INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY IN ASIAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES: THE EXPERIENCE OF EMPLOYED CANADIANS

by

EUN-KYONG LEE

B.H.E., Dongguk University, 1996

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(School of Social Work and Family Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

October 2002

© Eun-Kyong Lee, 2002
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of **Family Studies**

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date **October, 10/2002**
Abstract
The main purpose of this study was to examine the Asian perspective in regard to the intergenerational solidarity framework developed by Bengtson and his colleagues. Focusing on normative solidarity and functional solidarity within Asian families, adult children's provision of assistance to elderly relatives was investigated in relation to norms of filial responsibility. A subsample of 109 employed Asian immigrants in Canada was selected from a national survey of Work and Family conducted by CARNET (The Canadian Aging Research Network). The study tested three hypotheses: 1) stronger norms of filial responsibility (normative solidarity) are positively associated with higher levels and more hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity); 2) older age at immigration and/or shorter length of residence (immigrant status) are positively associated with higher levels and more hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity); and 3) there is an interaction effect of norms of filial responsibility and immigrant status on levels and hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives. The results showed that there was no relationship between norms of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance to elderly relatives; nor was there a relationship between immigrant status and the provision of assistance to elderly relatives. Coresidence with the elderly relative, as an alternative measure of norms of filial responsibility in Asian families, was investigated with regard to the provision of assistance to the elderly relative in the post hoc analysis. The results showed that there was a significant relationship between coresidence and higher levels and more hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives.
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................................................................................. ii

Table of Contents ..................................................................................................... iii

List of Tables .......................................................................................................... v

List of Figures .......................................................................................................... vi

Acknowledgements ................................................................................................... vii

CHAPTER I Introduction .......................................................................................... 1

Intergenerational Solidarity Framework .................................................................. 3

CHAPTER II Review of Literature .............................................................................. 7

Normative Solidarity ............................................................................................... 8

Functional Solidarity .............................................................................................. 12

Normative Solidarity and Functional Solidarity ....................................................... 15

Immigrant Status and Functional Solidarity ............................................................ 17

Interaction Effect of Normative Solidarity and Immigrant Status on Functional Solidarity .......................................................... 22

Control Variables ................................................................................................... 25

CHAPTER III Methods ............................................................................................. 33

Sample ...................................................................................................................... 33

Measures .................................................................................................................. 35

Measuring Independent Variable .......................................................................... 35

Measuring Dependent Variables .......................................................................... 36

Measuring Moderating Variables .......................................................................... 37

Measuring Control Variables ................................................................................ 38
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter IV</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>39</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of the Sample</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the Variables</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Variables</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Variable</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderating Variables</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testing Hypotheses</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis One</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Two</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Three</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Hoc Analyses</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter V</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis One</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis Two</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Explanations of Providing Assistance to Elderly Relatives</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoughts on Intergenerational Solidarity Framework</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VI</td>
<td>Conclusions and Implications</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations and Contributions</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggestions for Future Studies</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Tables

Table 1. Item Analysis of the Filial Responsibility Scale .......................................................... 36
Table 2. Description of Dependent, Independent, and Moderating Variables .......................... 40
Table 3. Correlations between Dependent Variables (IPAS, IIAS, and IHA) and
   Predictor Variables (FRS, Age at Immigration, and Length of Residence) .............. 44
Table 4. Summary of Bivariate Regression Analyses on the Log of Hours of
   Assistance (IHA) .............................................................................................................. 46
Table 5. Mean and Standard Deviation on the Filial Responsibility Scale for Target
   Group and Other Group ................................................................................................. 47
Table 6. Mean and Standard Deviation for Control Variables ................................................ 48
Table 7. Intercorrelations for Dependent Variables (Level of Assistance and Hours of
   Assistance), Alternative Independent Variable (Coresidence) and Potential
   Control Variables (Gender, Age, Number and Gender of Siblings,
   and Household Income) ............................................................................................... 49
Table 8. Multiple Regression Analysis of Coresidence on the Log of Level of
   Personal Assistance (IPAS) Controlling for Age and Number of Sisters .............. 52
Table 9. Multiple Regression Analysis of Coresidence on the Log of Level of
   Instrumental Assistance (IIAS) Controlling for Gender, Age, and Number
   of Sisters .......................................................................................................................... 53
Table 10. Multiple Regression Analysis of Coresidence on the Log of Hours of
   Assistance (IHA) Controlling for Gender .................................................................... 54
List of Figures

Figure 1. Hypothesized relationships in the study ......................................................... 32
Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis was made possible from the assistance of many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Phyllis Johnson, my thesis supervisor, who spent hours pouring over the details of this thesis despite her many other commitments. Her insightful and thoughtful feedback is greatly appreciated. I am also grateful to Dr. James Ponzetti and Dr. Susan Cadell for the comfort that their expertise in the area provided. Appreciation is extended to Dr. Sheila Marshall for her comments on this thesis and for being a great source of encouragement, as well as Dr. Ann Martin-Matthews and Dr. Karen Kobayashi for the use of the data from the Work and Family Survey of CARNET.

I would also like to thank Dr. Il-Myung Kim for her continuous encouragement throughout my stay in Canada. A special appreciation is felt towards my classmates in the Family Studies program, especially Rena Miyazaki for her patience with my series of presentation practice, as well as the staff, volunteers and members of the South Granville Seniors Centre for their heartfelt support. Last but not the least, I would like to thank my parents and sisters for their love and support and for providing me with many of the wonderful opportunities I have had in my life.
CHAPTER I

Introduction

The family continues to be the first choice for the elderly to seek support when in need (Christensen, 1987; Wong, 1998). It is estimated that, of the non-institutionalized elderly population who need support, almost 80% receive help from their family members (Chappell, Strain, & Blandford, 1986; Hirshorn, 1991). Current demographic trends suggest that fewer family members will be providing care for larger numbers of older family members (Beaujot, 1991; Bengtson, 2001; Frederick & Fast, 1999). The increase in life expectancy is expected to result in a greater likelihood of middle-aged adult children having a living parent(s) who is likely to be physically and mentally dependent (Gee, 1987; Harris & Long, 1993; Kinsella, 1995). At the beginning of the 20th century, less than 6% of the Canadian population was aged 65 or older. By 1995, the percentage doubled to 12% of the total population, and it is projected that the rate will increase to almost 25% by 2031 (Beaujot, 1991; Priest, 1994; Statistics Canada, 1996a). In addition, low rates of fertility are likely to lead adult children to have fewer siblings with whom to share the responsibilities when their parents are in need of support (Connidis, Rosenthal, & McMullin, 1996; Gatz, Bengtson, & Blum, 1990; Sung, 2000).

The growing trend toward women working in the paid labour force is another issue concerning family support for the elderly (Harris & Long, 1993; Hashimoto, Kendig, & Coppard, 1992; Lechner, 1991; Martin-Matthews & Rosenthal, 1993; Myles, 1991). Approximately 72% of Canadian women between 45 and 54 years of age are in the labour force (Statistics Canada, 2002). Canadian studies have found that a large proportion of employed people have highly involved in providing assistance to their older
Intergenerational Solidarity in Asian Families

relatives (Gignac, Kelloway, & Gottlieb, 1996; Joseph & Hallman, 1996; Rosenthal & Gladstone, 1994). As these social trends are expected to continue, it is important to investigate the growing need for employed adult children to provide support for the elderly.

Canada has had a long history of policies and programs through which immigration has contributed significantly to population change (Beaujot, 1991). With the introduction of the Immigration Act in 1976, immigrants to Canada were more likely to have been born in non-European than European countries (Keefe, Rosenthal, & Beland, 2000; Lam, 1987; Skeldon, 1994). As a result, the visible minority population (referred to as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour, Statistics Canada, 1995) has grown considerably in the past decades (Chard & Renaud, 1999). In 1996, more than 3 million people, representing 11% of the Canadian population, identified themselves as members of a visible minority group. Of the visible minorities, 70% were foreign-born residents who immigrated after 1981, and 25% immigrated between 1991 and 1996 (Statistics Canada, 1996b). Almost 60% of immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 1996 were from Asia (Chard & Renaud, 1999). Therefore, when studying demographic and social changes with regard to family support for the elderly, it is important to recognize Asian minority groups, traditionally categorized as "others," as a distinct and integral part of Canadian society (Ujimoto, 1987).

Further, older persons from minority groups are projected to be a particularly rapidly growing group. One in four Canadians over the age of 65 was an immigrant in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1996a). With the introduction of immigration policies favouring
family unification, large numbers of elderly parents have come to Canada to join their adult children (Gee, 1999; Keefe et al., 2000; Kim, 1987). Yet, relatively little attention has been paid to minority families and their support for the elderly (Ujimoto, 2002). Further, much of the literature in this area is American rather than Canadian (Driedger & Chappell, 1987). When minority groups are studied, comparisons are of “White” with “Black” or “Hispanic” caregivers (e.g., Angel & Angel, 1992; Kane & Penrod, 1995).

Research on ethnicity within the context of caregivers who are employed is even more limited (Neal, Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton, & Emlem, 1993). This is an important concern because the employment rates of Asian immigrants have increased dramatically in the past decades. The rates of employment among Asian immigrants (namely, South Asian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Southeast Asian, and Filipino) between 1981 and 1990 are four times higher than between 1961 and 1970 (Statistics Canada, 1996b). Hence, it is essential to recognize employed Asian immigrants and examine their family care responsibilities. As a consequence, policy makers and health care practitioners may recognize the heterogeneous nature of family support for the elderly, and promote better well-being for employed Asian family caregivers.

**Intergenerational Solidarity Framework**

The concept of intergenerational solidarity has been used to describe the nature of the bonds among family members (Bengtson, Cutler, Mangen, & Marshall, 1985). The intergenerational solidarity framework provides an effective view of family support between younger and older generations, specifically focusing on family relationships in later life. This framework, developed by Bengtson and his colleagues, assesses the strength of intergenerational bonds (Bengtson, 2001; Bengtson & Roberts, 1991;
Mangen, Bengtson, & Landrey, 1988). The framework is a theoretically based attempt to study families holistically (Marshall, Matthews, & Rosenthal, 1993).

In the early stage of the development of this framework, Bengtson and his colleagues (Bengtson, Olander, & Haddad, 1976) postulated three constructs, i.e., association, affection, and consensus. Although their early suggestion of interdependent relations between the three constructs has failed in empirical tests (Atkinson, Kivett, & Campbell, 1986; Roberts & Bengtson, 1990), they have since postulated that the intergenerational solidarity in families involves six dimensions (Bengtson & Schrader, 1982; Mansen et al., 1988; Roberts, Richards, & Bengtson, 1991; Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997).

The six dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity framework are structural, associational, affectual, consensual, functional, and normative. Structural solidarity refers to the opportunity structure for intergenerational relationships (i.e., number, type, and geographic proximity of family members); Associational solidarity involves the frequency of interaction in family activities; Affectual solidarity can be seen as the type and degree of positive sentiments among family members; Consensual solidarity is the degree of agreement on values, attitudes, and beliefs among family members; Functional solidarity is defined as the degree of helping and exchanges of resources; and Normative solidarity refers to the strength of commitment to performance of familial roles and to fulfilling filial obligations (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991).

A number of studies (e.g., Aday & Kano, 1997; Atkinson et al., 1986; Bengtson & Roberts, 1991; Ikkink, van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 1999; Lee, Netzer, & Coward, 1994) have attempted to identify interrelations among the six components. For example,
Bengtson and Roberts (1991) found interrelationships between normative, affectual, and associational solidarity. Higher ratings of normative solidarity were linked with higher ratings of affectual solidarity, and higher affection was in turn related to greater frequency of associational solidarity.

As many studies have emphasised how important norms of filial responsibility are for Asian families in providing support for the elderly (e.g., Ho, 1998; Kim, Kim, & Hurh, 1991; Ng, 2002; Yoo & Sung, 1997), the present study suggested that normative solidarity and functional solidarity are the most important components of the solidarity framework for Asian intergenerational relationships. Surprisingly, there has been limited research on the direct relationship between normative solidarity and functional solidarity. Lee et al. (1994) were the first to test the relationship between normative and functional solidarity. Even though Bengtson and his colleagues had conceptualized functional solidarity earlier, as Bengtson and Roberts (1991) noted, they were not able to test the functional dimension due to the lack of appropriate measures. Analyzing data collected from 387 respondents, Lee et al. (1994) found that aging parents' filial responsibility expectations were positively associated with functional solidarity, when controlling for geographic proximity and number of children. Further, Ikkink et al. (1999) hypothesized that normative solidarity and structural solidarity have an effect on the functional dimension. While the results demonstrated that higher ratings of normative solidarity were positively linked to the amount of assistance the elderly received, the structural circumstances of the adult children (e.g., coresidence with the elder) did not have any effect on the support the elderly parents received. In addition, with responses from 958 employed adult children, Starrels, Ingersoll-Dayton, Neal, and Yamada (1995) analyzed
functional solidarity with regard to work place factors, such as occupation, the shift worked, and weekly work hours. Defining functional solidarity as patterns of instrumental support or resource sharing among family members, they reported that there was little support in their prediction of the effect of work factors to functional solidarity. Surprisingly, employees who worked longer hours provided more health care. They observed that, even though the results were counterintuitive, their study contributed theoretically to the intergenerational solidarity framework by identifying how the work factors are related to functional solidarity.

Overall, there have been fewer than five studies that have directly examined the relationship between normative solidarity and functional solidarity. No study has examined the relationship within Asian families (Bengtson, 2001), and only one study incorporated employment status with the relationship between the two (i.e., Starrels et al., 1995). Research has previously suggested that norms of filial responsibility predispose children to provide social support for older parents, especially for Asians. Although Bengtson and Roberts (1991) have suggested that normative solidarity could be examined by rating the degree of filial responsibility and functional solidarity by looking at the frequency of intergenerational exchanges of assistance or resource sharing among family members, researchers have not incorporated normative and functional solidarity in studying Asian family caregiving. Similar to the study by Starrels et al. (1995), the present study tested the relationship between normative (i.e., norms of filial responsibility) and functional solidarity (i.e., level of assistance and hours of assistance) for a sample of employed adults. In addition, the present study focused on the Asian immigrant experience as well.
CHAPTER II

Review of Literature

What accounts for the willingness of adult children to serve the needs of their elderly relatives? Despite social changes, such as women's participation in the paid labour force, adult children remain the most notable and reliable sources of instrumental social support to their parents (Connidis et al., 1996; Eggebeen & Hogan, 1990; Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994; Sung, 2000). Although filial support between generations has been studied, investigating norms of filial responsibility from different cultural perspectives is still in its beginning stage in North America. For instance, if one looks up norms of filial responsibility in PsycINFO on the internet, one finds about 200 studies, while other subjects like sex roles have more than 10,000. Alternatively, when considering the filial piety literature in Asian countries, one finds a vast amount of research (Sung, 2000). Even as recently as 1999, Burr and Mutchler suggested that research is beginning to show that there are cultural differences in norms of filial responsibility. Although the filial relationship between parent and child has been historically persistent and culturally universal, it was in the 1970s that norms of filial piety or filial responsibility as a research variable was examined by scholars (Zhang & Bond, 1998). Would there be a different interpretation if one understands the norms of filial responsibility from the Asian perspective in contrast with the North American perspective? As indicated by Leung and Christensen (1984), filial responsibility has been widely discussed, but it is one of the least understood aspects of Asian parent-child relationships in the context of North American societies. The current study does not empirically compare the Asian and the North American perspectives on norms of filial
Intergenerational Solidarity in Asian Families

responsibility and actual filial support. However, by providing an account of the norm from an Asian perspective, this study may help provide more of an in-depth understanding of norms of filial responsibility.

Normative Solidarity (Norms of Filial Responsibility)

Understanding Filial Responsibility in Asia

In Asian societies, it is particularly important to fulfill the virtue of filial piety (Ikels, 1998a, 1998b; Leung & Christensen, 1984). Filial piety or filial responsibility refers to one's paramount concern for the well-being of one's parents (Yang, 1988). It should be offered with love and naturalness (Chao, 1983). Affection and concern for each other are expressed through taking actual care of another's physical needs in Asian culture (Wong, 1998). Filial responsibility can be conceived as an attitude toward parent care. Children support the parents because they are predisposed by their attitudes. In the life of the Chinese people, norms of filial responsibility have played an essential role and remained steadfast over thousands of years. Filial responsibility is recognized as something important and distinct by all Chinese people of various backgrounds. Indeed, it is the way in which they lead their lives, and takes a role in the crucial function of holding the foundation of the society together (Traylor, 1988).

For centuries, norms of filial responsibility have served as a guiding principle in intergenerational interactions in Asia. They prescribe how a person should behave toward his or her parents. The attributes of intergenerational relationships are governed by norms of filial responsibility (Ho, 1996). Ho stated that:

"[The] pressure to submit to parental demands, backed by the weight of cultural tradition, typically leaves one with little choice but to accede. It is thus important to recognize that, as a cornerstone of Confucianism, filial piety goes far beyond the requirement that one merely obey and honour one's parents....it is
indispensable for a deeper understanding of the instrumental role that filial piety plays in shaping personality, social behavior, and socio-political institutions...the study of filial piety also contributes to a body of knowledge about the cultural definition of intergenerational relationships, of crucial importance to understanding the transmission of culture from one generation to the next" (1996, pp. 155-156).

Filial responsibility does not just mean children's obedience and obligation to parents; it is not just one of several motives that involve parent care. It represents how children have come to care for their parents throughout their socialization process, with an enduring history. Since a little child, a person is socialized in a way the society prescribes. He or she takes into account normative expectations of others in his or her environment (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). The "theme" of filial responsibility is shown in many children's tales and storybooks in Asia. For example, in showing filial piety, tales (e.g., “The Golden Pot”, refer to Appendix B) emphasize how one should sacrifice one's convenience and comfort, and they prescribe sacrifice for the well-being of parents (Leung & Christensen, 1984; Sung, 1990, 1992). Other typical ideals reflected in children's stories in China and Korea are: Showing respect for parents, devotion to care and protection of parents, making parents happy and comfortable, harmonizing family relations around parents, and saving face for family by entertaining parents' friends (Sung, 1995).

Moreover, norms of filial responsibility include glorification of one's parents (Kim et al., 1991) and the notion of shame is closely linked with filial responsibility, that is, not to bring disgrace or shame upon one's family (Sugiman & Nishio, 1983). If one does not respect and support one's parents, especially in later life, one is shameful and disrespected by neighbours and relatives. In Asian culture, to bring glory to the family, such as academic success, and make the parents proud of the children are considered to
be filial piety (Sung, 2000). In the same vein, to bring shame to the family and make
disgrace to the family name are regarded as unfilial (Yamamoto & Wallhagen, 1997,
1998). If a person is filial to his or her parents and provides support well to the parents,
the neighbours and relatives recognize the person as filial; consequently, the parents are
proud of the child, thereby the child is filial. If a child acts contrary to the wishes of his
parents, he or she is considered to be selfish and inconsiderate and that he or she is not
showing gratitude for all his parents have done for them. One’s behaviour is expected to
reflect credit on the whole family (Sue, 1989). Accordingly, not providing assistance to
parents may reflect negatively on the whole family (Gelfand, 1994).

Although there is considerable cultural diversity among the various populations of
Asians and Pacific Islanders, many of these cultures have been influenced by
Confucianism, which emphasizes filial responsibility and children’s moral obligation to
respect and care for their older members in the family (Lockery, 1991). Indeed, one
important reason for an individual to have children was to have someone to take care of
them in old age (Sung, 2000; Yamamoto & Wallhagen, 1997). Kauh (1997) noted that, in
Korean families, the perceptions of filial responsibility and support are of major
importance for understanding the aging experiences of the Korean elderly. Moreover, in
Asian culture, the elderly perceive that they have a right to be supported by their children
in old age. Hence, dependence on children is less threatening if the elders feel entitled to
filial support (Brody, Johnson, Fulcomer, & Lang, 1983).

Understanding Filial Responsibility in North America

There is a central difference between understanding filial responsibility in North
America and in Asia. Hsu (1953) noted that "[the] most important thing to Americans is
what parents should do for their children: to Chinese, [it is] what children should do for their parents" (p. 75, as cited in Sue, 1997). In North America, elderly parents perceive that: "[They] are the very people who, in their earlier roles as parents, as the guardians and advocates of the cultural norms and constraints, have insisted that their children learn and practice self-reliance. ...They have believed that dependency—except in young children—is weak, psychopathic, immoral or un-American...Yet these same advocates are now those who—if they live long enough—will really need other people” (Clark, 1969, p. 71). Whereas in China filial piety is given by children and accepted by parents as a matter of unquestioned course, the acceptance of support by parents in North America may view acceptance of support as a surrender to the unwanted circumstances of old age and its dependencies. Filial responsibility in North America tends to be undermined by conflicting values (Sugiman & Nishio, 1983). In North America, filial responsibility includes a preventive dimension that promotes self-sufficiency and independence among the aged (Blieszner, & Hamon, 1992; Seelbach, 1984); consequently, adult children encourage older parents to perform the tasks that they are capable of doing for themselves. In Asia, interdependence between family members is emphasized (Sung, 2000; Wong, 1985); consequently, the aim is not to promote independence of the elderly.

In short, North American values on individualism and independence contrast with filial responsibility. The American elderly are concerned that they do not become dependent on children; the Chinese elderly hope to raise proper children who will take care of them (Akiyama, Antonucci, & Campbell, 1990). Due to these differences in societal norms, values, practices, and customs about caregiving across cultural groups, caregivers with different cultural backgrounds are considered to perceive and react to parent care in
different ways (Schultz, 1990).

Norms of filial responsibility are broadly defined as beliefs, attitudes, and expectations that prescribe how one should behave toward one's parents. Further, norms of filial responsibility have two dimensions, behaviorally-oriented and emotionally-oriented (Sung, 1995). As suggested by Wong (1998), within Asian families, emotions and affections are expressed by actually providing services and assistance. Therefore, in this study, norms of filial responsibility within the Asian culture focused on the behavioral aspects; and the norms are referred to as one's beliefs and societal expectations that guide one's relationship with parents, and attitudes towards parent care.

In the present study, norms of filial responsibility were operationally defined as adult children's agreement or disagreement with filial responsibility norms that specify how they should or should not perform parent care and behave toward elderly parents.

**Functional Solidarity (The Provision of Assistance)**

Family members share goods and services, and provide assistance to each other. In the intergenerational solidarity framework, this provision of assistance and sharing resources among family members is referred to as functional solidarity. Providing assistance and support for the elderly may involve: just listening to one's ailing mom and being there for her, assisting her to take a bath, helping her to make calls to relatives, or providing some money for better housing for her disability. Such assistance and services provided to elderly relatives are commonly measured in terms of Activities of Daily Living (ADLs) and Instrumental Activities of Daily living (IADLs). The ADLs are: eating, dressing, bathing, toileting, taking medications, and other personal care activities; and the IADLs are: home-managed activities such as preparing meals, shopping,
managing money, using the telephone, and doing light housework (Fradkin & Heath, 1992). Alternatively, these different types of assistance indicate the health status of the elderly relatives and the intensity of caregiving activities (Joseph & Hallman, 1998). Observing how well the elderly are able to function in terms of day-to-day activities is useful in indicating the elder's health as well as the kind of health services they may need (Shanas & Maddox, 1985). The majority of elders living at home get help with household work and other personal chores. In 1995, 62% of all people over 65 received some kind of assistance with these tasks (Statistics Canada, 1996a). In a national survey of employed Canadians by CARNET (1993), the findings showed that 12% of the total sample were involved in the ADLs. According to Hirshon (1991), the proportion of those requiring help with at least one item of the ADLs and IADLs may increase about 30-50% among people aged 85 and older.

In the earlier stage of providing assistance, adult children may help with shopping, transportation, or household chores (i.e., instrumental assistance), whereas more advanced impairment requires assistance with personal care such as dressing, feeding, bathing, or toileting (i.e., personal assistance). Thus, it is important to recognize that there is a wide array of caregiving tasks. Further, Starrels et al. (1995), in examining employed respondents, found that the elder population was, overall, fairly healthy in their study, and that the average elder needed assistance with the ADLs either seldom or sometimes and exhibited problem behavior either seldom or never. The present study used data from persons who were still in the paid labour force, not retired. It was thus expected that adult children respondents are not likely to be over age 65, that is, relatively young, and therefore their elderly relatives may be relatively young and healthy.
An additional note is that the provision of assistance involves an aspect of domestic labour, traditionally served by women (Dwyer & Seccombe, 1991). As the aforementioned items of assistance in the ADLs/IADLs show, providing assistance for elderly relatives involves tasks that fit under the conceptual category of domestic labour, that is, personal care and household chores. There are some indications that these gender-segregated patterns of domestic labour are changing, but the changes seem to be progressing much more rapidly on the attitudinal level than on the behavioural level (Lee, 1992). While attitudes favour a relatively egalitarian division of family care between sons and daughters, at the behavioral level, the gender differences still persist (Finley, 1989; Montgomery & Kamo, 1989). It falls to the daughters more than the sons (Connidis et al., 1996; Harris & Long, 1993; Guberman, Maheu, & Maille, 1992; Kim, 1987; Matthews & Rosner, 1988; Stone, Cafferata, & Sangl, 1987).

When examining the ADLs/IADLs items, the main interest is how frequently one provides help with shopping, transportation, eating or dressing. That is, there is level of assistance provided to elderly relatives. If one is providing an elderly relative help with transportation everyday and another is providing help with transportation once a month, there is a difference in level of assistance. The level of assistance was referred to in this study as the involvement level of assistance to the elderly in the ADLs/IADLs that was indicated by the sum of the degree of frequency in each assistance task. In addition, the interest of the present study was how much adult children provide assistance to elderly relatives on a weekly basis. Therefore, hours of assistance were the number of weekly hours providing the ADLs/IADLs assistance to elderly relatives.
Normative Solidarity and Functional Solidarity

Norms of filial responsibility are deeply incorporated in the patterns of care that are exchanged between parents and their adult children. As Mangen and Wesbrook (1988) suggested, these cultural filial norms shape expectations and attitudes, and define proper behaviors. Norms of filial responsibility play a pivotal part in the provision of parental care (Blieszner & Hamon, 1992; Lee, 1992; Silverstein & Litwak, 1993; Matthews & Rosner, 1988; Sung, 2000). Accordingly, there is a need to better understand, especially from different cultural perspectives, the association between norms of filial responsibility and the actual behavior of filial support in the development of parent-child relationships in later life (Bengtson, 2001; Hanson & Sauer, 1985; Rosenthal, 1986). As indicated by Rosenthal (1986), ethnic differences in norms of filial responsibility may not be congruent with differences in actual filial behavior. Examining the difference between cultural norms and actual supportive behaviors is one of the foci in this study.

In a recent Canadian analysis, Keefe et al. (2000) took norms of filial responsibility into account in relation to adult children's helping behavior for the elderly. By comparing ethnic groups in Canada, they found that Asians provided higher levels of help than British. Although the result indicated that filial responsibility had an effect on the amount of help provided, the authors suggested that living arrangements and age played a stronger role in predicting the level of involvement by the adult children. The present study aimed to further expand Keefe et al.'s (2000) study by selectively observing Asian groups. In doing so, an Asian perspective could be provided, and thus, a different interpretation might be approached. It is important to see norms of filial responsibility
and the provision of assistance to elderly relatives within the view of Asian families, in order to promote better understandings. In addition, the current study interprets and understands the link between filial responsibility and the provision of support from a perspective of the intergenerational solidarity framework. The study contributes to expanding the framework by incorporating ethnic variation (Bengtson, 2001). Lee et al. (1994), in their pioneering work, examined normative and functional solidarity simultaneously and found that aging parents’ filial responsibility expectations were positively associated with functional solidarity. Also, Ikkink et al. (1999) found that higher ratings of normative solidarity were positively linked to the amount of assistance the elderly received. Overall, the present study proposed that there was a strong positive relationship between normative solidarity and functional solidarity in Asian immigrant families that were examined by looking at norms of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance. Recall that, in the present study, norms of filial responsibility were operationally defined as adult children’s agreement or disagreement with filial responsibility norms that specify how they should or should not perform parent care and behave toward elderly parents. Also, recall that the provision of assistance had two dimensions: level of assistance and hours of assistance. Level of assistance was referred to as the involvement level of assistance to the elderly in the ADLs/IADLs that was indicated by the sum of the degree of frequency in each assistance task. Hours of assistance were referred to as the number of weekly hours providing the ADLs/IADLs assistance to elderly relatives. Therefore, it was proposed that,
**H1a:** Stronger agreement with norms of filial responsibility (normative solidarity) is positively associated with higher levels of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity).

**H1b:** Stronger agreement with norms of filial responsibility (normative solidarity) is positively associated with more hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity).

**Immigrant Status and Functional Solidarity**

The provision of assistance to elderly relatives can be affected by many factors such as differences in socialization process (Ikels, 1998a), the level of acculturation (Youn, Knight, Jeong, & Benton, 1999), and years of residence in Canada (Boyd, 1991). The majority (almost 60%) of recent immigrants in Canada consist of people from Asia (Statistics Canada, 1996b). Since the family unification policy was introduced, the rate of elderly immigrants, invited and sponsored by their children, has been rapidly increasing (Keefe et al., 2000; Lam, 1987). However, the majority of family caregiving research have compared “Black” or “Hispanic” with “White” caregivers (e.g., Angel & Angel, 1997). Consequently, it is important to pay attention and understand the dynamics and relationships of Asian immigrant families and their elderly relatives in Canada.

**Age at Immigration and Length of Residence**

Immigrants refer to people who have been granted the right to live in Canada permanently (Chard & Renaud, 1999). Immigration is not a single event, rather, it is a process that takes place over time and affects all aspects of the life of the immigrants (Angel & Angel, 1992; Boyd, 1991). By definition, immigrants of all ages experience essential changes in living arrangements and support systems in the family. For the immigrant elderly, the adult children can serve as a vital source of support in situations where the elderly are unable to care for themselves. Kim (1987) suggested that the later-
life immigrants are especially dependent on their families because they enter the host country with few resources, have few opportunities, and have little time to prepare for retirement; and that their dependency may be permanent.

Whether one immigrated to Canada at a young or old age involves an important aspect of providing assistance to the elderly. For recent immigrants to Canada, most of the socialization had taken place in their home country, and thus it can be argued that they have a relatively strong attachment to traditional values of their native country (Ujimoto, 2002). When Ishii-Kuntz (1997) examined family caregiving in Asian immigrants in the U. S., she found that it was the most recent Asian immigrants who were likely to retain the traditional cultural value of filial obligation. She speculated that the provision of assistance to elderly parents was more frequent among Koreans, who were the most recently immigrated ethnic group. She also found diversity in intergenerational relationships among Asian ethnic groups due to differences in immigration experience. This was also true for Asian immigrants in Canada. Ujimoto, Nishio, Wong, and Lam (1993) found that Japanese Canadians of the first generation immigrant group made only modest demands on filial support, whereas Chinese and Korean Canadian elderly maintained higher degree of cultural retention and expected their children to fulfill filial obligations.

Specifically, when examining the experience of immigrants with regard to caregiving for the elderly, studies employed age at immigration and length of residence as important variables. For example, Angel and Angel (1997) and Angel, Angel, Lee, and Markides (1999) found that, for Mexican immigrant elders, those who immigrated later in life were more likely to live with their children and receive financial help from the
children. However, those studies paid little attention to Asian immigrants in terms of age at immigration and the length of residence. Many ethnicity studies have been Mexican American or African American-oriented. In a Canadian study, Gee (1999) examined age at immigration and the length of residence within Chinese elders, however, the aim of her study was to investigate ethnic identity. If a research study included issues of immigrant status of Asians, the immigrant status was inferred from foreign-born status (e.g., Kauh, 1997; Keefe et al., 2000). Further, if a study examined the length of residence in terms of Asian immigrants, its main focus was acculturation issues in general, rather than specifically focusing on how that affected family caregiving dynamics in later life families (e.g., Man, 1996).

Asian immigrants in Canada. Much of the cultural diversity in Canadian society is due to new immigrants (Ujimoto, 2002). As noted earlier, many Asian Canadians currently residing in Canada are immigrants. However, despite the rapid growth of the Asian Canadian population, scholars know relatively little about Asian immigrant families. There are few detailed studies of the family and household status of older members of Asian groups. Yet, knowledge about such statuses is important in understanding the behavioral response to ethnic identity, family dynamics, and the aging process. Asian immigrants have been portrayed as family-oriented and placing great emphasis on ethnically derived norms of filial responsibility, respect for elderly persons, and group solidarity (Ikels, 1998b; Sung, 2000; Tralyer, 1988; Ujimoto et al., 1993). Nevertheless, there is little empirical research on those issues.

Asian societies, such as Japan, China, Korea, and the Philippines, are intensely family-oriented, and this orientation is reflected in one form or another in Asian
immigrant communities (Chan, 1983; Koh & Bell, 1987; Lee & Sung, 1997). For example, Chen (1984) observed that Filipino families have strong family ties. One is expected to take care and support one's parents in old age. The traditional normative expectation in the home country is such that sending one's aged parents to nursing home is unheard of. In light of these familial values and beliefs among Asian immigrants, recently immigrated older Asian Canadians are likely to prefer caregiving arrangements similar to those of their country of origin, stemming in part from socialization processes occurring earlier in life (Burr & Mutchler, 1993; Ujimoto et al., 1993). In addition, when Asian immigrants came to Canada they had to meet the requirements by the Canadian government. Everyone who applies to remain in Canada must pass a health examination conducted by government-appointed medical professionals (Falk, 1993; Kim, 1987). Thus, in terms of the provision of assistance to the elderly in Asian immigrant families, the majority of recently immigrated Asian elderly may be fairly healthy and may not necessarily need assistance from their adult children.

Changes in immigration policy and Asian immigrants in Canada. Prior to the 1960s, almost all immigrants to Canada came from Europe or the U. S. However, the Immigration Act of 1976 changed this pattern. By 1986, immigrants from Europe or the U. S. accounted for only 30% of the total flow (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1986, cited in Boyd, 1991). The family reunification policy became an important basis for immigration. Immigrants who are now seeking admission in the "family class" must be closely related to a sponsor who is over 18 years old and who is a permanent resident of Canada. This sponsor must sign a document in which he or she agrees to assume financial responsibility for the applicant and to provide shelter and assistance for a period
of up to 10 years (Boyd, 1991, p. 6). Persons who immigrated at the age of 65 or later are most likely to have immigrated on the basis of family ties; and currently, about half of Canada’s total immigration is based on the family link (Boyd, 1991). Most elderly immigrants are admitted in the family class, by coming together with their adult children or children-in-law, or with the sponsorship of their sons, daughters or grandchildren who are already permanent residents of Canada. Because of the Canadian sponsorship agreement, the sponsors, i.e., adult children, have to guarantee that they will provide and assist the designated immigrant(s) during the period in which the sponsorship agreement is in effect. In addition, Boyd (1991) suggested that income considerations are likely to affect the immigrant elderly more than the native-born elderly. Indeed, the eligibility to Canada’s old age income security programs is limited, although the immigrant elderly may receive income from three federal programs - CPP/QPP (Canadian Pension Plan/Quebec Pension Plan), OAS (Old Age Security), and GIS (Guaranteed Income Supplement). Still, benefits may be reduced or denied to immigrants who have spent fewer than 40 years of residence in Canada. Persons with fewer than 10 years’ residency are not entitled to benefits from OAS or GIS at all (Citizenship and Immigrant Canada, 1997). Overall, the present study proposed that if a person has shorter length of residence in Canada, and/or if a person came to Canada at older age, he or she is likely to provide higher levels of assistance and more hours of assistance to the elderly relatives.

**H2a:** Older age of adult children at immigration and/or shorter length of residence (immigrant status) are positively associated with higher levels of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity).

**H2b:** Older age of adult children at immigration and/or shorter length of residence (immigrant status) are positively associated with more hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity).
Interaction Effect of Normative Solidarity and Immigrant Status on Functional Solidarity

When an elderly immigrant from Asia comes to live in a foreign country with limited language skills and mobility, the limited resources the elder has only further emphasize the dependence the elderly relative has on their children (Kim, 1987; Skeldon, 1994; Ujimoto et al., 1993; Wong, 1985). Thus, it is essential to study immigrant status when investigating norms of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance to the elderly in Asian immigrant families in Canada. How norms of filial responsibility in the Asian culture play a pivotal role in intergenerational relationships has been previously illustrated. Depending on one’s age at immigration, beliefs held by the immigrant can be most likely influenced by the earlier socialization process (Ujimoto, 2002).

In terms of investigating ethnic variation from the perspective of the intergenerational solidarity framework – focusing on Asian immigrants in Canada – the immigrant status of Asians was incorporated in the interrelationship between normative solidarity and functional solidarity. Only a few studies have employed the intergenerational solidarity framework when studying filial responsibility in relation to immigrant status within Asian immigrant families. There have been, however, studies investigating the association between norms of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance within the Asian immigrant family (e.g., Akiyama, et al., 1990; Ishii-Kuntz, 1997; Kim, 1987; Kim et al., 1991; Lam, 1987; Ujimoto et al., 1993). Yet, frequently, norms of filial responsibility were adopted as one of the motivations in comparison with affection and love (e.g., Blieszner & Hamon, 1992; Seelbach, 1984).
The Effects of Age at Immigration and Length of Residence

Aday and Kano (1997) indicated that when immigrants move to a host society they have to adapt to new ways of life in their new cultural and social environment, and that immigration may be very unsettling to traditional role definitions. This means that newly immigrated persons have to adjust their cultural values and norms in order to adapt to the new surroundings. Ishii-Kuntz (1997) commented on those issues but did not specifically investigate the relationship between immigrant status (such as examining age at immigration and the length of residence) and family caregiving for the elderly. She focused on filial responsibility and other factors that influence the provision of assistance to the elderly within the Asian immigrant families.

When considering immigrant status in caregiving literature, there has been little research that specifically measures immigrant status by, not merely inferring from the place of birth, but examining age at immigration and length of residence, in combination with filial responsibility. Yee (1990) observed that Asians, who came to North America in their youth or early middle age and have grown old, have become acculturated to less traditional family relationships. Nevertheless, in Asian families, the needs of the family take precedence over the needs of the individual, and obligations and responsibilities are a life long characteristic (Mangum, Garcia, Kosberg, Mullins, & Barresi, 1994; Ujimoto et al., 1993). In regard to the length of residence, Hoyt and Babchuk (1981, as cited in Yoo & Sung, 1997) revealed that ethnic groups that arrived later tended to have stronger ties to their ethnic heritage and be more community-oriented than earlier settlers.
The Effects of Immigrant Status and Financial Eligibility/Responsibility

The traditional view in some ethnic groups of maintaining filial or moral obligations to parents may become shaky from an economic perspective (Ujimoto, 1987). Given the relatively well-developed social welfare system in Canada, there may be less need for the elderly to rely on their children for economic support, thereby furthering independence for the elderly. Both longevity and the social welfare programs may have a greater impact on intergenerational relations than the traditional factors associated with ethnicity and aging. However, for many aged immigrants, difficulties with language and the inability to express their personal feelings create barriers that prevent easy access to the available social and economic support services. Adult children who have been raised and educated in Canada (i.e., those who came to Canada earlier at young age) may have different attitudes towards parent care, as well as have different legal and situational responsibilities, from those who recently came to Canada with perhaps limited resources and social networks.

Immigrants in Canada who came with the sponsorship of their children or other relatives are to wait at least ten years to be able to apply for public pensions (Office for Seniors, 1998). By the immigrant law, the sponsors (i.e., adult children) must agree to provide shelter and care to the sponsored relatives (i.e., the elderly relatives) and provide other living expenses as necessary for a period of ten years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). Thus, whether a person has a higher degree of filial responsibility and has a strong willingness to provide support, if the person is recently immigrated or has invited the elderly parent(s) to Canada under the legal sponsorship of 10 years, then, when it comes to the situation that his or her elderly relatives who came to Canada in
later life are in need of help, he or she may be more likely to provide assistance to the elderly, considering the elder may not have appropriate resources. Overall, the present study aimed to emphasize the role of immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) accentuating the positive effects of filial responsibility on the provision of assistance to elderly parents.

**H3a:** Immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) moderates the relationship between norms of filial responsibility (normative solidarity) and levels of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity).

**H3b:** Immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) moderates the relationship between norms of filial responsibility (normative solidarity) and hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives (functional solidarity).

**Control Variables**

To accurately assess the impact of norms of filial responsibility and immigrant status on the provision of assistance to elderly parents by the adult children, it is necessary to control for other factors known to influence the provision of assistance. The hypothesized relationships in this study may be affected by several factors. Indeed, the interactions of intergenerational support are necessarily influenced by the opportunities and constraints of related social circumstances that compete for one’s time and energy (Joseph & Hallman, 1996; Mutran & Reitzes, 1984). Controlling for demographic characteristics (gender, age, and number and gender of siblings), household income, and living arrangements (coresidence and residential proximity) of the adult children, could provide an enhanced view on the interests of the present study.
Gender

Gender influences many aspects of providing assistance to the elderly. Over the last decade, researchers have explored gender differences in caring for elderly parents (Campbell & Martin-Matthews, 2000; Guberman et al., 1992; Matthews & Rosner, 1988; Montgomery, 1992). It is women who are likely to be the provider of the assistance to older persons in need, often because women have longer life expectancy and tend to marry older men (Lee, 1992). More prominently, as Campbell and Martin-Matthews (2000) pointed out, the provision of assistance to the elderly remains within the “female” domain and the provision of care exists in a gendered context where the division of domestic labour is based on traditional sex role expectations. Daughters are more likely to assist with household chores and personal care tasks (Cantor, 1983; Horowitz, 1985; Harris & Long, 1993; Matthews & Rosner, 1988; Montgomery & Kamo, 1989; Stoller, 1983, 1990; Sung, 1994). Moreover, some scholars suggested that women are more likely than men to adjust their work schedules so that they can perform caregiving activities (Mutschler, 1994; Stone & Short, 1990).

In traditional Asia, sons were more highly valued, and they had more privileges and inherited the family wealth, along with more responsibilities. Gender was associated with certain duties and privileges (Hamilton, 1996; Traylor, 1988). Parents, especially in Asia, invest more on sons than daughters. Thus, the parents increase their son’s ability to provide for them in the future and, at the same time, increase their son’s debt to them (Sung, 1990, 2000). Yet, daughters are traditionally expected to begin repayment early by doing housework, child care, and home-based work (Greenhalgh, 1985; Yamamoto &
Wallhagen, 1997). Hashimoto and Kendig (1992) indicated that, in many Asian countries, sons have a financial responsibility to older parents, while daughters or daughters-in-law have more responsibility for instrumental and emotional support. In the Asian society, daughters-in-law are more responsible for providing support for their husband’s parents (Sung, 2000; Wong, 1998). On the contrary, having a daughter is a key to receiving support in old age in North America (Spitze & Logan, 1990).

All in all, an important predictor of becoming the caregiver for the elderly relatives in need, were often the gender of the caregiver (Brody, Litvin, Hoffman, & Kleban, 1995; Connidis et al., 1996; Johnson, 1983). Therefore, it is important to control for the effect of gender when examining the provision of assistance to the elderly by Asian immigrants.

**Age**

In Canada, a woman aged 65 in 1991 could expect to live another 20 years on average; a man aged 65 another 16 years (Statistics Canada, 1996a). When one is aged 50 to 60, one’s parents are typically near or over the age of 80. Thus, one’s age may be an indication of the status of one’s parents. A growing number of people over the age of 85 are dependent on adult children over the age of 65 (Selig, Tonlinson, & Hickey, 1991). The proportion requiring help with at least one item of the ADLs rises about 30-50% among people aged 85 and older (Hirshon, 1991). Consequently, the older parents tend to have the highest risk of physical and mental frailty and more likely to depend on their children (Bengtson, Rosenthal, & Burton, 1990). Furthermore, one’s age may be an indication of one’s work status—in general, middle-aged respondents are likely to be shouldering many responsibilities and supervisions at work (Chapman, Ingersoll-Dayton,
Intergenerational Solidarity in Asian Families

Additionally, Sorensen (1998) found that the age of the daughter was linked with higher anticipation of filial support and preparation. Also, Soldo (1981) proposed that because of the direct association with the probabilities of functional health impairments and widowhood, age is a strong predictor of family care arrangement. On the whole, it appears that age has a positive association with the provision of assistance.

**Number and Gender of Siblings**

The number and gender of siblings of adult children have shown significant associations with the provision of assistance. Eggebeen (1992) suggested that the more adult children an aging parent had, the more support and assistance they could potentially obtain. Also, siblings could be a potential support network in intergenerational solidarity (Brody, Hoffman, Kleban, & Schoonover, 1989; Connidis et al., 1996; Matthews & Rosner, 1988; Traylor, 1988).

In light of the declines in fertility, the potential size of a caregiver pool for a dependent parent poses a dilemma--fewer siblings with whom to share the sometimes considerable burden of a dependent aging parent (Bengtson et al., 1990). In other words, having more siblings expands opportunities for supportive relations by enlarging the pool of possible providers (Silverstein & Litwak, 1993). Connidis et al. (1996) have found that the number of sisters has a greater impact on aid to parents than the number of brothers and affects both men and women. The only exception is the amount of help to both parents, in which case, more sisters increase the help provided by women to a much greater extent. In terms of the gender of siblings, Matthews (1995) found that in families where there was only one sister, then, the family members assumed that the sisters were the family caregivers, based on cultural assumptions of gender-appropriate roles. Even
when brothers and sisters divided responsibilities evenly, both siblings viewed the sister as being in charge. Families with more sisters have a stronger pool of support (Connidis et al., 1996).

On the other hand, in Asian societies, brothers, especially the eldest, take the central role in the family support network for elderly parents. Although actual hand-on caregiving assistance is done by the brother's wife, it is the brother who is officially responsible for parent care (Sung, 1995; Youn et al., 1999). It would be interesting to see if this traditional arrangement of this brother's role in Asian culture keeps taking place after the immigration to Canada. If so, controlling for the effect of gender of the sibling can be pivotal in order to accurately examine the relationship between norms of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance to the elderly.

**Household Income**

Income remains a critical factor influencing family care arrangements among the elderly (Crimmins & Ingegneri, 1990; Lindsay, 1999; Thomas and Wister, 1984). Ishii-Kuntz (1997), studying intergenerational relationships within Asian immigrant families, observed that adult children's income significantly influenced the frequency of the children's support for their parents. The higher income an adult child had, the more frequently he or she purchased paid support services. Wilmoth (2000) also reported that economic resources promote the purchase of preferred living environments and services that maintain the elders' independent living without much dependence on children's support. Economic resources may facilitate the elders' independent living and may have the most influence on later life living arrangements (Boyd, 1991; Kim, 1987; Soldo, Wolfe, & Agree, 1990). For minorities and immigrants, extended family living
arrangements can be seen as a strategy to pool income and other resources (Angel &

Living Arrangements (Coresidence and Residential Proximity)

Coresidence. A shared household can be a significant predictor of the amount of
assistance received by the older person (Kamo & Zhou, 1994). Tennstedt, Crawford, and
McKinlay (1993) asserted that intergenerational coresidence is a more important
predictor than kinship tie in determining types of assistance to the elderly. In agreement,
Keefe et al. (2000) observed that intergenerational coresidence is itself a supportive
behavior. When one considers that rates of coresidence are higher among Asian ethnic
groups than in the general population (Keefe et al., 2000; Markides & Black, 1995),
coresidence may be an important confounding factor when studying caregiving.

Indeed, foreign-born individuals, who are less acculturated and immigrated more
recently, are likely to live with family members (Angel, Angel, McClellan, & Markides.
1996; Angel et al., 1999; Burr & Mutchler, 1993; Kamo & Zhou, 1994; Ujimoto et al.,
1993). The prevalence of intergenerational coresidence in Asian counties can be
attributed to cultural beliefs regarding reciprocity within the family, norms pertaining to
the appropriate living arrangement of older adults, and the availability of housing (Sung,
2000; Wilmoth, 2001). In Asian countries, approximately 75% of older adults live with
their children (Martin, 1988). In an analysis of older female immigrant living
arrangements in Canada, Boyd (1991) found that immigrant women are more likely than
native-born women to have extended family arrangement in their later life. Further, Cho
(1988) questioned if the household’s living arrangements could be used as an indicator of
adult children's care or support of their elderly parents. In an Asian filial sense, coresidence itself may reflect support (Lee, Parish, & Willis, 1994).

**Residential proximity.** Research by Rossi and Rossi (1990) found considerable variation in the correlations between residential proximity and intergenerational social support. Services such as doing household chores and helping during an illness exhibited the largest negative correlations with distance, while comforting and giving gifts showed the smallest, although residential proximity can result from gender differences (Joseph & Hallman, 1998). Joseph and Hallman (1998) found that women are more likely to travel further and more often, to provide assistance. However, Campbell and Martin-Matthews (2000) reported that men who live closer to their parents appear to be in a situation where their close proximity and lack of siblings are associated with greater levels of involvement in parent care. They also emphasized, however, that those who live close to older relatives may do so because of a close and committed relationship. After controlling for residential proximity, Silverstein and Litwak (1993) found that norms of family responsibility were not statistically significant predictors of a traditional family type.

All in all, controlling for demographic characteristics (gender, age, number and gender of siblings) and the socioeconomic status (household income) of adult children as well as intergenerational living arrangements (coresidence and residential proximity), may inform one better and help fully understand when examining the previously proposed hypotheses. Figure 1 shows the hypothesized links in Asian intergenerational solidarity.
Figure 1

*Hypothesized relationships in the study*

![Diagram showing the hypothesized relationships between Intergenerational Solidarity, Immigrant Status, Normative Solidarity, Control Variables, and Functional Solidarity.]

**Immigrant Status**
- Age at Immigration
- Length of Residence

**Normative Solidarity**
- Norms of Filial Responsibility

**Functional Solidarity**
- (a) Level of Assistance
- (b) Hours of Assistance

**Control Variables**
- (Gender, Age, Number and Gender of Siblings, Household Income, and Coreidence/Residential Proximity)
CHAPTER III
Methods

Sample

The present study utilized data from The Work and Family Survey, conducted between 1991 and 1992 by the Work and Eldercare Research Group of CARNET: The Canadian Aging Research Network, through the Gerontology Research Centre, at the University of Guelph. The Work and Family Survey contained data on 5,121 Canadian employees from eight different organizations in Canada (CARNET, 1993). Findings may show a partial picture because sampling was limited to certain industries such as government, education, finance, health care, and manufacturing (Connidis et al., 1996). Individuals 35 years or older were over-sampled to increase the chance of getting people who were providing assistance to a relative aged 65 or older at the time of the survey (Campbell & Martin-Matthews, 2000). The Work and Family Survey was a self-administered mailed questionnaire. The response rate varied between 27% and 63% among the organizations; however, the overall response rate was 53%. The majority of the respondents (61%) were Ontario workers. The mean age of the respondents was 43, ranging from 19 to 69; and almost two thirds were female (CARNET, 1993).

The present study was a secondary analysis using data on Asian immigrants who had at least one living elderly relative 65 years of age or older. To obtain the target sample, the first step was to select respondents who identified themselves as Asians (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino, and so forth) when asked “In addition to being Canadian, to which ethnic group do you feel you belong?”. The number of respondents who said they were Asian was 300, out of the total CARNET data of 5,121.
respondents. Having selected all Asians, then, immigrants \((n = 280)\) were selected by eliminating those who were born in Canada \((n = 20)\). Because this study aimed to investigate intergenerational relationships, the next step was to draw a subset of the Asian group that said they had at least one living relative aged 65 or over \((n = 181)\) in an intergenerational relationship (e.g., parent, parent-in-law, uncle, aunt, grandmother) with the respondent \((N = 109)\). Focusing on parent-child interactions in later life excluded the examination of intra-generational relationships (e.g., husband, wife, sister, brother) \((n = 72)\).

The majority of this Asian subgroup was comprised primarily of Chinese \((61.5\%)\), followed by Filipino \((23.9\%)\). Although there is considerable cultural diversity among the various populations of Asians and Pacific Islanders, many of these cultures continue to emphasize filial responsibility and children’s moral responsibility to care for and respect their older family members (Chen, 1984; Koh & Bell, 1987). Also, Ujmoto (1987, p.124) indicated that while situational, historical, social and cultural constraints experienced by “one minority within a minority group”, may not be directly applicable to other minority Asian Canadian groups, the situational similarities faced by these minority ethnic groups today are much greater than the differences. Moreover, when a \(t\) test of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance was conducted for the two main distinct ethnic groups (i.e., Chinese and Filipino) in this subsample, there were no significant differences.
Measures

Measuring Independent Variable (Normative Solidarity)

The Filial Responsibility Scale (FRS) for measuring normative solidarity (norms of filial responsibility) was created by adding the responses to six items: 1) It is my obligation as an adult child to take care of my older parents; 2) I should be legally responsible for my older parents if they are not able to take care of themselves; 3) As an adult child, settled and with a job, I should help my parents if they need it; 4) Even though I have a family (or if I had one), I should help my parents if they need it; 5) I should help support my parents as they grow older if they need it; and 6) I should not allow better financial opportunities to take me away from my parents. The summed scores ranged from 6 (strongly disagree on all items) to 24 (strongly agree on all items).

An item analysis was conducted to examine whether each of the items in the FRS contributed to the internal consistency of the measure. Table 1 shows the correlations of each item with the corrected item-total scores of the scales, and the resulting alpha if each item was deleted. The corrected-item total correlation showed that each item had a positive correlation with the total score on the scale. The results indicated that all items' alpha decreased if these items were deleted from the scale, with the exception of item six. In particular, item five appeared to be a good item for measuring norms of filial responsibility, because the alpha for the item decreased more than other items if this item was deleted. The Cronbach's alpha reliability within the Asian subgroup in this study was moderately high (alpha = .74).
Table 1

*Item Analysis of the Filial Responsibility Scale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Corrected item-total correlation</th>
<th>Alpha if item is deleted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. It is my obligation as an adult child to take care of my older parents</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I should be legally responsible for my older parents if they are not able to take care of themselves</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. As an adult child, settled and with a job, I should help my parents if they need it</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Even though I have a family (or if I had one), I should help my parents if they need it</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I should help support my parents as they grow older if they need it</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I should not allow better financial opportunities to take me away from my parents</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*n = 105    alpha = .74*

*Measuring Dependent Variables (Functional Solidarity)*

The measure of functional solidarity (level and hours of assistance) was created from a series of questions in which respondents were asked if they had provided any of 18 types of assistance---such as transportation, bathing, preparing meals, home maintenance and so on---to their elderly relative in the past six months (see Appendix A for details). A factor analysis of the 18 items showed that there were two factors---10 personal assistance items (help with dressing, taking medication, bathing, using toilet,
eating, getting around the house, arranging assistance, managing money, dealing with memory problems, and dealing with mood swings: Cronbach’s alpha = .90) and 8 instrumental assistance items (help with laundry, transportation, shopping, household chores, home maintenance, preparing meals, completing forms, and regular financial assistance: Cronbach’s alpha = .80). Within each factor, the answered items were counted and the degree (i.e., never; once a month or less; several times a month; once a week; several times a week; daily) was added, thereby creating an indicator of the respondents' involvement level of assistance to the elderly in each factor. Hence, the level of Personal Assistance Scale (PAS) and the level of Instrumental Assistance Scale (IAS) were created by adding up the responses.

To examine Hours of Assistance (HA), respondents were asked to indicate the “number of hours in an average week you provided care to your older relative(s)”. The respondents were asked to provide some additional information about their older relative, aged 65 or over, to whom they had given any care in the past 6 months. It was specified that if any of these older relatives had since died, they were to answer the question for when the person was living. If the respondents indicated having a relative aged 65 or older but provided no assistance, the number of hours was coded as ‘0’.

Measuring Moderating Variables (Age at Immigration and Length of Residence)

In this study, immigrant status was measured by looking at the respondents’ age at immigration and length of residence. Age at immigration was calculated from the year they came to Canada and their age in 1991---when the CARNET survey was conducted. For example, if a respondent came to Canada in 1971 and his or her age in 1991 was 42, the age at immigration was 22. Length of residence was calculated by asking, “What year
did you come to Canada?”; then, the year they came to Canada was subtracted from the year 1991.

**Measuring Control Variables**

The control variables tap several sets of contextual factors identified by previous research. Demographic characteristics (i.e., gender, age, number and gender of siblings), socioeconomic status (i.e., household income), and intergenerational living arrangements (coresidence and residential proximity) were employed as control variables (refer to Appendix A for details). Regarding the household income, the respondents were asked “What was your total household income from all sources over the last 12 months?” The grouped value of the annual household income ranged from 1) less than $10,000 to 13) over $120,000, with each group increasing by increments of $10,000. The intergenerational living arrangements were measured by asking the respondents to indicate the living arrangements of their elder relative to whom they had given care in the past 6 months. Only one elderly relative was counted in this study. Responses were then dichotomized into “coresiding with the elder = 1” and “not coresiding with the elder = 0”.

Residential proximity was obtained by asking, “Please indicate the time it usually takes you to travel from your home to your older relative’s residence. If your older relative lives with you, write a “0” (If any of these older relatives have since died, please answer the question for when he or she was living).”
CHAPTER IV
Results

Characteristics of the Sample

The respondents ($N = 109$) were Asian immigrants who had an elderly relative in an intergenerational relationship—such as parent, aunt, uncle, or grandparent. Of the respondents, 65% were women and 35% men. The age of the respondents ranged from 26 to 56, with a mean of 41.93 ($SD = 5.37$). These respondents had at least one living elderly relative, and the percentage for the female (63%) and male (37%) elderly relatives was similar to that of the adult children respondents. The age of the elderly relatives ranged from 55 to 95, with a mean of 73.28 ($SD = 6.32$).

The majority (78%) of the respondents was married, and 14% were never married. Of the respondents 77% had at least one child. The respondents had achieved relatively high levels of education. Almost 60% had acquired at least university education, and among them 13% had a postgraduate degree. The group value of the annual household income was ranged from “less than $10,000” to “$120,000 or over,” with each group increasing by increments of $10,000. Of the respondents 53% fell in the income category between “$70,000- $79,999” and “$120,000 or over”. Of the respondents 15% fell in the median and mode category of “$70,000-$79,999”. The respondents were working a mean of 40 hours per week ($SD = 9.09$).

The number and gender of siblings were examined to assess whether the respondents had other relatives who were potential providers of assistance to the elderly relatives. The majority (96%) of the respondents had at least one brother, one sister, or both. More than three quarters (77%) had both brother(s) and sister(s). Of the respondents
who had siblings, 80% had at least one brother and 85% had at least one sister. As observed in studies of intergenerational coresidence in Asian families (e.g., Ikels, 1998b), the rate of coresidence of the adult children with their elderly relative was relatively high. Almost 40% of the respondents had an elderly relative living with them. Of the respondents, 51% lived within 10 minutes from the elderly relative (coresiding included); 80% of the respondents lived within 30 minutes from the elderly relative (coresiding included).

**Description of the Variables**

Table 2

*Description of Dependent, Independent, and Moderating Variables*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of Assistance&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Assistance</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>7.06</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Assistance</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours of Assistance&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>7.11</td>
<td>12.33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filial Responsibility&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at Immigration&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>26.83</td>
<td>7.42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of Residence&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>15.11</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Dependent variable 1 (DV1). The possible score ranges from 0 to 50 for Level of Personal Assistance; from 0 to 40 for Level of Instrumental Assistance.

<sup>b</sup>Dependent variable 2 (DV2). The hours are on a weekly basis.

<sup>c</sup>Independent variable. The possible score ranges from 6 to 24.

<sup>d</sup>Moderating variables.
Dependent Variables (The Provision of Assistance)

Level of assistance (DV1). A principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation showed that level of assistance had two factors—level of personal assistance and level of instrumental assistance. Hence, each factor was examined separately with the proposed variables in this study.

Level of personal assistance. As shown in Table 2, the mean level of Personal Assistance Scale (PAS) was 3.87 ($SD = 7.06$), ranging from 0 to 47, with higher scores indicating higher level of involvement in providing personal assistance. Because the PAS was positively skewed (the tail is toward the larger values), the transformation method of taking the log of the PAS was chosen. After the transformation, the shape of the PAS was more normally distributed, and the skewness was decreased ($3.64 \rightarrow 1.70$). In this study, the level of personal assistance refers to the log of the PAS (IPAS), unless otherwise noted.

Level of instrumental assistance. As shown in Table 2, the mean level of Instrumental Assistance Scale (IAS) was 7.17 ($SD = 6.04$), ranging from 1 to 32, with higher scores indicating higher level of involvement in providing instrumental assistance. When a respondent had at least one living elderly relative, he or she scored a minimum of 1, indicating that he or she had provided an item of instrumental assistance to the elder at least once a month in the past 6 months. Because the IAS was positively skewed (the tail is toward the larger values), the method of taking the log of the IAS was chosen. After the transformation, the shape of the IAS was normally distributed, and the skewness was decreased notably ($1.69 \rightarrow .49$). The level of instrumental assistance refers to the log of the IAS (IiAS), unless otherwise noted.
Hours of assistance (DV2). As shown in Table 2, the mean Hours of Assistance (HA) was 7.11 (SD = 12.33), ranging from 0 to 75, with higher numbers indicating more weekly hours of providing assistance. Because the HA was positively skewed (the tail is toward the larger values), the method of taking the log of the HA was chosen. After the transformation, the shape of the HA appeared more normally distributed, and the skewness was decreased (3.37 → 1.67). Hours of assistance refer to the log of the HA (IHA), unless otherwise noted.

Independent Variable (Norms of Filial Responsibility)

A mean score of the Filial Responsibility Scale (FRS) was 22 (SD = 2.20), ranging from 13 to 24, with higher scores indicating stronger agreement with the norm reflected in the items (see Table 2). Considering a possible score range of 6 to 24, the respondents strongly agreed with the filial responsibility norms in the scale, with limited variability. The distribution of the FRS was negatively skewed (-1.64), as expected. Examining norms of filial responsibility usually produces skewed responses, as these norms are socially desirable (Sung, 1995). Using the CARNET data, Keefe et al. (2000) also found that the FRS in their sample was skewed. A transformation of the value of the FRS was conducted. Since the FRS was negatively skewed (the tail is toward the smaller values), the method of squaring the value of the FRS was chosen. After the transformation, the shape of the FRS was more normally distributed, but the skewness remained without much change (-1.64 → -1.31). Hence, the transformed version of the FRS was not chosen for this study.
Moderating Variables (Immigrant Status)

**Age at immigration.** As shown in Table 2, the mean age at immigration was 26.83 (ranging from 2 to 42), with a standard deviation of 7.42. The age at immigration was normally distributed with a skewness of -.32. The majority (47%) of the respondents immigrated to Canada in their 20s.

**Length of residence.** As shown in Table 2, the mean number of years of residence in Canada was 15.11, with a standard deviation of 7.20. The length of residence ranged from 0 to 34 years, and was normally distributed with a skewness of -.36. The mean year of immigration to Canada was 1975, ranging from 1953 to 1991. The respondents in this study were relatively recent immigrants, in comparison to other ethnic groups such as Italians and Irish in Canada (Keefe et al., 2000).

General Overview of Analyses

The analyses were divided into three parts. First, the effect of norms of filial responsibility on the level and hours of assistance was investigated (hypotheses 1a and 1b respectively). Second, the effects of immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) on the level and hours of assistance were evaluated (hypotheses 2a and 2b respectively). Third, if hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, and 2b produced significant results, an interaction effect of norms of filial responsibility and the immigrant status on the level and hours of assistance were analyzed (hypotheses 3a and 3b respectively). The $p < .05$ level of significance (one-tailed) was used throughout unless otherwise noted.
**Testing Hypotheses**

Table 3

*Correlations between Dependent Variables (IPAS, IIAS, and IHA) and Predictor Variables (FRS, Age at Immigration, and Length of Residence)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Level of Assistance*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Assistance</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Assistance</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hours of Assistance*</td>
<td>.19*</td>
<td>.17†</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Filial Responsibility</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.15†</td>
<td>-.14†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Age at Immigration</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Length of Residence</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Dependent variable 1, the log of the PAS and the log of the IAS
*Dependent variable 2, the log of the HA
†p < .10  *p < .05, one-tailed.

**Hypothesis One: Are Norms of Filial Responsibility Positively Related to the Provision of Assistance?**

Based on the previous research, it was hypothesized that higher norms of filial responsibility are positively related to higher levels of assistance as well as more weekly hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives (H1a and H1b). To test the hypothesized relationships, first, a series of bivariate correlation statistics were conducted (refer to Table 3). The correlations lend support for only one of the hypothesized associations between the variables. The bivariate correlation for the relationship between the FRS and
the IHA was statistically significant ($p = .046$). Those who scored higher on the FRS (those who strongly agreed with norms of filial responsibility) provided more hours of assistance. However, the association between the FRS and the IHA was not strong. The bivariate correlations for the FRS and the IPAS/IIAS (levels of assistance) were not significant.

A simple bivariate regression was conducted to explore the main effect of norms of filial responsibility on hours of assistance. The main effect was not significant (refer to Table 4), that is, the FRS did not account for the variance of the IHA scores. Therefore, a test of spuriousness by entering the controls was not performed. Since the scatterplots and the bivariate correlation coefficients showed that there was no relationship between the FRS and the log of level of assistance (personal assistance and instrumental assistance), analyzing the bivariate regressions of those variables was not pursued.

**Hypothesis Two: Is Immigrant Status Related to the Provision of Assistance?**

It was hypothesized that immigrant status (older age at immigration and shorter length of residence) is positively related to higher level of assistance as well as more weekly hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives (H2a and H2b). To test the second hypothesized relationship of this study, a series of bivariate correlation statistics were conducted. Table 3 presents correlations between immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) and the IPAS and the IIAS (DV1) as well as correlations between immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) and the IHA (DV2). The hypothesized correlations between immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) and the provision of assistance (IPAS, IIAS, and IHA) were not significant. Thus, other statistical tests were not pursued.
Hypothesis Three: Does Immigrant Status Moderate the Link between Norms of Filial Responsibility and the Provision of Assistance?

Both the independent variable (norms of filial responsibility) and the proposed moderating variables (age at immigration and length of residence), as shown by bivariate regressions in Table 4, had no effect on hours of assistance (DV2) to elderly relatives. Therefore, the interaction effects of the independent variable and the moderating variables (H3a and H3b) were not examined.

Table 4

Summary of Bivariate Regression Analyses on the Log of Hours of Assistance (IHA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicting Variables</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SEB</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filial Responsibility</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.091</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at Immigration</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.128</td>
<td>.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of Residence</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.587</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One-tailed

Post Hoc Analyses

None of the hypotheses of this study was supported. Does this mean that norms of filial responsibility simply do not have a predicting power on behavior of providing assistance to elderly relatives? To see if norms of filial responsibility are just strongly held among Asians, a comparison was made between this study’s group who had
potential caregiving responsibilities ($N = 109$) and those Asians in the sample who did not
have potential caregiving responsibilities ($n = 191$).

Table 5

*Mean and Standard Deviation on the Filial Responsibility Scale for Target Group and
Other Group*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>$SD$</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target Group ($N = 109$)</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Group ($n = 191$)</td>
<td>21.99</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 5, there was virtually no difference between the two groups in
terms of mean and variation. When a $t$ test was conducted, there was no statistically
significant difference between the two groups ($t(269) = -0.04$, $p = .969$, two-tailed).
Therefore, it appeared that there was no difference between those who immigrated to
Canada and had an elder over the age of 65, and those who were born in Canada and had
no elder over 65 or have an elder over 65 in an intra-generational relationship (e.g.,
husband, wife, $n = 72$) in terms of norms of filial responsibility. Further, when a $t$ test
was conducted for the Chinese and the Filipinos (the two main ethnic groups within the
Asians of this study) in terms of norms of filial responsibility, again, there was no
significant difference between the two ethnic groups (the target group: $t(88) = .63$, $p = .53$, two-tailed; the other group: $t(123) = -.27$, $p = .79$, two-tailed).

If higher norms of filial responsibility and/or older age at immigration and shorter
length of residence in Canada do not account for assistance to elderly relatives, then,
what does? Previously proposed control variables in this study (gender, age, number and gender of siblings, household income, coresidence and residential proximity) were examined in regard to adult children’s provision of assistance (level and hours of assistance) to elderly relatives. Table 6 summarizes the mean and standard deviation of the control variables.

Table 6

*Mean and Standard Deviation for Control Variables*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>$n$</th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>$SD$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender$^a$</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>41.93</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Siblings</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Brothers</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Sisters</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>7.82$^b$</td>
<td>3.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coresidence$^c$</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Proximity$^d$</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ Men = 0; Women = 1, the mean shows the proportion of women respondents (65%).

$^b$ Indicates the value between 7 ($60,000 - $69,999) and 8 ($70,000 - $79,999).

$^c$ Non-coresidence = 0; Coresidence = 1, the mean shows the proportion of adult child’s coresidence with the elder (39%).

$^d$ It was dichotomized by the median (within 10 min. from the elder = 1). The mean shows the proportion of respondents living 10 min. or less from the elder’s place (51%).
Within the Asian culture, sharing the household with elderly parents is one of the prescribed filial norms (Sung, 1994). It might be that, within this Asian group, norms of filial responsibility could be reflected through providing and sharing the household with the elder. Therefore, the relationship between coresidence, as an alternative variable to the filial responsibility scale, and the provision of assistance (level and hours of assistance) was examined. As shown in Table 7, coresidence as well as number of sisters, age and gender were significantly related to level of assistance and hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives, with a relatively strong association.

Table 7

*Intercorrelations for Dependent Variables (Level of Assistance and Hours of Assistance), Alternative Independent Variable (Coresidence) and Potential Control Variables (Gender, Age, Number and Gender of Siblings, and Household Income)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Personal Assistance (IPAS)</th>
<th>Instrumental Assistance (IIAS)</th>
<th>Hours of Assistance (IHA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coresidence</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.46***</td>
<td>.35***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.20*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.20*</td>
<td>.17*</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Brothers</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Sisters</td>
<td>-.18*</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p < .001, one-tailed.
Next, a series of multivariate regression analyses was conducted to examine the linear effect of coresidence on each of the dependent variables while controlling for significant variables, as shown in Table 7. In the first step, significant variables were entered into Step 1 of the regression equation and regressed onto each dependent variable. Coresidence was then entered into Step 2 and regressed onto each dependent variable (refer to Tables 8, 9 and 10).

The amount of variance in level of personal assistance (IPAS) explained by age and number of sisters was 6.6%, $F(2, 90) = 3.16, p = .047$. When coresidence was entered into Step 2 of the regression equation with the age and number of sisters, coresidence remained a significant predictor ($\beta = .26, p = .013$), explaining an additional 6.2% of the total 12.8% variance in the log of level of personal assistance provided to elderly relatives. Thus, coresidence was not spuriously related to level of personal assistance provided to elderly relatives. The amount of variance in level of instrumental assistance (IIAS) explained by gender, age and number of sisters was 8.4%, $F(3, 89) = 2.71, p = .05$. When coresidence was entered into Step 2 of the regression equation with the gender, age and number of sisters, coresidence remained a significant predictor ($\beta = .45, p = .0001$), explaining an additional 19.8% of the total 28.2% of variance in the log of level of instrumental assistance provided to elderly relatives. Coresidence was not spuriously related to level of instrumental assistance provided to elderly relatives. The amount of variance in hours of assistance (IHA) explained by gender was 1.6% but it was not significant ($F(1, 85) = 1.36, p = .25$). When coresidence was entered into Step 2 of the regression equation with gender, coresidence remained a significant predictor ($\beta = .35, p = .001$), accounting for an additional 12.4% of the total 14% of variance in the log of
hours assistance provided to elderly relatives. Hence, coresidence was not spuriously related to hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives. In all three regression equations, coresidence was a significant predictor of adult children’s provision of assistance to elderly relatives in Asian immigrant families.

In Asian culture, the eldest son has traditionally been the child responsible for supporting elderly parents, often times providing shelter or coresiding with the elderly parents (Ikels, 1998b). Of the respondents who had at least one brother (88%), 52% had at least one older brother. To determine whether the relationship between having an older brother and the provision of assistance was significant, a bivariate regression analysis was conducted by regressing number of older brothers on level and hours of assistance (IPAS, IIAS, and IHA), for respondents who were coresiding with the elder (n = 40) and separately for those who were not coresiding with the elder (n = 69). For non-coresident respondents, having a larger number of older brothers was a significant predictor ($\beta = -.27, p = .045$) and accounted for 7.5% of providing lower level of instrumental assistance to the elder.
Table 8

Multiple Regression Analysis of Coresidence on the Log of Level of Personal Assistance (IPAS) Controlling for Age and Number of Sisters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.20*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Sisters</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coresidence</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.26*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.06*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F$</td>
<td>3.16*</td>
<td>4.37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$df$</td>
<td>2, 90</td>
<td>3, 89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Age in Step 2, $p = .052$.
$^\dagger p < .10$  $^* p < .05$  $^{**} p < .01$, one-tailed.
### Table 9

*Multiple Regression Analysis of Coresidence on the Log of Level of Instrumental Assistance (IIAS) Controlling for Gender, Age and Number of Sisters*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Step 2</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Sisters</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coresidence</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.45***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.20***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F$</td>
<td>2.71*</td>
<td>8.65***</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>3, 89</td>
<td>4, 88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$  *** $p < .001$, one-tailed.
Table 10  

*Multiple Regression Analysis of Coresidence on the Log of Hours of Assistance (IHA)*  

*Controlling for Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coresidence</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.35***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.13***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F$</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>6.85***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$df$</td>
<td>1, 85</td>
<td>2, 84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** $p < .001$, one-tailed.
CHAPTER V

Discussion

The main purpose of this study was to address the following within Asian immigrant families in Canada: 1) Is stronger agreement with norms of filial responsibility positively associated with higher levels and more hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives? 2) Is older age at immigration and/or shorter length of residence in Canada positively associated with higher levels and more hours of assistance provided for elderly relatives? 3) Is there an interaction effect between norms of filial responsibility and immigrant status (age at immigration and length of residence) on levels and hours of assistance provided for elderly relatives? None of the proposed relationships was supported. Post hoc analyses supported the view that norms of filial responsibility are strong whether or not respondents have potential caregiving responsibilities. Coresidence was significantly related with adult children's provision of assistance (higher levels of assistance and more hours of assistance) to elderly relatives.

Hypothesis One: Are Norms of Filial Responsibility Positively Related to the Provision of Assistance?

Filial responsibility norms held by adult children have been shown to account for providing assistance to elderly relatives, especially within Asian families (Lee & Sung, 1997). Inconsistent with previous results (e.g., Blieszner & Hamon, 1992; Hashimoto, et al., 1992; Keefe, et al., 2000; Lee, et al., 1994), however, agreement about norms of filial responsibility was not significantly related to either higher levels of assistance or more weekly hours of assistance provided to elderly relatives.
There are three reasons why there was not a significant relationship between filial responsibility and the provision of assistance. First, it might be that filial responsibility norms in Asian families were so strongly held that the norms cannot account for the variability of providing assistance to elderly relatives. For example, when Asians and other ethnic groups are compared (see Keefe et al., 2000), the strength of the filial responsibility norm is salient for Asians. When norms of filial responsibility were examined selectively for Asians in this study, the filial norms were again strongly held. The results revealed that filial responsibility norms were strongly held whether the respondents were born in Canada or Asia, had an elderly relative or not, or were providing assistance to a husband, parent, or other relatives.

Second, the reason why hypothesis one was not supported may be due to the measures used in this study providing only a partial picture of Asian filial responsibility norms and the provision of assistance. Specific concerns relate to the validity of the Filial Responsibility Scale (FRS) for distinguishing Asian norms and to the exclusive focus on behavioral aspects of filial care.

The FRS was internally consistent in this study. Indeed, using the FRS of the CARNET survey, no study, focusing on “White” respondents or comparisons across groups, has questioned the scale. However, a lack of face validity of the FRS when examining Asians is suggested. For example, Item six of the FRS (“I should not allow better financial opportunities to take me away from my parents”) might have been confusing for some respondents to answer. In Asian culture, better financial opportunity or success means bringing glory to the family, which in turn is considered to be filial. Also, the wording “should not allow” might have been too “pushy” for the respondents to
answer. When the missing data for the scale were scrutinized, Item six was the one not answered.

As well, focusing on behavioral aspects of filial support in Asian families might have failed to capture the complex dynamics of filial responsibility and the provision of support to elderly relatives. Sung (1995) suggested that, in Asian culture, filial responsibility has at least two dimensions: behaviorally-oriented and emotionally-oriented. For example, not only is the child expected to provide physical and financial support, but he or she is also expected to respect, love and show affection for parents (Sung, 1992). Indeed, Kobayashi (2000) found that, in Japanese Canadian families, filial responsibility had a significant effect on children’s provision of emotional support but not of service or financial support. The FRS in this study examined in terms of providing physical and service support. Other scales measuring filial responsibility, such as the scales by Sung (1995) and Ho and Lee (1974, cited in Ho, 1996), specify aspects of love, affection, respect, family harmony, family face saving, as well as responsibility, sacrifice, and repayment. Moreover, the understanding of the parent-child relationship, i.e., the filial relationship, is different in North America and in Asia. For example, interdependence between family members is emphasized in Asian culture, whereas independence, self-reliance, and individualism are emphasized in North America (Sung, 2000). While North American parents are concerned that they do not become dependent on children, Asian parents hope to raise proper children who will take care of them (Akiyama et al., 1990). Hence, it is suggested that future studies should investigate filial responsibility and the provision of assistance in terms of behavioral as well as emotional dimensions in order to capture the whole picture. For example, one may develop a filial
Intergenerational Solidarity in Asian Families

A responsibility scale that includes love and affections for parents and maintaining family harmony (e.g., "It is important for children to make parents happy and comfortable", "Children should harmonize family relations around parents"), incorporated with items representing the provision of physical and financial support for parents. Hence, measuring Asian filial responsibility norms with a scale developed specifically for Asians might detect unique aspects of filial responsibility or produce sufficient variation in the responses.

Third, the reason this study did not find a significant relationship between norms of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance for elderly relatives might be due to a drawback of using cross-sectional data. As one can easily conceive, providing care for the elderly does not happen on just one occasion. It is a gradual process that is likely to lead to long-term care (Gorey, Rice, & Brice, 1992). Understanding the provision of assistance to the elderly would be enhanced by using data on families and individual family members before they began to provide care (Dwyer & Coward, 1992; Ikels, 1998b). In the present study, the respondents were asked if they provided any assistance to their elderly relatives in the past six months. Thus, the present study did not assess if stronger agreement with the filial norms had a different influence on providing support in the beginning stages of caregiving as well as the later stages. In addition, intergenerational support takes place over the life course. It must be viewed across and over time (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1987; Hagestad, 1981; Hancock, Mangen, & McChesney, 1988; Silverstein, Parrott, & Bengtson, 1995). Rossi and Rossi (1990) provided evidence that early interactions in family relationships as remembered by adult children influence current feelings of affection and normative obligations toward parents.
Indeed, support between family members is based on a complex series of interactions that have occurred over an extended period of time, and that depend heavily on perceptions of how much the individuals involved gave or received in the past (Dwyer, Lee, & Jankowski, 1994; Eggebeen & Davey, 1998; Hirshon, 1991; Ingersoll-Dayton & Antonucci, 1988; Wentowski, 1981). Considering how norms of filial responsibility serve as a guiding principle in the parent-child relationship over the life course in Asian culture, it is important to look at the early support interactions of parent and child as well as the interactions of parent-child in later life in regard to filial responsibility norms.

**Hypothesis Two: Is Immigrant Status Related to the Provision of Assistance?**

Contrary to the findings of Boyd (1991) and Ishii-Kuntz (1997), where older age at immigration and shorter length of residence were related to the provision of assistance, the results of this study showed no statistically significant effects of immigrant status on the provision of assistance. This failure to find a significant relationship might be due to the following reasons. First, it may be the convenience sampling of the CARNET data. The data were collected from middle-aged employed Canadians, who were working at relatively large organizations and residing predominantly in urban settings (Martin-Matthews & Rosenthal, 1993). Hence, persons working at a small firm or self-employed were not represented. This point is noteworthy, as Kim (1987) suggested that a high percentage of Asian immigrants are likely to be engaged in small businesses such as grocery shops and laundrettes. By selecting respondents from persons working at large organizations, with a high level of education and household income, as well as focusing on employed immigrants, the respondents might have been too homogeneous a group to examine variation regarding the provision of assistance.
Second, not having direct information about the elderly relative's immigrant status might be a drawback. In this study, it was assumed that if the adult children were immigrants, then their elderly relatives were immigrants as well. The rationale behind this was that Asians are a relatively recent group of immigrants to Canada, and the majority of the elders immigrate by being sponsored by their adult children (Boyd, 1991). Consequently, by assuming that the elders were immigrants, the elders' eligibility for the public pension benefits (i.e., the elders' length of residence in Canada) was inferred from the adult children’s status. For example, if the adult child immigrated at the age of 35 and had been in Canada for 5 years, then it could be inferred that the elder immigrated to Canada at an older age and stayed in Canada fewer than 5 years, hence he or she might not have had a chance to work in Canada, and thus, had limited benefits from the public pensions. The adult child was thus responsible for providing care and support for the elder. In future studies, it is important to have direct information on the elder's characteristics such as the elder’s immigration status (age at immigration and length of residence) or socio-economic status to identify whether assistance for the elderly is necessary because they lack access to resources.

**Other Explanations of Providing Assistance to Elderly Relatives**

If norms of filial responsibility and immigration status were not significantly related, what then could account for the provision of assistance for elderly relatives in Asian families in Canada? In Asian culture, sharing the household with elderly parents is one of the prescribed filial norms (Sung, 1994). Adult children are expected to live with their elderly parents regardless of the elderly parent’s marital status, gender, economic or health condition (Kamo & Zhou, 1994).
Ikels's (1998b) statement illustrates the natural link between the traditional way of life regarding living arrangement and the support for the elderly: "[M]ost Chinese elders live in multigenerational households...When a Chinese elder falters, family members are already present in the same household and able to take over most of the senior member's responsibilities with relatively little inconvenience. When an American elder falters, however, he or she may have to exit the household to move in with family members or go to an assisted living facility" (p. 483). Indeed, intergenerational coresidence is one manifestation of filial norms that is common in Asia (Hashimoto et al., 1992). Therefore, coresidence was assessed as a behavioral indicator of norms of filial responsibility for providing assistance to the elderly.

The results showed that coresidence was a significant predictor of the provision of assistance to elderly relatives, even after controlling for gender, age, and number of sisters. This result is in agreement with other studies (Doty, Jackson, & Crown, 1998; Penrod, Kane, Kane, & Finch, 1995). However, by specifically focusing on Asians only, coresidence has a special meaning in this study. Coresidence can be perceived/interpreted as an indirect measure of filial responsibility. That is, coresidence is an example of behaviorally-oriented filial responsibility (Sung, 1995). Other family support research in North America also found that coresidence has a significant relationship with providing assistance. However, recall the high proportion (almost 40% in this study) of coresidence with elderly relatives in Asian families, as compared with the very low rate (e.g., 3%) of coresidence with elderly relatives in North America (Priest, 1994). It might be that it is norms of filial responsibility that Asians coreside with the elder in the first place. Thus,
coresidence could be approached as a cultural aspect of family support, not just as a structural aspect of family support.

Additionally, the present study investigated another aspect that might be unique for Asian ethnic groups with regard to the provision of assistance. The traditional Asian cultural norm prescribes that the eldest son coreside with the elderly parents and be the most responsible family member for the support of the elderly parents in old age (Ikels, 1998b). For example, Kauh (1997) found that most Korean elderly lived in proximity to a son. In cultures with Confucian values, the norm of the eldest son and daughter-in-law providing care to aging parents is well recognized (Braun & Browne, 1998).

When the number of older brothers was examined with regard to providing assistance to the elder, the results revealed that, for those who were not sharing their household with the elder (the non-coresidents), a larger number of older brothers predicted a lower level of instrumental assistance. This is indeed a unique finding in family support research. However, in Asian culture, such a finding is to be expected (Ikels, 1998b). This might also imply that the respondent was not coresiding with the elder in the first place because he or she had an older brother who shared the household with the elder and provided assistance. A caution is needed, however, when interpreting this finding. Not only did the result account for only 7.5% of the variance in level of instrumental assistance but also the CARNET survey did not ask the respondents if their siblings were immigrants or living in Canada, or were actually providing assistance.

**Thoughts on Intergenerational Solidarity Framework**

One of the aims of this study was to contribute to the development and improvement of the Intergenerational Solidarity Framework with regard to ethnic
variation (Bengtson, 2001) by offering evidence of the link between normative solidarity and functional solidarity, as well as by suggesting immigrant status as a moderator in Asian intergenerational relationships. However, the results failed to find such relationships.

What does this mean to the applicability of the solidarity framework for ethnic groups? It may be premature to conclude that the intergenerational solidarity framework is not applicable for Asian families, as the present study only examined employed Asian Canadians who recently immigrated. However, this failure to find the relationship between normative solidarity and functional solidarity in Asian families may lead one to contemplate if the link between the two is indirectly rather than directly associated. Indeed, Bengtson et al. (1976) suggested that normative solidarity could be a moderator on the relationship between structural solidarity and functional solidarity. Future studies may investigate further in this regard.

Second, the present study suggested coresidence as an alternative variable in examining norms of filial responsibility within Asian families. When considering that coresidence could be viewed as the structural dimension of the solidarity framework, this might indicate that normative solidarity within Asians might overlap with structural solidarity. This may be a useful topic for future studies to investigate. Again, a caution is needed as the present study only examined all employed persons who immigrated to Canada.
CHAPTER VI

Conclusions and Implications

Examining family support and caregiving for elderly relatives is challenging because the experience of providing assistance and the dynamic of the interactions are highly complicated (Bengtson, 2001). Although there are limitations such as using a Western based filial responsibility scale and the convenience sampling of immigrated Asians working at large organizations, the current study makes several contributions to the field of filial responsibility and family support research by providing an account of employed Asian immigrants in Canada based on a nationally-distributed survey.

First, the failure to find the relationship between norms of filial responsibility and the provision of assistance to elderly relatives, ironically appears to be contributing to the understanding of filial responsibility in Asian families. When comparison of ethnic groups are made, Asian Canadians hold filial responsibility norms more strongly than other ethnic groups, suggesting a high norm for Asians (Keefe et al., 2000). This study further revealed that the strength of filial responsibility norms is so strong within Asian families that the measure cannot account for variations in providing assistance to the elderly. Second, the findings of the relationship between coresidence with the elder and the provision of assistance indicate that, for Asian immigrants, to share the household with the elder might be inferred as an aspect of fulfilling filial responsibility norms. While norms of filial responsibility are so strongly held to account for the provision of assistance, coresidence may be a cultural tradition as well as a structural factor in Asian families.
Moreover, the current study provides insight with regard to norms of filial responsibility and family support by suggesting that filial norms and family support may be multidimensional. By not finding significant relationships between behaviorally-oriented filial responsibility norms and family support for the elderly, the present study further emphasized Sung’s (1995) suggestion of behaviorally-oriented as well as emotionally-oriented aspects of filial norms and support. Future research should incorporate behavioral aspects of filial responsibility norms and family support with emotional aspects, when studying Asian family caregiving.

The findings of this study have implications for health care professionals, policy makers, and family social workers in developing programs for Asian immigrants in Canada. As Canada becomes more ethnically diverse, health care practitioners must learn about the perspectives and values of a variety of cultural groups. Of interest is how these cultural values interact with the dominant culture, especially in the health care area, as the existing literature lacks the perspective of employed Asian caregivers. By being aware of possible ethnic and cultural variations in the caregiving experience, health care professionals and policy makers could better meet the needs of the diverse groups of caregivers (Janevic & Connell, 2001). This study demonstrated strongly held filial responsibility norms in employed Asian families. As well, the current study found a significant relationship between coresidence, as an alternative indicator of filial responsibility, and the provision of assistance to elderly relatives. Hence, social workers and counsellors may develop and facilitate family caregiving programs that are flexible and adaptable for implementation to assist Asian immigrant families in providing care for their elderly family members.
References


Appendix A

*Measurement of Normative Solidarity (Norms of Filial Responsibility)*

Below are a number of opinions which you have about your older parents. If your parents are no longer alive, please answer how you felt in the past when they were alive. If your parents are not yet old, please answer in terms of how you think you will feel in the future. Please tell us your opinion by checking the answer that is closest to the way you think. [Disagree a lot; Disagree a little; Agree a little; Agree a lot: four-point Likert Scale]

a. It is my obligation as an adult child to take care of my older parents.
b. I should be legally responsible for my older parents if they are not able to take care of themselves.
c. As an adult child, settled and with a job, I should help my parents if they need it.
d. Even though I have a family (or if I had one), I should help my parents if they need it.
e. I should help support my parents as they grow older if they need it.
f. I should not allow better financial opportunities to take me away from my parents.

*Measurement of Functional Solidarity (Level of Assistance and Hours of Assistance)*

Please CHECK how often you have done each of the following for your older relative(s) during the past 6 months, because of their age or health. [Never; Once a month or less; Several times a month; Once a week; Several times a week; Daily]

a. Help with dressing and undressing
b. Help with laundry
c. Help with taking medication
d. Help with bathing, washing, grooming
e. Help in using toilet
f. Help with eating/feeding
g. Help with transportation
h. Help with shopping
i. Help with household chores
j. Help with home maintenance and yard work
k. Help preparing meals
l. Help with getting around inside or outside the home
m. Help with arranging assistance from agencies
n. Help with managing money (but not giving money)
o. Help in completing forms and documents (e.g., taxes, insurance)
p. Help dealing with serious memory problems
q. Help dealing with mood swings or extreme behaviours due to mental changes
r. Help with regular financial assistance
Please provide some additional information about each of the older relative(s), aged 65 or over, to whom you have given any care in the past 6 months. (If any of these older relatives have since died, please answer the question for when he or she was living.) Please indicate the following:

a. the relationship to you of your older relative(s) (e.g., mother or father, mother-in-law, grandmother, aunt or uncle, brother or sister, husband, wife, or partner, etc.)
b. the age(s) of your older relative(s)
c. the number of hours in an average week you provided care to your older relative(s)

**Measurement of Immigrant Status (Age at Immigration and Length of Residence)**

a. In what country were you born?

b. If not born in Canada, in what year did you come to Canada?

[Age at Immigration is calculated from the year came to Canada and the age of the respondent in 1991 when the CARNET survey was conducted, e.g., if a respondent came to Canada in 1971 and his or her age in 1991 was 42, the age at immigration is 22; Length of Residence is calculated from the year of immigration.]

**Measurement of Control Variables (Gender, Age, Number and Gender of Siblings, Household Income, and Coresidence/Residential Proximity)**

1. Are you...
   - Male □
   - Female □

2. What is your age? □ years old

3. How many living brothers do you have?
   How many living sisters do you have?

4. What was your total household income from all sources over the last 12 months?
   Please CHECK the appropriate category.

   (1) Less than $10,000
   (2) $10,000 - $19,999
   (3) $20,000 - $29,999
   (4) $30,000 - $39,999
   (5) $40,000 - $49,999
   (6) $50,000 - $59,999
   (7) $60,000 - $69,999
   (8) $70,000 - $79,999
5. Please CHECK the living arrangements of the older relative(s) to whom you have given care in the past 6 months.

   a. Lives with me
   b. Lives in their own house or apartment (owned or rented)
   c. Lives in a nursing home
   d. Lives in a retirement home (or other type of group accommodation other than nursing home)
   e. Not applicable (Relative has died)
   f. Other (please specify)

6. Please indicate the time it usually takes you to travel from your home ... to your older relative’s residence. If your older relative lives with you, write a “0”. (If any of these older relatives have since died, please answer the question for when he or she was living.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Relative</th>
<th>Time from my home to my older relative’s residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>____ hours ____ minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>____ hours ____ minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>____ hours ____ minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>____ hours ____ minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Appendix B

"The Golden Pot"

Once upon a time, there was a son who had a little child and an ailing mother. He was very poor. Yet, he tried very hard to support his mother who liked meat. So, even though he barely had food for every meal, he managed to get some meat for his mother as often as he could. However, whenever he prepared and cooked meat for his mother, his son who was also very hungry, ate up the meat that he got by selling his 'arm and leg.' Also, his ailing mom, who could not eat meat knowing that her grandson loved to eat it, always gave it to him. So, one day, the father decided to abandon his son in the middle of a mountain. Even though he loved his son dearly, he thought supporting his frail mother with all his heart was more important. He tearfully said to himself, "Once your parents are gone, they are gone. You can never get her back and support her better, no matter how much you regret not having done so. On the other hand, you can always have a child." So, he and his son went to the mountain, and he painfully gazed at his son's cheerful face. Then, when he started to dig up the earth where he could make a room for his son to sit in, he found a big pot full of gold. Suddenly, the bright light blazed through the sky, and God said, "My son, you impressed me with your decision to choose your ailing mother over your son. I reward you for supporting your parent very well. You may go home with your son and have a fruitful life with the full pot of gold."