PERCEPTION OF FILIAL PIETY AMONG
FIRST- AND SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE AMERICANS

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PERCEPTION OF FILIAL PIETY AMONG
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A Project

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Abstract

of

PERCEPTION OF FILIAL PIETY AMONG FIRST- AND SECOND-GENERATION CHINESE AMERICANS

by

Bonnie Chow

The rapid growth of older adults around the world, known as “global aging,” brings to the forefront implications on society. One area of concern is caregiving. The caregiving experience and process is often dictated by cultural values and traditions. The Confucian ideal of filial piety has traditionally dictated who and how the Chinese have cared for their aging parents. This study examines the reinterpretations of filial piety among first- and second-generation Chinese Americans in order to better understand this population’s caregiving experience and elder care practices. It was found that very little generation differences existed between the participants. However, findings on the care behaviors, such as caregiver preferences, provided recommendations to how helping professions, such as the field of social work, can better assist Chinese Americans to care for aging parents.

__________________________________, Committee Chair
Francis Yuen, DSW

______________________________
Date

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Chapter 1

THE ISSUE

Introduction

In the past few decades, the topic of aging has garnered great interest. This is evident in the burgeoning numbers of research centers, university degrees and journals dedicated to this subject matter. In part, this interest has been spurred by the observation that the world’s populations are “graying” or aging. All around the world, nations are witnessing a dramatic increase of the 65 and older. This is true of both developed countries, including the United States, and developing ones. This phenomenon is often referred to as “global aging” and its causes are often credited to the decline in fertility rates and increases in life expectancy (Center for Strategic and International Studies [CSIS], n.d.; United Nations Population Division, 2007; Weeks, 2008). The potential challenges associated with global aging have and are under much investigation by universities and think-tanks. For example, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) is headlining a world-wide initiative to study, track, predict and develop measures to address global aging. Of the many issues associated with this phenomenon, CSIS spotlights governmental fiscal burden, labor shortages, threats to financial systems, political reform and transformation of geopolitics as major areas of concern (CSIS, n.d.).

Moving from the macro-level, or global perspective, to the micro-/meso-levels, some of the more pertinent concerns about aging revolve around caregiving. Studies have emerged from the past decades examining caregiver’s utilization of formal and
informal support systems, caregiver burden/stress, the sandwich generation (adults caring for aging parents and dependent children) and caregiving patterns. In relation to caregiving patterns, there is a multitude of elder care practices for adult children and aging parents to choose. Some families may choose to open their home and make modifications to their lives to care for an elder. Others may decide on nursing facilities to relieve some of the physical and emotional aspects of elder care. Some individuals wanting to preserve some level of independence may opt for senior housing options. Others, caregivers and/or care-receivers, may prefer to have aged loved ones stay in their own homes and utilize in-home aides to help with daily living tasks. Other options can range from providing financial support in lieu of emotional or physical caring to a rotational schedule of caring among siblings to share and disperse the responsibility of looking after aging parents. In summary, there are a myriad of ways in which elder care can be dispensed.

To an extent, elder caregiving practice is dictated by traditions and culture. Among the diverse ethnic and racial groups in the United States, Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in particular have gained a reputation as “caring for their own” (Braun & Browne, 1998). For Chinese Americans, a sub-set of this larger category, many have attributed the influence of the Confucian ethic of filial piety as a motivating factor for “caring for their own” (Braun & Browne, 1998; Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). For example, there exists a notion that adult Chinese-American children are more likely to bring parents into their homes to care for them rather than to utilize formal services (Braun & Browne, 1998). Compounded by the factors of acculturation (specifically the
length of time in the United States) and changes in social conditions, such as growing availability of elder care services, it is uncertain to how and what extent do cultural traditions play in the influence of today’s elder care practices.

Background of the Problem

By beginning on a global scale, it becomes possible to understand the extent and importance of current aging trends. For most of history, human populations were young and could be characterized as being pyramidal in shape. To clarify, there were a large proportion of young people with a moderate group in their middle-adult years and a very small percentage of older individuals (Weeks, 2008). It is important to recognize that the percentage of older individuals did not amount to more than three percent until a century ago (CSIS, n.d.). Today, the percentage of older adults (60 and up) is estimated to be around 10 percent (United Nations Population Division, 2007). To speak in more absolute terms, the number of 60 and older in the world is approximately 673 million – “if they lived together under one flag, they would represent the third largest nation in the world” (United Nations Population Division, 2007; Weeks, 2008, p. 334). It is expected that number of aging individuals will continue grow – current projections anticipate a tripling in the number (from 673 million to two billion) of the world’s older adults by 2050.

In taking on a global standpoint, it is clear that there is much that remains unknown in the aging field. Never was there a time in past where any nation witnessed such unprecedented growth in a population segment that historically has been very small. Nor has there been time in which any nation was, or is, prepared to take on the
task of caring for a large number of elderly. In a sense, the world stands at a branching point – there are many possibilities and avenues being discovered or re-examined in order to address and serve the needs of today’s longer living elders. While viewing the issue on a world-wide level is helpful in discerning the extent and importance of the issue, it is not so in the understanding the specific factors that play prominently in a specific locale.

The American populace mirrors the major aging patterns – the rapid growth rate of the elderly and their increasing proportion relative to the total population. The 65 and older age group currently represents 12.6 percent of the total population in the United States and is expected to triple within the next two decades (Administration on Aging, 2009; Gist & Hetzel, 2004). Between 2000 and 2005, the 65 and older age group grew by 13 percent, making it one of the fastest growing populations in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). What accounts for the rapid growth in the coming years in American society can be attributed to the influx of baby-boomers (people born between 1945 and 1965) entering retirement age.

The United States is a special case not because of its similarities to the global aging patterns, but rather because of its diverse population. As a whole, the 65 and older age group will triple but closer examination shows that the growth is not evenly distributed across racial and ethnic groups. Within this age bracket, it is expected that minorities (as a whole) will outstrip the growth of their white counterparts. Between 2007 and 2030, the older white population is expected to increase by 68 percent while older racial/ethnic minorities will increase by 184 percent (Administration on Aging,
Closer examination reveals Asian and Pacific Islander Americans as having one of the highest growth rates – 213 percent by 2030 – among the racial/ethnic groups in the United States (Administration on Aging, 2009; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2005). Factors, such as being part of the baby-boomer generation and immigration patterns may explain why Asian and Pacific Islander Americans have such a high rate of growth. Since the 1960s, a large portion of immigrants coming to the United States are from Asian countries. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of Asian Americans went up by 108 percent (Mui & Domanski, 1999). Together these trends translate to a large portion of foreign-born first-generation Asian Americans among the 65 and older age group.

Turning to California, it is possible to see that this particular state is situated in a unique place. It is here that two major aging patterns are intersecting – a general rapid growth of elderly couple with an upsurge of minority seniors, especially that of Chinese Americans. Regarding the growth of California’s aging populace, it is expected that this population segment will grow two times faster than the state’s total population; an increase of 112 percent between 1990 and 2020 (California Department of Aging, n.d.). One of the most startlingly statistic about California’s elderly is that the cohort age 60 and older will total 12.8 million, or increase by 172 percent, between 2000 and 2050 (California Department of Aging, 2009).

In addition, older adults in California will continue to grow in racial and ethnic diversity. Of special note is the size of Chinese Americans in this state. This group makes up the largest sub-set of Asian Americans – they total a little bit over one-fourth (26.5 percent) of all Asian Americans in California (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).
Drawing on the presented data that older Asian Americans are expected to be one of the fastest growing racial/ethnic groups in the United States, it may be infer that Chinese-American elderly Californians will experience a rapid increase in the next few decades. This leads to questions about the adequacy of services to this population in meeting their aging needs that is culturally-sensitive and competent.

Studies have demonstrated that Chinese Americans often underutilize formal systems of support in their elder care practices (Braun & Browne, 1998; Scharlach, Kellam, Ong, Baskin, Goldstein, & Fox, 2006). One study pointed out that Asian Americans are the least likely of any minority groups in the United States to use formal systems of support (Scharlach et al., 2006). Low utilization of services is particularly concerning. There may be unmet needs for assistance and support that can be physically and emotionally draining on both the caregiver and care-receiver. The stress involved can decrease health outcomes, create problems in interpersonal relationships, and lead to potential loss of financial stability among caregivers who must take time away from work. All in all, underutilization of services may lead to decreases in well-being.

Scharlach et al. (2006) pointed out that for Chinese Americans, it is not the lack of awareness that such support systems exist; rather they choose not to tap into them. Reasons center on the lack services that are culturally relevant to both caregivers and care-receivers – this ranges from language barriers to mismatches in cultural values (Scharlach et al., 2006). A potential cultural mismatch that is pertinent to the experiences of Chinese Americans may be that of filial piety. Cheung, Kwan and Ng (2006) conducted a study on the impact of filial piety on public care and found that filial
piety is correlated with lesser reliance on government support and more on kinship in
erlier care practices. It becomes important to re-examine cultural traditions to see if and
how they shape caregiving responsibilities. This knowledge will allow for better
understanding of the needs and identification of additional or alternative methods to help
caregivers shoulder the responsibility of caring for aging parents and ultimately preserve
the well-being of all individuals involved in the caring process.

In summary, in beginning with a global perspective, it is possible to see the
impact the aging process is having on today’s society – how large and extensive as well
as an understanding of its beginning. By narrowing the focus to the United States and in
particular to California, cultural issues come to the forefront. The influx of minorities,
such as Chinese Americans, in the aging population raise questions about what
accommodations are needed to ensure that culturally-sensitive services can be developed
so helping professions can ensure their well-being in the coming years.

Statement of the Research Problem

A challenge in today’s society is the rapid aging of the world’s populations. The
rate in which populations are maturing leaves little time for in-depth exploration and
identification of the factors that influence the needs of those involved in caring for the
elderly. Culture plays a role in shaping caregiving patterns – for Chinese Americans it
has shown to influence their usage of formal systems of support and contribute to the
overall notion that “they care for their own.” Yet it has been some time since cultural
traditions have been re-examined to see how it has shifted in modern society and how it
currently shapes elder care practices. By not considering the role of culture, it is very
likely that Chinese-American caregivers and care-receivers may experience decreases in their well-being as their needs are left unmet. There is a need to study cultural traditions relevant to elder care practice so that appropriate and adequate services can be developed in this momentous period of change.

Purpose of the Study

This study will re-examine the cultural value of filial piety. Filial piety is commonly believed to have a strong contribution to how Chinese Americans care for their elders. The aim of this study is to identify how perception of this value has shifted in modern society between first- and second-generation Chinese Americans and to discover what may be future implications on elder care practices based on these changes. Information from this study will add to the knowledge-base and provide better understanding of the issues around elder care in order to develop more culturally-sensitive and appropriate services to assist caregivers, care-receivers and the helping professions to meet the demands of an aging world.

Theoretical Framework

The three guiding theoretical frameworks in which this study utilizes are the constructivist perspective, ecological perspective and acculturation theory. Taken together, these theoretical frameworks provide a more in-depth understanding of the research problem. For instance, the constructivist perspective which examines how meaning is created can shed light to understanding what filial piety means to today’s Chinese Americans. Both the ecological and acculturation frameworks provide a guideline to examine how factors in the environment – particularly, the interaction
between the individual and his/her environment – influences the perception of this cultural value. The following discussion outlines the pertinent principles of each of theoretical framework as related to the present study.

The constructivist perspective is a conceptual framework that seeks to understand and explain rather than provide practical application or interventions. One of its premises is that meanings, both on the individual and societal level, are produced through an individual’s participation in society and interactions with others. Through interactions, meanings are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed. It also asserts that there is no single reality or universal truth. The subjective interpretations that arise from each individual’s experiences create multiple realities that co-exist in society.

Acculturation theory asserts that when people from different cultural backgrounds come into contact, they will try to accommodate in order to minimize conflict (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Often it is the case in which accommodations are made to the more dominant, or host, culture. The theory also recognizes that the individual plays an active role – he/she chooses to what extent modifications will be accepted and made in the process of acculturating (Padilla & Perez, 2003). With regards to immigration generations, research in this area indicate there is a steep decline in cultural knowledge between first and second-generation – meaning the latter acculturates more with the host culture (Keefe & Padilla, 1987; Padilla, 1980, 1987 as cited in Padilla & Perez, 2003).

The ecological perspective places emphasis on the transactions between the individual and his/her environment. Environment is inclusive of both the physical and
social. It recognizes that the environment affects the individual. Yet at the same time this theoretical framework, like the constructivist perspective and acculturation theory, views humans “as active, goal-seeking, purposive beings who make decisions and choices and take actions” (Germain, 1979, p. 10). This leads to the premise of reciprocal determinism. In other words, it is true that the environment affects and the individual affects the environment. The relationship is bi-directional.

To reiterate, these three theoretical frameworks each lend a hand in understanding how and why perception of filial piety may have shifted between first- and second-generation Chinese Americans and the implication of those changes on future elder care practices. With a focus on the reciprocal relationship between environment and the individual, ecological perspective may help to identify the demographic or social factors that may be creating the changes in filial piety as well as recognizing that those changes in filial piety can have an effect on elder care policy and practices. Acculturation theory can further add to the explanation to why there is a difference between first- and second-generation Chinese Americans in their perception of filial piety because it recognizes exposure to a different cultural background can lead to accommodation of one’s cultural values. Constructivist perspective brings to light the potential for different meanings of filial piety to occur simultaneously which can account for the variation in perceptions as well as what is deemed to be appropriate elder care base on one cultural value within one locale or society.

Definition of Terms

Chinese American refers to people of Chinese descent living in the United States.
Elder care refers to social and medical policies, services and care-taking duties for aged individuals.

Filial piety refers to the Confucian idea of loving, respecting and honoring one’s parents. It is often manifested in caring for one’s parent in their older years.

First-generation are people who grew up in a different country and immigrated to the United States. Second-generation are people whose parents immigrated to the United States and were born in the United States.

Assumptions

Embedded in this study is the assumption that Chinese-American adult children are responsible for the care of aging parents. The responsibility of caring for aging parents is influenced strongly by filial piety among Chinese Americans. There is also the presumption that filial piety has shifted between generations of Chinese Americans and current notions of what it means to be filial will dictate the kind of services that will be needed in elder care. In addition, the study assumes that the instrument used to collect data is valid and measures what it is intended to.

Justification

As outlined in its Code of Ethics, the social work profession is dedicated to enhancing the well-being of individuals and society (National Association of Social Workers, 2008). An understanding of aging trends, particularly of what influences caregiving behaviors, is important for social workers to preserve or enhance the well-beings of both caregivers and care-receivers. Greater understanding allows for the
profession to better anticipate needs and to develop appropriate supportive services. Researchers may also benefit in that findings from the study may pinpoint further areas to be explore – such as an examination of the adequacy of current elder care services as it applies to Chinese Americans or alternative factors that influence the provision of care within this population.

In addition, the information collected in this study will have a cultural perspective. This is in line with another principle upheld by the social work profession. It is also stated in the Code of Ethics that social workers should be sensitive to cultural diversity issues (National Association of Social Workers, 2008). The consideration that the present study gives to cultural values may inform future supportive services in a way that speaks strongly to the cultural reality of Chinese Americans. In addition, the research may be generalized to, or the very least give some direction to understanding, other populations that have a similar value of adult children caring for their elderly parents – such as Hispanics/Latinos, African Americans and/or other Asian-American populations. Lastly, the knowledge drawn from the research will benefit service providers in that a larger number of people can be served in a potentially more effective manner.

**Limitations**

There are several limitations that need to be acknowledged. The first limitation is the generalizability of the results. The ability to generalize the findings is limited by the use of non-random sampling methods (specifically convenience, snowballing and purposive); small sample size ($N = 73$); and that the majority of respondents are
California residents. These factors can act as obstacles in creating a representative of the general Chinese-American population in the United States. The second limitation revolves the validity of the instrument. With the lack of established instruments to examine filial attitude, an instrument was develop for the purpose of this research project and was not tested for reliability or validity issues.
Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Value is defined as “the ideals, customs, institutions, etc., of a society toward which the people of the group have an affective regard” (Random House Dictionary, n.d.). Actions at any level – individual or societal – are influenced by a set of values. Using policy analysis as a tool, Quinn (1996) shed light on how social policies carry dominant notions of gender; how those gender values can affect implementation; and in turn how it affect the well-being of women. With regards to aging, Chow (2004) makes a similar argument about how caregiving issues are not value free. Demographic changes are not enough to explain patterns and trends in elder care – “any new policies or programs will be guided not only by perceived needs of the elderly but by the degree of economic and political influence they possess” (Hermalin, 2001 as cited in Chow, 2004). The author further argues that cultural values, such as filial piety, have a role in the caregiving behaviors of individuals and in polices around aged care for many Asian ethnic groups. As populations are rapidly “graying,” it is important to take on a cultural lens to understanding elder care attitudes and practices.

The current study poses the questions of what are perceptions of filial piety among first- and second-generation Chinese Americans and how those perceptions influence elder care practices. It essentially examines the influence of a particular cultural value on caregiving behaviors. Grounded by a review of the literature, a brief discussion will be presented on the role of filial piety in Chinese society; Confucius’ classical conception of the cultural value; indicators of decline in filial piety in today’s
society; and a summary of the current perceptions in East Asia. Next, the discussion will turn in greater detail to Chinese immigrants residing in western countries, especially that of the United States, to examine the perceived factors influencing conceptualization of the cultural value and their interpretations of what it means to be filial.

*Filial Piety in Chinese Societies*

For thousands of years the social organization of Chinese societies has rested on the family (Cheng & Chan, 2006). It acted as a social unit in which members drew on as a resource to meet their needs on multiple levels - including psychological, physical, and social (Cheng & Chan, 2006). A guiding force behind the importance of the family is filial piety. Filial piety may be loosely defined as dictating the relationship between parents and children – one that encompasses notions that children should respect, be loyal, be obedient, provide for and care for their parents in their old age (Cheng & Chan, 2006; Zhan, 2004; Zhan, Feng, & Luo, 2008). It guided and to varying degree continues to shape: behavior patterns, family structure, family communication patterns, the care system between parents and children and intergenerational relationships (Chen, Bond, & Tang, 2007; Park & Chelsa, 2007; Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008).

Holzman (1998) makes the assertion that filial piety has been given an exalted position throughout Chinese history. The lack of secondary material conveys the cultural value as being widely accepted and self-evident – there was little to no need to question filial piety (Holzman, 1998). Prehistoric records show that filial piety was integrated into ancient religion and life in the form of ancestral worship (Holzman, 1998). In addition, Holzman reports that the first appearance of filial piety as a word
occurred around 1000 B.C. during the end of the Shang Dynasty or beginning of Zhou Dynasty. During the Han Dynasty, it was required that the Chinese people memorize the teachings in *Xiaojing*, or *The Classic of Filial Piety* (Holzman, 1998).

Filial piety was held in such high regard that it was considered a crime to be unfilial in early Chinese history (Holzman, 1998). This attitude is carried over into today’s ethnic-Chinese societies. There are laws requiring adult children to care for their aging parents in China and Taiwan (Cheung, Kwan, & Ng, 2006; Lan, 2002; Zhan, Feng, & Luo, 2008). While not necessary a legal obligation in Hong Kong, eligibility for services is contingent on an elderly person bringing in his/her family to the Social Welfare Department and having each adult child declare their unwillingness or inability to care for their parent (Cheng & Chan, 2006). Similarly, in Taiwan there is a requirement for children to take courses on filial piety (Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008). All in all, filial piety plays an important role in Chinese culture – both in the past and in the present.

*Confucius and Filial Piety*

There are many definitions to what is filial piety in the literature. The difficulty in pinpointing an exact definition has been attributed to adaptation over the course of thousands of years of history (Chow, 2004). Some focus on a specific aspect of the cultural value; while others try to encompass a range of elements. Key components of current definitions include: respect for one’s parents; honoring deceased parents; obedience; caring for one’s parents in old age; showing regard; bringing honor to parents through one’s behavior; loyalty; devotion; and maintaining contact with parents (Chen,
Bond, & Tang, 2007; Cheng & Chan, 2006; Cheung, Kwan, & Ng, 2006; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004; Mehta & Ko, 2004; Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Zhan, 2004; Zhan, Feng, & Luo, 2008). There is also a connotation that it is a moral duty in order to repay parents’ for giving birth and raising the child (Lan, 2002; Neufeld, Harrison, Stewart, Hughes, & Spitzer, 2002; Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Sung, 2000). It is not just a simple guideline or prescription of behaviors, filial piety implies an attitude – one that is based on sincerity or a willingness to care for parents (Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004; Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000).

The above definitions and connotations draw mainly on Confucius’ interpretations of what it means to be filial. Holzman (1998) recognizes that the Confucian perspective on filial piety is central to understanding the cultural value for the last thousands of years. More detailed descriptions of filial duties as conceived by Confucian thought may be found in \textit{The Book of Rites}, \textit{Analects of Confucius}, \textit{Works of Mencius}, and \textit{The Classic of Filial Piety} (\textit{Xiaojing}). Despite the range of behaviors mentioned in these texts – such as staying close to one’s parents, not acting against their will, allowing parents to see and hear pleasurable things, proper body language, using honorifics, being at parents’ deathbed, ancestral worship, and continuing family lines – there is underlying emphasis on respect.

Filial piety today is taken to mean providing nourishment for parents, but dogs and horses are provided with nourishment. If it is not done with reverence for parents, what is the different between men and animal. (\textit{Analects}, bk 2., ch. 7 as cited in Sung, 2000)
In addition, Confucian filial piety carries an element of patriarchy in terms of the care provider. There is a greater expectation for the eldest son (and by extension, his wife) to assume the primary caregiver role (Chappell & Kusch, 2007). Specifically, the eldest son is obligated to reside with aging parents but the actual caregiving duty is performed by the daughter-in-law, or the wife of the eldest son (Lan, 2002).

As a whole, the Confucian notion of filial piety is inclusive of material support to address physical needs and displays of respectful behaviors to please one’s parents. It is Confucian’s definition that forms the basis of comparison for current studies examining the cultural value. This particular interpretation of the cultural value is often referred to as traditional or classical filial piety.

Decline in Filial Piety

There are claims that filial piety is declining in today’s society. These assertions are based on the following trends: decreasing numbers of multigenerational families; decline in frequency of adult children assisting in daily living tasks; increasing number of adult children residing away from parents; and the trend of more and more elders being placed in care institutions (Chen, Bond, & Tang, 2007; Pang, Jordan-Marsh, Silverstein, & Cody, 2003; Sung, 2000; Zhan, Feng, & Luo, 2008). Observations, such as a greater reliance on sources outside the family to meet elder care needs, contribute to the impression of a lessening in the cultural value (Cheng & Chan, 2006). Although, there are some who argue these trends, particularly that of co-residence rate, should not be automatically taken as erosion in filial piety (Mehta & Ko, 2004).
Filial Piety in East Asia

The social and structural conditions that came in the wake of globalization, modernization, urbanization, and industrialization in the last few decades have often been cited for the changes in filial piety (Chen, Bond, & Tang, 2007; Cheng & Chan, 2006; Chow, 2004; Hui & Yu, 2009; Lam, 2006; Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Sung, 2000; Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008; Yue & Ng, 1999; Zhan, 2004). Power dynamics between parents and children may have made the most drastic change in the past decades. The shift from agrarian society to an industrial one is leading to children to become less reliant on parents and the family for economic resources (Lan, 2002).

Despite the “decline” in classical filial behaviors, attitudes and expectations remain quite strong. Both the older and younger generations agree that children have a duty to care for their parents and that the willingness to care should come from the heart (Chen, Bond, & Tang, 2007; Lam, 2006; Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008). There is also evidence showing that dimensions of traditional filial piety is still in practiced – such as provision of care, respectful behaviors (example: greeting, bowing, using honorifics) and giving elders preferential treatment (Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Sung, 2000). The ways in which provision of care – what is believed and in practiced – has shifted in some major ways. No longer is there an emphasis on direct caring by the family; caring is given on an as-needed basis; there is a focus on open, reciprocal intergenerational relationships; and less reliance on patriarchal caregivers.

Increased mobility of the population, higher education attainment, financial independence, job security, and availability of long-term care institutions are some of the
particular social and structural conditions that have been linked to changes in filial attitudes and behavior (Chen, Bond, & Tang, 2007; Cheng & Chan, 2006; Chow, 2004; Hui & Yu, 2009; Lam, 2006; Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Sung, 2000; Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008; Yue & Ng, 1999; Zhan, 2004). Researchers have linked the growing availability and acceptance of long-term care institutions to decline in co-residence, the de-emphasis on physical caring and a broadening of who is expected to be the care provider (Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Zhan, Feng, & Luo, 2008). With a portion of the physical care provided by outside sources, it seems that Chinese families are reinterpreting filial piety on indirect levels – emotional and financial. In one study, participants highlighted their desire to be more affectionate in caring for their parents (Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008). Specifically, the participants stated that they tried to make their parents happy by calling, visiting, purchasing favorite foods, and paying for higher quality of care (Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008; Zhan, Feng, & Luo, 2008). Additionally, concern about job conflict due to caring has been associated with children providing care when parents need it. Ng, Phillips and Lee (2002) found that an adult child has a greater propensity to care for his/her parents if s/he perceived parents to be in bad health or not having enough resources. The expectation that the eldest son and his wife as the main care provider is no longer holding strong sway in today’s East Asian societies. The expectation seems to fall on the child perceived to be the closest to aging parents, which one study found typically to be a daughter (Zhan & Montgomery, 2003). This shift may be attributed to the growing financial independence adult children have – daughters have more personal financial resources to contribute to both family of origin and her in-laws.
While Confucius seems to give equal credence to physical and emotional caring by children, it appears that modern Chinese have outsourced the direct aspects of care and are focusing on the indirect elements of emotional and financial support. At the same time, the patriarchal division of labor is blurring, with daughters playing a more active role. In other words, filial piety in East Asian countries has evolved, adapting to changing social and structural constraints of the past few decades.

*Filial Piety and Diasporic Chinese*

Despite the existence of large numbers of diasporic Chinese, research on filial piety itself has received little attention abroad. A search of academic databases, like California State University: Sacramento library’s Academic Search Premier will produce a result of studies that tend to posit the value as a lens to understand the cultural realities of Chinese immigrants in order to provide better services. For example, how the cultural value influences health-seeking behavior (see Pang, Jordan-Marsh, Silverstein, & Cody, 2003) or isolation among elderly (see Ip, Lui & Chui, 2007). Yet these studies conceive filial piety along Confucian lines – there is an underlying assumption that the value has not evolved or adapted. In other words, such studies do not readily acknowledge that conceptualization of filial piety in Western countries may be different from the classical notion of the cultural value, or even from the perception of their East Asian Chinese counterparts.

Studies that have given consideration to what are the notions of filial piety have been mainly conducted in three Western countries along the Pacific Rim – New Zealand, Canada and the United States. However, a majority of the studies are in the United
States. It may be due to the fact that each of these three countries has sizable Chinese populations. In both the United States and in Canada, Chinese is the third most spoken language – in the United States, it falls behind English and Spanish while in Canada, English and French precedes Chinese (Chui, Tran, & Maheux, 2007; Shin & Bruno, 2003). The commonality of the Chinese language is suggestive of relatively large numbers of Chinese individuals in these two countries. Based on the most recent census data, ethnic-Chinese comprises approximately 41.6 percent of the Asian population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). It is the largest sub-set of Asians and makes up the third largest ethnic group in the country.

In order to gain an understanding of what is happening in the West, an integration of all available studies is needed to generate a perception of the cultural value. Next, the discussion will turn to the trends occurring in Canada and New Zealand. Reflective of the knowledge base in the United States, the discussion will lastly turn in detail to the United States to examine the patterns and factors pertinent the Chinese Americans’ perception of filial piety.

Perception of Filial Piety in the West

Very similar to East Asia, there is a belief that filial piety is weakening (Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004; Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000; Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002; Tsai & Lopez, 1998; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). Liu, Ng, Weatherall and Loong (2000) found that elderly New Zealand Chinese parents who immigrated after their adult children have lowered their expectations and did not expect their grandchildren to practice filial piety. This sentiment is echoed in the United States.
First-generation parents stated their uncertainty about their second-generation children possessing the same sense of responsibility to care for them when they get older (Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004; Tsai & Lopez, 1998; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). Furthermore, some Chinese-American participants in Lieber, Nihira and Mink (2004) had a concern that their children will continue to expect support from the family, even as parents grow older, without the intention of taking up the responsibility to care for them in return.

Filial Piety Among Ethnic Chinese in Canada and New Zealand

With few studies actually examining attitudes towards filial piety, conjectures about how behaviors reflect attitudes, value, and beliefs are being made in order to gain some sense of what are the interpretations of filial piety among Chinese individuals living abroad. For the most part, the research in Canada has tended to focus on co-residence rates, the role of the care provider and the kind of support given (Chappell, 2003; Chappell & Kusch, 2007). In contrast, New Zealand studies focused on generational differences in expectations and obligations (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000; Ng, Loong, & Liu, 2000).

The care experience – the provision and kind of care – dominates the Canadian literature on filial piety. There is a pattern of dispersing provision of support among family members. As a whole, children provide the bulk of financial assistance to their Chinese parents (Chappell, 2003). Yet in another study, there is a clear division of support with sons engaging in more of the daily living tasks, spouses of Chinese seniors providing most of the emotional care and daughters in meeting the remaining needs of Chinese-Canadian elders (Chappell & Kusch, 2007). In addition, reliance on children
seems to be on as-needed basis. For example, sons were the preferred source for emergency needs (Chappell & Kusch, 2007). Lastly a trend observed is the increase involvement of daughters and decrease of sons and daughter-in-laws in providing elder care (Chappell & Kusch, 2007).

With regards to co-residence rates, Canadian data is mixed. Chappell (2003) reports that previous studies found geographic discrepancies. British Columbia has higher rates of elderly parents living with their children while Calgary had relatives living in close proximity but not with older Chinese individuals. Meanwhile, the mid-western provinces reported less desire to live with parents (Yu & Wu, 1985 as cited in Chappell, 2003). In a more recent study, over a majority, 73.8 percent, of Chinese immigrant elderly reside with their children (Chappell & Kusch, 2007). Mehta and Ko (2004) notes that researchers have drawn conclusions about filial beliefs and the extent it is being embraced in contemporary life based on co-residence rates. This mixed data implicates that traditional filial piety is not uniformly embraced by Chinese Canadians. Thus, it remains unclear to what are the attitudes Chinese Canadians have for the cultural value.

Overall, attitudes towards filial piety in Canada are unclear. The caregiving practices seem to have shifted away from some core Confucian filial norms. The role of primary caregiver has moved from the eldest son and by extension under the patriarchal framework, the daughter-in-law to daughters and spouses. Unlike the Confucian emphasis that support – in all of its forms, such as physical, financial, spiritual and emotional – is provided by the main care provider, support in today’s Canadian society
has been disperse among different family members. Yet some adherence to classical filial piety is observed, particularly that of children providing financial assistance and for care to remain within the family.

Less is known about the actual care practices in New Zealand. The research has looked more closely at attitudes and perception of filial piety as related to intergenerational relationships. It is found that attitude about the cultural value varies across generations. The elderly parents tended to lower their expectations that adult children will care for them while adult children felt a stronger obligation to care for aging parents (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000). Interestingly, elderly parents had lower expectations that their grandchildren would look after them (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000). This seems to indicate that filial piety may be more strongly upheld for the parent-child relationship and not for the grandparent-grandchild relationship. To some degree this is a development that moves away from the core Confucian, or traditional, notion of filial piety where all elders are held in high regard and should be provided, respected and listened to by the family.

Drawing on a prior study by Gallois, Giles, Ota, Pierson, Ng, Lim, Maher, Somera, Ryan and Harwood (1999), the New Zealand studies focus primarily on six aspects of filial piety. They are obedience, financial support, caring, pleasing, respect and maintaining contact (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000; Ng, Loong, & Liu, 2000). Of these six elements, adult children tended to emphasize highly on respect and maintaining contact and the less with obedience (Ng, Loong, & Liu, 2000). When culture was controlled for, New Zealand Chinese who identified more strongly with the
Chinese identity associated more with financial assistance while those who identified with western, or a New Zealand, identity tended to focus on respecting and maintaining contact (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000).

New Zealand Chinese adult children seem to have positive attitudes about filial piety. However, the elderly parents seem to have a more negative viewpoint. It may be the case that the older generation views filial piety as having shifted towards the immediate relationships within the family. To clarify, filial piety may apply to just parents and children and not extend to include grandchildren caring for grandparents. Filial norms – specifically, respect, maintaining contact and financial support – may be contingent on cultural identity. Overall, generational attitudes about filial piety are much more flushed out in New Zealand, yet there is little behavioral evidence of how it plays out.

All in all, there is evidence that filial piety – both in perception and in practice – in Canada and New Zealand have changed. Despite claims about its decline, filial piety is still embraced by diasporic Chinese in Canada and New Zealand. There are similar shifts to classical filial norms in both East Asia and abroad. There is a decrease in viewing obedience as an ideal to filial piety and in its place is an emphasis on respect, a focus on maintaining contact and changes to who provides care to the elderly.

Filial Piety in the United States

How filial piety has shifted in the United States is similar to what has been documented in other Western countries and in East Asia. Trends include growing importance of the nuclear family; dispersing of the role of the care provider; emphasis
on indirect care; decline in the importance of obedience and emphasis on equilateral relationship between generations.

While there is a general belief in the decline in filial piety, some studies assert that there is an acceptance of the cultural belief among Chinese Americans. Co-residence rates, as mentioned by Mehto and Ko (2004), has been used as the main indicator of acceptance of filial piety. Studies in the United States, specifically in the San Francisco Bay Area, show that separate residences to be the norm (Lan, 2002; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2005; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). While it is commonly assumed that filial piety is weak among Chinese Americans based co-residence rates, others argue and point to a particular pattern of immigration as indication an embracement of the cultural norm.

The pattern of immigration for many aging parents is one where adult children first immigrate to the United States and then sponsor their parents to make the journey overseas. This is typical for many Chinese immigrant families (Jones, Zhang, Jaceldo-Siegl, & Meleis, 2002; Lan, 2002). Such actions may be interpreted as a willingness to remain close to one’s parents, an expression of gratitude and to “repay” the love and care adult children received from parents (Jones, Zhang, Jaceldo-Siegl, & Meleis, 2002; Lan, 2002; Tsai & Lopez, 1998). The act of sponsoring one’s parents to the United States is seen as upholding classical filial norms.

Despite the acceptance of filial piety, many first-generation elderly express an opinion about a shift in the family system (Lan, 2002; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). Instead of the multi-generation household as espoused by Confucius, there is a greater
emphasis on the nuclear family. Elderly parents felt like they have been regulated to a peripheral position in the family – citing a stronger focus on grandchildren and not on the older members of the family (Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). This is not completely in line with classical notions of filial piety in which the elders in the family are the central part of the family. Another indication is the decrease in co-residence. Under Confucian’s interpretation of filial piety, the emphasis is on multigenerational households where grandparents, parents and grandchildren reside together. Various studies have shown that the most common pattern of living arrangement is one where aging parents reside in a separate residence from their children (Lan, 2002; Tsai & Lopez, 1998) although there have been some cases where researchers found the opposite to be true (Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006).

The shift from being the center to being on the edge of the family seems to be also linked with the dispersion of who is considered to be the care provider. For some aging parents, their reliance on adult children for assistance feels like a burden. In accordance to these feelings, it appears that older parents are responding by dispersing their needs among various sources of support. Aging Chinese-American parents divided their care among the government, private sources, and other family members. The physical care needs have in part been taken over by the government through programs like Medicare, Medi-Cal/Medicaid, In-Home Supportive Services, rental assistance, and supplemental cash grants from Supplemental Security Income; while adult children provide most of the financial, emotional and daily living support; companionship and informational advice (such as how to apply for citizenship) typically comes from friends;
and hired care workers have provided most of the daily emotional care (Lan, 2002; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2005). There is some overlap in who provides what kind of care. This is due to the fact that not all support systems are available to everyone—particularly the mean-tested government programs like Medicaid/Medical or rental assistance.

Seemingly linked with the move away from the family as the sole provider for elders is a change in the kind of support given by the family. While there is a range—financial, emotional and direct—in what the family provides, there is a pattern emerging in which families tend to focus on the indirect forms of care, specifically that of financial and emotional care. Due to involvement in full-time jobs, adult children are opting to pay for care workers in order to maintain a semblance of filial piety towards their parents. Lan (2002) demonstrates that paying for care workers is the dominant form in which Chinese-American adult children in the San Francisco Bay Area are providing care to their elderly parents. Adult children are removed from the direct caring aspect that is stressed by Confucius.

Confucian filial norms put the expectation on the eldest son to assume the primary caregiver role. However, this is no longer the case in the United States. In the United States, there is growing preference for daughters as the main caregiver. For Chinese Americans, when given a choice to live with a daughter or son, most aging parents stated that they would choose to live a daughter (Lan, 2002). It may be seen as less of an imposition to live with a daughter because there is an implicit understanding that parents are able to come and go whenever they like and to seek their assistance
compare to living with a son, where aging parents felt like they needed to go through the daughter-in-law first (Lan, 2002).

One last way in which filial piety has been transformed in the United States is the greater regards by adult children and subsequent generations towards equilateral relationship between the generations (Lan, 2002; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004). Obedience, which was seen by Confucius as an element of filial piety is no longer relevant in modernity. Studies point to the lack of importance obedience holds for both the older and younger generation (Jones, Zhang, Jaceldo-Siegl, & Meleis, 2002; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004). First-generation Chinese-American parents make note that their second-generation children do not simply comply with parents’ wishes but needed explanations as to why they should follow their parents’ orders (Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004). They also make note that respectful behaviors towards grandparents and other elders in the community is contingent on second-generation children feeling like they are respected (Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004). This brings to light a desire for reciprocal lines of communication and relationships. The same is imply in Lan (2002) where negotiations between adult children and aging parents occur to coordinate care services, living arrangements, transfer of resources and the issue about saving face. One poignant example is the case of Mr. Lin and his daughter Julia:

We decided that we better move out. Otherwise, our in-laws may think we are taking over their space. Because we are the daughter’s family – they are the Changs and we are the Lins – it’s different. And we pay rent, so nobody can say bad things about us. To others, we still say our daughter offers us the house to
live, so we can save faces for both sides. But my daughter can justify this to her parents-in-law, since we actually pay them rent – although I don’t know if they’re really going to move here or not. (Lan, 2002, p. 829)

All in all, the filial norm of obedience has dropped in importance and in its place is open, reciprocal and equilateral relationship between generations.

In summary, filial piety has and probably will continue to transform in the United States. It has evolved from Confucius’ interpretation in some key ways. The first major difference is the movement of elders away from the center of the family towards the peripheral edges. With this change, there are some connected changes to other traditional filial norms. This include the diminished importance of co-residence; family as the primary source of support to elder; shift away from direct caring to more indirect forms of caring; less reliance on patriarchal determination of care provider and emphasis on reciprocal patterns of communication between generations. It is important to note that some of these trends are being replicated in other Western countries, such as Canada and New Zealand, and in East Asia. Commonalities between the United States, other Western nations and East Asia are: a shift in who is the preferred care and emphasis towards reciprocal relationship between the generations.

Factors Influencing Re-interpretation of Filial Piety in the United States

A few factors believed to be responsible for the transformation of filial piety in the United States include: immigration, acculturation to the dominant host culture and the availability of elder care resources, trend of dual-income households and nuclear family structure.
Immigration has an effect on how diasporic Chinese view and practice filial piety. The literature speaks of the various effects of how immigration can alter Chinese immigrants’ cultural values. Immigration can modify the care systems. It can change who is consider to be the primary caregiver (Lan, 2002; Neufeld et al., 2002; Wong, Yoo & Stewart, 2006). For instance, if a family member does not reside in the same country or in close proximity, the responsibility of caring for aging parents may be placed on another’s shoulder. That individual, depending on the resources of the family, may be another family member, the government or hired help. As such, immigration may be linked to changes from sons to daughters as the preferred caregiver; to a greater reliance on public care sources (such as the government or community centers); or to the growing trend on utilizing hired cared workers.

A second way in which immigration affects filial piety is the authority elders hold within the family system. There is a decline in the status for Chinese elders who immigrate to the United States late in life. As Lan (2002) highlights these elders come at post-employable ages and often have very few personal income or social sources in the United States. Additionally, older parents may have limited English proficiency (Lan, 2002; Pang, Jordan-Marsh, Silverstein, & Cody, 2003; Tsai & Lopez, 1998). Taken together, it is possible to see a major shift in the power dynamics of the family. Roles are essentially switched for aging parents and adult children when the family comes to the United States. In their new homes in the United States, elders now turn to their adult children to meet their needs. Changing power dynamics may contribute to the feelings
that elders have about being not the central focus of the family and the lower expectations of filial norms being observed in American society.

Acculturation, related to immigration but although different, has also been attributed to the re-interpretation of filial piety by diasporic Chinese. The dictionary defines acculturation as “the process of adopting the cultural traits or social patterns of another group” (Random House Dictionary, n.d.). Acculturation theorists make the argument that the influence of the host society, in this case the United States, can lead to adaptation of cultural values (Chen, 1997 as cited in Chappell & Kusch, 2007; Padilla & Perez, 2003). Using North America as an example, Chen (1997) further argues that the heavy emphasis on democracy, capitalism and individualism as well as a history of discrimination has the effect of reshaping Chinese culture in the United States and in Canada. Chinese immigrants possess a hybrid of Western and Chinese culture, or a transnational identity (Chen, 1997 as cited in Chappell & Kusch, 2007). For example, the lack of socialization to filial norms and ideals have been attributed by first-generation Chinese parents about the perceived lack of elder respect and caring by their second-generation children (Jones, Zhang, Jaceldo-Siegl, & Meleis, 2002; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004; Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). One participant aptly states, “He was educated in American and grows up here… They don’t need to take care of their parents in the American tradition” (Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006, p. S6). American culture, norms and beliefs is often cited as the reasons for a propensity to give financial assistance and separate residences between adult children and elderly parents (Lan,
Whereas in East Asian societies, such actions may be seen as unfilial, in American society, it is accepted as one of many ways to care for one’s parents.

One other possible way in which immigration and acculturation has an effect on filial piety is the lessening of social stigma. The United States, unlike many ethnic-Chinese East Asian societies, does not have laws requiring children to take courses in filial piety or laws that require children to take care of their aging parents. To varying degrees, the lack of active socialization to filial norms in American society may be one contributing factor to the range of activities captured by studies that Chinese-American adult children and their parents consider to be filial.

Other factors that are being linked to the changes in filial practice and belief include the availability of elder care resources, trend of dual-income households and nuclear family structure. The United States houses a plethora of elder care resources. Public programs of care include Medicare, Medicaid (Medi-Cal in California), In-Home Supportive Services (IHSS), rental assistance, Social Security, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), to name a few. Additionally, there are a myriad of facilities serving seniors – such as assisted living facilities, adult day care, nursing homes and hospice care. Many Chinese immigrants have dubbed the availability and range of elder care services provided by the United States government as the “American filial son” (Lan, 2002). Most of the care given by the government is in the realm of monthly monetary aid. With outside sources – the government and/or private enterprises – assuming a role over the financial and physical (direct caring or housing) needs of Chinese-American seniors, it seems to lead adult children to make a niche for themselves in the caring
process by focusing on emotional (such as keeping in touch) realm. This is corroborated by the emerging trend of elders, adult children and grandchildren wanting to have open lines of communication between generations (Lan, 2002; Lieber, Nihira, & Mink, 2004). Additionally, the availability of many different sources of care may be contributing to the pattern of dispersing care instead of regulating it to the eldest son and his wife as expected under classical forms of filial piety.

While not a uniquely American trend, the focus on nuclear families and dual-income households together influence the filial beliefs and practices among diasporic Chinese in the United States. A focus on the immediate, or nuclear, family may lead to more attention being paid to one’s children or spouse rather than on the senior members of the family, who are seen as being part of the extended family (Pang, Jordan-Marsh, Silverstein, & Cody, 2003). Similarly, job involvement may draw attention away from elders and their caring needs. This may be correlated to Chinese elders’ opinion that they are on the peripheral edges and no longer the center of the family (Wong, Yoo, & Stewart, 2006). Other attributions may include: (a) outsourcing of care to government or private agencies (b) reciprocal relationship between generations in order to coordinate care and (c) decreases in co-residence rates.

Application of Theoretical Frameworks

Three theoretical frameworks guide the current study – ecological perspective, acculturation theory and constructivist perspective. Together, the theoretical frameworks provide a direction and foundation to understand filial piety in modern society.
The ecological perspective grounds the current study through its premise that there is a dynamic relationship between the individual and his/her environment. This theoretical framework recognizes that the environment has an effect on the individual as well as the individual having an effect on the environment. Using ecological perspective, the differences between classical and modern filial perceptions and behaviors may be explained by the changing conditions of society. As the discussion on the factors pertinent to Chinese Americans in United States indicates, an environment, one that is different from the one in which Confucius resided in, has been created. In other words, the Chinese people have adapted their understanding, beliefs and practice of filial piety in response to the United States environment. In addition to providing a foundation to understand filial piety in modern times, the theoretical framework also provides direction. It raises the question of what exactly is the effect of Chinese Americans’ modern conceptualization of the cultural value on society – such as whether and how elder care policies and practices will change.

Acculturation theory provides an in-depth discussion to how an individual cope with the stresses and challenges of a new culture on their worldviews. This theory is very apt in explaining the impact of immigration on the level of adherence to cultural values. The literature has shown that there is a decline in cultural knowledge and adherence between first- and second-generation immigrants. This is corroborated by Lieber, Nihira and Mink (2004) where first-generation participants express how their second-generation children adopted more of the “American style.” To a degree, this framework adds another layer to understanding the interaction between environment and
individual. The acculturation theory points the current study to examining the possible
generational differences in conceptualizing filial piety by Chinese Americans.

To an extent, there is a greater focus among the ecological perspective and
acculturation theory to look at the outside forces that contribute the alteration in filial
piety. By adding the constructivist perspective, there is recognition to the internal forces
that may play a role in the conception of the cultural value in today’s society. This
theoretical framework considers how individual finds meaning through his/her
participation in society. It places the individual as the expert. Constructivist perspective
guides the current study to consider more closely the perception of participants, and not
just relying solely on behaviors to give indication of what it means to be filial among
modern Chinese Americans.

These theoretical frameworks provide a foundation to comprehending the
complexities and interweaving of influences on filial piety in the United States.

Summary

The current review of the literature illustrates the importance and role of filial
piety among the Chinese people. To briefly reiterate, this particular cultural value
shaped the social organization of Chinese societies for thousands of years. In ancient
times, filial piety was held in exalted position while it has been argued that it is no
longer the case in modern times. All around the world, the Chinese people have shifted
their beliefs and practice of filial piety.

There is very little variance in how filial piety has shifted. Replicated in both
East Asia and in the West are the trends of relying on daughters instead of sons, a
growing emphasis on caring on the intangible, not the direct, levels and a desire to foster reciprocal lines of communications between generations. This may be due to globalization, particularly the spread of Western culture around the world. The degree in which specific patterns hold sway – how strongly – in the various ethnic-Chinese societies in the East and West remains unclear. Nonetheless, these changes to classical notions of filial piety have been correlated to changes in elder care practices. Specifically, more and more families are contracting outside to care for their elders.

For the most part, the literature offers very few practical or useful recommendations to the social work field. This may bring to light the question of its significance to the social work profession. However, knowing how perceptions of filial piety have changed will be informative to the future of elder care in light of the global aging phenomenon. Take for instance, the study conducted by Cheung, Kwan and Ng (2006). Researchers found that filial piety may have the effect of relieving some of the reliance on government care for older individuals in Hong Kong. Following the pattern of similar changes to beliefs and practices of filial piety around the world, this may also be the case for Chinese in the United States. This opens up an examination of the adequacy of services in meeting the needs of Chinese-American elders. It brings greater awareness to the issue of cultural-sensitive care in existing support systems as well to the kinds of services to be further developed to meet the cultural needs of Chinese Americans.

All in all, social workers and other service providers benefit in knowing the impact of filial piety on modern diasporic Chinese elder care practices. It will bring
greater understanding, especially at the state and county levels in states that have a high proportion of Chinese Americans, in meeting their needs. This information will be important as American society is undergoing a major demographic change. It is only recently that aging issues have gain wide recognition thus having information from a cultural perspective will serve the diverse population of the United States.

Research in East Asia in this area has been much more expansive than in Western countries, such as the United States. The American literature is plagued not only by few studies on the modern perceptions of filial piety but also by a major limitation that has yet to be addressed. To current knowledge, the literature has examined changes to filial piety from the perspective of first-generation Chinese immigrants. Based on acculturation theory, it is expected that second-generations are more acculturated to the host culture and that they will not uphold strongly to the beliefs and values of their parents. While that may be the case, it is unknown if there are differences or similarities to the perception of filial piety or how filial piety may affect elder care practices. The possibility of generational differences has been less of a focus in the American literature on filial piety. Consideration of the discrepancy between first-and second-generation Chinese is important. While many of the aging Chinese are foreign-born, not all children caring for Chinese seniors are first-generation, it is expected some current and future caregivers are second-generation individuals. This current study will apply a new lens – a generational one – to understanding filial piety in modern American society. This will allow helping professions, such as the field of social work, to better anticipate and respond to the needs of an aging Chinese populace.
Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

The aim of the current study is to investigate what are current perceptions of filial piety among first- and second-generation Chinese Americans in the United States. Additionally, the study examines how filial piety might influence elder care practices in the United States. The researcher hopes that the exploration of the current topic will promote more awareness of the cultural needs of an aging Chinese populace so that social workers and other helping professions may develop services relevant to their cultural worldviews to improve and ensure quality of life for aging Chinese Americans and their caregivers.

Study Design

Examination of the literature reveals that while there are existing studies on the filial piety in the United States, it is a small research area. There is limited number of studies that actually examines the modern perception, or re-interpretations, of filial piety among Chinese Americans. In addition, most do not give consideration to the possibility of generational differences in the perception of the cultural value. To study filial piety in the United States, this study utilized a descriptive research design to better examine relationship between first- and second-generation conceptualization of filial piety and how it relates to elder care practices.

The general research design consisted of a caregiving perspective questionnaire adapted from the literature to explore filial piety. The questionnaire was composed of both close- and open-ended questions aimed at assessing filial attitudes and caregiving
behaviors. The format of the questionnaire allowed the current study to utilize mixed data – qualitative and quantitative. Close-ended questions allow this study to condense information from a variety of individuals and to find the average or typical opinions held by the population. While the use of open-ended questions captures concerns or responses not anticipated by the researcher – it also creates depth and uniqueness to the findings. The mixed data collected allows for a clearer picture of filial beliefs and the preferred care practices held by first- and second-generation Chinese Americans.

Sampling Procedures

Participants were recruited through the use of non-random sampling methods. Purposive, convenience and snowball sampling methods were employed to generate a sample size of 73 participants – 34 first-generation and 39 second-generation Chinese Americans – for meaningful data analysis. Referrals for participants began with social work students at California State University, Sacramento (CSUS), the staff and community members at Asian Community Center (ACC), and from personal contacts. Recruitment from CSUS and ACC was utilized in order to have a heterogeneous group – such as, differing in socioeconomic status and education levels – that will be reflective of the general Chinese-American population in the United States. No inducement, or incentive, was offered for participation in the study.

Criteria for inclusion in the present study were: (a) participants to be full-blooded Chinese (b) participants to be either first-generation or second-generation (c) participants to be between the ages of 30 and 64. Full-blood status refers participants having both parents of ethnic-Chinese descent. First-generation refers to individuals born in an
ethnic-Chinese society in East Asia (such as China, Hong Kong and/or Taiwan) who immigrated to the United States; while second-generation refers to individuals born in the United States with foreign-born parents from an ethnic-Chinese society in East Asia. Determination of generation status (first-generation or second-generation), full-blood status and age were based on self-report by the participants.

*Data Collection Procedures*

Approval was first obtained by the Human Subject Review Committee at California State University, Sacramento (CSUS) through the submission of a Human Subject Review application. An interview with the Executive Director of Asian Community Center was conducted to discuss the study’s purpose, goals and recruitment criteria as well as to request assistance in the identification and referral of potential candidates which resulted in a letter of support (See Appendix A). All candidates were screened by the researcher to ensure criteria for the study were met. A packet consisting of the informed consent and questionnaire was distributed to all candidates (See Appendix B for the informed consent form and Appendix C for the caregiving perspective questionnaire).

*Instrument*

A questionnaire was developed for the purpose of the present study. Respondents were asked to answer questions about demographic information, filial beliefs and behaviors, and elder care support.

Demographic section of the questionnaire consisted of four items to assess the participant’s age, gender, generation and caregiver status.
The filial beliefs and behaviors portion of the questionnaire consisted of 15 items – all closed-ended. For the majority items, participants were asked to rate how strongly the statement represented their viewpoints. There were Likert items (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree,” “strongly disagree”) for participants to choose from. Some of the questions were adapted from studies in East Asia that specifically examined modern-day perception of filial piety (see Tsai, Chen & Tsai, 2008; Yue & Ng, 1999). Additionally, a few items included in the current questionnaire that were taken from Filial Piety Scale and Filial Behaviour Scale (see Chen, Bond & Tang, 2007).

The last section of the questionnaire assessed the influence of filial piety on the preference of type of elder care support. There were eight closed-ended items – five close-ended and three open-ended questions. The questions assessed participants’ knowledge, usage and preference of a variety of elder care support services available in the United States.

Prior to distribution to participants, the questionnaire underwent a refinement process. Four individuals completed and provided feedback to ensure content validity of the data collection tool.

Data Analysis Approaches

The obtained data was coded and entered into Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for computer analysis. Descriptive statistics, inferential statistics and content analysis were used to analyze the data.

Descriptive statistics was used to provide an overview of the sample characteristics (such as the total number, mean age of participants, gender and caregiver
distribution) and responses (such as frequency of each Likert items) from the data collection instrument. The questionnaire produced data of ordinal level, meaning that the median or mode of responses was reported. Tables and figures were utilized to present a graphical summary of the data (See the List of Tables and List of Figures).

Inferential statistics was used examine if differences in filial attitude between first-generation and second-generation participants are significant. Specifically, chi-square was employed to determine statistical significance of generational differences in filial perceptions.

Content analysis was utilized to analyze the qualitative data collected from the open-ended items in the questionnaire. Key words and common themes were identified from the wide-range of responses given by the participants.

Protection of Human Subjects

All persons involved were treated in accordance to university’s policies for human subject protection and the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) Code of Ethics. Prior to the commencement of the study, a Human Subject Review application was submitted and approved by CSUS Division of Social Work. The Human Subject Review approval number for the current study is 09-10-003.

An informed consent form was provided to all referrals interested in the current study. The form detailed the purpose, procedures, issues of confidentiality and anonymity and a reminder that participants may choose to withdrawal from the study at any time. Only those who consented by signing and returning the form were included in the study.
The current study was identified by the researcher and by CSUS Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects as being minimal risk. Minimal risk refers to research that has “the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated for participants are no greater than what might be encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physicals or psychological examination or tests” (California State University, 2009, p. 6). This conclusion was based the potential of the questionnaire to provoke issues of guilt or shame among the participants.

Efforts were taken to minimize any discomfort and risk that participants may encounter. The data collection tool was carefully tailored to take on a neutral slant in order to not subject the participants to feel any negative emotions. However, if any discomfort was experienced the researcher provided participants information to a list of local agencies to resolve their discomfort. This information was provided with the informed consent form.
Chapter 4
OUTCOMES

Introduction

The current study aims to investigate the perceptions of filial piety among first-generation and second-generation Chinese Americans and how the cultural value may influence elder care practices in the United States. The data generated from the returned questionnaires is presented in this chapter.

Demographic Information

Seventy-five questionnaires were returned to the researcher in which two were excluded from the study based on the following reasons: (a) one respondent did not provide a signed informed consent and (b) one respondent did not identify as first-generation or second-generation. A total of 73 questionnaires were included in the study’s data analysis.

Descriptive statistics, specifically frequency distribution and measures of central tendency, were utilized to summarize the demographic characteristics of the participants (See Table 1). The sample of 73 participants included 34 (46.6%) first-generation Chinese Americans and 39 (53.4%) second-generation Chinese Americans.

Among the first-generation participants \(n = 34\), 61.8% \(n = 21\) were females and 38.2% \(n = 13\) were males. The modal and median age was the 50-54 age bracket \(n = 7; 20.6\%\). Less than half (32.3%) identified themselves as caregivers (current or former) and 61.8% considered themselves as not a caregiver.
### Table 1

*Participant Demographics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic</th>
<th>First-Generation</th>
<th>Second-Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>4 (11.8%)</td>
<td>4 (10.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>6 (15.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>4 (11.8%)</td>
<td>6 (15.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>6 (17.6%)</td>
<td>5 (12.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>7 (20.6%)</td>
<td>4 (10.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>6 (17.6%)</td>
<td>4 (10.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>6 (17.6%)</td>
<td>10 (25.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34 (100.0%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13 (38.2%)</td>
<td>12 (30.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21 (61.8%)</td>
<td>27 (69.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34 (100.0%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Caregiver Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current</td>
<td>3 (8.8%)</td>
<td>13 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former</td>
<td>8 (23.5%)</td>
<td>6 (15.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not a Caregiver</td>
<td>21 (61.8%)</td>
<td>20 (51.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>32 (94.1%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Missing</strong></td>
<td>2 (5.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 39 second-generation participants, 69.2% ($n = 27$) were females and 30.8% ($n = 12$) were males. The modal age was the 60-64 age bracket ($n = 10; 25.6$%) however, the median age for the second-generation participants was the 45-49 age bracket ($n = 5; 12.8$%). Close to half (48.7%) identified as caregivers (current or former), while most (51.3%) did not considered themselves as caregivers.

*General Perception of Filial Piety*

The general notions of filial piety were assessed in the questionnaire. Participants were asked for their opinions on filial piety as a cultural value, as a duty or responsibility and as a concept being upheld by today’s Chinese Americans. As a whole, both first- and second-generation participants responded positively to all three questions. Both the concepts of filial piety as a cultural practice and as a duty were rated in agreement by 97.1% of first-generation participants and by 100% of second-generation participants. It was noted that one first-generation respondent (2.9%) disagreed to filial piety as a cultural practice and as a duty. Comparable levels of agreement (“strongly agree” and “agree”) were found between the two participant groups.

A similar pattern emerged for the item assessing if filial piety is being upheld by today’s Chinese Americans. A large majority of first-generation (88.2%) and second-generation (89.7%) participants were in agreement that today’s Chinese Americans uphold filial piety. For both groups, there were approximately a tenth of participants in both groups (11.8% of first-generation and 10.3% of second-generation) that were in disagreement. Despite an overall similarity in their responses, it should be noted that first-generation participants as compared to their second-generation counterparts
appeared to feel less strongly about today’s Chinese Americans having a sense of responsibility to care for their parents.

Similar Perceptions of Filial Piety Between Participants

The remaining questions in the questionnaire attempted to capture other characteristics of filial piety, as in accordance to Confucius. It was found that there were areas of Confucian filial ideals were rated in concordance between the two generations.

Adherence to Confucian Filial Piety. Both participant groups responded favorably, and with high percentages, to the notion that filial piety is a genuine concern and that it involves staying in touch with parents. Both groups were in complete agreement to genuine concern, however first-generation respondents (55.9%) had slightly higher numbers in the “strongly agree” category than second-generation respondents (48.7%). With regards to staying in touch, all of the first-generation participants responded favorably that staying in touch is part of filial piety. Second-generation participants had some respondents (n = 2; 5.1%) disagreeing to the statement. There was also a pattern of more first-generation respondents (55.9%) than second-generation respondents (48.2%) being in strong agreement to staying in touch. The overall lack of disagreement among the participant groups suggest that genuine concern and staying in touch is rated strongly by the participants as part of their definition of filial piety. The comparable percentages further suggest that genuine concern is has similar emphasis, or importance, between the two generations in their perception of filial piety. The higher concentration of responses in and within the levels of agreement (“strongly agree” and “agree”) may be suggesting that first-generation participants place
more emphasis on staying in touch than the second-generation participants. To a degree, the higher levels of agreement among the first-generation participants may be attributed to the location of aging parents. For first-generation participants whose parents are, or were, living abroad, staying in touch allows the participants to fulfill their filial duty across distances, which is not necessary the case for many direct, or physical, acts of caring.

_Declining Confucian Notions of Filial Piety._ For four items, both participant groups had responses that were less concentrated, meaning that responses were more spread out among the Likert items (“strongly agree,” “agree,” “disagree” and “strongly disagree”). Despite the dispersion of responses in each of the three items, as a whole both the first-generation and second-generation respondents had comparable percentages in each Likert item. The three items were respect, obedience, avoidance of arguments and honoring ancestors (See Table 2).

Both participant groups had comparable percentiles in their responses to respecting parents, obedience and avoiding arguments. The general pattern in the responses for each of the three items was higher levels of disagreement than the previously discussed findings. One-fifth of first-generation participants disagreed that filial piety is inclusive of respect (20.5%), obedience (23.5%) and avoidance of arguments (23.5%). The responses among the second-generation were similar. One-fifth was in disagreement to respect (20.5%) but with slightly higher percentiles (35.9%) of disagreement for obedience and avoiding arguments. Despite the higher levels of disagreement, both generations were in favor of each of the items as constituting filial
Table 2

Declining Notions of Filial Piety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notions of Filial Piety</th>
<th>First-Generation</th>
<th>Second-Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Respect</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>27 (79.5%)</td>
<td>31 (79.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>7 (20.5%)</td>
<td>8 (20.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34 (100.0%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Obedience</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>26 (76.5%)</td>
<td>25 (64.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>8 (23.5%)</td>
<td>14 (35.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34 (100.0%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Avoiding of Arguments</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>26 (76.5%)</td>
<td>25 (64.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>8 (23.5%)</td>
<td>14 (35.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34 (100.0%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Honoring Ancestors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>23 (67.7%)</td>
<td>20 (51.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>10 (29.4%)</td>
<td>19 (48.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33 (97.1%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What these findings implicate is a possible decline in importance of respect, obedience and avoiding arguments among participants in the study. This downward
shift of these three items may be related to proximity of parents. It may be the case that first-generation respondents immigrated to the United States without their parents which may be correlated to the decrease need to respect, obey and avoid arguments with parents due to the distance. The lessen adherence to the three items among second-generation respondents may be due to employment or education opportunities that keeps them from being in close proximity to their parents.

The last area indicating a decline to Confucian ideals of filial piety is honoring ancestors. The responses from both first-generation and second-generation show that approximately a third (29.4%) of first-generation and almost half (48.7%) of second-generation participants indicated that they do not participate in ceremonies to honor ancestors. This implies that the practice of ancestor worship has decreased among both groups, although it was found to be slightly more out of practice for the second-generation participants. This may imply that the scope of who filial piety applies to has narrowed. Instead of encompassing all elders in the family, including those from previous generations, it appears that filial piety may have shifted towards a smaller scope. To an extent this may reflect on the global trend of nuclear families rather than the Confucian ideal of multigenerational families.

*Deviation from Confucian Ideals of Filial Piety.* Analysis of the data shows that in one area, the responses appear to indicate a deviation from the traditional, or Confucian, definition of filial piety (see Table 3). There is an element in traditional filial piety that “rearing sons to provide for one’s old age.” A large majority of participants responded opposite to that particular ideal. The phrasing was reversed from other
statements in the questionnaire – meaning, agreement indicated a deviation away from
the Confucian notion while disagreement indicated an adherence to the Confucian notion.
It was found that participants in both groups did not thinking rearing sons is to provide
for old age (94.1% of first-generation and 97.4% of second-generation). This may be
indicative that a shift has occurred to who is considered to be a caregiver to parents. It
may suggest changes in who is the primary caregiver: (a) role of primary caregiver may
not be limited to sons and may be inclusive of daughters or other family members and
(b) it may also be indicate that caregivers outside the family, inclusive of social service
and government agencies, is becoming more accepted.

Table 3

Deviation from Confucian Ideals of Filial Piety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Notions of Filial Piety</th>
<th>First-Generation</th>
<th>Second-Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sons Not to Provide for Old Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>32 (94.1%)</td>
<td>38 (97.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagreement</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33 (97.1%)</td>
<td>39 (100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Divergent Perceptions of Filial Piety Between Participants

Examining the levels of disagreement that emerged from the descriptive analysis
of the data revealed some areas in which the two generation groups diverged in their
perceptions of filial piety. In this section, the discussion turns to the following areas:
continuation of care, provision of care as needed, staying in close proximity, expectation
of rewards, sacrifice, impact of decisions on parents, pleasing parents, accompanying parents, spiritual concerns and providing financial assistance (See Figure 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>First-Generation</th>
<th>Second-Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuation of Care</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of Care as Needed</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close Proximity to Parents</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectation of Rewards</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrifice</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact on Parents</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasing and Making Happy</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompanying Parents</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual/Emotional Concern</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Assistance</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1. Divergent Perceptions of Filial Piety.** This figure illustrates the level of disagreement between first- and second-generation participants on the following areas: continuation of care, provision of care as needed, staying in close proximity, expectation of rewards, sacrifice, impact of decisions on parents, pleasing parents, accompanying parents, spiritual concerns and providing financial assistance.

**Care Provision.** Two questions on the questionnaire touched base on when care is provided. There were mixed results in the findings. In the question that asked whether care will continue if there was an opportunity to be free of it, first-generation participants appeared to be more aligned with Confucian ideals of filial piety. Second-
generation respondents (12.8%) were four times more likely than first-generation respondents (2.9%) to discontinue care if given the opportunity to be free from it. However, a reversal of pattern emerged when participants were asked whether they would provide care and resources when needed. It was found that second-generation were more likely than their counterparts to provide care even when not needed. Ten percent (10.3%) of second-generation indicated provision of care even when not needed compared to the 2.9% of first-generation. From the first-generation perspective, it was more likely they would continue care even if there is an opportunity to be free from caring but were less likely to provide care when not needed.

The mixed findings in the data may reflect the tensions between ideology and practicality. The data may be suggestive that there are differing levels of adherence to the Confucian ideal of providing care to parents no matter what. Specifically, the data appears to imply that first-generation respondents have a stronger adherence to the ideal than second-generation respondents. However, in putting the ideal to practice, there may a strain on resources – ability to navigate the American institutions for services, language, time, finances and others – among the first-generation participants due to their status as immigrant that does not allow them to provide care unconditionally. Similarly, second-generation participants may have the advantage of growing up with American institutions and a stronger command of the language that may help them to provide care even when parents do not need it despite a possibly weaker adherence to the ideal of continuing care indefinitely.
Close Proximity. In the analysis of staying in close proximity, almost one-fifth (17.9%) of second-generation respondents and approximately a tenth (8.8%) of first-generation respondents indicated that caring for aging parents does not mean staying in close proximity. In other words, more first-generation participants responded positively to staying in close proximity than the second-generation. This finding is suggestive that second-generation participants have shifted away from the traditional notion of filial piety. It may be related to the younger generation’s mobility – adult children being away from their parents due to education or employment opportunities in the United States – that does allow children to be close to their parents. Proximity to parents and continuation of care may be correlated with one another. The further away a participant is away from his/her parents, the higher the likelihood that they would discontinue care if the opportunity arises. This brings an element of practicality to the caring process that illuminates possible links in second-generation participants’ responses. It is not that participants pick and choose which Confucian ideas they want to uphold and which to discard but rather it may be the constraints in their lives (such as living further away) that creates a cascading effect where other traditional notions do not have a practical value (such as continuing care no matter what) and are less strongly adhere to.

Expectation of Rewards. Nearly all participants (97.4% of second-generation and 88.2% of first-generation) were in agreement to the notion that physical or monetary rewards should not be expected when caring for aging parents. It is of note that first-generation respondents (2.6%) were more likely to not have the expectation of physical
or monetary rewards in exchange for their caregiving compare to second-generation respondents (11.8%).

*Sacrifice.* Participants were asked for their opinions on whether caring for parents included sacrifices in time, money and energy. Generally, both groups were in accordance that caring does include making sacrifices. However, there were more second-generation participants who disagreed with the statement – 12.9% of second-generation compared to 2.9% of first-generation. The higher rates of disagreement to the statement may be attributed to current caregiving trends, specifically that of the growing so-called “sandwich generation.” Sandwich generation is a term describing a group of caregivers caring for their dependent children and aging parents. As a younger group than their first-generation counterparts, it can be expected that many of the second-generation respondents are part of the sandwich generation group. This can create higher stress among the second-generation participants to who and where they direct their energy to and may lead to a decrease in the willingness to make sacrifices.

*Impact on Parents.* Consideration of impact on parents when making major decisions was another aspect of filial piety that was explored. On a broad level, both first-generation (94.1%) and second-generation (82.1%) agree that they would consider their parents during the decision making process. Second-generation respondents were less likely to consider impact on their parents than first-generation respondents (17.9% compare 5.9%). These differences may infer that second-generation participants may be conceptualizing filial piety as providing care when parents need it and that there may be a shift of parents not having a central role in their lives.
Indirect Caring. Questions that touched on the indirect aspects of caring for one’s parents included: pleasing and making them happy; accompanying parents to do what they like; concern for their spiritual and emotional comfort; and assisting financially. There was an overall trend of positive responses by the participants. In other words, both first- and second-generation participants indicated that they agree that pleasing and making parents happy; accompanying parents; being concerned for their spiritual and emotional comfort; and providing financial assistance as being part of what it means to be filial. Among the responses indicating agreement, there was a pattern where first-generation respondents tended to have more “strongly agree” than the second-generation respondents.

There was also a pattern among those respondents who disagreed. Generally, second-generation participants had higher percentile of disagreement (includes both “disagree” and “strongly disagree” categories) than first-generation. In the case of pleasing and making parents happy, 28.9% of second-generation and 5.9% of first-generation participants disagreed that caring includes this aspect of care. Approximately 20.5% of second-generation and 11.8% of first-generation participants responded negatively to accompanying parents. Of the second-generation, 10.2% disagreed that they are also concerned about their parents’ spiritual and emotional comfort compared to 2.9% of first-generation participants. For assisting financially, 12.9% of second-generation participants reported that they do not think it is part of caring for one’s parents compared to 2.9% of first-generation participants.
**Significant Findings on the Perception of Filial Piety**

The above discussion was generated from an initial analysis using descriptive statistics. While similarities and differences emerged in how each generation conceptualized filial piety, it was not necessary the case when inferential statistics was utilized. Only one significant finding emerged when Pearson chi-square was applied to the data – there was a generational difference on “pleasing and making parents happy,” $\chi^2(3, N = 73) = 6.44, p = .092$. To reiterate, it was found that first-generation respondents tended to rate “pleasing and making happy” as an element of filial piety while more second-generation respondents tended to disagree. The difference found may be tied to the capacities of each group to care for their parents. It may be the case for many first-generation respondents that when they immigrated to the United States, their aging parents did not make the trip from their country origin to the United States. As such, the capacity to display filial piety may be limited to the more indirect care – instead of transportation or other physical tasks, first-generation participants may only been able to engage in phone calls, sending letters and the other things that would make their parents happy.

**Care Behaviors and Filial Piety**

Caring and care behaviors as related to filial piety were also examined in the current study. Specific areas of interest explored were: who is considered as the caregiver; the reasons for caring; the actual acts of care provided; and who is the center, or focal concern, in the family.
Caregiver Role. Two questions assessed participants’ beliefs of who plays the role of the caregiver. The first questions asked participants if there is a trend of children leaving the caring of their parents to others. Approximately 93.2% of participants indicated that they felt that children are leaving the caring of their parents to others. The responses indicate that participants perceive a trend of shifting care from the family to outside the family. Similar patterns were replicated when the data was analyzed according to generation status (88.2% of first-generation; 97.5% of second-generation), gender (93.8% of females; 92.0% of males) and caregiver status (93.8% of current caregivers, 100% of former caregivers, and 90.2% of non-caregivers). This may indicate a change from traditional notions of filial piety – where it dictated that children care for parents – towards an acceptance that the caregiver for aging parents may include people outside the family. This shift in beliefs may be related to the demographic changes in last century – such as dropping fertility rates and women having children later in life – that contribute to the emergence of the “sandwich generation” and possibly reliance on outside help to meet the expectations and responsibilities of caring for two generations. Additionally, the trend may be associated with the availability of resources to support caregivers as they care for their parents.

Data from another question provides further insight into the preference of who acts as caregivers. Using descriptive statistics, specifically measures of central tendency, it was found that when asked to rank their preference of who they turn to for help, participants tended to rank family as their first choice. This finding suggests that despite a trend of moving caring responsibilities to others (as indicated by the above
discussion), the family still remains high among participants’ choice of caregivers. It then becomes interesting to examine who is considered the second, third, fourth and other preferences (See Figure 2).

**Figure 2.** Ranking of Caregiver Preference. This figure illustrates the caregiver preference by generation status.

Analyzing the data according to generation status, it was found that the first-generation tended to put more reliance on formal or professional caregivers – this is indicated by medical services and human services as being ranked second and third, respectively. Second-generation participants did not necessarily duplicate the pattern. Among the second-generation participants, they tended to turn to first to medical services and friends before relying on human services. The similarity in turning to medical services as the first alternative after the family may indicate participants’ concern for their parents’ medical and health needs. It can also be suggestive that
Chinese Americans are more open to help from medical or health professionals. It may also be inferred that participants may not seek outside help until the medical and health needs of their aging parents become too great for participants’ to handle. Lastly, the difference in who is turned to for help as a third choice may indicate the availability of support systems among each generation. As immigrants, first-generation participants may not have the same extensive social support system as their second-generation counterparts. That may explain why they indicate that they will turn to formal support systems like human services before turning to informal networks of support, such as friends. These findings may have implications for point of entry of services to support and assist caregivers.

Reasons Behind Being a Caregiver. Related to who is the caregiver for aging parents are the reasons why children act as caregiver. It is assumed under the Confucian notion of filial piety that children take on the caregiving role because it is their duty, and that the responsibility tends to fall on the oldest. To explore this concept further, this study asked participants to check-off why they provide care for their parents. Using descriptive statistics to analyze the data, the most often cited reason was “duty” \( (n = 52) \) followed by reciprocity/“they did the same for me” \( (n = 44) \) and “I get along well with my parents” \( (n = 31) \). It was expect that “duty” would be rated highly, it is interesting to note that being the oldest \( (n = 20) \) was rated as one of the lowest. To a degree, the finding reaffirms that a motivating factor among the participants to care for their parents is the idea of duty. However, reciprocity and “getting along with parents” as being the next top reasons illustrate an emphasis on an emotional element, which is not always
emphasized by classical filial piety, that moves adult children to care for their aging parents. In other words, as much as participants see caring of their parents as a duty, they also do it out of love. With the reason of being the “oldest” rated towards the bottom, it may be infer that birth order is no longer as strictly emphasized as it was by Confucian filial piety and that the caregiving responsibilities are being shared between family members and possibly outside the family. Migration may be a factor that explains the decline on the oldest child as the primary caregiver. Living in different locations from parents – whether it is abroad, across the country or in the next city – can have the effect of modifying the family structure and there the caregiver role. For example, it is probably the case that the child living the closest, disregarding birth order, may have to assume the primary caregiver role.

Similar patterns were produced when analyzing according to generation status. First-generation participants tended to list their reasons as: 1) duty 2) reciprocity 3) time 4) financial means and proximity to parents 5) get along well with parents 7) oldest and parental preference. Second-generation listed their reasons as: 1) reciprocity 2) duty 3) get along well with parents 4) time 5) proximity 6) financial means 7) oldest and 8) parental preference (See Figure 3).

While both generations are similar in their tendency to place more emphasis on “duty” than being the “oldest” it is interesting to note that the two groups differ in that first-generation appear to have more emphasis having the ability (as indicated by the higher rankings of time, financial means and proximity to parents) to care than second-
generation participants who appear to rank those reasons slightly lower. This difference may be accounted by the experiences of each generation cohort. It may be the case that among first-generation participants, the immigrant experience of having to acculturate to the host country made them more aware of their resources and the kind of care they can provide to their parents. This may even explain further why being the oldest is deemphasized by the first-generation participants. For second-generation participants, being raised in the United States and knowing the support systems available may allow the second-generation caregivers to focus more on the emotional reasons (reciprocity and getting along with parents) to why they provide care and less on their capacities (having the time, proximity and financial means). Another element that may be

*Figure 3. Reasons Why Participants Care for Aging Parents. This figure illustrates the frequency between the generation groups to why they care for aging parents.*
attributing the differences in the reasons children care for their aging parents in how the word “duty” is interpreted. Duty may carry the connotation being obligated to do something and this may not be exactly compatible to participants who were raised in the United States where there is a stronger focus on freedom of will. As such, it may explain the lower ranking of “duty” and higher emphasis on “reciprocity” as the primary reason for caring after aging parents. Future studies will be needed to extrapolate the nuances and interpretations of filial piety as a duty.

Type of Care Provided. The kind of care provided was also examined. Questions were developed to explore the indirect and direct provision of care. Indirect provision of care is a concept that is inclusive of the emotional, social and spiritual concern for parents as well as care tasks that do not involve children and parents in face-to-face contact. Direct care often refers to the physical tasks involved in the caring process. It was found that participants, no matter their generation status, tended to be more involved in the indirect care of their parents. This was observed in the higher frequency of indirect care tasks, such as “looking after their health” \((n = 61)\), “providing transportation” \((n = 54)\) and “giving money/paying bills” \((n = 43)\) as compared to the lower frequency of direct care tasks, such as “preparing meals” \((n = 35)\), “cleaning the house” \((n = 32)\) and “bathing/toileting” \((n = 18)\). To tie back to the literature review, this finding affirms the general pattern found in East Asian Chinese societies. Thus, the shift in being more involved in the indirect caring of parents may not be a uniquely American phenomenon but a global trend related to demographic changes and the growing availability of elder care resources.
Specific areas of indirect care – staying in touch and social engagement – were further explored. With regards to social engagement, it was found that participants as a whole tended to try to socially engage their parents through family events \( (n = 49) \), with some enrolling them in classes or social clubs \( (n = 13) \) and very few in inviting other elders in the community to spend time with their parents \( (n = 7) \). This finding is suggestive that the provision of indirect care remains within the family. In other words, participants do not appear to readily utilize outside resources to care and address their concerns for their parents’ social well-being.

The concept of staying in touch was further explored by examining the frequency in which participants engage in three activities – calling parents, visiting parents and eating meals together with parents. Using measures of central tendency to determine the frequency, it was found that both first- and second-generation respondents were active in staying in touch with their parents via phone calls. On average, first-generation respondents would call their parents either on a daily \( (n = 8) \) or weekly \( (n = 8) \) basis while second-generation were more likely to call their parents every few days \( (n = 14) \). With regards to visiting parents, second-generation respondents appeared to visit their parents more often than first-generation respondents. This was evident in the higher frequency of visits among the second-generation who were more likely to visit their parents every few days \( (n = 10) \) while first-generation would visit every few months \( (n = 9) \). Similarly, second-generation were more likely to share meals with parents (every few weeks; \( n = 9 \) ) compared to first-generation (every few months; \( n = 13 \) ). These findings indicate that the most common form of staying in touch with parents among both
participant groups is making phone calls. The differences between visits and sharing meals between the two generations may be explained by the possible absence of parents. Parents may not have followed their adult children when they immigrated to the United States. This may attribute to the lower frequency of visits and sharing meals among first-generation participants since their parents may not be close in proximity to engage in those activities as frequently as second-generation participants. Additionally, it may be the case that the relative ease of calling parents in order to maintain one’s filial duty may not bind participants to be in close proximity to their parents. In other words, it is unclear based on the available data if proximity affects “staying in touch” behaviors; or if “staying in touch” behaviors affect proximity; or both have mutual effects on another.

Central Focus of the Family. The final discussion on care behaviors as it relates to filial piety revolves around who is considered to be the central focus of the family. Classical, or Confucian, ideas of filial piety have traditionally placed the emphasis of the family on the elders. This is evident in the traditional importance of ancestor worship. However, the data from the study found that idea to be no longer the case. In a question asking respondents to rank, in importance, the considerations they make when making major decisions, it was found that neither generation group rated parental considerations as highly – as indicated by the lower numbers for proximity to parents and accommodations for parents. Respondents considered the needs of their children (as infer by the higher ranking of school district) and themselves before their parents – first-generation ranking their children needs first, their own needs second and then their parents as third while second-generation put their needs first, their children second and
then their parents as third (See Figure 4). All in all, these rankings show that aging parents have shifted from the focal position to a slightly peripheral position in the family. This shift may be due to concerns to make the end meets and providing a future for their children. There may be links to the immigrant experiences of first-generation participants – who may have immigrated to the United States for a better future for their children; to make a living for themselves and whether or not aging parents immigrated as well. In application to both generations, a possible explanation for the decrease emphasis of parents as the family’s center may be the issue of the “sandwich generation.” Participants stuck between dependent children and aging parents as well as having their own needs to worry about may have to be practical and choose whose needs come first – dependent children, aging parents or their own. The kind of decisions and choices may shape whose needs are considered more highly for a particular decision.

Another element to consider in understanding the data’s indication of a shift in who is the focus of the family may be how time is conceptualized. There is the argument that the Chinese on the immediate scale are linear – choosing and making practical decisions that moves towards a goal – but on a larger scale, the Chinese are circular – meaning, that they look back to the past (seeking the advice of an elder or an aging parent) to understand and be informed of the best decisions to make (F. Yuen, personal communication, January 28, 2010). This brings to light the issue of the variety of decisions that are made in a person’s life and how the data only captures one kind. It implies that further research and data is needed to determine the degree in which elders have shifted to the peripheral of the family.
Figure 4. Considerations During Major Decision Making. This figure illustrates how respondents ranked, in importance, the considerations they make during major decision-making.

Important Considerations in Caring for Chinese Parents

Content analysis was utilized to examine the qualitative data provided on the important considerations of caring for Chinese parents in the United States. As expected, a theme that both generations had in common was the issue of ensuring that needs of parents were met – specifically, health and safety needs, social interaction and having a sense of purpose. Despite the similarity of theme between the two generations, there were slightly different frequencies of needs mentioned. First-generation respondents were overwhelmingly more concern about the physical needs – such as health and safety – than the second-generation respondents, who cited more often their concern of parents’ social interaction with others.
Another theme that emerged was a concern for intergenerational understanding and communication. Participants in both generations poignantly state the importance of recognizing the cultural changes that affect family dynamics and in return the caring that adult children can provide to their parents.

Recognize the culture change – families are changing across the world and with more freedom and opportunities for women come a price for who’s available to care for the elderly. There needs to be acceptance for a better balance in utilizing family members and social service. (Second-generation participant)

Trying to balance work, family and caring for parents – in the old traditional family, only men worked and women were homemakers and more readily available to be caregivers for parents but in the United States both men and women work outside the home. This aspect changes the whole dynamic of caring for one’s parents. (First-generation participant)

From these comments and others, it is possible to see that caring is a process that engages both the adult child and aging parent. As other responses indicate, one method to overcome the global and cultural changes is communication and understanding between adult children and aging parents. It may implicate that both generations, to varying degrees, recognize the influence of cultural or societal changes and have adapted their conceptualization of filial piety to fit within the larger framework and constraints of American society. Furthermore, the emphasis in both generations for intergenerational communication may hint to an explanation for the overarching similarities the
participants’ conceptualization of filial piety. It may be infer that communication, on some level, occurs during the life course between parents and children about the expectations of how filial piety will be, or is, upheld and enacted within the family system. This ongoing negotiation may explain the similarities between first-generation parents’ and second-generation children’s perceptions on filial piety.

The second-generation participants brought up two additional themes that were not mentioned by first-generation participants. The first theme revolves around the theme of caregiver burden. A few of the second-generation participants concisely stated that the caregiving is “not easy” and “not too take things personally.” These comments highlight the realities of caring for aging parents. It may be taken to suggest that Chinese, despite a cultural tradition of caring for their own, are like any other caregivers who deal with the ups and downs of the caregiving process. To an extent, these comments breakdown the “model minority” myth and illustrate that Chinese caregivers may need and request outside help to meet their caregiving responsibilities. Additionally, the fact that the theme of caregiver burden was broached among second-generation respondents and not among first-generation respondents may reflect the willingness of each generation to speak of the negatives aspect caregiving.

The second theme touches on the concept that caring should come from a willingness to do so. One second-generation participant states,

Caring for Chinese parents should be because you want to do it. If you are resentful or too busy to care properly for them, then don’t. Sometimes as a nurse
I see the elderly unbathed, in lousy living conditions, and poorly cared for. An agency for elderly care or nursing home will be better for them in treatments. The emphasis on wanting to provide care may indicate that second-generation respondents see the responsibility of caring for their parents as more than an obligation. To a degree, it touches on the concept of love, or caring from the heart.

Knowledge and Usage of Elder Care Resources

The knowledge and use of mainstream elder care resources was also explored in the study. In this study, the term mainstream elder care resources is in reference to some of the more widely recognized services available to ensure the well-being of older adults. Programs and services included in the study were: Meals-on-Wheels, In-Home Supportive Services, Paratransit, adult day care and respite care.

With regards to knowledge of mainstream elder care resources, it was found that most of the participants were familiar with each of the programs and services listed (See Figure 5). Slight differences in familiarity to the resources were found when the data was analyzed along generation status. Among first-generation respondents, they indicated that they were familiar most with In-Home Supportive Services (79.4%), adult day care (64.7%), Meals-on-Wheels (50%), Paratransit (47.1%) and then respite care (29.4%). Second-generation respondents were most familiar with In-Home Supportive Services (69.2%), Meals-on-Wheels (64.1%), adult day care (61.5%), Paratransit (56.4%) and the respite care (48.7%). A few first-generation ($n = 2$) and second-generation ($n = 5$) participants indicated knowing other resources. These findings illustrate that first-generation and second-generation participants are aware of some of
the mainstream elder care resources. It is of note that there appears to be more awareness of the less well-known, non-mainstream, services among the second-generation participants compared to first-generation participants.

![Figure 5. Knowledge of Mainstream Elder Care Resources. This figure illustrates the percent of participants who indicate knowledge of mainstream elder care resources.](image)

Knowledge of and the actual usage of the resources is an important distinction to make. Despite having the knowledge of some mainstream resources, a majority of the participants did not utilize them. An overwhelming majority of respondents never utilized Meals-on-Wheels (97.3%), In-Home Supportive Services (78.1%), Paratransit (93.2%), adult day care (94.5%). This reaffirms the literature’s observation that Asian-Americans have often underutilized resources. It points to possible cultural barriers as well as accessibility of resources to this segment of the population. In examining the
data between the two generation groups, it was found that for each of the mainstream services the second-generation had slightly higher percentages in the “never used” category than their first-generation counterpart.

Among those who have utilized the resources in the past, it was found that In-Home Supportive Services was utilized the most by both generations (first-generation with \( n = 9 \); second-generations with \( n = 7 \)). It was followed by Paratransit (\( n = 4 \)), adult day care (\( n = 2 \)), Meals-on-Wheels (\( n = 1 \)) and other (nursing home; \( n = 1 \)) among the first-generation respondents. Among the second-generation respondents, the next frequently used resource was others (senior community center, \( n = 3 \)), adult day care (\( n = 3 \)), Meals-on-Wheels (\( n = 1 \)) and Paratransit(\( n = 1 \)). See Figure 6 for a graphical representation of participants’ usage frequency of mainstream elder care resources. In totaling the usage frequency of all the resources, it was found that first-generation had slightly higher usage (\( n = 17 \)) than second-generation participants (\( n = 15 \)). This may be accounted by the younger ages of second-generation participants – meaning, they may be earlier in their caregiving role and thus not had the time to explore and use the available resources. The higher usage of services among the first-generation participants may speak once again to their immigrant experience. It may be possible that first-generation participants lack the social network they would have if they were in their country of origin – family, relatives and friends – that could help in the caring of their parents and thus turn to these services to ease the caregiving responsibilities.
Figure 6. Usage of Mainstream Elder Care Resources. This figure illustrates the frequency of participants who utilize mainstream elder care resources. For first-generation, “others” represent nursing home; for second-generation, “others” represent community centers.

Elder Care Resources for Chinese Parents

Content analysis was utilized to examine the qualitative data on the recommendations and suggestions for elder care resources in the United States. Both generations responded similarly – both first- and second-generation participants’ responses brought up the same themes.

Bilingual and bicultural services were the most frequent responses. Participants expressed a need for multilingual service providers, service staff or to have translation services available. Many of the responses were geared towards addressing the medical and health concerns of their aging parents. For example, participants spoke about
creating more nursing, independent housing and assisted-living facilities that are geared
towards the Chinese population. This relates back to the literature’s observation on the
low levels of utilizations as well as possibly providing an explanation to the low levels
of utilization found in the current study.

Other suggestions revolved around specific services geared towards the Chinese
population. The list included: discharge planning, transportation, physical and mental
activities, housing, paid time off/family leave, visitor services, community centers,
dependent care insurance and universal health care. Most of the responses were about
increasing the access and availability to the services listed. It was interesting to note that
most of first-generation participants’ responses were aimed at current resources – such
as transportation, nursing homes and community centers – while second-generation
participants’ responses included suggestions for changes to existing institutions. For
example, second-generation respondents were more likely to suggest increasing the
availability dependent care insurance or family leave than first-generation respondents.
It can then be infer that second-generation respondents are more aware that broader
changes in the systems may be required to allow them to meet the responsibility of
caring for their parents. This may even be further extrapolated to a greater awareness of
the institutions and systems involved (such as the health care system) among those in the
second-generation than among of the first-generation.

The last theme to emerge was the issue of funding and affordability. Both
generations mentions a need for lower cost of services to allow middle-class families to
be able to utilize the current resources. It is implied by that increasing government
funding to elder care services is one way to make services and programs more affordable to Chinese families.

All in all, the recommendations made by participants in the study may be summed up as: increasing access of current services and programs through availability of affordable bilingual/bicultural services.

**Emergent Findings on the Perceptions of Filial Piety**

Inferential statistics, specifically the chi-square test, was applied to the data to explore if there were significant findings on the basis of age, gender and caregiver status. For two of the three variables – age and caregiver status – no significant findings in the perception of filial piety were discovered.

The lack of significant findings for age may be due in part to the criteria of the study. The age range of 30 to 64 was selected based on the assumption that it is probably more typical of individuals at those ages to be caring for their aging parents. As such, it was assumed that participants may have firmer notions of filial piety than those outside the age range. The age criteria for the study may have biased the data in that it created less variation in the perception of filial piety. Additionally, the lack of significant findings may point to a consistent conceptualization of the value – one that does not change much from when an individual is 30 or 64. The same may be said for the lack of significant findings based on caregiver status. It may infer that once an individual has an idea of what filial piety means to him/her, it does not change much if s/he is a current, former, and non-caregiver.
Gender differences in the perception of filial piety emerged for the following areas: respect $\chi^2(3, N = 73) = 7.90, p = .048$, ancestor worship $\chi^2(3, N = 73) = 7.40, p = .06$, keeping in touch $\chi^2(2, N = 73) = 4.67, p = .099$, avoiding arguments $\chi^2(3, N = 73) = 11.99, p = .007$, pleasing and making happy $\chi^2(3, N = 73) = 9.27, p = .026$, providing care as needed $\chi^2(2, N = 73) = 5.16, p = .076$. For each of these areas, it was found that males were more likely to disagree while females either responded more favorably or as expected. A possible explanation to the findings may be that the caregiving role has, and still is, been a highly gendered role. In other words, women have historically, and to varying degrees today, been engaged in most of the caregiving. It is likely that the gender differences noted in the current study reflects the historical trend – it is probable the women continue to do much of the caring and notions such as respect, keeping in touch, avoiding arguments, pleasing and making happy, providing care as needed and ancestor worship continue to hold some degree of importance among women as they care for their aging parents, or parent-in-laws.

Executive Summary

Three major areas were explored in the current study – the perceptions of filial piety, care behaviors and the knowledge and usage of elder care resources. In the current section, a summary of key findings is presented and discussed.

Key Findings on the Perceptions of Filial Piety

- It was found that participants in the study tended to overall respond favorably to items assessing perceptions of filial piety. This indicates an adherence to Confucian ideals of filial piety among the participants.
• Two areas of indicating strong adherence to Confucian ideals are: genuine concern and staying in touch.

• Notions of respect, obedience, avoidance of arguments and honoring ancestors appeared to be decreasing in importance among participants. The decline on obedience and avoidance of argument reaffirms the trends in ethnic-Chinese societies in East Asia and elsewhere. However, the de-emphasis on respect has not been observed in the literature – further research is needed to understand the finding.

• Participants indicated a divergence from classical filial ideals on the notion that “rearing sons is to provide for old age.”

• There were some generational differences in participants’ conceptualization of filial piety. As a whole, the second-generation respondents appeared to adhere less to traditional notions of filial piety – continuing care, staying in proximity, expectation of rewards, sacrifice, parental impact on decisions, pleasing parents, accompanying parents and spiritual/emotional concern. However, the only statistical significant difference was in pleasing parents.

• Statistical significant findings emerged for gender. Men were less likely than females to uphold the following filial notions: respect, ancestor worship, staying in touch, avoiding arguments, pleasing parents and providing care as needed.

Key Findings on Care Behaviors
• Besides family, first-generation participants tend to prefer to turn to outside help (ex. medical services and human service agencies) more than second-generation who prefer turn to medical services, friends before engaging in human service agencies. The commonality in medical service as the preferred second choice may indicate a point of entry for service providers – to frame support from a medical perspective may allow more service providers to reach this population.

• For reasons to why children choose to care for their parents, first-generation respondents tend to list “duty” first while second-generation respondents tend to frame it as “reciprocity.” Overall, first-generation respondents place more emphasis on their capacity to care (ex. having the time, financial means or being close proximity) as why they are caregivers for their parents.

• Both generations engaged more in the indirect caring of their parents. This includes activities such as paying bills/giving money, providing transportation, and looking after health concerns.

• It was also found that in engaging in one aspect of indirect care – that of social engagement and staying in touch – both participants group were less likely to utilize outside resources. The family appears to remains the prefer source of indirect caring.

• Confucian filial piety emphasis elders as the center of the family. Both generation groups display the tendency to put elders towards the peripheral of the family. First-generation respondents tend to focus on the needs of their
children and then their own; second-generation respondents focus on themselves and then their own.

- Participants express the importance of communication in understanding of changing family dynamics and its impact on caring for aging parents.

Key Findings on Knowledge and Usage of Elder Care Resources

- Participants were aware of some of the mainstream elder care resources – Meals-on-Wheels, In-Home Supportive Services (IHSS), Paratransit and adult day care. IHSS is the most recognized between the two generations.

- Utilization of the mainstream elder care resource remains very low. Of those utilized, the most frequent is IHSS for both generation groups. First-generation have slightly higher usage of the elder care resources than second-generation.

- Suggestions to improve elder care services include: increase cultural-competency of service providers and increase affordability of current services.
Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

Three hypotheses, guided by the constructivist, ecological and acculturation theoretical frameworks, directed the study. Informed primarily by acculturation theory, the researcher first hypothesized that there is a difference in perception of filial piety between first- and second-generation Chinese Americans. The data revealed that there are some differences, but many were not statistically significant. Only one element of filial piety – pleasing and making parents happy - had statistical significance between the two generations.

Tapping into the constructivist and ecological perspectives, the second hypothesis stated that second-generation Chinese Americans are more likely to be concerned of their aging parent’s indirect needs (such as the emotional and social concerns) compared to first-generation Chinese Americans who will tend to focus more on the direct caring needs. The data explored indirect and direct caring through filial perceptions and actual care behaviors. On the level of filial beliefs, the data revealed that first-generation Chinese Americans were more concern about the indirect needs than second-generation Chinese Americans. On the level of care behaviors, it was found that both generations were more involved in the indirect than in the direct caring of their parents. Constraints, such as distance, may explain the higher concern of indirect caring among first-generation participants possibly because they are unable to take on the direct caring needs. In addition, the higher engagement in indirect caring among both
generations is reflective of the trends seen in East Asia and among diasporic Chinese – possible indication of global changes rather than specific-cultural changes in the caring experience.

The final hypothesis, primarily drawing on the ecological framework, examined the elder care practices. Specifically, it was hypothesized that second-generation Chinese Americans, who are more aware of American health and social institutions, would have a greater tendency to utilize mainstream support than their first-generation counterparts. It was found that both generations were aware of mainstream resources but first-generation Chinese Americans had a higher frequency of usage than second-generation Chinese Americans. This finding may be due to the kind of support systems available to each generation. In other words, the higher usage among first-generation participants may be explained by the possibility that first-generation individuals may not have extensive informal support (such as family and friends) in the United States and thus, turn to formal support systems to meet their caring responsibilities.

The hypotheses that guided the study were not supported by the current study. Despite that an important conclusion can be made. To reiterate, acculturation theorists expect a larger gap in cultural knowledge and adherence to cultural values between first-generation and second-generation individuals. However, in the current study, it proved not to be the case when it comes to Chinese Americans and filial piety. It brings to light the uniqueness of each generation and the difficulty of categorizing the experiences of each generation based on a theory. The lack of support for the hypotheses and an important premise of acculturation theory serve as a reminder to service providers,
policymakers and the lay community to find a balance between broader generalizations derived from research and theories with the experiences of an individual or group.

Mirroring the trends and patterns seen among ethnic-Chinese societies in East Asia and the diasporic Chinese are many of the other findings – including gender differences, a shift of aging parents to the peripheral of the family system, an emphasis on indirect caring and intergenerational communication. In part, the similarities to trends in East Asia and other diasporic Chinese community points to the possibility of global influences – such as demographics, globalization, or westernization – as being the underlying force to the changing filial beliefs and behaviors.

Social Work Implications and Recommendations

The social work profession is committed to enhancing the well-being of society and its people. Implications and recommendations to how social work can enhance and improve the quality of life for Chinese-American elders and caregivers may be drawn from the study’s findings.

In itself, the study by examining filial piety as it relates to the care experiences of today’s Chinese Americans has implications for social work. It impacts the social work profession in that facilitates the attainment of one of the core values listed in the profession’s Code of Ethics – cultural competency. The study as a whole brings to the profession a re-examination of how cultural values, such as filial piety, influence the actions of clients. What this study gives to the social work field is a deeper understanding of filial piety as it relates to the care experiences of Chinese Americans – it provides some insight to what influences their decision to seek outside help, who is
acceptable to substitute the role of the caregiver when the family is unable to help and areas in which tension may arise within the family as members navigate between their own meanings of filial piety and the care expectations. Armed with such knowledge is hoped to improve, to some degree, the cultural competency of social workers so that more effective and helpful working relationships emerge between workers and their Chinese-American clients.

One of the many findings from this study that is informative to the social work field is the identification of a factor that prevents Chinese Americans from seeking outside help. The qualitative data revealed an overwhelming response from both generations that there is a lack of bilingual and bicultural services for aging Chinese parents. Participants spoke about the great need for trained professionals who understand the language, of nursing homes geared to the specific needs of aging parents (such as food, celebration of important holidays and bilingual staff). This finding re-affirms the literature to a possible reason behind the underutilization of formal resources and systems of supports among Chinese Americans. As a profession committed to enhancing the well-being of society and its people, this is a service delivery gap that must be addressed. A recommendation to overcome this gap in service delivery is for social workers and agencies to re-examine the population they currently and aim to serve to determine if the development of translation services is needed to reach the Chinese Americans in their service area. Another suggestion is to work in collaboration with other agencies that specializes in serving Asian Pacific Islanders to bring in a multicultural element that speaks to the worldviews of Chinese Americans. The last
recommendation is to encourage agency administrators and social workers to attend regular training workshops to develop and maintain cultural competent skills.

The study’s finding on who is considered to be an acceptable caregiver in lieu of a family member may be very insightful for the social work profession. The data show that both generations in the study indicated that they would turn first to medical and health services and professionals for help. The reliance on the medical and health services may be a point of entry for service providers to reach this population. For example, social workers can emphasize the medical and health benefits that a particular service or program can provide to aging parents. Using health and medical benefits as a mediating lens may allow social workers to gain the interest, and possible utilization, of services and programs that can help relieve some of the burden or stress Chinese-American caregivers face in their caring responsibilities. Thus, it is recommended that service providers and agencies give consideration to using a health and medical lens in outreaching to this population. It is also suggested that the mediating lens of health may be another point of entry for communication within the family. Social workers encountering tensions within a family system may be open lines of communication though the “safe topic” of health and medical needs. As a starting point, it may allow the family to begin to engage in conversations that touch on other needs (such as the emotional, social and spiritual aspects of caring).

While not proving to be statistically significant, the study identified some areas in which first-generation and second-generation participants diverged in their perception of filial piety may be useful to social workers. The divergent elements of filial piety
may be seen as possible areas in which tension can arise within the family system. To 
reiterate, those areas include: continuing care, staying in proximity, expectation of 
rewards, sacrifice, parental impact on decisions, pleasing parents, accompanying parents 
and spiritual/emotional concern. How this impacts social work practice is that it 
identifies possible areas that social workers may want to be aware of and to explore 
when working with Chinese families on caring issues. It is important to remember that 
this list identifies only some of potential issues, it is not a complete list, each family 
system will have its own unique needs. In other words, it is recommended that social 
workers be aware and to be informed by current literature of what may be pertinent 
issues in order to continually develop their cultural competency with this population.

Lastly, it is important to point out that there is something to learn from the 
study’s lack of support for the hypotheses and for a premise of acculturation theory. The 
lack of support brings attention to the importance of honoring, respecting and giving the 
client an opportunity for his/her voice to be heard. In particular, in not affirming 
acculturation theory’s premise that there is a significant gap between first-generation and 
second-generation individuals’ knowledge and adherence to cultural traditions and 
values, the study demonstrates that social workers should be tread carefully to find a 
balance between information derived from research and individual’s experiences. To an 
extent, the study as a whole acts a reminder to the social work profession to not assume 
the role of the expert but to allow the opportunity for each client, whether it is the 
caregiver or care-receiver, to self-determine the issues relevant and the desired direction 
in his/her situation.
It is hope that through these implications and recommendations that the needs of Chinese caregivers and elders are better served by the social work profession.

**Evaluation and Future Directions**

The capacity of the current study to examine the transforming notions of filial piety and its impact on the elder care practices of Chinese Americans is restricted by some limitations. The first limitation is study’s ability to be generalizable to the broader Chinese-American population. This is due in part to the characteristics of the sample – particularly, the small sample size, the use of non-random sampling methods, and limited to a locale. Only 73 participants were included in the study as such individual variations may have skewed the data. Additionally, in utilizing non-random sampling methods, the data may carry some bias. In other words, the researcher may have the unintended effect of recruiting those who held similar beliefs or behaviors when using convenience and snowballing methods of recruitment. Lastly, majority of the respondents were California residents. Many reside in Sacramento, San Francisco and San Diego metropolitan areas with a few from the East Coast. This has the effect of limiting the study’s ability to speak to the experiences of Chinese Americans in the United States since much of the data reflect the perspectives of those in California. To a degree, California is not representative of the United States. It is a state that has one of the largest concentrations of Chinese Americans, a historical immigrant destination and thus is shape by social and political factors that might not be seen outside of the state.

However, these limitations points to possible new directions for future studies. To improve on generalizability, future studies can make considerations to include a
larger sample size, to utilize random sampling methods and to sample Chinese Americans from other states so that the findings can be apply to Chinese Americans in the United States.

Another major limitation is the use of an unvalidated instrument. In the space to provide additional comments, some respondents mentioned that some questions were unclear to them. For example, a few former caregivers mentioned that they may have flip-flop their responses because at times they answered the questions as when they were caring for their aging parents and sometimes as they are now when not caring for aging parents. Future studies should make consideration to further refine the instrument or to utilize established and validated instruments. A more extensive pilot testing phase than the one used in the current study may allow future studies to further capture and explore in-depth the complexity and nuances of the perception of filial piety in modern society.

The time frame for this project limited the current study’s ability to further investigate some of the emergent findings and nuances in the concept of filial piety. Future studies may want to further explore the concept of duty versus responsibility. The current study utilizes both terms interchangeably. However, there may be slight differences in connotations of how participants perceive “duty” and “responsibility” – it may be the case that duty connotes an obligation that expectations must be observed, followed, and upheld; while responsibility may carry more of a connotation of free will or individual freedom to choose to whether one wants to fulfill the expectations. Further exploration of the two terms can help to improve the validity of the instrument and provide a clearer picture of the filial perceptions among today’s Chinese Americans.
While the current study did not support that there is a difference between first-generation and second-generation Chinese Americans, it may be interesting and informative to examine if and what differences exist between first-generation and third-generation; or between second-generation and third-generation; or between third-generation and fourth-generation; of among individuals of mixed generations (where one parent is of one generation and the other of another generation). Such studies can further explore the way in which filial piety and elder care practices changes with each generation.

Future studies may want to investigate the transformation of filial piety between different generations or ages of women or men. Another potential area for exploration is a more in-depth look into Chinese Americans’ preferences of outside help. For example, examining more closely to why this population tend to rely more of medical and health services and professionals when needing extra help to fulfill caregiving duties.

In summary, there are some limitations that affect the capacity of the current study to speak of the caring experiences – the filial perceptions, the filial behaviors and the elder care practices – to a larger Chinese-American population. However, the current study has opened many possibilities and potentials to further explore the caring experience of the Chinese in the United States that may be of interest of future researchers.
APPENDIX A

LETTER OF SUPPORT

August 21, 2009

Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects
California State University, Sacramento
6000 J Street
Sacramento, California 95819

Dear Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects,

This letter is in support of the Bonnie Chow’s research proposal on the filial piety between first- and second-generation Chinese-Americans. After careful review of the proposal, Asian Community Center (ACC) finds that the study has practice and academic significance. We will be interested in reading the findings from the study. As such, ACC is willing to assist Bonnie Chow in the recruitment of potential study participants from our agency’s service recipients.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Donna L. Yee, Ph.D.
Chief Executive Officer
APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
You are invited to participate in a study on the perceptions of filial piety among first- and second-generation Chinese Americans. We hope to learn how and if the influence of filial piety shapes elder care practices in the United States. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you were referred to the researcher as meeting the requirements of the study –1) being of Chinese descent and 2) immigrated to the United States or have foreign-born parents.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to fill-out a written questionnaire that measures your perspectives on filial piety. This questionnaire will be administered once and should take no more than 15-20 minutes to complete. It can be expected that little discomfort or inconveniences will occur. The risks of participating in this study are expected to be little to none. However, if you do experience any discomfort please see the attached list of local agencies. The findings from your questionnaire will be analyzed and used to better understand the influence of filial piety on elder care practices in the United States.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission.

Your decision whether or not to participate will not prejudice your future relation with the California State University, Sacramento. If you decide to participate, you are free to discontinue participation at any time without prejudice.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you have any additional questions or comments later, please contact Bonnie Chow at (916) 393-9026 ext. 336 or bc769@saclink.csus.edu.

You are making a decision whether or not to participate. Your signature indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to participate. You may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you may be entitled after signing this form should you choose to discontinue participation in this study.

_______________________________   _____________________________
Signature       Date

Please return this page along with completed questionnaire.
## List of Local Agencies and Organizations

### Sacramento

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Phone Number</th>
<th>Website</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Del Oro Caregiver Resource Center</td>
<td>5725-D Marconi Avenue</td>
<td>Carmichael</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(916) 971-0893</td>
<td><a href="http://www.deloro.org/">www.deloro.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Community Center</td>
<td>7375 Park City Drive</td>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(916) 393-9026</td>
<td><a href="http://www.accsv.org/">www.accsv.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Pacific Community Counseling</td>
<td>7273 14th Avenue, Ste 120B</td>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(916) 383-6783</td>
<td><a href="http://www.apccounseling.org/">www.apccounseling.org/</a></td>
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### Bay Area

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<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Caregiver Alliance</td>
<td>180 Montgomery Street, Suite 1100</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(415) 434-3388</td>
<td><a href="http://www.caregiver.org/">www.caregiver.org/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>California Counseling Institute</td>
<td>4614 California Street</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(415) 752-1702</td>
<td><a href="http://www.californiacounseling.org/">www.californiacounseling.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Lok – 30th Street Senior Center</td>
<td>225 30th Street, 3rd Floor</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(415) 550-2210</td>
<td><a href="http://www.onlok.org/">www.onlok.org/</a></td>
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### San Diego

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<th>Agency</th>
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<th>Website</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Caregiver Resource Center</td>
<td>3675 Ruffin Road, Suite 230</td>
<td>San Diego</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(858) 268-4432</td>
<td><a href="http://www.serc.signonsandiego.com/">www.serc.signonsandiego.com/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Union of Pan Asian Communities</td>
<td>1031 25th Street</td>
<td>San Diego</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(619) 232-6454</td>
<td><a href="http://www.upacsd.com/">www.upacsd.com/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Union of Pan Asian Communities</td>
<td>3675 Ruffin Road, Suite 230</td>
<td>San Diego</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>(858) 268-4432</td>
<td><a href="http://www.serc.signonsandiego.com/">www.serc.signonsandiego.com/</a></td>
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APPENDIX C

CAREGIVING PERSPECTIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Participant,

Thank you for participating in this study, please take a few minutes to complete the following questions. Again, your participation is voluntary. This study aims at understanding caregiving attitudes and elder care among Chinese-Americans. All data will be treated as confidential. When done please return the completed questionnaire to the designated person or to the collection box located in the East Lawn Room of Asian Community Center. Thank you for your kind assistance.

Please mark the box that best represent your views.

### Demographic Information:

- **Age:**
  - [ ] 30-34
  - [ ] 35-39
  - [ ] 40-44
  - [ ] 45-49
  - [ ] 50-54
  - [ ] 55-59
  - [ ] 60-64

- **Gender:**
  - [ ] Female
  - [ ] Male

- **I was born:**
  - [ ] outside of the United States
  - [ ] in the United States

- **I am:**
  - [ ] a current caregiver
  - [ ] a former caregiver
  - [ ] not a caregiver

### CAREGIVING PERSPECTIVES QUESTIONNAIRE

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chinese adults traditionally and culturally have taken care of their parents</td>
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<td>2. The Chinese have a strong sense that adult children have a duty/responsibility to take care of their aging parents</td>
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<td>3. This sense of responsibility or duty to one’s parents is still a valid concept among adult and young Chinese-Americans</td>
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<td>4. “Rearing sons to provide for oneself in one’s old age” should no longer be the main purpose of raising children</td>
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<td>5. No matter how parents conduct themselves, sons and daughters must respect them</td>
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<td>6. I regularly take part in ceremonies honoring my ancestors</td>
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<td>7. I am willing to continue care of my elderly parents even if I have the opportunity to be free of the responsibility</td>
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<td>8. When I make major decisions (ex. moving), I consider their impact on my parents</td>
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<td>9. Today, among Chinese-Americans caring for one’s parents include:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staying in close proximity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Keeping in touch</td>
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<td>Obeying their wishes even when you disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Avoiding arguments with parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not expecting any physical or monetary rewards</td>
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<tr>
<td>Making sacrifices in one’s time, money and energy</td>
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<td>Pleasing them and making them happy</td>
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<td>Providing resources/care as needed</td>
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<td>Genuine concern for their well-being</td>
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<td>Assisting them financially</td>
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<td>Accompanying parents to do what they like</td>
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<td>10. In America, there appears to be a trend of children leaving their parents in the hands of others (ex. placement in nursing homes, hiring in-home aides)</td>
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<td>11. I am concerned not only about my parents’ material comfort but also their “spiritual/emotional” comfort (such as not letting them worry about me)</td>
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<td>12. I care for my parents because (please check all that applies):</td>
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<td>[ ] I am the oldest son/daughter</td>
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<td>[ ] I have the time</td>
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<td>[ ] I live the closest to them</td>
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<td>[ ] Reciprocity - they did the same for me</td>
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<td>[ ] I get along well with my parents</td>
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<td>13. Please rank the all the items – 1 being the most important and 5 being the least important. When making the decision to buy a new home, I consider the following:</td>
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<td>[ ] Quality of the school district</td>
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<td>[ ] Close to parents’ residence</td>
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<td>[ ] Proximity to my employment location</td>
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<td>[ ] Convenience to public transportation, community centers, grocery stores</td>
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<td>[ ] Accommodations in the house for parents to stay in (short-term or long-term)</td>
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</table>
14. I call my parents
- [ ] daily  [ ] every few days  [ ] weekly  [ ] every few weeks  [ ] monthly  [ ] every few months
I visit my parents
- [ ] daily  [ ] every few days  [ ] weekly  [ ] every few weeks  [ ] monthly  [ ] every few months
I eat a meal with my parents
- [ ] daily  [ ] every few days  [ ] weekly  [ ] every few weeks  [ ] monthly  [ ] every few months

15. I try to engage my parents by (please check all that applies):
- [ ] Enrolling them in social activities/events/clubs (ex. bingo, senior classes, casino trips)
- [ ] Inviting elders from the community to spend time with my parents
- [ ] Organizing family events (ex. celebrating birthday, family reunions)
- [ ] Not Applicable

16. When taking care of my parents I do/have done the following (please check all that applies):
- [ ] Preparing meals for them
- [ ] Cleaning their house
- [ ] Giving money/paying the bills
- [ ] Making sure they take their medication
- [ ] Providing transportation
- [ ] Encouraging them to exercise/look after their health
- [ ] Bathing or “toileting” (will do when needed)
- [ ] Doing miscellaneous tasks around the house (ex. ironing, making the bed)

17. Please rank all items – 1 being your first choice and 7 being your last choice. When I need help in caring for my parents, I turn to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Other family members</th>
<th>Human service agencies and programs</th>
<th>Friends/Neighbors</th>
<th>Medical</th>
<th>Church/Temple</th>
<th>Others (Please specify)</th>
<th>Community Centers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

18. I am aware of the following sources of support in caring for my parents (please check all that applies)
- [ ] Meals-on-Wheels
- [ ] In-Home Supportive Services
- [ ] Paratransit
- [ ] Adult Day Care
- [ ] Respite Care
- [ ] Others (Please specify)

19. I currently or in the past have utilized the following sources of support in caring for my parents:
- [ ] Meals-on-Wheels
- [ ] In-Home Supportive Services
- [ ] Paratransit
- [ ] Adult Day Care
- [ ] Others (Please specify)

20. What in your opinion is/are most important aspects in caring for Chinese parents in the United States?

21. Is there anything you think is needed to improve elder care in the United States? If so, what are they?

22. You may write any additional comments about caring for Chinese parents or elder care in the United States below.
REFERENCES


http://dictionary.classic.reference.com/browse/value


