seek to retain norms and values” which at times are at odds with that of UK normative values. Such processes are associated with negative effects on wellbeing (Harker 2001; Nandan 2007; Sam and Berry 2006; Tummala-Narra et. al. 2012), threats to identity (Berry and Kim 1988) and have a negative impact on mental health

(Mehta 1998:61). Samuel's research with Canadian South Asian women, although limited to one province and on a small scale, identified acculturative stress when incorporating unfamiliar cultural traits of the host community, and reported that this led to difficulties in communications between generations (Samuel 2009). Studies in the UK (Cochrane et. al. 1977; Ghuman 1991; Kallarackal and Herbert 1976) have examined acculturation processes in relation to intergenerational aspects of life and have highlighted breakdowns in communication between parents and children as part of the acculturative process. However, all these studies were based on younger children (mostly school age and adolescents) and there is a deficit in research within the UK in relation to the examination of acculturation processes between older and younger adults of SAI origin.

Generational perspectives can serve as important indicators, particularly in tracing the micro-social developments and processes in interpersonal relations within family dynamics and in respect of community change. Rossi and Rossi (1990) advocate a life-course approach to understanding intergenerational relations. However, there is no single agreed definition of a 'generation', and it is a contested area of scholarship and perhaps also of policy and practice. For example, age 'cohort' may not represent 'generational' role especially when early fertility occurs across multiple generations or in cases where a smaller younger cohort is expected to provide support to older cohorts for a longer time. However, generally, the word generation is often used "to denote cohort succession, age groups, kinship and historical period" (Wray and Ali 2014: 469). Such definitions assume that certain group of people share and or experience similar historic events that frame their beliefs, values and preferences. However, Wray and Ali (2014), argue that such definitions, exacerbate the invisibility of those whose accounts and experiences do not fit neatly into such 'Western-centric' conceptualisations; for example, the date of arrival into the host community is often used to identify migrant generation cohorts of first, second and third generations. This renders the age differences as less important than the timing of entry into the country so that for some children, their parents and grandparents could all be identified as being from same generation if they entered the host

country on the same date. One of the issues is the assumption that each generation will share a historic event, or some shared attitude, values, belief or an outlook towards identified phenomena, yet there is limited consideration on how ethnic diversity may influence what constitutes a generation and how the timing of significant life-course transitions may impact on experience and perceptions.

The word generation, in the context of this work and as discussed in Chapter 1, is used to signify the significant differences between those who arrived as older dependent relatives, as younger migrant workers / refugees and are now settled, and those who are born and brought up in the UK. As a young migrant worker and now settled in my 'second homeland', I am, as Rumbaut (2004 cited in Wray and Ali 2014: 471) put it, "significantly conscious of generational structures and differences" between these generations and therefore have used the terms first, second and third generation to differentiate between migrant and British-born generations and to highlight their differing expectations. This nomenclature also serves to differentiate the structural distinctiveness between the groups which are age related, notwithstanding the shared cultural and familial values which are crucial to the topics dealt with in this thesis.

Another issue that Wray and Ali (2014:470) identify is that generations are often assumed to be and are viewed as "sealed off from one another, as opposed to overlapping, fluid and filled with contradictions". Within SAI culture, the cultural identities and traditions are often transmitted from generation to generation via collective activities within the family (Laungani 2007) and often seen as part of the duty and expectations of grandparents and older relatives (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009) within the extended family systems. Such transmissions are said to increase intergenerational solidarity (Bengston and Roberts 1991). However, in the context of globalization and rapid social change, one cannot overlook the pressures on individuals to be active in creating their own modes of living rather than simply following established cultural principles of family living. Hence, ambivalence may occur, particularly if there is cultural dissonance between the culture of 'homeland' and that of the 'adopted homeland'. For example, intergenerational conflicts may arise when younger generations choose to exercise

their right/ choice to live in a nuclear family as opposed to living in the extended family network. This can hamper age integration and question the very principles of solidarity and interdependence, and can trigger considerable uncertainty and upheaval for intergenerational relationships (Phillipson 2013). Such challenges cannot be explained away as changes within generations because cultural concepts such as *izzat* (honour) are powerful and they impose these notions around obligations and the duty of care towards members of the family. Hence it is important to understand the bonds as well as the tensions that may exist between generations and how these experiences are constructed by those living in the system.

Mehta (1998:61), in her study of the relationship between acculturation and mental health for Asian Indian immigrants in the United States used three psychological variables: perception of acceptance (“contact experiences with the dominant culture”), cultural orientation (“cultural involvement and social ties”), and language usage (“cross-cultural skills”); and concluded that better perception of acceptance by the host communities impacted positively on the acculturation process of migrants. Overt and covert racism during the 1950s and 1960s were widespread (Sherwood 2001; Westwood 1994) when the current ageing SAI population arrived in the UK, and hence these pioneers besides experiencing conflicting customs, values, and beliefs, were exposed to a hostile environment. For example, the famous "Rivers of Blood" speech by the former Conservative minister Enoch Powell in April 1968 and the consequent 100,000 letters of backing that he received to express agreement to his point of view. Although successful and concerted efforts by many anti-racist campaigners during this time helped towards formulating policies to tackle racism, the fear experienced during these times impacted on acculturation processes. However, the studies in the UK (Cochrane et. al. 1977; Ghuman 1991; Kallarackal and Herbert 1976) and Mehta's study (1998) in the USA examining acculturation processes in relation to intergenerational aspects were all conducted with first-generation South Asians, pointing to the need for further explorations in relation to second / third generation enculturation and acculturation processes and the long term impacts between the groups and particularly on the ageing processes.

Assimilation into a dominant culture can imply subordination of heritage culture and this can be seen as a threat to identity. However, Weinreich (2009:126) argues that migrants from particular destinations/regions congregate within certain areas of the host countries, which results in them having opportunities for “continuing kin interaction” and that this provides space for “cultural consolidation” as well as “cultural reformation”. Phillips and Phillips (1998) and Collier (2013) both argue that this is diasporic migration which can lead to people living in the same country but living very different and separate lives. Both processes of cultural consolidation and cultural reformation are not without consequences which can evoke backlash from the host as well as from within the migrant communities. Weinreich (2009:127) defines a person’s identity as “the totality of one’s self-construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future”. He identifies the formation of ethnic identity which is often based on “commonality of values and beliefs, moral imperatives and religious beliefs, dress and behaviour” and “having common ancestries and aspirations for their descendants” as a key factor. However, over the last five decades, the ideas of assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation as well as a range of social policy developments in the UK in relation to immigration and ageing are all aspects that will all have had implications for all generations of SAIs in the UK as part of the processes involved in the formulating and forging of identities as part of settling and ageing in the UK.

## **2.4 Ageing within a South Asian Indian context**

Bourdieu (1996) stipulates that family relations are based on forms of social capital and ‘habitus’. He discusses capital in terms of economic (income and inheritance), social (knowledge and specific identities) and cultural (the ‘unwritten rules’) practices. These include behaviours within the family, based on past shared experiences and habitus as the outcome of the influences that the family as a social unit imposes on the members of different generations. These aspects impact on the way a person perceives their social reality (Katz and

Lowenstein 2010). However, predominant cultures and the ideas prevalent in the wider society at large also act as influences on how the family perceive their social reality. Hence it is the notions of capital(s) and habitus that combine to form culture. Culture is seen as “a way in which society’s values, attitudes and norms are passed from one generation to next” (Torres 2011:341), however it is important to bear in mind that culture evolves (Potter 1996) over time thus producing a complex and ever changing multiple reality.

Within a long historically evolved set of beliefs and practices, for SAIs in the UK, on the Indian sub-continent and elsewhere, culturally the ageing process can be seen in the context of the four proposed stages (*Bramcharya*, *Grahastha*, *Vanaprastha* and *Sanyasa*) in one’s life journey (Krishnananda). **Bramcharya** often thought of as a period of celibacy, consists of the childhood stage (*Balvastha*) when one is considered to be totally dependent on primary carers; the adolescent stage (*Kumarvastha*) involving learning from peers and wider family; adulthood (*Yuvastha*) marked by work, earning money; **Grahastha** is marked by marriage, raising children, and fulfilling one’s duty as a parent as well as taking care of one’s own ageing parents; **Vanaprastha** marks the time when one has grandchildren and prepares to disengage from day-to-day demands and pass on family responsibilities to one’s own adult children (usually sons); and the last stage of **Sanyasa** denotes where the expectation is to focus on enhancing one’s own spirituality (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009). Hence culturally within this schema, the process of ‘entering old age’ (Vanaprastha) is symbolised by fulfilling one’s duty as a parent, which usually involves arranging and seeing one’s children married and settled. This is in contrast with the western notion of ageing, which not solely, but often is marked by the age or stage of retirement from work. Hence in examining ageing we can perhaps use Gramsci’s notion (cited in Forgacs 1998) that social and political issues must always be viewed in a culture specific context taking due account of the historical and sociocultural antecedents in the shape of practices, norms and expectancies prevailing in particular societies.

Another important cultural aspect is the concept of 'Dharma' (duty). Dharma is described within Hindu scriptures (Laws of Manu; Upanishad) in terms of duty to self, gods, and progeny; and towards ancestors, all living beings and society at large including all other faiths. Performing these duties is seen as part of an act on behalf of and reverence to God, hence introducing the idea and philosophy of altruism. Hogg and Vaughan (2005:539) assert that altruism is "motivated by the desire to benefit another rather than oneself". Within Gita (Hindu scripture – chapter 3), altruism is promoted as a virtue that one should strive for and incorporate in every aspect of life and living. Although this virtue of altruism is promoted in every major religion of the world and within eastern cultures incorporated as part of family life and in relationships with one another in the form of filial piety and obligations, in reality personal interests and benefits can, and undoubtedly do, impact on the practice of altruism in its purest form.

Within the whole of Asia, the practice of filial piety has been observed for many centuries and is woven into the culture, giving expression to deep rooted cultural, spiritual and religious aspects of this philosophy. For example, there are records dating back in the Vedas and Upanishad (1500 BC – 1000BC) in relation to duties within the family i.e. to look after parents, ancestors and bear children who would then continue to look after their parents (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009). Later on, Buddha (583 BC – 483BC) is said to have endorsed these aspects in his preaching and with the spread of Buddhism across Asia the concepts were adopted within the context of other Asiatic cultures. For example, in China the teachings of Confucius clearly outlined three levels of filial piety with each emphasising different values. These included "providing parents with the necessary materials for the satisfaction of their physical needs and comforts"; "paying attention to parents' wishes and obeying their preferences" and behaving in such a way as to make parents happy and to bring them "honour and respect" (Chow 2004:22). These actions in some eastern cultures are seen as acts of altruism; however, there are many writers who see these in terms of reciprocity. For example, Lamb (2009) in her comparative study of SAI ageing in India and the USA discusses filial piety as long-term bonds of intergenerational reciprocity

as well as acts of affection. In her discussions, she emphasises the concepts of reciprocity and discusses the expectations that older members have of younger members of the family to provide care in return for their efforts to raise them in infancy and childhood. Altruism and reciprocity are both concepts that are seen as important as expectations are linked with how they are understood by all generations of SAIs.

The concepts of filial piety and obligations not only provide “a cultural lens” (Liu et. al. 2000: 213), but it is believed that this is an important variable that influences the preferences for living and care arrangements amongst the older people of all eastern cultures. Within this the concept of honour (*izzat*) is seen as a coercive aspect that helps to endorse the cultural expectations, ritual and obligations. However, although the notions of filial obligations and piety are wide-spread all over Asia and within the Indian subcontinent, there are many differences in its practice and how it is ritualized and incorporated into various Asian cultures as part of specific norms and behaviour. Bhattacharya and Shibusawa (2009:450) highlight that within “Indian culture, obligation to one’s family is ingrained in the philosophy of life”; it is altruistic in nature and suggests that it is an aspect that is highly “valued by all members” of SAI origin. However, in recent times within Asian countries there is emerging evidence of the practice of filial piety evolving away from strict reverence to traditions to incorporating some aspects of westernised concepts of living, for example, a move from joint households to living in multiple households residing in the same locality (Choi, 2004; Lee 1999; Mehta and Ko 2004; Maeda 2004; Laungani 2006). However, the fundamental value particularly relating to care, respect, honour, financial support of parents and the honouring of ancestors as a collectivist value system, by and large remains the core amongst the Asiatic cultures (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009; Chow 2004; Gupta and Pillai 2000; Lamb 2009; Laungani 2007; Sinha 1991).

Various researchers in the USA focussing on the experiences of older Asian ‘immigrants’ (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009; Chung 2005; Diwan et. al.

2010; Lamb 2009), have highlighted their participants' expectations of the continuance of filial piety. It is then very likely that the UK's settled minorities from SAI origins will have similar expectations of continuance of this fundamental value, despite individualistic views that are prevalent within British society and culture. In the UK, research from Burholt and Dobbs (2010) and Victor et. al. (2011) has referred to expectations of care and care giving for older people within Punjabi, Gujarati, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities in the UK and they identify that the older people expected family to be the prime provider of care.

Migration and acculturation stress has been identified as having a negative impact on wellbeing (Kumar and Nevid 2010; Mehta 1998), however, family cohesion, positive intergenerational support, harmonious family relationships and interdependence is also identified as enhancing psychological wellbeing (Burholt and Dobbs 2010; Chong 2007; Silverstein and Bengston 1994; Phillipson 2013), and these factors are seen as positive predictors of mental wellbeing (Mehta 1998). Within the SAI context, co-residence and multigenerational households are seen to provide opportunities for solidarity, intergenerational support, interdependence and reciprocity in relationships where "their children are providing victuals and a roof over their head and the older parents are cooking and taking care of grandchildren" (Sharma and Kemp 2012:137). Culturally, such selfless giving and receiving care within the family unit is seen to reflect the "valuing of family connection and interdependence"; it is seen to be a way of life and is seen by the older adults as "intrinsic to their life-stage" (Tummala-Nara et. al. 2012:7).

Bengston and Allen (1993:469) demonstrate that it is important to adopt a life-course perspective which goes "beyond life span and micro-social" perspectives in studying the changes that occur within families, as it involves both "the micro and macrosocial levels of analysis". The life-course events for now ageing second generation SAIs in the UK are bounded in a transition period. Most of these people in this category were born outside the UK and their primary socialisation

is likely to have been in an environment where society in general promoted intergenerational and extended family relationships and living via traditions, customs and religious avenues that emphasised collective, moral and spiritual responsibilities. They have maintained links with the home countries and built multiple relations and social fields that link India, their country of origin with the UK, their country of settlement (Chamber 2012; Phillipson 2010; Ramji 2006b). For example in Leicester, SAIs have continued their religious celebrations such as Holi (Hindu festival of colour) and Diwali (festival of light - said to be the largest outside India) and adjusted these festivals to suit the life-style in the UK. For example, these festivals in India would have been celebrated on the day and usually during the day, but here in the UK they have been moved to the evening or to the nearest weekend so as not to clash with working hours. Besides they recognise and have, by and large, incorporated Christmas celebrations as part of the many cultural events that they celebrate. This clearly highlights some of the adaptations that SAIs have made in relation to sustaining multi-stranded social relations that link them to their country of origin and country of settlement.

Phillipson (2010:21) discusses these phenomena and the actions associated with them and suggest that SAIs are “transnational” because they have developed “identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously”. He asserts that this not only impacts on the construction of family and community ties, but also is relevant “in respect of the social networks within which growing old is shaped and managed” (Phillipson 2010:22). However, Faver et. al. (2002) questions whether it is possible to fully adopt western values, lifestyle and the use of English as their primary language and at the same time be strongly identified with their cultural heritage and identity. So it is possible that many SAIs adopt the English language and culture fully whilst simultaneously identifying with their ethnic group whilst not accepting anything like the full set of values on parental caring and co-residence. They may even accept the ‘ideal’ notion of respect for elders without actually doing it or wanting to do it in reality.

Ronald (1988) describes the Indian view of self as ‘familial self’, which is embedded in the context of family and community, and asserts the importance of family relationships and interdependence amongst family members. This is manifested in seeing multi-generation households and co-residence as part of the norm for the family unit (Gurak and Kritz, 2010), and is fostered via religious and cultural doctrines of respect, mutual caring and veneration of older adults (Nandan 2007). Lamb (2000) in her study highlights that in ‘traditional’ Indian society the whole society, not just the immediate family, gives respect to older people. Burholt and Dobbs (2010:218) in their study of ‘Caregiving and Carereceiving Relationships of Older South Asians’, found that in the Indian sub-continent “75% of Gujaratis, 90.7% of Punjabis and 96.9% of Sylhetis lived in households of more than one generation”, highlighting that the older traditions and practices seem to have persisted in the founding communities in the sub-continent and diasporic migration has enabled such traditions to be carried to the new homeland and to be ‘lived’ as a powerful reality and expectation.

Within SAI cultures there is emphasis on the notions of family as a unit and having a “role in providing important emotional, informal, material and physical support” (Chong 2007: 99) to all its members including the older members of the unit. The individual roles and responsibilities within the family unit are described in terms of a “larger family system and not from an individual vantage point” (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009: 450). This is not to imply that there are no conflicts in such systems and there are studies (Lamb 2000) that discuss some of the conflicts that arise out of intergenerational living. For example, Lamb (ibid) discusses the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as one of the prime sources of areas where conflicts appear and that these can impact on roles, responsibilities and the family functioning as a unit. Tensions can also appear as each generation moves to a different phase of life resulting in differing priorities and demands on oneself and the family unit as a whole. However, by and large, the expectations are that the social relations and practices revolve around families rather than individual priorities, and that the notions of *Izzat* (honour), shame, respect, obedience and reverence to elders are assumed to be

understood and practiced as a way of life. These 'unwritten rules' are usually not spoken of explicitly, but are implied via cultural practices and rituals. Nevertheless they govern conscious and / or unconscious interactions between members, and are often based on assumptions that its members will have understood them as part of the process of their socialisation, or as part of personal experiences of living in the culture and community. Jamuna (2003), in researching issues in relation to care and abuse of older parents in India, highlighted that the emotions of shame, guilt, condemnation, obligations and expectations are by-products of situations where ageing parents are not seen to be looked after by their adult children.

The third generation SAI children born and brought up in UK, although socialised into some aspects of traditional cultural norms, also face the individualistic aspects that are revered and fostered within British society. Hence, for them the processes involved are not clear cut in terms of accepting or rejecting one or both cultures in which they are engaged. The crucial issue is usually more about identifying with elements of cultures and developing their own set of values and a sense of ethnic or British identity that may incorporate the values of the society that they live in. Thus, their perception of their ethnicity and ethnic identity may develop differently from those of their own age living in India as well as those from the host community. Ethnicity is not an eternally fixed quantum of characteristics; it shifts and changes within culturally shifting circumstances (Jenkins 2004). It is renewed generationally and gives expression to plasticity and evolving diversity under conditions which allow or encourage such developments. Where there is an evolving and creative sense of self, a culture may sponsor an evolving sense of ethnic identity and such conditions can mean change in social attitudes and behaviour. Chambers (2012), for example, identifies an increase in intergenerational conflict in spouse selection, with young men and women either preferring a member of the third SAI generation from the UK to ensure compatibility, or asserting their right (western-style) to select their own partner or preferring to marry outside the ethnic community. The examples of this change seen amongst many of the young SAIs are bound to impact on the

significance of ethnicity, cultural norms and values of past and future generations of SAIs. On the one hand, the changes portray a positive move toward establishing the unique identity of being British Asians, and on the other, highlight a continuum in the debate around the preserving of ethnic identity and all that this entails.

Another issue that Chambers (2012) identifies is that SAIs encourage their children to gain professional qualifications and through their success gain prestige and status and expect to share in their children's prosperity. There is a paradox here in that the aspirations of the now ageing second generation SAIs to encourage their children to gain professional qualifications, can result in an increase in the influences of the individualistic and material aspirations of their children, and therefore spur possible re-evaluation of cultural identity and expectations. Culture and identity are not forever fixed and immutable and furthermore they embody contradictions and even paradoxes. SAIs inhabit these paradoxes just as much as any other identifiable group within British society and this is also one of the significant contexts which has shaped this study.

Ramji (2006a), in identifying SAIs who migrated to the UK from African countries as being distinctive because of their previous African migration, recognised that they were efficient at reproducing community institutions, caste associations and cultural values in the country of settlement, and therefore were likely to give more importance to upholding their cultural identity and traditions. However, Burholt and Dobbs's study (2010) on 'Caregiving and Carereceiving Relationships of Older South Asians' highlights that although almost "one-half (48.9%) of Gujaratis and over two thirds (68%) of Punjabis in India lived in a 3 or 4 generation household", only "one-quarter of the sample in the UK (21.7% and 25.5%, respectively)" did the same in the UK. This phenomenon raises questions about whether the expectations of co-residence in the UK within SAI communities were different from those in India, particularly in the UK where there are statutory obligations for state provision for older people, and whether these changes in the nature of the composition of SAI households in the UK can be said to significantly characterize experiences of ageing in the UK. It seems

from my own observations and research that such an eventuality has a high degree of likelihood. The empirical content of the research carried out in this thesis and the study addresses this issue amongst others.

## **2.5 Transitions and wellbeing**

The arrival of second generation SAIs as voluntary or involuntary migrants to the UK involves transition and with transition comes change. The changes inevitably affect the individual's normal, social and emotional networks, and this can lead to progress and growth or to deterioration, thus affecting one's coping mechanisms. Coping strategies can be conceptualised as behavioural and cognitive efforts that one makes to reduce the effects of stress that could result as a consequence of transition (Lazarus and Folkman 1984).

Within the multigenerational household, older people as grandparents fulfil an important role of socialisation and care of children/grandchildren, thus performing a useful psychological and emotional service. Such work has an increasingly economic significance also, especially where women are expecting to be in paid work and professional life outside the home. Burholt and Dobbs (2010) emphasise that a greater level of emotional closeness is associated with reciprocal parent-child relationships, and Lamb (2009:216) identifies "tension and perceived failure and disappointment" when there is inadequacy in reciprocity and support. Today in the UK, there are smaller families with fewer children and greater emphasis on nuclear family life and with the proliferation of crèches, nurseries, pre-school and pre-primary education on an institutional basis, the traditional role of grandparents is seen as less important, less valued, and is in many instances fast becoming redundant. Tummala-Nara et. al. (2012:7), in their USA study of South Asian older Indians in relation to their expectations of family life, highlight the sense of 'pride' that grandparents feel "in their role as caregivers" and satisfaction "when receiving care from their children". Stoller's (1985:341) research concludes that "the inability to reciprocate..... undermines the morale of the older people". Studies in USA have identified that "older Indians have felt neglected by their children who lack time to be with them" (Chambers 2012:109) and Lamb cites an example of a SAI woman in the USA, who with her husband

was forced to live in a separate apartment from her son and his family. Her son was doing well but she speculated as to whether she would be better off being poorer but living in a close-knit family in India. So within the context of the UK in particular, a shift on issues of co-residence, greater value being placed on individual independence versus family interdependence and the quality of life satisfaction, are all dimensions that need to be examined to understand wellbeing and impact of ageing for SAI populations in the UK.

Our understanding of the nature of ageing in the SAI population clearly involves coming to terms with and examining critically, ethnically based cultural beliefs and practices. Culture has a role to play as it helps one to think, feel and act in the face of adversities (Weinstein 2002); and this is often expressed in shared rituals and customs. Abercrombie et. al. (1988:59), defines customs as “established patterns of behaviour and belief” and rituals as a “set pattern or routine which is expressed through symbolic act, routine or shared meaning” (1988: 209). Different transitions in the life cycle as discussed earlier are marked by a customary behaviour that accompanies changes of place, social position and age. For example, the commencing of ‘old age’ (vanaprastha) is accompanied by active disengagement from the day-to-day demands of life and passing these responsibilities to usually their sons. This can raise a number of issues. For example, it assumes that the older people are ready and willing to disengage and relinquish their day-to-day responsibilities, even when this is considered culturally appropriate. There is research evidence (Metzger et. al. 1990) which argues that daily worry levels adversely affect cognitive and decision making levels in older people, and as such, disengagement to some extent can be seen as positive. An associated issue arises in relation to the patriarchal nature of such arrangements, and this could trigger conflict between generations, particularly when within the wider UK society there is an assumption of care responsibilities being taken on board by the daughters rather than sons. Besides this, it can be argued that modernisation and individualisation weakens the norms of filial obligation and family structures. Aboderin (2004:33) argues that this leads to “unwillingness of the young to provide support to their kin”. Thus living in

developed countries can trigger changes in expectations and it is these experiences and changes that ultimately shape and have impact on the life-course of an individual.

The consequent evolution of a cultural value system is a continuum and concerns the processes of acculturation, which do not occur in vacuum (Weinreich 2009). However, such changes are significant transitions when the meaning of life has to be redefined and are usually tied up with a sense of loss and grief. Erikson (1963) refers to this psychological development of later life as the period of 'integrity versus despair', and Vergare (1997) points out that one does not reach old age without mastering many life changes and losses. Jewett (1984 cited in Barnard 2011:323) identified three stages of grieving – early grief characterised by denial and disbelief; acute grief characterised by yearning and protest; and integration characterised by beginning to move into reorganisation of (their) life. For today's ageing SAIs, migration to the UK as young adults has required them to work on building their economic positions in the society and to concentrate on the settling processes, and now as they age, the contention is about handling the transitions from being pioneering to taking a back seat as well as engaging with the differing expectations of ageing in the UK. Rituals help to ease such transitions. Curren (2007:43), in discussing the impact of non-acknowledgement or absence of customs or rituals marking significant events in life, highlights the "consequent loneliness" that is felt at the time of a personally very significant change, if this change is treated as a "non-event" in social terms. Hofstede (2001) discusses the influence of internal value conflicts and suggests that these dictate the way the change is perceived, whether favourable or not. In cases where the reaction is negative, social work has a role to play in the grieving process.

Kahana and Kahana (1996:20) identify ageing well as a "comprehensive and holistic process in which older adults adapt self and the environment to respond actively to the challenges of aging". Within SAIs, family interconnectedness is seen as psychologically beneficial to older people. Mui and Shibusawa (2008) and Ogbu (1993) highlight mental ill health as a consequence amongst South Asian

older people when there is lack of family support and attention. Treas and Mazumdar (2002: 255) propose that not only does family support serve to endorse the feelings of “recognition and validation” when parents are able to continue to play a role in their children’s families, but also helps in identifying with the cultural roots of collectivism and the use of collectivistic coping strategies. Thus physical separation from the family home and/or poor relations with adult children and their families, impacts on the coping strategy, and can become a cause for mental ill health (Metha 1998; Ogbu 1994; Patel and Prince 2001). This is not to say that co-residence and intergenerational households are without their problems and tensions and conflicts can occur between generations, particularly in relation to privacy and the endorsement of traditional values and norms (perceived or real) in the face of adaptations to modernisation. Lamb (2009) identifies a generation of educated, middle class Indians in the USA, opting to live separately from their children in order to give their children better career options or in preference to living in a situation where there is a vast generation gap; thus highlighting an area of transition that has implications for the general understanding of cultural norms for ageing.

Life satisfaction is understood as “a good indicator of the mental health status of the elderly” and is considered as a popular measure of “subjective wellbeing” (Zang and Yu 1998:110). Ingersoll-Dayton et. al. (1997:197), researching the effects of positive and negative social exchanges in ageing adults, interviewed 718 men and women aged between 50 and 95. They found that for older adults, life events “amplify the effects of negative experiences” and they are therefore “psychologically vulnerable” and more susceptible to stress. Chong (2007) and Lamb (2000, 2009) both highlight the impact of negative life events in producing feelings of hopelessness and helplessness amongst older people and discuss the importance of “harmonious family relations and interdependence amongst family members” as “essential to the maintenance of life satisfaction” (Chong 2007:99). Chong (2007) further highlights the importance the older people placed on having positive family relations, and concludes that financial adequacy, strong social support and living with others are some of the predictors of mental wellbeing. Co-

residence, although not exclusively, gives a readymade platform for such experiences. However, Lowenstein et. al. (2008:865) argue that “intergenerational family bonds reflect a diversity of forms related to individual, familial and social structural characteristics” and therefore a system of support should be developed accordingly. Lamb (2009) advocates that individual, families and the state all have a role to play in promoting social welfare of older people and that at present there are inadequacies in building up these relationships. Victor et. al. (2012), highlight that the topic of loneliness amongst ethnic minority elders in the UK is under researched.

To summarise, overall the literature search suggests that within the UK, for the target groups identified in this study, there is a paucity of research on the challenges, experiences and changes faced by this ageing and settled minority, particularly in relation to the expectations of co-residence and care. This study on this group is, therefore, of particular relevance to SAIs and similar or comparable populations in the UK. Additionally, within professional social work practice, the requirements for evidence-based practice (DoH 2005, 2001), have put greater emphasis on to research-informed practice, and the ability to make professional judgements and autonomous decisions using a “distinct, theoretical, expert knowledge base” (May and Buck 1998:1), rather than practice that is based solely on unarticulated professional judgement (DoH 2005; Dominelli 2009; Nutley et. al. 2002). Hence the research task is not just about identifying key issues, themes and debates located within and around the target population but to theorise “deeper and more personal understandings of social phenomena” (Lewis 2009: 284), and to enhance personal and professional knowledge which can enable the use of these understandings to construct better understanding, identify gaps and develop appropriate and responsive practice.

## **2.6 Emerging issues**

The literature search has identified a number of issues, for example, the expectations of ageing within host and SAI cultures, philosophical outlooks in relation to individualistic and collectivist living and the issues of intergenerational

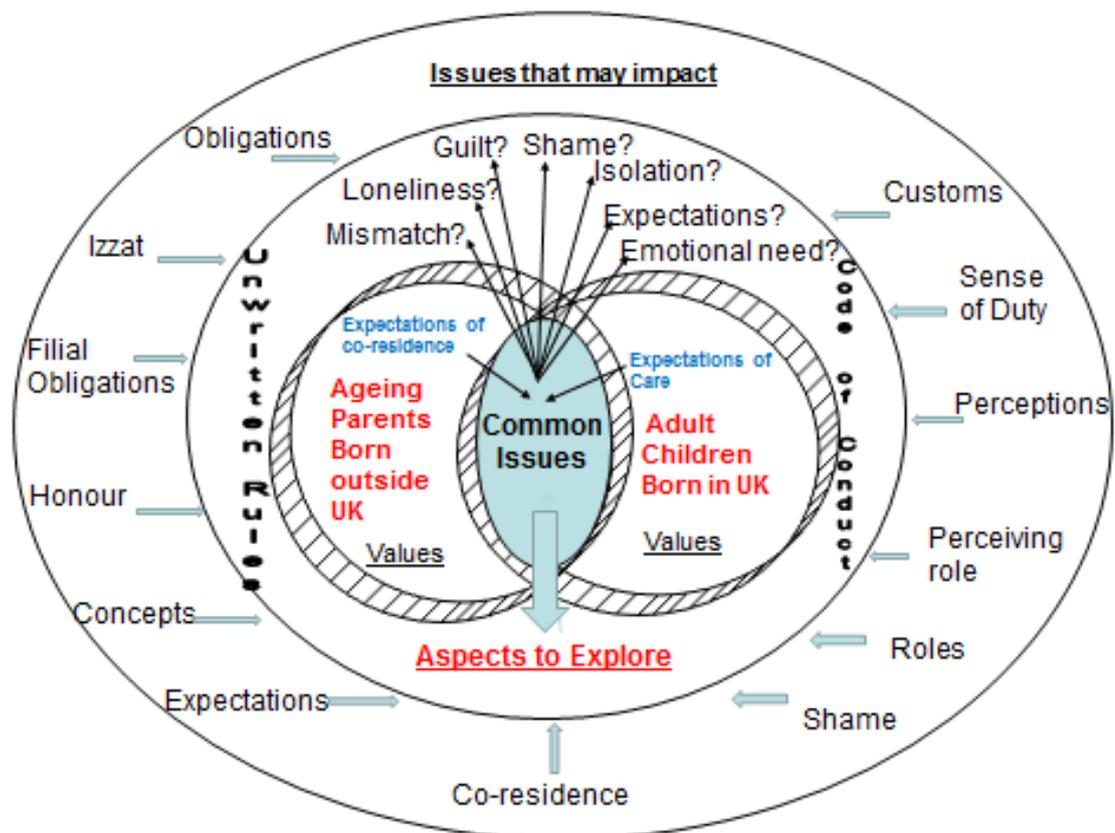
support and solidarity. Within the South Asian Indian diaspora, there are aspects to be considered such as the expectations of filial obligations, acculturation and enculturation processes and cultural expectations particularly in relation to extended living arrangements and how these might be fulfilled as well as the consequences of shortfalls in such expectations. Many researchers have highlighted the notion that 'Indian' identity has been governed and shaped by a system of life-long intergenerational reciprocity and intimacy (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009; Chambers 2012; Gaurak and Kritz 2010; Ronald 1988; Tummala-Nara et.al 2012). Some literature has identified issues of shame, guilt, lack of satisfaction and mental ill health - all as part of shortfalls in expectations and/or consequent adjustments to intergenerational living (Jamuna 2003; Metha 1998; Lamb 2009).

There is nothing inherently problematic about growing old other than the inevitable, and possible eventual physical decline prior to death, but if in society old age is understood in terms of being a social problem or as addressing non-productive consumers, then such an ideology may impact on how the services are conceptualised and delivered. Levy et. al. (2000) argue that negative stereotypes of old age exist in North America and Europe and that such prejudice, based on perceptions of age, is often the product of social inequality and division between public and household production and wealth ownership. Although possession or not of wealth does dictate how one is viewed in old age, overall it is important to understand that the prevalent negative ideology of age can vary between different societies and within societies.

For SAIs in the UK, part of the ageing process is to deal with the process of settling down in the UK; it involves understanding and adjusting to the pressures of living in an individualistic society and dealing with the changing reality and expectations between generations (in particular those of UK-born SAIs) and the impacts of these factors on their day-to-day living. So on the one hand we have the second generation SAIs who are likely to have been born outside the UK and likely to have been socialised in an environment with sets of values where living

in an extended family, the provision of care and reverence to elders and expectations of filial obligations are a norm. These people have aged in the UK and to some extent are attempting to maintain their heritage culture. On the other hand we must acknowledge the UK-born third generation SAIs, who have grown up in an environment where there is a greater influence of British culture with its norms and expectations of nuclear living, and who are in the process of forging their own identities as British Asians. There are dilemmas here involving role ambiguity and conflict. The collectivists and those who hold cultural expectations of reverence for older people within Asiatic cultures and the prevailing individualist and ageist ideologies are at odds within British society. The processes of acculturation and enculturation, no doubt, will contribute towards SAIs forging amicable outcomes from this dilemma and this study attempts to identify the issues relating to these transitions and to add to our understanding of the ageing process for this settled minority.

The diagram 2 has been prepared with the aim of visually presenting the range of issues that could impact upon the ageing processes. It puts the ageing parents and their UK-born adult children at the core of concern along with their sets of ascribed values. The areas at which they intersect are around the expectations of co-residence and care which constitutes the crux of this research study. The unwritten rules and the codes of conduct are often influenced by socialisation processes as well as individuals' understandings of cultural aspects such as customs, rituals, roles and perceptions. These are identified in the outer circle as issues that may impact on the decisions to co-reside or not.



*Diagram 2 Summary outline of the scope of the study and issues to explore*

The diagram and the concerns it seeks to summarise and encapsulate directs attention to a number of emerging aspects that need exploration in order to understand SAI ageing. These include the following:

- the value base from which the second and the third generation SAIs operate and the impact of these on expectations and the adjustments that each SAI generation makes
- the deep rootedness of ideologies regarding co-residence, care of older people and filial obligations; and whether these govern conscious or unconscious interactions between second and third generation SAIs
- the impact of understandings and assumptions such as sense of duty, obligations, izzat, roles, customs, shame and guilt, that second and third generation SAIs might have in relation to concepts of family, co-residence and provision of care to older parents
- the impact of acculturation and enculturation processes.

It is these concerns which have driven the research strategy and have shaped the research questions which are dealt with in Chapter 3. Hence, in understanding second generation SAI ageing, the concepts of filial obligations, collectivism, individualism, family and cultural expectation of ageing processes, enculturation, acculturation, aspects of coping and life satisfaction and wellbeing are seen as major conceptual elements of a framework designed to ascertain the interrelationships of these factors as they impact on the ageing process and experience.

Following Pryor's (2010:163) suggestion, it is acknowledged that there are ontological, epistemological, practical, micro-political, macro-political and ethical issues that will need to be identified in making methodological choices when conducting a research task such as that outlined here. These are dealt with in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This research focusses on studying issues, ideas, phenomena and processes that are occurring in their natural settings, and thus requires to be aligned with multiple realities in an attempt to understand and make sense for practice. The Department of Health (DoH) defines research as “the attempt to derive generalizable new knowledge by addressing clearly defined questions with systematic and rigorous methods” (DoH, 2005:3), whilst Stenhouse refers to any “systematic, critical and self-critical enquiry which aims to contribute to the advancement of knowledge” as research (1975: 156). However, for me as a practitioner, researching in a complex social field, there is not only a greater demand to be ethically explicit and authentic, but for research processes to be integrative and be conducted in a manner that has clarity in relation to the philosophical values and assumptions that underpin my work within the social work profession. It is widely acknowledged that research into the inner feelings of people generates problems of both methodology and of meaning. It is difficult to establish exactly the nature of social reality when the object of knowledge is the content and meaning of subjective feeling and sentiment. Social reality is not easily grasped from the outside by independent and autonomous researchers. However, it is important to strive for a philosophical and epistemological position which advances new knowledge and produces transparency so that it is understood and if possible acted on in the context of professional knowledge.

This chapter uses five main headings which embrace the methodological framework adopted, the research methods used, data analysis, ethical issues, and the examination of validity and rigour to identify and justify the steps taken to reach the methodological choices. The chapter outlines the rationale and the processes that were adopted in executing the research and producing analysis, thus highlighting the overall research approach and philosophy. Each section is further sub-divided accordingly and in doing so highlights the epistemological and ontological influences on my research choices. The chapter sub-sections bring in discussion on the range of research methodologies and research methods in

order to identify the research tools used for conducting the research and data analysis. The role of reflexivity, confidentiality and ethical dilemmas are also discussed within this context.

Table 1 below gives an overview of the specific epistemology, theoretical perspectives, research methodologies, research methods and the analytic tools that were adopted for data gathering and thematising the data for this chapter.

*Table 1 Summary of research approach undertaken*

<i>Epistemology</i>	<i>Theoretical perspective</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Research method</i>	<i>Analytic tool</i>
Constructionist	Interpretivist phenomenology	Phenomenological approach	Semi-structured in-depth interview	Thematic analysis

The phenomenological approach was used and the following sequence identifies the process for practical application:

- interviews were held and the subject’s descriptions and expressions of experience were collected (these are referred to as protocols )
- each transcription or protocol was examined and phrases and sentences were extracted that were related to the research questions and research strategy
- to spell out the meanings of each significant statement, a ‘formulation’ of meanings was carried out for each protocol
- each protocol and transcription was analysed to yield aggregate formulated meanings into clusters of themes
- clustered themes were referred back to the original protocols and transcriptions in order to validate them
- issues of ambiguity and diversity of meaning were evaluated so that the results were logically and existentially or ‘phenomenologically’ real and valid

- the results as a whole were integrated into a narrative of experience around the key thematic of co-residence, expectations and acculturation / enculturation
- an effort was made to describe and analyse the investigated issues and themes; and its fundamental structure of experience was identified as far as was possible within the framework of the thesis.

### **3.2 The methodological framework**

Research methodologies are hopefully creative approaches to understanding and involve the use of good judgements and responsible principles to guide research processes. This approach thus requires one to be reflective, insightful and open to experiences. Research methodologies encourage a deeper level of thinking and address the way “in which knowledge is produced and created” (Hopkins-Burke 2011:137) and underpin a philosophical viewpoint and how one construes the social world of both the objects and subjects of research.

Research methods on the other hand “focuses the researcher on exact knowledge and procedure” (Laverty 2003:28), and are seen as tools needed for collecting data. In adopting a research methodology, Pryor (2010:163) suggests that besides the ontological, epistemological, practical, micro political, macro political, and ethical issues, it is important to identify researchers’ attitudes towards the use of deductive or inductive reasoning in gaining ‘new knowledge’.

The key factor that underlies this study is the need, for practitioner purposes and more generally, to understand how the second generation SAIs in the UK experience ageing. From the literature search, the key aspect of expectations of care giving revolves around co-residence and the third generation SAIs. However, to my knowledge and as far as I am aware, the views of the third generation SAIs on how they adjust / respond to the cultural expectations and feelings as well as the impact they may have on the ageing of the second generation SAIs have not been sought in the wider fields of research into ageing and ethnic experience. The literature search highlighted aspects of acculturation, enculturation and

expectations on care giving within home and on ageing. Hence, it was felt that understanding the views of the third generation SAIs was important and would additionally provide a useful and a further insight into learning about the overall experience of ageing for my target respondents, the second generation SAIs. So the research design and the data collection strategy was proposed to be in two separate but related fields i.e. in the main to target the current second generation ageing populations and the third generation British-born young SAI adults, with the key focus on understandings and expectations relating to co-residence and care giving within the extended family.

All research, it has been claimed, has some aspects of quantitative and qualitative aspects (David and Sutton 2004), however, the difference between them often lies in the philosophical and methodological approaches which are adopted and the way the information is viewed, reflecting deep-seated ontological and epistemological beliefs. As discussed in Chapter 1, knowledge of social life is not separable from experience; it is an historical product, derived from and within a particular social, political and intellectual situation and condition (Burholt and Dobbs 2010; Hofstede 2001). However, for social scientists, the use of quantitative or qualitative research methodologies is dependent on their paradigms (sets of beliefs and assumptions) about how best to find out about human issues, particularly about the social world within which their social life and social experiences occur. Therefore the first decision to take when embarking on a research journey is the examination of research methodology (Moule and Hek 2011).

### **3.2.1 Quantitative and qualitative approaches**

Quantitative research methodologies have a tendency to objectify and start from the principle that there is an objective reality that can be measured and analysed with standardized tools. It emanates from a positivist philosophical viewpoint that the social world and human life within are influenced by the macro social structures and its processes. It uses deductive reasoning i.e. a ‘top-down’ approach relating to the development of predictions arising from general

principles and to test or confirm hypotheses. Such an approach can lead to what may be thought by some to be narrow and quantifiable information that is often collected via the use of questionnaires, social surveys and randomised control trials and experiments. The research strategy in such cases is deductivist and objectivist in its philosophical base as it has a tendency to present research in a depersonalised way, with great emphasis placed on reliability, validity and generalizability (Bryman 2001). The non-engagement with the researched persons or objects in this approach is seen as a virtue (David and Sutton 2004), however, quantitative methodologies have limitations in addressing many significant questions in the realm of human relationships and action (Polkinghorne 1983).

Qualitative research methodologies on the other hand usually start from the premise that objective reality is fluid in nature and socially constructed, hence not easily measured (David and Sutton 2004; Hopkin-Burke 2011; Moule and Hek 2011). The use of inductive reasoning, often known as a ‘bottom up’ approach focuses on specifics which may result in generalisations and is more open-ended and exploratory. The methodologies used within qualitative research often have an interpretivist philosophical base and tend to allow and emphasise experiences, voices, words and diversity to be heard. Such approaches tend to employ inductivist, constructivist and interpretivist research strategies (Bryman 2001). The depth of validity and trustworthiness in the research outcomes are emphasised, and the social world is believed to be as real as it is construed and/or experienced. This approach to research has both ontological and epistemological implications within this thesis. I have worked in a particular field and this invokes a sense of ‘being’ and in this particular case has an existential and ontological element due to my being immersed in a particular culture alongside and yet concurrently outside my research respondents. At the same time I have, I hope, explored new knowledge as an ‘epistemic subject’, that is to say, I have been a knowing subject attempting to illuminate the knowledge and experience of the objects of my research.

The underlying questions that guided my research are about what the expectations of co-residence and care are amongst the second and third generation SAIs in Leicester and whether there is a mismatch that impacts on their wellbeing. To generate understandings pertinent to these questions, I was reliant on getting my target population to share their experience and subjective views and therefore, the findings are based on the tenet that peoples' realities are socially constructed within cultural and societal contexts. The study is therefore dependent on understanding experiences, listening to the voices and opinions of the respondents to ascertain their subjective reality but located within objective and verifiable conditions of existence, including that of culture. The driving force, thus, is inductive and constructivist in nature and hence progressive qualitative methodologies were seen to be best suited here.

### **3.2.2 Adopting a methodological approach**

Potter (1996:65) identifies seven predominant strategies of inquiry for qualitative methodologies, viz-a-vis phenomenology, ethnography, ethnomethodology, ecological psychology, grounded theory, cultural studies and textual analysis. However, although they share a 'common pool of methods', strategically, there is a variation in vision between these strategies and different emphasis placed on how the research is conducted and analysed (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Ethnographical research focuses on description and interpretation of the social world through field study whilst grounded theory as a research strategy emphasises developing data generated from observations or interviews by use of inductive processes. Phenomenology is sometimes considered as a philosophy as well as a research strategy (Lichtman 2013). Kafle (2011) argues that phenomenology is concerned with generating meanings and gaining insights by using four steps, i.e. describing the phenomena, reducing the information thus collected to identify themes, finding the essence of core meaning of the individual's experience, and the intentionality present, which refers to the conscious meanings given by the individuals to the issues at hand.

Interpretivist theoretical approaches are particularly effective at bringing forward the experiences of people from their own perspectives, hence keeping such a focus throughout the research process will contribute towards identifying themes and patterns of meanings and developing theoretical constructs. This focus is based on a constructivist position that there is no single objective truth to be discovered, rather the truth and meaning is constructed out of the engagement of self with the target population at large and that I, as a researcher, cannot escape from being part of the research. Ontology is concerned with how one sees the nature and essence of things in the social world and epistemology is about how this knowledge is acquired (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that individuals in seeking to understand the world in which they live and work, develop subjective meanings around their experiences. This study takes up the perspectives of the second generation SAIs by adopting a constructivist approach which seeks to capture and interpret their lives and experience. However, as mentioned earlier, it is important to acknowledge and be aware of a degree of subjectivity present in this research which derives from my influences, experience, thoughts and feelings. These aspects and elements of the thesis contribute to the ontological and epistemological assumptions that make up a paradigm. However, Moustakas (1994) discusses the potential an interpretivist researcher's subjectivity has to provide deep and valuable insights if transparency and rigour in the methodologies are maintained. Thus the approach within this study reflects the tenets of interpretivist paradigms, whereby the data is analysed, coded and themed via my interpretation of the conversations and of events shared during the interviews. It is equally clear that interpretations are themselves shaped within conceptual and paradigmatic assumptions. The conceptual elements of the research framework were outlined at the end of Chapter 1 and are derived from social scientific theories and frameworks.

The focus of my study is researching and understanding the interpretations of lived experience, in particular an aspect of life transition and in trying to understand meanings given to this subjective experience and reality. This involves understanding and exploring a phenomenon that emphasises human interactions,

listening to how people apply ‘unwritten rules’ and common sense, as well as how interpretations of wider societal and political contexts are used to make sense of their world. The phenomenological methodological approach places an emphasis on theoretical generalisation which is expected to emerge and according to Kafle has the “potential to penetrate deep to the human experience and trace the essence of a phenomenon” (Kafle 2011:183). Hence, it was felt that adopting a phenomenological approach to my study would help towards understanding the experiences of the ageing, particularly those relating to co-residence and care.

### **3.2.3 Phenomenological approaches**

Phenomenology as an approach has developed over the last five decades from being “very strict, conservative, traditional approaches to very broad interpretations and applications to the study of lived experiences” (Lichtman 2013:87), and therefore has been “conceptualized as a philosophy, a research method and as an overarching perspective from which all qualitative research is sourced” (Kafle 2011:182). However, its overall philosophical base is learning about lived experience, where the researchers “extract the essence of that experience” (Lichtman 2013:87) and interpret (gives meaning to and constructs) this experience. For me phenomenology as a research approach or design starts from the premise that humans are able to coordinate their present behaviour by accounting and making meaning of their past and future actions using their own frames of reference (Flick 2009; Potter 1996). This approach suits the purpose of my research which is to gather the perceptions of the phenomenon of ageing within second generation SAIs in the UK, particularly in relation to expectations of co-residence - all of which takes shape within a cultural context of change involving different generational experience.

Phenomenological research is based on the paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity and emphasises the importance of personal perspectives and interpretation hence providing a powerful way of understanding subjective experiences and gaining insights into peoples’ lived experiences and their interpretations of it. Husserl (1970) argues that phenomenological research

essentially describes phenomena rather than providing an explanation and from a perspective that has no preconceptions or hypotheses. However, questions have been raised by humanist and feminist researchers alike, as to whether it is at all possible to start research without any preconceptions or bias (Silverman 2002). For example, the concept for this study arises from the outcomes of the small scale research that I carried out as part of Research Inspired Curriculum Funding (2011) with South Asian older people living in residential homes and from observations in practice.

Anderson (1987:253 cited in Potter 1996: 43) echoes this and cautions that understandings and constructed ideas cannot be totally objective, and that giving meaning is the “product of human consciousness” and not “contained in objects”. This resonates with me as although I am seeking to understand the perceptions of my target population in relation to ageing, co-residence and care, my literature search, practice experience and the small scale survey (which I undertook prior to this study), will undoubtedly contribute to some expectations of what this might be, hence the possibility of bias and pre-judgement and even the possibility of rigorous social scientific knowledge of researched objects or people. Scientific and larger scale research looks for explanations/outcomes that can be generalised and applied to all contexts, but within smaller scale, phenomenological studies the focus is on the participants’ understandings and experiences of a phenomena.

Thus, for me it is important that in creating a suitable explorative design that would enable me to identify lived experiences, I should be aware of my influences and biases, as much as is possible, and to ensure that these thoughts did not explicitly influence my research. I acknowledge that all knowledge which is critical and objective has to be able to account for its own existence and its own generation, which is why it is ‘cognitive’ in character and not simply someone’s feelings or emotions. Knowledge has to be reflectively acceptable in that it has to have an account of its origin and an explanation of its use. Knowledge is thus part of the object domain which it describes and so people in gaining knowledge can be aware of what shapes their experience. In describing people’s experience I am

not necessarily giving it the status of truth but am suggesting its validity can be subject to scrutiny and reason. It is hoped that this approach will produce new knowledge of the field of co-residence and care for the target population of SAIs and their families and community.

However, whilst my ontological position acknowledges that it is not possible to totally remove subjectivity, values and emotions due to the interrelationship between researcher and the researched, my epistemological perspective enables me to emphasise inter-subjectivity, in that whilst researchers cannot be purely objective, “they can demonstrate that people share interpretations” (Potter 1996:48). Hence the significance of phenomenological / philosophical perspectives and the importance placed on interpretation in this work. This was particularly relevant for the purpose of gaining insight into the experiences of my target population and to enable theoretical generalisations to emerge that would highlight the experience of ageing for this group and thus inform thinking and practice.

### **3.2.4 Reflexivity**

Within qualitative research, the role of reflexivity is recognised as an intrinsic part of the production of knowledge and also as part of a researcher’s contribution to the research processes and findings (Nightingale and Cromby 1999). In recent years, both deductive as well as inductive researchers have been encouraged to develop an awareness of how one’s involvement influences the design, interpretations and the outcomes of the research (Fox et. al. 2007), as well as the tools used to develop rigour in the research process and procedures (Drake and Heath 2011). However, reflexivity in itself, as a process, is also set in ‘habitus’, which Bourdieu (1990) defines as resulting from the interplay between free will and the societal structures which impact on our cultures and thinking over time.

Bourdieu (1990 cited in Bould and Lee 2009: 129) argues for reflexivity in social science as a process of what he calls ‘systematic exploration of these unthought categories of thought’, to enable researchers to become truly aware of the possible

biases within their research activity and knowledge production. Shaw and Holland (2014:209) highlight that reflexive accounts in qualitative research emerged in the 1970s as “qualitative researchers became more methodically self-conscious and felt less tied to conventional forms and the need to demonstrate their scientific credentials”. Brew (2001) advocates the development of a critical appraisal of one’s own understandings and performances in conducting research, and hence reflexivity is said to play an important part, particularly when making sense of the data collected. Macfarlane (2009) calls the process “making the tacit explicit”. ‘Tacit’ knowledge is that which is developed as part of “personal and context-specific practices” and ‘explicit’ knowledge is when it is formally written or “codified”. (Macfarlane 2009:125). Hence reflexivity is about ensuring that the assumptions made (by respondents and researcher) are as clear as possible, and maintaining the sensitivity of the distinction between researcher and researched in terms of power and privilege, both in the phenomena being studied and in the practice of the researcher (Shaw and Holland 2014).

At this stage it is helpful to consider briefly some accounts of what constitutes valid and useful knowledge. Gibbons’s Mode1 knowledge is assumed to be the outcome of traditional disciplinary research and produced by academics (Gibbons et. al. 1994). It is based on deductive reasoning and often categorised as knowledge that is produced and tested within higher education, and based on theoretical ‘known’ disciplinary knowledge and gained via ‘pure’ research. The production of Mode 2 knowledge, on the other hand, is based on inductive reasoning, is ‘trans-disciplinary’ in nature and is said to be practical, applied knowledge that is created and tested within practice settings, often outside higher education (Drake and Heath 2011; Fuller and Petch 1995; Moule and Hek 2011). Scott (1995 cited in Drake and Heath 2011:75) describes Mode 3 knowledge as ‘trans-disciplinary and one that is designed to bridge gaps by integrating professional and academic knowledge’, and the production of ‘critical knowledge’, as Mode 4 knowledge. The production of the critical knowledge is via the application of constant reflexivity and inductive processes, and it is the mode 4 knowledge that is important for me as a practitioner.

Hence, in thinking about my research strategy, like my target informants, I am a second generation South Asian Indian, who migrated as young person, raised my family here and now has grown- up children who do not reside with me. Besides this, being a practitioner in the community, and an insider in terms of shared understandings of cultural heritage, expectations, language, and ability to 'pass' as a native member, it is even more important for me to cultivate “the ability to stand outside” (Hellowell 2006: 485) the research and understand the nature of my relation to it and be aware of the possible biases within my research activity and knowledge production (Cutliffe 2003). Besides, having worked as a social worker and as a community worker in the very community in which I was conducting my research meant that I needed to ensure that my role as a researcher was clearly communicated and any power imbalance was minimised as much as possible.

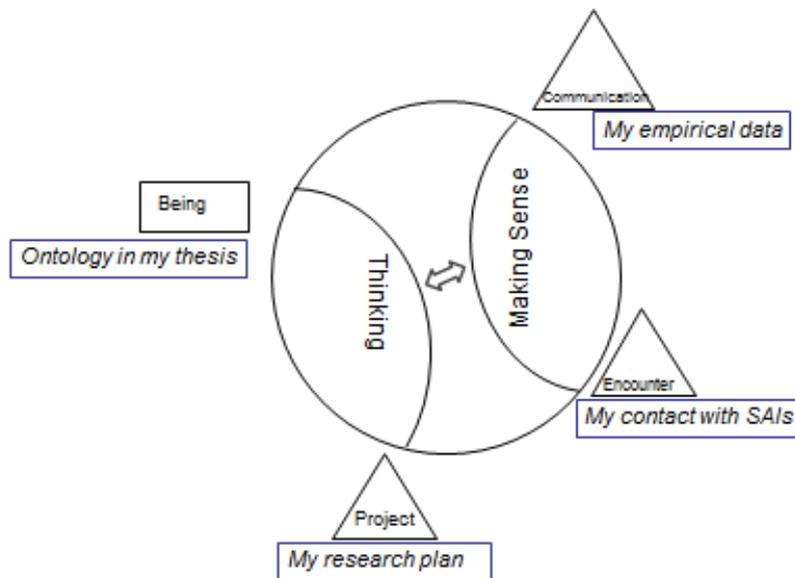
The Social Work Code of Ethics and the professional code of conduct provided a clear framework for considering issues such as respect for the individual, preserving confidentiality and most importantly, the dimension of relevance of my study in terms of academic and practice contexts. This is particularly so, as this study grew out of a deep interest in the subject matter and from professional practitioner experience. However, there is epistemological paradox here in that in trying to say something about myself, I inevitably find myself inhibiting a paradox and living in contradiction involving myself, my experiences as a social worker and my respondents and their lived experience. For example, being part of the community, working in the community as a social worker and as a social work tutor supervising social work students practicing in the community, inevitably brings in deep and lived familiarity with the culture under study. However, critical and reflexive practice has a role in ensuring that the qualitative research is of highest quality (Mason 2002; Shaw and Holland 2014; Tufford and Newman 2012), as it encourages researchers to understand, explore and become conscious of the preconceptions they have on the topic of study and then put these aside so that the true experiences of respondents are reflected in the analysis and reporting of research. As a social worker, this exercise of self-exploration and self-awareness is useful and essential, as it prepares the researcher for occasions when respondents share similar thoughts and emotions, thus yielding intimate

acquaintance with the object of study. This for me is an important factor in my application of objective knowledge to the field in which I work and as a reflective practitioner in precisely that same field.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) identify four criteria - credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability - that could be followed to ensure transparency, trustworthiness and degree of neutrality in a study and my aim is to use these criteria to reflect on how validity and rigour of the study is maintained. This is discussed at the end of this chapter. However, I am mindful that there are questions such as whether it is really feasible to be truly accountable, as thought processes are often at a deeper levels of consciousness than that expressed in research data and evidence (Bourdieu 1990). Expectations of professional practitioners are that they will have specialist knowledge or expertise in their area and that they are able to execute their expertise responsibly, independently and with integrity whilst adhering to the principles and code of conduct specific to their profession. Thus a continuous process of reflexivity would be an essential part of building up a truly reflexive research process, as reflexivity offers space for “systematic exploration of these unthought categories of thought” (Bourdieu 1990 cited in Bould and Lee 2009: 129).

Reason (1988) highlights the process of reflection by identifying two stages – thinking and making sense. The thinking process involves the process of ‘being’ and setting the ‘project’ and the making sense process involves what he call ‘encounter’ and ‘communications’ (see diagram 3 on the following page). For example the process of thinking about my research started with the reflection on what I know from my own life experiences, from practice, observations and from reading. It is the process that Reason (1988) identifies as ‘being’, and for me this formed the basis and ontological stance of my thesis. The ‘thinking’ and then refining the understandings and the observations which follow leads to what Reason (1988) identifies as the ‘project’, and for me this was about reflecting on my thinking and formulating my research plan. The process of making sense of these thinking leads to an ‘encounter’ and this is about using the subjects of the research (SAIs) to understand their perspectives on all that is happening during

the encounter. The information shared produces the empirical data and these, plus the readings leads to ‘communication’, which embraces theorising the findings, writing the report or communicating the outcomes of the process (Reason 1988). Diagram 3 incorporates Reason’s own approach and formulation to indicate some of the processes of reflection that followed.



*Diagram 3: Summary to indicate reflective processes undertaken (adapted from Reason 1988)*

Critten (1996:10) argues that “reflection becomes research when you can separate out your own thoughts/assumptions from the experience on which you are reflecting thereby allowing the ‘evidence’ to speak for itself”. At every stage, I examined my own assumptions and beliefs to check how they might impact on the subject under exploration, to ensure that it was the evidence from my participants that took precedence. The process of testing my ideas as well as the outcomes through discussions with colleagues, my supervisors and via presentations in the classroom as well as at conferences, further helped in the reflexive process and on reflecting on the validity of the outcomes.

Thus, as a practitioner and an insider researcher, incorporating reflexivity was an integral part of my research design and was present, I believe at all stages of this study, and this offered a process for externalising and “articulating thoughts and practices” (Macfarlane 2009:124). This position enabled me to develop a critical appraisal of my understandings and performances in conducting my research and to make the processes as transparent and ethical as possible.

### **3.3 The research method**

As discussed earlier, the research methods are seen as tools that are needed for collecting data, and they reflect the philosophical base of the chosen research methodology. My underlying phenomenological approach starts from the premise that objective reality is fluid in nature and socially constructed (David and Sutton 2004; Hopkin-Burke 2011; Moule and Hek 2011), and bearing in mind the general phenomenological principle of a minimum structure, the plan was to design a flexible approach to research methods for data collection with the aim of gathering and exploring maximum depth. Hence this section discusses the issues relating to the choices for the research design and the data collections.

#### **3.3.1 The research design**

Phenomenological research uses a variety of methods such as interviews, conversations, participant observation, action research, focus meetings and analysis of personal texts (Lichtman 2013), however, in practice such methods are constrained by time and opportunities, and therefore, in my design I needed to strike a balance. In thinking about my data gathering process, it was important that my respondents shared their experiences and feelings particularly around co-residence and care, thus requiring my data gathering process to have some form of structure and guidance and at the same time allowing the participants to talk freely and to “tell their own story in their own terms” (Lichtman 2013:192).

In-depth interviews are useful methods as they allow people to tell their stories and help towards obtaining detailed information about personal feelings, perceptions and opinions. This method also adds a human dimension and allows

space to clarify ambiguities or incomplete answers and provide opportunities for discovering how individuals think and feel about a topic and why they hold certain opinions in an in-depth way. However, these methods can be time consuming. Considering the ontological, epistemological and methodological choices made, using in-depth interviews was seen as the most appropriate research tool to gather the data needed.

Structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews are all different types of in-depth interviews (Flick 2009), and they vary in the way they are conducted (Potter 1996). With the structured interview the researcher takes control by asking set questions and using set probes (Potter 1996), whilst the unstructured interview takes a conversational style where the respondents are allowed to steer the nature of information on a given topic. Semi-structured in-depth interviews, on the other hand, follow the style of unstructured interviews except that the given topic is broken down into smaller sections which the researcher introduces at intervals, thus allowing the interactions to be focussed and at the same time giving space to allow the individual's perspectives and experiences to emerge. The key difference from the structured interview is that the probes and questions are responsive to situations rather than being standardized. My study was about understanding individual expectations and care experiences, and hearing what the person had to share in terms of his/her feelings, experiences and influences, in their own words, language and vocabulary. The semi-structured in-depth interview with an open framework allowed for focused, yet conversational, two-way communication and was seen as the most appropriate approach to data gathering of the kind indicated. Furthermore it was commensurate with the philosophical stance and chosen methodology of the research.

In designing the semi-structured in-depth individual interviews, involving non-directive open-ended questions and probes, it was vital that the respondents shared their understandings, experiences and perspectives on the identified phenomena and that the precise meaning and significance of what was said was clearly heard and recorded. Lichtman (2013) advocates the use of personal,

concrete and ‘feeling questions’ in planning an interview and this was incorporated in planning the topics and the rough format of my in-depth semi-structured interview. For example:-

**Personal questions** – such as age, gender, how many children and their gender, how long they have been in the country and the process of settling (growing up for younger adults)? These were designed to help the participants to relax and build up a rapport.

**Concrete questions** – in relation to understandings of the word family, of filial obligations and expectations of co-residence for example, can you share your understanding of the word family or what do you think about co-residence or who they thought should provide care for ageing parents? These questions besides building further rapport, laid the grounds for asking more intimate and personal questions.

**Feeling questions** – this section covered the areas around feelings and expectations in relation to when not co-residing with adult children or parents. For example how do you feel about co-residence, what are your expectations in relation to this? This section was seen as the core in terms of helping to identify the key issues for the study. Some of the aspects highlighted in the literature review, such as shame and guilt were incorporated as probes, where necessary.

In choosing not to use a standardised set of questions, it was important that I planned clearly how the actual interview was to be conducted, what the topics were and its sequence and how I introduced each topic at intervals and the flexibility to probe for details or discuss specific issues as necessary (see Appendix 6 for detailed set of topics and outline of topics/questions). It was important for me to be mindful of taking a learner role in listening to their reality and using probes in a way that was not threatening or intrusive; and that the interviews were conducted as a conversation rather than as a formalised situation. My experiences in social work as well as my being an insider-researcher helped to achieve this. However, because it was very important for me to conduct the interview in a way that was sensitive and ethically explicit, it was difficult at times to achieve the depth of information required, particularly where participants

were uneasy about sharing their deepest feelings or very personal circumstances. However, throughout the interview process I made sure that the general assumptions concerning the materials were as explicit as they could be.

I was very aware that the construction of my participants' reality was through my 'lenses' – i.e. via my ontological and epistemological stances. For example, ontologically I was concerned to validate the experiences and feelings of my respondents. Their sense of being and self, of who they were and how they had managed their own identities in the face of migration, re-settlement and life in a changing, open and challenging society with pluralistic and secular values. The realities of the research topic were located in the meanings communicated amongst the subjects of the research. Shared understanding had to be elicited and commonly held symbols of belonging to significant others needed to be explored in terms that were meaningful to the participants. Epistemologically, the research needed to create 'epistemic subjects' as it were, from the lived experiences of ordinary people who had lived ordinary yet also extra-ordinary lives. Their experience and self-understandings had to be somehow translated into a form of communicable knowledge.

### **3.3.2 Data collection**

Having decided on the research method to use for data collection, this section of the thesis describes the range of aspects considered in relation to such data. This involved the recruitment of the respondents, conducting interviews, and recording and transcribing interviews.

#### **Recruitment of respondents**

The recruitment of respondents involved identifying the target respondents, setting up inclusion and exclusion criteria for recruitment, and establishing and executing strategies for recruitment.

Overall the SAI ageing population are much younger than indigenous populations (Census 2010). So in considering my target group it was important that my respondents were able to reflect and relate to the aims of my research. As identified earlier, my target population was second and third generation South

Asians of Indian origin. The second generation, being those who migrated to the UK as young persons, are 50 years of age and over and have been settled in the UK for more than 30 years and the third generation being those who are 21 years and above, and were born and brought up in the UK. The rationale for these choices was based on the fact that the older adults (2<sup>nd</sup> generation), having lived in the UK for 30 or more years, are likely to have had a varied life experience of working and raising a family in the UK, are fairly settled and will have expectations regarding ageing and family life. Whilst, the younger adults (3<sup>rd</sup> generation), having had the experience of growing up solely in the UK would provide useful insight into their expectations of co-residence within the British context, and in doing so highlight the impact that these may have on the ageing of second generation SAIs. The literature search had highlighted that SAIs had settled well and looked after their own, hence it was envisaged that both these target populations, in sharing their experiences and expectations would provide insights into the processes of enculturation and acculturation, particularly in relation to co-residence.

The inclusion/exclusion criteria adopted to recruit my older adult respondents were an age of 50 years and above; they had to have migrated to the UK as young people, and to have had more than 30 years of lived experience of working and raising a family in the UK. My younger adult respondents were 21 years and above, were born in this country and have older parents living in the UK. However, this group within the UK is large and widely spread, hence, given the time constraints and resources Leicester was targeted as the most appropriate geographical area from which to identify the participants, particularly as Leicester has a large SAI population (Census 2011) and these are reported to be fairly settled (Moving people changing places 2012). Table 2 summarises the criteria used to recruit participants

**Table 2 Inclusion/exclusion criteria**

<b>For older adults</b>	<b>For younger adults</b>
South Asian Indian origin	South Asian Indian origin
Lives in Leicester	Lives in Leicester
Age 50 years and older	Age 21 years and older
Migrated to the UK when young and have settled in the UK for at least 30years	Born and brought up in the UK
Have had children born in the UK	Have parents living in the UK
Lives in the community	Lives in the community

The strategy for recruitment was via an announcement on local Asian radio stations (Sanskar and Sabras Radio), approaching community centres, as well as by word of mouth. This involved giving information regarding the aims of the research, my inclusion and exclusion criteria, aspects of confidentiality and protection of participants (see Table 2, Appendix 2 and Appendix 4 for details).

A number of older adults volunteered following on from radio announcements and initially time was wasted in responding to the volunteers, as some did not fit the criteria for recruitment. For example, some responses were from 1<sup>st</sup> generation SAIs, some from newer arrivals who had settled in the UK in the last ten years and some who did not have children born in the UK. No younger adults were recruited from the radio announcements, and this could have been due to the timings of the announcements. Overall, it was not as easy to recruit younger adult respondents as the older respondents, partly due to their work commitments and availability. Some of the older respondents volunteered their adult children to participate, however, for ethical reasons these offers were not taken up. All the younger adults were recruited by word of mouth. Lichtman (2013:192) describes such snowball sampling as “gaining access to informants through contact information from other informants”. Noy (2008:330), however, in acknowledging that it is “the most widely employed method of sampling”, highlights that it raises concerns regarding the lack of systematic investigation of sampling techniques.

Keeping in mind that the tool for data collection is via an in-depth, semi-structured, individual interview process, and the data collection is for the purpose

of describing, interpreting and understanding the phenomena rather than to immediately generalise, the proposal was to keep the sample size small. Questions regarding sample size have been discussed by many researchers (Creswell 2014; Lester 1999; Lincoln and Guba 1985) and the general recommendation when using phenomenological research methodology is to assess 10 people or less depending on when the saturation point is achieved. Hence my target sample size was to recruit up to 10 older adults and a similar number of younger adults from the community, on voluntary basis. For some, the size of the sample does raise the issue of representation and reliability, but these ideas reflect a quantitative paradigm in that the assumption is that if the sample size is increased the result would be more statistically reliable. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the nature of this study is qualitative and based on interpretivist phenomenological theoretical perspectives, and as such the nature of inquiry calls for an in-depth free-flowing approach to data which generates meaningful and useful insights into the lived experiences and expectations of ageing, co-residence and care.

The process of recruitment involved explanations of the purpose and the nature of the study, sharing verbal and/or written information, exploring their willingness to participate and setting up interview dates where voluntary consent was given.

Table 4 below summarises the process of recruitment.

**Table 3 Summary of recruitment process and data on people interviewed**

<b>Recruitment of Older Adults</b>	<b>Recruitment of Younger Adults</b>
All older adults recruited via radio announcements	All younger adults recruited via snowballing process
27 contacts made	10 contacts made
12 considered not eligible (see table 3 for eligibility criteria)	-
3 withdrew after the explanations / process / timing given	5 withdrew after the explanations /process /timing of interviews given
12 recruited for interview (2 not interviewed as saturation point reached)	5 recruited for interview
10 in-depth one-to-one interviews conducted in a private and designated place	4 in-depth one-to-one interviews conducted in a private and designated place
Of these 1 interview used as pilot and 1 interview discarded as transcription found to be incomplete at analysis stage	1 did not turn up for the interview (not followed up)
For the study 8 in-depth one-to-one interviews used for data generation and analysis	For the study 4 in-depth one-to-one interviews used for data generation and analysis

All participants who were given the information about the research were happy to take part. 15 individuals (10 older adults and 5 younger adults) were identified and recruited by using the criteria mentioned in Table 3. The snowballing effect meant that there were more, particularly older people that were willing to participate but were not followed up or interviewed due to the amount of information that was generated from those interviewed. Out of the ten older respondents, one (named as interview 13) was used to pilot the questionnaire and therefore the outcome of this interview has not been used for this study. Of the nine older participants interviewed, one interview (interview 8) at a much later stage (analysis stage), was found to be not fully translated and transcribed, hence the data was discarded. This resulted in the study using the information from 8 older participants. Of the five younger respondents who had volunteered, one dropped out at the very last minute and this resulted in 4 younger respondents being used as the participants for this study. The depth and the details in the interviews which were conducted pointed towards the saturation point. Hence overall, the study uses data from 8 older and 4 younger participants. All participants were given numbers to protect their identities.

Table 4 provides some basic details/ information on each of the participants.

*Table 4 Summary of basic information of my participants*

<i>Int No.</i>	<i>Interview language</i>	<i>Age yrs</i>	<i>Birth country</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>UK arrival year</i>	<i>Length of time in UK</i>	<i>Educational background</i>	<i>Notes</i>
<b>Older Adults</b>								
1	English	52	Uganda	Female	1975	38yrs	Diploma	Arrived as a 14yr old as refugee from Uganda, family split up between EU countries, schooling and settling down / eventually set up own business and studied in the UK.
3	Gujarati	72	India	Female	1965	48yrs	None	Arrived as refugee from Kenya, and had two young children with her, two born in the UK. Worked in hosiery factory until retirement.
4	English / Gujarati	65	Uganda	Female	1972	45yrs	O levels	Arrived with very young children (2yr old and 5mths old baby) and extended family as a refugee from Uganda. Set up own business selling souvenirs in a zoo.
5	English	58	Kenya	Male	1971	43yrs	BA	Arrived as a child (17) from Kenya due to Africanisation policy with wider members of the family, started to work and pursue studies part time
6	English	55	Kenya	Female	1972	41 yrs	Diploma	Arrived as a child (10) from Kenya with mum and younger siblings, but family split up, all came at different times. Attended junior and secondary level schooling in the UK. Left school at 15yrs to begin working. Studied as mature student, part-time.
7	English	65	Kenya	Male	1985	29yrs	Teaching qualification	Arrived as qualified teacher, initially, on his own, and called the family afterwards. One child born in the UK. Taught in Kenya for 18yrs, and continued to work in teaching upon arrival, until retirement.
9	English	53	India	Male	1966	47yrs	BSc (Hons)	Arrived as a child (6yrs) – father came over to fulfil the demand for work as school teacher. All schooling done in this country.
12	English	64	Uganda	Male	1975	38yrs	BSc	Ugandan refugee arrived in UK (via India) as young adult. Indian pharmacy qualification not recognised in UK, so moved into community work.
<b>Younger Adults</b>								
2	English	32	UK	Male	-	-	BSc (Hons)	Married – living separately from parents
10	English	38	UK	Male	-	-	BSc (Hons)	Married – living together with parents
11	English	33	UK	Female	-	-	BA (Hons)	Married - living separately from parents
14	English	24	UK	Female	-	-	BA	Single – living separately from parents

All participants, except two women, had some form of higher educational background, and this does raise the issue of whether the recruitment drive has ended up recruiting 'middle-class' respondents rather than those 'hard to reach' and less formally educated respondents. This raises the interesting question of how traditional social concerns with the effects of socio-economic class in Britain might be impacting on ethnic and cultural groups (Savage 2015). This was not a major focus within this research but there is no doubt that it is a contingent issue in the context of wider British society and culture. On the other hand, as discussed in chapter 1, there is the traditional emphasis on education qualifications and its links with success and material aspirations within SAI communities (Chambers 2012). Amongst the SAI population in Leicester, Gujaratis are a majority (Brown 2010), as a result the majority of my participants (11 out of 12) in the study were of Gujarati origin and most were (7 out of 8 older participants) East African Indians which to some extent reflects the overall make up of South Asians in Leicester (Brown 2010). Most of the older participants (6 out of 8) had experience of co-residence and providing care to their own parents (first generation) in the UK, and 2 out of 4 younger adults had experience of co-residing in a multi generation household in the UK.

### **Conducting interviews**

As identified earlier 14 individuals were interviewed. Within the chosen phenomenological context of this study, the important issue lies in how the questions/probes were formulated, as well as the ability to establish a relationship with the respondent in which he/she felt free to openly express her/his inner thoughts and feelings. From the 14 individuals interviewed, a trial interview with an older adult was conducted to assess the flow in conducting a semi-structured interview and of the data gathering process. This trial helped to fine tune the process and iron out problems in relation to the use of a microphone, recordings of the interviews and the flow of the questions. The content of this interview is not used as part of the data or for data analysis.

Each participant was met at the agreed location and before conducting the interview the preliminary information regarding the purpose of the research, the

nature of study, the length and the purpose of the interview was explained; their willingness to participate and the aspects of confidentiality were reviewed and explained once again. Following Rudestam and Newton's (2007) recommendation, the consent form (Appendix 5) was filled prior to commencing the process of data collection, and the participant's right to withdraw from the process at any point or to withhold the information was explained clearly. All written information (Appendices 2 and 4) was offered to the participants to take away if needed and the voice recorder was placed in a mutually agreed position.

The interview started with the planned collection of the personal and demographic information including age, gender, how long the person had been in the country and the experience of the process of settling as the starting point and, as predicted, this provided vital basic information and insight (Table 5), as well as time to build rapport. However, I was aware that this was a scheduled event for my benefit and however informal I tried to make this process there was an asymmetry of power in this process (Shaw and Holland 2014). Spradley (1979) identifies the use of grand tour questions for semi-structured interviews. Grand tour questions, as the name suggests, covers range of question types, from those seeking a general overview, (e.g. can you share your understanding of the word family), to being more specific about an issue, (e.g. can you describe your feelings in relation to co-residence), in a fairly focused way (Spradley 1979). Throughout the interview I used non-directive, grand-tour questions and specific prompts where needed (see appendix 6) to guide the interview and the data collecting process.

Having this format served to maintain focus and was useful in guiding attention to key aspects and this helped to act as a stimulus. I was careful in ensuring that the grand tour questions were phrased in a general and non-directive manner, thus allowing the participants to share their experiences in their own terms. However, Shaw and Holland (2014) question whether interviewers can be neutral and they identify that in eliciting personal experiences, the interviewers participate in 'meaning making'. My questions/prompts were focused on experiences, expectations and on perceptions of family, obligations, co-residence and care, and were conducted as conversations rather than as a formal question and answer

session. This helped to minimise the imbalance of power and my influence on respondents' meaning making and the way they made sense of their own experience. Although the questions were scripted, I ensured that the interviews were flexible and adaptable in order to investigate each participant's unique experience, whilst at the same time being fully aware of my indirect influence via the way the questions were crafted. It is interesting that Lichtman (2013:194) advocates self-disclosure as a way of helping participants to feel at ease and in removing "the potential power difference" between the researcher and the researched. Following this advice, I had planned to self-disclose, however, in most cases, this was not necessary, partly due to the detailed information provided about the study and partly due to my insider status. Most of my older participants were enthusiastic and felt that this was an important area of research and one participant shared that it was a phenomenon that was occurring in "*every South Asian home*" in the UK.

It is believed that the location of the interview does contribute towards rapport building as well as on the quality of data collected. Given the sensitivity of the topic, care was taken in choosing the location of interviews in terms of comfort, privacy and confidentiality. Permission to voice record the interview was also sought and reassurance given in terms of maintaining the confidentiality and protection of the data collected. To this extent care was taken not to voice record any participant's names, and each interview was given a number for ease of transcription and data recording. All voice data and transcriptions were stored in accordance with the 1998 Data Protection Act (UK).

Participants were given a choice of language to use for interview. Two participants elected to use Gujarati and except for these two interviews, all other interviews were conducted in English, although there were some interviews where the participants used Gujarati words or proverbs to explain issues. Being bilingual was useful here as such acceptance helped not only towards building rapport, but also contributed towards the nature and the depth of information shared. It is interesting that some participants wanted to talk and did talk more once the voice recorder was switched off. This flags up a whole dimension of the

process of sharing information and confidentiality and for me the issue of note taking and its authenticity, particularly as transcription of recorded interviews is seen as a powerful act of representation of what is said. Most of these situations arose during the de-briefing sessions and I utilized the information by making notes of what was said during the session and immediately after the interviews were completed.

Two interviews (older adults) were conducted in Gujarati and in case of two others (older adults) there was a constant change from English to Gujarati and vice versa. The interviews conducted in Gujarati took a longer time than those conducted in English and of the two interviews conducted in Gujarati the data from one was discarded because at analysis stage it was found to have incomplete translation and transcription. There were some differences in the responses from male and female participants and within younger adults between the married and unmarried participants. Although gender differences and marital statuses were not the focus of the research, some of these issues are further discussed in the forthcoming chapters. The interviews generated a good deal of very interesting information in relation to what comprises a family and in relation to where the idea for devotion to parents comes from. However, for the purposes of the thesis the information in relation to care and co-residence is used for the analysis of findings.

A person-centred approach to the interviews was maintained throughout since not only is this compatible with the social work values that I hold, but it encourages the phenomenological and interpretivist stance that I wanted to take in my study. To some degree, my insider stance in terms of shared culture and heritage, my social work empathy skills in making people feel valued, accepted and understood and the offer of use of the language of their choice, allowed for deeper insights and sharing of respondents' knowledge and experience.

### **Recording and transcribing interviews**

All interviews were digitally audio recorded. Permission to record the interview was sought from the onset and this was to allow for transparency in data

collection as well as to enable the interview to be a conversation, and naturally use the probes as and when necessary. However, it is also important to note that this generated a large quantity of data via tape recordings, interview notes and reflexions after the interviews. All of these data sources did not always fall into neat categories. All audio recordings and their transcripts were saved on a secured password protected computer.

Transcription is seen as a pivotal aspect of qualitative inquiry as it is assumed to give voice to participants and to how their information is shared and understood (Oliver et. al. 2005:1271). It involves inscribing speech which can be a passing comment that existed in its own “moment of occurrence, into an account” (Shaw and Holland 2014:304) that can be consulted at any time. However, there are numerous issues to take account of, for example, how verbal features such as pauses and hesitations are transcribed and as Shaw and Holland (2014:215) point out that the move from speech to text “changes the relationship of discourse to the speaker” as well as the audience in that “the person to whom the speaker addressed” and “asking what the text meant is not the same as asking what the speaker meant”. Transcription is seen as a ‘chore’ (Agar 1996 cited in Oliver et.al. 2005) by many researchers, however, I decided to transcribe all the interviews. Although this was a long and demanding task, it helped towards ensuring the consistency, quality and most importantly familiarity with the content. Transcribing was kept to its natural form by transcribing every utterance in as much detail as possible. Transcribing the interview conducted in Gujarati required translating as well as transcribing and this process was long and detailed comparatively, however, I was able to use my familiarity with different languages in the process. Transcribing the data helped to spur the process of understanding the data, identifying the key issues and the overall process of analysis. The process highlighted the connections between reflexivity and coding and this was a continuous and an ongoing process during the process of transcribing. However, the formal searching for themes within the data and analysis was commenced only after all the interviews were transcribed; this was to ensure consistency and transparency throughout the process.

### **3.4 Data analysis**

A phenomenological interpretivist approach to such research topics as described here is essentially about attempting to understand, without intrusive preconceptions, what the lived experience is like for the target group. As such, it can be particularly effective at bringing to the fore the individual experiences of people which are understood from their own perspectives. My study was conducted in the community, hence, in thinking about planning and conducting analysis of the data collected, it was important for me to think about choosing tools that were robust and would allow the presentation of the views of the respondents without bias and in a way that was readily available to those who are not part of academic communities. It was also necessary to pick up on relevant issues regardless of how this was presented and to remain aware of underlying assumptions.

To begin the process of analysis it was important to recognise and acknowledge that my focus on the data corpus was particularly around the questions that I had in my mind i.e. was there a mismatch of expectations between the generations, specifically in relations to expectations of co-residence and care and whether this impacted on the ageing process? In addition to this, my primary concern was to present the experiences of the participants as accurately and comprehensively as possible and let the information gathered speak for itself. “Within qualitative research there is a multicity of analytic strategies” (Shaw and Holland 2014:202), however, for me, transparency and credibility were essential aspects and therefore it was important to choose a tool that would allow me to make my judgements and decisions as explicit and clear as possible to all those who could be conceived as stakeholders in the research.

Braun and Clarke (2006:81) highlight the versatility of thematic analysis as a tool that can be used as a ‘contextualist’ method to make and create meaning from and with individual experience and “the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, whilst retaining focus on the material”. For me, capturing the intricacies of meaning from data is important as the ultimate goal is to be able to reach a place of understanding of the expectations of research subjects and to

develop statements and analysis about their experience. Thematic analysis allows for such inductive processes and is particularly useful as it clearly lays out the procedures to be followed in a systematic way. Besides this, the organisation of data into relevant themes of interest reduces the sheer bulk of qualitative data gained from the interviews and allowed me to provide a summary of what participants said in their own words and to highlight explicit and implicit ideas within these statements. Therefore the use of thematic analysis for the study was seen as the most appropriate tool to use. However, I acknowledge that the process is not without its problems or dilemmas because it is the voice of the participants that are thematised and I am part of creating these themes. This is again an example of how knowledge itself of the objective, external world can be said to become part of the 'object world' through the process of critical reflection (Critten 1996; Reason 1988).

Ryan and Bernard identify these techniques as the “most often described in texts about qualitative methods” (2003:101), however, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that thematic analysis is a qualitative research method in its own right, and not embedded within related analytic traditions such as grounded theory, discourse analysis or interpretative phenomenological analysis. However, it is a qualitative approach to examining research data, and both Moustakas (1994) and Braun and Clarke (2006) identify use of themes as part of the processes for phenomenological reduction. Opler (1945 cited in Ryan and Bernard 2003:81) argues that themes could be obvious, subtle or symbolic and could be interrelated to one another. Themes are of course only visible through data and the data is meaningless without reference to themes and contexts which shape and structure meaning. Hence, thematic analysis begins with a view that the participants in the research have particular experiences, feelings, thoughts or behaviours, and the goal of the analysis is to focus on the subjective human experiences in order to capture descriptions of these as succinctly and accurately as possible. The objective is to render them meaningful to both those experiencing them and to those who wish to understand this experience.

### 3.4.1 Thematic analysis

Ryan and Bernard (2003:87) define themes as “abstract (and often fuzzy) constructs that link expressions found in the texts” and they go on to say that you know you have found a theme when you can answer the question, “What is this expression an example of ?”

Hence, the first step in conducting thematic analysis was to consider specific aspects/expressions within the data corpus and to identify themes which reflect, analyse and summarise experience in relation to my research questions. Bearing in mind Dey’s (1993:110) cautions that “there is no single set of categories [themes] waiting to be discovered” and that “there are as many ways of ‘seeing’ the data as one can invent”, my initial steps for identifying themes were through reading and re-reading transcripts and looking for repetitions, similarities and differences within the rich textual data.

Ryan and Bernard (2003:85) propose various techniques for identifying themes and propose four tasks involved in this process. These are “(1) discovering themes and subthemes; (2) winnowing themes to a manageable few (i.e. deciding which themes are important in any project); (3) building hierarchies of themes or code books and (4) linking themes into theoretical models”. They propose that if the data is textual and in the form of verbatim text, thus producing rich narratives, then the themes can be identified from repetitions, similarities and differences. This necessarily involves using theory- related material, that is to say sets of concepts and looking for key words in context. However, the production of themes is a combination of data as well as the application of theoretical understandings, practice experiences and the values of the researcher (Dey 1993; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Moustakas 1994; Ryan and Bernard 2003). Thus I am acknowledging that as a researcher I cannot separate myself from what I know and that I am linked with my participants in how I understand myself, others and the situation and context of the research. Thus, in identifying themes, it was important for me to be explicit in my choices, to be thorough in my identification

of key issues and themes and most importantly to be aware that the findings will emerge as part of the dialogue and of the process itself.

Because of this fluidity, an emphasis on methodological rigour is imperative. Braun and Clarke's (2006) step-by-step guide is seen useful here; whilst ensuring methodological rigour, it enables transparency to the processes for identifying themes and conducting an inductive thematic analysis. Hence Braun and Clarke's approach and guide is used here to identify the emerging themes. Braun and Clarke (ibid) identify six phases that help to navigate from the data corpus to data set to data item in a bid to identify themes and conduct analysis. I have summarised these guidelines in Diagram 4 and in a bid to offer transparency, these phases are used to describe different steps taken to reach the identification of the themes that are later used to relate findings, analysis and for discussions in later chapters.



*Diagram 4 Summary of processes for identifying & conducting thematic analysis*

As discussed earlier in the data collection section, the data collected can be divided in three sections, i.e. data for demographic information, data which helped the participants to warm up and relax and the data that concentrated on the

issues of expectations of co-residence and care. The key aspects and the crux of my study is in the information provided in relation to expectations of co-residence and care, and therefore my interests were in searching the transcripts for how my participants think, experience, feel, manage and respond in relation to these expectations. Thus my focus within the data was on these aspects. Discovering appropriate themes and sub-themes involved continuous examination and re-examination of the transcripts for repetitions, use of metaphors/analogies and similarities/differences of ideas, feelings and expectations. The process was both labour intensive and lengthy and required a constant attention to clarity in relation to the philosophical values and assumptions that underpinned the research. At times this was filled with the feeling of uncertainty and dilemma in relation to how to identify an appropriate theme and whether there is such a thing as an appropriate theme.

Guest et. al. (2012) emphasise the importance of accounting for the analysis process, and this is in line with the desire I held to ensure my research would enhance transparency, deliver dependability, enable transferability and ensure good research practice. Hence each of the phases identified in Braun and Clarke's guide are presented step by step and described in the next section, to indicate how themes and codes were identified and developed.

### **3.4.2 Identification of themes**

Identifying themes was not a simple task, and although Braun and Clarke's step by step guide is used here to aid the process, the process in itself is not and cannot be value free. Shaw and Holland (2014:124) argue that the "researcher is an active respondent in the research process" and therefore shapes how the knowledge is produced. Shaw and Holland (ibid: 220) further stipulate that the "kind of research itself presupposes certain ways of explaining" and that the data "regardless of method, are in fact produced by the researcher". Thus acknowledging that understanding the textual data is an active process, the following sections present a certain amount of data analysis in order to make the

process of identifying themes as transparent as it could be, and importantly to explain in detail the process that was followed in the empirical research.

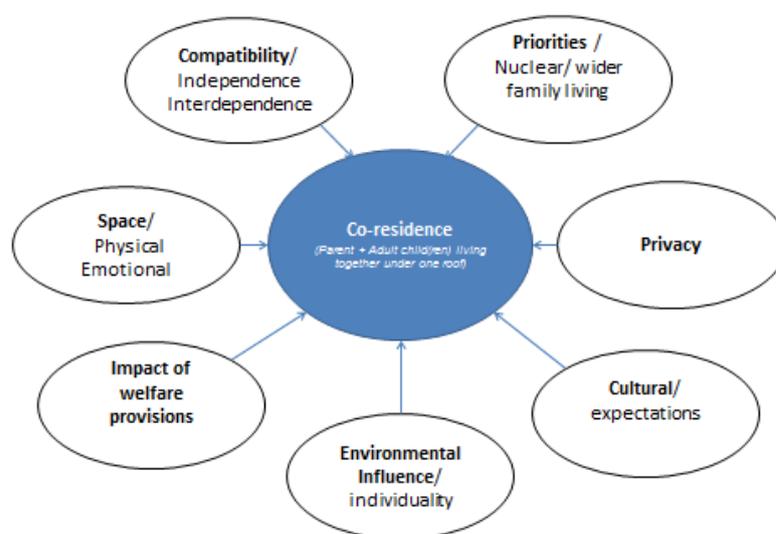
Using Braun and Clarke (2006) suggestions, *Phase one* involved familiarisation with the data collected. Transcribing the data and then reading and re-reading these, helped to engage with the contents and stimulate reflection on what was being said, particularly in relation to co-residence and expectations. The notes and reflections made during and after the interviews were also reviewed as part of familiarising oneself with the data collected. Because the focus of the study is on co-residence and expectations, the notes and information in relation to co-residence and expectations from each participant's transcripts were highlighted and collated to generate an initial data set. This task required attention, a clear focus and decisions without compromising on the necessary empathy with the data. The semi-structured nature of the interviews aided this process of identifying the data set.

*Phase two* is about generating initial codes (Braun and Clarke 2006). In phase one I had highlighted the relevant material in relation to expectations and co-residence from the data corpus. In phase two I used this data set and examined it very closely to generate initial codes. The process included listing and identifying all overlapping, similar, new and repetitive pieces of information in relation to the research question and grouping them. The focus of the study is on co-residence and expectations and since the data set identified reflected this, the initial codes were identified as **Co-residence** and **Expectations**.

*Phase three* is about searching the themes within the initial codes, hence I used the initial codes that were identified in phase two to search and identify emerging themes (Braun and Clarke 2006). This required further scrutiny of the data set for conceptual similarities and different points of views and ideas in relation to these initial codes, at the same time being careful not to take words and issues out of context and being as non-judgemental and value-free as possible. Hence, the process involved searching and identifying words of the participants that reflected the two initial codes and ordering them so that the emerging themes relating to each initial code could easily become apparent. The following sections describe

how the themes for these two initial codes were identified. It includes words of my participants that aid in illustrating the emerging themes within the identified initial codes.

So in considering the first initial code ‘*co-residence*’, there were a number of aspects. For example, a young adult discussed the importance of having her own space away from her parents “...*I have had the opportunity to live away and have my own space which I value..*” (Int. 14 Younger adult); whilst older adults talked about differing expectations “.....*different generation ....you have different expectations*” (Int. 5); and life styles “... *the children have very different life style ...and different views...*” (Int. 1); and some adults talked about conflicts, relationships and compatibility “*it depends on your daughter-in-law and mother-in-law relations*” (Int. 12). So in reviewing the data set, for this first initial code, there were a number of themes such as space in terms of physical and emotional space; compatibility in terms of interdependence and independence; priorities between the nuclear and wider family; privacy; culture particularly in terms of expectations; and the influence of the environment in relation to individuality and the impact of welfare provisions, that were all emerging as aspects that contributed to the identification of initial themes within this code ‘*co-residence*’. These emerging initial themes for this code *co-residence* are summarised in diagram 5.



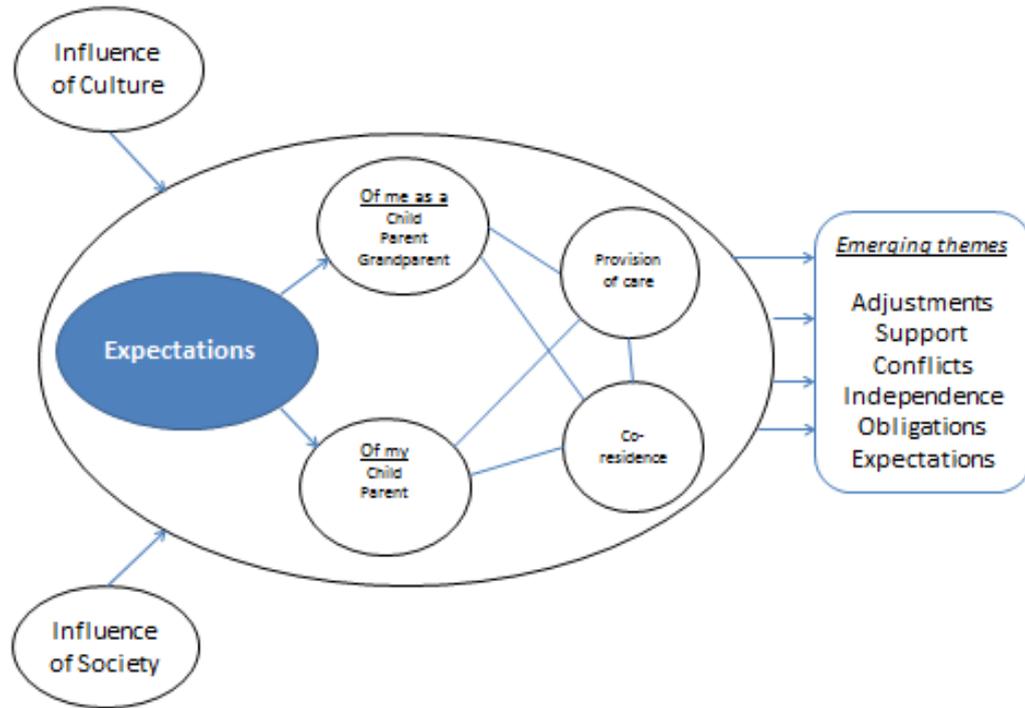
**Diagram 5 Emerging themes from initial code - Co-residence**

When considering the second initial code of *'expectations'* for emerging themes, the process was complex as it involved some overlapping and complicated ideas. For example, when examining the data set, there were two strands appearing i.e. the participants talked about expectations in relation to themselves as sons/daughters, parent or grandparents and then in relation to the role of the other, as parent / sons / daughters. Hence the expectations of co-residence and care were seen in terms of what is the expectation of myself and of others in relation to co-residence and care. So for example, the older participants talked about the expectations of them as grandparents and as parents and also about their own expectations of their adult children. *"It is our duty to look after our children until they get married"* (int. 3): *"duty comes in both ways....children and parents have both got to give each other enough...children (meaning adult children) should look after their parents"* (Int. 4). However, for some older participants the aspects of care and expectations of co-residence were synonymous, hence requiring sensitivity when understanding and interpreting the data. This made me acutely aware of the advantages I had as an insider as well as my role and influence, and this further emphasised the importance of detachment and the need for as much objectivity as possible.

These expectations and roles appear to be influenced by the understandings of obligations within a specific culture and also by the expectations within the society, so for example in relation to expectations of care for ageing people, all the participants, both younger and older adults, echoed the overall cultural expectations of children to look after ageing parents, as well as some who highlighted the expectations from the state or society as a whole. This is illustrated by the following quote :

*"....there are two options, there is the family commitment, and I think there is a role for family, to look after. But having said that I think in this country the state has a role in looking after the elderly as well.....and I think it's a shared responsibility between..... between immediate family and the state". (Older adult Interview 5)*

Hence, to sum up, in examining the data set for this initial code, expectations, the emerging themes were focussed on adjustments, support, conflicts, independence, obligations, cultural and societal expectations. These emerging themes from this initial code for expectations are summarised in diagram 6.



**Diagram 6 Emerging themes from initial code- Expectations**

Braun and Clarke (2006:82) argue that “the keyness of a theme is not necessarily dependent upon quantifiable measures, but rather on whether it captures something important in relation to the overall question”. So in searching for the emerging themes from the initial codes of co-residence and expectations, it was evident these themes were about opinions, feelings, impacts and adjustments for both older and younger adults. For example, an older adult, when discussing her role and obligation as provider of care and love to her grandchildren, advocated for co-residency as part of natural way of providing care.

*“... especially the grandchildren then miss out on the experience of love from their grandparents. This is not possible when living apart as the contacts becomes superficial and gets entangled in the practicality of visits and contacts”. (Older adult Interview 3)*

And a younger adult expressed his opinions about his expectations of co-residency and its advantages particularly for his children.

*“I think in an ideal world people should live in extended families and I think also for me I would want that more for my children because I want my children to have that close bond with my parents, with their grandparents. And I have noticed, when people live with their grandparents they generally are a lot closer”.*  
(Younger adult Interview 2).

Hence, to summarise, phase three entailed examining the initial codes of co-residence and expectations and searching for emerging themes. The themes that were emerging were wide ranging from the practicality of co-residence to emotional aspects of managing and coming to terms with differing expectations.

**Phase four** was concerned with reviewing the emerging themes and working towards identifying broader candidate themes and working towards deciding on the main themes (Braun and Clarke 2006). Thus when I began to cut, sort and group the words of my participants and on examining the underlying issues that were coming through the identified emerging themes, I began to realise that the ideas of space, concern, support, compatibility, conflicts, adjustments, independence, value differences, expectations and obligations were all aspects that could be identified as the candidate themes.

For example, an older adult in talking about co-residence highlighted the issues of compatibility at the same time raising the issues of economical support, space, independence and expectations.

*“.... compatibility is more important. It depends on your daughter-in-law/mother-in-law relation, that’s the cause most of the time. If they (adult children) live together it’s economical, definitely.... we bought a bigger house, but now they (son and daughter-in-law) decide to move, economically they will struggle because if they have to pay for that new mortgage, here the mortgage is paid, here there is no accommodation cost, except whatever the cost is, so they need to look at that, but then again if they want their independence... I would look it different if they want to go fine...”.* (Older adult interview 12) The last sentence in this quote was said with a heavy voice.

Another older adult, in talking about the expectations, highlighted and hinted at cultural and societal pressures and resulting conflicts.

*“..... it is important that the children should live together under one roof with their aged parents, but today, here in this country, these thoughts are clashing with eastern and western ideas”. (Older adult Interview 3)*

So as I reviewed the emerging themes and examined the data items that were highlighted in phase three, nine broader candidate themes - concerns, support, space, conflicts, independence, value difference, adjustments, expectations and obligations - were identified.

Having identified the broader candidate themes, the task was then to work towards deciding on the main themes (Braun and Clarke *ibid*). This comprised two steps:

Step one - The data set was once again scrutinised against the nine broader candidate themes that were identified to ascertain how prominent they were and if there was any conceptual overlap.

Step two - The candidate themes that had conceptual similarities were grouped together to begin the process of identifying the main themes in relation to my initial codes – co-residence and expectations.

On examining the candidate themes concern, support and space, it appeared that these were very much about the practical aspects of co-residence and touched on the issues of intergeneration support, traditions and ambivalence. Hence these were merged together to make one main theme. The candidate themes independence, value difference, obligations and expectations were more about emotional aspects of co-residence, hence were merged to form the second main theme. In examining the information in relation to candidate theme adjustment, it was evident that the participants were talking more about the dilemma of pressures on their culture on them to adjust and the processes of adapting to their ‘new environment’ and circumstances. The data in relation to this candidate

theme adjustment was vast and varied; hence this theme was identified as my third main theme.

Hence, working through phase four resulted in my identifying three main themes. Once the three main themes were identified, the transcripts were re-read and the responses from the participants scrutinised to ensure their validity and to confirm that these three main themes reflected the participants' voices. It was assumed that this process would enable recognition of accurately reflected expressions of co-residence and expectations articulated by participants to be incorporated into the results. Hence phase four concluded with a proposal of three themes as the unit of analysis and these are summarised in diagram 7.



*Diagram 7 Summary of main themes*

*Phase five* involved using the main three themes identified in phase 4 and naming and defining these crucial themes (Braun and Clarke 2006). This involved firstly reviewing the data set to identify names that reflected each theme and secondly identifying explicitly how these themes were conceptualised and the criteria that defined each of these themes. This involved further scrutiny and examination of the data set, segmenting the data, and coding the contents that underpinned the collation of the information, all in order to reveal and define the themes which had emerged.

The data in the first theme relates to and is about understanding the practical complexity of co-residence and thus was named as **Co-residence (Practical aspects)**. The data in the second theme was about differing dimension of life,

value differences and expectations and my participants' voices which identified a range of issues relating to independence, dependence, expectations and obligations. Thus this theme was named as **Expectations**. Adjustments as a theme encapsulates the processes that both older and younger adults make to accommodate the environmental, societal and cultural pressures and changes; hence the third theme was named as **Acculturation / Enculturation**.

*Phase Six* involves writing the report (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This involved scrutiny and examination of the material collated as part of the process of identifying the themes and codes within these. The details of this are presented as findings in the next chapter.

Using Braun and Clarke's guidelines to thematise the bulk of the data was particularly useful as not only did it require a significant immersion in the study, but it provided a systematic way of handling the data and of summarising the findings. Throughout the process I was very aware of my own world view and biases and the possibilities of its influence. Incorporating Reason's (1988) reflective processes provided a way to focus on the voices of the participants thus helping the data to be coded as objectively as it could possibly be. In addition to the positive contribution made via reflective practice and reflexive research already mentioned, the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985), Braun and Clarke (2006) and Denscombe (2010) was operationalised within my research and thus an academic 'triangulation' was attempted. This was done to help ensure professional and academic objectivity within what was admittedly a committedly qualitative approach to the research objectives.

The table 5 on the following pages (104 - 105) summarises the research design and data analysis process which have been described in the foregoing chapter.

*Table 5 Indicative summary of research design and data analysis process*

<b>Research Paradigms/ approach</b>	<b>Research process/ design/data source (Qualitative)</b>	<b>Activity and action (Constructivist)</b>	<b>Key themes (Interpretivist)</b>	<b>Processes for Research outcomes</b>
<b>Reflexive process</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Use of literature, personal &amp; professional practice/experience to develop research parameters (Chapt. 1 &amp; 2)</li> <li>- Self exploration (see section 3.2.4)</li> <li>- Reflecting and considering the nature of information to be gathered</li> <li>- Exploring the pros and cons of using in-depth semi-structured interview techniques for data collection ( 3.3.1)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Concept development, evaluating impact of self &amp; professional experience</li> <li>- Identifying what how and why questions</li> <li>- Familiarising with data</li> <li>- Generating initial codes</li> <li>- Analysis &amp; interpretation of data.</li> <li>- Use of experience, literature reviews, findings &amp; theories to understand &amp; analyse data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ‘Knowledge of social life not separable from experience’ (Berry, Hofstede, Weinreich) , therefore use of self &amp; experience inevitable in identification of research process &amp; method</li> <li>- Knowledge is a human construction and is based on assumptions &amp; purposes</li> <li>- Development of critical insights as part of process</li> <li>- Self-evaluation and critique</li> <li>- Insider learner</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Use of findings &amp; theories to analyse the data</li> <li>- Perceptual and emotional development of self</li> <li>- Acting as transformer for participants and self</li> </ul>
<b>Constructive process</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Identifying target population (see inclusion/exclusion criteria table 3)</li> <li>- Conducting semi-structured , in-depth one to one interview (see table 5 for detailed outcomes and appendix 6 for outline of questions and prompts)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Contacting prospective respondents/volunteers to explain the nature of research, set times &amp; place for interview (see appendix 2 &amp; 4)</li> <li>- Conducting interviews (see appendix 3, 5 &amp; 6)</li> <li>- Collection &amp; transcription of data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding subjective experiences, reality &amp; the meaning making process</li> <li>- Examination of research &amp; literature evidence</li> <li>- Assessment &amp; evaluation of relevance of analysis</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ensuring validity &amp; rigour in collection, thematising &amp; interpreting of data using credibility, dependability and transferability criteria (Lincoln and Guba)</li> <li>- Construction of flow chart to</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reading &amp; rereading to identify recurring themes</li> <li>- ‘discovering themes &amp; sub-themes’ ‘building hierarchies of themes/code books’(Ryan &amp; Bernard) (see section 3.4)</li> <li>- Coding of data</li> <li>- Generating initial codes</li> <li>- Condensation of data using Braun &amp; Clarke 6 phases (see diag. 8,9, 10)</li> <li>- Analysis of data ‘linking themes into theoretical models’ (Ryan &amp; Bernard) (Chapt. 5)</li> <li>- Rationalism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Interpretivism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>guide practitioner in assessment (Diagram 11)</li> <li>- Social and community partnership with local providers ‘Leicester Ageing Together’</li> <li>- Conscientizer and transformer</li> <li>- Idealist</li> </ul>
<b>Qualitative process</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recruitment of participant via radio announcement &amp; snowballing (see table 4 for details)</li> <li>- Recording &amp; transcribing interviews</li> <li>- Use of Braun Clarke step by step guide (see diagram 3) for summary of phases followed)</li> <li>- Use of thematic analysis to make sense of rich data collected</li> <li>- Identifying the recurring themes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sampling &amp; data collection</li> <li>- recording, reading &amp; transcribing data</li> <li>- Generating initial codes</li> <li>- Searching, reviewing, defining and naming themes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Describing the phenomena, reducing the information to themes, finding the essence of core meaning and developing theoretical construct (Braun &amp; Clarke)</li> <li>- Constructionism</li> <li>- Extracting the essence of the experience (Lichtman)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Use of themes (Co-residence, Expectations, &amp; Acculturation / Enculturation) identified to present findings and relate to theoretical knowledge</li> <li>- Critical Theory</li> <li>- Dissemination of the outcome to Taskforce Development training.</li> </ul>

### **3. 5 Ethical issues**

Homan (1991:1) defines ethics as “the science of morality” which “determine values for the regulation of human behaviour”. Principles of research ethics according to Beauchamp and Childress (1979 cited in Macfarlane 2009: 35) are guided by four principles - autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence and justice. For social work practitioners, as discussed earlier, the issues of confidentiality, moral code of conduct, adherence to the notions of justice, equality and anti-oppressive practice are a formal part of the practitioner’s brief, as well as an expectation as part of a professional code of conduct and the requirements for professional registration. So besides adherence to the university code of ethics there is an expectation of adherence to the profession-specific health and care professions council’s standard, performance and code of ethics, and the British Association of Social Work Code of Ethics 2004. However, values do play a part in our adherence and interpretation of ethical codes and requirements, and there are differing views in relation to what it is that shapes our values. Coming from a constructivist framework, there are two aspects of ethical issues that I have considered. These are the impact of my worldview on the research questions, methods and analysis in the thesis and the ethics of conducting research on people that might be undergoing some form of distress or anxiety.

Costley and Gibbs (2006), in echoing the dilemma faced by the insider researcher, endorse the need for an ‘ethic of care’ to safeguard researchers and the researched; however, there is lack of clarity as to what ethical research in the community might look like, as one’s focus shifts from practice to researched objects, to the intentions of research and to power dilemmas. This has wider implications. To make investigations of this nature credible and trustworthy and of a high ethical standard, a high degree of transparency (Lincoln and Guba 1985) regarding role and position, and being methodological and systematic in my approach was necessary. The details of this process are discussed in the next section on validity and rigour.

I believed that adherence to ongoing ethical reflexivity and offering transparency at all stages was part of safeguarding ethical codes. This was (as identified earlier) achieved by giving the would-be participants the information they would need to make a rational decision to participate (verbally Appendix 2, in writing appendix 4, and once the voluntary participation was agreed, via briefing and debriefing at interview stage Appendix 3). For me, being ethical was to maintain a non-directive but a structured approach; hence, participants' consent (Appendix 5) was sought whilst endorsing confidentiality to ensure stringent adherence to the values that guide research in relation to biases, objectivity and protection of participants. As discussed earlier, active efforts were made to uphold confidentiality. For example, at interview stage, the interviews were planned to ensure privacy and care was taken to ensure that the voice recorder was switched on after their identity had been recorded on paper, to ensure confidentiality during the transcribing process although this was not necessary, as later on I decided to personally undertake the responsibility for transcribing.

As highlighted earlier, researching within one's own area of practice and with people who share a similar identity and history, raises dilemmas of being an insider- researcher and issues of ethics particularly, as there may be an existing relationship or prior knowledge with the 'researched' (Costley and Gibbs 2006; Hockey 1993; Shah 2004). This was both an intellectual and an emotional challenge. My social work values are that ethical practice is also about being alert to the possible signs of distress and to take steps to stop the interview if needed. So ongoing efforts were made to ensure confidentiality during the findings and analysis stages; all data was stored in password protected areas; ethical aspects were upheld by informing all participants of their right to withhold the information given and of the option to not continue with the interview if they felt uncomfortable or distressed by the process; steps were taken to ensure that the participants were not put in any distressing situation, or their identity compromised and the interviews were conducted as sensitively as possible. For example, when some older participants shared their sadness/loneliness or sense of betrayal when their adult children left the family home, they were not probed to

give details of the situation, even though this would have provided a useful insight, because I felt that this could potentially force the participant to relive a distressing situation (Shaw and Holland 2014). However, adopting a conversational style within the interview process helped to relax the participants and all the participants shared their intimate information quite generously.

### **3.6 Validity and rigour**

In addition to adherence to ethical issues, ensuring validity and rigour of research is another important aspect of the researcher's task, as it is this aspect that ensures the credence of the research methods used and the consequent production of 'new knowledge' (Bryman 2001; Lincoln and Guba 1985; Mertens 1998; Porter 2002; Scholz and Tietje 2002).

In thinking about ensuring credibility (Lincoln and Guba 1985), I had taken a two stage approach. One was in construction, planning, executing and analysis of the research question. This was achieved via support and detailed discussions at different stages of research with my academic supervisors. The second stage was in relation to the field work and in conducting the research i.e. in recruiting, interviewing, conducting, transcribing and recording stages. For example, would-be participants were given detailed information (appendix 2) about what participation might mean to them and later at interview stage further briefing and de-briefing processes were conducted (Appendix 3). I was aware that I had chosen an area that is very sensitive in the community that I live in and therefore can very easily be "subject to value judgement" (Costley and Gibbs 2006:95). For example, one of older my participants after the interview during the debriefing session commented that "*In this country, the adult children in every Asian household were abandoning their older parents*". For me it was important that whilst acknowledging what was being said, I avoided siding with the participant and particularly so as an insider- researcher. Hence, for me the important aspect, therefore, was to ensure rigour, validity and transparency in my research, and that clear pathways were used to ensure credibility whilst addressing the issues of

subjectivity as well as power imbalances at all stages from designing, collection, recording and analysis of data (Creswell 2014; Critten 1996; Shaw and Holland 2014).

So in recruiting my participants, my first point of contact was via radio announcement and although later the snowballing was considered especially in recruiting younger adults, this ensured wider participation. Transferability (Lincoln and Guba 1985) is about ensuring that the findings have applicability in other contexts. As the target sample was within the city of Leicester, it was important to have clear criteria for targets so that if necessary the study could be repeated in another city with similar criteria. Hence it was also important that I identified a clear rationale for inclusion and exclusion criteria (Table 3) and kept to this criteria; this in the initial stage was disheartening as many volunteers from radio announcements did not fall into my criteria of minimum age of 50 and the length of stay in the UK or having children in this country. As discussed earlier, my focus is on the ageing second generation of this settled minority, and the process of recruitment highlighted the ongoing migration to the UK particularly of those with high qualifications and skills. It was also important for me, both in terms of transferability and the research focus, to ensure that my participants were ones that lived in the community and not in residential or sheltered homes. My previous research, contacts and experience indicated that moving into residential and sheltered homes has its own stigma and covered wider aspects of physical disability as well as areas of discontent between first and second generation SAIs; and this was not the focus of this study.

Dependability is another criterion that Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose in relation to ensuring rigour and trustworthiness of a research project, and it relates to the area of consistency. The focus of phenomenological research is often on the narratives of people and hence on understanding the richness and complexities of lived experiences, which borders on the nature of subjectivity from both the researcher and the researched. Hence, there may be questions regarding the achievement of consistency in a small scale phenomenological study, however, it can be argued that a clear set of inclusion/exclusion criteria and a consistent

approach at the interview, transcribing and analysis stage as well as regular academic supervision can yield dependability. In conducting the interviews, steps were taken to keep to the format (Appendix 6), and although the nature of the data collecting process required free flowing conversation and two way exchanges, I made sure that my probes /inputs were not leading and my input was only in relation to gaining information for the research.

For me, being true to the accounts of the experiences given by my participants at every stage and letting their account speak within the thesis was an important aspect to ensure confirmability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) identify confirmability as one of the four criteria in ensuring trustworthiness. This, they assert, is about ensuring a degree of neutrality and non-bias. I have used my participants' narratives/voices wherever possible to highlight aspects or issues that are being discussed. This process is also about ensuring that my findings flow from the data and that the researched evidence is commensurate with the conclusions that are reached.

In-depth interviews produced 'rich' data and Denscombe (2010) highlights the need for rigour in the analysis of such data. Understanding subjective experiences and meaning given to a subjective reality was an intellectual and an emotional challenge and this required sensitivity as well as familiarity with the data collected. Initially, my plan was to get the data transcribed or to make notes via listening to the interviews. Listening to the interview, I realised the richness and the depth of the data and that the note taking could not sufficiently capture the nuances or reflect the discussions. Alongside making notes was the beginning of the process of analysis before the data was fully studied or understood. Hence, I made the decision to transcribe the whole of the interview and include pauses, hesitations and non-lexical expressions as much as was possible (Shaw and Holland 2014). Transcription by others as an option was a temptation, but this would not aid the issue of familiarity and would compromise confidentiality, as many of my participants had mentioned details of their homes and children within the interviews. Besides this, one of my participants spoke in Gujarati and two others used various Gujarati terms to explain their points, which meant there was

a need for translations. Shaw and Holland (2014:292) caution that translations raise “issues of language and culture”, hence, I made the decision to transcribe the interviews myself. This was based on the facts that I felt that I needed to understand the salient aspects of the interviews, and translate and transcribe where necessary. Oliver et. al. (2005) identify naturalism where by every utterance is transcribed and denaturalism where some of the speech stutters and pauses are removed. They also identify that between these two methods there are a number of variations and these are dependent on the goals and objectives of the study. My transcriptions lean towards naturalism in that I included pauses and stutters but not the details of the changes in the voices. Part of the reason for this decision was that I had complete access to the voice recordings so I could access these as and when necessary.

Transcribing enabled me to become familiar with the data (Oliver et. al. 2005). Initially all transcripts were printed and spiral bound. This allowed for the process of reading, re-reading, highlighting points on the scrips itself, and making notes in the margins, using different coloured highlighters for things to check out or key points as well as the identification of similarities and differences within the transcripts. During this process, I had at times gone back to listening to the audio recording to ensure that the meaning recorded was retained as accurately as possible (Shaw and Holland 2014).

This emphasised to me the importance of my background knowledge as a researcher, as a practitioner and as an insider without which, I feel it would have been easy to misinterpret or fail to recognise the precise meaning of the discussion. Being of South Asian Indian origin and bi-lingual helped in relating to the context but I was also aware of the pitfalls (Drake and Heath 2011; Hockey 1993). So in finding themes, I incorporated a process of constant movement from a particular to the larger context and vice versa in order to achieve interpretations that were meaningful and as accurate as they could be. Initially the process was through looking for repetitions and similarities and differences as well as cutting and sorting the rich textual data for the preparation of analysis. Identifying the themes and codes within it appeared to be an exercise without the voice of the

participants and the context within which a particular aspect was raised. Coming from a constructivist's point of view, I listened to the recordings and read the transcripts carefully, to ensure that any loss of context was minimised.

The interviews themselves raised some fascinating insights for me as well as the temptation to explore areas arising that were not directly related to my research questions. However, following Lincoln and Guba's (1985) guidelines for trustworthiness and Braun and Clarke's (2006) step by step guide helped me to conduct the research and to identify the themes in a non-judgemental way and to ensure that the research was ethically, theoretically and methodologically robust, and carried out with integrity. The following sequences of steps summarises the processes followed in perusing the phenomenological method and it is hoped that it further helps to endorse the objectivity and the credibility of this study. Thus, the sequences of steps were:

- interviews were held and the subject's descriptions and expressions of experience were collected
- each transcription was examined and phrases and sentences were extracted that were related to the research questions and research strategy
- the meanings of each significant statement were examined and a 'formulation' of meanings was carried out for transcription
- each significant statement that was identified was analysed to yield aggregate formulated meanings within clusters of themes
- clustered themes were referred back to the original transcriptions in order to validate them
- issues of ambiguity and diversity of meaning were evaluated so that the results were logically and 'phenomenologically' real and valid
- the results as a whole were integrated into a narrative of experience around the key thematic of co-residence, expectations and acculturation/enculturation.

In the next two chapters, an effort has been made to present the findings of the study, to describe and analyse the investigated issues and themes and to explore

analytically the fundamental structure of experience identified in the research. As far as was possible this has been done within the conceptual and methodological framework of the thesis. With the rise in practitioner research, debates about insider research, its validity and objectivity are inevitable. Today, qualitative research methods, which have developed the credibility and the possibilities of subjectivity within 'scientific' or more positivist studies have been highlighted by a number of influential commentators (David and Sutton 2004; Drake and Heath 2011; Seale-Chatterjee 2000; Shaw and Holland 2014). I acknowledge that it is not possible to be a wholly detached researcher, particularly as a practitioner-researcher where the knowledge thus produced is for application and for informing professional practice. However, it is important that the epistemological and theoretical assumptions used in conceptualising and interpreting data are as transparent as they might be, and I hope that the explication of these concerns in this chapter has achieved this and thus contributed towards the robustness of the research.

## Chapter 4: Findings

### 4.1 Introduction

As an intrinsic part of the research elements of this thesis the previous chapter discussed the step by step process of identifying themes from the raw data collected from the interviews. As a result of this process, three themes, namely co-residence, expectations and acculturation/enculturation were identified as emerging from this data. Braun and Clarke (2006) identify the last step – *phase six* - as one that prepares a report that describes the theme and in so doing is involved in the scrutiny and examination of collated material and in presenting the findings by using the codes that represent and encapsulate the themes. To give the bulk of the data some coherence, within its proper context, and a sense of system and transparency, these codes within each theme are used to present the findings. Wherever possible and appropriate, these are presented with examples by using my participants' narratives. However, presenting it in this way, i.e. via use of verbatim speech for codes within each theme, may mean that in some cases the same verbatim speech is used to illustrate points from different perspectives.

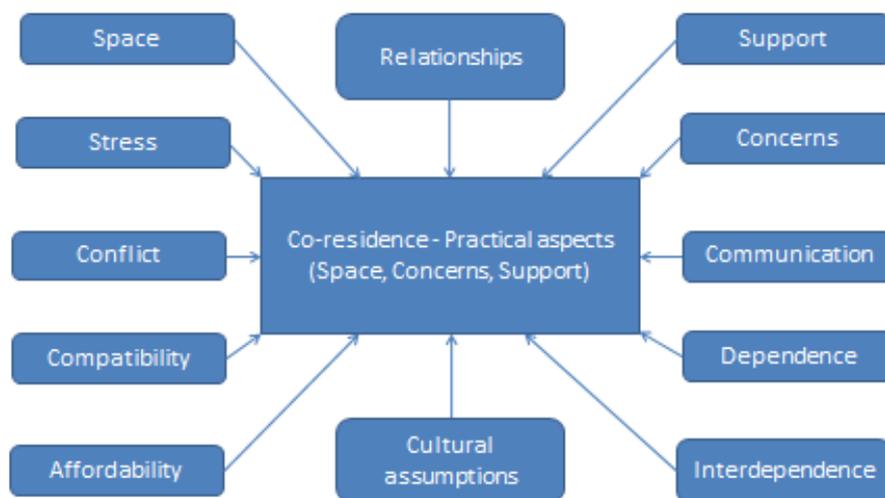
Theme one, co-residence, uses the codes for space, stress, conflict, compatibility, affordability, support, conflict, communication, dependence and interdependence and highlights cultural assumptions and intergenerational relationships. Theme two, expectation, uses the codes to express different dimensions of life, obligations, value differences and notions of independence to focus on differing expectations and the influences of culture and society in general. Theme three, acculturation and enculturation, uses codes for feelings of being settled, issues around security, the impact of culture, and understanding of pressures, acceptance and sadness to describe and present the findings in relation to the adjustments made. Thus findings are presented using each of the codes identified within these themes.

The nature of phenomenological and interpretivist research is such that it is difficult to make clear distinctions between the process of analysis and the findings of the research phase of work. Hence, although the bulk of the analysis is

dealt with in the next chapter, a certain amount of analysis is inevitably incorporated as part of the presentation of the findings in this chapter.

## 4.2 Theme 1: Co-residence (practical aspects)

This theme is about identifying the key issues relating to the idea of living together in a two or three generation household. When studying the data that reflected and defined this theme, the multi-faceted nature of the data relating to co-residence, particularly in relation to physical and emotional aspects was evident. In addition to this there were emerging differences between the two generations, reflecting differing emphasises on what was considered priorities. A range of issues relating to space, conflict, compatibility, concerns, affordability, and support were raised by older and younger participants highlighting various assumptions held, traditions that were valued, differing expectations in terms of physical and emotional space, and issues of ambivalence and intergenerational relationships. Diagram 6 aims to give an overview and summary of the codes that are later used to highlight and present the findings using the verbatim research interview reports.



*Diagram 8 Summary of codes for theme 1: Co-residence*

Space was one aspect that all the participants, young and old talked about, and this was thought of in terms of:-

- physical space - *“I think you need a bigger house”; “we were too congested”*
- personal space - *“you need your own space”*
- physical nature of the houses in the UK - *“the houses are too small, maybe three bedrooms, you can’t take three generations living in the same household, that’s one fundamental problem”*
- financial ability - *“I think you need a bigger house and to have that financial backup ... to have that space”*
- mental space - *“they need to give you the space and time to do things you want to do”* (Younger adult) and
- space to make independent decisions. *“... part of the reason is because I want to make all the decisions of how I live when I’m living with my parents they will also make decisions”*

thus highlighting the multifaceted nature of the understanding of the need for space in relation to co-residence.

Overall older participants, in their responses and discussions regarding space, assumed co-residence as the normal way of life and so highlighted issues that either hindered this or they aspired to solving issues in order to ensure space to make co-residence a form of existence and a reality. For example, older participants, in identifying the lack of physical space, raised issues regarding poor housing facilities, their own lack of financial ability to buy bigger living space and the influence of the wider British society, *“it’s difficult because of the space....houses here are too small”*; *“we still need a little bit of money to have that kind of living space ... to be able to live together”*; *“I think there is a bit of a Britishness....and I think we are beginning to pick up some of that”*.

On the other hand, the responses of the younger adults in discussing space reveal that although they were aware of their parents desire to co-reside, they did not

assume co-residence as natural and the only way of living. So their emphases were mainly on counter arguments and putting points forward in favour of alternatives to co-residing. Hence they raised issues around independence, the ability of their parents to give them privacy, the pressures to conform by the older generation as well as the society at large, and their need and ability to express their opinions which they felt would be constrained when living in multigenerational households. For example, *“I don’t think it’s (co-residence) really practical to do it that way”*; *“if you have got to live with someone they have to give you space and that freedom”*; *“if you were to say no (to co-reside) it would definitely hurt them.....so it would depend ... if you have the heart to say no”*; *“a lot of people in my peer group have moved away from home and it’s not something shameful”*; *“my dad sees me as a little girl...and so wants to make all my decisions for me.....I want to make all the decisions of how I live”*.

The discussions of space highlighted the issues of **stress**, alluded to by all participants, as part of the practical aspect of living together. Most of the older adult participants (6 out of 8) had co-resided with their ageing parents in the UK and the younger adults (2 out of 4) had grown up with this experience and therefore used these references to describe their own experiences in this aspect. The discussions relating to stress were in relation to differences of opinions; about the consequences of lack of space; tolerance and understanding; differing priorities between generations particularly in relation to different stages of life; and physical and emotional aspects of provision of care to older persons. Some of my participants’ voices are presented here to illustrate this:

*“..it becomes difficult from the stage when you have different opinions and you’ve got your own children and how you want to bring them up..”* (Younger adult Interview 11).

*“..if the kids are confined (because of space), it can cause problems not just between generations within the family and parents but also husband-wife”* (Younger adult Interview 10).

*“Both groups have to understand each other and each other’s needs too. It can’t work without... if only one understands and the other does not....then mari rahiye (it is like living hell)”* (Older adult Interview 3). This older adult had separated from living with her son and his family, after having had a poor relationship with her daughter-in-law.

*“There are so many things.....like food, clothing, health ... the disability things.... physical, mental....once the parents are in the house then they get bored so it’s like emotional care”.* (Older adult Interview 7). This participant shared his stress of looking after his mother and managing the conflicting demands of his growing family whilst living in multigenerational household in a small terraced house.

Conflict was raised as part and parcel of stress as well as in relation to differences in outlook, expectation and understanding of traditions. For example, this younger participant who lives in an intergenerational household, in talking about his situation highlighted a dilemma and an aspect of conflict *“... if your wife doesn’t get on with them (his mum and dad), you’ve got to think of moving away”* (Interview 10). A similar view was expressed by another younger participant, who had moved from multi-generational household to living as nuclear family as a result of conflicts.

Another participant who had until recently lived in a multigenerational household, with his parent, his brother and his family and his own family shared some of the stresses and conflicts of living together *“In our society we used to stay together, but then when we stay together there are more conflicts, between the wives and the children and a lot of things”* (Interview 7). In discussing the conflicts, he shared the fact that he had made so many sacrifices and was deeply saddened by the fact that his own adult children had now opted to live separately.

For younger participants, the conflicts were mainly in relation to their independence in making decisions particularly in relation to upbringing their own children, and them wanting the freedom to live the life that they wanted, *“...if*

*you've got to live with someone they have to give you space and that freedom...*" (Younger adult Interview 10).

Overall, although the older adults were aware of the stress and emerging conflicts of living in multigenerational households, most were of opinion that these conflicts can be resolved with better understandings, communication and through love and commitment for each other. They felt that they had "lived it" in this country and under a very difficult environment comparatively. This was because they felt that this was a better option, and therefore saw no reason why such arrangements would not work with perseverance and commitment.

However, compatibility as an issue that would impact on co-residence was highlighted by both older and younger adults. The data was mostly about personalities, and in most cases focused on the relations between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and involved the ability to get on with each other, understanding each other's needs as part of living together and being compassionate towards each other, as the following verbatim commentary illustrates:

*"Everything is about understanding and the understanding has to be from the son and the daughter-in-law, also the parents"* (Younger adult Interview 10).

*"The compatibility is more important. It depends on your daughter-in-law/mother-in-law relation, that's the cause most of the time"* (Older adult Interview 12).

*"There is a saying samp tia jump (where there is togetherness there is peace). But the peace is only there if there is tolerance and a mutual understanding of each other's needs, otherwise there is an emotional upheaval on a daily basis"* (Older adult Interview 3)

Most older adults had assumed that they would live with their son(s) and his family, and in highlighting their selfless giving and sacrifices that they had made to ensure the prosperity of their own children, they discussed the issues of changing cultures and other influences that impact on compatibility, "... Children,

*you know they have taken on so many English views” (Interview 4) and they “have a very different life style” (Interview 1); “the children have changed. It is partly the environment .....” (Interview 6); “they’ve adopted the system here.....British way of life.....it creates separations between family” (Interview 7).*

Younger adults, on the other hand highlighted the differences in expectations and opinion, particularly in relation to priorities regarding independence, space, child-rearing and food habits that contributed towards the lack of compatibility.

One older adult, however, emphasised that the changes in compatibility were inevitable as part of generational changes and the prioritising of independence, *“you are into third generation and people like to move out as they want their independence... they prefer their independence” (Interview 9).*

Affordability/ finance as an aspect of co-residence were talked about from differing points of view. For example, for some participants this was more about ability to buy space, *“... we still need a little bit of money to have that kind of living space.... to be able live together” (interview 1),* whilst for some participants it was more about a compromise to their own independence, *“I come back to my house (Parent’s Home) that’s partly ... because I can’t afford to buy out my own house yet” (Interview 14), “ (moving out) ..... can be very difficult financially” (interview 10).*

For some older participants, living together contributed towards achieving an economic balance *“...now if they decide to move, economically they will struggle because they have to pay for that new mortgage, here the mortgage is paid, here there is no accommodation cost” (Interview 12);* and some commented on the lack of economic sense that their younger generation showed, *“they (younger adults) are moving away and then they find it difficult and hard to cope with the situation...they don’t think....” (Interview7).*

Support was seen by all as an important aspect of co-residency; however, there were different aspects to support that were highlighted. For example, all the younger participants talked about support for their ageing parents in terms of their

physical frailty. So support from younger participants' points of view was more about, "... *knowing that in their old ages if something happens*" (younger adult Interview 11), whilst for older participants support was more about provision of care within the family, "... *feel more comfortable that you are being looked after by your own, so much more of that security, safety*" (Older adult Interview 6).

Another aspect, raised by all my older participants, was very much in line with support for younger adults and the grandchildren, "*I have lived life so have more experience and that we can give our experience to him, so he's (his son) benefitting from that*" (Older adult interview 12); "*I think ...what your grandparents can give is a different level to what parents can give*" (Older adult Interview 1).

Support as a result of living together was highlighted by this young adult (who co-resides) in terms of convenience, availability and being there in time of need, "*..so if you're not living in the same house..... and if they call you in the middle of the night you have to go there, but you are doing things at home with your family and your own family needs you and you put yourself in a difficult situation. ....but if they live together it is different because if they want help they will get it because they are all just there in the same house*" (younger adult Interview 10). This sentiment involving instant support as part of the benefits of co-residence was also echoed by another younger adult who did not co-reside with his parents, "*In an ideal world they, the parents should live with their children ...there's a lot of benefits... especially when they need help....*"(Interview 2).

All younger adults in talking about supporting their parents showed acute awareness of the dilemma of supporting their own nuclear family and responding to the needs of their ageing parents. However, for older adults the support was more in terms of providing financial security for their offspring; supporting them by providing practical care to the grandchildren, "*It's better to stay together, so they get a ready childminder*" (Older adult Interview 3); and having the assurance that they would be looked after within the family.

Overall both older and younger participants highlighted their awareness of the expectations and duties in relation to supporting each other in time of need and shared various ways of fulfilling this. However, whilst older participants saw co-residence as a platform for providing this support, the younger participants were not that convinced.

Concern as an aspect of co-residence, like that of space was multi-faceted. So although concern for each other was clearly reflected by both older and younger adults, however, this was from different bases.

For older adults, their concerns in the main for their adult children were based on their own experiences of the past, and settling down in the UK, for example, *“I had no support to or from anyone to look after my children.... so I don’t want my children to go through the same ...”* (Older adult Interview 1). Another older adult in talking about his own experiences of looking after his parents (First generation), mentioned his concerns for his children. He wanted his children to have a choice in where they wanted to reside and did not want to restrict them with the kind of obligations that he had had to face. *“I didn’t have the same flexibility and freedom because you know you had to look after the elderly (meaning first generation)..., I wouldn’t want my kids to be bounded by the same requirement.”* (Older adult Interview 5).

For younger participants, the concerns were more about understanding older adults’ expectations of family life and their feelings of being left out of family life, as well as concerns that expectations of co-residence can impact on their own relationships/privacy with their parents and between couples, *“... They (older parents) might miss the family life because they had it with their parents and now they are not getting it with their own children”* (Younger adult Interview 2); *“If your wife doesn’t get on with them, you’ve got to think about moving away. It is better you get privacy and that much more space..... It is your happiness against everyone else’s... So there you start to think of family in a nuclear way”* (Younger adult Interview 10).

Some younger adults saw concern for their parents in terms of their welfare and felt that by co-residing they may end up taking on more responsibilities, *“They’ve*

*raised their children and this is their time to enjoy.... we don't want to burden them with the responsibilities to look after our children all day, when that is our job"* (Younger adult Interview 11).

This raises the issues of priorities in that whilst older parents may see looking after grandchildren as part of their role, some younger participants felt that their parents should concentrate on enjoying their independence and not burden themselves in taking on responsibilities for their grandchildren, pointing to priorities that may be different for these two groups of participants.

Communication was another criterion that was highlighted by all participants as contributing to the practical aspect of co-residence, "*Communication is very important in any relationship... so if you communicate enough, then, I think anything can be ironed out*" (Older adult Interview 7). All participants, however, highlighted that good communications were based on "*ability to give and take*", altruistic feelings, reverence for parents and good relationships between parent and child and between generations.

Older participants, however, also highlighted how some of the changes in culture involved non-use of the mother tongue. This, they felt, contributed towards language barriers within the family setting, "*the culture is changing as well,... the children are....., language barriers are there...*", and that this contributed to "*....the communication problems with children and grandparents,... so this all comes into play*" (Older adult Interview 12). Some older participants highlighted the impact of seeing grandchildren and children intermittently and on an irregular basis, (as a result of non-co-residence) and this was seen as contributing to lack of opportunities for building good communications and relationships.

The aspects of dependence and interdependence interweave with all the themes identified, however, there were particular issues raised in relation to this theme of co-residence. The younger adults raised these aspects in terms of personal financial viability, "*I come back to my house, that's partly because of financial reasons*"; and the personal benefits of living together, "*I want my children to*

*have that close bond with my parents, with their grandparents...when people live with their grandparents they generally are a lot closer”.*

For older participants, promotion of dependence and interdependence by co-residing, were more about “*benefits (to) both*” themselves and younger adults. For example, “*they (the younger generation) have less financial, social and community worries*”(interview 3); and “*if we really struggled to look after ourselves the family would be there*” (interview 5).

Older participants also highlighted the attachments and the emotional aspects of living together, for example, a number of participants talked about the value they put on having children around, “*the wealth is the children around you...*” (interview 1) and some, in highlighting the life course, talked about their own vulnerability and the need for the adult children to be mindful of the changes in their health as they aged, “*they (Adult Children) need to be aware ...as (we) age we cannot quite look after (our)....own health*” (interview 4).

Searching the data for the code cultural assumptions revealed how deep rooted the notion of co-residence is and this was evident throughout with both the younger and the older participants. Most of my older participants (6 out of 8) and younger participants (2 out of 4) had experience of co-residing with first generation SAIs in the UK, and therefore had some direct experience of expectations and day-to-day living in the same household as their parents/grandparents. However, although the views of those expecting their children to do the same within second generation SAIs were rather mixed, in that some participants felt that they wanted their children to have the independence that they felt they did not have, all the older adults talked about moving in to live with their children, “*when we are old*” as an option. The practicality of moving in to live with their children ‘when old’, was not clearly articulated and was definitely an area that older participants found difficult to discuss. The assumption on the part of the older participants of being looked after by their children ‘when old’ was based on parent-child relationships and on expectations of altruism and reverence for parents, but these sentiments were not clearly articulated by the younger participants.

The deep rootedness of the ideas of obligations and expectations of co-residence was also evident amongst the younger participants. For example, one younger adult participant who did not co-reside with his parents, talked about an ideal scenario “... *in an ideal world they, (the parents) should live with their children*”. Another younger participant, who co-resided with his parents, discussed the changing times and the culture of the society that he lived in, “*almost normal to move out once you are married*”; but whilst he acknowledged that he had no expectations of his own child (4<sup>th</sup> generation) co-residing, shared his opinion that, “*if ... (name of the son) decided not to move away we'd be happy*”. This, to some extent, reflects the institutional nature of the embedding of the concepts of co-residence and expectations within SAI culture, particularly within that of parent-child relationships.

The cultural values regarding relationships and co-residence with married sons and daughters were raised by all participants. In talking about the obligations that sons have to provide care and support to their parents, all participants identified the role daughters have in accepting these responsibilities and supporting their husbands in fulfilling these and building “*new relations*” with her husband’s family. However, the changes to this norm, experienced in the UK were explained away by a younger participant in terms of, “*who wears the trousers in the relationship*” and that “... *women have too much power in the relationship*”, and that “*they don’t see their husband’s parents in the way they see their own parents*”. Older participants echoed what the younger participant had said, and also postulated that this was due to a different form of socialisation in that “*even the girl when she gets married and joins her husband’s household is also thinking of living independently*”. This has wider implications, particularly in terms of relationships, and the pressures for both older and younger adults, in relation to co-residence when some of the social practices and expectations of social relations are not seen to be met. It also has implications for the gender equality issues which face migrant cultures within the new culture.

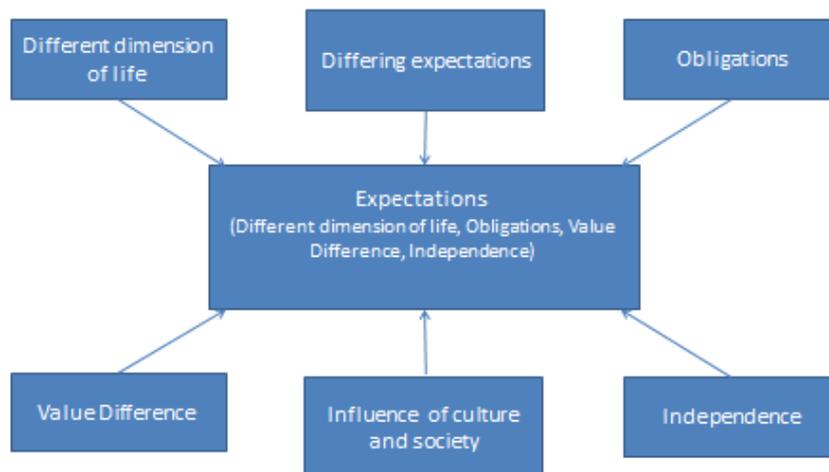
To summarise, the findings relating to the theme co-residence (practical aspects) raise a number of wide ranging issues for SAIs, which highlights differing

housing, financial and expectation needs and which alludes to deeper and differing expectations, assumptions, evolving parent-child and intergenerational relationships and what can be termed an underlying ambivalence. This concept of underlying ambivalence is particularly important in that it encapsulates and ‘condenses’ a range of related yet separable issues. These aspects are further analysed and discussed in detail in the next chapter.

### 4.3 Theme 2: Expectations

The second theme expectations identifies different dimensions of life between the two (older and younger) generations and this focuses on the aspects of independence, obligations, value differences, and differing expectations for older participants and their adult children and vice versa. Studying the data enabled reflection on a number of criteria and diagram 7 gives a summary of the codes that contributed towards defining this theme.

The key findings under this theme were the differences in emphasis and context between the two generations. These findings are presented using each of the codes identified, and the verbatim reports from participants are used wherever possible to illustrate the issues that were highlighted under each code.



*Diagram 9 Summary of codes for theme 2: Expectations*

In considering the code different dimension of life, a number of differences in expectations, understandings and assumptions were identified between the older and younger adults, and these are presented here using my participants' voices.

Most of the older participants in discussing their expectations, highlighted their opinions regarding co-residence as a natural and expected form of living, "*We've grown up in that environment and we are expected to follow that*" (Interview 6); based on their experiences it was possible, "*I lived it, under one roof, I had my parents, myself and my children grew up...in a terraced house*" (Interview 12); was economical, "*when you stay together you can save quite a bit of money, it's not hard, sometimes it's difficult because of space*" (Interview 7); and was a better option, "*win - win situation*" (Interview 12). In support of their expectations of co-residence, as highlighted under the earlier theme, the older participants also put forward an argument that these arrangements not only benefited their own children and the grandchildren, but themselves too, as the following verbatim comments illustrate.

*"Culturally they (grandchildren) are better grown, religiously they are better grown, spiritually they are better, and they know the values of the Hindu family system, so you can't be wrong. So that is the important bit of living in an extended family. And then again if older people get ill then there's somebody there to look after ...it's the moral support, sometimes you don't need physical support but if you know somebody's around...and that gives you mental peace..."* (Interview 12).

However, the older participants did show awareness of differing priorities and the pressures that their children were under, "*they have very responsible jobs ...and their priorities are different*" (Interview 1), as well as the impact of the wider societal outlook on their younger generation to live independently, "*Here I think it's a different expectation now*" (Interview 9). One older participant, who had looked after his parents, in discussing his expectations of his adult children, argued for change, "*I've grown up where I felt some of my life was tied up because we had to look after the parents, I didn't have the same flexibility and*

*freedom..... I wouldn't want my kids to be bounded by the same requirement"*  
(Interview 5).

All the older adult participants were mobile, in good health, and valued their own independence, however, in terms of expectations of care and support, all the older adults expected to be looked after by their own family members, particularly if and when they needed help, *"When I get old and I would expect them to look after me"* (Interview 6); *"It's about bonding, you know it's the family, it's about one-to-one, that sort of relationship, and I think it's about the trust .....it's your family, .....and you feel safer with them"* (Interview 5).

On the other hand, the dimension of life that younger adults were more focused on, was independence and wanting their parents to let them have that independence and freedom, and their focus was more on living an independent life, for example,

*"I think in today's time parents need to be able to sort of let go as well, generally amongst Indian parents there's the feeling that they want to keep their children very close by and I think that reflects culturally on how it may have been in India, but here we're living in a different time"* (younger adult Interview 14).

*".....being under the same roof ..... I think sometimes the separation is good for both sides"* (younger adult Interview 11).

However, all the younger adults exhibited their awareness of their parents' wishes to live in the extended family environment and their role within this expectation. For example,

*"...a generation above me they were probably not as financially well off so they were thinking ....when we get to a certain age we will not have to rely on our pensions, or saving and our kids will look after us"* (younger adult Interview 10).

*" .... children definitely have a key role to play, because, um, your parents have looked after you as you were growing up, and then when they are older I think it's our role as well to look after them"* (younger adult Interview 14).

*“..it is more about you knowing your own responsibility towards you parents”*  
(younger adult Interview 11).

Younger adults also discussed the expectations that the wider society has of them in relation to living together, *“It is almost normal to move out once you are married”* (interview 10). One younger participant after the interview talked about how in his friendship circle it was seen as *‘not cool’* to be living with your parents once working and married.

Some younger participants displayed a deeper awareness of cultural expectations, for example, this particular participant talked about the graded nature of expectations to look after the parents, particularly if one was the eldest son or the youngest son, *“If you are the eldest son or the youngest son, there may be a question,(if one wanted to move out from the joint family home) but if you’re one in the middle there is no question”* (Interview 10), thus highlighting parents’ and cultural expectations on the middle son in relation to providing care to parents and leaving the family home if there was lack of space.

However, all participants were unanimous in relation to the expectations of care from a daughter and a son. The general feeling was that the daughters were expected to move away from the family when they got married and become more involved in supporting their husband to look after his parents, hence the expectation as daughter-in-law to participate in the provision of care and support to their husband’s ageing parents. This perception has its own tensions particularly in a society which promotes gender equality and neutrality, as well as having a norm of daughters becoming more involved in providing care for the ageing parents. There is distinction to be made in the outlook of these cultural arrangements in that the younger generation saw this as a practical arrangement, whilst the older generation saw it as a part of religion and duty, as the following verbatim comments illustrate:

*“...once a girl has married she has gone to her own family, and she is then involved in looking after the parents of her husband. If it was a boy he would get*

*married and the girl would then help look after the boy's parents.....as this is more practical"* (younger adult Interview 10).

*"According to our religion, it's more a priority for the son, to look after parents; it's their duty to do that"* (older adult Interview 3).

Overall the findings within this criterion highlight the differing perspectives that both generations hold. Although both generations were aware of the expectations and pressures of co-residence, there were issues which separated them in relation to lifestyle and expectations from the cultural and societal points of view.

The sense of obligation was another criterion that is seen to define this theme and here again the older and younger adults were seen to have differing perspectives. For example, although all the younger adults were aware of their parents' expectations to live together, the actual living together depended on their sense of obligation. Of the 4 younger adults interviewed only one co-resided with his parents and he expressed that this was not the most practical way to be, *"I don't think it's really practical to do it that way (i.e. living together), but the expectation from certain generations is that we would look after them when they need help. And if you were to say no it would definitely hurt them so then it would depend on your relationship to your parents as to whether you have the heart to say no"* (younger adult living with parents Interview 10).

For older adults, their sense of obligation was twofold; one based on their assumptions – often culturally and religiously based- relating to their adult children's obligations to look after them and secondly on their own sense of duty and obligations to look after the grandchildren in return, *"...I am continually doing things for children and grandchildren.... ... they expect it from you .... and as a parent you can't say no"* (Older adult Interview 1); *"The children have to look after parents. So.... in a few years' time, when the grandchildren comes, parents can give your children such a good background and your own children will be safer with their grandparents than with the baby sitter"* (Older adult Interview 4).

Thus the findings identify that for older parents the sense of obligation was based on altruism and was culturally and religiously rooted and seen as part of a way of life; whilst for younger adults the sense of obligation bordered on coercion.

Value difference was highlighted throughout the research by all participants and some of these aspects were more about the adjustments one made as one came to terms with the differences. Hence in discussing the expectations, different dimensions of life and obligations, the issues highlighted were more in line with acknowledging what the Indian culture represents, *“It is important to live together... That is what is in our culture”* (Older Adult interview 3); the significance of the current environment, *“You are in changing circumstances... and people like to move out as they want their independence”* (Older Adult Interview 9); the need to move out when ready, *“Once you get to the stage where you are financially independent and not reliant on anyone else, then the desire to move away becomes greater”* (Younger Adult interview 10); and the emphasis on the notion of freedom, *“...you want to do things that you wouldn’t be able to do if you were at home e.g. have friends round and that kind of stuff...”* (Younger Adult interview 14).

For older adults, however, although they acknowledged that there were differing expectations and that the younger generations had differing life styles to theirs; adjusting was seen as an important attribute for the welfare of all concerned. They felt that with *“tolerance and mutual understanding of each other’s needs”* co-residence was a possibility and in such a situation *“even the lack of space does not matter, as when members are willing and (then they) will adjust in a smaller place accordingly to ensure welfare of all members”* (Interview 3).

The aspects of independence within this theme raised issues that were focused on autonomy and independent living; however, there were similarities and echoes intertwining with the issues raised in the earlier theme in relation to dependence and interdependence. Within this criterion, the emphasis is in relation to the ideas of independence and interdependence and how these impact on expectations and differing life-styles. The findings were that whilst younger adults focussed on the aspects of their own financial security/insecurity and privacy or lack of it,

impacting their independence, older adults focussed widely on the emotional ties they had with their children, and on their own vulnerability and how these factors impacted on their views of independent living.

For some older adults, the idea of independent living was untenable, for example this older adult, in talking about independence concentrated on the sadness he had felt as his children left home and semi-complained about the impact of the environment, *“once children are brought up here, they see the environment here, that makes a difference, they adopted this environment here.... If they don't have space they want to move away.... They don't think how their parents found it difficult to bring them up ...they just look what's in front of them and what's good for them”* (Interview 7). Another older adult talked about *“sampa tia jump”* meaning togetherness brings peace.

All older adults identified their vulnerability and lack of preparation for independent living when they shared their hopes that their children will be there when they need help e.g. *“I hope they help me when I need help”* (Interview 7); *“... if we really struggled to look after ourselves”* (Interview 6). Some older adults (4) acknowledged their own financial security compared to that of their parents, *“I think we've become much more independent in that sense, as compared to our parents”* (Interview 5); and that this led to them being more independent comparatively. However, of the 8 older participants only 2 (both males) felt that they were *“completely independent”* and did not have any expectations of their adult children for any kind of physical, financial or emotional support.

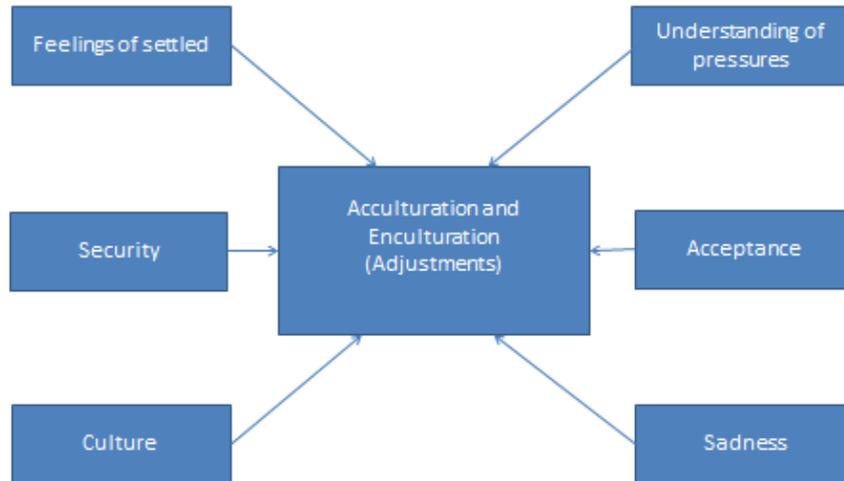
In summary, when the findings within the theme expectations were examined, they highlighted differing life styles, outlooks and perspectives on priorities and relationships. These aspects are analysed in detail in the next chapter.

#### **4.4 Theme 3: Acculturation and enculturation**

The third theme acculturation and enculturation is defined by the criteria of adjustments that both older and younger adults make in relation to co-residence, expectations and the sense of obligations that they may have of each other and

concentrates on the present circumstances and how these are viewed and/ or experienced by the participants.

The findings for this theme varied from the feeling of being settled, “*now you are into third generation*”, to understanding the societal pressures, “*people (in the UK) see it as a sign of strength to live independently*”, to acknowledging the influence of the society in which they live, “*become more influenced by the West*”, and the change in culture, “*culture (British) has a huge impact and I think the culture (Indian) has changed*” to feelings of sadness amongst some older participants, “*There are so many times I get tears in my eyes when I think of my son who is not here with me*”. The codes expressing feelings of being settled, of security, the importance of culture, understandings of pressures, acceptance and sadness are used to define the theme and to highlight the findings within this theme. The summaries of codes that contribute towards defining this theme are presented in diagram 10.



**Diagram 10 Summary of codes for theme 3: Acculturation & Enculturation**

To present the findings here I will take each code (criterion) and summarise the findings by using the verbatim comments of the respondents to highlight some of the issues raised.

To begin with, in examining the feeling of being settled and the related feelings of security, the younger participants shared issues around the financial security that they received from their parents, as well as their feelings of being part of British society in every way, “*we are now part of this population*”. The older participants discussed a range of aspects that had contributed to the process of them settling, including wanting the best for their adult children which included ensuring higher and professional education for their offspring. The issue of supporting their children particularly in relation to child care was something that all older participants flagged up, specifically in relation to the feeling of being settled. For example, female participant 1 had migrated to the UK as a teenager aged 14 years as a Ugandan refugee and had married young. She went on to talk about difficulties she had faced in relation to getting support for childcare and therefore did not want her children to go through the same experience, particularly now as she did not have similar financial and other pressures that her parents had in settling down, “*my mum.....she never had that time... (to provide child-care)... and also it was a new time for them and they were settling down in a new country ... so they had a hard time. We are now in the situation where we have settled already....and so have not got that worry about settling...like finances and everything*” (Older adult Interview 1).

Although these feelings of wanting to support their own children to look after their children (meaning their grandchildren) were something all older participants echoed, the adjustments were difficult for those who did not live in the joint family; they felt that by not being under the same roof, they missed out on providing this support on a regular basis and also getting that “*feel good feeling*” and the support back from their children.

Aspects of culture, both British and the Indian were raised by all. All the younger participants, as discussed earlier, although exhibiting understanding of the expectations of co-residence, and the impact of the changing environment, were in positions to compare the lifestyles of their white counterparts and weigh positives and negatives of co-residence. They had begun to accept the idea of nuclear living as the most appropriate form of living in the UK.

For older participants, however, the notions of culture raised a range of issues such as:-

- Duty, *“It is our duty to look after our children until they get married, this is our dharma (religious duty).... obligations.... the duties that we have towards our children or towards our parents are important part of this and must be practiced”* (Interview 4).
- Traditions, *“In olden days it was the sons who looked after the parents ....and the parents continued to live with their sons in the household.... all living happily together without any problem”* (Interview 3).
- Expectations of care, *“children and parents have both to give each other enough. Children give more love and parents give more care”* (Interview 4).
- Duty of parents to guide, *“as a parent you give guidelines and you have got boundaries. If they have learnt something from that it is fine, but if they haven’t, that is fine, they will learn it the hard way”* (Interview 9).
- Authority of parents, *“In olden days parents had authority and control over their children.....now the situation is changed”* (Interview 3).
- Changes in lifestyle, *“It is our culture that as Asians we normally look after our parents, but increasingly, it is becoming difficult because of lifestyle.....there is a shift in culture....as they become more influenced by the west...this (co-residence) is not possible”* (Interview 9).
- Influence of culture in the UK, *“Children... you know ... have taken on so many English views...that after 18 they don’t want to live with their parents....and if they are still with their parents they get told off by their friends”* (Interview 4).

All the older adults, in identifying the range of issues in relation to culture and the impact of the host culture, had begun to evaluate the implications of these on themselves, on their culture and on their children. However, they voiced the cultural importance and advantages of co-residence and the reasons for preserving this aspect of the culture. This, some felt, could be achieved by preserving the aspects of reverence, cultivating tolerance, fostering respect for each other. An

investment in a bigger house to accommodate two or three generations was seen as a way to achieve this and had economic advantages as a by-product, “.....if you think about it this is beneficial because cooking for one and cooking for ten together makes an economic sense and has many more advantages” (Interview 3).

Older participants discussed at length the adjustments that were required of them in relation to migration, settling in the UK, employment, raising their family in the UK, and now, in adjusting to the changes within the family and culture. In highlighting their ambivalence and dilemma in adjusting, the differences in two cultures and in the outlook between the cultures were alluded to by all, “*In Africa people lived as a community, here it was much more about individuals*” (Older adult Interview 6). Thus identifying the pressures as well as their efforts to integrate in the society in which they lived.

One older adult in talking about changing times expressed her disapproval and concerns regarding the impact on culture, when some older people elected to live separately, “*Government (UK) gives money .... (so) their (meaning older people) financial needs are catered for so this contributes to them not needing to live together. So they do not need to make an effort or worry about living together or the benefits of living together to their own children. Sometimes I feel that this Government also plays a part in contributing towards the breakup of our culture*” (Interview 3). This, besides echoing the acknowledgement of the *shift in culture* that all older and younger participants alluded to, identifies difficulties and threats that some participants may experience in adapting to the changes.

Of the 6 from 8 older adults who focused on the impact of the changing culture on themselves as parents, 4 acknowledged the pressures of living together, for example, “*Independence of both couples get lost in that they are both compromising*” (interview 1). There was also the acknowledgement within older participants of being more independent than the first generation, “*we’ve become much more independent in that sense, as compared to when we looked after the parents who were very much bonded in a style where the family lived all together*” (Interview 5). However, all the older participants felt that within this it

is “*the grandchildren who then miss out on the experience of love from their grandparent*” (Interview 4). This aspect of missing out on the involvement with the grandchildren was a significant problem to which some older adults had difficulties adjusting.

Although all older participants exhibited some awareness and understanding of pressures, which their adult children might be under, for example “*they have very responsible jobs*”, “*...their priorities are different*” and that for them living together meant a “*compromise in a big way*”, this (for older participants) translated into uncertainties in terms of their own predicament and ageing. As one respondent put it, “*I hope they will look after me when I need help*”. For some this understanding translated to acknowledging their positions in the UK, “*financially better off now*”, and to adjusting to having fewer expectations from their adult children.

The criterion acceptance revolves around the idea of expectations, changes and understanding and adjusting to the demands thus made. These ideas have appeared within all three themes with their different emphases, for example, in previous themes the acceptances were focused on practicality and emotional aspects of co-residence. Within this theme it is more about the emphasis on the adjustments that both generations have to make for each other to acknowledge the changing culture, the different pressures on the generations and acceptance of these. For example, the use of social media and technology to fulfil the expectation of keeping in touch, as illustrated by the verbatim comments from an older and a younger participant.

“*...is very difficult to see each other...it's more like communication through social media*” (older adult interview 9).

“*....we Skype....I can see that they are doing okay and they can see that I'm doing okay so I think technology is helping*” (younger adult interview 14).

Overall findings for this theme reveal that older participants acknowledged the changes in terms of improved finances for themselves, and more importantly showed evidence of understanding the host culture and its systems. In so doing,

some (5) participants identified that there was more of an acceptance and less emotional hurt when their adult children opted to move away from the family home than there was in the previous generation, as illustrated in the narrative below.

*“because we (second generation SAIs) are capable and understand the process, whilst I think our parents (first generation SAIs) didn’t probably have that opportunity really to understand ... I think now there is much more acceptance that... that’s the way of life.. you know, and that’s the way it would happen... previously parents felt it was like an abuse of their trust”* (Interview 5).

All the older participants were trying hard to work on accepting the situation that they find themselves in; however, the findings also reveal that they *“would love their (adult) children to look after”* them and that the quality of contact with the grandchildren was an important factor in their life. For some not living under one roof meant that the quality of contact with their grandchildren had *“...become superficial and (get) entangled in the practicality of visits and contacts”* (Interview 3). However, in adjusting to the situation, older participants were of the opinion that they as parents had duty to continue to give to their children and that the parent-child relations and love for each other was important in understanding, as it helped towards the acceptance of the situation in which they found themselves.

Among the respondents 7 out of 8 older participants did not reside with their adult children. However, the adjustments to the reality of not residing with their adult children were accepted at different levels by my participants. Amongst the older participants, three who seem to have adjusted better, were younger (1 female, 2 males) (52, 53 and 58 yrs.) and all had arrived in the country at a young age (14, 17 and 6 yrs.) and had gained higher education in the UK. Of the other 4 participants (1 male, 3 females) (aged 72, 65, 65 and 55), all except one had arrived in the UK as young adults and had gained their qualifications abroad. They exhibited some ambivalence about their situation; and there was the feeling of sadness,

*“...inside feelings of emptiness...an experience that cannot be described. Inside you feel totally empty and sad...a sadness that cannot be described”* (Interview 3).

*“I get tears in my eyes when I think of my son who is not here with me. When he is here it is like Christmas for me, for a few days”* (Interview 4).

*“... I was missing them (son and daughter-in-law), you know they’ve always been with you, they’ve moved out they’re doing their own bit now and that’s when you do feel... sad”* (Interview 6).

Of the 4 younger adult participants interviewed only one lived with his parents (a three generation household until six months ago), and this participant shared his ambivalence and the pressures of co-residence and for him the process boiled down to *“whether you have the heart to say no (co-residing with parents)”*. One participant, showed a sense of remorse and guilt and in identifying conflicts in relationships talked about, *“it comes down ...to who wears the trousers in the relationship”* and *“...in this generation... I think the women have too much power in the relationship”*.

In summary this theme presents the changes in culture, expectations and adjustments; and begins to identify the impact of these particularly on the older adults. These issues are analysed in detail in the following chapter.

## **4.5 Conclusion**

Following Braun and Clarke’s (2006) step by step guide has not only aided in identifying and defining the themes of this thesis and the data within it with rigour, but has also provided a framework for presenting the findings in a systematic and open way. There were degrees of similarity between the three themes - co-residence, expectations and acculturation / enculturation and some of the codes such as dependence, interdependence and independence overlap. However, this contributed to the requisite detail such research demands and aids

thoroughness and a greater focus on the research question itself. Although examining the data for each theme required fathoming and trawling through a large data set and listing various responses under different themes, the process provided a useful way of organising and analysing the material and being familiar with and understanding what was a rich data set.

The collated evidence highlighted that there is a lack of agreement and consensus about the nature and expectations of co-residence between generations. This is particularly so in respect of the understanding different generations have of the obligations they might or might not have to one another. Although the ageing second generation SAIs are aware of the rift and had begun to accommodate the changes and its impacts on themselves, the findings identified that they yearned to be looked after by their children, and not to have to spend time on their own in their old age. They identified co-residence as a sound practice and a “*win-win situation*” for all concerned in terms of financial and care security.

Overall, the examination of the data extracts between older and younger adults and the findings revealed a range of differences and highlighted range of issues that can impact on the ageing process. The process of outlining the research findings in Chapters 3 and 4 has paved a way towards deeper discussions and analysis and provided a structured format for the narrative of the thesis. Hence in the following chapter, the three themes are used to launch the deeper discussions and analysis as I build upon the process of answering my initial research question. The implications of these issues, particularly on social work practice are also examined and discussed in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 5: Analysis and discussions**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter begins with a re-statement of the focus of this research study i.e. it is an investigation into the expectations of co-residence and care amongst the second and third generation adults of South Asian Indian (SAI) origin in Leicester. The aims of the study as presented in the first chapter were on two levels; first to explore and understand the experiences and expectations of co-residence and care of the second and third generation SAIs in Leicester and, second, for the researcher to gather and analyse as a practitioner and professional the perceptions and the impact of the phenomenon as identified by the participants in order to understand the experiences of ageing of second generation SAI populations, particularly in relation to expectations of co-residence and care.

The research construct, although inductive in nature, was born out of practice and everyday events, and as such the focus is on context and on the perspectives of the participants. However, research data, professional and insider knowledge and the conceptual framework concepts such as migration, acculturation, enculturation, parent-child relationship, altruism, and reciprocity derived from various social scientists, are used to analyse and provide critical understanding and insights into the phenomena identified through and by the participants. As discussed in the research methodology chapter, the underpinning understandings of these processes are rooted in the discovery principle. The collection of data and the process of identifying themes (Braun and Clarke 2006), were iterative, and this helped to systematically organise the bulk of the qualitative data for analysis and discussion in what is intended to be a coherent, cogent and transparent way.

It is not my intention to generalise the findings of my research to all people or all groups. This would not be in accordance with scientific principles or even be sociologically acceptable. However, it is important to note that there are shared biographies of migration and settling experiences that are applicable to the now settled South Asians in general. Leicester has the second largest SAI community in the UK (Census 2011), and the small sample, although not representative of all

of the religious and ethnic groups, reflects the mix of SAIs in Leicester. For example, the sample consisted of participants from Hindu, Muslim and Sikh backgrounds. Besides this, the sample had an equal male female ratio. The sample, by design, looked for experiences of migration and settlement in the UK of 30 years and over and as such typifies the overall experiences of many SAIs who migrated to the UK in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

The process of analysis is a journey which has unknown and perhaps unanticipated elements, and is about identifying and interpreting the meaning of the results and processes that have been undertaken in the research journey. It is the phenomenological and in-depth focus of the study and the experience of practice that contributes towards identifying a growing phenomenon and hopefully this insight will enable researchers to examine further the role of co-residence for ageing parents and its implications for social care workers.

Thus this chapter has used the three themes identified in the findings, namely: co-residence, expectations and acculturation/enculturation, to identify and highlight meaningful patterns in the qualitative data collected, and in describing the underlying symbolic and sociocultural systems which are both reflected and expressed within the context of ageing. Besides analysing and discussing each theme that was highlighted in the findings individually, this chapter explores the implications for practice, the limitations and strengths of the study and my own reflections on the process.

## **5.2 Analysis and discussion on theme 1: Co-residence**

The findings of this theme highlighted a range of issues including: assumptions, traditions and the deep-rootedness of the idea of co-residence; parent-child and intergenerational relationships; and an associated ambivalence in the experience and outlook of respondents. These issues are explicated here in order to present the analysis and discussion of this theme.

### 5.2.1 Assumptions

Co-residence as a way of life has not been widely researched. However, many researchers have assumed the occurrence of co-residence on the basis of cultural expectations, traditions and financial reciprocations (Burholt and Dobbs 2010; Kochar 2014; Kumar and Navid 2010; Lamb 2009; Victor et. al. 2012). For example, Burholt and Dobbs (2010) in identifying the importance of filial piety in providing support in old age in some countries, assume co-residence as a way or means of fulfilling these obligations. Likewise Victor et.al (2012), in discussing family-based caring in the UK, assumes co-residence as a way of meeting filial obligations. Lamb (2009) identifies residing with, depending on and receiving respectful care from younger members of family as customary and appropriate practice amongst Indians. Kochar (2014) on the other hand, discusses co-residence as part of planned reciprocal behaviour and in terms of financial investment in schooling their children and the provision of care in later life, and as such falls in the realms of social exchange theory (Homans 1958). As highlighted in Chapter 2, within Indian culture obligation to one's family and parents is "ingrained in the philosophy of life" (Bhattacharya et. al. 2009:450), and as such co-residence is assumed as duty and a way of life. It falls in the realms of altruism - unconditional love for parents and children, and is not based on overt reciprocity of any kind. In fact, the Indian Hindu perspectives on entering old age (*vanaprastha*) are based on the assumptions of passing the household and day-to-day responsibilities to an adult child and as such the resulting dependency is culturally seen as entirely appropriate (Lamb 2009), thus creating powerful and taken-for-granted subtle reciprocal realities.

The study revealed that the assumption of co-residence was multifaceted, subtle and complex in that it revolved around needs, desires, cultural and societal rituals and protocols that were all part and parcel of my participants' daily lives. Whilst older participants assumed co-residence as a cultural norm and the most appropriate way of living, younger participants did not. In assuming co-residence as a cultural norm and as a way of life, the older participants highlighted aspects of co-residence that either hindered or helped facilitate this form of existence as a reality, thus exhibiting 'collectivistic' values and thinking (Hofstede 2001). Many

studies have expounded the ability of children to adapt to a host culture and absorb the environment (Farver et.al 2002; Kumar and Navid 2010) more readily than their parents. The younger participants in the study exhibited awareness of alternative modes of living and in fact clearly compared positives and negatives of co-residence and their right to make the appropriate choices for themselves. This can be termed as exhibiting individualistic thinking, which was in contrast to the older participants. However, although there were some questions in relation to practicality or feasibility of co-residence in the UK, all my participants (older and younger) assumed a starting point where co-residence was viewed as a cultural norm. Overt and formal reciprocity as mentioned in many academic literatures did not feature as a main objective within my sample. In fact Brijnath (2011) identifies that in India itself, the idea of living independently, on your own, at any age is not considered normal to human nature, and this can be said to further contribute to the assumptions of co-residency as a norm amongst older SAIs in the UK. If older participants have been socialised into this form of thinking then it is possible to understand the hesitancy and internalised stigma that some older participants exhibited towards what in western culture would be termed living alone or within a nucleated and single family structure.

### **5.2.2 Traditions and the deep-rootedness of the idea**

Traditions are about beliefs and customs, and are often deeply held and often rooted in rituals. The study highlighted the deep rootedness of the idea of co-residence and this is in line with the findings of Bhattacharya and Shibusawa (2009), Diwan et.al (2010) and Lamb (2009). The older participants who did not live with their children expressed the view that they would go and live with their children “*when we are old*” as an option. This is borne out by Victor et. al.(2012) whose study found that their participants consistently nominated their family members as the primary source for provision of care. The younger participants also exhibited a clear understanding of expectations of co-residence, thus within the sample reflecting the institutional nature of embedding of the concepts and expectations of co-residence.

The study identified the fact that expectations of co-residence lay with the sons and not daughters, and all the participants identified the obligations that sons have to provide care and support to their parents and the role their partners have in supporting their husbands, and in assuming a part in these responsibilities. However, many participants highlighted conflicts arising from the daughter-in-law's reluctance to assume the roles of caring or to co-reside with parents-in-law. Some participants explained this away as the influence of individualism and of British society, whilst some explained it in terms of, *who wears the trousers in the relationship* or "*women don't see their husband's parents in the way they see their own parents*". This highlights the depth in which the traditional expectations are ingrained in the psyche of the SAIs interviewed within the study. This is in stark contrast to British and American norms where daughters are 'twice as likely as sons to care for parents in old age' (Bingham 2014 in The Telegraph 19.8.14). Besides within what we can broadly term western culture, the traditional gender roles have become blurred as new patterns of employment have enabled more women to sustain their place in the labour market and become economically independent, as well as newer concepts around personal and gender identities emerging as part of sexual liberation. SAI culture by and large is patriarchal in nature; hence these changes have implications for the way co-residence and wider kin ties are perceived and sustained and for how familial responsibilities in relation to co-residence and care are practised across households and across the generations.

Laslett (1972 cited in Moody 2002:66) argues that "multigenerational living arrangements" in Europe and America were never very common "even in agrarian societies centuries ago" and that in America there are deep conflicting public views regarding filial responsibilities (Moody 2002). He argues that western societies have always tended towards separate residence for the nuclear family, whilst within the SAI community, as highlighted earlier, co-residence and multigenerational living is considered a 'way of life' (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009). Burholt and Dobbs (2010:222) identified that "Gujarati migrants in the UK are culturally conservative" and have a tendency "to retain" cultural "norms and values". This is echoed in Ramji's

(2006a) study where she highlighted that Gujaratis were good at replicating and reproducing community institutions and upholding traditions. Majority of my participants in the study (not by design but reflective of Leicester's South Asian population) were Gujaratis (11 out of 12) and this deep-rootedness of the expectations of co-residence was exhibited within my participants. Weinreich (2009:124) discusses the way that such practices can lead to 'ghettoisation' and create difficulties in interacting with those from the dominant culture. Hence, on the one hand there is the existence of a slow changing SAI society with value given to clear rules and roles for kinship, care and reverence to heritage culture and on the other hand, a wider 'host' society which assumes 'assimilation' to the dominant culture and that social roles can be changed in order to create a meaningful reality from its point of view. Modern thinking and conceptual frameworks contrast with traditional conceptual frameworks or paradigms and the latter tend to emphasise the processes of transmission which promote intergenerational continuity. However, research specifically on intergenerational transmission of culture, values, beliefs and status in the context of SAIs is sparse.

### **5.2.3 Parent-child and intergenerational relationships**

Parent-child relationships tend to share a degree of commonality as a result of mutual learning processes, thus there exists a potential for subjective identification as well as reasons for distancing ourselves from those within the close family. Cheal (1988 cited in Ganong and Coleman 2010:131) discusses the contention that we are genetically predisposed "to care for those with whom we are genetically related". Thus there is an assumption of safety when looked after by our own, a viewpoint succinctly shared by one of my older participants, "*I think.....feel more comfortable....being looked after by own, so much more of that security, safety*". Within UK society with older age comes the loss of social roles and this inevitably results in older people increasing their focus on relationships that provide the most emotional satisfaction (Hogerbrugge and Silverstein 2014). However, the underlying tension between autonomy and dependence is something that needs attention as it can evoke ambivalence and conflicts in the relationship

between the different generations. In addition to this, changes in adult children's lives such as marriage, divorce, birth of a (grand) child and attitudes towards ageing can impact on relationships. Research in the UK has indicated that adult children are reactive to the age-related 'deficits' of their parents (Hogerbrugge and Silverstein 2014). Gullette (2015:22) asserts that ageism is more vicious to those who are vulnerable and there is ample evidence to indicate that "ageist attitudes and emotions are acquired in childhood" and harden in youth. Giddens (2009) echoes this as he argues that the creation of old age at 65 is simply a creation of the welfare state; a social construction, which results in treating ageing as an external phenomenon. This has an impact on parent-child relationships, and after all, shared living is not just an act of living together; it is intimately linked with societal norms and therefore can affect both mental aptitudes in the form of the self- concept as well as the functioning of the family.

Burholt and Dobbs (2010:221) in their study identified the multigenerational character of households and considered the nature of these generational relationships within SAIs and Bangladeshis in the UK and in India and Bangladesh. They recognised that these were patrilocal, and the relationships in the main were "the normative functional pattern for older parent-child relationships". All of my older participants in the study echoed this as they highlighted their assumptions that their adult children will want to co-reside as part of the parent-child relationship and that the availability of physical living space was what is needed and necessary to make this possible. However, Atchley's Continuity Theory of Normal Ageing (1989 cited in Hogerbrugge and Silverstein 2014:482) suggests that older adults attempt to "preserve and maintain existing social behaviour, habits, and lifestyle as much as possible as they grow older", in situations of co-residence, this can become a cause for conflict in parent-child relationships.

The research study within this thesis highlights differences in the attitude towards the idea of space and its purpose between my older and younger adult respondents, particularly the emphasis in the use of space for the privacy of the

nuclear family, reflecting a deep philosophical divide between individualistic and collectivistic outlooks (Hofstede 2001). Although Bowlby's (1969) attachment theory emphasises the quality of relationships formed in childhood and its continuing relation to the need for lifelong stability, research on acculturation identifies that disruptions in life processes can impact on attachments (Mehta 1998; Padilla and Perez 2003; Weinreich 2009). Wray (2007:9) in studying the experiences of migrant women and ageing maintains that the impact of hostility and discrimination faced as migrants "continued to influence their wellbeing as they grew older". In identifying the long term impact of migration, Wray (ibid) highlights that the migrant women talked of 'home' as somewhere else and that their long term relationships, attachments and perception of ageing was influenced by this identity, and that these effects continued into old age. The older participants in this study have faced some major changes in their circumstances such as voluntary / involuntary migration and the stress of settling in new environments. Many of the older participants in my study talked about life in 'Africa', "*living here was different to the way that people lived in Africa*" and 'back home' and the struggles that they had in settling in the UK. For example, *it was about refocusing, restarting the whole process again*"; "*at that time no one wanted to give a house for rent...*"; "*it was proving difficult (to work) with a young child*"; and one participant talked about the impact on the long term bonding with children as a consequence of putting all their energy into settling in the new environment, "*...it was new time...hard time....so busy trying to settle down and make ends meet....*"

Finch and Morgan (1993) argue that parent-child relationships do not come about as a matter of following the conventional cultural rules or expectations, but are built through the family environment and over time, via interactive processes and negotiations. This emphasises the need to analyse the relationship in the context of the family and family circumstances, its biography and more importantly its ability to negotiate, which involves active and equal involvement in building relationships with clear intent. The life course events of the second generation SAIs point to two very important transitions; one is based on the circumstances in

which they arrive and settle in the UK and the other is racism, ageism and age related social changes that are thrust upon them. All these point to the complexities and dynamics of parent-child relationships and its cultural expectations of co-residence within SAI communities.

In recent years, within ‘first world’ countries, there has been an increase in young adults living at home, due to either returning home or delaying the launch of leaving home. This is partly due to the changes in the economic opportunities for young adults, and / or the increase in the number of breakdowns in family relationships. However, within western culture, such processes are reported to pose a threat to the autonomy of adult children and their self-image and to parents’ struggle to maintain their own independence (Burn and Szoeki 2015). Assumptions within such reports are based on the concepts of a norm of young adults leaving home at certain age or at certain milestones, which is in contrast to the Asian cultural outlook. Within this study, the data from the older adult participants emphasised co-residence as the norm in parent-child relationships and the issues of autonomy and independence as aspects that needed “*compromise and adjustments*”. However, the rationale for younger adults co-residing with their parents was more about their own financial security and out of obligation and/ or coercion, not purely based on the parent-child relationship. This points to some shift and changes in attitudes and expectations in parent-child relationships, and hence within the context of the UK, there is a need for the roles and expectations of both parents and children to be redefined in order to achieve optimal parent-child relationships and household functioning. Within the study, the bases of parent-child relationships did not emerge as negotiated relationships (Finch and Morgan 1993) nor were they based on “the normative functional pattern for older parent-child relationships” (Burholt and Dobbs 2010:221), but as part of ‘dharma’ (duty).

The ideas of co-residence as part of fostering parent-child and intergenerational relationships as norms of ‘dharma’ (duty) or that of family obligations, gratitude, moral duty, reciprocity or as a function of nurturing intergenerational solidarity,

as discussed in chapter 2, are often endorsed through religious scriptures ( the Upnishad for example) and cultural practices. Some of these, however, condition behaviour and expectations; particularly in regard to the roles of sons, daughters and daughters-in-law, particularly with reference to obligations and reverence towards parents. This is then achieved through various forms of socialisation and cultural practices within the home, via family, education systems, religion and society at large. However, for migrants, settling in a new environment where societal norms and cultural practices are not same as those of the migrants themselves, there is inevitable tension when negotiating between the known traditions and the unknown/unfamiliar norms. This socialisation, no doubt, is characterised by structural, procedural and normative conditions in a society (Cree 2010; Giddens 2013), and these are reinforced and reproduced by the way people act out their relations and the acceptance/ non-acceptance of rules, regulations or traditions at large. This has implications on how, for example, non-co-residence might be viewed or experienced. The associated notion of shame and guilt are echoed in research by Jamuna (2003) and Victor et.al (2012), and as such identifies some of the pressure on intergenerational relationships and on older and younger adults when some of the cultural and social practices and expectations of social relations are seen not to be met.

By and large, SAI identity is governed by a system of intimacy and intergenerational relationships. The older participants identified the importance of their duty towards their grandchildren as well as the importance of grandchildren in their lives and the affection, care and values that they can provide when living in a joint family which could be undermined by the trends of western individualism. Mansson (2012) in his study identifies the expression of affection by grandparents and the various benefits of these to the grandchildren in terms of non-verbal affection, care and concern, positive interest and interactions, and gifts and financial support. Research has also identified the positive benefits of intergenerational relationships to grandparents (Kumar and Nevid 2010; Sharma and Kemp 2012). Victor et. al. (2012) identify that loneliness amongst older people is linked with expectations about the quality and quantity of social

relationships. However, researches on intergenerational relationships have mainly focused on the practical aspects of contacts and reciprocity and little on intersections between the family values and expectations. Within South Asian communities in the UK, this aspect remains under researched.

The notion of co-residence is at odds in the western world, where independence and maintenance of autonomy particularly in later life are seen as desirable attributes (Hofstede 2001; Gurak and Kritz 2010; Giuntoli and Cattani 2012). These differences in outlook between generations were echoed throughout the study. For example, whilst the older adult participants emphasised the importance of dependence as beneficial to both generations in terms of economic, financial and mutual support relating to child and adult care and for one another, the younger adult participants overall emphasised the importance of independence for themselves as well as for their older parents, “*they’ve raised their children and this (it’s) their time to enjoy*” and advocated for independent living “*the separation is good for both sides*”. This highlights a dilemma in parent-child and in intergenerational relationships that is structural in nature, and points towards a tussle between two traditions from differing backgrounds. Within this the impact of the prevalent dominant ideology of the host country, various debates and legislative changes in relation to migration and race, and explicit / implicit racism and ageism, which all undoubtedly were (and are ) a part of experience of both generations, cannot be overlooked.

#### **5.2.4 Ambivalence**

Ambivalence is defined as the state of having mixed feelings or contradictory ideas about something or someone (Hawker and Waite 2007). The idea around expectations, co-residence and nuclear family living for example has the potential to create dilemma, contradictions and conflicts and thus ambivalence between generations. Katz and Lowenstein (2010:40) suggest that there is some “evidence that ambivalent attitudes lead to over-reaction” and are “stressful”. For example, one of my younger participants who lived separately from his parents with his own nuclear family, in discussing co-residence, raised issues around “*who wears*

*the trousers in the relationship*”, highlighted some ambivalence, stress and guilt in relation to his own situation, his own expectations of himself in terms of co-residence and the realities of his own nuclear family dynamics. Similarly, the older participants exhibited their ambivalence, when discussing their perceptions of lack of regard for feelings of shared values and understandings by younger generations. The older participants also highlighted the realities of living in the UK, “*today here in this country, these thoughts (co-residence) are clashing with eastern and western ideologies*”, their disappointment, “*today children are not willing to live under one roof*” and bewilderment that, “*children want to live independently*”, particularly when everything that they may need is within the family home. This exemplifies ambivalent feelings and highlights conflicts and disagreements in relation to living arrangements. One older participant talked about her feelings of disappointment as well as surprise that her son wanted to move out of the family home, especially as he and his partner had agreed to the condition to co-reside prior to their getting married, “*.....before my son got married that was one of the conditions that he will have to live with us*”. Such negotiations also identify strength of feelings, the pressures and the subtle realities of co-residence that fuel the feelings of ambivalence.

Katz and Lowenstein (2010) identify that older people experience social isolation often as result of unequal exchange and shift in opportunities, roles and skills, which results in them having fewer resources and less power. In a family environment, this has potential to create ambivalence particularly if one is dependent and unable to reciprocate in any way, leading to ambivalent relationships. Katz and Lowenstein (2010) argue that when discussing intergenerational solidarity, it is important to include discussions on ambivalence as it provides a platform to understand conflicts between generations and in relationships.

Both Jamuna (2009) and Victor et.al (2012) have highlighted the emotions of guilt and shame accompanying those older adults that are not cared for by family. Victor et.al (2012:90) further highlight that such actions are seen as “lack of family loyalty and potential loss of face within the wider community”. Within my

study, some of my older participants, whilst discussing their sadness and disappointments when not co-residing with their adult children, talked about their own perceptions, life course and 'adjustments' that they inevitably needed to make as a result. Casual and ambivalent beliefs have been shown to be associated with stigma and worry and Vergare (1997) argues that older people who cannot adapt to new life events are vulnerable to the effects of worry and anxiety. Significantly women participants in the study were more direct in expressing their disappointment and sadness compared to male participants. In Chapter 2 the literature review sections on ageing well and life satisfaction identified the importance of adapting to the challenges of ageing and change. This study highlights that there are root issues in relation to basic beliefs about what is considered right as well as older adults struggling with what Lamb (2015) calls "loss of social personhood". Besides, culturally there are implications for the public display of emotional instability (Kumar and Nevid 2010), thus there is a greater need for the study of stigma within SAI communities and the impact of changes, particularly in relation to co-residence.

To sum up the discussions on this theme, co-residence is assumed by most second generation SAIs to be a cultural norm and a way of life, and within that it is assumed to have a role in providing important emotional, informal, material and physical support to the younger family members (grandchildren), to the older (grandparents) generation and to the whole family at large. The processes of care giving within this assumption are based on altruistic parent-child relationships and as such reciprocity particularly in terms of physical and emotional support is assumed as part the by-product of this process. Younger participants, however, displayed some ambivalence in relation to co-residence and all older participants, displayed an awareness of the changing dynamics of family life and its implications. The human communications involved and the varying number of assumptions people made when working through their issues were intriguing. These assumptions, which we can conceive of as 'unwritten rules', were seen to govern conscious and / or unconscious interactions between both the younger and older participants. The study highlighted the fact that the older participants had assumed that the younger participants will have understood them as part of the

process of their socialisation, culture and ethnic identity. Interestingly, the changes within the traditions and its consequent impact on the family were presented as aspects of social structure in the UK that were difficult to negotiate, but contributed towards making co-residence difficult, thus presenting a rationale for behaviour that is culturally considered deviant within the SAI community.

Overall, the analysis and discussions on this theme highlight the importance placed on co-residence as part and parcel of the ageing process within SAI culture, and this is in stark contrast with western theories of ageing that emphasise the importance of self-maintenance and independence as sign of ageing well (Lamb 2015).

### **5.3 Analysis and discussion on theme 2: Expectations**

The findings under this theme highlighted a range of issues such as different dimensions of life, value differences, obligations and independence with the underlying emphasis on the differing expectations and the influence of culture and society at large. The study, as discussed in previous chapters, had set out to examine the impact of the expectations of co-residence as a part of the ageing process. Hogg and Vaughan (2005) identify that expectations are closely tied with one's attitudes and beliefs and the processes of socialisation. Therefore expectations may have been developed as part of socialisation and absorption of belief systems and rules as members of a group within a specific cultural context and within the broader society.

Bourdieu (1997:29), in discussing rules and the construction of rules in relation to human behaviour, says that to understand behaviour one needs to look at how that behaviour came to be the accepted norm. He talks about culture as “that sort of freely available and all-purpose knowledge that you acquire in general at an age when you don't yet have any questions to ask” and that the rules relating to these are only obeyed if it is in “their interests to obey rather than to disobey” (Bourdieu 1997:76). Hence in thinking about cultural expectations of co-residence within SAI culture, the bases of such beliefs lie in the pre-modern/ agricultural societies. Hindu scriptures (Upnishad) discuss the importance of the

intergenerational solidarity as the core basis of Sanskruti (meaning 'culture'). In my research 8 out of 12 (67%) of my participants had co-resided with their parents (1st generation SAI) to fulfil the expectations of filial obligations. However, "cultures are not static" (Fernando 1995:5) and migration, technology, and "living in a community where there are people from several cultures living side by side", all have potential to alter human behaviours and expectations. For example, the study revealed that whilst the older adults expected their adult children in the main to follow the cultural heritage of co-residency, the younger adults identified co-residence as having restrictions to their independence and not aligning with the norms that existed in the country of their birth (i.e. the UK).

Classical theorists such as Durkheim (1933) and sociologists such as Giddens (2009) differentiate two theoretical perceptions of family cohesion: one that is endorsed by traditional norms and customs and the other which is typified by mutual dependence. The expectations of filial obligations and intergenerational support via co-residence lie in between these two theoretical traditions in that although ritualised in forms of customs and traditions, the applications of these are rooted in the ideas of altruism, obligations, duty, reciprocity, mutual interdependence and solidarity. An expectation of preservation of interdependence via co-residence was highlighted by all of the older adults and most of them expected adherence to this as part of their obligations and duty towards each other. However, all my younger participants did not align with these expectations of fulfilling the obligations towards their parents via co-residence.

This indication of differing expectations of co-residence according to Hofstede (2001:430) is partly due to the third generation being "absorbed into the host country populations, with host-country values". To some extent this puts forward an ideology that the problems that occur in relation to differing expectations of co-residence are transitional in nature. However, the migration of SAIs to the UK from the Indian sub-continent is ongoing, and although these are often in the form of very highly qualified and trained personnel, they bring with them their own cultural identity, socialisations and expectations which will impact on the ideas of co-residence and the related changes. Besides this, the overall integration of

minorities is dependent both on the new settlers /migrants and the host populations in terms of how well each culture adapts and accepts each other.

One of my older participants in cataloguing various reasons and expectations as to why her son should co-reside with her used various concepts such as obligations, duty, physical proximity, practical day-to-day aspects, family solidarity and the importance of the parent-child relationship. Most of these issues are highlighted in the previous discussion of the theme co-residence. The Intergenerational Solidarity Model developed in the 1970s (Bengtson et. al. 1991 and 2002) offers a systematic way to understand expectations, behaviours and attitudes, in parent - child relationships. It uses perceptions and concepts such as association (describing social contact), function (describing supportive behaviour), structure (describing geographic proximity), affectual matters (describing emotional cohesion), consensus (describing agreements) and normative requirements (describing filial obligations) to offer some understandings of how expectations within intergenerational relationships are realised. For example, one of my young participants who co-resides with his parents, talked about “*if they needed help you are there*”, and another younger participant talked about living separately but close by so she “*could be there if they needed help*”. Both, in discussing expectations as well as the advantages and disadvantages of living together, talked about the structural and functional aspects of the Intergenerational Solidarity Model.

Bengtson and Roberts (1991) predicted that a high rate of normative functions i.e. assuming responsibility and obligations for family members, led to high rate of affectual relationships thus helping parents and adult children to develop strategies to overcome negatives in their lives to maintain affectual relationships. However, in describing this model there is no assumption of co-residence. Of the two young participants who co-resided, one who saw this as a long-term relationship, talked about building an extension as a strategy to accommodate the growing demand for space. For the other, co-residence was seen as a temporary measure to overcome financial difficulties. So this model, although, useful in understanding the expectations and concerns around the isolation of the nuclear

family and parent-child relationship in later life, does not assume co-residence as an integral part of this relationship. Besides, some researchers have questioned the high rate of association between the normative and affectual relationships (Katz and Lowenstein 2010), and hence, in examining the intergenerational expectations, too often the focus is on practical issues such as contacts and on reciprocity (Burholt and Dobbs 2010; Kochar 2014; Kumar and Nevid 2010) and less on the influences of the environment or the characteristics and cultural attributes within family relationships. However, Lamb's (2009) research on SAIs living in India and the USA has highlighted the conflicts and stress encountered when living in close proximity under one roof. The participants in this study also highlighted these issues, but interestingly in so doing focussed on the influences of the host community and the global rise of individualistic ideology as causes for conflicts and shortfalls in expectations.

Expectations of continuance of intergenerational family relationships via co-residence need to be understood within the socio-cultural context of the post-migration dynamic of parent – child relationships and the interplay of South Asian cultural and the UK norms of intergenerational solidarity. Wray (2007:9) argues that the effects of migration are often not included in “theoretical perspectives on ageing” and questions how the complexity of expectations and ageing of this community can be understood if the models and theories used are eurocentric and “insensitive to cultural diversity” (ibid: 19). For second generation SAIs, coming from areas with limited social welfare provisions, mutual filial aids have served as an important survival strategy for both older and younger generations and therefore parent-child relations are locked in the notions of co-residence where care is provided within the family and not by the welfare system (Katz and Lowenstein 2010). In the UK, the involvement of the state in ensuring the welfare of the older people and the potential for welfare provision by the state if and when needed, adds another dimension to the expectations and intergenerational relationships. However, by and large, although in recent times there has been a rise in the trend for young adults to continue to live with parents (Burn and Szoek 2015), traditionally, within the western hemisphere, isolation and

separation from the extended family is mostly practised and seen as a functional attribute, and as such does impact on the cultural expectations of co-residence.

Although most of my older participants echoed their expectations of their adult children to co-reside and provide the necessary support as they aged, there was a growing realisation of the role the welfare system plays in the provision of substitute care, as well as the western emphasis on individuality and independence as a sign of successful ageing. Some of my older participants saw the advantage of this, “*because Government gives money ... do not have a need to stay together*”, whilst for some such provisions were bewildering “*...wonder why they (Government) have this system*”, and alienating “*...it plays a part in contributing towards the breakup of our culture*”. The role of the welfare state in creating dependency as well as creating the notion of fundamental rights to services and support outside family environments in the UK has been identified by many researchers (Beck 2003; Komter and Knijn 2006). For the second and third generation SAIs, these ‘new’ realities of living in the welfare state offer opportunities for mutual independence, and at the same time present challenges to the norms and expectations of co-residence.

Hofstede (2001) explains that the culture of individualism and collectivism is practiced in the way people live together, e.g. in nuclear families, in extended families or in tribes. These realities have implications on expectations as well as for values, behaviours and societal norms which are largely drawn from these perspectives and thus have implications for family life. So, for example, in some cultures individualism is seen as ‘blessing and a source of wellbeing’; whilst in others ‘it is seen as alienating’ (Hofstede 2001:209). For example, one of my older participants talked about the dilemma he was under when trying to fulfil the expectations and his obligations to co-reside with his parents (1<sup>st</sup> generation) and his urge for independence, “*your mind was a battle..... you had to look after the elderly*”. It is interesting that this participant whilst understanding his son’s need to be independent and live in a nuclear family, had expectations that he himself would move to live with his son and his family and be looked after “*when old*” and in need of physical help.

Giddens's theory of structuration (1994) explores whether it is individuals or social forces that shape people's social reality and expectations. He argues that although people are not entirely free to choose their own actions, nonetheless they are the 'agency' which reproduces the social structure that leads to social change. Structuration is very useful in synthesizing micro and macro level issues around social thinking and understanding and according to Giddens and Sutton (2013), these levels should not be treated as unconnected; in fact they have a significant relation to one another and all offer different opportunities. For example, at the micro level the expectations and thinking is about one's own internal sense of self, identity and choices for co-residence, "*we stay with our in-laws so they (children) know the background and culture*". On a macro level, the expectations and issues are about the support from the structure of wider family networks, the rise or decline of cultural rituals and changes in the laws relating to family and care.

Many participants talked about the wider issues within the culture which helped children to develop reverence and respect for parents for example, and how these have slowly changed as part of settlement in the UK "*Our rishis (sages) have said that we should teach the children ...when they are younger... to pay respect to us as parents.....these processes of socialisation are gone from our culture now, as we have had more and more amenities...we are forgetting these basics*". Hence practices and attitudes on the level of everyday lives, perhaps growing out of everyday life grievances (micro level changes) and those affected by social movements such as migration and settlement (macro level changes) do directly influence an individual's choices regarding adhering or not adhering to expectations. The evidence of some change in the expectations of my participants exhibits awareness of the social context that they (the second generation SAIs) live in, as well as a paradox, in that on one hand there seems to be an expectation of an allegiance to maintain ethnicity and traditions and on the other attempts to change to suit historical and biographical pressures. Hofstede (2001) echoes this and shows that the members of the second generation are in conflicted situations as their values reflect partly their parents' culture and partly their new environment. Chambers (2012:109) on the other hand feels that the second

generation SAIs are “responsible for their professional children’s material aspirations and success” and its consequent impact on the expectations and intergenerational relationships of the family unit.

#### **5.4 Analysis and discussion on theme 3: Acculturation and enculturation**

The data and the findings in this theme highlighted the range of impacts, and adjustments that both second and third generation SAIs make in relation to co-residence and expectations. As highlighted in Chapters 1 and 2, acculturation is the “meeting of cultures” (Sam and Berry 2006:1) and the consequent cultural and psychological changes that occur as a result of the continuing contact between people of different cultural backgrounds. The origins of psychological acculturation that impact on values, attitude and identity are not always easy to identify, and are often ongoing processes. However, the process is about identifying the resulting change following the initial migratory contact, and in peaceful societies these contact situations in the long term often result in the development of pluralistic and multi-cultural societies (Sam and Berry 2006). As discussed earlier in relation to migration, change is inevitable and coping responses to these changes play an important part in the settling processes. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) identify two different coping strategies, problem-orientations which focus on solving the problem and emotional-orientations, which focus on altering the source of stress which could also involve avoidance.

Kosic (2006) argues that personality and individual outlook impacts on the process of acculturation, in for example the challenges that ‘newcomers’ are faced with in relation to the degree to which they assimilate into the new environment, perhaps in the face of considerable rejection and hostility by a local population. Self-esteem enables people to continue to function well, however maintaining a good self-esteem in a foreign environment is a constant effort (Kosic 2006). Immigrants face many situations such as prejudice and discrimination which could impact on their self-esteem and have negative effects on well-being (Harker 2001; Nandan 2007; Sam and Berry 2006; Samuel 2009;

Tummala-Narra et. al. 2012), produce threats to identity (Berry and Kim 1988) and impact negatively on mental health (Mehta 1998:61).

The ultimate goal of the acculturation process is the acquisition of cultural competence. The key emerging issues within this theme were that all participants were acutely aware of the conflicting demands of the two cultures (heritage and host) and the need as well as pressure to adapt to the changing nature of their heritage culture. Kluckhohn (1951 cited in Hofstede 2001:9) argued that “the essential core of culture”, consists of historically derived and selected traditional ideas and more importantly the values attached to these. Hence, culture presupposes patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols and which are often deep rooted, and not easy to change (Hofstede 2001). For the second generation SAI parents, to prepare their children to participate efficiently both within their own ethnic networks and within the British society has involved several challenges; some of these have been documented as intergenerational conflicts (Cochrane et. al. 1977; Ghuman 1991; Kallarackal and Herbert 1976).

Another issue is that for any culture the foundation of cultural competence is established during infancy and through interactions with primary carers (Giddens 2009). Although all individual identity is rooted in social and collective experience, where people are born into an extended family environment, there is often a wider sense of belonging and shared culture resulting in an assumed expectation of protection, loyalty and a high emotional dependence on the group as a whole. This is in essence the collective nature of the relationship, and individual identity in such cultures is based in the wider social and cultural systems (Bhattacharya and Shibusawa 2009; Gupta and Pillai 2000; Gurak and Kritz 2010; Hofstede 2001). However, the emphasis on individualism within the family is evident in modern society. One point of view is that in such societies, there is a possibility of ties between individuals being loose as the focus is on an enhanced sense of self and on individual identity and the emphasis is placed on individual initiative and achievement (Hofstede 2001).

Oppedal (2006:109) argues that mental representations of patterns of behaviour and their culture-specific meanings are hierarchically structured and organised according to the 'cultural domain' one belongs to. Hence settling in British society where individualism is seen as a norm, the issue of collectivist living versus individualistic living systems carries strong moral overtones and pressures for acculturation. Children are said to be more able to switch between and participate successfully "within their own ethnic networks and in the majority society's arena" (Oppedal *ibid*:109). However, for 'new' settlers (second and third generation SAIs), the acculturative dilemma is in relation to opting totally for assimilation of the dominant culture, or adhering to and revering heritage culture which could lead to 'ghettoisation', or rejecting both which could lead to 'marginalisation', or accepting both the dominant and their own heritage culture which could lead to 'integration' (Weinreich 2009:124). Overall, SAIs have shown bi-cultural competence (Burholt 2004; Diwan et. al. 2010; Kumar and Nevid 2010; Ramji 2006a; Sharma and Kemp 2012) and are known to have integrated well into the British society (Patel 1998). All my older participants talked about their difficulties and how they faced the standard dilemmas such as at work, in shops and public offices, and how they tried to maintain the practices of their culture of origin, and hence change daily between cultures, as part of the settling down processes. This they identified as a process that presented a challenging environment in which to pass on the values of their heritage culture to their UK- born third generation SAIs.

When two cultures meet it is inevitable that the behaviour patterns and life norms of each culture are under scrutiny. Sam and Berry (2006) propose that this is certain to trigger changes in behaviour patterns and is responsible for commencing the acculturation process. Marxists (who have studied the impact of 'ideologies' in particular) have questioned why people accept and internalise conditions that they think are disadvantageous. They propose that all cultural products are the result of social and material practices and that the dominant class use their power to exert their world view onto the social order by making it appear as common sense (Gramsci cited in Forgas 1988). Hall (1990) suggests that this is achieved through everyday events and experiences such as popular culture and

the manipulation of widely held aspirations such as owning your own home and achieving personal autonomy and freedom. Hence, the adoption of cultural changes is often from a power base of the dominant culture, and as such the acculturation processes for SAIs are bound to be impacted by the wider societal outlook which at the time of their arrival saw heritage culture as inferior (Craig 2012). For example, in the early 1950s and 1960s, when most of the first and second generation SAIs arrived in the UK, there was little formal legislation that guarded against overt racial discrimination in certain social and economic arenas, *“it was very tough, especially living in sort of a lower end of the market in terms of housing”*; *“at that time nobody wanted to give a house for rent”*. However, this is not to say that the acculturation processes in the UK were imposed as was the case during colonisation elsewhere. In fact the processes were very much on the basis of what Sam (2006:15) calls “blind acculturation” whereby culture patterns of different people are adopted by living near and working for / or with one another.

Hofstede (2001) suggests that rituals such as paying respect to elders are collective activities within a culture and it is often via the importance given to these, that the norms of a culture are communicated. So for some participants, the difference in the opinions regarding co-residence is part of the process whereby the third generation is “absorbed into the host country populations, with host-country values” (Hofstede 2001: 430), and whereby the second generation SAIs are not able to pass on their cultural heritage successfully. For example, some of my older participants talked about their initial settling period as, *“it was frightening”*; *“a difficult time adjusting”* and *“I had no support”*, as part of the pressures of settling in and bringing up children in their new environment.

Cochran (1979), Ghuman (1991), Hwang (2006) and Samuel (2009) have all highlighted the breakdown in communication between parents and children as part of the acculturative process, and, Hwang (ibid: 399) further proposes that the intergenerational gap is a primary factor causing acculturative stress. So for the SAI population in question, the processes of acculturation have not only involved getting to grips with new cultural forms and expectations but have meant engaging with understandings of social and familial roles within the context of

their own culture and that of wider western society, and more importantly how these are communicated and understood both within the society in which they live and between their UK born generations.

Weinreich (2009:125), however, questions the process of acculturation as well as the political drive for acculturation. He argues that this is an ideology which assumes that both the host and migrant cultures are “benign and congenial, without racism, intolerance of difference and forms of oppression”. He argues that since xenophobia regardless of whether it is politically correct, is evident in many communities’, the migrants “would do well not to accept the cultural norms of the dominant community”, and that a healthier option would be to rely on the resources within. To some extent, this echoes the questions raised by many of my older participants regarding the rationale to set up individual nuclear family homes, for example “*I wonder why they have this system*”. Weinreich (2009:125) suggests that to identify the changes people make as acculturation is too simplistic particularly as no culture is static in nature. He proposes that cultural manifestations are absorbed into personal identity, hence culture and identity are “intricately related”, and so for people to “reject their heritage culture would be to reject the cultural aspects of their identity heritage”. This echoes with the dilemma that my older participants presented and with which they struggled to get to grips. From older participants’ perspectives, the younger generations had absorbed the host-country’s values (Hofstede 2001), and to them this was evident within their third generation, particularly in relation to inter- generation living and therein lies the struggle between the generations in relation to the core base values of the older community.

As stated earlier in the thesis, cultures are not static; migration, technological changes, the meeting of different cultures and general societal pressures all contribute towards changing attitudes and behaviours. Weinreich proposes that instead of acculturation, the process of enculturation is often more significant as migrants incorporate elements of culture that are significant to them from both the dominant cultures and from that of their own ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The changes in outlook in relation to expectations of co-residence became evident

with some of my older participants. For example, one of my older respondents talked about the positive aspects of independent living and adopting these changes as “*the modern way*” and questioned whether co-residence was “*the only sole solution*”, to maintain family cohesion. In acknowledging the host culture, he identified that “..... *here, you know you want people to be independent both financially as well as in responsibility*”. In elaborating the rationale for adopting the idea of independent living, he echoed the sentiments of all my older participants “.....*I think we are beginning to pick up some of that (alluding to)....British way of life, but for the positive end really, (and this is).... about more the learning side of it rather than just forced to go out..(of the parental home)*” This participant talked about his adult son and his wife leaving home as learning to become responsible and live independently. In talking about adapting to the prevalent culture, he exhibited his disapproval of what he saw as British culture forcing the children out of the parental home “*when the kids are 18*”. Two other older participants shared a similar disapproval in their perception of parental expectations amongst the indigenous population of children leaving home once they were 18 years of age.

Gupta and Pillai (2000), Kumar and Nevid (2010) and Ramji (2006a) have all identified that SAIs have a proven ability to selectively acquire and maintain values and practices of their own and those of the host cultures, thus resulting in a “unique combination of individualistic and collectivist traits” (Kumar and Nevid 2010: 274). Burholt and Dobbs (2010) however, argued that Gujaratis were quite traditional in their approach and kept up traditional norms, whilst Faver et. al. (2002:338) highlights that Indian immigrants tend to retain aspects of culture that are more traditional than the culture in India itself. This puts into the spotlight the complex nature of the process and this to some extent was evident in my focussed sample. For some older participants the process of living on their own was filled with fear and sadness, whilst others in their struggle to adapt to their new situation focussed on the positives. The emotions of guilt and obligations were also evident within my younger participants. This is echoed in Chamber’s (2012:109) study where she identified the fact that the adult children were aware that they were “unable to care for their parents in the manner expected”.

However, all my participants recognised the societal pressure upon them and their children/parents in relation to the pressures of work and the '*life style*' in the UK and in relation to co-residence and exhibited a willingness to seek amicable solutions. For example within this study, three older participants talked about forming a ritual of their children visiting them once a week and hence maintaining the family cohesion. Two younger participants talked about keeping a regular contact with parents, via phone and skype; hence both generations on an individual, one-to-one basis were trying to modify expectations of each other. Sharma and Kemp's (2012) research on filial piety and support exchanges amongst SAIs in the USA echoes such individualised changes and modifications in expectations of support by both generations. For example, they found that some of their older participants moved out of the family home voluntarily in order to provide their son and daughter-in-law with the privacy they desired, whilst some took an active part in providing the financial and physical support such as cooking, cleaning and providing physical care for the grandchildren in the family home as an act of support.

There are a number of issues that arise when we consider how people show willingness to accommodate and operate effectively in both cultures. SAIs, by and large are Hindus, a religion and culture which has deep roots in following and adopting peaceful means of existence. The overall Hindu perspective on life is based on the fact that the human condition is transient and Lamb (2015:420) argues that the realisation of this "can be a positive and enlightening move, potentially making ageing and dying meaningful". All over the world, Hindus have been known for their ability to uphold their cultural values and voluntarily set up institutions that enable them to do so (Ramji 2006a), but at the same time integrate into the society in which they live (Patel 1998). Additionally, the flexibility shown by my participants may additionally be due to their exposure to western values, as a majority of my older participants (7 out of 8) had arrived in the UK via East African countries. Also, all my younger participants and most of my older participants (6 out of 8) had experienced higher education, were quite fluent in English and held skilled or semi-skilled professional jobs. This may

provide a basis from which to understand both acculturation and enculturation processes and for understanding the dilemma in relation to expectations of co-residence. However, it also highlights the diversity within SAI group in terms of experience, education, biographies and histories that all impact on the outlook towards culture and more importantly towards adoption or adaptations to change and transitions.

Atchley's Continuity Theory of Normal Ageing (cited in Hogerbrugge and Silverstein 2014) identifies that middle-aged and older people use various strategies to maintain their past experiences of themselves and their social world. Thus change is linked to their perception of the past which influences their inner understanding of themselves as well as of their social behaviour and circumstances. Bridges (2004, 2009) identifies three options when faced with changes; to focus on the past, where there is familiarity or to focus on future which requires a leap of faith or remain in the neutral zone as one explores the ambiguity of the new situation and tests the psychological impacts of change. To remain in the past inhibits progression and growth and focussing on the future can evoke anxieties. All my second generation SAIs, whilst voicing some of the difficulties and discomfort in adapting to changes in family dynamics and in perceptions of co-residence, exhibited resilience and a willingness to explore and appraise the situation they find themselves in. Weinreich (2009:128) in discussing the process of enculturation asserted that such processes of incorporation of cultural characteristics influences "elemental aspects of the person's overall identity". Evaluating the social context that they find themselves in, all my older participants shared their desire to be in regular contact with their children or live nearer, thus sparking a process of reinventing SAI culture within the context of their host country.

To summarise the discussions within this theme, all my participants exhibited understanding of the culture they are faced with, however the struggle for some was about how much of their heritage culture to let go, if at all. For some, the system that they know (of collective living) seems most appropriate, "*it's a win win situation for everybody*", hence some tussle to understand the rationale for

the promotion of individualistic living. On the other hand, all my younger participants seem to have accepted the idea of independent living as the norm in the UK, although some struggled with the emotional and practical aspects of independent living. Weinreich (2009:127) identifies this as a process whereby migrants, due to interaction of their identity in the country of their settlement, incorporate some aspects of host culture for self-definition. He explains that as a child (in the third generation) growing up will “have encultured major aspects of heritage culture including some aspects that are incompatible with others”, as well as “whatever cultural elements of influential others” that are available via primary carers, schools, peer groups and the wider community. Hence the dilemma is how much of the ethnic identity to preserve in the face of pressures for acculturation. Hofstede (2001) echoes this and endorses the likelihood of the third generation being absorbed into the host country populations along with the host-country values, and this was evident within my younger participants (third generation SAIs), particularly in relation to one of the culture’s core base value of co-residence and intergeneration living.

Overall in analysing the findings, the study revealed that there is mismatch of expectations in relation to co-residence and its perceived advantages. In a small sample all except one older participant and one younger participant lived in intergenerational households. One younger participant had moved back to live with parents for financial reasons and on a temporary basis. My insider knowledge and the practitioner experience I had accumulated further endorsed the contention that these issues are indicative of the changes within SAI culture in the UK. In fact this very topic was the focus on online discussions/debate/phone in programme on BBC Asian Network radio presented by Nihal under the ‘big issues that affect Asian communities’ (18/05/2016).

The study also highlighted the adjustments that second generation SAIs are forced to cope with as they age. Although the second generation SAIs in the study accepted the ideas relating to individualism, all my older participants stressed the importance of family connections and solidarity for the general welfare of the

family at large, which they felt could be best achieved through co-residence and interdependence, thus exhibiting a desire to retain their cultural heritage while becoming uniquely British. The older participants expressed fear of living alone and the impact on the future of trends towards personal independence. As one of my older participants, after the interview, elaborated “*this generation (meaning the third generation) do not understand the impact of their actions.... In years to come their situation as they age will be far worse if this trend continues ... and we will be same as the locals..... they die in the house and no one knows for days... ”*.

All my older participants saw family in wider terms than its nuclear context and felt that family values were upheld by showing care, respect, and participation within the wider family context and having a duty and obligations to one another and helping out in time of need. This sense of duty and obligation to one another was considered an important aspect of their roots and co-residence was seen as a platform that gave both generations opportunities to reciprocate. Many research studies have identified that family cohesion, positive intergenerational support and greater levels of emotional closeness are associated with reciprocal parent-child relationships and psychological wellbeing; and that the inability to reciprocate undermines the morale of the older people (Burholt and Dobbs 2010; Chong 2007; Kumar and Nevid 2010; Lamb 2009; Mehta 1998; Silverstein and Bengston 1994; Stoller 1985; Tummala-Nara et. al. 2012). However, Ingersoll-Dayton et. al. (1997), caution that when considering the effects of positive and/or negative social exchanges, it is important to consider these in the context of life events.

Within the wider society in the UK, at present, the standard model of later life is understood as reaching statutory retirement age and giving up work, if not made redundant before this, and then progressively withdrawing from other areas of life, whereas, flexible working patterns, retirement age involvement in volunteering and other social activities are seen to lead to a healthy life expectancy beyond the usual model of later life. The flexible lifestyle and living,

to a large extent, is embraced within an extended family living model, and at state level encouragement of such flexible living would fall in line with the idea of care in the community. Considering the changing patterns of longevity, the consequent rise in the ageing population and the age related ailment such as dementia, the pressures on welfare provision for the aged and concerns around financial sustainability, the study does point to a dimension of public policy reform, particularly in relation to exploring aspects of partnership with family in terms of co-residence and care. However, this calls for further and extensive research into its feasibility within the British context, particularly if the older person is in need of 24/7 care.

## **5.5 Implications for practice**

Social work deals with people who are trying to come to terms with some kind of change in their circumstances or in relationships and these changes inevitably accompany loss. Transitions often involve ending; a period of confusion and distress; and a new beginning (Bridges 2009). Bridges suggests that when endings are perceived or experienced as a loss or as outcomes that are not desired, the individual is vulnerable to feelings of sadness and sometimes despair, for example, “*we worked so hard to give them (children) the best*”(interview 3), “*I think about my son who is (now) not living with me*”(interview 4), and if the period of confusion and distress is protracted, the individual will undergo anxiety and uncertainty, “*I hope they will help me when I need help*”(interview 7). Uncertainty and anxiety can lead to worry which is characterised by negative thoughts and images about the outcomes of events and can affect an individual’s ability to think clearly (Kydd 2009).

Social and health care practice at the present time (2015-2016) is based on the experiences and contacts with the second generation SAIs who have by and large attempted to fulfil the cultural expectations of care and care giving to their ageing parents (1<sup>st</sup> generation SAIs) within the family context, which may have added fuel to the myth within social services and caring professions that SAIs ‘look after their own’. The study highlights the changes in the

expectations of co-residence and care giving within the SAI family context. In the absence of any large scale research to respond to the changing circumstances for the ageing SAIs in the UK, it is imperative that social workers recognise the power of public perceptions and how these might influence their practice.

For example, in recent years, the provision for informal kin-based care for older people has become an important component of care provisions. Hence, the recent drive for the focus on the provision of care within the family and community which has several implications for social workers as they look to identify and provide care in the community. There are implications also for adult children who may be in their active stage of life and who may be seeking to live a nuclear family life and for older people as they deal with their expectations and aspects of care within the home, particularly if there is a growing rift between generations and a consequent lack of intergenerational solidarity.

There are many dimensions associated with the provision of care and support including practical, financial, personal, emotional, and moral aspects. The key issue is to understand the current and future health and social care needs of our ageing SAI populations, and how dependent these will be on their families as a result of changing individual life course trajectories and of dispersed family based networks, which it can be argued have come about as a result of the demise of collective living and the promotion of an ideology of nuclear living, individualism, autonomy and independence. Thus there is a need for social and health care professionals to become informed about the changing nature of the SAI culture and to have a wider appreciation of issues relating to the service users with whom they are working.

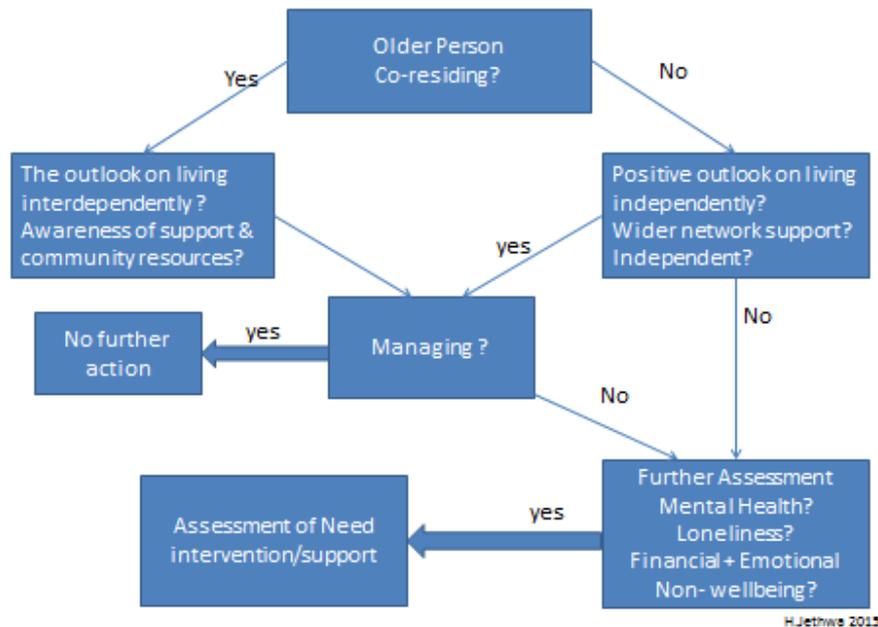
For social and health care workers, assessing and planning care, particularly condensing somebody's strengths and problems into three or four statements of need can present challenges, particularly if one is not familiar with the cultural aspects of the case. There are two aspects to our understanding of vulnerability, one related to the environment and services and other related to

the characteristics or needs of people (Martin 2007). Martin argues that if vulnerability is seen as a result of how people are looked after, then the focus of practice is on social policy and practice is underpinned by respect, equality and social justice, but if the vulnerability is located within an individual, then the risk is in blaming the person for their situation, rather than how society views or supports people.

So before taking the first step in assessing the older person of South Asian origin, it is important to understand the ageing processes of this group, to contextualise cultural heritage, understand migration life experiences and the extent to which normative values in the UK might have been adopted, adapted or rejected. Hockey and James (2003:130) in their discussions in relation to growing old suggest that the experiences, shape and the nature of the life course emerge out of “culturally specific assumptions”. Hence the social construction of ageing influences the way age is perceived, experienced and responded to. For example, self-esteem is closely related to social identity and if social identity is perceived via one’s membership of a larger family group, then deprivation (physical or perceived) of such membership can trigger a sense of loss of identity and the onset of emotions of loneliness, as described by one of my older participant “*an experience that cannot be described. Inside you feel totally empty and sad....a sadness that cannot be described*” (interview 3).

The flowchart (Diagram 11) is proposed as a tool for initial assessment as it aims to sensitise practitioners to perspectives that might be different from their own. Given the diversity in adaptation to the environmental and cultural changes by different SAIs, the core of the flowchart has its basis in ‘meaning making’ and the need to understand and accommodate differing reality positions, without losing sight of structural concerns in the care planning processes. The aim is to encourage real engagement through communication as the simple action of recording a person’s details can be therapeutic in itself (Phillips et. al. 2006). It is hoped that the proposed flowchart will be useful in making the initial assessment, in emphasising the individual nature or

character of the care planning process, and will aid anti- discriminatory practice by focusing on a sensitive and culturally appropriate assessment process when working with older South Asian service users.



**Diagram 11** Flowchart to guide practitioners when working with South Asian Older people

Step one in the initial assessment process is to identify the perceptions of the older people of living or not living within the wider family context, and to follow the flowchart accordingly to ascertain the level of need and interventions. The study revealed that all older participants revered and valued family connections as intrinsic to their life stage. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, the Indian self is described as ‘familial’ (Roland 1988), thus dissatisfaction with not having day-to-day contact with the family or lack of opportunity for being actively involved within the wider family or the feelings of being let down can all trigger the onset of loneliness and negatively affect overall coping ability for the situation in which they find themselves (Mehta 1998, Tummala-Narra et. al. 2012). One of the predictor of loneliness that Maxwell and Coebergh (1986 cited in Hogg and Vaughan 2005:531) identify is “how satisfied they are with their relationships” with the closest person in their life and whether they have daily contacts with others. Of the 8 older participants interviewed in this research, 5 described

feelings of loneliness and ambivalence about separation from adult children and living on their own. These factors can contribute towards that feeling of not managing and losing control over one's life and emotions.

The life course perspective highlights the interdependence of social relationships and provides a framework for understanding the impact of loss of opportunity to develop such relationships. This study has identified that there is a tension between the desired and the actual lived experiences amongst the second generation SAIs. For practitioners, understanding the premises and fundamental values upon which the older SAIs think, feel and act is an important aspect of the assessment of need. The notions of duty and obligations to support their children and look after grandchildren and their adult children's duty to support them as they grew older, that my older participants presented, are important issues. Many researchers (Mehta 1998; Mui and Shibusawa 2008; Ogbu 1993; Sharma and Kemp 2012) have highlighted that within the SAI context, family interconnectedness is psychologically beneficial and poor mental health is a likely consequence when there is a lack of family support and attention.

Researchers have identified that not only does the family offer support where "their children are providing victuals and a roof over their head and the older parents are cooking and taking care of grandchildren" (Sharma and Kemp 2012:137), but these aspects also serve to endorse the feelings of "recognition and validation" (Treas and Mazumdar 2002:137), and help not only towards identifying with the cultural roots of collectivism, but more importantly the use of collectivistic coping strategies. Ogbu (1994) and Patel and Prince (2001) maintain that physical separation from the family home can impact negatively on the coping strategies and mental health of individuals. If such expectations and relationships are not readily understood, then the nature of loss experienced may not be easily recognisable by practitioners.

The grieving process ultimately leads to accepting loss and to a search for new attachments, however, a problematic grief can occur if one is fixated on the loss and cannot accept the fact that the wider support of family is not

available in the form envisaged. The Hindu (11 out of 14 participants were Hindus) belief in life and death as part of 'karma' and transition are important points in managing changes and loss (Lamb 2015; Tummala-Nara et. al. 2012), and although this was not the focus of the study, the role of any faith in managing and accepting disappointments in life cannot be overlooked.

Within the study, most of my older participants had shown some resilience in coping with the changing nature of their later life. However, on the one hand migration and acculturation stress is well documented as impacting negatively on wellbeing (Kumar and Nevid 2010; Mehta 1998; Wray 2007), and on the other hand we have a situation where researchers have shown that SAIs have successfully shown bi-cultural competence and have become encultured (Patel 1998; Ramji 2006a). This cautions against treating SAIs as a homogenous group. It may be that certain sections of the society or community within the SAIs, possibly those who are highly educated, and/or those who have migrated via East African countries, and/or those who have professional or affluent businesses, have encultured well. However, social workers often come into contact with the fact of non-coping, vulnerability or need. Researchers in the USA have indicated the influence of social class and education on the levels of acculturation and enculturation within SAIs (Faver et. al. 2002, Sharma and Kemp 2012), however, research within the UK in this area is sparse, and the level of acculturation and enculturation may vary according to the history of migrations within the SAI population.

Social care provision is often required when one is most vulnerable and especially so for those who have little or no resources of their own to cope with the kind of dilemmas that cultural changes and ageing raise. Another issue for practice concerns the fact that older people who tacitly assume co-residence and family as a unit when in contact with professional workers, volunteer their adult children to care for them. This could partly be due to perceived stigma or due to older people assuming that because their social relations and practices revolve around families rather than individual priorities, that their adult children would be happy to provide care if needed as part of the social norm and as part of the parent-child

relationship. Hence, it is hoped that the outcomes of this study will help practitioners to become more aware of and appreciate the changes within family structures and SAI experiences, and following the elements indicated in the flowchart (Diagram 11) in this study will promote the delivery of sensitive practice, as well as help the making of accurate assessments for service provisions.

## **5.6 Strengths and limitations of the study**

There are several strengths and limitations to this study. I will start by examining the limitations to the study.

First the study is focused on a small group and on the South Asian Indian population based in Leicester. The research focus was on their narration of experiences and expectations regarding co-residence and involved in-depth semi-structured interview techniques. This resulted in a data corpus that was qualitatively detailed. As discussed earlier in the thesis, SAIs in the UK have a long history of migration and come from many parts of India whilst Leicester has the second largest SAI community in the UK (Census 2011). Hence, due to the population and ethnic makeup of Leicester, the Indian group interviewed for the study were mainly of Gujarati and East African origin. Burghart, (1987) identifies that a substantial majority of the Indians in the UK are of Gujarati decent and of these over two-thirds are Hindus. As discussed in Chapter 1, theoretically, it is likely that SAIs migrating to the UK directly from India will have come with different life experiences, and may have different outlooks, compared to the “twice migrants” (Ramji 2006b) from the African countries, who would probably have the added ( negative ) experience of Africanisation programmes. However, the commonality amongst the group as Weber (1978) argues is in their belief in the sense of community they share and in common descent that derives from their physical appearances to shared cultural practices and to shared histories of migration and /or colonisation. Naturally most have generationally shared experiences of settling in the UK and the younger cohort of growing up and being socialised within a multi-ethnic and diverse population in the UK. As such, my objective was to study the inner and collective life of a group of people who were

deeply involved in the changes taking place in their community and who were being changed by it.

The evidence of this life appeared in equivocal terms as respondents faced both an uncertain future and a past that had been lived elsewhere. In order to get the original meanings of these people's experiences I had to interpret the dialogues in symbolic terms, that is to say concretely in the terms of the people who lived with and created these meanings. I had to provide a place in my method of study which recorded where my subjects lived as persons (in their realities and in their hopes and imaginations) and as family members in the homes of their children or with their adult children in their own homes. This was a phenomenological task and the intention was to gain a human perspective. The sample size I feel was no barrier to this task and this and my personal and professional engagements and 'immersions' enabled me to make best use of in-depth and potentially rich data, subject to the interpretations which a theoretically informed approach can give.

Additionally, the younger adult sample size was half of that of older adults, whilst this was not specifically intended, the nature of the inquiry produced data from which to make comparisons, as the main focus of the study was on the second generation SAIs, and the smaller younger adult sample contributed towards providing concrete and actual information regarding mismatches in the expectations of older SAIs. Co-residence and non-co-residence do not guarantee meaningful relationships, and, unfortunately, the data do not include any measures of emotional or cognitive experience such as feelings of closeness or bonding. Ideally the data would have included this information, but ethically it was not possible for subject participants to share more than they were willing to impart, particularly in terms of their feelings towards how close they were to their adult children or parents and their emotions and detailed histories relating to this. Besides, although probes were used at times, the phenomenological nature of the inquiry meant that the emerging trends and themes were reliant on the information shared. However, a number of older adults did share their feelings of loss and of being let down, but these were not discussed or delved into further if the participants were not comfortable or did not want to share in-depth personal

accounts. This issue contributed in part to the nature of the research methodology used, which in the main relied on notions of subjectivity, and committed to being non-directive and free flowing wherever possible. In addition, emotions and feelings of rejection, of being let down, of shame and guilt are complex and the data has not facilitated and was not intended to explore the details of psychological and emotional distress in detail but was rather intended to explore and illuminate the themes of co-residence and care from an experiential perspective.

There are additional limitations regarding sample design. By intention, the data excludes SAIs living outside Leicester. Leicester has a sizeable SAI community that is well established. Given that the consequences of impacts of change on families that live in areas with established and non-established SAI communities may vary, future research should consider participants from both these types of areas. The study excludes participants whose children were not born in this country, and this has excluded some young families that arrived as refugees particularly from Uganda. Future research should investigate age variance but this lay beyond the intended scope of this thesis.

Many researchers have identified male and female differences in expectations and of impact of children leaving home and of living on their own (Lamb 2009; Mehta 1998; Wray 2007). Although the balance between males and females within my study is 50:50, the study did not focus on differences in the experiences and expectations between older male and female participants. This is partly because the focus of the study was on the overall experiences and expectations of co-residence, and as such it aimed to explore more generic issues. Hence, the differences in expressions between genders within the data corpus have remained dormant, but not to the detriment of the study. Hence there is a scope in future research designs to focus on gender expectations and its implications.

Despite these limitations, this research, grounded in phenomenological and interpretivist perspectives, provides some of the first evidence of linking expectations of co-residence between generations and offers insights into some of the consequences for the ageing SAIs in the UK. The strength of this research lies

in the fact that no previous study has focused on expectations of co-residence as part of filial obligation or gleaned information from younger generations as to their expectations and roles regarding co-residence within the South Asian context, and hence this study is the first of its kind in the UK.

Although this thesis has a limited focus, the findings obtained fill a considerable void in the literature of intergenerational relations in respect of one of the diverse ethnic groups in the UK. This will, I hope, enable researchers to examine further the role of co-residence for ageing parents and most importantly for health and social care workers who are often in face-to-face contact with those who are not coping with the changes indicated in this thesis. It is hoped that the flowchart (see Diagram 11) will be a useful tool, as it could provide a guide to social and health care workers to the initial steps required for their assessments when working with this group of SAIs and beyond.

The study has targeted a particular community i.e. the ageing second generation SAIs who have settled in the UK over a long period of time. However, very little is known about the impacts of migration, racism and ageism on settling processes on this community particularly as they age. These aspects of interrelationships remain under theorised, and as Wray (2007:19) discusses “theories of ageing have to be sensitive to those different voices that construct and make sense of growing older”. The lack of research in this area may have been partly because SAI families are reluctant to participate in studies that ask them to report on issues that are considered private that could lead to stigmatisation for which they might feel partly responsible. My insider status has helped to come closer in overcoming some of these difficult issues of access and disclosure as well as providing personal, existential and professional insight into the issues that concern the target population, voiced through the words and thoughts of my respondents. Hence, this study offers a step towards understanding this unstudied phenomenon within this population and contributes towards documenting experiences of migration and diversity of cultures for discourses and theories of ageing to incorporate.

The SAI populations in the UK are at different stages in their settlement, e.g. the migration of SAIs on work permits particularly from India is on a continuum, and although most of those coming on work permits are highly educated or are intending to set up businesses on a large scale, there is a mix of non-skilled and skilled professionals as well as those from urban and rural backgrounds. Researchers have indicated that the processes of acculturation and enculturation are impacted by these backgrounds (Faver et. al. 2002, Sharma and Kemp 2012). This study, with the participants mostly being from skilled working- class backgrounds, highlighted the onset of the enculturation processes but at the same time indicated what can be considered the shortfalls. These concerned the fact older participants expected to be cared for by their adult children should the need arise. This is indicative of issues that health and social care services may need to prepare for both at delivery and policy stages in order to develop culturally competent approaches to services.

Hence, this study, in highlighting the changes within the family and extended family systems, expectations of co-residence and care, the associated acculturation and the enculturation processes and the impacts of these changes on the ageing SAI population, has emphasised the practical implications for services and service delivery on the issues that have so far remained subtle.

## **5.7 Reflection on the process**

The theoretical approach to this study was constructivist and interpretivist and as such the research methodology and the research method applied reflected this. The overall purpose of the study was to gather and analyse the perceptions of the phenomena that the participants identified for themselves and to use the data to identify the emerging themes. Conducting the semi-structured in-depth interviews and the use of probes as and when necessary, helped the flow of the interviews, however, there were times when the participants talked on issues that were not related to the aims of my study and other times participants avoided issues that were considered sensitive or private. As a researcher, I was mindful of ensuring

that the flow of their conversation was as free flowing as possible and I sought not to interject or influence this flow as much as was possible.

Coming from the same cultural background helped me to put participants at their ease and for some, being able to switch from English to Gujarati and vice versa was useful, particularly when talking about deeper aspects of culture. Only one interview was conducted in Gujarati, and the length and the depth of this interview is noticeable. It is interesting that many of my participants talked more after the voice recorder was switched off. Most of these conversations were of a personal nature akin to sharing some private and intimate aspects of their life, resulting in my collecting a wider range of information and adding to my experiential understanding.

The process of transcribing was a lengthy process, however, it helped me to come closer to the data and become familiar with its content and scope. The temptation to use material from the pilot interview and from the conversations after the interviews was restricted, to ensure as much transparency as possible at every stage. However, I do acknowledge that information is not heard in a vacuum and therefore the influence of my interpretations of material collected from all experiences is a constant. In this context the capacity to critically reflect on views yielded by respondents is important to the integrity of the thesis and I hope to have demonstrated this to the reader. The data revealed a contested reality which is shifting as the world itself and its social components develop in response to change from both within the community and from far beyond.

The research design and the decision to seek opinions from the third generation were useful on many counts. As far as I am aware, the third generation views on filial obligations and co-residence have not been sought previously by researchers. Their views have provided a glimpse into the current changes that are taking place in relation to family dynamics and of the long term changes that will impact on the ageing SAIs. Although there were problems in relation to recruiting the younger participants, the research strategy involving the use of older and younger adult participants, has worked in highlighting acculturation and

enculturation processes. It has also served to identify the mismatch in the expectations of co-residence particularly in relation to the ideas of space, privacy, independence, sense of obligations and duty; and in the understanding of the impact of these on ageing processes, as well as in highlighting pointers for further areas of research.

Older participants were recruited via local radio announcements, but this method did not attract any younger adult participants. They were recruited via community centres and word of mouth. The initial idea to interview parents and their adult children was not possible for practical and ethical reasons. This study did not target class differences or gender differences, although on reflection my participants were mostly from professional and semi-professional backgrounds and I had recruited equal numbers of males and females. This intersection of class, status and gender is an important area for future research.

The research process is about describing and evaluating experience and in so doing it is about illuminating our understanding of meanings and experience, and as such, I had started the process without a specific hypothesis or particular preconceptions. However, I acknowledge that having an aim to the study does impact and implicitly guide the process; as well as my previous research experience with South Asians living in residential and sheltered homes, my own upbringing by my paternal grandmother, and my lived-experiences of co-residence. Besides, working and living within the community gives a unique opportunity to come close to everyday issues that impact upon ordinary lives, and academic access further enhances formulations of concepts arising out of these every day experiences. As a result, I was mindful that the generation of knowledge that I sought is inevitably influenced by my ideas, concepts, reflections, and my knowledge via academic and field research. I was aware therefore of the care that had to be taken to ensure integrity and non-bias throughout the process.

Using thematic analysis of the data helped to systematically highlight emerging issues and the process of analysis has helped to combine literature assessments as forms of evidence in relation to the data and thus to make meaningful observations and analysis for practice. Within social work practice the idea of practitioner research has developed as professionals have sought to understand and evaluate the impact and certain policy, practice or theoretical stances that have been taken for granted or applied as part of their professional practice. Implicitly these activities fall into the category of practice - based 'applied research' rather than academic based 'pure research', the difference being in the style of approach to research questions and the methodologies used to gather the needed evidence. This study is rooted in practice and has used practice observations to combine practitioner and academic research to raise some important questions around practice with ageing SAIs and to produce a much needed guideline (Diagram 11) that can be used in the professional field. The adoption of this flowchart for the third year 'Safeguarding Adults' module teaching within the social work undergraduate and post-graduate degree programme at the University of Derby is pleasing.

In reflecting on the overall experience of this research and its incorporation in the doctoral thesis, it is a privilege to be allowed to reflect on intimate aspects of people's lives. It was important for me to remember that my role in the study was to consider the lived-experience of my respondents and to be true in describing this through the 'lens' of those who actually experienced it. Throughout the process, I was aware that my interpretation would be affected by my over 30 years of working for and with the community, but it is this very experience that equipped me with the insight and gave me the capacity to work on the research question. However, my main concern throughout the process was to ensure that these experiences of my own did not cloud my judgements nor my analysis and understanding of a complex and fascinating set of human issues and challenges.

## 5.8 Summary

This study provides some of the first evidence linking expectations of care and support in old age with the expectations of co-residence. It highlights the changes within second and third generation in SAI communities, particularly in relation to the family values, structure and heritage culture. The rate of incorporation of the value base of autonomy and independence against the strong heritage culture within SAI communities is fascinating and challenging to many of those who are impacted by the challenge of change. It points to a seemingly rapid process of acculturation and enculturation amongst this community and as such needs further research to ascertain the implications, particularly as the number of older SAIs in the UK is on the increase. Despite the bicultural competencies that some researchers have alluded to (Gupta and Pillai 2000; Kumar and Navid 2010; Ramji 2006a), this study has indicated some deeper underlying unease in relation to co-residence and care between generations. The contention for older people in the study is handling the transitions from being pioneering to taking a back seat, as well as handling the differing expectations and the prospects of spending their later lives on their own. These aspects need further research, both from academic and practice perspectives and it is hoped that this thesis might provide one of the foundation pillars for such a project.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

The key issues and concerns (discussed at length in Chapter 1) that this study set out to explore were the expectations of co-residence and care amongst second and third generation South Asian Indians (SAIs) in the United Kingdom (UK). The key objective was to gain critical insights into the innermost sentiments within family relations and how these might impact the ageing process. The key research question - what are the expectations of co-residence and care amongst the second and third generation adult population of SAI origin in Leicester? – therefore set the key objectives of the study.

A phenomenological approach was used to investigate and illuminate the perspectives second and third generation SAIs have towards co-residence and care. The research data thus gained were used to analyse and make sense of their experiences and the impacts of settling in a complex industrial western society - their 'second homeland'. Of great concern and interest were the perceptions of contemporary life as experienced by a specific generation; the fears and adaptations necessarily encountered by migrants into in a culturally plural environment and in what some sensed as an uncertain future. The study used academic and field research and professional knowledge, and focused on the application of a conceptual framework involving an examination of cultural assumptions, parent-child relationships and concepts such as ambivalence, acculturation and enculturation in order to explicate and illuminate key issues that impact on the experiences of this ageing settled minority.

This academic enterprise was co-terminously a bid to identify gaps and offer insights to enhance social work practice with the identified group. The methodology was empirical in its 'register' involving close and 'thick' descriptive and analytical engagement with respondents. The views and 'voices' of these participants were thus crucial in yielding insight and illumination and provided within the methodology an epistemological justification for the findings alongside the 'insider researcher' stance which I was able to supply to the project.

## 6.1 Key findings

This study is first of its kind to highlight a number of social changes that are occurring at the present time. This is particularly the case in relation to expectations of care and co-residence within British SAI communities and links the expectations of care and support in old age with the expectations of co-residence within these communities. The key issues that were highlighted are in relation to the social, cultural and attitudinal changes occurring within SAI culture, in particular between generations in the concept of family and familial care. The findings highlight a number of issues such as the physical and emotional impact of these on the life course of SAIs in the UK; some significant differences in the ageing processes between the settled minority (SAIs) and the indigenous populations; the acculturation and enculturation processes within the lived experience of SAIs and the implications of these on practice and service provisions. Overall the findings point towards gaps within academic and professional practice in incorporating different voices that make sense of growing older and as such would have an intended impact on social policy as well as within social and health care practice. The requisite details of these key findings are summarised below.

One of the important factors that this study highlights is the rapid change in the social attitudes people hold, particularly in relation to family and points towards the decline of extended family living within SAI culture in the UK as a growing reality (out of 12 participants only 2 lived in multigenerational household). The study identified that the third generation SAIs in the UK felt that nuclear living was their preference and that they had the right to opt to live within a nuclear family if they so wished. The second generation SAIs on the other hand, although they recognised some of the advantages in the preferences and choices their adult children made in terms of living arrangements, felt powerless to impose their ideals in relation to co-residence and to have interdependent relationships of care and support within the family environment. These changes were identified as yielding significant implications, particularly for those who may have expectations of growing old in multigenerational households. In addition, these

findings also had implications on the perception of SAI culture, both from within the SAI community and at wider societal level, and on the ageing processes and expectations of SAIs and as such had implications for social and health care practice.

For example, although second generation SAIs acknowledged that growing old in the UK was more secure in terms of life expectancy and enhanced life style, there were pressures associated with insecurities around co-residency and ongoing support from their adult children. The issues highlighted were mostly related to the concepts of the nuclear family versus that of the wider extended family and the differing priority of needs, thus illustrating the two structurally and ideologically differing perspectives of individualism and collectivism within the family context. This entailed also the consequential dilemmas of influence and adoption of values from the host or heritage cultures. Thus the younger participants had exhibited greater emphasis on the needs of the nuclear family whilst older participants had identified the needs of the wider family as whole and the need for altruism, reverence and parent-child relationships within the family relations. Acknowledging the fact that occupational, educational and economic changes are experienced differently by each generation and that “each generation have to work them through against the cultural backdrop of their own generational peer group and sub-cultures” (Brake 1980: 22), it is this very process that leads to changes that result in integration, assimilation, separation or marginalisation. However, as highlighted in Chapters 2 and 5, these processes do not take place in a vacuum; the power relations, issues of prestige, status considerations and the social policies and politics of a culture and its people all play their part, and within the British context, these sentiments have been echoed by many writers on social justice and equality (Meer 2014; Savage 2015).

Within the study sample, there were participants who saw the family as a building block of social structure and within that, co-residence as symbolic to them for the preservation of their cultural heritage and for upholding the values of collectivism. They emphasised their role in passing on the values of respect, duty and veneration of older people, and their duty as grandparents in promoting these

core cultural values and sense of pride in one's identity and cultural heritage. In such cases, their child opting out of multigenerational living was seen by some parents as a betrayal of their trust, upbringing and cultural code of conduct. The lack of opportunities to pass on cultural heritage was viewed as having an impact on all generations and one that could further result in the loss of cultural identity, the endorsement of individualism, the demise of collectivism and possibly capitulation to the allure of consumerism and material wealth. Such changes could highlight the consequences to social – moral relationships between individuals, families and the state and were generally seen as a negative force for change by the research respondents in this study.

The different generations, however, identified pressures (real and/or perceived) to conform to societal and cultural values. The younger participants identified coercion (real and/or moral) and some guilt in relation to opting for nuclear living, but did not feel shame in making these choices as they asserted that it was their right as adults to make these independent choices. Older participants, on the other hand, were of the view that forms of emotional satisfaction are achieved through an increased focus on relationships, and thus for them there were the pressures to conform to heritage culture, which they perceived as the culture that could give them the desired stability and emotional fulfilment, and provide an important component to their cultural identity and existence. Thus, these concerns highlight the importance that the older participants placed on family interconnectedness and intergenerational solidarity for their psychological wellbeing and its importance to successful coping and social integration in old age. A variety of emotions such as despair, anger, grief, disbelief, acceptance, guilt, sadness, isolation, loneliness, and shame were cumulatively identified amongst the older generations; thus emphasising the adjustments that are being made as part of the transition to ageing and adapting to the cultural changes which are afoot in the wider society. Their experiences of sadness and loneliness raise important concerns for wellbeing that cannot be overlooked.

A practical aspect of multigenerational families living together involved the care of ageing parents by adult children through the acceptance of the cultural values

of filial obligations, respect and reverence for parents. With decline in this form of living, the study identified that there was a greater demand on age egalitarianism, as the tradition of entering into the 'vanaprastha' (retirement) stage where older parents are expected to pass on the day-to-day responsibility of maintaining a household to their adult children, is delayed or becomes non-existent. This is egalitarian in the sense that independent and separate living by different family generations is extended beyond what was culturally expected in times past. Several participants had identified their lack of preparations for living on their own in their old age, and this was reflected in the way that some older participants lived in the hope that they would begin to live in multigenerational households when the financial conditions were right or when they "*become old*" and were in need of physical help. There are thus implications for the older SAIs when they confront their hopes of co-residing and / or being cared for by their children and the fears and feelings of being neglected and/or abandoned.

For some older participants, the physical separation from the family home and lack of opportunities to continue to play a role in their children's families impacted on their coping strategy. Co-residence, besides serving practical aspects of care and support, was seen as serving to endorse the feelings of recognition and validation of parent-child relationships as well as providing strategies for coping. This is an important issue and outcome that was identified in the research, particularly as a link between lack of coping strategies and the onset of mental ill health has been identified by many researchers such as Kumar and Nevid (2010), Ogbu (1994), Patel and Prince (2001), Sharma and Kemp (2012) and Treas and Mazumdar (2002). With the emergence of the change of living arrangements (multigenerational to nuclear), as well as the population rise of older SAIs in the UK, this is predicted to be an area of growing concern as these new living arrangements could trigger the feelings of loneliness, depression and sadness which within SAI cultures are considered taboo subjects and for which disclosure is considered to be socially unacceptable.

The findings of the study alluded to the deep rootedness of the cultural concept of co-residence. The question that arises is that if the SAI culture is strong and deep-

rooted, then adaptation to nuclear living within a generation is too short a time for change. There are a number of explanations. Anthropologically it may be too short a time to assess fully the impact of this growing phenomenon; however it has been argued (Meer 2014), that the cycles of immigration and settlement throughout history have necessarily reflected the implications of coming to terms with diversity. The challenge is often around how the notion of universality is assumed, practiced or endorsed. On one hand, there is the idea of community and all that this conveys in terms of familiarity and security and as Bauman (2001) argues a paradise that we all strive for, and on the other hand, the idea of integration and striving for a truly intercultural society which embraces many 'cultures' and significant differences and diversity. Participants in this study were mostly highly qualified, came from professional backgrounds, and were what Ramji (2006a) calls 'twice migrants' (migration to the UK via African countries) which could allude to the changes in culture as an ongoing phenomenon which were part of the experience of the earlier SAI generations. In addition, it has been argued that exposure to cultural diversity challenges one to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of one's own cultures and ways of life (Parekh 2000). We can note at the same time that living in a modern society such as Britain, one is exposed to many stratified mechanisms and institutions such as schooling and social placement that aid and shape social reproduction and intergenerational continuities in terms of individualism, class, race, gender, and age. These aspects of modern life no doubt, can influence fundamental attitudes and shape behaviour in all social groups in a highly stratified and diverse society such as that of modern Britain. What was clearly of concern within this conspectus and for this study in particular, was just how the values of individualism are absorbed as common sense and can appear to serve to contradict the fundamental value orientations of older people.

The professional project of the doctorate and the associated research activities highlighted the concerns older participants had in terms of the influence of the dominant culture on their children and their inability to pass on the heritage culture in quite the same way, reflecting the fact that social and cultural capital

that has value for a young person's development does not reside solely within the family. However, there was some display of ambivalence within both generations. The younger participants displayed awareness of the predicament and proposed various ways of keeping contact and continuity. Whilst the older participants, in highlighting their fears of being alone or sick and unable to care for themselves on their own as they grew older, also reflected on their fears and concerns of burdening their children with their care. However, the processes of evolution of cultural values do not occur in vacuum and they are dependent on host and heritage culture interactions and responses. For example, dilemmas and conflicts arise when one normative value is prioritised over another or when one value is considered less progressive and is seen as holding on to ideas that are viewed as culturally conservative. Weinreich (2009), as highlighted in Chapter 2, cautions that extreme xenophobic views within a dominant culture would lead to separation and entrenchment of heritage cultures; however, given the multi-cultural policies in Britain, it is likely that we can find people at different stages on this continuum. For example, within the study, some participants discussed the adoption of the values of autonomy and independence as a useful addition to their cultural repertoire. Hence, within the study, the life course events of the older SAIs pointed to an important transition in respect of age-related social changes, and these involved complexities and contradictions relating to the expectations of co-residence, care and parent-child relationships.

The findings of the thesis highlighted some of the adjustments that are being made as part of the transition to ageing and adapting to the cultural changes described in the thesis. Both generations were adjusting and adapting to the concepts of family and the 'newer' living arrangements and changing their roles against an eastern and western cultural backdrop, even if this was reluctantly or out of lack of choice. For example, older participants shared their awareness of the pressures of work and of the '*life style*' in the UK; showed a willingness to modify their expectations by forming a ritual of their children visiting them and sharing a meal once a week in order to maintain the sense of family cohesion, and some younger participants talked about keeping a regular contact with parents via

phone and skype. Hence both generations were trying to find amicable and ‘individualised’ solutions to the situation in hand and in the process were reinventing the culture within the UK context. The findings to some extent resonate with Weinreich’s (2009) discussion of the process of enculturation involving the incorporation of significant aspects from both the dominant and heritage cultures and that people are able to make choices, and that “good adjustments pertain to acceptance of both dominant and heritage cultures” (Ibid 2009:125) which leads to integration.

All the older participants except one had assumed that their adult children would want to co-reside with them as a cultural norm and a way of life, and as such they exhibited efforts towards acceptance and making sense of their predicament. They did this by reflecting on their past, present and future situation, thus accepting the situation they find themselves in as part of transition and ageing in their second homeland. Interestingly, one older participant, who had not assumed co-residence, had two daughters. The differences in expectations of co-residence with sons and daughters were highlighted by all participants. The prevalent ideology and promotion of gender equality within British culture is bound to impact SAI culture and although the differences within the gender roles and expectations are not attended to within this research paradigm, it is an area of growing relevance and interest. Within this research, the benefits of keeping the focus limited to the aspects of overall expectations of co-residence outweighed the possible gains of a broader approach to such matters as gender within patterns of social reproduction in minority SAI populations. However, it is important to note, as highlighted in the findings, that all the participants (younger and older) had identified co-residence with sons as “*more practical*”, which reflects the extent to which cultural systems are absorbed and practiced. Given the patriarchal nature of SAI culture and the associated matters of co-residence with daughters and taboos in respect of the woman’s family, it is recommended that future research explore and examine this aspect of expectations.

The study draws attention to other significant areas of social policy development. For example, if older adult coping strategies are affected, then there is a

likelihood of a roll-on impact on the state in terms of social, health and welfare safeguarding. Some countries such as India, Singapore, Korea and China have proactive social policies in place that insist on state interventions to support intergenerational living arrangements. These countries, however, have a base in collectivist approaches to care, unlike western countries where the base of much social policy is individualistic and the meaning of care is defined within the relationship of user to carer. The findings of the research also highlighted the lack of adequate housing facilities and space that contributed towards the push factors of nuclear living. Bearing in mind the imminent rise in older populations and the current emphasis by the state on the developing social and health care within the community, it is recommended that a development of pro-active social policy regarding encouraging/supporting intergenerational living arrangements is considered.

Another important aspect that this study highlights is the impact of non-co-residence both on the older and the younger South Asians, in relation to the implications for social and health care professionals. As the possible trend of ageing SAIs living on their own increases, such people are likely to be exposed to similar vulnerabilities as the indigenous ageing population. Furthermore, with more and more SAI older people living on their own, care within the home will involve examination of the work demands made on younger generations and that may mean that the older generation cannot necessarily rely on their children to provide care. An additional matter concerns the fact that whereas previously SAI older people were largely looked after in the home within multigenerational households, social and health care practice perspectives may need to examine the stereotypical views of care of older South Asian people within the family home itself. We must also note that if the ageing SAIs feel stigmatised or ashamed of their predicament, then they may not be as willing to voice their dissatisfaction and disappointment. Negative life events and experiences are known to amplify negative effects on older adults therefore making them more psychologically vulnerable and susceptible to stress. The possible consequences on the mental health of the older person and distress on family members cannot be overlooked.

The recent shifts in the focus of care, from the state to the family, means, that for health and social care professionals, this research highlights an additional and an important dimension of concern.

The results of the study, particularly concerning the social changes taking place amongst the SAI population, are important for practice and policy, particularly as the phenomenon of nuclear (and even independent 'single') living in western countries is considered normal. Within SAI culture nuclear living is considered to be deviant from the norm. For example, within the UK the recent trend of adult children living longer in the parents' home has been documented as an event which has negative implications on privacy and autonomy for parents and children alike, thus emphasising nuclear living as a desired norm and endorsing the general expectations within British society at large. The older SAIs in the study, however, thought it was normal for their adult children (especially sons) to continue living with them and they yearned for them to live together, which highlights the dilemma that both the younger and the older SAI generations face and the pressures to adjust to the societal and cultural environment and the impact that this might have on the behaviours, attitudes and emotions of this group of the population.

Additionally, the phenomenon of young adults who do not leave their parents' home or delay leaving the family 'nest' is about youth and the emphasis is on beginning an independent life, which presents distinctive challenges for the family members of the different generations involved. Whilst older parents needing support and living with adult children, particularly when adult children have their own family is more about old age and dependence and thus constitutes almost a role reversal. Hence, the discussions of co-residence with adult children and their parents living with them are very specific and concrete whilst also communicating a highly charged symbolic value concerning life-style, culture and identity.

The outcomes of this study are very important for social welfare practitioners and other helping services, and calls for practitioners to be vigilant and to check on the outlook a person/service user might have regarding co-residence and being on their own. The flowchart produced at diagram 11 aims to give step- by- step guidelines and a checklist for social and health care professionals when they make initial assessments of the needs of older people of South Asian origin. This assessment tool is designed to encourage a person-centred service delivery, where a service user is central to the delivery of the service. More importantly it is designed to help professionals approach their practice with care and concern and to understand the emotions and the practicalities that might be related to the situation. The flowchart also acts as a reminder to practitioners to guard against the application of any stereotypical assumptions that they may have in relation to South Asians' preferences to 'look after their own'.

Overall this study highlighted social changes occurring within SAI culture and the fact that there are significant differences between the settled minority (SAIs) and the indigenous population with regard to the experience and organisation of the ageing process. Within academic and professional practice, often the different voices that make sense of growing older are not heard, and it can be argued that the evolving accounts and theories of ageing need to include the voices of SAIs who are growing older as well as recognition of the effects of migration, racism, acculturation and enculturation. Otherwise, the practice of safeguarding vulnerable older adults will continue to deliver what might be seen as eurocentric and non-inclusive service to a significant population.

## **6.2 Overall contribution to 'new' knowledge**

Undertaking a study at doctoral level is underpinned by the expectations of the production of 'new knowledge' that contributes to the current pool of knowledge. The notion of originality in knowledge production within an education setting is a curious one. If knowledge is produced as a result of consciousness raising, then this could imply that knowledge is located in experience. This was in fact one of the starting points of this project and that the meanings people gave to their own

experience was a valid and necessary starting point. Uncovering those meanings, it was argued, was a phenomenological task. Explicating that experience and interrogating it with appropriate and critical concepts and frameworks of understanding is the key. Freire (1972) argues that there is no such thing as a 'neutral' education process, as formal education is often from a basis of dominant power relations. He argues that dialogue within the educational setting involves co-operative activities that involve respect and mutual recognition. The issue then for professional practice is whether formal education would really cater for working outside the parameters set out by the 'educationist'. I also acknowledge that the adoption of research methodology and the researcher's attitudes towards the use of deductive or inductive reasoning in gaining 'new knowledge' is also crucial to the mode of knowledge produced. Hence, throughout the study I have made attempts to scrutinise and reflect on the possible choices for undertaking the research and the nature of the production of original and 'new knowledge' and its scope for generalisation.

The core and the initial drive of my study is practice driven and the production of 'new knowledge' is not just for itself, which is where I think the difference lies between knowledge production in academia and in practice. However, Bourdieu (1997), argues that the debates and distinctions between what is known as practical knowledge and scholarly knowledge and how these connect or are understood within the social world is guided by our value systems and embedded power within its institutions. For me, as a practitioner researcher, the practical knowledge gained in situ cannot be applied without clear theoretical bases and the connection of these via research is what gives validity to what is known or can be accepted as new knowledge. I feel this is what evidence-based practice is about.

There are two parallel issues here, one relating to the production of 'new knowledge' outside the scholarly conventions and other ruled by practitioners and their approach towards the production of 'new knowledge'. The field of gerontology has been criticised for over- emphasising the structural aspects of older peoples' experiences and a lack of exploration of subjective experiences of individuals, which is concerned with meanings, interpretations and interactions

within society (Llewellyn 2009). This study, in a bid to explore subjective experiences and their more objective interpretations and meanings, has used an inductive and constructivist stance and combined academic, professional and research outcomes in the production of 'new knowledge'. It is in the relationship between the object studied (SAIs) and appropriate methodology that new knowledge was generated. The objects of research (SAIs) became epistemic subjects and their narratives informed my ontological approach and these were the source of new insights and thus of new knowledge. For example, in conducting this study, I have used participants that were settled and from second and third generation SAIs for interviewing. All the studies that I have examined in relation to this community have used participants from a single generation and most of these are based on interviews with mixtures of first and second generation South Asians, as well as new arrivals.

The social change that is occurring affects all generations, however gleaning the views of this particular generation has not only added to the richness of the study, but provided an added dimension to knowledge and understanding of the phenomena in relation to this settled minority. Additionally, interviewing the second and the third generations SAIs has yielded insights into acculturation, enculturation, the changing nature of the expectations of co-residence and its impact on the ageing SAIs, as well as producing pointers for practice for this settled minority.

This phenomenon, for example, linking aspects of care and co-residence, has not been previously documented or researched on in the UK. This study is therefore, the first of its kind that emphasises the issues relating to the expectations of co-residence and to highlight this phenomenon using the two settled generations of SAIs in the UK. In conjunction with these findings, since these issues as a growing phenomenon have not been highlighted within social or health care practice, this study has produced a practice guideline for initial assessment, which has been incorporated into social work teaching at the University of Derby. Overall the 'new' knowledge produced from this study gives pointers to areas for

changes and modifications in social policy and practice as well as pointers for further areas of research.

### **6.3 Overall reflection and learning**

Initially the project was born out of my experiences in the field when a service user shared with me the information that in the process of settling in the UK he had gained prestige and wealth, but lost his children. I started the project by exploring the written material on the topic and as I began searching a number of studies, particularly in relation to Chinese and Taiwan communities, came to light. The literature in respect of South Asian communities in the UK was mainly around health issues. Some American studies in recent years have begun to address some of the issues such as dependency on adult children and acculturation faced by older South Asian Indians living outside India. However, most of the studies examined have focused on issues around the culture of care and mental health. Co-residence and care within these studies are assumed but not critically examined; hence the literature search for this study entailed triangulation of information from various sources. Undertaking this research helped to sharpen the focus and in reflection of the phenomenological methodology, this sharpness of the focus developed as the data was thematised.

In considering and working with this study, the task was not just about understanding key issues, themes and debates but to develop research skills and enhance professional knowledge and to enable the use of these understandings to construct enhanced understanding, identify gaps and develop practice guidelines as well as create further constructs for the creation of ‘new knowledge’ for practice. A requisite degree of reflection was required of the research process and the presentations within Chapters 3, 4 and 5 demonstrate a range of processes in relation to preparations, reflections, illuminations and verifications, as well as issues of ‘being’ in the field and being part of the community under scrutiny. The choice of an inductivist and constructionist method was consistent with the nature of the topic and the subjects to be studied, that is to say, it would capture the lived and experienced realities of SAIs and the contexts in which their life course was

played out. However, in a sense since my approach was within a phenomenological framework there were often implicit understandings and engagements involved. This was an intrinsic aspect of being an involved researcher; immersed but self-consciously aware of being both a part and of being separate from my object of study. It is argued then this knowledge only became research when I was able to be aware of the process and started to reflect upon it. This process has brought about transformations in my own thinking and hopefully helped to create deeper and more personal understandings of a range of social phenomena, particularly in relation to the rate of social change that is taking place within the SAI community. The production of 'new knowledge' thus came about by combining various skills of preparation and verification developed as part of carrying out this project and from combining understandings from academic and field research and from professional and reflexive practice.

There is an aspect of reflection and the creation of new knowledge which also justifies inclusion within the conclusions of the thesis. This concerns the issue of 'being in the field' and being part of the community under scrutiny. Being in the field was an ontological issue and literally this meant that making sense of what I found were existential issues for participants could only find expression through my own full membership of the community. I believe this issue raises interesting concerns of how one can minimise distinctions between researchers and researched. I make no claim to solving the issues that arise but wish to acknowledge their salience and importance for social research within a society of diverse communities. I hope my insights here might make some small contribution to the generic knowledge base in this regard.

The case for discussing an original idea was complex, and had ethical implications, particularly, as my chosen area of research was considered private and very sensitive within the community in which I lived. The idea of research, what it is that needs researching and for what purposes were all issues that as an insider researcher I needed to address for myself as a person, as part of an academic establishment and most importantly for the practice setting. It was like juggling with multiple realities which quite early on endorsed the need for

constant transparency at all stages to ensure the balance of power, trust and responsibility. However, having worked within the South Asian communities and being of SAI origin, meant that I had insights and experience of the subject chosen for the study, and although there was a “relative lack of shock or disorientation” (Hockey 2003:199), I was acutely aware of the ethical and power dilemmas in conducting the research and the need to keep to a social work practitioner’s brief of confidentiality, moral code of conduct and adherence to the notions of justice, equality and anti-oppressive practice. This aided in providing on-going ethical reflexivity to ensure integrity, trustworthiness and transparency in the study as well as using research and reflection to understand the influences of my own ‘habitus’, and my focus and interests in developing and leading change within my practice.

Thus the work outlined in the thesis has drawn on the conceptual resources of the community itself and the narrative in this thesis highlights the subtle shades of ‘insiderism’ and ‘outsiderism’ that Hellawell (2006) discusses in presenting issues of empathy, inside knowledge and closeness to the research field, as well as endorsing the “fluidity of practitioner researcher position” that Drake and Heath (2011:3) flag up. For example, in carrying out this study, I grappled with the transcriptions, notes made of conversations after the interviews, my own understandings and practice knowledge of the issues from the community. I engaged with the general feedback that I elicited from various sources of my research which in effect was the ‘story of every other home’ within the SAI community. So, although the narrative has an external object - the SAI generations and my 12 respondents - it had a very particular and personal dimension which connected the worlds of lived-experience with that of the knowledgeable researcher; a researcher who was equipped with a conceptual tool-kit, as it were, which enabled subjective feelings and sentiments to be expressed in more objective and verifiable forms. For example, the reflections which are recorded in the interview transcripts became research data only when there was a successful separation of my thoughts and assumptions from the experiences of my participants. To this end, the subjects of my research were allowed to speak for themselves and thereafter their experiences, identified as emerging themes, were

interrogated within an academic framework of concepts derived from the appropriate academic field (see Chapter 2). I believe that it is this merging of researcher and practitioner insights and activities that has enabled the significant practice and professional developments that are formulated in this thesis.

Doing insider research was both an intellectual and an emotional challenge. The study was therefore not just an empirical investigation; it was an exploration into emotions, feelings, desires and sentiments of people who had experienced a long and sometimes difficult period of settlement and adjustment to British society - in all its great complexity and contradictoriness. Through this method individuals gained confidence and capacities to understand their own life-time biographies better, and were able to express themselves as part of what they wished to envisage as a sustainable community culture, through the notion of co-residency and multi-generational living. This concept was of course problematized by the research which necessarily reflected the rise of modern alternative life-styles and perspectives held by the younger age cohorts.

The emergence of the self as a researcher was in no way separate from these concerns and the highly contested nature of realities that different people hold, even within a single identifiable ethnic or cultural group. Hence, the process was in a substantial way about identifying the unwritten rules and putting these in an academic context that conforms to high-level scholarly work and “making the tacit explicit” (Macfarlane 2009:125). After all reflection becomes research when ideas are tested out and there is an encounter or engagement with reality. This was the nature of this work with SAIs in Leicester and the use of their biographic narratives became a preferred mode of re-framing and re-conceptualising the knowledge and experience that was under scrutiny. As has been argued in the thesis, making sense of the data and material in qualitative research is an integral part of the research process; it is really a continuous process in which I was involved as researcher, practitioner and as a member of the community. I believe that learning from this process has been instructive and hugely rewarding from personal, professional and academic perspectives. I hope that I have been able to

give back something of similar value to those without whose help I could not have accomplished the project.

## **6.4 Dissemination**

Professional practice is about developing knowledge from the outcomes of practice and research and using these to inform practice. The flowchart (diagram 11) and the outcomes of this research have been incorporated as part of teaching on the module ‘Safeguarding Adults’ on undergraduate and post-graduate programmes in the Social Work Degree Programme at the University of Derby. Presentations at number of international conferences on ageing served as another platform to share the initial findings of this study and a paper for publication to a refereed journal is in the pipeline. Wider use of the flowchart (diagram 11) and the outcomes of this study via publications, conferences and involvement of the practitioners on the ground are being explored, and further dialogue with practitioners on the ground to adopt this as part of the assessment procedure is being developed. In the lived reality and contexts of practice and in the struggles with ideas and concepts, ‘new knowledge’ is created. The integration of academic, professional and research outcomes, as well as incorporation of the knowledge thus produced as part of teaching material and guidance to practice, such knowledge can, I believe be really useful knowledge for both current and future practitioners.

## **6.5 Summary**

The assessment of service users takes place when the political and economic, as well as the psychological factors that affect them are examined and a pattern identified that point to change in practice and policy. This study set out to penetrate deep into some aspects of human experience and to trace the essence of a phenomenon in order to understand the lived-experiences of its participants and to promote deeper understandings in order to enhance practice.

The various empirical findings of the study suggest a set of key concerns with which this thesis has been concerned:

- identity as a fixed point of existence was illuminated and examined
- personalisation and individualisation was explored in the context of a 'conservative' and collectivist family culture
- group and ethnic identity was examined in the context of the SAI experience of migration and settlement
- selfhood and belonging was examined in its inter-generational context for the SAI population
- the reality of community was explored in a context of shifting social and emotional ties to the 'community'
- the nature and meaning of inter-subjective exchange through family and kinship was analysed and assessed
- ways of addressing the 'policy' agendas and improving practice for the older and ageing members of the SAI community were considered.

It is hoped that the interpretations offered have paved a way to extract the essence of this experience. Acknowledging diversity amongst SAIs and the limited number of participants, the study has, nevertheless highlighted the need for greater understanding and awareness, and has significant implications for practice. The study offers a step towards understanding an understudied population undergoing a change in their experience and understanding of family life and expectations in the life-course. To this end, the study contributes towards raising awareness of the ageing experiences of this settled minority as they negotiate the experiences of growing old in their second homeland. In fact the empirical evidence reported in this thesis and the analysis derived from it, is an expression of this change in the social and cultural reality of British society, and my participants are in a sense both witness and participants to a transition of some significance.

The thesis as a whole and the research component within it have both identified the centrality of 'culture' and the significance of cultural change in grasping the realities and meanings of personal and social behaviour. Ageing itself, we have seen, is perhaps best viewed as a cultural phenomenon which impacts on

everyone and on older people in specific and characteristic ways. The dynamic which infused this work was of course that of the relationship of different cultures-the western with the eastern- and perhaps the emergence of new cultural forms from the imbrication of one with the other over a period of time and in a context of social development which forced ethnic and racial diversity onto the agenda of the wider society. So to conclude, the study highlights the impact of changing family expectations, particularly in relation to co-residence, an area that is under - researched in the UK context.

In the light of the findings, it is timely that: (a) the discourses and theories on ageing incorporate aspects and experiences of migration and diversity of cultures and (b) the researchers, practitioners and policy makers examine the public perceptions of needs of the ageing SAI communities in the UK as well as explore policies and procedures that could enhance various forms of family living.

Thus, a larger scale academic and practice-based research exercise is recommended: (a) to fully explore the impact of changes in culture both on the ageing minority as well as on service provision and (b) to develop evidence - based practice. In the meantime, it is recommended that the flowchart (diagram 11) is used to assist sensitive intervention.

I can now only commend this study to its readers in the hope that they will find it useful and thought provoking. This may be a stage on the journey towards progressive thinking and action for change to the benefit of those who desire and deserve it and for those who work together with those of like mind towards a shared and better future.

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## The appendices

### Appendix 1: Ethical approval



#### *Approval Letter*

**Date:** 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2013  
**Name:** Hansa Jethwa

Dear Hansa,

#### **Re: Request for ethical approval**

Thank you for submitting your application for the above mentioned study which was considered by the Social Studies and Post Graduate Research Ethics Committee (SSPG REC) on Friday 21<sup>st</sup> June 2013.

Your study has been **unconditionally approved** and you are advised that you have clearance to begin the data collection phase of your study.

Yours Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "N Radford", written in a cursive style.

Dr Neil Radford  
Chair of the Social Studies and Post Graduate Research Ethics Committee

## **Appendix 2: Information for potential participants**

### **Information sheet** (headed paper)

I am a Senior Lecturer from University of Derby currently undertaking Doctoral Research Studies in Education. This research is in conjunction with this study.

The research is about exploring the views of older people of South Asian Indian origin and their adult children and is concerned with expectations of living and care within and outside of the home environment.

This information will be collected via individual participation through planned but open-ended questions that will allow free flowing participation. During the interview process a tape recorder will be used to aid me in my note taking and collection of information.

I am happy to conduct the interviews in the language you feel most comfortable in, and will translate the information collected into English later on if this is necessary.

The findings of this research will help to promote understanding of the physical and emotional needs of older people of South Asian Indian origin and hopefully promote better service provision.

Your response to this study is confidential. No identifiable information will appear in any reports produced after the study and no persons except myself will have access to any raw data that could directly identify you. All the raw data from the interview will be stored in password protected files.

Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the research at any time during the interview if you wish. By participating in this study, you indicate that you are satisfied with the information given and give your informed consent to participate in the research.

Thank you for participating and your views will help to further my research, and in addition to develop some theoretical understanding of the situation of SAIs in the UK, and hopefully help to influence service provision in the social, health and housing sectors .

Hansa Jethwa  
University of Derby  
Email: H.jethwa@derby.ac.uk

### **Appendix 3: Briefing and debriefing material (for self)**

#### **Briefing material** (to be read out at the start of each interview)

‘Thank you for agreeing to take part and provide information that will contribute to my research. I hope you will have had the time to read the information letter given to you. I am happy to go over the contents or answer any questions arising from this, if this is necessary.

As indicated in the information letter, all the information you give will be treated in strict confidence and you will not be identified in any dissemination connected with the results. By participating in this survey, you indicate that you are satisfied with the information given and give your informed consent to participate in the research. Thank you and I really appreciate your participation in this study’

Information from the covering letter, and its translation if necessary, was given verbally here as part of briefing for the respondents and the written material given to them if the participant did not have this beforehand. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the interview could be stopped at any point during the session and that the permission for use of the information could be withheld after the session if they wished. All possible efforts were made to ensure that the participants had fully understood the information and that they were taking part voluntarily.

The consent form was to be signed after this briefing session and prior to commencement of the interview.

#### **Debriefing material**

‘Thank you, for taking time out to participate in this study. I am aware that some of the matters discussed are of a personal nature and I want to reassure you of the confidentiality of the information that you have shared here with me. The data will be kept securely and you will not be identified in any of my dissemination of the results. Your information will help me to further my research and I once again thank you for your help in this study’.

## **Appendix 4: Covering letter**

### **Covering letter (headed paper)**

I am a senior lecturer from University of Derby. I am doing a research to find out the views, circumstances and feelings of older people and their adult children about expectations and perceptions of care within and outside the home.

The research is about recording the experiences and exploring the views of older people of South Asian Indian origin and adult children who have been born in UK. This information will be collected through open-ended but planned question and answer sessions, via individual participation of older people and their adult children, particularly in relation to their understanding of expectations and care within family settings.

The interviews will be conducted in a language you feel most comfortable in, and the information collected will be translated into English at a later stage if necessary. The findings of this research will help to promote understanding of the physical and emotional needs of older people of South Asian Indian origin and hopefully serve to promote better service provision.

Your response to this study is confidential. No identifiable information will appear in any reports produced after the study and no persons except me will have access to the data from the study, which will be stored in password protected files.

Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from the research at any time during the interview if you wish.

I appreciate your agreeing to take part in this study and want to assure you that your participation will help towards furthering the knowledge base.

Thank you very much

Hansa Jethwa  
Senior lecturer

## Appendix 5: Consent form

### Consent form (headed paper)

This is to confirm that I have been given the information sheet which outlines the nature and the purpose of this research.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that all the personal information will be kept confidential and I will not be implicated in any of the research disseminations.

Signed ..... Date .....

Thank you and I really appreciate your participation in this study and for providing information that will contribute to my research

Hansa Jethwa  
Senior Lecturer

## **Appendix 6: Outline of questionnaire and prompts**

### Section 1 – Personal questions (for ice breaking)

1. Age
2. Gender
3. Qualification + work experience
4. How long in UK
5. *For older adults* – Can you tell me a little about your circumstances when you arrived in the UK, your age, your expectations and your experiences in settling down?  
*For younger adult children* – Can you tell me a little about your experiences of growing up in the UK, particularly how you felt adjusting to your circumstances compared to your white counterparts?

### Section 2 – Concrete questions

6. Can you share your understanding of the word family and what you think the obligations of family members are?
7. Have you come across the terms ‘Matru devo Bhav’ and ‘Pitru devo bhav’? (Prompts – their understandings of the terms, its originality and intentions if needed).
8. Can you tell me what your opinions are in terms of providing care for ageing parents and who should provide this? (Prompts - Why? What type of care? Financial care? Physical care? Emotional care?).
9. What is your opinion about ageing parents and their adult children living under one roof? (Prompts - Do you think that they should? Do you think that the older parents expect to be living together? And should they be looked after by their children? Son or Daughter? Why? Is this feasible in this country? Why?).

### Section 3 – Personal/feelings questions

10. What are your opinions about adult children when they have opted to live separately from their older parents? How do you / older parents feel when their children have opted to live separately?
11. What are your circumstances and what are your feelings in relation to this? Why? (to use this if the participant has not discussed their own circumstances).
12. Do you have any other issues that you would like to share in relation to what we have been talking about?

Thank you for sharing.