CHINESE GRANDPARENTS AND THEIR ADULT CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES: INFLUENCES OF CULTURE ON INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS AND ELDERS' WELL-BEING

by

HAO-MIN CHEN

(Under the Direction of Denise C. Lewis)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation was to investigate Chinese grandparents' relationships with their adult children, including grandparents' level of involvement in their adult children's parenting practices, and its possible influence on grandparents' well-being in the United States. The well-being and involvement of grandparents were defined by the family members.

More specifically, this dissertation included a review of literature and two publishable manuscripts. The first manuscript explored the stories of Chinese grandparents temporarily residing with or near their adult children in a southern region of the United States and their relationships with their adult children. This qualitative study, informed by social constructionism and narrative theories, created space for family members' narratives of their interactions and the meaning ascribed to family relations. This project also investigated the impact of philosophical traditions and cultural contexts on Chinese intergenerational relationships. Data indicated a positive relationship between grandparents' relationships with their adult children and their family-defined well-being.

The second manuscript investigated grandparents' involvement in their adult children's parenting practices in a southern region of the United States. The involvement was family defined and included different kinds of services, conversations, and interactions between family members (regarding adult children's parenting). Tenets of ethnography were chosen as the methodology (Creswell 2007; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999), social constructionism (Crotty, 1998) as the epistemology, and narrative theory (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981) as the theoretical perspective. Attention was given to the cultural, familial, and individual beliefs as well as the context factors that influenced this involvement. The findings revealed the families' life stories and indicated a positive relationship between grandparents' involvement and their family-defined well-being. Furthermore, conclusions and recommendations for future research were provided at the end of this work.

INDEX WORDS: Chinese, Grandparents, Adult Children, Intergenerational Relationships, Parenting.

CHINESE GRANDPARENTS AND THEIR ADULT CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES: INFLUENCES OF CULTURE ON INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS AND ELDERS' WELL-BEING

by

HAO-MIN CHEN

BA, National Taiwan University, Taiwan, 2002

MA, Syracuse University, 2004

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2013

CHINESE GRANDPARENTS AND THEIR ADULT CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES: INFLUENCES OF CULTURE ON INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS AND ELDERS' WELL-BEING

by

HAO-MIN CHEN

Major Professor:	Denise C. Lewis
Committee:	Maria Bermudez
	Su-I Hou

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to all the families participated in this research, my dear committee members, and my family and friends. Without your kindness and support, I could never finish this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese population remains the largest Asian subgroup in the U.S., making up 23% of the Asian Pacific American residents (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). However, relatively little research has been focused on Chinese households, especially grandparents and their adult children, in the United States. Furthermore, the few existing studies were mostly conducted in regions other than the southern region where more than 45,849 Chinese Americans reside (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The limited information available in the current literature makes it difficult for clinicians and researchers to engage effectively with this population (Hirshorn, 1998; Goh, 2006; Dolbin-MacNab, 2009; Nagata, Cheng, & Tsai-Chae, 2010). Mental health professionals are in need of more empirically informed interventions and recommendations to take into account differences in language and ethnic customs when providing services to Chinese families (Moody, 2010; Ikels, 1998). The purpose of this dissertation is to respond to the need of the field and to explore the Chinese grandparents' relationships with their adult children, including their involvement in adult children's parenting practices. A discussion of implications and recommendations for clinicians is included as well.

Specifically, the dissertation included a literature review and two publishable manuscripts addressing this subject. In the review of literature, I investigated the foundational traditions that influenced Chinese families and the roles that cultural contexts played in grandparent-adult child relationships, the intergenerational dynamic relating to the issue of parenting (grandchildren), and the impact of such relationships on grandparents' family-defined well-being. Well-being in

this study is a relatively broad and subjective concept which was further defined by data collected during the research process, meaning the family members' responses to interview questions. A discussion of influences that create families' definitions will be discussed in terms of Confucianism and Taoism in the literature review section as well.

Following the literature review, the first manuscript in chapter 2 presented a qualitative study focused on the stories of Chinese grandparents temporarily residing with or near their adult children in a southern region of the United States and their relationships with their children. Findings indicated a positive relationship between grandparents' relationships with their adult children and their family-defined well-being. The second manuscript included in chapter 3 offered another related qualitative research finding, which further examined grandparents' involvement in their adult children's parenting practices. The involvement was family-defined and included different kinds of services, conversations, and interactions between family members (regarding adult children's parenting). Similarly, the results revealed the families' life stories and suggested a positive relationship between grandparents' parenting involvement and their family-defined well-being.

The two manuscripts implemented consistent theoretical and methodological perspectives: social constructionism (Crotty, 1998), narrative theory (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981), and tenets of ethnography (Creswell 2007; Schensul, Schensul, &LeCompte, 1999). The manuscripts created space for family members' narratives of their interactions, the meanings ascribed to family relations, the influences of cultural and contextual factors, and their unique understanding and reactivity to these influences. I used semi-structured interviews and observations for data collection. Interviews were conducted individually, however, interviews might involve a collective story-making process when free flowing conversations and participation in interpretive

acts happened between family members. Interview data was transcribed verbatim and further recorded as individual and/or collective statements to specify the formats of the data. A total of nine families (i.e., grandparents and their adult children) self-identified as originally from Mainland China and Taiwan were interviewed. In the first manuscript, six families (N=16) with grandparents with similar visa status were included and analyed while nine families (N=28) were included and analyed in the second manuscript. Observation data (Patton, 2002; Crewell 2007) was through my participation in various Chinese familial and elder events, including local Chinese churches' gatherings, dancing events for elders, senior club, Chinese festival celebrations for older parents, lunchtime for Taiwanese elders, and activities hosted in Chinese libraries, supermarkets, and language schools. I also joined the grandparents' grocery shopping, met their friends, and established a presence in the community (Schensul, Schendul, & LeCompte,1999). Data were analyzed and presented in a manner that drew attention to regularities that implicated cultural process (Wolcott, 1999), and implications discussed culturally sensitive interventions for clinicians and researchers working with Chinese multigenerational households. Last but not at least, conclusions and recommendations inducted from the results and discussions of these manuscripts were provided at the end of this dissertation.

Literature Review

The grandparent-adult child relationship is highly valued in Chinese tradition. Researchers describe filial piety as greatly cherished and respected in traditional Chinese culture (Goh, 2006; Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Chuang, 2009; Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000; Wang, 2004; Whyte, 2003; Whyte, 2004). Grandparents are often in a position of power in the family and have authority over younger generations (Chuang, 2009). Many times, they are also involved in

the adult children's parenting process in direct or indirect ways (Lee & Mock, 2005). However, this dissertation will explore whether or not this is true for Chinese families living in the U.S, where individualism and independence are encouraged more so than in the collectivist society of traditional China (Chung, 2009).

Philosophical Foundation

Chinese culture, as one of the oldest surviving civilizations in the world (3000 BC-present), is known for its distinct philosophical traditions of Confucianism and Taoism. These traditions shape expectations of individuals in familial, intergenerational, and interpersonal relationships and affect the ways that family members perceive and interact with each other. Previous research has demonstrated the profound influences of the two philosophical traditions and pointed to the need for investigators' special attention when studying this population (Hansen, 1992; Spector, 1991; Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006).

Confucianism (530BC). Confucianism values the importance of family, harmonious relationships, and interdependence (Chao, 1995; Lu, 2002; Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006; Lee & Mock, 2005). Lee and Mock (2005) report that, "In Chinese culture, the family, rather than the individual, is the major unit of society" (p. 302). Under the general influence of Confucian philosophy, a family's importance and its contribution to individuals has embedded itself in the norms, values, rituals, phrases, and stories, which have further molded family members' thoughts, behaviors, and interactions with each other. Researchers identify this emphasis on family and its related characteristics as healthful family functioning, recognized as an important strength of Chinese families (Fong, 1973; Meredith, Abbott, Tsai, & Ming, 1994; Chang & Ng, 2002).

Another important tenet of Confucius' teaching about family is filial piety, valued within

not only Chinese culture but also other Asian countries (Janelli & Yim, 2004; Wang, 2004; Whyte, 2004; Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000; Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Goh, 2006; Chung, 2009). This principle delineates the appropriate relationships between generations and regulates individuals through roles defined by family hierarchy, obligation, and duties (Lee & Mock, 2005). Parents expect children to have self-reliance but to follow social and familial responsibilities designated mostly by older family members or other authorities (Chuang, 2009). Children, regardless of their age, are taught to be devoted and obedient to their parents and other elderly family members in the extended family (Chao & Tseng, 2002). In contrast with Western families, the concepts of autonomy and independence of adult child, spontaneous love, romance, and self-fulfillment (Johnson, 1998) are less emphasized.

Confucianism also impacts grandparents' role in the family and their sense of responsibility in adult child's parenting. Unlike Silverstein, Giarrusso and Bengtson's (1998) reference to Western grandparents' role as "tenuous" or "ambiguous," (p. 150) without clear prescriptions regarding the rights and duties of grandchildren, the Chinese culture, informed by Confucianism in general, provides a guideline about what position a grandparent should take. Grandparents are likely to assume or to be expected to assume a position of power and are likely to provide or to be expected to provide parenting support or guidance to their adult child (Lee & Mock, 2005). Adult children, on the other hand, are bonded to certain obligations and obedience toward their older parents (Chuang, 2009) and are likely to follow their older parents' preference and guidance in parenting, for the sake of making them happy, meeting the social expectations as an "ideal child," and demonstrating to the youngest generation a preferred way of treating older parents (Goh, 2006, p. 17).

Confucianism emphasizes the importance of harmony and interdependency within familial and interpersonal relationships (Chao, 1995; Lu, 2002; Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006; Lee & Mock, 2005). Some researchers have noted this strong focus on harmony as a strength of Chinese families and cohesion as the most prevailing characteristic of healthful functioning (Lee, 1996 a; Lee, 1996 b; Chang & Ng, 2002). This value fortifies the solidarity within Chinese families in the United States and supports family members in distinct ways. Also, the emphasis on interdependence embedded in Confucianism and the overall value of collectivist characteristics of Chinese society (high affiliation, nurturance, and commitment to the needs of the group over individual self-actualization) imposes the view that family members should be sensitive to their contributions to each other (Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005). In contrast to a Western focus on attaining personal goals (Yu, 1996), this type of motivation for achievement involving a connection and service to others would possibly contribute to an increased sense of responsibility, time, and energy that Chinese grandparents spend on their adult child's parenting practices in the United States.

Taoism (600 BC). Taoist tradition provides a definition of well-being as the maintenance of the dual polarities—Yin and Yang. Yin represents the dark and feminine energy while Yang represents the bright and masculine energy. These two are not opposing forces, but complementary opposites that interact within a greater whole (Chan, 2002). If there is an imbalance in Yin and Yang, the immunity of the body will be disturbed and will become susceptible to illness (Lee & Mock, 2005; Lu, 2002). These two forces also keep the smooth flow of the vital energy, Chi, in one's physical, psychological, spiritual and moral aspects of life, which is considered as the key to acquire a healthy status (Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006; Fang & Wark, 1998).

Taoism and Confucianism are identified as significant elements of Chinese families' perceptions of well-being (Lu, 2002). The investigation of well-being of the Chinese population indicates that individuals' concepts of health and well-being are derived from interpersonal and social interactions, which, indeed, are situated in these philosophical traditions (Hwu, Coates, Borore, & Bunting, 2002). Results of Chan et al.'s research in Hong Kong (2006) corroborate this statement, and show that participants obtain a sense of well-being and satisfaction through fulfilling their roles regulated by these foundational philosophies. Theories and methodologies adopted in research agendas need to be sensitive to this effect and allow spaces for such further elaborations on related contexts. The following sections will explore relevant dominant discourses in Chinese traditions as well as contextual and societal factors that have been shown in literature as influencing Chinese grandparent-adult child relationships, their well-being, and their involvement in adult children's parenting practices in the United States.

Chinese Families in a Changing Society

Chinese families in the United States have been shaped by social, economic, and political changes, such as the Communist takeover, the one-child policy, the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guard Youth, economic growth, and U.S. immigration policies (Lee & Mock, 2005; Chen, Bian, Xin, Wang, & Silbereisen, 2010), both in their countries of origin and in U.S.. According to Lee and Mock (2005), these recent changes in macro contexts have facilitated a shift in power structures originally regulated by traditional Confucianism, including: "(1) more of a focus on nuclear family and spousal relationships; (2) more daughters with education and careers who, instead of sons, take care of aged parents; and (3) successful child rearing that is now measured by academic and career success" (p. 306). In addition, several researchers suggest that Chinese families in the United States are now facing the erosion of the traditional roles of elder members

and experience consequent family strains (Yee, 1992; Kao & Lam, 1997; Moody, 2010). The older generation is no longer perceived as in an absolute position of power and is exploring a new role.

Also, Zhan (2004) pinpoints the impact of the current one-child policy on Chinese intergenerational households as a significant change in family hierarchy. A four-two-one structure (four grandparents, two parents, one child) extends parental indulgence and unintentionally creates a more Westernized child-centered parenting approach, especially among the well-educated population (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004; Chuang, 2009; Zhan, 2004). Because of the increasing self-autonomy of parents and grandchildren raised in single-child households, it is likely that the parenting guidance or unwanted intervention from grandparents will not be appreciated. This shift of hierarchy, along with grandparents' desire for saving face (Mortenson, 2002; Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005), might increase the possibilities of power struggles between family members when faced with differences in parenting younger generations.

Another finding with contemporary Chinese families is that the families' attitudes and practices towards filial obligation are more personalized principles rather than absolute reflections of philosophical traditions and cultural norms (Kobayashi & Funk, 2010). These processes and practices are influenced by individual factors such as gender (Rossi, 1993), self-reported health, the availability of family members (Franks, Pierce, & Dwyer, 2003), the familial relationships, and overall history (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg, & Jewell, 1998, p. 86). Furthermore, interdependent ways of connecting may exist in Chinese families' other interpersonal relationships such as with more distant relatives, friends, sponsors, and the local Chinese community (Lee, 1989).

However, though researchers have articulated these corresponding changes within families, relatively little attention is given to how these changes specifically affect Chinese grandparents' well-being and their relationship with an adult child in the issue of parenting. In what follows, I will continue to explore this complicated family dynamic within the larger contexts of demographics; assimilation/acculturation; and grandparents, parents, and grandchildren.

Demographics

The current Chinese American community grew 40% from 2.8 million in 2000 to 4 million in 2010 and remains the largest Asian subgroup in the U.S., making up 23% of the Asian Pacific American population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). This population increase brings with it a corresponding increase in minority elders, which greatly affects services for the aging, most of which were originally developed for a White, middle-class population (Jacobson, 1982). Mental health professionals and service providers now need to take into account differences in language and ethnic customs when working with their clients (Moody, 2010; Ikels, 1998; Hou & Luh, 2005).

In order for healthcare professionals to better serve their clients from diverse backgrounds, it is essential to understand different contexts within which ethnic minority families, as well as Chinese families are situated, including residential patterns and general economic status (Lee & Mock, 2005). Most Chinese Americans live in California, with New York second in population (Lee & Mock, 2005). In 2005, there were 542,000 Chinese Americans residing in California, 147,250 in New York, and 55,990 in Hawaii. Relatively few, 45,849 or 0.5 percent of all Chinese Americans, live in the region of the US described in this study (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Regarding their general economic and educational status, 13.3% of Chinese Americans were estimated to live below the poverty level, 69.4% were high school graduates, and 72.5% speak a

language other than English at home (Lee & Mock, 2005, p 302). More than 63% of Chinese are foreign born, and 23% do not speak English fluently (Barnes & Bennett, 2002). These macro as well as micro contextual factors including an increase in population, different residential areas, and variance in social economic status have varying impacts on Chinese family units, and will be further explored in the later sections of this study.

Assimilation/Acculturation

Acculturation and assimilation are interrelated but separate processes. Although some researchers use these terms interchangeably, acculturation refers to a unidirectional phenomenon with change occurring on the part of ethnic minorities in the direction of a majority culture. The ethnic minorities may become less saturated in their culture of origin. Meanwhile, assimilation indicates a process of change during which the immigrants seek to identify themselves in various respects with members of the host group and become less distinguishable from them (Teske, & Nelson, 1974).

Researchers further illustrate the effects of different immigrant trajectories and level of assimilation and acculturation upon intergenerational relationships (Berry, 2005). Chinese immigrants have a tendency to assimilate into the host culture and are heavily influenced by local customs (Atwood & Conway, 2004; Chang & Ng, 2002; Fong, 1973). Individuals' increasing acculturation in the United States reduces their psychological stressors and overall life dissatisfaction (Yu, 1984; Chang & Ng, 2002). Previous studies involving adaptations to the immigration process report positive outcomes and refer to Chinese American families as hardworking and uncomplaining "model minority" of diligence and achievement (Ho, 1987; Hong 1989; Lee, 1997; Sung, 1985,1987; Schaefer, 1996; Chang & Ng, 2002). However, acculturation levels of each family member may vary from his/her length of residential time,

country of origin, attitudes toward Western values, professional affiliation, and age at time of immigration (McGoldrick, Giordano, & Garcia-Preto, 2005).

Grandparents and parents with different acculturation levels may face the issue of role reversal, changes in parental control, and variations in family involvement (Li Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992). For instance, grandparents, who are expected to play the caregiver role, may rely on their English-speaking grandchildren or adult children as cultural brokers or interpreters, but such dependency can possibly cause resentment and anger from the younger generation (Lee & Mock, 2005, p. 311). Also, various immigration trajectories and levels of acculturation can create differences and conflicts (Berry, 2005; Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009). Grandchildren, who are usually more steeped in the mainstream society (Gutmann, 1985), may have a different view than their parents and/or grandparents regarding definitions of aggressive behaviors, emphasis on scholastic achievement, the appropriate age of dating, respect of the authority, ways to spend their money, and proper expression of feelings. They may see their grandparents as living an incompatible lifestyle of thrift and consumption, and question their parents' and/or grandparents' love due to their relatively traditional or less overt way of expressing affection. Moreover, some members of younger generation may experience grandparents as discouraging their early independence and disapproving their relatively more individualistic way of thinking (Chang & Ng, 2002).

In addition, Chang and Ng (2002) suggest that Chinese children, who are born or raised in the new culture with generally higher levels of acculturation, are more likely to feel perplexed about their own ethnicity and the about expectations they receive from two cultures (p. 91). This confusion and uneasiness of adolescents living with two cultural standards may cause intergenerational ambivalence and tension between themselves and other family members (Luk,

1993). Kelly and Tsang (1992) postulate that, when encountered with these family conflicts caused by different levels of acculturation, it is usually immigrant Chinese mothers that are expected to both maintain the families' ties to their culture of origin and to help family members to accommodate to the socialization practices of the host culture.

Acculturation is also found to relate to Chinese grandparents' identity and overall well-being. Different levels of acculturation influence grandparents' identity—their ongoing efforts to interpret, to understand, and to respond to the social structural, cultural, and historical situations in which they find themselves within their unique sets of resources and vulnerabilities (Akhtar, 2011; Rumbaut, 2005; Xie, Xia, & Zhou, 2004). This continuous process of identity formation correlates with grandparents' overall well-being, and grandparents who are experiencing a middle level of acculturation report higher scores on well-being. However, literature does not elaborate on the relationship among grandparents' acculturation level, relationships with their adult children, involvement in parenting grandchildren, and their overall well-being (Zhang, 2006).

Grandparents, Parents, and Grandchildren

Based on surveys conducted with largely White populations, researchers have found that grandparents' levels of involvement in adult children's parenting vary and require a complex process of negotiations between grandparent spouses, younger couples, and other extended families. Interpersonal and familial dynamics over time play a large role in determining "what level of care a grandparent feels comfortable offering, or an adult children accepting" (Hirshorn, 1998, p. 204). In addition, the availability of formal child-care or parenting support offered by health-care, social-services, religious, civic organizations, and the government have impacted both the type and amount of caregiving tasks given by grandparents. Literature suggests seven

primary reasons for American grandparents' direct caregiving, including "giving adult children relief, responding to their crisis situations, providing flexibility in transitional and overloading circumstances when an adult child divorces, is immature, has substance abuse issues, or is incarcerated" (Hirshorn, 1998, p. 207).

However, Chinese grandparents' level of involvement in adult children's parenting practices in the U.S. has not been explored in a detailed fashion (Nagata, Cheng, & Tsai-Chae, 2010; Phua & Kaufman, 2008). The few existing studies merely focus on grandparenting, which in most literature refers to direct caregiving from grandparents to their grandchildren (King, Russell & Elder, 1988; Goh, 2009; Nagata, Cheng, & Tsai-Chae, 2010). This solitary attention limits researchers' observations of grandparents' other parenting involvement and its impacts on familial and parental systems (i.e. grandparent- parent subsystem and parent-grandchildren subsystem). Studies conducted in Asia (e.g., Fung, Siu, Choy, & McBride-Chang, 2005; Lin & Harwood, 2003; Silverstein, Cong, & Li, 2006; Strom, Lee, Strom, Nakagawa, & Beckert, 2008) are informative but have limited applicability to immigrant grandparents in United States, while the population addressed here face unique challenges, including employment difficulties, changes in environments and lifestyles, and the possibility of dependency on their adult children or grandchildren for constant translation. In the few studies on Chinese American grandparenting, these difficulties related to grandparents' immigration status are identified as well (Nagata, Cheng, & Tsai-Chae, 2010).

Despite a lack of literature exploring the relationships between Chinese grandparents and their children at middle or later adulthood in the issues of parenting, there is no doubt that a large amount of Chinese grandparents are involved in direct caregiving or indirect parenting support to their grandchildren (Yoon, 2005). Younger grandparents, grandparents without disabilities, and

grandmothers are more likely to provide care to their grandchildren (Phua & Kaufman, 2008). While interacting with the grandchildren, attention has been given to their moral character, manners, and achievements. The traditional values of filial piety and respect for elders help shape a high contact among grandparents, parents, and grandchildren, and also help foster a hierarchical grandparenting style. However, most Chinese grandparents self-report a noninterference norm (Nagata & Cheng, et al., 2010).

In addition, Western literature on intergenerational relationships has illustrated two issues that are particularly prone to create conflicts within the family when grandparents directly interact with grandchildren (Miller & Sandberg, 1998). The first issue, hierarchy, focuses on the distribution of power in the family system (Minuchin, 1974). This distribution demonstrates family processes and how grandparents or parents participate in and make final decisions about parenting matters. The second issue is boundary ambiguity (Boss, 1988), associated with the possible confusions about parenting roles among family members. Research regarding the Chinese population in the United States does not respond to these two particular issues. However, Goh's (2006) research in southern China delineates a similar matter whereby a grandchild may manipulate this power struggle dynamic as well as the different messages they receive from parents and grandparents to their advantages, which may further create conflicts within the three generations (p. 20).

Researchers using a majority of Western samples have also found that parents mediate and set the tone for grandparent-grandchildren relations over the entire life course of the family by performing the role of gatekeepers to grandparents and regulators of appropriate grandparent role behavior (Robertson ,1975; Silverstein, Giarrusso, & Bengtson, 1998). On the other hand, Chinese grandparents, compared to their Western counterparts, may be entitled to play a more

active part in determining their roles in grandparent-grandchild relationships due to the filial piety principle of respecting the elder family members (Lee & Mock, 2005). However, this accent of filial piety also generates a preference on indirect and subtle communication that attempts to avoid conflicts and pursues intergenerational accord. Oftentimes, confrontation and open expressions of strong affection are discouraged (Huang, 1981; Chao, 1995; Lu, 2002), and younger generations are especially encouraged to deliver verbal and nonverbal messages in a reserved and implicit way that is intended to maintain harmony and to show respect to elderly family members (Gao, Ting-Toomey, & Gudykunst, 1996; Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005; Goh. 2006).

On the other hand, older Chinese parents are often not socialized to respond in a clear way that uses inductive reasoning to elaborate their rationale or thoughts behind their actions (to their younger family members). Many of them are not trained to engage in affective communications (Chen et al., 1998) and have a tendency to endorse more restrictive and power-assertive approaches relating to issues of childrearing (Chao, 1994; Chen, Hastings, Rubin, Chen, Gen & Stewart, 1998; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987). These tendencies from both sides might create long term conflicts and misunderstanding between generations during the process of negotiating and defining parenting support offered by the older parents (Goh, 2006) which may also influence grandparents' well-being.

Well-being

In Western literature, concepts of health and well-being have been expanded over time from a physical condition to a combination of biological, psychological, and social stances. In 1984, the World Health Organization issued a delimitation of health as "a resource for everyday life," and "a positive concept emphasizing social and personal resources as well as physical

capabilities" (WHO, 1984, p. 23). Two decades later, Pender, Murdaugh, and Parsons (2002) further define health as the "actualization of inherent and acquired human potential through goal directed behavior, competent self-care, and satisfying relationships with others" (p. 22). Well-being, in this case, is a relatively broad and subjective concept situated within relational contexts under the influence of cultures and societies. Individuals make constant efforts to fulfill their desires and to maintain their integrity and harmony with relevant environments and people around them (Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006). In what follows, I will introduce current literature that describes associations between Chinese grandparents' well-being, their parenting participation, and relationships with adult children.

Relationship with adult child

Ip, Lui, and Chui (2007) report that the physical and psychological well-being of older Chinese parents in Queensland is affected by their relationships with one or more adult children. Immigrant grandparents' self-reported a lack of proficiency in English, difficulties accessing language-support, social isolation, significant loneliness, and restrictions in activities all of which have forced them to heavily depend on their adult child and therefore, at the risk of experiencing strained parent-child relations. Similarly, Cheng and Chan (2006) study older Chinese parents in Hong Kong and observe that these older Chinese parents' perceptions of themselves, of their adult children, and their relationships with those adult children have great impacts on their well-being. Yet, how older parents experience their relationships with adult children does not always relate to the younger generations' obedience as defined by traditional principles of filial piety. "After controlling for functional limitations and financial strain, only 'respect' emerged as a consistent predictor of psychological well-being of elder participants" (p. 262). There was no evidence showing that an adult child's overdoing of his/her filial role was detrimental to the

parents' well-being.

Parenting Participation

Relatively few studies explore Chinese grandparents' well-being and their relationships with their adult children in the United States, and even fewer examine grandparents' well-being when they are involved in adult child's parenting practices (Lo & Liu, 2009). Most empirical research about grandparents' well-being focuses on Western samples and identifies that events and transitions in the parental generation, such as marital disruption, divorce and drug addiction have profound implications for the evolution of grandparents' relationships with their adult child and the parenting support they provide (Hirshorn, 1998). According to Erik Erickson's theory of psychological development task of late-life stage, old age offers a culmination of life as a whole, and it is through the concerns for the welfare of future generations that older persons find a sense of meaning in later life (Berman, 1986; Moody, 2010). Byers, Levy, Allore, Bruce, and Kasl (2008) verify this theory by examining the effect of interactions and relationship between adult children and older parents on older parents' depressive symptoms and find that an adult child's reliance on instrumental support positively contribute to their parents' mental health. In addition, similar to Carl Jung's belief of late life, older age is a time for turning inward for deeper reflection. Grandparents are found to be likely to obtain deep meaning in later life through reminiscence, reflection, or initiation of meaningful relationships with younger generations, including involvement in their adult children's parenting practices (Moody, 2010).

Although theorists indirectly suggest that engaging with a younger generation might help with older parents' sense of meaning in later life, grandparenting itself seems to burden Chinese elderly family members. A cross-sectional comparative pilot study conducted in Taiwan in 2007, found that 55.6% Chinese grandparent caregivers report psychological distress, even if 86.7% of

these grandparents receive caregiving support from other family members (Lo & Liu, 2009). Grandparent participants at a southern China city also experience child minding as mentally and physically exhausting (Goh, 2006).

Based on the review of literature on Chinese grandparents' well-being, their relationship with adult children and parenting participation in the United States, it is a bold but seemingly reasonable conjecture that older parents' well-being is positively related to their perceptions of satisfying relationships with adult children, as well as involvement in parenting practices to a comfortable degree. Yet, as mentioned above, this involvement in parenting practices does not necessarily mean grandparenting as it, refers to caretaking of grandchildren. Instead, it suggests that the role of grandparenting holds a larger meaning and often is to be determined by older parents' willingness, and physical and emotional availability.

Conclusion

Chinese grandparents' well-being and its association with grandparents' relationships with their adult children and parenting participation remain under explored. More specifically, grandparents' parenting participation has only been examined in the aspect of grandparenting, which in most literature refers to direct contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. However, as a collective culture emphases on interdependence based on the Confucian tradition, this focus has overlooked many conversations, interactions, and contributions made by grandparents in a larger relational context. Nuances of grandparents, parents, and grandchildren dynamics are lost in the observations limited only to a narrow definition of grandparenting. For instance, grandparents' influences on parents about their parenting, emotional and financial support they provide, and words they say to other extended family members about the adequacy of the parents may all directly or indirectly influence the parenting outcome. Meanwhile, this

process can also attribute to the well-being of grandparents in their later life.

Therefore, the remainder of this dissertation constitutes my efforts to begin exploring the complexity of intergenerational relationships, including grandparents' relationships with their adult children, grandparents' involvement in their adult children's parenting practices, grandparents' family-defined well-being, and the stories and narratives of Chinese families regarding their experiences of these phenomena. In addition, by adopting the concept of grandparents' "involvement" and "family-defined" parenting participation and well-being, this dissertation attempts to understand Chinese family interactions through a more systemic and culturally responsive lens which addressed the impacts of collectivism and philosophical traditions (Chang & Yeh, 1999). Tenets of ethnographic approach with observations and interviews are used to discover grandparents' well-being and their life stories in a relational context situated in both Chinese and American cultures. Moreover, this dissertation includes a discussion of implications for clinicians and researchers working with Chinese multi-generational households in two manuscripts.

References

Akhtar, S. (2011). *Immigration and acculturation: Mourning, adaptation, and the next generation*. Lanham, ML: Jason Aronson.

Atwood, J. D., & Conway, B. Y. M. (2004). Therapy with Chinese American Families: A Social Constructionist Perspective. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 32*(2), 155-172.

Avis, J. M.(1996). Deconstructing gender in family therapy. In Piercey, F. & Sprenkle, D. (Eds). Family Therapy Sourcebook (pp. 220-255). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Barnes, J. S., & Bennett, C. E. (2002). *The Asian population, 2000*. Washington, DC : U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, 2002.

Berry, J.W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29*, (697-712). doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013

Bengtson, V. L., Acock, A.C., Allen, K.R., Dilworth-Anderson, P., & Klein, D.M. (Ed.). (2005). *Sourcebook of family theory and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication Inc.

Bengtson, V. L., & Kuypers, J. A. (1971). Generational difference and the developmental stake. *Aging & Human Development*, 2(4), 249-260.

Berman, H. J. (1986). To flame with a wild life: Florida Scott-Maxwell's experience of old age. *Gerontologist, 26*(3), 321-324.

Berman, R., & Slobin, D. (1994). *Relating events in narrative: A cross linguistic developmental study.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Brewer, W. (1985). The story schema: Universal and culture-specific properties. In N. Torrance, D. Olson, & A. Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning* (pp. 167–194). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boss, P. (1988). *Family stress management*. Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Bowen, M. (1978). *Family therapy in clinical practice*. New York, NY: Jason Aronson.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA US: Harvard University Press.

Bureau, U. S. C. (2009). *2010 Census integrated communications campaign synopsis*.

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *The Asian population: 2010. 2010 Census Briefs.*

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *U.S. Census Bureau at a glance*.

Byers, A. L., Levy, B. R., Allore, H. G., Bruce, M. L., & Kasl, S. V. (2008). When parents matter to their adult children: filial reliance associated with parents' depressive symptoms. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 63B*(1), 33-40.

Chafe, W. (Ed.). (1980). *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Chan, E. A. (2002). A lived experience of dualism between the natural and human science paradigms in nursing. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 40*(6), 739-746. doi: 10.1046/j.1365-2648.2002.02433.x

Chan, E. A., Cheung, K., Mok, E., Cheung, S., & Tong, E. (2006). A narrative inquiry into the Hong Kong Chinese adults' concepts of health through their cultural stories. *International Journal of Nursing Studies, 43*(3), 301-309. doi: 10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2005.06.001

Chang, H. H., & Ng, K. S. (2002). The perception of resiliency mechanisms in Chinese American families: Implications for family therapy. *Family Therapy, 29*(2), 89-100.

Chang, T. H.-H., & Yeh, R. L. (1999). Theoretical framework for therapy with Asian families. In K. S. Ng (Ed.), *Counseling Asian families from a systems perspective.* (pp. 3-13). Alexandria, VA US: American Counseling Association.

Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians In Bornstein, M.H. (Ed.), *Handbook of Parenting* (2 ed., Vol. 4). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development, 65*(4), 1111-1119.

Chao, R. K. (1995). Chinese and European American Cultural Models of the Self Reflected in Mothers' Childrearing Beliefs. *Ethos, 23*(3), 328-354.

Chappell, N. L., & Kusch, K. (2007). Gendered nature of filial piety--a study among Chinese Canadians. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 22*(1), 29-45.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In Emerson, R. (Ed.), *Contemporary field research* (pp. 109-126). Boston: Little, Brown.

Chen, H., & Lewis, D. C. (2011). Approaching the “resistant:” Exploring East Asian international students’ perceptions of therapy and help-seeking behavior before and after they arrived in the United States. *Contemporary Family Therapy*. doi: 10.1007/s10591-011-9154-6

Chen, X., Bian, Y., Xin, T., Wang, L., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2010). Perceived social change and childrearing attitudes in China. *European Psychologist, 15*(4), 260-270. doi: 10.1027/1016-9040/a000060

Chen, X., Cen, G., Li, D., & He, Y. (2005). Social Functioning and Adjustment in Chinese Children: The Imprint of Historical Time. *Child Development, 76*(1), 182-195.

Chen, X., Hastings, P., Rubin, K. H., Chen, H., Gen, G., & Stewart, S. L. (1998). Childrearing attitudes and behavioral inhibition in Chinese and Canadian toddlers: A cross-cultural study Vol. 34.

Chen, F., Short, S. & Entwisle, B (2000). The impact of grandparental proximity on maternal childcare in China. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 19 (6), 571-590.

Cheng, S.-T., & Chan, A. C. M. (2006). Filial piety and psychological well-being in well older Chinese. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 61B*(5), P262-P269.

Chuang, S. S. (2009). Transformation and change: parenting in Chinese societies. In J. A. Mancini & K. A. Roberto (Eds.), *Pathways of human development :Explorations of change*: Lanham : Lexington Books, c2009.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundation of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *The research act* (3rd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Dolbin-MacNab, M. L. (2009). *Becoming a parent again: An exploration of transformation among grandparents raising grandchildren*. In Mancini J.A. & Roberto, K.A. (Eds). *Pathways of development: Explorations of change* (pp. 207-226). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P. L., Leiderman, P. H., Roberts, D. F., & Fraleigh, M. J. (1987). The Relation of Parenting Style to Adolescent School Performance. *Child Development, 58*(5), 1244. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.ep8591146

Dowd, J. & Bengtson, V. (1978). Aging in Minority Populations: An Examination of the Double Jeopardy Hypothesis. *Journal of Gerontology*, 33, 427-36.

Epstein, N. B., Chen, F., & Beyder-Kamjou, I. (2005). Relationship standards and marital

satisfaction in Chinese and American couples. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 31*(1), 59-74. doi: 10.1111/j.1752-0606.2005.tb01543.x

Fang, S.-R. S., & Wark, L. (1998). Developing Cross-Cultural Competence with Traditional Chinese Americans in Family Therapy: Background Information and the Initial Therapeutic Contact. *Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal, 20*(1), 59-77.

Feldman, A. (1999). The role of conversation in collaborative action research. *Educational Action Research,* 7(1), pp. 125-147.

Fong, S. L. M. (1973). Assimilation and Changing Social Roles of Chinese Americans. *Journal of Social Issues, 29*(2), 115-127.

Franks, M., Pierce, L., & Dwyer, J. (2003). Expected parent care involvement of adult children. 22, 104-117.

Freedman, M. (1970). *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Freedman, J., & Combs, G. (1996). *Narrative therapy: The social construction of preferred realities*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Fung, H. H., Siu, C. M. Y., Choy, W. C. W., & McBride-Chang, C. (2005). Meaning of grandparenthood: Do concerns about time and mortality matter? *Ageing International, 30*(2), 122-146.

Gao, G., Ting-Toomey, S., & Gudykunst, W. B. (1996). Chinese communication processes. In M. H. Bond (Ed.). *The handbook of Chinese psychology.* (pp. 280-293). New York, NY US: Oxford University Press.

Gesser , G. L., Marshall , V.W. , & Rosenthal , C. . (1985). *Developmental stake and the*

perception of intergenerational solidarity in the older family context: The extended generational stake hypothesis. Paper presented at the Canadian Association on Gerontology's Annual Scientific and Educational Meetings Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Goh, E. C. L. (2006). Raising the precious single child in urban China--an intergenerational joint mission between parents and grandparents. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(3), 7-28.

Goh, E. C. L. (2009). Grandparents as childcare providers: An in-depth analysis of the case of Xiamen, China. *Journal of Aging Studies, 23*(1), 60-68. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2007.08.001

Goh, E.C.L. & Kuczynski, L. (2010). Only Children and their coalition of parents: Considering grandparents and parents as joint caregivers in urban Xiamen, China. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 13 (4), 221-231.

Grundy, E., & Henretta, J. C. (2006). Between elderly parents and adult children: a new look at the intergenerational care provided by the 'sandwich generation'. *Ageing and Society, 26*(5), 707-722.

Guo, B., Pickard, J., & Huang, J. (2007). A cultural perspective on health outcomes of caregiving grandparents: Evidence from China. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, 5(4), 25-40.

Gutmann, D. L. (1985). Deculturation and the American grandparent. In Bengtson, V. L. & Robertson, J.F. (Eds.), *Grandparenthood.* (pp. 173-181). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). Ethnography: Principles in practice (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Hansen, C. (1992). *A Daoist theory of Chinese thought: a philosophical interpretation* New York : Oxford University Press, 1992.

Hansen, M. H. & Pang, C. (2010). Idealizing individual choice: Work, love, and family in the eye of young, rural Chinese. In Hansen, M.H. & Svarverud, R. (Eds). *iChina-The rise of the individual in modern Chinese society*. Singapore: NIAS Press, 1-38.

Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hildreth, G. J., & Sugawara, A. I. (1993). Ethnicity and diversity in family life education. In M. E. Arcus, J. D. Schvaneveldt & J. J. Moss (Eds.), *Handbook of family life education, Vol. 1: Foundations of family life education; Vol. 2: The practice of family life education.* (pp. 162-188). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hirshorn, B. A. (1998). Grandparents as caregivers. In Szinovacz, M. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Ho, M. K. (1987). *Family Therapy with Ethnic Minorities*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Holmes, J. (1997). Struggling beyond Labov and Waletzky. *Journal of Narrative and Life History,* 7, 1–4, 91–96.

Hogan, D. P., Eggebeen, D. J., & Clogg, C. C. (1993). The Structure of Intergenerational Exchanges in American Families. *American Journal of Sociology, 98*(6), 1428-1458.

Hong, G. K. (1989). *Application of cultural and environmental issues in family therapy with immigrant Chinese America.*

Hou, S., & Luh, W. (2005). Psychometric properties of the cervical smear belief inventory for Chinese women. International Journal Of Behavioral Medicine, 12(3), 180-191. *Journal*

of Strategic & Systemic Therapies, 8, 14-21.

Huang, L. J. (1981). The Chinese American family *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations B2 - Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations* (Vol. 2nd). New York: Elsevier.

Hwu, Y., Coates, V. E., Boore, J. R. P., & Bunting, B. P. (2002). The Concept of Health Scale: developed for Chinese people with chronic illness. *Nursing Research, 51*(5), 292-301.

Ikels, C. (1990). The resolution of intergenerational conflict: Perspectives of elders and their family members. *Modern China*, 16 (4), 379-406.

Ikels. (1998). Grandparenthood in cross-cultural perspective. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Ip, D., Lui, C. W., & Chui, W. H. (2007). Veiled entrapment: a study of social isolation of older Chinese immigrants in Brisbane, Queensland. *Ageing and Society, 27*(5), 719-738.

Jacobson, S. G. (1982). Equity in the Use of Public Benefits by Minority Elderly *Minority Aging: Sociological and Social Psychological Issues B2 - Minority Aging: Sociological and Social Psychological Issues* (pp. 161-170). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Janelli, R. L., & Yim, D. (2004). Transformations of filial piety in contemporary South Korea. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 128-152). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Jeong, Y.-J., & You, H.-K. (2008). Different historical trajectories and family diversity among Chinese among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans in the United States. *Journal of Family History, 33*(3), 346-356.

Johnson, C. L. (1998). Effects of adult children's divorce on grandparenthood. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kamo, Y. (1998). Asian grandparents. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kao, R. S.-K., & Lam, M. L. (1997). Asian American elderly. In E. Lee (Ed.), *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians* (pp. 208-223): Guilford Press, New York, NY.

Kelly, M. L., & Tsang, H. M. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing: A comparison of immigrant Chinese and Caucasian American mothers (Vol. 23, pp. 444-455).

Kenyon, G. & Randall, W. L. (2001) Narrative Gerontology. In Kenyon G., Clark, P., & de Vries, B. (Eds.), *Narrative Gerontology: Theory, Research, and Practice* (pp.3-18). New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.

Kim, S.Y., Chen, Q., Li, J., Huang, X., & Moon, U.J. (2009). Parent–child acculturation, parenting, and adolescent depressive symptoms in Chinese immigrant families. *Journal of Family Psychology*. 23(3): 426–437.

King, V., Russell, S. T., & Elder, G. H. J. (1988). Grandparenting in family systems: An ecological perspective. In Szinovacz, M. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kivett, V. R. (1998). Transitions in grandparents' lives: Effects on the grandparent role. In M. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kobayashi, K.M. and L. Funk (2010). Of the family tree: Congruence on filial obligation and its implications for social support among older parents and adult children in Japanese Canadian families. *Canadian Journal on Aging.* 29(1), 85-96.

Lee, E. (1989). Assessment and treatment of Chinese-American immigrant families. *Journal of Psychotherapy & the Family, 6*(1/2), 99-122.

Lee, E. (1996 a). Asian American families: An overview. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., &

Pearce, J. K. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family Therapy*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Lee, E. (1996 b). Chinese families. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Pearce, J. K. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York, NY: The Guildford Press.

Lee, E. (1997). Chinese American families. *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians*. New York: Guildford Press.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Asian Families: An overview. In McGoldrick,M., Giordano,J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York: NY: The Guilford Press.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Chinese Families. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto. N. (Eds.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3 ed.). New York, NY US: Guilford Press.

Lewis, D. C. (2005). The Intersection of Filial Piety and Cultural Dissonance: Intergenerational Relations among Khmer Families in the United States. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Li Chiu, M., Feldman, S. S., & Rosenthal, D. A. (1992). The Influence of Immigration on Parental Behavior and Adolescent Distress in Chinese Families Residing in Two Western Nations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 2*(3), 205-239.

Lin, M., & Harwood, J. (2003). Accommodation predictors of grandparent-grandchildren relational solidarity in Taiwan. *Journal of Social & Personal Relationships, 20*(4), 537-563.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic enquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, No. 30, 73-84.

Linde, C. (1993). Life stories: *The creation of coherence.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Liu, J. H., Ng, S.H., Weatherall, A. Loong, C.F. (2000). Filial piety, acculturation and inter-generational communication among New Zealand Chinese. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22 (3), 213-223.

Lo, M., & Liu, Y.-H. (2009). Quality of life among older grandparent caregivers: a pilot study. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 65*(7), 1475-1484. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2009.05000.x

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1995). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lu, L. (2002). A preliminary study on the concept of health among the Chinese. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly, 15*(2), 179-189. doi: 10.1080/09515070110104051

Luk, S.-l. (1993). Adolescent identity disorder: A case presenting with cultural identification problem. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 27*(1), 108-114. doi: 10.3109/00048679309072129

Mair, M. (1988). Psychology as storytelling. . *International Journal of Personal Construct Psychology,* 1.

McGoldrick, M. (1993). Ethnicity, cultural diversity, and normality. In F. Walsh (Ed.), *Normal family processes (2nd ed.).* (pp. 331-360). New York, NY US: Guilford Press.

McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (2005). Overview: Ethnicity and family therapy. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3 ed.). New York: The Guilford Publications, Inc.

Meredith, W. H., Abbott, D. A., Tsai, M., & Ming, Z. F. (1994). Healthy family functioning in Chinese cultures: an exploratory study using the circumflex model. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family, 24*(1), 147-157.

Michaels, S. (1981). “Sharing time”: Children’s narrative styles and differential access to literacy.

Language in Society, 10, 423–442.

Miller, R. B., & Sandberg, J. G. (1998). Clinical interventions in intergenerational relations. In Szinovacz, M.E. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families & family therapy*: Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1974.

Mistry, J. (1993). Cultural context in the development of children's narratives. In Altarriba, J. (Ed.), *Cognition and culture: A cross-cultural approach to psychology* (pp.207–228). Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.

Moody, H. R. (Ed.). (2010). *Aging concepts and controversies* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications Co.

Mortenson, S. T. (2002). Sex, communication values, and cultural values: Individualism-collectivism as a mediator of sex differences in communication values in two cultures. *Communication Reports*, 15(1), 57.

Nagata, D. K., Cheng, W. J. Y., & Tsai-Chae, A. H. (2010). Chinese American grandmothering: A qualitative exploration. *Asian American Journal of Psychology,* 1(2), 151-161. doi: 10.1037/a0019963

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Pender, N. J., Murdaugh, C. L., & Parsons, M. A. (2002). *Health promotion in nursing practice* (Vol. 4 ed). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Haworth Press Howarth Clinical Practice Press Division.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Narrative Study: Whose story is it, anyway? *TESOL Quarterly,* 213-218.

Phua, V. C., & Kaufman, G. (2008). Grandparenting responsibility among elderly Asian

Americans: the effects of householder status, ethnicity, and immigration. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 6*(1), 41-59.

Polanyi, L. (1985). *Telling the American story*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Riessman, C. (1991). When gender is not enough: Women interviewing women. In Lorber, J. & Farrell, S. (Eds.), *The social construction of gender* (pp. 217–236). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Robertson, J. F. (1975). Interaction in three generation families, parents as mediators: toward a theoretical perspective. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development, 6*(2), 103-110.

Rossi, A. S. (1993). The future in the making: Recent Trends in the Work-Family Interface. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 63(2), 166.

Rumbaut, R. G. (2005). Sites of belonging: Acculturation, discrimination, and ethnic identity among children of immigrants. In Weiner, T.S. (Ed.), *Discovering successful pathways in children's development: Mixed methods in the study of childhood and family life* (pp. 111-164). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Schaefer, R. T. (1996). *Racial and ethnic groups* (Vol. 6th). New York, NY: Harper & Collins.

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J., & LeCompte, M. D.(1999). *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1981). *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Sheng, X. & Settles, B. H. (2006). Intergenerational relationships and elder care in China: A global perspective. *Current Sociology*, 54 (2), 293.

Short, S., Chen, F., Entwsle, B., & Zhai, F. (2002). Maternal work and child care in China: a multi-method analysis. Population and Development Review, 28 (1), 31-57.

Shwalb, D. W., Nakazawa, J., Yamamoto, T., & Hyun, J.-H. (2004). Fathering in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean cultures: A review of the research literature. In Lamb, M. E. (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development (4th ed.).* (pp. 146-181). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Silverstein, M., & Bengtson, V. L. (1997). Intergenerational solidarity and the structure of adult child-parent relationships in American families. *American Journal of Sociology, 103*(2), 429-460.

Silverstein, M., Cong, Z., & Li, S. (2006). Intergenerational transfers and living arrangements of older people in rural China: consequences for psychological well-being.. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 61B*(5), S256-S266.

Silverstein, M., Giarrusso, R., & Bengtson, V. L. (1998). Intergenerational solidarity and the grandparent role. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Seponski, D. M., Bermudez, J., & Lewis, D. C. (2013). Creating Culturally Responsive Family Therapy Models and Research: Introducing the Use of Responsive Evaluation as a Method. *Journal Of Marital & Family Therapy*, *39*(1), 28-42. doi:10.1111/j.1752-0606.2011.00282.x

Spector, R. E. (1991). *Cultural diversity in health and illness* (Vol. 3 ed): Appleton & Lange.

Stein, C. H., Wemmerus, V. A., Ward, M., Gaines, M. E., Freeberg, A. L., & Jewell, T. C. (1998). "Because They're my parents": An intergenerational study of felt obligation and parental caregiving. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 60*(3), 611-622.

Strom, R. D., Lee, T., Strom, P. S., Nakagawa, K., & Beckert, T. E. (2008). Taiwanese grandmothers: strengths and learning needs as perceived by grandmothers, mothers, and granddaughters. *Educational Gerontology, 34*(9), 812-830.

Sung, B. L. (1985). Bicultural conflicts in Chinese immigrant children. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 16*(2), 255-269.

Sung, B. L., & Center for Migration Studies, I. S. I. N. Y. (1987). *The adjustment experience of Chinese immigrant children in New York City*.

Tannen, D. (1980). A comparative analysis of oral narrative strategies: Athenian Greek and American English. In Chafe W. (Ed.), *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production* (pp. 51–87). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1982). Spoken and written narrative in English and Greek. In Tannen, D. (Ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse* (pp. 21–41). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1993). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In Tannen, D. (Ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp. 14–56). New York: Oxford University Press.

Teske, R. H. C. & Nelson, B. H. (1974). Acculturation and assimilation: a clarification. American Ethnologist, Vol.1, pp. 351–367.

Voon Chin, P., & Loh, J. (2008). Filial piety and intergenerational co-residence: The case of Chinese Singaporeans. *Asian Journal of Social Science, 36*(3/4), 659-679. doi: 10.1163/156853108x327155

Wang, D. (2004). Ritualistic coresidence and the weakening of filial practice in rural China. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 16-33). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

White, H. (1981). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *On narrative.* Chicago:

University of Chicago Press.

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York, NY: W.W.Norton & Company.

WHO. (1984). Health promotion. A discussion document on the concept and principles *Health promotion.* Copenhagen: World Health Organization.

Whyte, M. K. (2003). *China's revolutions and intergenerational relations*: Ann Arbor : Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, c2003.

Whyte, M. K. (2004). Filial Obligations in Chinese Families: Paradoxes of Modernization. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 106-127). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Wolcott, H. F. (1999). *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Lanharm, MD: AltaMira Press.

Wong, S. T., Yoo, G. J., & Stewart, A. L. (2005). Examining the types of social support and the actual sources of support in older Chinese and Korean immigrants. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 61*(2), 105-121.

Xie, X., Xia, Y., & Zhou, Z.(2004). Strengths and challenges in Chinese immigrant Families. *Great Plains Research* 14 (Fall 2004):203-18.

Yan, Y. (1997). The triumph of conjugality: Structural transformation of family relations in a Chinese village. *Ethnography*, 36(3), 191-212.

Yan, Y. (2010). The Chinese path to individualization. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(3), 489-512.

Yee, B. W. K. (1992). Elders in Southeast Asian refugee families. *Generations, 17*(3), 24-27.

Yoon, S. M. (2005). Characteristics and needs of Asian-American grandparent caregivers: a study of Chinese-American and Korean-American grandparents in New York City.

Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 44(3-4), 75-94.

Yu, A.-B. (1996). Ultimate life concerns, self, and Chinese achievement motivation. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology.* (pp. 227-246). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Yu, L. C. (1984). Acculturation and Stress within Chinese American Families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 15*(1), 77-94.

Zavella, P. (1993). Feminist insider dilemmas: Constructing ethnic identity with "Chicana" informants. *A Journal of Women Studies.* 13(3), 53-76

Zhan, H.J. (2004).Socialization or social structure: Investigating predictors of attitudes toward filial responsibility among Chinese urban youth from one and multiple child families. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development.* 59 (2), 105– 124.

Zhang, S. (2006). *Family relationships and the development of ethnic identity of Chinese-American adolescents.* Master of Art, the University of Cincinnati.

CHAPTER 2

VISITING CHINESE GRANDPARENTS AND THEIR ADULT CHILDREN IN A SOUTHERN REGION OF THE UNITED STATES[1]

[1] Hao-Min Chen & Denise C. Lewis. To be submitted to peer-reviewed journal.

Abstract

This study, informed by social constructionism and narrative theories, explored the stories of Chinese grandparents temporarily residing with or near their adult children in a southern region of the United States and their relationships with their adult children. The purpose of this research was to create space for family members' stories of their interactions and the meanings ascribed to family relations. This project also investigated the impact of philosophical traditions and cultural contexts on Chinese intergenerational relationships. Semi-structured interviews and observations were used for data collection. Six families (i.e., grandparents and their adult children) originally from Mainland China and Taiwan were interviewed. Data were presented in a manner that drew attention to regularities that implicated cultural process (Wolcott, 1999) and indicated a positive relationship between grandparents' relationships with their adult children and their family-defined well-being. Further implications discussed culturally sensitive interventions for clinicians and researchers working with this population.

Keywords: Chinese, grandparents, adult children, intergenerational relationships.

Introduction

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (2010), the Chinese American population has grown by more than 40 percent in the last decade and remained the largest Asian subgroup in the U.S., making up 23% of the Asian Pacific American population. A total of 4 million people reported Chinese alone or in combination with one or more other races (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). Due to this increase in the number of Chinese Americans and the corresponding rise in the number of Chinese elders in the United States, it is imperative that mental health professionals be culturally competent, take into account differences in language and ethnic customs, and provide culturally sensitive services when working with these families (Ikels, 1998; Atwood & Conway, 2004; Moody, 2010; Seponski, Bermudez, & Lewis, 2013). In the following sections, we examined the cultural and contextual factors that influenced the Chinese intergenerational relationships suggested by previous literature and further introduced the findings of our research.

Literature Review

Chinese culture, as one of the oldest surviving civilizations in the world (3000 BC-present), is known for its distinct philosophical traditions of Confucianism and Taoism. These traditions shape expectations of individuals in familial, intergenerational, and interpersonal relationship and affect the ways that family members perceive and interact with each other. Previous research has demonstrated the profound influences of the two philosophical traditions and request investigators' special attention when studying the grandparents' relationships with their adult children (Hansen, 1992; Spector, 1991; Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006).

The Influence of Confucianism (530BC)

Confucianism values the importance of family, harmonious relationships, and interdependence (Chao, 1995; Lu, 2002; Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006; Lee & Mock, 2005). Lee and Mock (2005) report that, "In Chinese culture, the family, rather than the individual, is the major unit of society" (p. 302). Under the general influence of Confucian philosophy, a family's importance and its contribution to individuals has embedded itself in the norms, values, rituals, phrases, and stories which have further molded family members' thoughts, behaviors, and interactions with each other. Researchers identify this emphasis on family and its related characteristics as healthful family functioning, recognized as an important strength of Chinese families (Fong, 1973; Meredith, Ahhott, Tsai, & Ming, 1994; Chang & Ng, 2002).

Another important tenet of Confucius' teaching about family is filial piety, valued within not only Chinese culture but also other Asian countries (Janelli & Yim, 2004; Wang, 2004; Whyte, 2004; Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000; Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Goh, 2006; Chung, 2009). This principle delineates the appropriate relationships between generations and regulates individuals through roles defined by family hierarchy, obligation, and duties (Lee & Mock, 2005, p. 305). Parents expect children to have self-reliance but to follow social and familial responsibilities designated mostly by older family members or other authorities (Chuang, 2009, p. 195). Children, regardless of their age, are taught to be devoted and obedient to their parents and other elderly family members in the extended family (Chao & Tseng, 2002). In contrast with Western families, the concepts of autonomy and independence of adult child, spontaneous love, romance, and self-fulfillment (Johnson, 1998) are less emphasized.

Confucianism also impacts grandparents' role in the family and their sense of responsibility in adult child's parenting practices and their lives in general. Unlike Silverstein, Giarrusso and

Bengtson's (1998) reference to Western grandparents' role as "tenuous" or "ambiguous," without clear prescriptions regarding the rights and duties of grandchildren (p. 150), Chinese culture informed by Confucianism, provides a guideline about what position a grandparent should take. Grandparents are likely to assume or to be expected to assume a position of power and are likely to provide or to be expected to provide parenting support or guidance to their adult child (Lee & Mock, 2005, p. 305). Adult children, on the other hand, are bonded to certain obligations and obedience toward their older parents (Chuang, 2009, p. 195) and are likely to follow their older parents' preference and guidance, for the sake of making them happy, meeting the social expectations as an "ideal child," and demonstrating to the youngest generation a preferred way of treating older parents (Goh, 2006, p. 17).

Moreover, Confucianism emphasizes the importance of harmony and interdependency within familial and interpersonal relationships (Chao, 1995; Lu, 2002; Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006; Lee & Mock, 2005). These interdependent ways of connecting may exist in Chinese families' other interpersonal relationships such as with more distant relatives, friends, sponsors, and the local Chinese community as well (Lee, 1989). Some researchers have noted that this strong focus on harmony is a strength in Chinese families and cohesion is the most prevailing characteristic of healthful functioning (Lee, 1996 a; Lee, 1996 b; Chang & Ng, 2002). This value fortifies the solidarity within Chinese families in the United States and supports family members in distinct ways. Also, the emphasis on interdependence embedded in Confucianism and the overall value of collectivist characteristics of Chinese society (high affiliation, nurturance, and commitment to the needs of the group over individual self-actualization) imposes the view that family members should be sensitive to their contributions to each other (Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005, p. 62). In contrast to a Western focus on

attaining personal goals (Yu, 1996), this type of motivation for achievement involving a connection and service to others would possibly contribute to an increased sense of responsibility, time, and energy that Chinese grandparents spend on their adult children in the United States.

The Influence of Taoism (600 BC)

Taoist tradition provides a definition of a balanced life as the maintenance of the dual polarities—Yin and Yang. Yin represents the dark and feminine energy while Yang represents the bright and masculine energy. These two are not opposing forces, but complementary opposites that interact within a greater whole (Chan, 2002). If there is an imbalance in Yin and Yang, the immunity of the body will be disturbed and susceptible to illness (Lee & Mock, 2005; Lu, 2002). These two forces also keep the smooth flow of the vital energy, Chi, in one's physical, psychological, spiritual and moral aspects of life, which is considered as the key to acquire a healthy status (Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung & Tong, 2006; Fang & Wark, 1998).

Taoism and Confucianism are identified as significant elements of Chinese family's perceptions of ideal intergenerational relationships (Lu, 2002). Researchers propose that theories and methodologies adopted in research agendas need to be sensitive to this effect and allow spaces for such further elaborations on related contexts. Moreover, researchers report that individuals' concepts of health and well-being are derived from these interpersonal and social interactions situated in these philosophical traditions (Hwu, Coates, Borore, & Bunting, 2002). Results of Chan et al.'s research in Hong Kong (2005) corroborate this statement, and show that participants obtain a sense of well-being and satisfaction through fulfilling roles regulated by these foundational philosophies.

However, Kamo (1998) suggests that Chinese grandparents who strongly adhere to these traditional cultures tend to experience difficulties in relationships with their adult children and grandchildren, and this condition seems worse when some of them do not speak English well (p. 102). Grandparents may react negatively while their concerns or “stakes” are not addressed, or when the opinions between parents and grandparents are at odds. Such conflicts may also impair grandparents’ internalized values, meaning making process in later life, perceptions of the importance and practice of cultural and ethnic heritage, and their self-defined well-being. Nevertheless, according to Kobayashi and Funk (2010), every family’s attitudes and practices towards these philosophical foundations are personalized. These processes and practices are influenced by individual factors such as gender (Rossi, 1993), self-reported health, availability of family members (Franks, Pierce, & Dwyer, 2003), familial relationships and the family’s overall history (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg, & Jewell, 1998, p. 86).

Chinese Families in a Changing Society

In addition to philosophical foundations, social, economic, and political changes, such as the Communist takeover, the one-child policy, the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guard Youth, economic growth, and U.S. immigration policies have shaped Chinese families (Lee & Mock, 2005; Chen, Bian, Xin, Wang, & Silbereisen, 2010), both in their countries of origin and in U.S.. According to Lee and Mock (2005), these recent changes in macro contexts have facilitated a shift in power structures originally regulated by traditional Confucianism. Several researchers further propose that Chinese families in the United States are now facing the erosion of traditional roles of elderly members and are experiencing consequent family strains (Yee, 1992; Kao & Lam, 1997; Moody, 2010).

Zhan (2004) draws attention to the current one-child policy on Chinese intergenerational households as the cause of a significant change in family hierarchy. The four-two-one structure (four grandparents, two parents, one child) extends parental indulgence and unintentionally creates a more Westernized child-centered parenting approach (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004; Chuang, 2009; Zhan, 2004). Younger generations raised in a single-child household with increasing self-autonomy are less likely to appreciate the guidance or unwanted intervention of grandparents and might cause power struggles between family members (Mortenson, 2002; Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005),

Moreover, researchers further illustrate the effects of different immigrant trajectories and levels of assimilation and acculturation upon intergenerational relationships. Chinese immigrants have a tendency to assimilate into the host culture and are heavily influenced by local customs (Atwood & Conway, 2004; Chang & Ng, 2002; Fong, 1973). Individuals' increasing acculturation in the United States reduces their psychological stressors and overall life dissatisfaction (Yu, 1984; Chang & Ng, 2002). Previous studies involving adaptations to the immigration process report positive outcomes and refer to Chinese American families as a hardworking and uncomplaining "model minority" of diligence and achievement (Ho, 1987; Hong 1989; Lee, 1997; Sung, 1985,1987; Schaefer, 1996; Chang & Ng, 2002). However, the acculturation level of each family member may vary depending on his/her length of residential time, country of origin, attitudes toward Western values, professional affiliation, and age at the time of immigration (McGoldrick, Giordano, Garcia-Preto, 2005).

Grandparents and their adult children with different acculturation levels may face role reversal, changes in parental control, and variations in family involvement (Li Chiu, Feldman, & Rosenthal, 1992). For instance, grandparents who are expected to play the caregiver role may

rely on their English-speaking grandchildren or adult children as cultural brokers or interpreters, but such dependency can possibly cause resentment and anger from the younger generation (Lee & Mock, 2005, p. 311). Also, various immigration trajectories and levels of acculturation can create differences and conflicts (Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009). Adult children, who are usually more saturated in the mainstream society (Gutmann, 1985), may have a different view from that of their older parents regarding definitions of aggressive behavior, emphasis on scholastic achievement, the appropriate age of dating, respect for authority, ways to spend their money, and proper expressions of feelings. They may see their older parents as living an incompatible lifestyle of thrift and consumption and may question their parents' love due to their relatively traditional or less overt way of expressing affection. Moreover, some members of the younger generation may experience grandparents as discouraging their early independence and disapproving of their relatively more individualistic way of thinking (Chang & Ng, 2002).

Grandparents' Well-being and Their Relationship with Their Adult Children

The grandparent-adult child relationship was highly valued in Chinese tradition (Goh, 2006; Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Chung, 2009; Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000; Wang, 2004; Whyte, 2003; Whyte, 2004). Ip, Lui, and Chui (2007) report that the physical and psychological well-being of older Chinese parents in Queensland is affected by their relationships with one or more adult children. They also report that immigrant grandparents' self-reported a lack of proficiency in English, difficulties accessing language-support, social isolation, significant loneliness, and restrictions in activities all of which have forced them to heavily depend on their adult child and therefore, at the risk of experiencing strained parent-child relations. Also, Cheng and Chan (2006) study older Chinese parents in Hong Kong and observe that older Chinese parents' perceptions of

themselves, of their adult children, and their relationships with those adult children have great impacts on their well-being. However, how older parents experience their relationships with adult children does not always relate to the younger generations' obedience as defined by traditional principles of filial piety. After controlling for functional limitations and financial strain, only "respect" emerged as a consistent predictor of psychological well-being of elder participants. There was no evidence showing that an adult child's overdoing of his/her filial role was detrimental to the parents' well-being (Cheng & Chan, 2006, p. 262). This study would further explore grandparents' relationship with their adult children and its possible influence on grandparents' well-being in a southern region of the United States.

Conceptual Model

In order to explore the influences of cultural and contextual factors on these Chinese families as well as their unique understanding and reactivity to these influences, we chose social constructionism (Crotty, 1998) as the epistemology, narrative theory (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981) as the theoretical perspective, and tenets of ethnography as the methodology (Creswell 2007; Schensul, Schensul, &LeCompte, 1999).

These epistemological and theoretical foundations provided overall guidance to the research design and provided a framework of the findings. As stated by Wolcott (1999), a study needs a conceptual model to guide what researchers choose to describe and how they choose to describe it.

There were four assumptions derived from these perspectives: (1) Realities were socially constructed; (2) Realities were constituted through language; (3) Realities were organized and maintained through narratives; and (4) There were no essential truths (Freedman & Combs, 1996,

p. 22). These approaches created spaces for grandparents' and parents' storytelling and helped the researchers to disclose the contextual influences with respect to family members' individual differences (Freedman & Combs, 1996). Through this lens, we focused on grandparents' and their adult children's stories both as individuals and as a family. We viewed family members' realities as constructed through language and storytelling--a natural human impulse and a primary way of making sense of experiences (White, 1981). This process also demonstrated a particular way in which individuals choose certain segments of their lives and organized those events into an intelligible whole. One story might develop, extend through time, and be constantly recreated (Freedman & Combs, 1996; Mair, 1988; Kenyon & Randall, 2001). Together with other stories with certain themes, these stories constituted family members' life narratives, which further informed their meaning and identities as older parents and adult child (Freedman & Combs, 1996).

In addition, there are discourses, narratives, and ways of telling stories that are preferred by the dominant culture (Crotty, 1998). Individuals' and families' decisions to ascribe particular meanings to certain life events and to ignore others are shaped by society (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 214). Explorations in linguistics revealed that narrative traditions differ significantly across cultures with regard to their structure, schemas, rhetorical styles, storytelling, conventions, embodied values, and other factors (Berman & Slobin, 1994; Brewer, 1985; Chafe, 1980; Holmes, 1997; Linde, 1993; Mistry, 1993; Polanyi, 1985; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Tannen, 1980, 1982, 1993; Pavlenko, 2002). However, predominant cultural narratives often have a tendency to suppress the voices of others from marginalized groups and further specify "the customary ways of believing and behaving" for individuals and their families (Freedman & Combs, 1996, p. 32). Moreover, researchers assert that race, class, gender, and power relations

play an inevitable part in individuals' socialization into different narrative conventions, performance, and collaboration (Michaels, 1981; Heath, 1983; Riessman, 1991; Pavlenko, 2002). For instance, the diverse backgrounds of Chinese family members, including, but not limited to, country of origin, levels of acculturation, time spent in the U.S., gender, age, social-economic status, and their traditional norms regulating relationships with in-laws might all complicate the process of storytelling (Goh, 2006; Dowd, & Bengtson, 1978). We as researchers scrutinized those cultural and contextual factors, the process of how family members co-constructed their shared stories, and the intergenerational relationships under the influences of mainstream cultures in this study (Freedman & Combs, 1996).

Method

Research Design

We chose tenets of ethnography as the methodology and semistructured interviews and observations as methods of collecting data (Creswell, 2007; Schensul, Schendul, & LeCompte,1999; Patton, 2002). These approaches were adopted to describe the particular phenomena of the lives of visiting Chinese grandparents and their adult children in a southern region of the United States. We explored the influences of contexts, patterns of thoughts, intergenerational relationships, and cultural practices of this population. Attention was given to how cultural beliefs and behaviors manifested and were co-created through the stories told by family members (Schensul, Schendul, & LeCompte,1999).

Participants

The participant selection criteria consisted of families (i.e. grandparents and their adult

children) self-identified as originally from Mainland China or Taiwan, and grandparent participants were temporarily residing with or near their adult children. A purposeful and convenience sampling strategy was adopted and participants were solicited through emails, flyers, phone calls, word of mouth, and the first author's personal contacts (Creswell 2007; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). The first author had pre-existing relationships with people in this community, and had engaged with informants who provided information about this community and possible participants.

Six families (N=16 individuals) were included in this research. All adult child participants were married and had at least one child of their own. Most of them were young professionals or graduate students in their thirties. The average age of their older parents was 67, and the average length of time of the grandparents' most current visit was six months. However, the language (English) ability, occupation, and levels of cultural adaptation and education of the participants varied. A few grandparents received no formal education while others completed their college degree. Some grandparents enjoyed traveling and had experiences living in different countries while some had never left their hometown before this trip to the US visiting their adult children.

Subjectivity Statements

The first author was born and raised in Taiwan. She earned her master's degree in the United States and has been in the field of marriage and family therapy for more than ten years. Her personal interest in this study of Chinese multi-generational households comes from her experiences in the South and her relationships with families of the community. During her stay in the US, she has found that Chinese grandparents' relationships with their adult children are evolving in ways that are not yet fully documented in the literature. She took advantage of her

understanding of this culture as well as her easier access to the community as an “insider” to further explore the voices and stories of Chinese families (Zavella, 1993). She also aimed to deconstruct the power and contextual dynamics embedded in these relations and strove to present the participants’ narratives in an authentic and a holistic way.

Nevertheless, there were times when some grandparents viewed her as a westernized outsider in terms of age, education, and personal experiences relating to American culture. The levels of trust and closeness between the participants and the first author varied. Observations and reflections were documented in the reflexive journal of the researchers to examine any interpersonal dynamics that might have an influence on the research process.

Data Collection

Participants chose their preferred locations for interviews, most times—their homes. After obtaining informed consent, the first author conducted interviews with grandparents and their adult children (of each family) separately. Each interview was approximately 80-100 minutes in length, audio-recorded, and transcribed verbatim (Creswell 2007). Questions regarding grandparents’ daily routines, general health conditions, and their perceptions of their current intergenerational relationships were discussed. The first author began with broad questions and probed with follow-ups that were developed according to participants’ lines of storytelling. This technique allowed her to answer the general research questions as well as explore individuals’ differences and realities using their own languages (Wolcott, 1999).

Although interviews were conducted individually, a free flowing conversation between family members happened many times. The first author therefore invited a reflexive posture of the family members and encouraged family members to make meaning from interacting with

each other (White & Epston, 1990). These interpretative acts or collective statements illustrated a more comprehensive picture of the family dynamics and their shared realities. Similar or different accounts and verbal or non-verbal disagreements, if there is any, were recorded for further analysis and triangulation of all forms of data (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Observation was made during the initial contact when introducing the research and during interviews. Verbal, non-verbal, and contextual information related to research questions such as participants' words, voices, perceptions, emotions, and social relationships (Denzin, 1989) were included in the fieldnotes.

Another access to observation data (Patton, 2002; Crewell 2007) was through the first author's participation in various Chinese familial and elder events, including local Chinese churches' gatherings, dancing events for elders, senior club, Chinese festival celebrations for older parents, lunchtime for Taiwanese elders, and activities hosted in Chinese libraries, supermarkets, and language schools. She also joined the grandparents' grocery shopping, met their friends, and established a presence in the community (Schensul, Schendul, & LeCompte,1999). As she engaged in these activities, she made and documented observations regarding Chinese intergenerational relationships and issues related to the research questions of this study. Guided by the theoretical models mentioned above, thick descriptions and extensive quotes were woven to privilege the participants' narratives and to tell a story of the culture of Chinese families (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981). The overall process of observation was ongoing throughout the data collection period (Patton, 2002).

Data Analysis

We began the process of organizing data into useful categories (Creswell, 2007), coding

interview and observation data according to particular topics using headings and subheadings (Charmaz, 1983). We sorted out patterns and emerging typologies (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) and further analyzed and interpreted the matrix data using theoretical perspectives of social constructionism (Crotty, 1998) and narrative theory (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981). Data analysis was ongoing and data collected were constantly compared against the initial or formative themes and categories (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). Themes that emerged among the stories and fieldnotes were used to inductively establish a thematic narrative to describe the phenomenon of Chinese families.

In addition, we kept a rich description of the methods and data analysis, including an audit trail of the process and progress of the research as well as memos pertaining to the categories, subcategories, concepts, and interrelated categories to ensure the dependability in this study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). We also documented our reflections and any biases that might have affected our understanding of the participants' experiences in an informal reflexive journal (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Observations and the way we came to such understanding was recorded, and attention was given to gendered, racial, relational, or class inequalities through reflexivity. Last but not at least, data collected from both generations reported multiple perspectives and enhanced the dependability of the data through trangulation of data sources (Patton, 2002).

Findings and Discussions

This study explored the stories of Chinese grandparents temporarily residing with or near their adult children in a southern region of the United States and their relationships with their adult children. Discourses and observations were presented from the perspectives of both age groups as well as the family as a whole. Narratives from both generations illuminated the

grandparents' lives in the US and the family's comparisons of their current intergenerational relationships with their traditional counterparts. Although participants still carried cultural beliefs, which informed their expression and representation of interactions between generations, the influences of the changing society and their local communities were significant. The rich descriptions reflected the process of how these families systemized their knowledge to create new links and to develop new roles in their living environment. Themes and categories were identified and further depicted the individual and shared stories among family members.

Visiting Grandparents in the South

An "isolated" lifestyle

The family stories began with grandparents' daily lives and social activities. Although most grandparents enjoyed a long stay of over five months, they reported a relatively small social network. They spent most of their time with their families, neighbors, or friends from a local church who were of the same ethnicity. Some described their lives as "isolated" because of their limited language skills. However, some simply felt more comfortable interacting with people from the same cultural backgrounds. During the interview on a raining afternoon, Grandfather Wang described his choice in limiting his interactions with others with the first author. He said, "I don't see Americans. We don't have much to talk about. Our lives are different." He looked out of the window and took another sip of his tea.

Because of this preference, grandparent participants living in cities with a larger Chinese population tended to enjoy a larger social network when compared with others living in the suburban areas with a smaller population. For instance, Grandmother Zhao had the choice to join different kinds of activities hosted by the local Taiwanese government office in a very large city

nearby, while Grandfather Zhao's only chance to interact with other Chinese families was to attend church on Sundays in the mid-sized city where he lived with his adult child. This difference in residential areas had an impact on grandparents' family relationships as well. Grandparent participants living in the places with smaller Chinese populations tended to spend more of their time in the house and, thus, formed a closer emotional bond with their adult children and grandchildren. They reported enjoying their times with grandchildren and gardening in the backyards or on their patios. Grandmother Chien showed the first author the eggplants and tomatoes she grew in her garden after the interview. "See how beautiful these eggplants are. I don't use chemicals in my yard. I pick out the worms and put nutrition on them every morning by myself." Grandmother Sun grew cucumbers in her yard and insisted that the first author take some home after her visit. Grandparent Sun exclaimed, "These are great cucumbers. Very delicious. You should try. People in my church love them. My granddaughter likes them, too." Her face was shining as the sun that morning in the picture she agreed to be taken with her beautiful plants. Nevertheless, the prolonged amount of time families had to be with each other also increased the chances for conflict. One adult daughter (Parent Chou) described some of the conflict she felt with her mother during the interview. She said, "My mom has a certain way of handling chores in the house, which is different from mine…I am appreciative of her help, but we argue over small things." Parent Chou glanced around the kitchen and found her mother busy washing the dishes and not hearing these complaints. She blinked her eyes to the first author with a naughty look on her face. Unlike their counterparts, grandparents with a larger social network turned to their friends when facing family conflicts. By providing a sounding board, their friends often served as a buffer from family intensity and conflicts. Like Grandmother Wu said, "I talked with my friend…I complained about my daughter in-law with her…I feel better after

complaining.”

Enjoyment and challenges

Generally speaking, the grandparent participants reported enjoying a comfortable and stress-free lifestyle in the South. Grandmother Chien took a small bite of her cake and described her comfort in the beginning of the interview, “I felt good about coming here. I love the environment and the fresh air. My schedule is relaxing, and I go for a walk every afternoon with my neighbor and my granddaughter.” Her adult daughter (Parent Chien) smiled and agreed: “My mom and dad love the quietness here.” The two then looked at each other and giggled.

Nevertheless, some grandparents mentioned the challenges they faced, which included language difficulties, cultural differences, and boredom. Grandmother Li described her observations on grandparents in the community when she took a walk with the first author, “Many elders don’t know English and feel bored staying here. They have nothing to do. They are not used to the lifestyle and the quietness here.” Similarly, Grandfather Wang shared his experiences during a religious event in a soft and sad voice, “I don’t know English. I don’t know the culture. I feel less civilized when compared with the locals…I don’t know where to go [for entertainment]” However, Grandmother Chien described her “tips” for dealing with the boredom and forming a small community. “You have to make good arrangements for your life. Make yourself busy. Go to church and talk with other grandparents. I know a few grandparents…we moved to the same community to keep each other company. It helps a lot.”

Grandparents' Relationships with Their Adult Children

The influence of philosophical traditions

Consistent with previous literature, the influence of philosophical traditions on family dynamics was identified within grandparents' relationships with their adult children. Informed by cultural beliefs, the younger generation maintained a solid connection with their older parents even after they reached adulthood and formed their own families. The value of both immediate and extended families was emphasized in participants' storytelling. For both generations, there existed a strong sense of obligation to each other. Grandparents felt responsible for providing assistance to their adult children who struggled with adjustment, language, culture, work, and child care issues and reported a sense of achievement in being needed by their adult children and grandchildren. Grandmother Li was cutting the vegetables in the kitchen when she shared her story with the first author, "I feel useful here. I help with meal preparation and take care of my grandson…I feel fine spending time helping with chores. As long as they like the food I make, I am happy." Adult children, on the other hand, felt obligated to help grandparents with their transportation and translation. Family members depended on each other and demonstrated an interdependent intergenerational relationship style. During the interview, adult child (Parent Chien) shared her appreciation of her older parent with tears of joy in her eyes, "I paid for my mom's flight and living expenses here…I had to…She helps me so much…I don't know how I can do this without her."

Perceptions of changes

Many grandparents and their adult children mentioned that their perceptions of intergenerational relationship changes these days. Grandparents compared their own

relationships with their parents or in-laws with their relationships with their adult children. Several differences were described in their stories of family lives, including family power shift, parenting style change, and relationship change. Both generations acknowledged and attributed the changes to economic growth, the one-child policy, and their current living environment.

Family power shift. Similar to the results found in previous literature, this research revealed that participants felt that the four-two-one family structure (four grandparents, two parents, one child) created a relational power shift (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004; Chuang, 2009; Zhan, 2004; Mortenson, 2002; Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005). Compared with their traditional counterparts, adult children nowadays upheld a less hierarchical relationship with their older parents and in-laws. Grandmother Chou described the differences between her relationship with her mother-in-law and the contemporary intergenerational relationship when she was shopping for groceries with the first author

> This generation is different [from ours].With fewer kids, a lot of things are different …When I was young, I obeyed everything my mother-in-law said. I chose a non-confrontational communication style in order to save her face. I seldom talked back to her…Now everything is different. Several of my friends are not used to the power shift in the family. Their daughters-in-law are not as obedient as they expected and sometimes they get together and complain about their daughters-in-law. …'Mothers-in-law' are just not as powerful as they used to be.

Grandmother Wu shared a similar experience during her interview.

> When I was young I lived with my mother-in-law. I had to get up before everyone did to clean the house and to prepare breakfast. I venerated my mother-in-law and was even a bit afraid of her. I was constantly worried that I didn't fulfill my responsibility as a daughter-in-

law to serve her and to take care of the family…Now things are different. My daughter-in-law respects me but she is not afraid of me. She even argues with me sometimes.

This shift of relational power was even more manifest for some grandparents temporarily residing with or near their adult children, who relied on their adult children for transportation, and translation, and as culture brokers because of the younger generation's better language skills and familiarity with the local systems. Departing from the traditional expectation that the grandparents would be the head of the household, this arrangement placed the adult child in the position of power and decision-making. During the process of scheduling for family visits and interviews, the first author found that the adult children were often the decision makers in terms of whether the family would participate in the research and when the interviews would take place. Moreover, the family members relied on the adult children's interpretation of the research purpose and their understanding of participant confidentiality before they met with the researcher. In accordance with our narrative theoretical model in which power was defined as "the ability to have one's own construction of reality accepted as legitimate knowledge" (Avis, 1996, p233), the adult children's descriptions of the outside system were often viewed as more legitimate than those of the grandparents.

Parenting style change. In addition to the family power shift, another influence of the four-two-one family structure reported by participants in this research was extending parental indulgence and creating a generally more Westernized or child-centered parenting approach (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004; Chuang, 2009; Zhan, 2004; Mortenson, 2002; Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005). Without the burden of raising a huge family, grandparents spent more time with and resources on their only child and grandchild. Their

nondirecting or even indulgent parenting style fostered the increasing self-autonomy of the younger adults as well as their sense of appropriateness in articulating their preferences and needs to the rest of the family. Grandmother Sun said, “We don’t have many kids. Everyone’s attention is on these two [the adult child and the grandchild]. The whole family adores them. They are like our little princesses” Grandmother Sun flew for over twenty hours to visit her adult daughter (Parent Sun) and the newborn baby girl (Granddaughter Sun). Upon Parent Sun’s request, Grandmother Sun temporarily co-resided with her to provide childcare and household assistance. “She needs my help. That’s why I am here.” Parent Sun nodded her head and said, “Our generation is lucky to have our parents’ full attention and support. I am thankful.”

Relationship change. In accordance with previous studies which reported improved mutual communication, understanding, and closer emotional ties between generations (Sheng & Settles, 2006), participants of this research reported an increasing sense of closeness among family members and a harmonious relationship between mothers and daughters-in-law. Adult daughter (Parent Chien), a young professional in the science field, recalled the times when she was young. “My mom and dad had to work long hours to put food on our table. They had no time for us. I followed my older cousin wherever he went. I wasn’t old enough to go to school when he did. So I carried a desk and a chair to sit outside of his classroom. My parents simply did not have time for me.” Now with economic growth in Mainland China and in Taiwan, most grandparents and adult children are able to afford basic living expenses without compromising family quality time. Participants also reported enjoying their family lives in the South.

Additionally, a more harmonious picture was found regarding the relations between mother and daughters-in-law. Findings of this research suggested that, under the influence of the one-

child policy and the family power shift, the older generation extended their parental indulgence and demonstrated a more supportive attitude toward the wives. The in-laws were generous in offering childcare and household assistance, and daughters-in-law constantly expressed their gratitude for this support. Parent Chou, who talked fast with a full of life tone, picked up the toys left on the ground by her younger son and said “She [the in-law] treats you so well. How can you not be nice to her? We are a family after all.” It is worth noting that most previous literature described how traditional wives were judged by their ability to serve their in-laws with a consequential negative intensity between these two parties in the family. Some wives were stressed by their in-laws’ controlling manner and reported that their mothers-in-law were critical and interfered with their marriage and parenting behaviors (Lee & Mock, 2005). At the same time, in-laws complained about wives not fulfilling their responsibilities to serve them and the family.

Yet different from traditional grandparents who expected to be taken care of by their adult children, participants in this study reported their financial and emotional capability to support themselves. Grandmother Wu shared her independence with a bright face during the interview with the first author, “I don’t have to rely on them (my adult child and his family). I can support myself.” Wu made friends in the community and was active in a local church. Agreeing with her viewpoint, Grandmother Chou, a small lady working in a high administrative position, enjoyed traveling and her independent lifestyle. “I don’t expect a lot from them. I have my own life and I love traveling. I visit once in a while.” Similarly, many grandparent participants felt confident about living a relatively independent life when reaching an older age.

Grandparents' Improved Family-defined Well-being

Results from this research propose a positive connection between grandparents' family-defined well-being and their relationship with their adult children. When interacting with their adult children and grandchildren, they felt contented and needed. As mentioned above, grandparents enjoyed close and fulfilling familial relationships. Concurrently, they felt good that they were able to help with the childcare and household chores. This finding was consistent with previous literature that described enhanced health for grandparents who played the role of caregivers in their adult children's households (Sheng & Settles, 2006; Guo et al, 2007). However, it is worth noting that family members of this study reported the overall good health of the grandparents, and none of the grandparents required constant medical care. Grandparents with serious health concerns might not be well enough to travel to the US. In addition, we might expect grandparents with serious illnesses or disabling medical conditions to report differently.

Implications

According to Kenyon and Randall (2001), language constructs reality in the course of giving it articulation (p. 51). By creating a space for the voices of Chinese grandparents and their adult children, we helped to illustrate their stories and their realities. We also used the findings and analysis to provide information that identified resources supportive of change in therapy.

- Outreach for this population. Many Chinese grandparents in need are not familiar with the resources available. Clinicians are encouraged to develop culturally appropriate recruitment strategies, especially in their native languages, to solicit and to provide information to clients of this population.
- Use findings of this research as scaffolding of the culture to improve the adequacy of

therapists' training and preparation to assist clients influenced by Chinese traditions.

- Include culturally diverse staff in order to respond to grandparents' preferences for therapists with similar ethnic backgrounds (Chen & Lewis, 2011).
- Identify and gain support from the decision makers of the family, usually the adult children (Lee & Mock, 2005). They are the ones providing transportation and also have less time available in their schedules.
- Scrutinize the meaning of family and its definition. Explore grandparents' and adult children's stories as individuals and as a family. Who is considered family and what is the corresponding responsibility (toward each other)?
- Explore the influence of philosophical traditions on each family member and his/her intergenerational relationships. Talk about how grandparents' and adult children's perceptions of intergenerational relationship are changing nowadays and how such dynamics influence their own family relations. Clinicians are encouraged to discuss questions such as the following in therapy: Who is more traditional and who is more modern in the family? How do family members perceive each other? How do they communicate about their traditional and contemporary roles with each other? What is the family's story about these changes and their evolving process?

Limitations and Future Explorations

This project is with a limited sample size and has limited transferability to other groups. Also, participants' homogeneity relative to several characteristics and its influences on the access to information and credibility are recognized (Creswell, 2007). Using the tenets of ethnography, we as researchers conducted research in local settings to generate local substantive or midrange

findings of culture that might or might not be applied in other sites or locations. By employing the theoretical perspectives of social constructionism and narrative theories, future explorations can include stories of participants with different social backgrounds and compare the impacts of such contextual and cultural factors on Chinese intergenerational relationships.

Conclusion

Individuals' realities are constructed through languages and story-telling. We, a Chinese marriage and family therapist and a white faculty member from a southern university, used a scholarly tone to portray the pictures of Chinese families and to tell the story of our observations and truths. Although we strove to present the participants' voices in a most comprehensive and authentic way, we are aware of the strengths and limitations of this research. As Kenyon and Randall stated (2001), "In extracting themes from the stories of more than one person, something is lost and something is gained" (p. 13). Although it is likely that we lost some of the finer nuances of participants' meanings, we gained great depth in understanding their lives as elderly parents, adult children, and, perhaps even more importantly, their lives as families in the context of grandparents' parenting involvement. Clinicians and researchers using the findings of this study are encouraged to explore individual differences for each Chinese family as well.

References

Atwood, J. D., & Conway, B. Y. M. (2004). Therapy with Chinese American Families: A Social Constructionist Perspective. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 32*(2), 155-172.

Avis, J. M.(1996). Deconstructing gender in family therapy. In Piercey, F. & Sprenkle, D. (Eds). Family Therapy Sourcebook (pp. 220-255). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Berman, R., & Slobin, D. (1994). *Relating events in narrative: A cross linguistic developmental study.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Brewer, W. (1985). The story schema: Universal and culture-specific properties. In N. Torrance, D. Olson, & A. Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning* (pp. 167–194). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA US: Harvard University Press.

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *The Asian population: 2010. 2010 Census Briefs.*

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *U.S. Census Bureau at a glance*.

Chafe, W. (Ed.). (1980). *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Chan, E. A. (2002). A lived experience of dualism between the natural and human science paradigms in nursing. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 40*(6), 739-746. doi: 10.1046/j.1365-2648.2002.02433.x

Chan, E. A., Cheung, K., Mok, E., Cheung, S., & Tong, E. (2006). A narrative inquiry into the Hong Kong Chinese adults' concepts of health through their cultural stories. *International Journal of Nursing Studies, 43*(3), 301-309. doi: 10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2005.06.001

Chang, H. H., & Ng, K. S. (2002). The perception of resiliency mechanisms in Chinese American families: Implications for family therapy. *Family Therapy, 29*(2), 89-100.

Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of Parenting* (2 ed., Vol. 4). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Chao, R. K. (1995). Chinese and European American Cultural Models of the Self Reflected in Mothers' Childrearing Beliefs. *Ethos, 23*(3), 328-354.

Chappell, N. L., & Kusch, K. (2007). Gendered nature of filial piety--a study among Chinese Canadians. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 22*(1), 29-45.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In Emerson, R. (Ed.), *Contemporary field research* (pp. 109-126). Boston: Little, Brown.

Chen, H., & Lewis, D. C. (2011). Approaching the “resistant:” Exploring East Asian international students’ perceptions of therapy and help-seeking behavior before and after they arrived in the United States. *Contemporary Family Therapy*. doi: 10.1007/s10591-011-9154-6

Chen, X., Bian, Y., Xin, T., Wang, L., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2010). Perceived social change and childrearing attitudes in China. *European Psychologist, 15*(4), 260-270. doi: 10.1027/1016-9040/a000060

Cheng, S.-T., & Chan, A. C. M. (2006). Filial piety and psychological well-being in well older Chinese. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 61B*(5), P262-P269.

Chuang, S. S. (2009). Transformation and change: parenting in Chinese societies. In J. A. Mancini & K. A. Roberto (Eds.), *Pathways of human development :Explorations of change*: Lanham : Lexington Books, c2009.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundation of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *The research act* (3rd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Dowd, J. & Bengtson, V. (1978). Aging in Minority Populations: An Examination of the Double Jeopardy Hypothesis. *Journal of Gerontology*, 33, 427-36.

Epstein, N. B., Chen, F., & Beyder-Kamjou, I. (2005). Relationship standards and marital satisfaction in Chinese and American couples. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 31*(1), 59-74. doi: 10.1111/j.1752-0606.2005.tb01543.x

Fang, S.-R. S., & Wark, L. (1998). Developing Cross-Cultural Competence with Traditional Chinese Americans in Family Therapy: Background Information and the Initial Therapeutic Contact. *Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal, 20*(1), 59-77.

Feldman, A. (1999). The role of conversation in collaborative action research. *Educational Action Research*, 7(1), pp. 125-147.

Fong, S. L. M. (1973). Assimilation and Changing Social Roles of Chinese Americans. *Journal of Social Issues, 29*(2), 115-127.

Franks, M., Pierce, L., & Dwyer, J. (2003). Expected parent care involvement of adult children Vol. 22, pp. 104-117.

Freedman, J., & Combs, G. (1996). *Narrative therapy: The social construction of preferred realities*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Goh, E. C. L. (2006). Raising the precious single child in urban China--an intergenerational joint mission between parents and grandparents. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(3), 7-28.

Gutmann, D. L. (1985). Deculturation and the American grandparent. In Bengtson, V. L. & Robertson, J.F. (Eds.), *Grandparenthood.* (pp. 173-181). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hansen, C. (1992). *A Daoist theory of Chinese thought: a philosophical interpretation* New York : Oxford University Press, 1992.

Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ho, M. K. (1987). *Family Therapy with Ethnic Minorities*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Holmes, J. (1997). Struggling beyond Labov and Waletzky. *Journal of Narrative and Life History,* 7, 1–4, 91–96.

Hong, G. K. (1989). *Application of cultural and environmental issues in family therapy with immigrant Chinese America.*

Hwu, Y., Coates, V. E., Boore, J. R. P., & Bunting, B. P. (2002). The Concept of Health Scale: developed for Chinese people with chronic illness. *Nursing Research, 51*(5), 292-301.

Ikels. (1998). Grandparenthood in cross-cultural perspective. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Janelli, R. L., & Yim, D. (2004). Transformations of filial piety in contemporary South Korea. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 128-152). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Johnson, C. L. (1998). Effects of adult children's divorce on grandparenthood. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kamo, Y. (1998). Asian grandparents. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*.

Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kao, R. S.-K., & Lam, M. L. (1997). Asian American elderly. In Lee, E. (Ed.), *Working with Asian Americans: a guide for clinicians* (pp. 208-223): Guilford Press, New York, NY.

Kenyon, G. & Randall, W. L. (2001) Narrative Gerontology. In Kenyon G., Clark, P., & de Vries, B. (Eds.), *Narrative Gerontology: Theory, Research, and Practice* (pp.3-18). New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.

Kim, S.Y., Chen, Q., Li, J., Huang, X., & Moon, U.J. (2009). Parent–child acculturation, parenting, and adolescent depressive symptoms in Chinese immigrant families. *Journal of Family Psychology*. 23(3): 426–437.

Kobayashi, K.M. and L. Funk (2010). Of the family tree: Congruence on filial obligation and its implications for social support among older parents and adult children in Japanese Canadian families. *Canadian Journal on Aging.* 29(1), 85-96.

Lee, E. (1989). Assessment and treatment of Chinese-American immigrant families. *Journal of Psychotherapy & the Family, 6*(1/2), 99-122.

Lee, E. (1996 a). Asian American families: An overview. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Pearce, J. K. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family Therapy*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Lee, E. (1996 b). Chinese families. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Pearce, J. K. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York, NY: The Guildford Press.

Lee, E. (1997). Chinese American families. *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians*. New York: Guildford Press.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Asian Families: An overview. In McGoldrick,M., Giordano,J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York: NY: The Guilford Press.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Chinese Families. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto. N. (Eds.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3 ed.). New York, NY US: Guilford Press.

Li Chiu, M., Feldman, S. S., & Rosenthal, D. A. (1992). The Influence of Immigration on Parental Behavior and Adolescent Distress in Chinese Families Residing in Two Western Nations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 2*(3), 205-239.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic enquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, No. 30, 73-84.

Linde, C. (1993). Life stories: *The creation of coherence.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Liu, J. H., Ng, S.H., Weatherall, A. Loong, C.F. (2000). Filial piety, acculturation and inter-generational communication among New Zealand Chinese. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22 (3), 213-223.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1995). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lu, L. (2002). A preliminary study on the concept of health among the Chinese. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly, 15*(2), 179-189. doi: 10.1080/09515070110104051

Mair, M. (1988). Psychology as storytelling. *International Journal of Personal Construct Psychology,* 1.

McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (2005). Overview: Ethnicity and family therapy. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3 ed.). New York: The Guilford Publications, Inc.

Meredith, W. H., Abbott, D. A., Tsai, M., & Ming, Z. F. (1994). Healthy family functioning in Chinese cultures: an exploratory study using the circumflex model. *International Journal*

of Sociology of the Family, 24(1), 147-157.

Michaels, S. (1981). “Sharing time”: Children’s narrative styles and differential access to literacy. *Language in Society*, 10, 423–442.

Mistry, J. (1993). Cultural context in the development of children’s narratives. In Altarriba, J. (Ed.), *Cognition and culture: A cross-cultural approach to psychology* (pp.207–228). Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.

Moody, H. R. (Ed.). (2010). *Aging concepts and controversies* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications Co.

Mortenson, S. T. (2002). Sex, communication values, and cultural values: Individualism-collectivism as a mediator of sex differences in communication values in two cultures. *Communication Reports*, 15(1), 57.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Narrative Study: Whose story is it, anyway? *TESOL Quarterly,* 213-218.

Riessman, C. (1991). When gender is not enough: Women interviewing women. In Lorber, J. & Farrell, S. (Eds.), *The social construction of gender* (pp. 217–236). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Schaefer, R. T. (1996). *Racial and ethnic groups* (Vol. 6th). New York, NY: Harper & Collins.

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J., & LeCompte, M. D.(1999). *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1981). *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Sheng, X. & Settles, B. H. (2006). Intergenerational relationships and elder care in China: A global perspective. *Current Sociology,* 54 (2), 293.

Shwalb, D. W., Nakazawa, J., Yamamoto, T., & Hyun, J.-H. (2004). Fathering in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean cultures: A review of the research literature. In Lamb, M. E. (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development (4th ed.).* (pp. 146-181). Hoboken, NJ US: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Silverstein, M., Giarrusso, R., & Bengtson, V. L. (1998). Intergenerational solidarity and the grandparent role. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Seponski, D. M., Bermudez, J., & Lewis, D. C. (2013). Creating Culturally Responsive Family Therapy Models and Research: Introducing the Use of Responsive Evaluation as a Method. *Journal Of Marital & Family Therapy*, *39*(1), 28-42. doi:10.1111/j.1752-0606.2011.00282.x

Spector, R. E. (1991). *Cultural diversity in health and illness* (Vol. 3 ed): Appleton & Lange.

Stein, C. H., Wemmerus, V. A., Ward, M., Gaines, M. E., Freeberg, A. L., & Jewell, T. C. (1998). "Because They're my parents": An intergenerational study of felt obligation and parental caregiving. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 60*(3), 611-622.

Sung, B. L. (1985). Bicultural conflicts in Chinese immigrant children. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 16*(2), 255-269.

Sung, B. L., & Center for Migration Studies, I. S. I. N. Y. (1987). *The adjustment experience of Chinese immigrant children in New York City*.

Tannen, D. (1980). A comparative analysis of oral narrative strategies: Athenian Greek and American English. In Chafe W. (Ed.), *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic*

aspects of narrative production (pp. 51–87). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1982). Spoken and written narrative in English and Greek. In Tannen, D. (Ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse* (pp. 21–41). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1993). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In Tannen, D. (Ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp. 14–56). New York: Oxford University Press.

Wang, D. (2004). Ritualistic coresidence and the weakening of filial practice in rural China. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 16-33). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

White, H. (1981). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *On narrative.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York, NY: W.W.Norton & Company.

Whyte, M. K. (2003). *China's revolutions and intergenerational relations*: Ann Arbor : Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, c2003.

Whyte, M. K. (2004). Filial Obligations in Chinese Families: Paradoxes of Modernization. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 106-127). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Wolcott, H. F. (1999). *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Lanharm, MD: AltaMira Press.

Yee, B. W. K. (1992). Elders in Southeast Asian refugee families. *Generations, 17*(3), 24-27.

Yu, A.-B. (1996). Ultimate life concerns, self, and Chinese achievement motivation. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology.* (pp. 227-246). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Yu, L. C. (1984). Acculturation and Stress within Chinese American Families. *Journal of*

Comparative Family Studies, 15(1), 77-94.

Zavella, P. (1993). Feminist insider dilemmas: Constructing ethnic identity with "Chicana" informants. *A Journal of Women Studies.* 13(3), 53-76

Zhan, H.J. (2004).Socialization or social structure: Investigating predictors of attitudes toward filial responsibility among Chinese urban youth from one and multiple child families. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development.* Vol. 59 (2), 105 – 124.

CHAPTER 3

VISITING CHINESE GRANDPARENTS' INVOLVEMENT IN THEIR ADULT CHILDREN'S PARENTING PRACTICES IN A SOUTHERN REGION OF THE UNITED STATES[2]

[2] Hao-Min Chen & Denise C. Lewis. To be submitted to peer-reviewed journal.

Abstract

This study investigated visiting Chinese grandparents' involvement in their adult children's parenting practices in a southern region of the United States. The involvement was family defined and included different kinds of services, conversations, and interactions between family members (regarding adult children's parenting). Attention was given to the cultural, familial, and individual beliefs as well as the context factors that influenced this involvement. Nine families originally from Mainland China and Taiwan were interviewed. We used semi-structured interviews and observations for data collection. The findings revealed the families' life stories and indicated a positive relationship between grandparents' involvement and their family-defined well-being. Further implications included culturally sensitive interventions for clinicians and researchers working with Chinese multi-generational households.

Keywords: Chinese, grandparents, intergenerational relationships, parenting

Introduction

Between 2000 and 2010, the Chinese American community grew by 40 percent, reaching a total of 4 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). It remains the largest Asian subgroup in the U.S., making up 23% of the Asian Pacific American population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2010). Most Chinese Americans live in California, with New York second in population (Lee & Mock, 2005). This population increase brings with it a corresponding increase in Chinese elders, which greatly affects services for minorities and the aging, most of which were originally developed for a White, middle-class population (Jacobson, 1982). Mental health professionals and service providers now need to take into account differences in language and ethnic customs when working with this population (Moody, 2010; Ikels, 1998; Seponski, Bermudez, & Lewis, 2013). However, the relatively small number of studies conducted and the limited information available make it difficult for clinicians and researchers to engage effectively with Chinese multi-generational households. Furthermore, the few existing studies were mostly conducted in regions other than the southern region where more than 45,849 Chinese Americans reside (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Literature Review

Grandparents, Parents, and Grandchildren

Based on surveys conducted with largely White populations, researchers have found that grandparents' levels of involvement in adult children's parenting vary and require a complex process of negotiations between grandparent spouses, younger couples, and other extended family members. Interpersonal and familial dynamics over time play a large role in determining "what level of care a grandparent feels comfortable offering, or an adult child accepting"

(Hirshorn, 1998, p. 204). In addition, the availability of formal child-care or parenting support offered by health-care, social-services, religious, civic organizations, and the U.S. government have impacted both the type and amount of caregiving tasks given by grandparents. Literature suggests seven primary reasons for American grandparents' direct caregiving, including "giving adult children relief, responding to their crisis situations, providing flexibility in transitional and overwhelming circumstances when an adult child divorces, is immature, has substance abuse issues, or is incarcerated" (Hirshorn, 1998, p. 207).

Relatively few studies conducted in Asia explore grandparents' roles as care providers (e.g., Fung, Siu, Choy, &McBride-Chang, 2005; Lin & Harwood, 2003; Silverstein, Cong, & Li, 2006; Strom, Lee, Strom, Nakagawa, &Beckert, 2008; Chen, Short, & Entwisle, 2000; Goh, 2009, Guo, Pickard, & Huang, 2007; Short, Chen, Entwsle, & Zhai, 2002). However, according to Goh and Kuczynski (2010), Chinese grandparents in particular, make substantial contributions to their adult children's household by raising grandchildren, preparing meals, and doing house cleaning (Goh, 2009; Short et al, 2002). Although theorists indirectly suggest that engaging with a younger generation might help with older parents' sense of meaning in later life (Byers, Levy, Allore, Bruce, & Kasl, 2008; Moody, 2010), grandparenting itself seems to burden Chinese elderly family members. A cross-sectional comparative pilot study conducted in Taiwan in 2007 found that 55.6% of Chinese grandparent caregivers reported psychological distress, even when 86.7% of these grandparents received caregiving support from other family members (Lo & Liu, 2009). Grandparent participants in a southern city in China also experienced childcare as mentally and physically exhausting (Goh, 2006).

Nevertheless, Chinese grandparents' level of involvement in adult children's parenting practices in the U.S. has not been explored in a detailed fashion (Nagata, Cheng, & Tsai-Chae,

2010; Phua& Kaufman, 2008). The few existing studies merely focus on grandparenting, which in most literature refers to direct caregiving from grandparents to their grandchildren (King, Russell & Elder, 1988; Goh, 2009; Nagata et al., 2010). This solitary attention limits researchers' observations on grandparents' other parenting involvement and its impacts on familial and parental systems (i.e. grandparent- parent subsystem and parent-grandchildren subsystem). Studies conducted in Asia (e.g., Fung, Siu, Choy, &McBride-Chang, 2005; Lin & Harwood, 2003; Silverstein, Cong,& Li, 2006; Strom, Lee, Strom, Nakagawa, &Beckert, 2008) are informative but have limited applicability to the immigrant grandparents in the United States. The population addressed here faces unique challenges, including employment difficulties, changes in environments and lifestyles, and the possibility of dependency on their adult children or grandchildren for constant translation. In the few studies on Chinese American grandparenting, the difficulties related to grandparents' immigration status are identified as well (Nagata, Cheng, & Tsai-Chae, 2010).

Despite a lack of literature exploring the relationships between Chinese grandparents and their children in middle or later adulthood in regard to the issues of parenting, there is no doubt that a large number of Chinese grandparents in the U.S. are involved in direct caregiving to or indirect parenting support for their grandchildren (Yoon, 2005). Younger grandparents, grandparents without disabilities, and grandmothers are more likely to provide care to their grandchildren (Phua & Kaufman, 2008). While interacting with their grandchildren, grandparents pay special attention to the children's moral character, manners, and achievements.

Chinese Families in a Changing Society

Chinese families in the United States have been shaped by social, economic, and political

changes, such as the Communist takeover of China, the one-child policy, the Cultural Revolution, the Red Guard Youth, economic growth, and U.S. immigration policies (Lee & Mock, 2005; Chen, Bian, Xin, Wang, & Silbereisen, 2010), both in their countries of origin and in America. Several researchers suggest that Chinese families in the United States are now facing considerable changes such as different interpretations of the traditional value of filial piety, family power shifts, and the erosion of traditional roles (Yee, 1992; Kao & Lam, 1997; Moody, 2010). Families may experience consequent strains when adapting to these changes. The older generation, especially, is no longer perceived as in an absolute position of power and is exploring new roles (Yan, 1997).

Changing interpretation and the practice of filial piety

Researchers describe the practice of filial piety as greatly cherished and respected in traditional Chinese culture (Goh, 2006; Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Chung, 2009; Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000; Wang, 2004; Whyte, 2003; Whyte, 2004). The traditional values of filial piety and respect for elders help shape a high contact among grandparents, parents, and grandchildren, and also help foster a hierarchical grandparenting style (Lee & Mock, 2005). Grandparents are often in a position of power in the family and have authority over younger generations (Chung, 2009).

However, under the influence of U.S. individualistic practices and increased resources available due to a generally improved economic environment, fewer adult children feel obligated to take care of their older parents and elders are less dependent on their adult children as well (Hansen & Pang, 2010; Yan, 2010). Although family connection is still highly emphasized, families' attitudes and practices towards filial obligation have become personalized principles

rather than absolute reflections of philosophical traditions and cultural norms (Kobayashi & Funk, 2010). These processes and practices are influenced by individual factors such as gender (Rossi, 1993), self-reported health, the availability of family members (Franks, Pierce, & Dwyer, 2003), the familial relationships, and overall history (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg, & Jewell, 1998). Chinese grandparents now think of providing care to their adult children's households as "enjoying family happiness," maintaining emotional closeness, and nurturing a stronger sense of filial obligation in the family (Goh 2009; Ikels, 1990). Furthermore, most grandparents self-reported a noninterference norm instead of a directive style when interacting with the younger generations (Nagata et al., 2010).

Family structure and power shift

Another transformation in contemporary Chinese families due to the changes of macro contexts is a shift in family structure and relational power originally regulated by traditional Confucianism (Lee & Mock, 2005). As mentioned earlier, grandparents were generally regarded as the final authority in the family and experts on raising children (Freedman, 1970). Nevertheless, as Zhan points out in his study conducted in 2004, the current one-child policy on Chinese intergenerational households creates a significant change in family hierarchy. A four-two-one structure (four grandparents, two parents, one child) extends parental indulgence and unintentionally fosters a more Westernized child-centered parenting approach, especially among the well-educated population (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004; Chuang, 2009; Zhan, 2004). Because of the increasing self-autonomy of parents and grandchildren raised in single-child households, it is likely that parenting guidance or unwanted intervention from grandparents will not be appreciated. This shift of hierarchy, along with grandparents' desire for

saving face (Mortenson, 2002; Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005), might increase the possibilities of power struggles between family members when faced with differences in perspectives on parenting younger generations. The current research described in this manuscript further explored whether or not this phenomenon is true for Chinese families living in the southern United States. Attention was given to families' stories and their perceived changes in power dynamics, intergenerational relationships, and boundaries among Chinese family members in U.S., where individualism and independence are encouraged more so than in the collectivist society of traditional China (Chung, 2009). Furthermore, by adopting the concept of grandparents' "involvement" and "family defined" parenting participation, we attempted to show how Chinese families interact when viewed through a culturally responsive lens that provides insights to the impacts of collectivism and philosophical traditions. Tenets of an ethnographic approach with semi-structured interviews were used to discover grandparents' life stories in a relational context situated in both Chinese and American cultures.

Conceptual Model

We chose social constructionism (Crotty, 1998) as the epistemology, narrative theory (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981) as the theoretical perspective, and tenets of ethnography as the methodology (Creswell 2007; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 1999). These theoretical and methodological foundations provided guidance to the research design and possible explanations to the findings. Social constructionists assert that meanings are not discovered, but constructed by family members as they engage and interact with people around them, constantly absorbing, interpreting, sharing and reporting meanings within social contexts (Crotty, 1998). Multiple social, cultural, physical, and historical events shape and define how family members perceive

and experience their lives (Lewis, 2005). *Culture* in this study is defined as "a set of values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors shared by a particular group of people, communicated from one generation to the next," and is "learned behavior that shapes attitudes and encourages some types of behavior over others" (Chan, Cheung, Mok, Cheung, & Tong, 2006, p302). Culture favors certain discourses and stories and considers those as more appropriate or relevant to the expression and representation of parenting as well as interactions between generations (White &Epston, 1990; Hwu, Coates, Borore, & Bunting, 2002). These stories, derived from cultural contexts but modified by personal narratives, inform lives, identities, and meanings for families (Mair, 1988). The epistemological and theoretical background chosen for this study helped the researchers to reveal the contextual influences while acknowledging the individuality of each Chinese family and their life stories as grandparents and parents in the United States (Freedman & Combs, 1996). These perspectives also helped to create spaces for family members to illustrate their uniqueness and creativity when responding to various influences from social and cultural environments.

Method

Research Design

Tenets of ethnography were chosen as the methodology and semi-structured interviews and observations were adopted as methods of collecting data (Creswell, 2007; Schensul, Schendul, & LeCompte, 1999; Patton, 2002). Guided by the belief that individuals and families are influenced by culture and contexts, we as researchers implemented these methods to deconstruct the magnitude of contexts and its impacts on the dynamics of Chinese intergenerational relationships.

By using tenets of ethnography, we emphasized the ethnographic intent and the ways that data were collected (Wolcott, 1999). Overall study design was led by a concern for both larger and local cultural descriptions, and we took responsibility for making the influences of contexts explicit during the research process. We conducted the project locally (Schensul, Schendul, & LeCompte,1999) and explored how culturally patterned beliefs and behaviors were manifested, demonstrated, created, co-created, and passed down to generations, especially through stories. We started with broad questions and followed up with flexible questions that were developed during the interviews and adapted from participants' languages (Wolcott, 1999). This technique allowed us to explore each family's stories, their realities constituted and maintained by these narratives, and the influences of culturally favored discourses. During the interviews, we invited a reflexive posture of the family members and an appreciation of their participation in interpretive acts (White & Epston, 1990, p. 83). The meanings family members made from interacting with each other provided a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamic between generations. Observation was on-going and verbal, non-verbal, and contextual information related to research questions was documented in the fieldnotes.

We used the patterns and themes that emerged among the stories and fieldnotes to inductively establish a thematic narrative (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). We provided orientation information about these themes, patterns and analytic points, presented the excerpts or direct quotes, and advanced analytic commentaries about the quotes as they related to the analytic points (Creswell, 2007, p. 193). Additionally, we used rhetorical devices such as figures of speech and tropes, which included metaphors, synecdoche (i.e. figures of speech), and irony (Hammersley& Atkinson, 1995; Creswell, 2007). Metaphors from participants provided visual and spatial images as well as the dramaturgical characterizations of social actions. Examples,

illustrations, and certain cases that were from a part of the interviews or observations but stood for a whole were analyzed to examine the cause and sequence of the family dynamics. Opposite view points and narratives expressed through irony were also documented and analyzed (Creswell, 2007). Making such an ethnographic categorization and interpretation of the culture-sharing group is a data forming step, and we drew inferences from the data or turned to social constructionism and narrative theory to provide structure for our interpretation.

Participants

This study included nine Chinese families (N=28) living in a southern region of the United States. Each family included at least one member from each generation (i.e. one grandparent and one parent). All family members were originally from Mainland China or Taiwan. The age average of the participant grandparents was 68 years, and their average time spent in the U.S. was almost 4 years. Grandparents' accent, language (English) ability, occupation, and levels of cultural adaptation and education varied. Their formal educational backgrounds differed from none to college degree. Some grandparents grew up in small villages while others were raised in busy cities. The age average of the participant parents was 33, and their average time spent in the U.S. was 6.5 years. Most parents were young professionals or graduate students. However, their accent, language difficulties, and levels of cultural adaptation are different. Twenty participants were female and eight were male. Only one grandparent had previous experience participating in research. Participants were recruited using purposeful and convenience sampling (Creswell 2007; Schensul, Schensul, &LeCompte, 1999). This sampling technique was possible because the first author, as a Chinese international student, had been actively involved in many Chinese family activities on campus and had pre-existing relationships with people in this community. She

recruited participants through emails, flyers, phone calls, word of mouth, and personal contact. She also talked with several informants who provided information about this community and possible participants. The conversations began, as is culturally appropriate, by introducing herself, offering warm regards, and inquiring about recent events in people's personal life. During the initial contacts, she introduced the purpose of this research, described the interview protocol, and answered questions raised. Participants chose interview locations, including their homes or other convenient locations. Most participants knew or had seen the first author at social activities before the interviews. The trust established beforehand was crucial in increasing the freedom participants felt about engaging in this research and discussing their thoughts and feelings toward familial relationships, which was considered private information they normally do not share with outsiders. Several participants continued their social relationships with the first author after the interviews. They continued to share their daily life and family stories during the research period and agreed that these stories could be included in the research data.

Subjectivity Statements

The first author is a Chinese international student originally from Taiwan. She received her graduate degree in the United States and is currently enrolled in a Marriage and Family Therapy Ph.D. program here in the South. During her years of stay in the US, she has constant contact with Chinese community and found that grandparents make unique contributions to their adult children, which are not yet documented in the literature. By exploring, articulating, and writing about the stories of Chinese families and politics of location confronted by the family members and researchers, she intended to create space for Chinese families' voices and facilitates critical analysis of those voices without subordinating them (Bengtson et al., 2005). In addition, through

the viewpoint of social constructionism, she aimed to deconstruct the power and contextual dynamics embedded in these behaviors.

During the research process, the first author was spontaneously considered a cultural "insider" by participants because of her "Chineseness." This insider status helped her to "be cognizant and accepting of complexity and internal variation, be able to understand the nuances of language use, and be less apt to be distrusted by those being studied" (Zavella, 1993, p. 53). Also, she had an easier access to the participant community and was able to use culturally appropriate languages and to frame questions in ways that respect community sensibilities (Zavella, 1993). However, this status also made her feel accountable to the overall welfare of the Chinese community, and the need to write sympathetic discussion and implications according to the best interests of this population. Furthermore, as an "insider" presenting this research to the majority culture, such as the audience of conferences or committee members, there were times when the first author was viewed as a representative of Chinese culture than as a researcher. Constant self-reflections and journaling were made to bring awareness to and help mitigate against this process.

Nevertheless, in terms of age, educational and personal experiences relating to the American culture, she was seen as a westernized outsider by some grandparents. Some grandparents might doubt her ability to understand their lives due to her relatively young age and singlehood; and some might mistrust the profession of therapy (Chen & Lewis, 2011). The levels of proximity and distance between the participants and her could be shifted accordingly. When this mistrust was perceived during the interview, the first author would summarize and validate the grandparents' stories to show her appreciation and understanding of their perspectives. Sometimes she shared her own experiences as a child to engage and to relate to the participants.

All grandparents felt comfortable talking with her afterwards.

Data Collection

After obtaining consent, grandparents and parents of each family were interviewed separately. Each interview was approximately 80-100 minutes, audio-recorded, and transcribed verbatim (Creswell 2007). The first author asked questions regarding grandparents' daily routines, general health conditions, and their involvement in their adult children's parenting in the United States. We also explored grandparents' and parents' thoughts and feelings related to this involvement.

Interviews were conducted in participants' preferred locations, most times—their homes. The home visits captured much contextual information of participants' daily lives. For example, the first author witnessed the family's routine and the coordination between grandparents and parents providing care to the grandchildren. Many grandparents shared their hobbies such as gardening and house decoration with the first author and invited her to the neighborhood and to talk with their friends. Although interviews were conducted individually, at times family members engaged in collaborative conversations (Feldman, 1999) and interrupted each other by adding comments to the each other's stories. It is worth noting that these collective statements might offer a more comprehensive understanding of the family dynamics and their shared realities. The first author documented these similar or different accounts and included any verbal or non-verbal disagreements for further analysis and triangulation of all forms of data (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1986).

Access to observation data (Patton, 2002; Crewell 2007) is possible through the first author's role as both a Taiwanese international student and as a researcher. She participated in

various Chinese familial and elder events such as senior club in a large metropolitan city, local Chinese churches' gatherings, dancing events for elders, Chinese festival celebrations for older parents, lunchtime for Taiwanese elders, and activities hosted in Chinese libraries, language schools, and supermarkets. Several times she was invited to join the grandparents' grocery shopping and met their friends. She communicated face to face with participants and established a presence in the community (Schensul, Schendul, & LeCompte,1999). She also made observations regarding Chinese intergenerational relationships and issues related to the research questions of this study as she engaged in the religious or community events, during the initial contact when introducing the research, and during interviews. She documented descriptions of activities, behaviors, conversations, interpersonal interactions, organizational or any other aspect of observable human experiences within the research contexts. In addition, she documented participants' stories and wrote extensively about narrative construction, from how the nature of the text shaped the subject matter to the 'literary' conventions and devices used by authors" (Creswell, 2007, p. 192). We as researcher privileged the participants' narratives (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981) and wove thick descriptions and extensive quotes to tell a story of the culture of Chinese families. Thick descriptions as participants' words, voices, perceptions, emotions, social relationships and any details related to research questions (Denzin, 1989) were recorded to illustrate the experiences of grandparents and parents. This overall process of observation was ongoing through out the data collection period (Patton, 2002) and attention was given to the content, process, power, culture and contexts using the theoretical guidance mentioned above.

Data Analysis

Following the guidelines of ethnography (Creswell, 2007), data including fieldnotes and

transcripts, were open coded, focused coded and put into a conceptually clustered matrix through progressive categorization of themes. First, We coded data according to particular topics, using headings and subheadings to organize data into useful categories (Charmaz, 1983). Then we sorted out repeated patterns and emerging typologies of the data (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Matrix data were further analyzed and interpreted using social constructionism (Crotty, 1998) as the epistemology, and narrative theory (Bruner, 1990; White, 1981) as the theoretical perspective.

Truthworthness in this research was established by maintaining a rich description of the methods and data analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), including an audit trail of the process and progress of the research and keeping memos pertaining to the categories, subcategories, concepts, and interrelated categories. Additionally, we kept an informal reflexive journal (Lincoln & Guba, 1986) to document our reflections and any biases that might have an influence on our understanding of the participants' experiences. Attention was given to gendered, racial, relational, or class inequalities through reflexivity.

Moreover, rather than seeking a singular truth, data collection from both generations using semi-structured interviews increased the likelihood to capture and to report multiple perspectives. This design by nature enhanced the dependability of the data through triangulation of data sources (Patton, 2002). The inquiries of grandparents' parenting participation to both generations tested the consistency within different sources and demonstrated the family dynamics with a sensitivity to different realities constructed by each of the family member. Understanding of this consistency or inconsistency in findings across generations was illuminative and offered opportunities for a more comprehensive insight into the Chinese familial relationships (Patton, 2002).

Findings and Discussions

This study created space for Chinese families and their intergenerational stories of grandparents' parenting involvement in a southern region of the United States. Narratives from both generations portrayed grandparents' different levels of involvement and their various types of involvement in the manner of a chronicle. The shared family stories started with the younger parents' needs for childcare and household assistance, then progressed to the family negotiation, their involvement in parenting practices, and their strategies to cope as a family. The influences of culture of origin, familial relationships, and local communities were profound in family members' discourses, and certain discourses were considered as more culturally appropriate or relevant to the expression and representation of parenting and interactions between generations (White & Epston, 1990; Hwu, Coates, Borore, & Bunting, 2002). Identified themes and categories further depicted the individual and shared stories among family members. Narratives and observations were presented from the perspectives of both age groups as well as the family as a whole.

How Did the Grandparents Get Here?

The stories sprang from younger parents' needs for childcare and household assistance. Parent participants who are young professionals and work full-time reported their tiredness juggling with job demands, childcare, and adjustment issues in a foreign country. They also described their momentous need of someone trustworthy to help with household chores, childcare, emotional support, and decision-making. Father Li, a young scientist in his thirties, came home straight from work to the interview and explained his struggles and needs in a drained voice. "I am working full-time…operating under another language is

challenging…When I get home I am exhausted and don't have any energy left for a crying child or a full-load of dirty laundry. My wife and I can really use some help from my mom." He rushed his meal during the interview and resumed work afterward. Most of the parents were aware of the availability of daycare systems or service providers in the local area, but still preferred someone in the family to provide aid. Various purposes were served: (1) Help from grandparents is economic and trustworthy. (2) Parents do not have to worry about communication issues such as language difficulties or cultural differences, between them and the housekeepers or childcare services providers. (3) Grandchildren can learn languages (e.g. Mandarin or other dialect) and cultural manners from the grandparents. (4) Having grandparents here allowed family quality time among family members. (5) Parents can take grandparents sightseeing and shopping. Young mother Chien described her dilemma as well as solutions in her interview with the first author, "I want my kid to able to learn Mandarin. There is no doubt she will learn English at school but Chinese I am not sure…Also, it was hard to find a babysitter that is trustworthy…I was raised by my mom. I trust her with my kid so I asked her to be here." Mother Chien then turned to her mother with a sweet and grateful smile.

The four-two-one family structure which focused more on the younger generation's needs fostered a smooth negotiation process while answering younger parents' request for help from the extended family(Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004; Chuang, 2009; Zhan, 2004). Many grandparents from both the mother's and the father's side expressed their willingness to help, and some even competed with each other or had to negotiate about who would be here. Most of the times, there would be discussions among extended family members about which one grandparent to send at a time and a collective decision would be made. Similar with previous literature (Nagata et al., 2010), this decision depended on the health condition, work demands,

and residential areas of the grandparents. Some grandparents providing support to adult children lived nearby whereas others traveled overseas to offer childcare. Also, most grandparents from Mainland China who came to the U.S. with a visiting visa had the maximum stay period of six months. Grandparents, by taking turns to be here, could prolong the family time and maximized the support they provide to the younger couple. Mother Chien offered the following explanation of a "taking turns" pattern during the interview: "It depended on their [grandparents'] time and availabilities. We had to negotiate…My father-in-law was free when my daughter was one-month old, so he came to help. When he took off, my dad was here." In her conversations with the first author during a local elder event, Grandmother Wu shared a similar perspective, "We [the extended family members] talked with each other about our availability and their [the younger parents'] needs. We made decisions together. They [the younger parents] couldn't handle this all by themselves. They needed our help." This was recognized by Grandmother Zheng who acknowledged the need to provide assistance as well. "My son is having a baby. So I got here as soon as I could to help. I can't do much now, but at least I can take care of my grandson."

It is worth noting that parent participants were appreciative and did not feel shame or guilt in requesting grandparents' assistance. Different from a traditional filial piety idea that younger generation should serve and provide for the elders in the family, parent participants felt comfortable asking help from their older parents. In return, they treated their older parents well and took them out for sightseeing and shopping whenever they could. As described by Father Wang in the interview, "My wife and I took my mom to Atlanta for sightseeing…It was not easy for her to make it here." Mother Chien, a young professional and active member in the community, shared similar experiences, "I got my father in law some electronic devices he likes.

I took him out for shopping and we compared product details and prices together. I can always get something he likes for him. I know him better than my husband." Her playful comments were recorded along with the sound of the washer and dryer in her house.

Grandparents' Involvement in Parenting Practices

In accordance with studies conducted in Asia (Yoon, 2005; Phua & Kaufman, 2008; Nagata et al., 2010; Goh & Kuczynski, 2010; Goh, 2009; Short et al, 2002), discourses from family members suggested that we might find a great level of grandparents' involvement in parenting practices in this region of the United States. All participants from both generations reported this involvement as positive or supportive. None described grandparents' involvement as negative or interfering. However, the forms of parenting involvement varied from family to family.

Family-defined parenting participation

The family-defined parenting participation (of grandparent) was diverse, including offering childcare to the grandchildren, emotional support and decision-making aid to the younger parents, and meal preparation and chore assistance to the whole family. These findings confirmed our theoretical assumptions that grandparents provide not only direct care to the grandchildren, but also support to the parenting systems (i.e. the younger parents) and to the family as a whole. As described by Mother Sun when she was helping her daughter with her homework during the interview:

> There is a lot housework you have to do every day. My mom gets up six o'clock every morning and makes breakfast for us. After then she dresses my daughter for school when I do my yoga of the day…When I am out for work, she does the laundry, cleans the house,

> and prepares for dinner…When my daughter gets home, she plays with her and takes her out for a walk. After that, she bathes my daughter and feeds her...When my father-in-law was here, he made snacks for us as well.

However, it is worth noting that most grandparents offered help *within* but not outside of the households. They washed laundry and prepared the food but rarely drove their grandchildren to school. Most grandparents did not interact with their grandchildren's teachers or medical providers due to language difficulties or unfamiliarity with the local systems. As mentioned by Father Zhao in the interview with the first author, "My dad does not know how to talk with my son's teacher…My wife and I help with my son's homework and we talk with the teacher …It is ok that my parents don't communicate with the school. I do. And I will let them know if something major comes up." Grandfather Zhao agreed with his adult son, "His English is better. He knows the system better. It is better that he talks with my grandson's doctors. John [the younger parent] will pass down the doctor's advice and I will follow them."

When interacting with grandchildren, most grandparents demonstrated a non-directive style (Nagata et al., 2010). Different from traditional values, which focus on grandparents' absolute power in the household, Grandmother Zhao, a small and soft-spoken lady in her sixties, deferred the disciplining authority to the younger couple. "They are the parents. They have the responsibilities to teach them [the grandchildren] and to discipline. We are the grandparents. We play with them." Grandfather Zhao (from the same family) continued with a similar point, "My son and daughter in law gave me a [daycare] schedule to follow. They have to do the work." He looked at the first author and pointed at the kitchen, suggesting where the location of the list. Grandmother Chou also recognized the self-imposed limits associated with disciplining, "I would be crossing the line if I discipline Ian [pseudonym]. She [the parent] is the mother. It is her

responsibility. She has her own life and has to learn how to be a mother. I had my turn. Now is hers." Grandmother Chou was sitting straight and holding her arms when she made this statement during the interview, as she was holding the ground for her rules of life. Behind her was a clean and neat living room as organized as her thoughts. In general, grandparents showed respect for the parenting decisions their adult children made and offered advice only when about it was asked for. When disagreeing with their adult children, they expressed their opinions openly but left the final decisions to their adult children. Grandmother Feng attributed the differences between generations to time change, the degree of westernization, and the influence of individualism and education. "The time is so different. Things are different from where I was raised. My daughter grew up here and knows more about the system…She went to college here. She has her own way of parenting, a more Americanized way." Unlike their traditional counterparts, Chinese grandparents in this study retreated from their position of power when dealing with differences in parenting their grandchildren.

In addition, grandparents offered emotional support and decision-making aid to the younger couples to support their parenting practices. Generally, the support was provided through empathy and intimate conversations between family members and included a variety of issues such as cultural differences, difference in raising a child in Mainland China, Taiwan, and the States, generational differences in parenting, daily life challenges, and difficulties related to living in the south, such as places to find oriental food, buying a good house within a nice community, etc. One grandparent (Grandmother Chou) described the major support she provided was to help her daughter and son in-law buy a house that was family-friendly and located in a nice community. She helped with decision making, comparing prices, and house design. The whole process took months and the younger couple was appreciative. "I could never buy this

house if my mom was not here. Because of her help, my son now can attend a good school in this area," said Mother Chou with tears of joy in her eyes.

Coping as a family in a foreign country

One of the themes found in different stories told by participants was the focus on their togetherness, strengths, and daily life coping strategies as individuals (grandparents and parents) and as a family. Participants shared the parenting challenges they faced as well as the coping strategies that were effective to overcome difficulties in a foreign country. They shared rich descriptions of the value of the family and the contributions family members made to each other.

Value of the family. Consistent with previous literature (Lee & Mock, 2005), family members emphasized the value of the family and their togetherness when facing challenges. They viewed the needs of childcare and household assistance from the younger parents as the family's issues instead of individuals' issues. Parent participants in this research perceived grandparents as included in their own family unit and felt comfortable asking help from them. Grandparents also felt needed and provided assistance willingly. "He needs me and I am here," grandfather Zhao said in a soft but determined voice. Grandmother Zhao nodded her head with a smile on her face. The grandchild happily played with her new toys in the room decorated with family pictures. Moreover, food was constantly used as a metaphor for the closeness of the intergenerational relationship. Mother Chien described during the interview her relationship with her in-laws using food as a symbolic example.

> My in-laws devoted all of their hearts and efforts to my husband. Chinese parents are like that. If there was only one thing left to eat in the household, they would give the food to the child, even now he/she is an adult…Their family survived poverty but still now, every time

when I visit their house, they offer me the best food they have instead of eating it themselves.

Grandmother Sun shared the same point in her conversations with the first author in an Asian supermarket, “I am ok. I can have low quality food. I always save the best food for my son.” Grandparent Li was preparing dinner for her family during the interview and used food as an analogy to express her willingness to help out whenever she could and whatever she could afford. “I only have one son… We [my husband and I] can starve but we don’t want the kids to be hungry… As long as he likes the food I cook. I will cook for him forever.”

Stepping outside of traditional roles

No gender differences were found in terms of what kind of daily life parenting tasks were performed by the grandparents. Grandparent participants of both genders cooked, cleaned, washed laundry, and provided emotional support and decision-making help. Grandmothers helped with chores that required heavy labor such as moving furniture as well. The elderly did not cling to the traditional gender roles and offered whatever assistance they could. The younger generation often showed their appreciation by paying for the grandparents’ flight tickets, helping with visa procedures, and taking them out for sightseeing and shopping. The younger parents also helped with language and translation when needed. Compared with their traditional counterparts who relied on their adult children for financial and other life support, grandparents in this study seemed to demonstrate an interdependent but not dependent style of intergenerational relationships (Hansen & Pang, 2010; Yan, 2010).

Focus on the successful experiences

Data collected during interviews and through observations suggested that most participants

chose to focus on certain segments of successful coping or parenting experiences of their lives. Chinese grandparents and parents together developed a strengths-based story that emphasized the family connections, their appreciation of each other, and each family member's contributions to their parenting achievements.

> Our life here is hard. We need a lot of help. That's why my mom is here. We are so happy that she is here. Yu [my daughter] won a painting trophy last month. It is because of my mom's help that Yu and I can survive here (Mother Chien).

Grandmother Wu with a proud and satisfied smile on her face, stated,

> I have been helping with my daughter in law for six years now. I have been helping to raise my grandson since he was born. My daughter in law's life is much easier because of me. She looks just like a young lady never giving birth to a child…Every time I travel, she always calls and asks when I will be back.

Moreover, Grandmother Li and Father Li told me a story of Grandparent Li's successful experiences of overcoming language and culture barriers to be here to help. Grandmother Li ran a small farm in a village located in Northeast China. She had never taken a train or an airplane before coming to U.S.

> It was my first time taking a train [to the airport] and an airplane. I was the first person to take the train and the flight in my village. My friends were so impressed. I don't even know Chinese. [The grandmother is illiterate, can barely write her own name]. I just took the piece of paper with the flight information my son printed out for me and made it here…I was not scared. What do I have to lose? You younger girls are scared. I am an old lady. What am I scared of?

Several grandparents demonstrated similar courage when dealing with daily parenting tasks

in a foreign country. They tried new things for the best benefit of the family and embraced the change of the society as well as the intergenerational relationships. In her conversations with the first author after the interview, Grandmother Wu discussed how she viewed the shift in societal expectations.

> The daughters-in-law in old times are now the mother-in-law these days…But I can't treat my daughter-in-law as I was treated. Things are different now. We are not as powerful [as grandparents] and they are not as obedient [as younger parents]. Our cohort has to learn how to be mothers-in-law by ourselves. Our younger generations are not like us…I watched TV shows and talked with friends. Things change so much in these decades…I read articles online as well.

Together with other discourses of positive coping experiences, these stories constituted the family members' life narratives that further informed their meaning and identities as "good" parents or grandparents. They also found satisfaction in their current lives and enjoyed the resources available. Furthermore, several families reported grandparents' improved well-being after coming to the States. As Grandmother Chien stated while she was stretching her legs during the interview, "I feel good after coming here. I exercise a lot. I am happy. I feel good." Similarly, Mother Zheng described her observations to the first author, "My mother-in-law is happier here. She is more active as well." Family members also related grandparents' well-being with their interactions with the grandchildren, as theorists might assumed (Byers, Levy, Allore, Bruce, & Kasl, 2008; Moody, 2010). "My dad is active. He enjoys the lifestyle here and feels more relaxed after coming here. He enjoys playing with my daughter. I feel he is happy here" (Father Wang). Grandfather Wang (within the same family) shared a similar perspective with his son, "I am happy every time I see my grandson. I feel my life satisfying and meaningful spending time with

him here. I love it." However, it is worth noting that this well-being is subjective and family-defined. No objective measures were used to follow up or to compare the well-being between grandparent participants.

Implications

We as researchers used analyses of Chinese families' stories to inform the following guidelines and recommendations for further engagement and promotion of change when working with Chinese intergenerational households, grandparents and parents especially.

- When working with Chinese parents with parenting issues, clinicians are encouraged to invite grandparents to sessions in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. Conversations with grandparents will allow clinicians to understand the needs and challenges of younger parents. They also acknowledge grandparents' participation and further support them to support the parents' parenting practices in U.S.
- Create a space for the individual stories as well as the collective family statements regarding parenting. The shared realities of interpersonal relationships have a significant influence on family dynamics. The stories might include not only grandparents and parents, but also other extended family members such as siblings, uncles, and cousins.
- Explore the family's perceptions of the changing society and its influence on their intergenerational relationships. For example, facilitate the discussions of the contemporary grandparents' role and involvement in their adult children's parenting. However, avoid automatically imposing this perspective.
- Identify the decision makers of the family and gain their support (Lee & Mock, 2005). In this case, younger parents are often the decision makers especially when grandparents are

here to help. Although grandparents' advice is still well respected, the head of the family shifts from the grandparents to the parents particularly in terms of parenting of grandchildren.

- Expect a generally more involved lifestyle among family members. A systemic view is culturally appropriate to understand the layered interactions between family subsystems (e.g. couples and siblings). We also recommend clinicians to use cultural strengths such as support and influences from extended family creatively (Lee & Mock, 2005).
- Accommodate the value of the family and focus on interpersonal harmony in the functions and goals of therapy (Chen & Lewis, 2011). Discuss family members' view on the value of the family and the culturally embedded expectations for grandparents and parents. Nevertheless, avoid assuming every family is under the same influence of these philosophical traditions.
- Demonstrate caring and empathy (Lee & Mock, 2005). When working with grandparents, summarize what they say periodically to show your empathy and understanding. Nodding and smiling are well-accepted. In addition, many grandparents preferred to speak their native languages. Our recommendation for mental health service providers is to include multi-lingual staff in order to respond to this preference.
- Visa/immigrating issues should be addressed with sensitivity. Immigration issues have a profound influence on the intergenerational relationships of Chinese families. However, this can be a sensitive issue to discuss with the therapists as outsiders. Clinicians are recommended to approach this issue with open and indirect questions such as "How long will your parents be visiting" and "Was it hard to attain visa to come here?"
- A strengths-based approach is suggested when working with this population. Facilitate

conversations that appreciate and validate the strengths of the family.

- Be aware of individual differences. Grandparents and parents from Mainland China and Taiwan are a heterogeneous group. Family members who grew up in different areas may hold various cultural beliefs regarding parenting practices.

Limitations and Future Explorations

We as researchers are aware of the risk of over-generalization of the findings from this study. Chinese grandparents and parents from Mainland China and Taiwan are a heterogeneous group. However, the limited sample size and the homogeneity relative to participants' several characteristics because of the convenient sampling strategies might confine the access of information and credibility (Creswell, 2007). The results might only reflect the researcher's particular observations and understandings of the Chinese families from certain backgrounds but not the others. For instance, grandparent participants in this study were all healthy enough to perform household chores. Grandparents with different health conditions might have different involvement in their adult children's parenting.

Furthermore, thinking from a social constructionist perspective, which focuses on the influences of societies and contexts, researchers' future explorations can include investigation and comparison between Chinese families residing in different geographical areas and can further examine and/or confirm the assumptions of cultural and contextual influences.

Conclusion

We as researchers are aware of the fact that this research was designed by and made for professionals in the field of marriage and family therapy and family studies. Although we strove

to present participants' stories in an authentic and reflective way, it was still our voices and agendas from the "profession," "academia," and "privileged group" that were predominant. As researchers who decide the final editing, we should constantly remind ourselves of the responsibility of awareness and introspection. We should reflect on our inevitable power of selection, interpretation, and recreation of the data during the research process as well as its influence on the research finding and implication.

References

Bengtson, V. L., Acock, A.C., Allen, K.R., Dilworth-Anderson, P., & Klein, D.M. (Ed.). (2005). *Sourcebook of family theory and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication Inc.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA US: Harvard University Press.

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *The Asian population: 2010. 2010 Census Briefs.*

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *U.S. Census Bureau at a glance*.

Byers, A. L., Levy, B. R., Allore, H. G., Bruce, M. L., & Kasl, S. V. (2008). When parents matter to their adult children: filial reliance associated with parents' depressive symptoms. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 63B*(1), 33-40.

Chan, E. A., Cheung, K., Mok, E., Cheung, S., & Tong, E. (2006). A narrative inquiry into the Hong Kong Chinese adults' concepts of health through their cultural stories. *International Journal of Nursing Studies, 43*(3), 301-309. doi: 10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2005.06.001

Chappell, N. L., & Kusch, K. (2007). Gendered nature of filial piety--a study among Chinese Canadians. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 22*(1), 29-45.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In Emerson, R. (Ed.), *Contemporary field research* (pp. 109-126). Boston: Little, Brown.

Chen, H., & Lewis, D. C. (2011). Approaching the “resistant:” Exploring East Asian international students’ perceptions of therapy and help-seeking behavior before and after they arrived in the United States. *Contemporary Family Therapy*. doi: 10.1007/s10591-011-9154-6

Chen, X., Bian, Y., Xin, T., Wang, L., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2010). Perceived social change and childrearing attitudes in China. *European Psychologist, 15*(4), 260-270. doi:

10.1027/1016-9040/a000060

Chen, F., Short, S. & Entwisle, B (2000). The impact of grandparental proximity on maternal childcare in China. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 19 (6), 571-590.

Chuang, S. S. (2009). Transformation and change: parenting in Chinese societies. In J. A. Mancini & K. A. Roberto (Eds.), *Pathways of human development :Explorations of change*: Lanham : Lexington Books, c2009.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundation of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Epstein, N. B., Chen, F., & Beyder-Kamjou, I. (2005). Relationship standards and marital satisfaction in Chinese and American couples. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 31*(1), 59-74. doi: 10.1111/j.1752-0606.2005.tb01543.x

Feldman, A. (1999). The role of conversation in collaborative action research. *Educational Action Research*, 7(1), pp. 125-147.

Franks, M., Pierce, L., & Dwyer, J. (2003). Expected parent care involvement of adult children. 22, 104-117.

Freedman, M. (1970). *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Freedman, J., & Combs, G. (1996). *Narrative therapy: The social construction of preferred realities*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Fung, H. H., Siu, C. M. Y., Choy, W. C. W., & McBride-Chang, C. (2005). Meaning of grandparenthood: Do concerns about time and mortality matter? *Ageing International*,

30(2), 122-146.

Goh, E. C. L. (2006). Raising the precious single child in urban China--an intergenerational joint mission between parents and grandparents. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(3), 7-28.

Goh, E. C. L. (2009). Grandparents as childcare providers: An in-depth analysis of the case of Xiamen, China. *Journal of Aging Studies, 23*(1), 60-68. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2007.08.001

Goh, E.C.L. & Kuczynski, L. (2010). Only Children and their coalition of parents: Considering grandparents and parents as joint caregivers in urban Xiamen, China. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 13 (4), 221-231.

Guo, B., Pickard, J., & Huang, J. (2007). A cultural perspective on health outcomes of caregiving grandparents: Evidence from China. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships*, 5(4), 25-40.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). Ethnography: Principles in practice (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Hansen, C. (1992). *A Daoist theory of Chinese thought: a philosophical interpretation* New York : Oxford University Press, 1992.

Hansen, M. H. & Pang, C. (2010). Idealizing individual choice: Work, love, and family in the eye of young, rural Chinese. In Hansen, M.H. & Svarverud, R. (Eds). *iChina-The rise of the individual in modern Chinese society*. Singapore: NIAS Press, 1-38.

Hirshorn, B. A. (1998). Grandparents as caregivers. In Szinovacz, M. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Hwu, Y., Coates, V. E., Boore, J. R. P., & Bunting, B. P. (2002). The Concept of Health Scale:

developed for Chinese people with chronic illness. *Nursing Research, 51*(5), 292-301.

Ikels, C. (1990). The resolution of intergenerational conflict: Perspectives of elders and their family members. *Modern China*, 16 (4), 379-406.

Ikels. (1998). Grandparenthood in cross-cultural perspective. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Jacobson, S. G. (1982). Equity in the Use of Public Benefits by Minority Elderly *Minority Aging: Sociological and Social Psychological Issues B2 - Minority Aging: Sociological and Social Psychological Issues* (pp. 161-170). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Kao, R. S.-K., & Lam, M. L. (1997). Asian American elderly. In E. Lee (Ed.), *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians* (pp. 208-223): Guilford Press, New York, NY.

King, V., Russell, S. T., & Elder, G. H. J. (1988). Grandparenting in family systems: An ecological perspective. In Szinovacz, M. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kobayashi, K.M. and L. Funk (2010). Of the family tree: Congruence on filial obligation and its implications for social support among older parents and adult children in Japanese Canadian families. *Canadian Journal on Aging.* 29(1), 85-96.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Asian Families: An overview. In McGoldrick,M., Giordano,J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York: NY: The Guilford Press.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Chinese Families. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto. N. (Eds.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3 ed.). New York, NY US: Guilford Press.

Lewis, D. C. (2005). The Intersection of Filial Piety and Cultural Dissonance: Intergenerational Relations among Khmer Families in the United States. (Unpublished doctoral

dissertation). University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Lin, M., & Harwood, J. (2003). Accommodation predictors of grandparent-grandchildren relational solidarity in Taiwan. *Journal of Social & Personal Relationships, 20*(4), 537-563.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic enquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, No. 30, 73-84.

Liu, J. H., Ng, S.H., Weatherall, A. Loong, C.F. (2000). Filial piety, acculturation and inter-generational communication among New Zealand Chinese. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22 (3), 213-223.

Lo, M., & Liu, Y.-H. (2009). Quality of life among older grandparent caregivers: a pilot study. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 65*(7), 1475-1484. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2009.05000.x

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1995). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Mair, M. (1988). Psychology as storytelling. . *International Journal of Personal Construct Psychology*, 1.

Moody, H. R. (Ed.). (2010). *Aging concepts and controversies* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications Co.

Mortenson, S. T. (2002). Sex, communication values, and cultural values: Individualism-collectivism as a mediator of sex differences in communication values in two cultures. *Communication Reports*, 15(1), 57.

Nagata, D. K., Cheng, W. J. Y., & Tsai-Chae, A. H. (2010). Chinese American grandmothering: A qualitative exploration. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 1(2), 151-161. doi:

10.1037/a0019963

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Phua, V. C., & Kaufman, G. (2008). Grandparenting responsibility among elderly Asian Americans: the effects of householder status, ethnicity, and immigration. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 6*(1), 41-59.

Rossi, A. S. (1993). The future in the making: Recent Trends in the Work-Family Interface. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 63(2), 166.

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J., & LeCompte, M. D.(1999). *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Short, S., Chen, F., Entwsle, B., & Zhai, F. (2002). Maternal work and child care in China: a multi-method analysis. Population and Development Review, 28 (1), 31-57.

Shwalb, D. W., Nakazawa, J., Yamamoto, T., & Hyun, J.-H. (2004). Fathering in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean cultures: A review of the research literature. In Lamb, M. E. (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development (4th ed.).* (pp. 146-181). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Silverstein, M., Cong, Z., & Li, S. (2006). Intergenerational transfers and living arrangements of older people in rural China: consequences for psychological well-being.. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 61B*(5), S256-S266.

Seponski, D. M., Bermudez, J., & Lewis, D. C. (2013). Creating Culturally Responsive Family Therapy Models and Research: Introducing the Use of Responsive Evaluation as a Method. *Journal Of Marital & Family Therapy*, *39*(1), 28-42. doi:10.1111/j.1752-0606.2011.00282.x

Stein, C. H., Wemmerus, V. A., Ward, M., Gaines, M. E., Freeberg, A. L., & Jewell, T. C. (1998). "Because They're my parents": An intergenerational study of felt obligation and parental caregiving. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 60*(3), 611-622.

Strom, R. D., Lee, T., Strom, P. S., Nakagawa, K., & Beckert, T. E. (2008). Taiwanese grandmothers: strengths and learning needs as perceived by grandmothers, mothers, and granddaughters. *Educational Gerontology, 34*(9), 812-830.

Wang, D. (2004). Ritualistic coresidence and the weakening of filial practice in rural China. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 16-33). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

White, H. (1981). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *On narrative.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York, NY: W.W.Norton & Company.

Whyte, M. K. (2003). *China's revolutions and intergenerational relations*: Ann Arbor : Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, c2003.

Whyte, M. K. (2004). Filial Obligations in Chinese Families: Paradoxes of Modernization. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 106-127). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Wolcott, H. F. (1999). *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Lanharm, MD: AltaMira Press.

Yan, Y. (1997). The triumph of conjugality: Structural transformation of family relations in a Chinese village. *Ethnography*, 36(3), 191-212.

Yan, Y. (2010). The Chinese path to individualization. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(3), 489-512.

Yee, B. W. K. (1992). Elders in Southeast Asian refugee families. *Generations, 17*(3), 24-27.

Yoon, S. M. (2005). Characteristics and needs of Asian-American grandparent caregivers: a study of Chinese-American and Korean-American grandparents in New York City. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 44*(3-4), 75-94.

Zavella, P. (1993). Feminist insider dilemmas: Constructing ethnic identity with "Chicana" informants. *A Journal of Women Studies.* 13(3), 53-76

Zhan, H.J. (2004).Socialization or social structure: Investigating predictors of attitudes toward filial responsibility among Chinese urban youth from one and multiple child families. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development.* 59 (2), 105– 124.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS

It is imperative that mental health professionals be culturally competent, take into account differences in ethnic customs and philosophical traditions, and provide culturally sensitive services when working with Chinese intergenerational households (Ikels, 1998; Atwood & Conway, 2004; Moody, 2010; Seponski, Bermudez, & Lewis, 2013). By creating a space for the voices of Chinese grandparents and their adult children, this dissertation helps illustrate their stories and realities. Findings and analysis are also used to provide information that identifies resources supportive of change in therapy.

In response to writing these manuscripts, I arrive at several conclusions embedded in the cultural and relational contexts that may address the literature gap on Chinese intergenerational relationships discussed in Chapter 1. (1) Many grandparents maintain a close and interdependent relationship with their adult children in the U.S. (2) Many grandparents are involved in their adult children's parenting practices. (3) Grandparents' family-defined well-being is positively related to their relationships with their adult children and their parenting participation. I will discuss these conclusions in the following paragraphs. However, I am aware of the limited sample size and the risk of over-generalization of these conclusions. I also recognize the participants' homogeneity relative to several characteristics and its influence on the access to information and credibility (Creswell, 2007).

Many grandparents maintain a close and interdependent relationship with their adult children.

In accordance with previous studies which reported improved mutual communication, understanding, and closer emotional ties between generations (Sheng & Settles, 2006), participants of this research reported an increasing sense of closeness among family members. Informed by cultural beliefs, the younger generation maintained a solid connection with their older parents, even after they reached adulthood and formed their own families. The value of both immediate and extended families was emphasized in participants' storytelling. For both generations, there existed a strong sense of obligation to each other. Grandparents felt responsible for providing assistance to their adult children who struggled with adjustment, language, culture, work, and childcare issues and reported a sense of achievement in being needed by their adult children and grandchildren. Nevertheless, different from the traditional grandparents who expected to be taken care of by their adult children, participants of this study reported their financial and emotional capability to support themselves. Many grandparent participants felt confident about living a relatively independent life when reaching an older age.

Many grandparents are involved in their adult children's parenting practices.

Consistent with studies conducted in Asia, (Yoon, 2005; Phua & Kaufman, 2008; Nagata & Cheng, et al., 2010), discourses from family members suggested a great level of grandparents' involvement in parenting practices in this region of the United States. All participants from both generations reported this involvement as positive or supportive. None described grandparents' involvement as negative or interfering. However, the forms of parenting involvement were diverse, including offering childcare to the grandchildren, emotional support and decision-

making aid to the younger parents, and meal preparation and chore assistance to the whole family. These findings confirmed our theoretical assumptions that grandparents provide not only direct care to the grandchildren, but also support to the parenting systems (i.e. the younger parents) and to the family as a whole.

Grandparents' family-defined well-being is positively related to their relationships with their adult children and their parenting participation.

Results from this research proposed a positive connection between grandparents' family-defined well-being, their relationship with their adult children, and their parenting participation. When interacting with their adult children and grandchildren, grandparents felt content and needed and reported enjoyment of their close and fulfilling familial relationships. Grandparents also felt good that they were able to help with the childcare and household chores. This finding was consistent with previous literature which described enhanced heath for grandparents who played the role of caregivers in their adult children's households (Sheng & Settles, 2006; Guo et al, 2007).

However, it should be noted that family members of this study reported the overall good health of the grandparents, and none of the grandparents required constant medical care. Grandparents with serious health concerns might not be well enough to travel to the U.S. In addition, we might expect grandparents with serious illnesses or disabling medical conditions to report differently.

The Influence of Culture and Contexts

The influence of culture and contexts on Chinese intergenerational relationships is substantial.

Participants in this study held cultural beliefs, which informed their expression and representation of interactions between generations. These beliefs such as the emphasis on the value of the family and filial piety were derived from Confucianism and Taoism as described in earlier sections. In addition, participants described the influences of the changing society and their local communities. Similar to the results found in previous literature (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004; Chuang, 2009; Zhan, 2004; Mortenson, 2002; Epstein, Chen & Beyder-Kamjou, 2005), many grandparents and their adult children mentioned their perceptions of intergenerational relationship changes due to the contexts' effects, including family power shifts, parenting style changes, and relationship changes. Both generations acknowledged and attributed the changes to economic growth, the one-child policy, and their current living environment. However, participants in this study did not relate their challenges or stress to the acculturation or assimilation process when in contact with the local culture (Berry, 2005).

Implications and Future Explorations

Clinicians are encouraged to use findings of this research as scaffolding of the culture to improve their adequacy to assist clients influenced by Chinese traditions. We also suggest explorations of the meanings of family and its definition as well as the influence of philosophical foundations on each family member and his/her intergenerational relationships. In sum, a strength-based, collaborative approach with curiosity and respect is recommended when working with this population (Chen & Lewis, 2011). Future explorations may include comparisons between Chinese grandparents residing in different region of the United States to examine the influences of local contexts and communities.

References

Akhtar, S. (2011). *Immigration and acculturation: Mourning, adaptation, and the next generation*. Lanham, ML: Jason Aronson.

Atwood, J. D., & Conway, B. Y. M. (2004). Therapy with Chinese American Families: A Social Constructionist Perspective. *American Journal of Family Therapy, 32*(2), 155-172.

Avis, J. M.(1996). Deconstructing gender in family therapy. In Piercey, F. & Sprenkle, D. (Eds). Family Therapy Sourcebook (pp. 220-255). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Barnes, J. S., & Bennett, C. E. (2002). *The Asian population, 2000*. Washington, DC : U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, 2002.

Berry, J.W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29*, (697-712). doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013

Bengtson, V. L., Acock, A.C., Allen, K.R., Dilworth-Anderson, P., & Klein, D.M. (Ed.). (2005). *Sourcebook of family theory and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication Inc.

Bengtson, V. L., & Kuypers, J. A. (1971). Generational difference and the developmental stake. *Aging & Human Development*, 2(4), 249-260.

Berman, H. J. (1986). To flame with a wild life: Florida Scott-Maxwell's experience of old age. *Gerontologist, 26*(3), 321-324.

Berman, R., & Slobin, D. (1994). *Relating events in narrative: A cross linguistic developmental study.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Brewer, W. (1985). The story schema: Universal and culture-specific properties. In N. Torrance, D. Olson, & A. Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning* (pp. 167–194). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boss, P. (1988). *Family stress management*. Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Bowen, M. (1978). *Family therapy in clinical practice*. New York, NY: Jason Aronson.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA US: Harvard University Press.

Bureau, U. S. C. (2009). *2010 Census integrated communications campaign synopsis*.

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *The Asian population: 2010. 2010 Census Briefs.*

Bureau, U. S. C. (2010). *U.S. Census Bureau at a glance*.

Byers, A. L., Levy, B. R., Allore, H. G., Bruce, M. L., & Kasl, S. V. (2008). When parents matter to their adult children: filial reliance associated with parents' depressive symptoms. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 63B*(1), 33-40.

Chafe, W. (Ed.). (1980). *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Chan, E. A. (2002). A lived experience of dualism between the natural and human science paradigms in nursing. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 40*(6), 739-746. doi: 10.1046/j.1365-2648.2002.02433.x

Chan, E. A., Cheung, K., Mok, E., Cheung, S., & Tong, E. (2006). A narrative inquiry into the Hong Kong Chinese adults' concepts of health through their cultural stories. *International Journal of Nursing Studies, 43*(3), 301-309. doi: 10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2005.06.001

Chang, H. H., & Ng, K. S. (2002). The perception of resiliency mechanisms in Chinese American families: Implications for family therapy. *Family Therapy, 29*(2), 89-100.

Chang, T. H.-H., & Yeh, R. L. (1999). Theoretical framework for therapy with Asian families. In Ng, K.S. (Ed.), *Counseling Asian families from a systems perspective.* (pp. 3-13). Alexandria, VA US: American Counseling Association.

Chao, R., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of*

Parenting (2 ed., Vol. 4). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development, 65*(4), 1111-1119.

Chao, R. K. (1995). Chinese and European American Cultural Models of the Self Reflected in Mothers' Childrearing Beliefs. *Ethos, 23*(3), 328-354.

Chappell, N. L., & Kusch, K. (2007). Gendered nature of filial piety--a study among Chinese Canadians. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 22*(1), 29-45.

Charmaz, K. (1983). The grounded theory method: An explication and interpretation. In Emerson, R. (Ed.), *Contemporary field research* (pp. 109-126). Boston: Little, Brown.

Chen, H., & Lewis, D. C. (2011). Approaching the “resistant:” Exploring East Asian international students’ perceptions of therapy and help-seeking behavior before and after they arrived in the United States. *Contemporary Family Therapy*. doi: 10.1007/s10591-011-9154-6

Chen, X., Bian, Y., Xin, T., Wang, L., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2010). Perceived social change and childrearing attitudes in China. *European Psychologist, 15*(4), 260-270. doi: 10.1027/1016-9040/a000060

Chen, X., Cen, G., Li, D., & He, Y. (2005). Social Functioning and Adjustment in Chinese Children: The Imprint of Historical Time. *Child Development, 76*(1), 182-195.

Chen, X., Hastings, P., Rubin, K. H., Chen, H., Gen, G., & Stewart, S. L. (1998). Childrearing attitudes and behavioral inhibition in Chinese and Canadian toddlers: A cross-cultural study Vol. 34.

Chen, F., Short, S. & Entwisle, B (2000). The impact of grandparental proximity on maternal

childcare in China. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 19 (6), 571-590.

Cheng, S.-T., & Chan, A. C. M. (2006). Filial piety and psychological well-being in well older Chinese. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 61B*(5), P262-P269.

Chuang, S. S. (2009). Transformation and change: parenting in Chinese societies. In J. A. Mancini & K. A. Roberto (Eds.), *Pathways of human development :Explorations of change*: Lanham : Lexington Books, c2009.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundation of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *The research act* (3rd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Dolbin-MacNab, M. L. (2009). *Becoming a parent again: An exploration of transformation among grandparents raising grandchildren*. In Mancini J.A. & Roberto, K.A. (Eds). *Pathways of development: Explorations of change* (pp. 207-226). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P. L., Leiderman, P. H., Roberts, D. F., & Fraleigh, M. J. (1987). The Relation of Parenting Style to Adolescent School Performance. *Child Development, 58*(5), 1244. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.ep8591146

Dowd, J. & Bengtson, V. (1978). Aging in Minority Populations: An Examination of the Double Jeopardy Hypothesis. *Journal of Gerontology*, 33, 427-36.

Epstein, N. B., Chen, F., & Beyder-Kamjou, I. (2005). Relationship standards and marital satisfaction in Chinese and American couples. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy,*

31(1), 59-74. doi: 10.1111/j.1752-0606.2005.tb01543.x

Fang, S.-R. S., & Wark, L. (1998). Developing Cross-Cultural Competence with Traditional Chinese Americans in Family Therapy: Background Information and the Initial Therapeutic Contact. *Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal, 20*(1), 59-77.

Feldman, A. (1999). The role of conversation in collaborative action research. *Educational Action Research*, 7(1), pp. 125-147.

Fong, S. L. M. (1973). Assimilation and Changing Social Roles of Chinese Americans. *Journal of Social Issues, 29*(2), 115-127.

Franks, M., Pierce, L., & Dwyer, J. (2003). Expected parent care involvement of adult children. 22, 104-117.

Freedman, M. (1970). *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Freedman, J., & Combs, G. (1996). *Narrative therapy: The social construction of preferred realities*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Fung, H. H., Siu, C. M. Y., Choy, W. C. W., & McBride-Chang, C. (2005). Meaning of grandparenthood: Do concerns about time and mortality matter? *Ageing International, 30*(2), 122-146.

Gao, G., Ting-Toomey, S., & Gudykunst, W. B. (1996). Chinese communication processes. In M. H. Bond (Ed.). *The handbook of Chinese psychology.* (pp. 280-293). New York, NY US: Oxford University Press.

Gesser , G. L., Marshall , V.W. , & Rosenthal , C. . (1985). *Developmental stake and the perception of intergenerational solidarity in the older family context: The extended*

generational stake hypothesis. Paper presented at the Canadian Association on Gerontology's Annual Scientific and Educational Meetings Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Goh, E. C. L. (2006). Raising the precious single child in urban China--an intergenerational joint mission between parents and grandparents. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 4*(3), 7-28.

Goh, E. C. L. (2009). Grandparents as childcare providers: An in-depth analysis of the case of Xiamen, China. *Journal of Aging Studies, 23*(1), 60-68. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2007.08.001

Goh, E.C.L. & Kuczynski, L. (2010). Only Children and their coalition of parents: Considering grandparents and parents as joint caregivers in urban Xiamen, China. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 13 (4), 221-231.

Grundy, E., & Henretta, J. C. (2006). Between elderly parents and adult children: a new look at the intergenerational care provided by the 'sandwich generation'. *Ageing and Society, 26*(5), 707-722.

Guo, B., Pickard, J., & Huang, J. (2007). A cultural perspective on health outcomes of caregiving grandparents: Evidence from China. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships,* 5(4), 25-40.

Gutmann, D. L. (1985). Deculturation and the American grandparent. In Bengtson, V. L. & Robertson, J.F. (Eds.), *Grandparenthood.* (pp. 173-181). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). Ethnography: Principles in practice (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Hansen, C. (1992). *A Daoist theory of Chinese thought: a philosophical interpretation* New

York : Oxford University Press, 1992.

Hansen, M. H. & Pang, C. (2010). Idealizing individual choice: Work, love, and family in the eye of young, rural Chinese. In Hansen, M.H. & Svarverud, R. (Eds). *iChina-The rise of the individual in modern Chinese society*. Singapore: NIAS Press, 1-38.

Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hildreth, G. J., & Sugawara, A. I. (1993). Ethnicity and diversity in family life education. In M. E. Arcus, J. D. Schvaneveldt & J. J. Moss (Eds.), *Handbook of family life education, Vol. 1: Foundations of family life education; Vol. 2: The practice of family life education.* (pp. 162-188). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.

Hirshorn, B. A. (1998). Grandparents as caregivers. In Szinovacz, M. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Ho, M. K. (1987). *Family Therapy with Ethnic Minorities*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Holmes, J. (1997). Struggling beyond Labov and Waletzky. *Journal of Narrative and Life History,* 7, 1–4, 91–96.

Hogan, D. P., Eggebeen, D. J., & Clogg, C. C. (1993). The Structure of Intergenerational Exchanges in American Families. *American Journal of Sociology, 98*(6), 1428-1458.

Hong, G. K. (1989). *Application of cultural and environmental issues in family therapy with immigrant Chinese America.*

Hou, S., & Luh, W. (2005). Psychometric properties of the cervical smear belief inventory for Chinese women. International Journal Of Behavioral Medicine, 12(3), 180-191. *Journal of Strategic & Systemic Therapies*, *8*, 14-21.

Huang, L. J. (1981). The Chinese American family *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations B2 - Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations* (Vol. 2nd). New York: Elsevier.

Hwu, Y., Coates, V. E., Boore, J. R. P., & Bunting, B. P. (2002). The Concept of Health Scale: developed for Chinese people with chronic illness. *Nursing Research, 51*(5), 292-301.

Ikels, C. (1990). The resolution of intergenerational conflict: Perspectives of elders and their family members. *Modern China*, 16 (4), 379-406.

Ikels. (1998). Grandparenthood in cross-cultural perspective. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Ip, D., Lui, C. W., & Chui, W. H. (2007). Veiled entrapment: a study of social isolation of older Chinese immigrants in Brisbane, Queensland. *Ageing and Society, 27*(5), 719-738.

Jacobson, S. G. (1982). Equity in the Use of Public Benefits by Minority Elderly *Minority Aging: Sociological and Social Psychological Issues B2 - Minority Aging: Sociological and Social Psychological Issues* (pp. 161-170). Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Janelli, R. L., & Yim, D. (2004). Transformations of filial piety in contemporary South Korea. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 128-152). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Jeong, Y.-J., & You, H.-K. (2008). Different historical trajectories and family diversity among Chinese among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans in the United States. *Journal of Family History, 33*(3), 346-356.

Johnson, C. L. (1998). Effects of adult children's divorce on grandparenthood. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kamo, Y. (1998). Asian grandparents. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*.

Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kao, R. S.-K., & Lam, M. L. (1997). Asian American elderly. In E. Lee (Ed.), *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians* (pp. 208-223): Guilford Press, New York, NY.

Kelly, M. L., & Tsang, H. M. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing: A comparison of immigrant Chinese and Caucasian American mothers (Vol. 23, pp. 444-455).

Kenyon, G. & Randall, W. L. (2001) Narrative Gerontology. In Kenyon G., Clark, P., & de Vries, B. (Eds.), *Narrative Gerontology: Theory, Research, and Practice* (pp.3-18). New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.

Kim, S.Y., Chen, Q., Li, J., Huang, X., & Moon, U.J. (2009). Parent–child acculturation, parenting, and adolescent depressive symptoms in Chinese immigrant families. *Journal of Family Psychology*. 23(3): 426–437.

King, V., Russell, S. T., & Elder, G. H. J. (1988). Grandparenting in family systems: An ecological perspective. In Szinovacz, M. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kivett, V. R. (1998). Transitions in grandparents' lives: Effects on the grandparent role. In M. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Kobayashi, K.M. and L. Funk (2010). Of the family tree: Congruence on filial obligation and its implications for social support among older parents and adult children in Japanese Canadian families. *Canadian Journal on Aging.* 29(1), 85-96.

Lee, E. (1989). Assessment and treatment of Chinese-American immigrant families. *Journal of Psychotherapy & the Family, 6*(1/2), 99-122.

Lee, E. (1996 a). Asian American families: An overview. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Pearce, J. K. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family Therapy*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Lee, E. (1996 b). Chinese families. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Pearce, J. K. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York, NY: The Guildford Press.

Lee, E. (1997). Chinese American families. *Working with Asian Americans: A guide for clinicians*. New York: Guildford Press.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Asian Families: An overview. In McGoldrick,M., Giordano,J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York: NY: The Guilford Press.

Lee, E., & Mock, M. R. (2005). Chinese Families. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto. N. (Eds.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3 ed.). New York, NY US: Guilford Press.

Lewis, D. C. (2005). The Intersection of Filial Piety and Cultural Dissonance: Intergenerational Relations among Khmer Families in the United States. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Li Chiu, M., Feldman, S. S., & Rosenthal, D. A. (1992). The Influence of Immigration on Parental Behavior and Adolescent Distress in Chinese Families Residing in Two Western Nations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 2*(3), 205-239.

Lin, M., & Harwood, J. (2003). Accommodation predictors of grandparent-grandchildren relational solidarity in Taiwan. *Journal of Social & Personal Relationships, 20*(4), 537-563.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic enquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, No. 30, 73-84.

Linde, C. (1993). Life stories: *The creation of coherence.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Liu, J. H., Ng, S.H., Weatherall, A. Loong, C.F. (2000). Filial piety, acculturation and inter-

generational communication among New Zealand Chinese. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22 (3), 213-223.

Lo, M., & Liu, Y.-H. (2009). Quality of life among older grandparent caregivers: a pilot study. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 65*(7), 1475-1484. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2009.05000.x

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. H. (1995). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lu, L. (2002). A preliminary study on the concept of health among the Chinese. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly, 15*(2), 179-189. doi: 10.1080/09515070110104051

Luk, S.-l. (1993). Adolescent identity disorder: A case presenting with cultural identification problem. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 27*(1), 108-114. doi: 10.3109/00048679309072129

Mair, M. (1988). Psychology as storytelling. . *International Journal of Personal Construct Psychology*, 1.

McGoldrick, M. (1993). Ethnicity, cultural diversity, and normality. In F. Walsh (Ed.), *Normal family processes (2nd ed.).* (pp. 331-360). New York, NY US: Guilford Press.

McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (2005). Overview: Ethnicity and family therapy. In McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Garcia-Preto, N. (Ed.), *Ethnicity and family therapy* (3 ed.). New York: The Guilford Publications, Inc.

Meredith, W. H., Abbott, D. A., Tsai, M., & Ming, Z. F. (1994). Healthy family functioning in Chinese cultures: an exploratory study using the circumflex model. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, *24*(1), 147-157.

Michaels, S. (1981). “Sharing time”: Children’s narrative styles and differential access to literacy. *Language in Society*, 10, 423–442.

Miller, R. B., & Sandberg, J. G. (1998). Clinical interventions in intergenerational relations. In Szinovacz, M.E. (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families & family therapy*: Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1974.

Mistry, J. (1993). Cultural context in the development of children's narratives. In Altarriba, J. (Ed.), *Cognition and culture: A cross-cultural approach to psychology* (pp.207–228). Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.

Moody, H. R. (Ed.). (2010). *Aging concepts and controversies* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Pine Forge Press/Sage Publications Co.

Mortenson, S. T. (2002). Sex, communication values, and cultural values: Individualism-collectivism as a mediator of sex differences in communication values in two cultures. *Communication Reports*, 15(1), 57.

Nagata, D. K., Cheng, W. J. Y., & Tsai-Chae, A. H. (2010). Chinese American grandmothering: A qualitative exploration. *Asian American Journal of Psychology,* 1(2), 151-161. doi: 10.1037/a0019963

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Pender, N. J., Murdaugh, C. L., & Parsons, M. A. (2002). *Health promotion in nursing practice* (Vol. 4 ed). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Haworth Press Howarth Clinical Practice Press Division.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Narrative Study: Whose story is it, anyway? *TESOL Quarterly*, 213-218.

Phua, V. C., & Kaufman, G. (2008). Grandparenting responsibility among elderly Asian Americans: the effects of householder status, ethnicity, and immigration. *Journal of*

Intergenerational Relationships, 6(1), 41-59.

Polanyi, L. (1985). *Telling the American story*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Riessman, C. (1991). When gender is not enough: Women interviewing women. In Lorber, J. & Farrell, S. (Eds.), *The social construction of gender* (pp. 217–236). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Robertson, J. F. (1975). Interaction in three generation families, parents as mediators: toward a theoretical perspective. *International Journal of Aging & Human Development, 6*(2), 103-110.

Rossi, A. S. (1993). The future in the making: Recent Trends in the Work-Family Interface. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 63(2), 166.

Rumbaut, R. G. (2005). Sites of belonging: Acculturation, discrimination, and ethnic identity among children of immigrants. In Weiner, T.S. (Ed.), *Discovering successful pathways in children's development: Mixed methods in the study of childhood and family life* (pp. 111-164). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Schaefer, R. T. (1996). *Racial and ethnic groups* (Vol. 6th). New York, NY: Harper & Collins.

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J., & LeCompte, M. D.(1999). *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1981). *Narrative, literacy, and face in interethnic communication.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Sheng, X. & Settles, B. H. (2006). Intergenerational relationships and elder care in China: A global perspective. *Current Sociology*, 54 (2), 293.

Short, S., Chen, F., Entwsle, B., & Zhai, F. (2002). Maternal work and child care in China: a multi-method analysis. Population and Development Review, 28 (1), 31-57.

Shwalb, D. W., Nakazawa, J., Yamamoto, T., & Hyun, J.-H. (2004). Fathering in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean cultures: A review of the research literature. In Lamb, M. E. (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development (4th ed.).* (pp. 146-181). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Silverstein, M., & Bengtson, V. L. (1997). Intergenerational solidarity and the structure of adult child-parent relationships in American families. *American Journal of Sociology, 103*(2), 429-460.

Silverstein, M., Cong, Z., & Li, S. (2006). Intergenerational transfers and living arrangements of older people in rural China: consequences for psychological well-being.. *Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 61B*(5), S256-S266.

Silverstein, M., Giarrusso, R., & Bengtson, V. L. (1998). Intergenerational solidarity and the grandparent role. In M. E. Szinovacz (Ed.), *Handbook on grandparenthood*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Seponski, D. M., Bermudez, J., & Lewis, D. C. (2013). Creating Culturally Responsive Family Therapy Models and Research: Introducing the Use of Responsive Evaluation as a Method. *Journal Of Marital & Family Therapy*, *39*(1), 28-42. doi:10.1111/j.1752-0606.2011.00282.x

Spector, R. E. (1991). *Cultural diversity in health and illness* (Vol. 3 ed): Appleton & Lange.

Stein, C. H., Wemmerus, V. A., Ward, M., Gaines, M. E., Freeberg, A. L., & Jewell, T. C. (1998). "Because They're my parents": An intergenerational study of felt obligation and parental caregiving. *Journal of Marriage & Family, 60*(3), 611-622.

Strom, R. D., Lee, T., Strom, P. S., Nakagawa, K., & Beckert, T. E. (2008). Taiwanese grandmothers: strengths and learning needs as perceived by grandmothers, mothers, and

granddaughters. *Educational Gerontology, 34*(9), 812-830.

Sung, B. L. (1985). Bicultural conflicts in Chinese immigrant children. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 16*(2), 255-269.

Sung, B. L., & Center for Migration Studies, I. S. I. N. Y. (1987). *The adjustment experience of Chinese immigrant children in New York City*.

Tannen, D. (1980). A comparative analysis of oral narrative strategies: Athenian Greek and American English. In Chafe W. (Ed.), *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production* (pp. 51–87). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1982). Spoken and written narrative in English and Greek. In Tannen, D. (Ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse* (pp. 21–41). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1993). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In Tannen, D. (Ed.), *Framing in discourse* (pp. 14–56). New York: Oxford University Press.

Teske, R. H. C. & Nelson, B. H. (1974). Acculturation and assimilation: a clarification. American Ethnologist, Vol.1, pp. 351–367.

Voon Chin, P., & Loh, J. (2008). Filial piety and intergenerational co-residence: The case of Chinese Singaporeans. *Asian Journal of Social Science, 36*(3/4), 659-679. doi: 10.1163/156853108x327155

Wang, D. (2004). Ritualistic coresidence and the weakening of filial practice in rural China. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 16-33). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

White, H. (1981). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *On narrative.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York, NY:

W.W.Norton & Company.

WHO. (1984). Health promotion. A discussion document on the concept and principles *Health promotion.* Copenhagen: World Health Organization.

Whyte, M. K. (2003). *China's revolutions and intergenerational relations*: Ann Arbor : Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, c2003.

Whyte, M. K. (2004). Filial Obligations in Chinese Families: Paradoxes of Modernization. In C. Ikels (Ed.), *Filial Piety: Practice and Discourse in Contemporary East Asia* (pp. 106-127). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

Wolcott, H. F. (1999). *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Lanharm, MD: AltaMira Press.

Wong, S. T., Yoo, G. J., & Stewart, A. L. (2005). Examining the types of social support and the actual sources of support in older Chinese and Korean immigrants. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 61*(2), 105-121.

Xie, X., Xia, Y., & Zhou, Z.(2004). Strengths and challenges in Chinese immigrant Families. *Great Plains Research* 14 (Fall 2004):203-18.

Yan, Y. (1997). The triumph of conjugality: Structural transformation of family relations in a Chinese village. *Ethnography*, 36(3), 191-212.

Yan, Y. (2010). The Chinese path to individualization. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(3), 489-512.

Yee, B. W. K. (1992). Elders in Southeast Asian refugee families. *Generations, 17*(3), 24-27.

Yoon, S. M. (2005). Characteristics and needs of Asian-American grandparent caregivers: a study of Chinese-American and Korean-American grandparents in New York City. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 44*(3-4), 75-94.

Yu, A.-B. (1996). Ultimate life concerns, self, and Chinese achievement motivation. In M. H.

Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology.* (pp. 227-246). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Yu, L. C. (1984). Acculturation and Stress within Chinese American Families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 15*(1), 77-94.

Zavella, P. (1993). Feminist insider dilemmas: Constructing ethnic identity with "Chicana" informants. *A Journal of Women Studies.* 13(3), 53-76

Zhan, H.J. (2004).Socialization or social structure: Investigating predictors of attitudes toward filial responsibility among Chinese urban youth from one and multiple child families. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development.* 59 (2), 105– 124.

Zhang, S. (2006). *Family relationships and the development of ethnic identity of Chinese-American adolescents.* Master of Art, the University of Cincinnati.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

For grandparents:

Could you tell me a story of your relationship with your adult child and his(her) partner from the point of view of you as grandparents and them as parents?

Possible follow-up questions may include:

a. What is your level of involvement of the younger couple's parenting?
b. What kind of support have you provided? What did your child and/or your son(daughter) in-law tell you about the support you have provided?
c. How would things be different or the same if you were in China/Hong Kong/Taiwan? How do you make sense of it?
d. How are things different or the same from when you were parented? How do you make sense of it? What contributed to these differences?
e. Do you find helping with parenting influence your mood? Is so, how?
f. How are your mood and/or health in general recently?
g. Anything you would like to add?

For younger parents:

Could you tell me a story of your relationship with your parents (in-laws) and you from the point of view of you as parents and them as grandparents?

Possible follow-up questions may include:

a. What is your parents' (in-laws') level of involvement in your parenting?
b. What kind of support have they provided? What did you and/or your partner tell them about the support they have provided?
c. How would things be different or the same if you were in China/Hong Kong/Taiwan? How do you make sense of it?
d. How things are different or the same from when you were parented? How do you make sense of it? What contributed to these differences?
e. Do you find helping with parenting influence your parents' (in-laws') mood in general? Is so, how?
f. How are your parents' (in-laws') mood and/or health in general recently?
g. Anything you would like to add?