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**Stay or Back: Chinese migrating parents
experience of social inclusion under
intergenerational support**

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Abstract

This study aims to explore Chinese migrating parent's experiences of social inclusion in new city. The period of fieldwork took place in Shenzhen in China during the summer of 2016 and spring of 2017. The method employed is semi-structured interviews. The participants in the study were elder migrants born outside Shenzhen, following adult children migrate to Shenzhen.

Elderly parents migrating to reunify with their adult children is a relatively new phenomenon that arises along the further domestic migration processes in China. These migrating parents migrate to follow their children, either in need of care from their children, but more likely because of the needs of their children for their care to the children's households and grandchildren.

In this thesis, I will discuss the emotional, economic and social life inclusion of the migrant parents, in relation to their need from social support, especially for intergenerational support. What kind of problem/challenge they experience in their new life in the city when living together with their children and children's family. We will also discuss how migration and living together with the children and children's family would influence the inter-generational relations.

Key words: intergenerational support, social inclusion, Chinese migrating parents, social support, identity, gender, in-group and out-group

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Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter presents *choice of the topic* and *background of the research*. I define the *social inclusion and migrating parents* in Chinese context; further on, I also describe *the aims and significance of the study and research questions*.

1.1 Choice of the topic

4 years ago, I studied in East-North of China for my bachelor degree. Once, I met an elderly couple who live in Changchun¹ sitting next to me in the flight from Changchun to my home, Shenzhen². They were on the way to take care of their grandchild in Shenzhen. This, they had done for 5 years. The most interesting thing is that they come back to Changchun in every summer holidays and the rest of time stays in Shenzhen because the summer is too hot to endure in Shenzhen. They called themselves as ‘seasonal babysitter’. Behind this word, I can recognize that this couple doesn’t expect children caring and is looking forward to staying at the hometown. From my perspectives, I have better understanding of migrating family because my parents have immigrated from village to city. Interestingly, the discussions with elderly couples in the flight provide me another perspective to think about ‘migrating family’ through other perspectives. The idea of doing a research on the “Migrating parents” arouse in my brain for the first time.

After that, I make some elderly friends when I interned in a community with large group of migrant population for investigation. Their migrating experiences make me interest to do a research. Some of them are aging people who in fact don’t enjoy later years in their life, migrating to follow their young children becoming migrant population. The chief problem is how to help migrating parents to adapt in new social environment. Although these elderly people live in same community environment, they have quite different social inclusion situation. Social inclusion is not a constant one-dimensional concept, but dynamic, progressive, multi-dimensional, interactive. Some are interested in building social network; some are not interested in new community life. But, what are factors that influence their social inclusion situation?

¹ Changchun is a capital city and industrial city of Jilin Province in China.

² Shenzhen is an economic city in Guangdong Province, which lives in thousands of mobile population.

1.2 Background of Chinese internal migration

The strict management of planned economy is coupled with rigid administration of the permanent household residence system³, resulting in small size of migration from the late 1950s to the early 1980s (Un, 2009). In Siosan's research of floating population in China, she demonstrated that "there were only 6.57 million migrants due to the estimation of the 3rd National Census in 1982 accounted for only 0.66% of China's national population (Un, 2009)". During this period, Huang and Pieke (Huang and Pieke, 2003) believe that government still prohibits residents to flow from rural areas to urban areas. Then, in mid-1980s, the emerging of 'plenty of internal migrants from rural areas to urban areas', and from 'less developed cities to developing economic cities' due to the social economic reform and the introduction of market economy make an announcement of household registration system (Hukou System) across whole country (Li, Stanton, Fang and Lin, 2006). This household registration system - the Hukou was introduced in 1958 and used to erect an inherited system that divided the whole national population into two different kinds of subject (rural householders and urban householders), while it requires every Chinese citizen to be registered at birth with the local authorities (Zhang, 2001). An official estimate of the migrant workers is nearly 150 million, accounted for nearly 12% of national population (Project Group of the Research Office of the State Council, 2006). Recently, regarding this prominent phenomenon in China, Zhao pointed out the situation that rural migrant reside in cities without the legal approval, while a large group of these people are circular migrants, for example, they move back and forth frequently (Chen, 2015).

A growing urbanization demands more labors, while the technology-driven agricultural growth can contribute dramatically to release more rural labors. However, these patterns are coupled with the rapidly economic development and modernization in coastal area, especially for large cities, leading demographic transition and stayed at low fertility (Yang, 2014). Wang and Huang (Wang and Huang, 2014) reported that the size of China's migration has increased from 6.6 million to 150 million, up almost 22 times in twenty years. The coastal provinces and municipalities attracted 77.7% of national total cross-provincial migrants, thus the urban population reached 63.5% along these areas (resources provided by NBS, 2012)⁴. Therefore, all Chinese migration problems can be concluded to influence of the large number and rapid

³ Household registration system that was designed to directly regulate population redistribution, resulting in a situation that person should be assigned a job and rationed living necessities in urban by government. If a person wanted to move, approval had to be gained from their local government.

⁴ Population Census Office under the State Council/Department of Population and Employment Statistics, National Bureau of Statistics (NBS).2012. Tabulation on the 2010 Population Census of China, Beijing, China Statistics Press.

growth of migration. Therefore, all Chinese migration problems can be concluded to influence of the rapid growth of migrant population.

In the meanwhile, China also is facing an aging problem, while the fertility declining. By the end of 2013, the population aged 65 and above accounted for 9.7% of the total population, while it also will increase 13% after three decades (Yang, 2014). Therefore, less developed regions or rural areas will face the problems earlier because of migration.

Since intergenerational support for young working people is not a new phenomenon, few Chinese researchers start to study the new phenomenon – parents migrate to follow their children. It is mostly occurred in big city, especially for Shenzhen, which is famous for migrant city in China.

1.3 One-child policy, filial piety affect migrating parents in Chinese context

By the end of 1979, the “one child policy” direct influence on dramatically reduced family size coupled with increasing household wealth of middle class. Urban areas were most strictly enforced by the one-child policy and even parents could lose their job and housing if they chose to have a second child. Although the “one-child” policy was officially terminated in October 2015, the implementation and influence of one child generation result in that three-member nuclear family becomes the norm in urban areas, even some parts rural areas in China.

Although in contemporary China, urbanization has reduced to some degree the direct implementation of filial piety⁵ by local community and neighborhood, indirect social stress still pervasive. The one-child working class Chinese families have heavy investment that was depicted by Fong as a way to enable every Chinese child to achieve success, while it works as a way to fulfill their filial duties (Fong, 2014). Additionally, Tu’s research defined the filial piety from different way of thinking, if adult children not able to retaliating directly parental investment; it will result in serious frustration (Tu, 2016). Therefore, after youth migrate workers settle down in new city, they will start to consider about how to take care of their parents, which is indirect influence on migrating parents.

This thesis will further the understanding of different factors influence on migration decision and studying how migrating parents experience their new city life and living with their adult

⁵Filial piety, this norm in china traditionally defined as one of “Confucian virtue” requiring adult children to fulfil elderly parent’s practical and looking after their emotional well-being; it also requiring high level of obedience and respect from the younger to the older generation during daily life.

children. This research also investigates social support and inclusion in “the age of migration” in China.

1.4 Define migrating parents in Chinese context

In recent years, with the development of society, the urbanization intensifies and the acceleration of population movements, migrate elderly groups gradually enter our field of vision. From the exists research, Scholars have different definition about this group of elderly people, such as: floating elders and ‘Lao Piao Zu’ (the migrant elderly group) etc. ‘Lao piao zu’ is most popular term in Chinese internal migration research, inspired by other commonly used terms in China, like Bei Piao (people migrates to Beijing⁶) and Guang Piao (People migrates to Guangdong⁷) and most of groups of Bei Piao and Guang Piao are young people who want to promote their business and career. Compared with Bei Piao and Guang Piao, Laopiao refers to old people who migrate internally. The reasons behind their migration can be different, but the most common one is migrating to follow their family members (Yu, 2013). In my study, I focus on this group of migrant elderlies, who migrate to reunify with their children. They are what I call “migrating parents”.

There are many factors that influence migrating parents. In Li and Yao’s research about migrating parents, they pointed out that the main reason for elderly people migrating is made by their family members (Li, 2011; Yao, 2010). For example, more and more young people choose living in big cities through studying, finding job, marrying with economic areas residents in order to get a place in big cities, after that their parents, including those with village household follow them to cities and live together (ibid). The same situation exists in the type of ‘seasonal babysitters’ in migrating parents, although they have pension security but the reason of migrating to new city because of their children (Liu, 2012). Wang’s research about floating elderly people has the same conclusion that the purpose of elderly people migrates to new city is to take care of the third generation and play household management in order to help their children whose business in rising period (Wang, 2013,). In addition, some after losing their spouse going to live with their children (Yi, 2014). Only less part of people enjoys their retired life, compared with all the elderlies (Guo, 2012).

Some scholars did a further study on definition of migrating parents about ages and the length of migrating period (Zhao, 2013; Yi, 2014). Zheng (Zheng, 2012) defines migrating parents as age above 50 years old and migrating to in-flow areas above half years. However, Li and

⁶ Beijing, the capital of China

⁷ Guangdong is famous for manufacturing and economical province in China

Zhao (Li,2012; Zhao,2013) agree that the age above 60 years old, while migrating to new city above 2 months (Qu, 2012). There are some important point can be summarized above research of definition: 1) Introduce the situation of floating elderly people. 2) The reason and period of migration and float. 3) The location of Household registration system before floating and migrating. Therefore, in my research, the definition of migrating parents is: following their children from out-flow areas (village or city) to Shenzhen⁸, continuous living more than half year with non-local household.

1.5 Define social inclusion from Chinese research

Yang (2009) distinguishes social inclusion and integration as two different concepts: Social integration is bi-directional descriptions that move into and out areas in the equal position to integrate, while social inclusion is single direction and refers to the floating population's initiative in the economic, behavioral and cultural aspects of adaptation and integrate into the main social systems. Additionally, inclusion intimated that inequality relationship of two sides, while integration mean that equal relationship. Thus, integration is the final goal, as well as inclusion will lead to integration.

From structure and social resources perspectives, Zhang (2010) states that social inclusion relate to social groups in the special circumstances due to integrate in the mainstream social network and able to get economic, political, public services and other resources of the dynamic process or state. He believed that social inclusion finally point to the resources, in essence, is a network of social relations. And the social resources embedded in the social relations network are the reason and the result of the social inclusion of the floating population. Liu (Liu, 2010) regards social inclusion as the opposite concept of social exclusion, borrowing the structure of social exclusion theory - The concept of inclusion should be integrated into the subject, the condition, the process and the goal. Basing on this, individual and the group in the society use the structural adjustment and the subject self-adaptation to enjoy employment, democratic election, policy decision services, urban cultural life, other basic economic, political rights and extensive social rights, in the process of equal participation in the gradual inclusion into the mainstream society. This definition considers the whole process and dual important factors (structure and individual), but understanding of reality problems for floating population, the definition ignoring the structure and the mechanism of action between individuals, the floating population encountered by the reality

⁸ Shenzhen is located in Guangdong province and working as special economic zone in China.

of the dilemma of this concept appears to be relatively insufficient connotation and extension, the lack of due explanatory power.

In my research, social inclusion can be defined that individual or groups use the external structural adjustment and individual adaptation to enjoy social services and different urban cultural life in the equal process to integrate into new environment. It is reflected the structure and the main body in the social field interaction.

1.6 The aims and significance of the study and Research questions

The sixth national census in 2010 shows that the number of mobile population is 2.6 billions people that is account for 16.53% of the total population (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2011)⁹. Above all, one of average five people is mobile person. Permanent population of Guangdong Province, for instance, is more than 1 billion, while the number of people who has Hukou¹⁰ outside Guangdong has reached 26.79 million people, which accounts for 30% of the total population. Therefore, in my research, I will choose the site study in Shenzhen of Guangdong Province to explore what kind of experience mobile population (Chinese migrating parents¹¹) they have and how is the challenge they face.

There are two reasons can be explained why this research is important: Firstly, basing on the characteristics of elderly immigrants, this thesis is not only research on urban social problems but also prefers focusing on intergeneration relationship among three generation in the family. Therefore, it will benefit for enriching mobile population and sociology of gerontology theory. Secondly, from the existing research, mobile population start to be attracted a lot, but migrating parents are always ignored in the research. On the one hand, migrating parents account for small number of mobile population now. On the other hand, aging population is not only retired group, but also contribute a lot silently in family. Therefore, it is important to explore and gain knowledge about their life situation and migration experience, in particular in relation to social inclusion.

Here I find my research question, which I define as followed: *How do they experience their new life in Shenzhen when living together with their children?*

⁹ National Bureau of Statistics of China 中华人民共和国国家统计局(2011),The sixth nationwide population census in 2010 (2010年第六次全国人口普查主要数据公报(第1号))..

¹⁰ HuKou is a record in a government system of household registration required by law in China.

¹¹ This research is only focus on migrating parents in mobile population.

This overall research questions can also be concretized or divided into these questions: *1. What do they expect from their new life in Shenzhen? 2. What kind of problem/challenge they experience? 3. How do they adapt to the new environment and the new life situation?*

1.7 Thesis Structure

In this part of research, I introduce my research question, research topic and background of migrating parents. So, the remaining part of this study is structured in the following way: chapter 2 is the literature review covering mainly studies that have already been conducted on immigrate elders as it has been used in Chinese context. In this chapter I will also explain the focus of the past studies in relation to elders social inclusion from western perspectives. Chapter 3 is the theoretical framework of this study. This chapter has described the theories that this study is based on. These include social support theory, which is the main concept or backbone of this study. Chapter 4 is the methodology, referring to discusses how the research was conducted and how it has been analyzed.

The empirical part of the study is chapter 5. Chapter 5 is presenting findings from the key informants, while presented from four aspects, daily life inclusion, mental inclusion, economic inclusion and culture inclusion. These chapters also include experiences of interviewees who experienced different situations moving to Shenzhen.

The last chapter (chapter 6) is concluding remarks and general discussions from the entire study. This chapter summarizes the findings of this study. It also presents the state of this practice in modern days and its future. This chapter will also give recommendations according to what has been said by the interviewees in this study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter presents literature addressing the issues related to elderly migrants, migrating parents in western countries and China. The main point of departure emphasizes the understanding of the subject in Chinese context, highlighting the nuances that underline the experience of migrating parents in China. This associated with social inclusion and social support of migrating parents is reviewed as well as special groups related to intergenerational support also explored.

2.1 Research on Western Migrant Elders

The Western scholar research themes on elders' migration are more diversified, including what type of elders will migrate easily, why they migrate, where do they immigrate to, whether their migration demands can be met, how is their subjective welfare, what influences do they exert on the emigration area, immigration area and the whole society (Song, 2005). The researches on elder migrant population's emigration areas and immigration areas have been discussed in Western developed countries for several times. In 1990, Longino and Marshall (Longino and Marshall, 1990) study on seasonally migrant elders in North American found out these people meet the following conditions: white people; married; retired; received high education; healthy; have high incomes. Further on, Walters (Walters, 2002) developed the previous research in American context and divided elders who have flow and migration behaviors into three types: enjoy-type immigrants, rescue-type immigrants and immigrants who do not live with spouses and suffer severe impairment. According to researches, the emigration areas and immigration areas of different elder immigrants greatly vary regarding their characteristics. Enjoy-type immigrants are mainly attracted by warm climate and developed economic conditions. They also try to avoid large cities; rescue-type immigrants usually choose immigration areas according to specific conditions and select low-price houses in such areas; severely impaired immigrants are more likely to emigrate from regions lacking nursing facilities to regions with good medical conditions. The researches done by Golant (Golant, 2002) shows that retired migrant population usually emigrate from cold regions to warm regions, from large cities to small towns and from regions with high living costs to regions with low living costs to spend their twilight years.

The pull—push theory is also universally used to explain the elder population's migration and flow. Shown by researchers, the immigration area will provide better entertainment facilities and living environment, thereby making elders' living quality more superior (Jacobs and

Tillie, 2004). Regarding these conditions, original residential areas are no matched for immigration areas. In this way, a strong pull—push factor is formed between original emigration areas and immigrations areas. Informational acquisition and the push—pull factor jointly act upon the flowing and migrating process. Through analysis and comparisons, the study has found out the reasons why foreign elders migrate are widely different from the reasons why Chinese elders migrate.

2.2 Research on Chinese Migrating parent’s social inclusion

In the beginning, most of researchers analyzed the status of young migrant workers’ social inclusion (Hu and Wu, 2004); Later, Hu (Hu, 2006) was offering her research on social inclusion of Taiwanese elderly living in Shanghai. Seen from these researches, the social inclusion was originally a term borrowed by scholars from migrant studies to describe the social problems faced by the above-mentioned groups in the migration, urbanization and citizenship processes. It is a vague generalization and expression of the social state encountered by them.

2.2.1 Decision making: Reasons and Characteristics of Elder Population’s Migration and Flow

The primary reasons for migration are labor, family reunification, and education from undeveloped areas to developed areas (Zheng, 2013). Zhou (Zhou, 2002) thought the demographic characteristics of migrant elders are represented in: the migrant population is oriented on immigrating into families; the emigration is mainly non-registered residential area¹²; the migrant populations are mainly household owners’ elderly parents, parents-in-law or have other extended relations with them. Such relations reflect the motivation for migration or flow, namely hope to live with children and be taken care of by children. Therefore, the main factors that influence elders’ population migration mainly include the elder population’s Health conditions, children’s economic conditions in the immigration area, the relations between children and parents and the immigration area’s natural, social and environmental factors (Jiang, 2003; Meng et al. 2004). For example, Wang’s research targets at migrant elders in Guangzhou and found out the 41.47% migrant elders who live with children mainly take care of grandchildren for adult children and 17.8% older adults (those aged 60 or over) help children to do housework, while co-residence with children without any care account for 14.7% respectively of the total population; meanwhile, only 7.35% of migrant elders co-

¹² According to the household registered system in China, people’s welfare is connected with their household place. If they live in non-registered residential area, they cannot enjoy the welfare from the government.

residence with children because they are fragile and needed to be taken care by children (Wang, 2013). Seen from exists researches, family units are noticeable in the reasons accounting for migration tendencies in China.

Some researchers focus on individual characteristics of the migrant elders. Meng (Meng et al., 2004) found that migrant elders in Beijing intend to be of relatively low age, of high education levels, with non-rural households and migrate with spouse. However, Wang reiterated that the differences lie in educational level of Guangzhou's migrant parents: Nearly 80% of elders only received lower-level education (Wang, 2013). Zhang, Sun and Zhou (Zhang et al., 2012) carried out a sampling research on 1% of population throughout China in 2005 and drew the conclusion: there exist differences between Chinese migrant elders and western migrant elders. Chinese elders mainly migrate from small cities to big cities and from places of low living costs to high living costs, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen and other cities with developed economic and better medical conditions. Tremendous researches reflect Chinese migrant population's geographical centralization (Li and Gao, 2008; Li, 2008). These researches demonstrate that the eastern region has attracted over half the population in China. For example, the provinces whose flow-in populations rank among the top 4 provinces or municipalities that are directly under the central government that has most flow-in populations are Guangdong, Shanghai, Jiangsu and Beijing, which are all economically-developed regions in the east of China (Liu, 2008).

2.2.2 Impact factors on migrating parent's social inclusion and social support in China

According to Wu (Wu, 2011), there are several factors that influence migrating parents' integration into the new city in China. Firstly, it is tight relationship between household policy and social welfare policy. According to Wu (ibid) from current analysis of elderly care policy, national policies have institutional discriminations towards elders, make no value judgment of elders' in terms of policy values or take elders as burden to the society; moreover, there lacks support for constructing and developing elders' abilities; medical services also pay a deficient focus on elders. Secondly, there are distinctive cultural differences between different regions, while the emigration area's culture exerts extremely significant influences on the migrant population. Feng (Feng, 2004) carried out a regression analysis of specific indexes related to migrants' adaption to the society with the principal component analysis and found out: The differences between life and customs exert huge influences on migrants' adaptation situations. By adopting the research and case analysis, Yao and Wang (2010) thought accompanying migrant elders, especially rural elders, remain rather conservative thinking and have weak

cognition capacities. Meanwhile, they are also aware of prejudice or discrimination among the urban residents and can hardly be incorporated into the new city. Thirdly, Zhang's research (2005) found out the intergeneration support's scale and quality exerts huge influences on elders' life quality in emotional support network. Wang (2012) thought contradictory and conflicting intergeneration relations will inevitably make elders lonely and miserable or exert influences on their social participation behaviors. Finally, gender, education level and skill level mainly influence the initiative of migrating parent's social inclusion. For example, Qu's interview of accompanying migrant elders showed: Male migrant elders have a lower social inclusion than female migrant elders (Qu, 2012). Moreover, Gao (Gao et al., 2010) and Li (Li et al., 2008) carried out questionnaire research that took social support as its dimension and found out: Elders who are low ages, have spouses, co-residence with children and have a high education degree usually need strong huge psychological demands and high level of social support.

2.2.3 Placing migrating parents' social inclusion and social support into specify context

In research literature, there are many examples of cases reflecting the migrating parents' later life in China. A central societal institution is the migrant market. Actors in migrant market are migrating parents, who are parts of their new environment. Key actors in Chinese migrant market are adult children, community and government policy, which is mainly influence decisions on migrant issues. Comparing with normal elder's life, migrating parents later life is basically oriented on adult child need (Guo, 2012). For example, elders' most time is occupied by taking care of grandchildren after entering new cities. Actually, the period of grandchildren need help from grandparents, beginning of infancy to primary school due to conflict with adult children working time (Wu, 2012). Although elders are invited by their children to new homes, it is hardly possible to prevent elders from being repulsed regarding the management of family life. Some parents have no income and have to rely on children (Li, 2014). Therefore, migrating parents have to accept children's decisions passively. The families' authority and prestige is decreased because of family marginalization, some of low economic status (Wu, 2011).

Migrating parents not only experience spatial changes of environment after entering the city, but are also separated from original social networks. This breaks their stable geographical relationship and acquaintance relationship network. My finding is complying with earlier research on that elders are not only separated from relatives and friends, but also face barriers in the verbal communications with local elders and intangible regional and age

discriminations. These factors are all eroding migrating parents' social capital (Zheng, 2013). The process in which migrating parents adapt to social relations can be generalized as the process from discontinuing inherent social relations to setting up new social relations. It is not easy to set up new social relations. In the beginning, many elders may be unwilling to leave home and set up new interpersonal relations due to introvert personality, dialectic problems or the limitation from taking care of children. Even when such elders contact some other elders, they only meet them when taking grandchildren to play outside or picking up grandchildren. Such opportunities are random. Meanwhile, such short-term interactions tend to be superficial and homogenized, which only form a "half-acquaintance society" and hardly bosom friends (Qu, 2012; Wang, 2013). Zhao researched on migrating parents who want to integrate into new community, particularly for rural household residents, also face repulsion from local people in the community (Zhao, 2013). Even when elders wish to participate in community activities, they still feel embarrassed to do so and are afraid of being ridiculed for saying something wrong or doing something wrong (Guo, 2013). This makes elders have a small interpersonal circle in the community, few interpersonal communications, deficient entertainment activities in spare time, low participation in community activities and a generally low inclusion in the community (Zhang et al., 2011).

Obviously, the root of family repulsion and community interpersonal repulsion faced by migrating parents lies in the repulsion from social policies. Meanwhile, the social screening effect produced by the welfare system causes various inequality between elders in pension policies. A set of complexed institution barriers is by-product of long-term strict urban-rural system. The repulsion to migrating parents' social status occurs occasionally, especially for medical services (Ning, 2013). Medical and other social welfare in each region are mostly set up based the household system, while current medical insurance face local restrictions, and each province, municipality and city have their own administrations, which haven't formed effective linkage and cooperation mechanism (Tang, 2011). Most elders have to go to designated hospitals to enjoy the reimbursement of medical expenses. Although some cities have launched treatment and policies related to medical insurance, the treatment procedures are rather complex. Moreover, it is necessary for elders to handle procedures and reimbursement in original settlements if they go to hospitals in a migrant region (Yi, 2014; Guo, 2012). For these reasons, elders seldom go to hospitals unless they suffer severe diseases. Instead, they usually purchase medicine with their own money or ask adult children medical cards to buy (Wu, 2012).

Migrating parents' psychological adaptation is a long process: Feel entangled and excited when deciding to enter the city; feel worried and want to go home in the beginning of entering the town; feel accustomed in the late phase (Wang, 2013). This process is relatively objective and the actual social inclusion process is longer (Gao and Jia, 2013). Although elders show satisfactions towards the community's environment, security and other hardware, they are highly dissatisfied towards the software in their psychological feelings (Qu, 2012).

Summary

From the current literature, the most of research mainly focus on floating population and research on urban adaptation, social adaptation, and community inclusion (Hu et.al, 2013; Guo, 2013; Li et.al, 2013; Niu, 2013). But, few researches contribute to migrating parent's social inclusion and social support. Meanwhile, plenty of research's on rural-urban aging migration, but few research emphasizes on the difference between urban-urban migration and rural-urban migration. My research builds on previous studies by making the connection between intergeneration relationships and influence of one-child policy. This is a point that is often missed in public discourse on migrating parents in china, where elders population account for big groups in national population. It is based on previous research to identify a clear-cut causal chain between government, community and individual. These findings indicate that a case-study approach, which will be used in this thesis and paid attention to Chinese context. Although there are some studies that touches the issue of social inclusion, few studies has focused on how these challenges are experienced and how they influence the daily life of the migrant elders and their relationship with their children and children-in-laws.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

This chapter is aim to present the theoretical approaches that provided the relevant vantage point from which the research topic was approach and will be used throughout the analysis. Several theoretical frameworks could aid in explaining the topic understudied. Collectivism is used to describe how the elder migrants understand filial piety. Gender theory, Social support theory, identity theories and In-group and out-group theory can provide a fundamental knowledge to examine the interplay between societal structures and everyday experiences for understanding social inclusion. Thus, this research will adopt this framework incorporating the principles of access and equity. It frames the concept of social inclusion and social support within the lived experience of migrating parents in China. The following theories will be referred to back in Chapter 5.

3.1 Understanding filial piety from collectivism perspectives

Collectivism is used to describe understanding of filial piety through empirical research on migrating parents experience of living with their adult children in new city. Collectivism is defined as every type of social organization, while the individual is seen as being subordinate to a social collectivity either a state or a social class (Geertz, 1984). Collectivism is a central characteristic in Chinese culture, while filial piety has been considered a core concept of collectivism that governs intergenerational relationships among Chinese family (Yang, 1997). Sue (Sue, 1997) has also distinguished filial piety culture value that should be contrasted with western values. Western values associated with Individualism, which is said to be a product of the cultural ethos of the Western world, but collectivistic attitudes are indicative of the dominant cultural description of non-Western regions, especially for countries in Asia. For example, one distinct feature of the traditional Chinese family is how important for offspring to fill filial piety(Chu et al., 2011). Filial piety is represented core value in the Chinese family and requires that younger generation (children or grandchildren) must respect and care for their older generation (parents or grandparents) (Whyte, 2004). In this tradition, this ideal relationship between parent and children and it enables to consolidate family in the society. Individuals are not only play a role of inherited familial male lines, but he also carries practical implications for fulfill the form of filial piety to respect ancestors that has god-like status in traditional Chinese family. Therefore, in this thesis, plenty of narratives are talk about challenge to traditional understanding of filial piety from migrating parents.

3.2 Gender role in traditional Chinese family

The gender studies are used to describe how to understand gender role in traditional china family. According to Boyd and Grieco (Boyd and Grieco, 2003), “Gender is deeply embedded in determining who moves, how those moves take place, and the result futures of migrant women and families.” The traditional Chinese family with characteristics of patriarchal and patrilineal has put women in a severe social and economical inequality position (Sechiyama, 2013). Indeed, in a classic paper on the influence of Chinese family structure on gender inequality, women must take care of family members and follow the order of husband ahead other people(Greenhalgh, 1985). Gender inequality is exists in long term. Moreover, in this family system, Greenhalgh’s (Greenhalgh, 1985)said, “Put baldly, parents’ key strategy was to take more from daughters to give more to sons and thus get more for themselves.” In this thesis, it also related gender equality, but prefer focus on new challenge to traditional gender views in China.

3.3 Social support theory

This theory is used to explain how the situation of migrating parents in China. Social support is “a multidimensional construct that encompasses physical and instrumental assistance, attitude transmission, resource and information sharing, and emotional and psychological support (Dunst and Trivette, 1986).” Emotional support, instrumental support, informational support and companion support (Ashida and Heaney, 2008). Emotional support is mainly defined as caring sense of belonging for migrating parents. Instrumental support embraces the direct ways people assist others, including pecuniary assistance or relative services. Informational support refers to provide general information and suggestion. Companion support is described as social companionship including providing affiliation (Wen and Jill, 2015).

In my research, social support is a resource for coping with stress caused by aging migration and resettlement challenges. Generally, social supports are provided by family, community and institution. With an increasing number of migrating parents moving to famous big cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen etc.), substantial changes in policies have been influenced of welfare systems, which consisted of many work-related public insurance programs to improve welfare: pensions and unemployment insurance etc. However, it is depend on different city’s situation. Migrating parents still an ignored group without high attraction. This study addresses this gap in our knowledge by presenting a case study of different background migrating parents in Shenzhen, examining social services and how implications can institution draw for development for the internal migration population in China.

3.4 Social identity theories

Social identity theories is used to establish how identity is defined as a conception of the ‘self’ and how knowledge about “who I am” is constructed in terms of societal rules and values. Mead and Morris pioneered the points that individual are shaped by the societies they lived in (Mead and Morris, 1934). He also explained the “I” and “me” to explain how the self is constructed through interaction with others.

In this thesis, a practical example to understand Mead’s theory will be to think of the migrating parents in china. There are two ways of understanding ‘identity’ in China: 1. People are belonging to one type of social values. 2. People are identified own set of behavior and value. Huntington (Huntington, 2004) demonstrated that people decide to choose identity under different levels of pressure, while identities are a conception of construction. Understanding identity of migrating parents in china can through dynamic and static: Firstly, the subjective of identity construction can be used into ‘who we are’, ‘how do people think of us’. Migrating parents have to do new recognition of identity in new environment. According to space transformation, it is not only change the living conditions, but also involving abstract question, especially for individual or group identity. During the process of interaction, it is easily for elders to consider and re-construct new identity, pursuing the value of migration and survival in new place, finally deal with the subjective question ‘who I am’.

3.5 “In-group” and “Out-group” theory

This theory is used to understand the level of social inclusion of migrating parents in new community. Sumner tried to use in-groups and out-groups to describe internal members of the group, with their different attitudes between “In-group members” and outsiders from behavior and psychological situation (Sumner, 1906). Members in internal organization show strong sense of belonging, unity other members as well as have high loyalty. Out-group members are in the edge position, with unstable member’s relationship and poor group cohesion. In this thesis, In the process of new city adaptation to the migrating parents, the situation of elderly is in the edge. Some of them do not agree with local members in the community. They do not have a leading role in the cultural atmosphere, value orientation and public opinion of the community, following to the internal group orientation action. Therefore, in this thesis, after migrating parents changing from “out group” status to “in group” status, they will integrate into the new city.

Chapter Four: Methodology

In this chapter, I will focus on how methodology and research methods are chosen result in reaching relevant research goals. Silverman defines methodology as a guide to construct the research project: how the choices we make about cases to study, methods of data collecting and approaches of data analysis (Silverman, 2013). The definition of methodology in Silverman book is also related to how to study any phenomenon from society. Thus, this chapter describes the method of data collection, research area, choice of participants and sampling technique, data analysis and various ethical issues as well as limitation of this study.

4.1 Why choose semi-structure in-depth interview as research approach?

The in-depth interview can be divided into various forms: structure, un-structured and semi-structured interview (Fontana and Fray, 1994). For this research, interview has been used as the principal method for data gathering. But, semi-structured interviews as the research approach to follow up on answers from informants. In the semi-structured in-depth interviews, I use interview guide to follow during the interview, but it still will be an option to follow up on narratives from the informants. “Our informants tell stories – stories that show how they have used a narrative structure to organize their images and experience”(Gudmundsdottir, 1996). The obvious feature of this type of interview design is that interviewee can “share their meanings, perceptions, definitions of situation and constructs of reality”(Punch, 2005). Comparing with structured interview, it allows me to explore inferences made by the interviewee that might be of relevance to the study. Longhurst (Longhurst, 2009) explained that semi-structured In-depth interview is the format of the interaction reveal in a conversational method by verbal exchanges between an interviewer and an informant. Therefore, this is of particular importance to the researcher who values a representation of how migrating parents perceive that they experience the benefit and challenges in Shenzhen.

4.2 Introduce research area

In the course of migration and urbanization in China, I choose Shenzhen as the site for my study and try to describe social inclusion experience of migrating parents through in-depth interview. Shenzhen is famous for migrant city and located at South of Guangdong province and nearby north of Hong Kong Special administrative region. Shenzhen’s fame and fortune were tied to China policy, as the first Special economic zone created in 1978, beginning of China’s historic modernization and international.

There are two reasons for choosing Shenzhen as site of study in this research. The first reason is that Shenzhen has large number of research subjects. Shenzhen was chose to work as the first Special Economic Zone in China for attracting overseas investment and initiative domestic reform. This policy also attracts thousands and millions internal migrant workers. By the end of 1979, there are only 31.26 thousands residents with Shenzhen *Hukou*, while 1500 people without Shenzhen *Hukou* (Liu, 2013). After 10 years, mobile population surpassed the permanent residents in Shenzhen for the first time (Chen and Tomas, 2009). In 2010, the number of floating population in Shenzhen is 7.86 million, compared with only 2.51 million permanent residents in Shenzhen (Liu, 2013). After young migrant workers settling down in Shenzhen, they decide to ask their elderly parents for family unity. Thus, among these 7.86 million mobile populations, almost 0.7 million above 60 years old people, compared with 0.15 million elderly people with local household registration (Chen and Tomas, 2009). According to relevant elderly population statistics in Shenzhen, it estimated that floating elderly population in Shenzhen will increase 10 % by 2019 (Liu, 2013). Therefore, it is safe to say that Shenzhen has become China's largest city of immigrants, as well as facing the aging care problem after three decades of speedy economic growth.

Another reason is that migrating parents are preserved into By the end of 2012, the number of long-term living residents reached 10.54 million residents. It estimates that Shenzhen population should share every square kilometer with 5208 people, almost 40 times of the average national level. Shenzhen has the highest population density of city in China. High population density bring huge pressure to Shenzhen, particularly for public service, so government generally pay attention to community and try to improve community services, while the most active group in community is elderly people because they spend most of time in the community. Therefore, it enables me easily access to the group of people studied – that is the elderly migrants who live in Shenzhen to live with/reunify with their children.

4.2.1 Why choose S community social work station as field work place

I worked as intern of social worker in S community for few months. In China, affiliation with a local community is an important step when conducting fieldwork. This affiliation allows me to accept the support from street-level cadres and enables social cooperation. Actually, it is not easy for researchers to access the field and find informants in their unfamiliar place. Especially, more professional social workers with good services are offered by social work station in the big city, such as Beijing and Shenzhen. Moreover, it is also not easy for people

to trust strangers in China. Therefore, I decide to take fieldwork in S community social work station.

4.2.2 The brief introduction of community

S community has 48 buildings of apartment, around 8500 families and 24000 residents. About 30% residents are migrants, as well as with 10% elderly migrants. It is located in one of the commercial district of city center in Shenzhen, only 2 bus stops to Futian checkpoint station to Hong Kong. According to the high housing price and dramatically hard competition in Hong Kong, more and more Hong Kong residents move to Shenzhen, especially in S community's elderly people (Yang, 2015). It means that Cantonese¹³ is the main language for senior citizens in this community and few of them can understand Mandarin. This community has the natural conditions of school-nearby apartment that children can enroll into a good primary school in this area because of their apartment. Every apartment of community is generally 50-80 square meters and has two bedrooms, one kitchen and one toilet, hence prices are more expensive. It is enough for three person family, but living arrangements are becoming crowded after migrating parents coming. In the next chapter of result analysis, one of challenge the informants experienced in relation to accommodation.

4.3 Participant Recruitment and Selection

Recruiting research participants can be problematic when research focuses upon specific individuals, groups or experiences that are easily ignored by public. I started my fieldwork in August 2016 and interview 6 informants (5 from city, 1 from village), while it attracted me to explore the experience of migrating parent's difference from city and village. In January 2017, I come back Shenzhen again and found two migrating parents with village background. In total, there are 8 participants in my research.

4.3.1 Brief introduction about the informants

Participant selection criteria within current research followed a number of considerations. Initially, all participants are migrating parents. It means that they were live in their hometown with local dialect and mandarin¹⁴, and then they were following their children immigrate to Shenzhen to live in S community. These individuals are parents of migrant workers who lived in Shenzhen since long time ago. Therefore, in this research, I chose participants who

¹³ Cantonese is a popular language in southeastern China, especially for Guangdong Province, Hong Kong and Macao. Moreover, it also plays an important role in dialect for international Chinese migrants. It is different from Mandarin, China's official language.

¹⁴ Mandarin is the official language in China.

represented as much variation as possible, considering diversity in age, gender, residential period in Shenzhen, household status, educational background, the number of children, age of grandchildren and the adult children's marriage status. Most of my informants have stable income and good apartment in their hometown.

Informant 1, female, 65 years old, separately living with her son's family but living with her husband in her son's second apartment in Shenzhen. She comes from the capital city in Henan Province and has only one child. She had finished her 12-years education in the hometown, and migrated to Shenzhen after her son married with local Shenzhen girl. Her granddaughter is 4 years old. She has been stay in Shenzhen for 10 years. The interview was taken in a public park in the S community.

Informant 2, female, 69 years old, widowed with only child, living with her son's family in Shenzhen. She only finished 6-years primary school and became a worker in Qingdao ¹⁵(city household). Her grandson is 11 years old. After her son married in Shenzhen, she migrated to this city. She stayed in Shenzhen for 10 years. She chose to accept my interview in a rest-room of community when she was free on a Sunday.

Informant 3, male, 67 years old, living with his single daughter and his wife in Shenzhen. He completed university education and worked as a teacher in high school. He comes from small city in Zhejiang Province. He stayed Shenzhen for 5 years. He didn't have grandchildren. I interviewed him in a coffee bar nearby the S community.

(As informants preferred, I interviewed the following participants in their own home.)

Informant 4, female, 58 years old, married with 2 children (son is in hometown and daughter in Shenzhen), living with her younger daughter's family in a rented apartment in Shenzhen. With an education of primary school, she has lived in village with her husband and children since she was married at the age of 21. 3 years ago, she migrated to Shenzhen for taking care of her 3 years old granddaughter. Her husband stays in hometown.

Informant 5, male, 61 years old, married with 1 son, living with his son's family and his wife in Shenzhen. He had finished his 12-years education in the hometown. He comes from small city of Jiangxi Province. His grandson is 5 years old. He stayed in Shenzhen 7 years.

¹⁵ A big city located in east China, the capital city of Shandong Province.

Informant 6, female, 68 years old, married with 1 son, living with her son's family. Her husband stays in hometown. She had finished her 9-years compulsory education¹⁶ in the small city. Her grandson is 6 years old.

Informant 7, female, 63 years old, married with 2 sons (one is in hometown and the other in Shenzhen), living with her younger son's family in a rented apartment¹⁷. Her husband stays in hometown for taking care elder son's family. She comes from a small village in Hunan Province. She is illiteracy without any education backgrounds. Her grandson is 5 years old. She stayed in Shenzhen for 6 years.

Informant 8, male, 64 years old, married with 1 daughter, living with daughter's family and his wife, and rent an apartment in Shenzhen. 4 years ago, he migrated to Shenzhen with his wife. They shared one room with his 8 years old grandson. He comes from village of Hebei province. He had finished his 9-years compulsory education.

4.4 Data collection

The aim of research is to explore how migrating parents experience in new city. I can attain a narration for each informant by asking in-depth questions, which can assists me to explore the topic of social inclusion and social support. In-depth interviews were selected as the most appropriate interview type in this study, which enables me to gain an access to private experience of each informants, thus this method also achieves the aim of gathering respondents' detailed narratives of their migration experience in Shenzhen.

4.4.1 The interview Guide

After deciding on the interview type, it was imperative to construct an interview guide to serve as a 'map' to be used in conducting the interviews. Longhurst (Longhurst, 2009) suggests that it is desirable for the researchers to equip him/her with possible scaffolding themes that direct the skeletal framework of the interview.

4.4.2 Snowball Sampling Technique

Snowball sampling technique was used as a method of contacting respondents. In this research, I recruited the participants through Snowball sampling techniques. Snowball sampling indicates recruiting from the acquaintance (Bryman, 2012). Initial participants were selected from S community (one of famous immigrant community in Shenzhen), which is located in my internship social work station. I send my research project description with my

¹⁶ Compulsory education in China includes 6-year primary school and 3-year junior middle school.

¹⁷ Her son rent out their apartment for other family in city center and rent an apartment far away city center.

contact number to my colleagues who work in the S community social work station and then they assist me to find participants. Thus, the sample group appears to increase like a rolling snowball. Since the sample builds up, enough data are available to be useful for the investigation. Additionally, with the goal of maximizing the range of participants and, to gain insights into respondents experience instead of generalizing, the technique of purposive sampling was used. This sampling method encourages maximum diversity with the selection of participants(Collins et al., 2007). Finally, there are six participants fulfilled the selection criteria. After coming back hometown again in January 2017, two extra participants are selected through this method.

4.4.3 The Interview Process

After confirming of participation from migrating parents, I made text message contact to confirm the interview time and location. All interviews were processed in the S community. There are two important conditions of conducting the interview: the relationship between the comfortable place and informant and the relationship between the respondent and me. Generally, the best place for interviews are informant's home or their familiar place, which can make them feel more safe rather than in public places like community park or cafeteria. Therefore, five of my eight informants prefer join in my interview in their home. The relationship between the respondent and me is important in this research. Actually, the respondents I knew from before in my internship program, most of them tended to talk more, rather than I've met them for the first time. As the method I have chosen for in-depth interview are narratives, informants were supposed to talk more than me. But, two of the respondents didn't show talkative influencing by distant relationship between them and me. More additional questions had to be asked to guide interviewee narratives and make them feel more comfortable. After the fieldwork was over, 8 interviews have been conducted in total.

The each interview in the whole process in this research is around one and half hour. In the beginning of every interview, I asked the informants to sign the informed consent. During the interview, I elicited narrative by asking participants to describe stories related to social inclusion and social support experiences. All dialogues were captured using a recording device, supported by notes, which were helpful for me to mark. In order to improve the level of attentiveness, few salient points also were useful for constructing a successful interview.

4.5 Data Analysis

The researcher started initial data processing during the interviews through recording reflection notes. During the interviews, Gudmundsdottir (Gudmundsdottir, 1996) suggests that “we must learn to get behind the words and silently translate the informants’ language so that we understand using their dictionary rather than ours.” Therefore, my analysis was dialectical basing on the empirical data and existing theories.

4.5.1 Analysis and coding

I conduct narrative analysis first and then combined with coding to analyze different interviews together as whole. “To analyses something means to separate something into parts or elements” (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2014, p.219). Riessman (Riessman, 2008) describes a narrative analysis as an individual’s account of an event or experience. Similarly, Ryan (Ryan, 2007) cited in Floersch et al. (Floersch et al., 2010) points out that narrative is about conflicts, interpersonal relations, human experience and the temporality of existence. She added that “it is when a text or ‘story’ contains these elements that they are considered narrative, not just a chronology of events. A profoundly complimentary feature of narrative analysis is that they are windows into people’s realities. They depart particularly on their technical mechanisms where narratives seek to focus on temporality, linguistic structure and sequencing of stories experiences of single cases (Floersch et al., 2010). Therefore, data and analysis will be presented in the next chapter.

The process of coding the interview was interesting, so I looked out for key words and concepts (as explained in the previous chapter), which I eventually organized under the themes: Decision Making, Intergeneration support from adult children in Shenzhen, Participation outside home in Shenzhen, new challenges to migrating parents in Shenzhen and Stay or back. These themes are focusing on social fields and how the codes seemed to affect social fields, and starting the interpretation leading to analysis. Findings will be backed up with previous research and theory. But, it might made it more difficult for the reader to identify findings therefore I present quotes from the informant and analyses them in each section. “In qualitative research, it is the researcher’s that constitute the results” (Boeije, 2010). This means that the interpretation could be different by different researchers, aligned with the frames of references and theoretical framework used. I present the statements from the informant as narratives, small stories told during interviews. Previous research and theoretical framework will give insight in interpretations from narratives.

4.6 Ethical issues in the study

A guiding principle to research ethics by Philosopher Paul Ricoeur (2006): The researchers have to do justice to the object of study. This principle also demonstrates that the researcher does not judge the aim of the research for strengthening existing prejudices. It is important for me to pay attention on research ethics as it contains interviews on taking care of grandchild by migrating parents. Children are heavily represented among victims of research especially for children (0-8 years old), and they should be paid considerable ethical attention (MacNaughton et al., 2001). Among my 8 participants' background, their Chinese grandchildren are between four and eight years old, I am obliged to conduct an ethics-bound research by designing my research. Therefore, in my research, I tried to avoid questions which intend to relate to grandchildren and create those which would only migrating parents to share their own experience on inclusion in Shenzhen without revealing grandchildren's private information, such as the name of kindergarten or home address.

Moreover, some general ethical research obligations relevant to be considered in this research are issues of confidentiality, anonymity and informed consent.

4.6.1 Consent

Atkinson and Hammersley (Atkinson & Hammersley, 2007) pointed out: "people must consent to being researched in an unconstrained way, making their decision on the basis of comprehensive and accurate information about it; and that they should be free to withdraw at any time". Drafting an informed consent letter play an essential role in a research project. The researcher also clearly noted the introduction of interview and participant's involvement was entirely voluntary, as well as withdrawal at any time if would be uncontested.

4.6.2 NSD approval

The Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) is the "Data Protection official for research for all the Norwegian Universities" (NSD, 2015). "If you, through interviews, questionnaires, observations or other means, are gathering, registering, processing or storing information about individuals (i.e. personal data), then your project is likely to be subject to notification" is primarily ethical clearance (NSD, 2015). The official granted by NSD approving for this research proposal in October 2016, with reference number 50541. Therefore, it can improve the research credibility.

4.7 Limitation of study

One of the limitations of this research is that it was excluding to adult children in the family. Although it might have been worthwhile to hear the views of adult children regarding this subject, the research results would be balanced. Actually, I was more confident in my approach due to the fact that some researchers such as Wang (Wang, 2012) and Zhang et al. (Zhang and Li, 2005) have also been attempt at trying to extend their study to intergeneration support.

Another limitation to consider is that this research was focused on a case study of one community group. However, it cannot represent of migrating parents in every community outside Shenzhen. Therefore, there is some worth in acknowledging the “universalities” in a growing society. Besides, this topic of finding should be more generalized.

Summary:

This chapter focused primarily on the epistemological and methodological underpinnings of the study. Silverman (Silverman, 2013) informs that efforts toward attaining validity and reliability are concrete activities that are achieved based on the type of data collected. He also highlight that imperatives such as objectivity and credibility of the research are intensified by the means taken to ensure validity and reliability. Therefore, researchers should see it as a valuable option to increase the credibility of the research through the use of this approach.

Chapter Five: Research Findings and Analysis

This study explores migrating parent's life experience around migration, as well as possible challenges they face after the migration framed in Chinese context. This chapter presents the empirical findings, indicating how they making the decision for migrating and how they experience living in a totally new place. The main task of narrative analysis is research on the relationship between narratives and reality (Riessman, 1993). It is important for us to analyses normal event because people prefer talking a story in order to explain own or other behavior, therefore, we can recognize the making decision process from narratives. After a systematic and assessment of the data collected and assists by a narrative analytical tool, I identify four themes which are: economic inclusion, cultural inclusion, social life inclusion and psychological inclusion. Although those themes consist of the groundwork for analysis, other sub-themes also help to highlight the main topics.

I had presented a demographic profile of the participants before, therefore the fellow table serves the aims of reintroducing them. The code of participants is according to the Capital of Name. It is significant that I will focus on the findings that were more generalizable, through understanding migrating parents within specify community.

Table 1: Demographic profile of the participants

No.	1	2	3	4	
Age	65	69	67	58	
Gender	Female	Female	Male	Female	
Household Type	City	City	City	Village	
Hometown	He Nan	Shan Dong	Zhe Jiang	Hei Long Jiang	
Education Level	High School	Primary School	University	Primary School	
Spouse Situation	Shen Zhen	Widowed	Shen Zhen	Hometown	
Length of staying in Shen Zhen (year)	10	10	5	3	
Aldut Children and Marriage Status	son	son	daughter	daughter	son
	married	married	single	married	married (Hometown)
Living Arrangement in Shen Zhen	Independent living - young couple bought two houses, one for themselves and another one for migrating parents	living with children together in Shen Zhen	living with children together in Shen Zhen	living with children in rent house	
Age of Grandchildren	4 (Female)	11 (Male)	X	3 (Female)	X
Stay or Back	Stay	Stay - no house in hometown	Back - stay until his daughter married and then back to hometown	Back	
No.	5	6	7		8
Age	61	68	63		64
Gender	Male	Female	Female		Male
Household Type	City	City	Village		Village
Hometown	Jiang Xi	Shan Dong	Hu Nan		He Bei
Education Level	High School	Middle School	Illiteracy		Middle School
Spouse Situation	Shen Zhen	Hometown	Home town		Shen Zhen
Length of staying in Shen Zhen (year)	7	9	6		4
Aldut Children and Marriage Status	son	son	son	son	daughter
	married	married	married	married (Hometown)	married
Living Arrangement in Shen Zhen	living with children together in Shen Zhen	living with children together in Shen Zhen	living with children - rent a house far away from city center and rent out the city center house to other family		living with children in rent house
Age of Grandchildren	5 (Male)	6 (Male)	5 (Male)	X	8 (Male)
Stay or Back	Not decided	Stay - want to back, but rejected	Back		Stay

5.1 Decision making

5.1.1. Before migration: Influenced by “One Child Policy”

One child policy was first introduced in 1979 and had lasted for few decades. People who born in between late 1970s and late 1980s under the one child policy, many of the young migrants in Shenzhen are the only child because of the policy, migrating from less developed area to developed area. The government is eager to release aging problem through new policy, however, when developing new policy they often ignored the group of migrating parents (who was born in early 1960s) also suffered from the new policy, two children policy. Therefore, elderly people with one-child are not only facing risk of becoming empty-nest parents (if they don't migrate to live with their children), but they also possibly take responsibility of taking care of two grandchildren (if they migrate to live with children's family).

Actually, one-child families are the product of the “one-child” policy. This model of family has two dangerous weaknesses. Sole family support is coming from the only one young adult child. The elder care regime is still built upon the old traditions, relying heavily on the family and assist with community care because Chinese government is reluctant to assume more responsibility for funding and service provision (Shang and Wu, 2011). Therefore, elderly parents prefer expect and are expected to stay with children, even migrate to live with them. However, is it the only reason for that they made decision for migrating? Informant No.5 says, *I only have one son, you know, I don't have choice. My daughter-in-law got pregnant soon after their wedding in 2010. My son asks us to take care of my daughter-in-law because her parents need to help their son look after their grandchildren. After our grandchild was born, we were considering leaving. We suggested hire a babysitter and we cover the cost. However, my son worries about giving the baby to a stranger. So in the end, we decided to stay here. Now, my grandchild is almost 5 years old and we have stayed here more than 5 years, my son asks us to move our household registration to Shenzhen because we also need care from them, as well as decide to change a bigger house in future.*

From this narrative, at first, he was very explicit with distinguishing what he perceived were the main view which underscores ‘one child problem’ and this was unanimously described as a child need centered on the first term. Fulfilling grandparental obligations are also prevalent motivations for him to migrate to Shenzhen. Young children in Shenzhen often encouraged their elderly parents to come to provide childcare assistance. Similarly Informant No. 6 told me,

My hometown is located in Shandong Province. I came here in 2007 because my son need help take care of their baby. The payment of babysitters is too high to afford so I came here alone, while my husband still in hometown because he didn't adapt fast life in Shenzhen.

No.6 participant showed the main reason for migration because of her son's need. She has strong sense of family obligation greatly influence on her decision, although her husband still live in hometown. It also reveals that the migration of elderly parents was a part of the plan to maximize benefits for the extended family. No.3, 4, 7 and 8 participants also mentioned the request for assist with households from their child. "Empty nest" elderly people are easily created in one child family. When one-child decide to migrate for studying or working in another city, and then left loneliness to their elderly parents.

My son asked me to live with them about 8 years ago. 20 years ago, I stayed in Shenzhen for 2 years because I was doing some business with my friend. Actually, I left my business long time ago and back home. Now, my son decides to stay at Shenzhen, so my husband and I consider about staying in Shenzhen together in the future because we have only one child. My husband will retire next year. In addition, my son needs people help him to take care of his children. We don't want to become so-called "empty-nest seniors" with no one taking care of us, So follow our son to ShenZhen is a good choice.

This participant expressed clearly that, although she had not initially intended to migrate, she expect the care from her son in the later life, especially when she mentioned 'empty nester'. In addition, research on migrating parents in America shows that parents with one child have higher motivation to migrate than parents with more children, after retirement (Walters, 2002). The following narratives have also similar description about the influence by "One Child Policy", as well as express her feeling of loneliness.

I only have one son, if we don't follow him; I will become empty-nest elderly and a poor widow at hometown. The one-child policy is really strict. My husband and I have jobs in public sector. We could risk to lose our jobs if we had two children.

In this complex decision-making web, as described by No.2 Participant, the influence of one child policy had clearly shows its dominating position. If couples governed by the one-child policy have more than one child, they are fined an amount many times the average annual income of many Chinese (Hays, 2013). The woman can also be forced to be sterilized¹⁸. The terrible consequences for people who were fail to comply with the one child policy by

¹⁸ If a family planning official discovers that a woman is having an illegal pregnancy, meaning having a child without a birth permit, he or she can force the woman to have an abortion (Fitzpatrick).

Chinese government. Therefore, elderly people are more eager to expect filial piety from their children than other elders who have more children. Elderly parents who were widowed usually moved into an adult child's household (Fong, 2002).

5.1.2. Gender on influence of decision making

There are clear gender differences in migration decision making. My data indicate that women showed a stronger willingness than their husbands to migrate and to satisfy their children's needs. In all of 8 cases in my data, it is the wife who first agreed to migrate often after the proposal from their children who are eager to get domestic help. It is also interesting to notice that the children often asked their mothers first when proposing to their parents. Therefore, elderly women were more willing for shoulder heavier family burden than their husbands in order to release the pressure from their adult children. No.4 participants, who immigrated in 2014 when she was 55, said:

When my daughter was to give birth and asked me to take care of her. If she needs extra help, I can do something for her. Although my daughter has post-natal care¹⁹, how can she make balance between job and her baby, especially for inexperienced new mother? At first, I and my husband decided to migrate to Shenzhen for taking my daughter, but finally my husband decided to stay in hometown to take care my elder son's children.

This quote reveals that she considered her daughter's request and would like to fulfill the obligation as grandparents. The grandparental role and obligation also influence how they arrange the post-migration life around the needs of their adult children and grandchildren. Most elderly migrants in this research were middle-class retirees and relatively prosperous, including have a stable pension and comfortable house, even the migrants from rural areas. Only one participant indicated that it is difficult to make a decision because there was a disagreement with her spouse. 3 participants are migrate to Shenzhen without spouse (No.4, 6, 7), however, only No.6 participant's husband disagree with No.6 and stay alone in hometown, while the rest of participants left to take care another child in hometown.

At first, I don't want to migrate to Shenzhen. I know Shenzhen is a good city. Young people often choose to migrate here to explore a better life. But, it is not for elders, and I only want enjoy a stable life with my husband. My son began to persuade me to live with him 9 years ago. He really needed help! My husband couldn't bear long distance travel and he didn't like modern cities. This was the reason for explain why he dropped an opportunity to work in

¹⁹ Post-natal care means that professional people take care new mother who gave birth in one month.

Shenzhen when he was young, rather choose to stay in small city for few decades. My husband still young. Finally, I decide to migrate to Shenzhen and live together with my son's family.

As we can see, after weighing up various factors, she decided to migrate to Shenzhen and lived in the city for 9 years. In most of my cases, elder mother are questioning 'be a good mother or a good wife', as the same as this quote. This also reveals female characteristics from gender perspectives. Women prioritized husband need ahead of her son, her family members and herself in traditional and patriarchal China society. In this case, finally, she decided to migrate to Shenzhen, although she considered her husband health condition. We can see a clear line of demarcation appearing between the traditional Confucian ideal and society need. In the decision-making process, the grandparent obligation and children's need due to size of family, can be seen as a 'push' factor that drives the mother decide to migrate to new place.

During this section finding, another interesting phenomenon is that migrating parents chose to live with children who has stronger economic status, when they have two children. It is different from traditional situation that gender disparities in social obligation for son and daughters in the context of China, where sons are more culturally valued and receive more resources than daughter, especially in rural China (Burgess and Zhuang, 2000). More care on sons referred to social expectations in rural areas that parents would take responsibility for son's future. This kind of support is expected primarily from sons rather than from daughters (Sun, 2002), especially after daughters married. It was worth noting that two out of eight participants have two children, but both of them prefer co-residence with adult children who have better economic ability, such as No.4 and 7 participants. No.7 participant told me, "Although I have two sons, I prefer stay with my son who lived in Shenzhen. Who don't like big city? In the future, I will ask my husband to stay with us in Shenzhen."

5.1.3. Expectation towards the new life in Shenzhen

The informant's expectations towards the life in Shenzhen are influenced by characteristics, education, and gender. But only thing in common is that they are likely to expect filial piety from their children based on Chinese traditional views about elderly care, bearing and rearing a son for one's old age (in Chinese *yangerfanglao* 养儿防老). Basing on my interview data, I have identified these different expectations among my informants: Economic expectation, life

style or better life quality concerning medical care, public services. This expectation is most obvious from the informant who has nobody else to rely on but her son,

I really depend on my son and expect him to take care of me when I cannot walk in later life. The most important thing needs to be clarified that he has to take care of me because I raise him up. My sister also informed me to talk with my son about filial piety. (Informant No.2)

Compared with younger one-child migrant parents with stable spouse, this participant required strong care need from her son, which is different from other one-child migrating parents who currently rather focus on providing care to the children's family instead of care need from their children. In addition, she was influenced by her sister who has a different way of understanding about filial piety, in accordance that "a child's achievements is not only a matter of personal success, it brings honor to the family" (Gäransson, 2009). Such an understanding was increase pressure to intergeneration relationship. This is also noted by some researchers on elder-care giver relationship in Southern Sri Lanka that "both elders and caregivers said the burden was on themselves to acquiesce and be flexible and patient when conflicts arose"(Watt et al., 2014).

Economic factor is not important factor in making decision on migration. Before migration, those who lived villages usually relied upon selling grain from the fields (No.4, 7 and 8 participants). These mean that all my informants have relatively good or stable income. Due to the gap between rural and urban salaries, remittances from migrant family members had become one kind of major source of household income in the village. More and more youth village labors decide to migrate to big city to find a better job with higher salary. It is similar situation in some city in some provinces outside Shenzhen. However, migrating parents are quite different from younger migrants.

"My son told us that family members should stay together. Although we were not live together, my son gives us around 3000 yuan for living expenditure. We are not spending money here, because young couples already bought everything to us. They also told us that we could ask more money if we need it, but we never do that (No.1 participant description)".

Family unit is also an important factor driving them to make decision on migration. Most of them live with their children and get the pension. The sources of incomes of migrating parents with rural household are land rent,

"I also have stable income from renting my land in hometown for other farmers, who still cultivating land (No.7 Participants narratives)", while the income of migrating parents with

city household are from stable pension of original companies. Moreover, their children always pay for daily necessity. Therefore, they are not migrating for economic support.

For older people moving for life style reasons, better medical care and good quality of living condition will be the main topic (Hagan and Hagan Hennessy, 2004). The key findings by Migration trend of quality life in older age, through analyses wider research in UK suggest that older people move to areas that it will provide them a good quality life (ibid).

5 years ago, my daughter invited us to stay with her because she thought that the condition of Shenzhen was better than my hometown. Actually, it is good for my wife to have a good doctor for her heart disease. Moreover, asked me to help her in household. I also think that Shenzhen is a big city. My friends in Shenzhen know a lot ! (Informant No.3)

In his opinion, Shenzhen citizens can appreciate a more colorful life than citizens from small city. Although No.3 participant's daughter asked them to go to come Shenzhen, this participant also expected better benefits from medical care for his wife and learned more from his friends in Shenzhen. People live in Shenzhen are well-informed because they have easier access to news, while people from small city are uniformed because some districts are hard to get. For example, convenient transportations also offer lots of opportunities for residents to frequently visit exhibitions and parks. No.1 participant also talked about her expectation, *"Many tourist places in ShenZhen are free for elderly people. It's convenient for us to experience different culture from tourist places"*.

In sum, elderly migrating parents always give the support to their children's households including child care and domestic assistance. My findings comply with the research conducted by Xing (Xing, 2016) , who point out: the first worry from parents with one child is nobody taking care of them when they cannot walk. Then, they also worry about becoming empty nester because of child migrating. Therefore, these reasons drive the elderly people to migrate to new city, especially Shenzhen, migrant's city.

The following patterns which occurred throughout the data set since the purpose of the study is to show that the similarities in migrating parents experience in Shenzhen, respective of background differences. The themes are depicting the migrating parent's social inclusion and support experience from economic, cultural, social life, psychological aspects, while they also faced the new challenges in Shenzhen.

5.2 Intergeneration support from adult children in Shenzhen

Some researchers demonstrates that living arrangements influence on the well-being of elderly migrants and their families depending on social support (Wilmoth et al., 2015). I have also analyzed the well-being of my informants and found that it is influenced by these key factors: direct economic support and accommodation condition.

5.2.1 Direct economic support from adult children

In Li's research on social inclusion of migrating parents, she points out that economic inclusion for elderly people is integrated into new city from economic perspectives (Li, 2013). It also reveals that different areas have different economic levels. It is always included four parts of income: individual income, pension by themselves and spouse and social assistance money (Li, Zhang and Zhang, 2013). Most of urban elderly citizens' pension account for largest of income, while rural aging population have government assistance that account for a small rate, as well as this rural-urban gap causes the income different.

In their narratives, migrating parents of 1, 3, 4 and 7, explain how is their economic situation:

1(City): In the beginning of every month, my son will give us the money to buy daily necessity for whole family. Moreover, he gives me an extra 1000 yuan as alimony, except for monthly living expenses. Daily expenditure is required, but cannot be garbled with alimony money. Now, we live separately though in the same city, while I don't use his money. It shows my son's filial piety!

3(City): I am a retired teacher. My pension is around few thousands. My daughter always gives us money. However, we don't actually need it. Where to spend them?

4(Village): I don't spend money on trivial because my daughter buy daily necessities. If daily necessities are finished, they will give me money for shopping in supermarket. 2000 yuan²⁰ is enough for supporting whole month.

7(Village): My daughter-in-law usually buy the daily necessities for the household. So, I don't spend my money on this, somehow, they will give us pocket money, around 2000 yuan for each month. I also have stable income from renting my land in hometown for other farmers, who still cultivating land.

Above narrative, it is easily recognized that the rural-urban gap is narrow in migrating parents. Firstly, one of migrating to Shenzhen reason is that their children have stable economic abilities for support family in Shenzhen. It shows that "the way in which migration affects

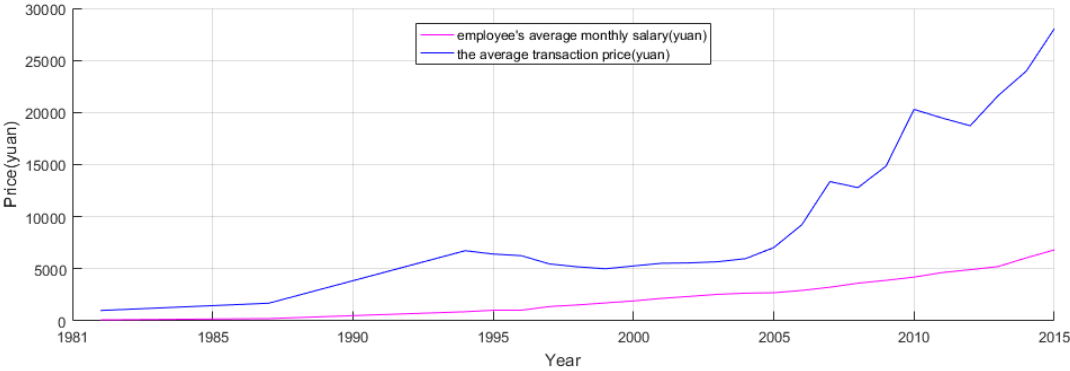
²⁰ Yuan, the currency in China

care and support for older people is dependent upon the relations between older parents and adult children prior to and during migration (Liu, 2014). ” Meanwhile, their children allowances account for part of elderly parent’s income. On the one hand, filial piety is “everybody’s business” (Ikels, 2006), adult children shoulder the responsibility of caring their parents, especially economic support. For example, adult children always pay for the daily necessity, so elderly parents don’t spend their money, while some of adult children also provide pocket money to their parents. On the other hand, basing on reciprocity principle, providing support to their children’s household, the elderly migrating parents in return received various types of support from their adult children, while economic support also relate to emotional care. From No.1 participant narratives, material support symbolizes emotional care by her son because she mentions ‘filial piety’. In fact, such emotional care which is migrating parent’s expectation and want most from their children (Zhang, 2005).

5.2.2 Accommodation condition: dwelling narrowness (Wo ju) or good house?

To live in peace and work happily (*Anjuleye* 安居乐业) is an ideal living condition in Chinese cultural influenced by the Confucian. The booming economic and massive urbanization have created housing shortage and driven up prices overreach of many aspirational young people, especially for migrant workers in Shenzhen.

Figure 1 : 34 years of employee’s average salary and the average transaction price of house in Shenzhen



Data from ‘Southern Metropolitan Daily’²¹; Figure made by author

Above Figure (Figure 1) was collected data from the news of Shenzhen house price analysis by ‘Southern Metropolitan Daily’. It is brief introduction of employee’s average salary and the average transaction price of house in Shenzhen during three decades in Table 2. From the statistics given in the table, it can be seen that the average transaction price of house is

²¹ Resources from Chinese website: http://news.sz.fang.com/2015-08-05/16843518_all.htm

dramatically increased from 5275 yuan per square meter in 2000 to 23973 yuan in 2014 (increased almost 354%). However, comparing with 1920 yuan in 2000, the employees' average salary is increased 215% to 6054 yuan in 2014. Therefore, we can conclude that the increasing gap between employee's average salary and the average transaction price of house in Shenzhen is huge. Then we can raise this question- how is the accommodation condition with the migrating parents?

The type of accommodation available to migrating parents in Shenzhen is depending on their children economic status. Generally, the price of house was affected by many factors, such as location and standard of neighborhood (Wang, 2012). Earlier research on domestic migration shows that migrant workers buy affordable private accommodation in the rural outer suburbs of big cities or 'urban villages, which is an effect of quick urbanization and which is given an urban *hukou* in the Chinese household registration system (Wu, 2012). No.7 participant, who was in her mid-60s, said during the interview:

My "apartment" (rented) is around 50 square meters, only 2 rooms. When my grandson was young, he sleeps with my husband and me in one bed. After him growing up, my son bought bunk bed for us. Finally, my grandson (5 years old) had his own bed that he could sleep alone in the upper berth but still lived with me in one room. We accustomed life in Shenzhen without other choices. My son has strong pressure about the loan for house and car in Shenzhen. Generally, the aim of buying house in China is intend to have stable life. But, it is not described our family that we rent a house far away from city center and rent out our own house (in city center) to another family...The painful thing for me is that I have to take bus very early in the morning to send my grandchild to kindergarten. (Sign.) We don't have time to have the bad relationship between daughter-in-law and me because we are too tired...Our big house has second floors in hometown, while the house is small here and four people live together. In addition, we only has one small bathroom which is too small to hold whole family together, when I use it, I always think about other people who are waiting there outside and then I feel uncomfortable.

This interviewee is already 63 years old, she sleeps in one room with her grandson since few years ago, and the condition is not optimal. Comfortable houses serves as an important factor consisting of quality of life from older people view, relating to the happiness (Liu, 2014). In her description, she used 'accustomed' and 'uncomfortable' these two incompatible words to describe her experience when she lived in small house, comparing living in big house in hometown. Behind these words, it is easy for us to explore the reason why she has

irreconcilable feeling: long term living congestion, lack of private space. Moreover, she cannot understand why the young couples didn't choose the house in city center because it has more convenient transportation. Huge pressure from loan of house and car made these young couple choose to save more money through rent house far away city center. However, migrating parents felt overburdened, finally, she chooses to adapt her life. Such negative feeling was further amplified when they did not receive enough recognition from their adult children.

No.8 participants also have the similar description about renting house and lived with his daughter, son-in-law and grandson.

At first, I thought that our house (Rent) with 60 square meters was almost enough for our five people to live. Actually, it was small. Sometimes, My wife complaint to sharing room with our grandson (LILI, 8 years old) because she sleep lightly and go used to go to bed before 9pm, but Lili has to do homework and he often does not finish it until 11pm. She cannot sleep well. Once, I was awaked in the midnight to go to toilet, and then I saw my wife slept in the living room because she could not fall asleep...Now, I don't know how to do. My wife considers going back hometown, with me alone here to take care of Lili. But we only have one son. I don't want my wife to be an empty-nest elderly.

In regard to live with children, this way has direct influence on later life of migrating parents. Research has indicated that retired elderly people often focus on the intergeneration relationship, which is influenced by Chinese tradition of several generation living together (Yao and Wang, 2010). Comparing with empty-nest elderlies people, people who live with their children are more satisfied with their life and show higher level of happiness (Zhang and Li, 2005). This is also reflected in my study. The eight participants all accept invitation from their children to migrate, either for family reunification or for taking care grandchild, while most of them living with their children. This tight relationship can release the pressure from new environment to elderly people. However, as I showed earlier, most of my informants do not have a satisfactory living condition, which has influenced their life quality.

However, No.1 participant has quite different narratives, comparing 7 and 8.

I moved to Shenzhen almost 8 years ago. My son and my daughter- in-law who is originally from Shenzhen bought 2 houses, one for them, another for us 6 years ago. I am so relaxed that we live in the same community, but different buildings. I like this house and community because there are many activities here...I usually take care Hanhan (granddaughter, 4 years

old) from 7am to 5pm (she mainly studies in kindergarten). After her mother is back home, by the way, she is a primary school teacher, she will pick Hanhan to their own home and make dinner by herself. Sometimes, we have dinner together, particularly in the weekend.

Living apart from adult children help her to rectify the imbalanced intergeneration reciprocity they experienced during their co-residence. This participant felt less burdened when they live apart from their adult children. She used ‘relax’ to describe her experience because she didn’t need to do domestic chores for her children households, only looked after granddaughter ‘part time’ or occasionally when the young couples were busy. This enabled them to have more private life. Although the direct support exchange was lower than living together, she enjoyed a higher level freedom with the independent living arrangement.

In conclusion, all of participants have at least one house in their hometown, however, migrating to Shenzhen and looking for house with high price, the level of accommodation conditions decreased, neither house’s price nor usage housing area. When grandchildren are young, migrating parents always live with them. After growing up, the accommodation conditions become more serious.

5.2.3 Emotional Support: Intergeneration relationship adjust

Li defined the intergeneration relationship as “family and society between generations through the distribution and sharing of resources, emotional communication and moral obligations of the consciousness and commitment, forming the interactive relationship include obligation, responsibly, rights, exchange and culture heritage (Li, 2014).

The migrating parents experience affects the whole family. It can change the interpersonal dynamics of migrant family life and in the ways these contrast with family dynamics in the city of origin. Research on migrant workers in China suggests that migrate to new city has significantly affected the structure of original family and relations between generations (Hu and Wu, 2004). Nearly all of these migrating parents valued the experience of being parents or grandparents and make an effort to stay closely with adult children’s family. The impact of their experience on family life was set in the foundation of strong family relations. Generally, migrating parents only are familiar with their adult child’s family in Shenzhen at the first period without long-term relationship and own house. During the beginning period of living in Shenzhen, conflict that does occur often involves disagreements about who in the family is supposed to be fulfilling the role. For example, how the adult children fulfill filial piety in Shenzhen and how the migrating parents communicate with new family member. Maiter

believes that “In some families, the traditional support role and high value of elderly family members become disrupted, especially if they have joined their children in Canada at a later date” (Maiter et al., 2013). From my data I can identify two types of family conflicts after migration: conflict in original family and conflict in extend family. Original family is included daughter/son and migrating parents, while the extend family is included daughter-in-law/ son-in-law and parents-in-law. Take No.5’s narrative for example as conflict in original family:

...In Shenzhen, I only have my family. But, my son usually is focus on his job so he doesn’t spend much time on communicating with me. I miss the time when he was young as the age as my grandson because we have more time on staying together instead of watching TV alone.

After migration, the relationship between generations is changed. In his story, I observed such disparity in family values rooted in post-migration situation. For most of migrating parents, they always seek for the support from their adult children on accompany. Actually, different families have their own characteristics. Generally, amounts of problematic intergenerational conflict are linked with negative consequences and family. No.1 participants explain the conflict occurs between her son and her on grandchild education:

The most conflict is that we have different opinions about young children education since 1 year ago. My son prefers give training programs to my granddaughter rather than spend more time on the little girl. But, I think that happy childhood is important for my granddaughter. He never knows how regret I did in the past! My son always focus on his business and back home in the midnight. If I can, I will buy his time to stay with us, including my lovely granddaughter. Staying with family members is the most happiness things in the world.

In No.1 participants case, this conflict occurred since 1 year ago, but they are not solve with the conflict until now. This negative impacts of conflict have been argued to be particularly harmful for migrating family, as elderly people have sense of ‘violate obedience to authority and family harmony’, possible causing other problems. In addition, Research with Chinese families illustrates the conflicts that it can develop between older parents and children when the parents are viewed as to depend on children (Wang, 2012). In many cases, conflicts grow from the elder’s belief that young people should obey the filial piety practices, show respect and deference. Although the adult children continue to show respect, the absence of many traditional rituals of deference is a recurring source of conflict. For example, women should

obey one of confusion admonitions that are continuing the family line through male offspring (chuanzongjiedai) (Doris. T, 2009). No.8 participant's offers a practical example of the traditional conflict on giving birth to children.

...you've never known that more children, more reliable dependent source of later life. Fortunately, even though I only have one daughter, she is capable for change whole family destiny from village to Shenzhen, even we rent house now. She absolute obeys my order. However, the only thing is that she always fights with me and my wife for raising more children. Don't be one-child parents! She will definitely cry in the future! (Sign).

Specifically, this narrative centers on how he and his daughter reacted and responded towards the role of grandparents and parents on the childbearing attitude. Traditionally, Chinese women are supposed to be nurturing and "care" is largely seen as a feminine characteristic (Eklund, 2011). Folbre, an American feminist sociologist, has shown that women's role in childbearing limits their ability to pursue demanding jobs(Folbre, 1994). Actually, recent years, more and more Chinese women pursue careers and compete for demanding jobs with supporting by their elderly parents. As many prior studies indicate, extended family members, especially grandparent-in-Law, are essential in relation to the adult children's parental experience (Zhu, 2015). But, in this quote, No.8 participant, father of original family, he has excessive expectation for her daughter that was indicated to be a burden in this family.

In the process of migration, migrating parents always confront transformational difficulties, and adult children offer emotional and economic support to help those parents dealing with the daily challenges, however, it is easily ignored that the different experience influence on two generations can make conflict, especially discussing about the new generation. No.6 participants showed the conflict of extend family members, when co-residing with her son and daughter-in-law for 9 years.

I have strong conflict with daughter- in-law but only complain to my son once. I know she has strong personality but I don't like people to control my life, especially for controlling everything in the home. When I make desert to my grandson, she complained the desert is harmful to our health and point out the weakness of lots of thing I did in front of me. It's difficult for me to talk about triples to my son, so I usually complained to my husband who lives in hometown.

The above narrative magnifies a key dilemma facing migrant families in this research: relinquishing versus communication. This participants vividly describe how intense this

conflict can be generally, but particular for relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Min-Jung Kim and Yun-Jeong Kim defined the relationship between a Mother-in-Law (ML) and a Daughter-in-Law (DL) that “is a legally and artificially formed relationship between people who do not share a bloodline” (Kim and Kim, 2015). The conflicts would be arisen from ‘difficulty in communication’ and ‘difficulty from the difference food culture’. This not only occurs in generations, but also relate to two different backgrounds family. In some extent, the reactions of No.6 participant can be recognized as reserved, obedient and value conscious in at home, in contrast to being communicate with her DL. Traditional Asia society structure is patriarchal structure (ibid); therefore conflicts often arose from MLs prioritizing their son ahead of the DLs in order to boost the authority of the husband. However, in this case, DL has more power and stronger personality, thus No.6 participant choose to complaint to her husband who lived far away from Shenzhen and also found it difficult to understand when communicated with her son. Her behavior intends to ask outsiders who can understand her situation rather than asking outsiders who solve with the conflict.

5.3 Participation outside home in Shenzhen

Although Chinese family is represented a whole codified ideology, elder migrants still have rights to enjoy their space outside home, especially for migrating parents participating outside home in Shenzhen.

5.3.1 Leisure time was shrunk: 24 hours babysitters

The one of reason for elderly people to migrate is supporting for their children’s household, including provide child care and domestic assistance. No.5 participants had spent seven years on looking after his grandchildren. Co - residential living arrangement usually put the elderly parents into ‘full-time’ caregivers in the family. Most participants explained their new life in Shenzhen, which they ‘looked after their grandchildren for 24 hours every day’, ‘took grandchildren to and from school’, and ‘did almost all the domestic chores.’ No.5 participant described his daily life for me, *“I am Anan’s (grandson) safety guider because I send him to school every 7 am and pick him up 4 pm. fortunately, and my wife was charged of cooking. Every day she get up early and then go to market, I usually come back at 7.30 a.m., sometimes, we eat breakfast with my adult children. After eating breakfast and washing bowls, I start to clean house and my wife makes lunch for simple dishes. After lunch break, my wife starts to prepare dinner and do domestic chores, while I go to pick my grandchild. If my*

children don't come back for supper, three of us eat simple dishes for dinner. This is our daily life, after taking a walk we go to bed...sometimes, the young couples told us that we spoiled Anan, so he didn't obey their words. But, why they didn't think of how much time they spend on accompanying with Anan". The elderly believed that they had put much effort into caring their grandchildren, especially for one-child migrating parents, but their effort was not necessarily understood and supported by their adult child. In the following narratives, 67-years-old male participants explain what experience to be one-child parents:

In the beginning of time in Shenzhen, I am participating in big group, but when the rest groups of people decide to go back to their hometown in winter and summer holidays, I only hang out with one-child parents, because I know they cannot travel away. Finally, the community left most of one-child parents.

The mainly task of one-child migrating parents is to take care one-child family, even in holidays of summer and winter. Actually, it limited the elderly people leisure time for relax. Actually, this narrative explained one situation one-child migrating parents have house in hometown but they cannot come back because their adult child and grandchild in Shenzhen. Migrating parents who have two adult children, especially one of them live in hometown, they are travelling more than one child parents because their spouse maybe live with their children in hometown. For elderly people's later life, most of time spends on family members, and friend just for fun. Sometimes, they need more space and leisure time for enrich their later life, but the reality is not allowed this group people to enjoy the freedom. As this participant further commented:

We usually take a walk nearby our community after dinner; take excise in our community or playground near us. I usually go shopping to food market nearby home in Shenzhen, we afraid that we lost the way to home because Shenzhen is too big...Sometimes, Our fellows from Henan Province organize some activities, such as play card. So, we have more leisure time.

No. 1 participants showed different attitude on 'leisure time' in the narratives. She actively joined in social activities and had regular excise habits in daily life, compared with other participants negative attitude on this section. But, this example showed clearly that they also met the challenges of transportation even though they had lived in Shenzhen for 10 years. Shenzhen is too big so that they can easily lost way to home. In most of the modern cities in China, convenient transportation like metro always benefit young people for commute, but it

is ignored that elderly people only remember some bus route from home to some fixed destination, such as grandchild's kindergarten and adult child office. Therefore, Most of migrating parents are afraid of visiting some places far away from home until their adult children to take them in the public holidays.

5.3.2 Lack of participation outside home in Shenzhen

As noted earlier research on social relationship, residence location changes are intuitively demonstrated that the proportions of life spent in the “nuclear family” are longer and the time spent outside home is shorter (Zhang, Sun and Zhou, 2012). This is more evident in China migrating parents' primary consideration is the well-being of their adult children and their families and thus looks upon to provide care to them as their obligation. The migrating parents' lifestyles are lack of participation outside home and required adaptations in family relations and changes that decrease certain elder's relationship interactions. Communication was remained through the use of advanced technology like WeChat, while most of my participants knew how to use smartphone to maintain contact with their old friends in hometown. Smart phone was also mentioned frequently as being used to contact adult child in Shenzhen. No.2 a retired factory worker and the oldest participant at age 69, said “ *In Shandong province, I always gather some old friends go outside for walking and talking, but not like here, I only surf the Internet and have video chat with them.*” The majority of these migrating parents who knew how to use smartphone denoted they always call their relatives and old friends in hometown. People who associate with each other not because they are from the same region, but because of common experience of migrating, caring grandchildren, even based on the same gender. But, No.7 participant's narrative demonstrate difference on her daily life:

In my leisure time, I always watch Television program before going to bed. Sometimes, my son, an online manager in international companies, joins in excise group with me in morning and evening in the weekend. When I was in my hometown, I prefer playing card with my relatives. But I cannot play here because it is different rules of playing cards what I learnt before; even language is not the same. My elderly sister lived close to me in my hometown and we often met and took care of each other. I miss her very much!

Based on the migrating parents characteristics, it is easily for us notified that they prefer remain contact with earlier relationship in hometown and difficult for them to establish new social relationship outside hometown in Shenzhen.

Although the household system reform is processing, the importance of household system is decreased, household system still maintain viewed as the main signal of resident identity. For example, Elders without household in Shenzhen, they are lacking of the same benefits of local citizens, suffering from discrimination from varies aspects, and result in sense of deprivation. Therefore, the loss of identity makes the migrating parents in long-term social inclusion. Berry (Berry, 1997) agreed that main cross-cultural identity research focus on the attitude of host culture is decided by local culture and attitude of society.

Some informants are relatively active in community activities, but they usually build the social network with the people from the same province. The situation can be recognized that elders who come from the same village, city or province prefer gather together and talk local dialect. When I start to interviewed No.2 participants, he said “...*I am not greeting with neighborhood when I meet, so I am not familiar with them. We are all from outside of Guangdong province, but if I meet my fellow (people from the same village, city or province), I will talk longer.* ” Behind this quote, language barrier maybe one of reason why migrating parents gather together because it is difficult for them to understand local dialect in Shenzhen. In traditional china society, geographical relationships and kinship are often intertwined, and in real life, there is often a mixture of kinship and geography (Fei, 1947).

Comparing the young migrant workers, migrating parents more focus on geographical relationships. In some extent, it represents your identities. When strangers meet in China, most of people usually question about hometown at first. The potential influence of the relationship has been extended from the native factions of the local civil and military bureaucracy to the peasants who immigrated to the urban area. These immigrants, though living in a new province for long time, still maintain their identity. The geographical relationship emphasizes on the common language, common food habit and memory, creating a sense of security. It is evident that original of hometown has important impact of grouping elderly people.

However, some elderly people are tired of building new social relationship in Shenzhen. As No.2 participants said, “*I am not making friends here because I don't like owing people a debt of gratitude for what they've done.*” Behind this short narrative, the informant points out that to establish new relationships and networks is required investing ‘ren qing’ (social and moral norms of reciprocal favor,人情), which may cause extra burden on elderly people, especially, when they'll have to take care of the grandchildren and help the children's families on a full-time basis. We can understand this in relation to what No.4 participant's said:

4: *“I am not familiar with place in Shenzhen. In addition, I am not interested in making new friends (especially for relatives from my daughter-in-law’s family) and I never visit them since I came here. Sometimes, they visit us and have dinner at home. If I am in hometown, I definitely invite my family members to eat at home, however, I cannot say anything in this home because I don’t have right to make decision.*

This narrative reflected extend family’s background, which was noted in previous chapter (See Chapter 1 decision making, p. 5). When the home-based support is not enough for supporting migrating parents, they still cannot achieve the external support from new social relationship. Her case is not unique, but quite common in specific areas, in that her son lived more closer to daughter-in-law family in Shenzhen instead of customary system that the father-son relationship is paramount and daughter-in-law have the lowest status in the family, as well as asked No.4 participant to do domestic chores. Imbalanced reciprocity makes this participant in long term of lacking of authorities. She didn’t feel the status in family in Shenzhen, therefore she didn’t consider about extend her social relationship in this community in order to have fun in later life. No.4 participant narrative shows that even though migrating parents may make big contribution to their children’s families, their contribution is not fully recognized. This leads to that they do not really feel as one part of the family, but rather as a guest. Then, in this case, she is economically dependent on her son.

In addition, she depends on her son for living and co-residing in Shenzhen, however, these elderly experience intergenerational conflict and disappointment over the influence of intergeneration values on their families and the consequent erosion of original values. Different types of intergenerational support exchange have huge impact on the quality of life of migrating parents, especially for the social inclusion.

5.4 New challenges to migrating parents in Shenzhen

After migrating parents migrate to Shenzhen, they faced series of challenges, such as language barrier, difference in daily culture and medical insurance reimbursement.

5.4.1 Language barrier: local dialect

Culture is the accumulation of conducts, moral norms and customs of mankind in the progress of transforming nature and social development. It reflects the prominent differences among different groups in terms of values, thinking modes and spiritual pursuits. Cultural and language differences negatively contribute to making the new social environment different for migrating parents (Okano, 2002). Language ideologies are effectively used in the

representation of various social and cultural identities. Shenzhen is located in Guangdong Province, which is popular for using Mandarin among young people and using Cantonese, Chaoshan, Hakka among elderly people. There are three major dialect groups of Guangdong: Compared with Hakka, which is embraced by three major sources: ancient Minyue Language, classical Chinese of the eastern Jin dynasty and middle Chinese from the Tang and Song dynasties in China, Cantonese are comprised primarily of words from the Tang and Song dynasty languages, with few words from Classical Cantonese(Chen, 2012). This distance is about the same as the difference between English and German. However, Chaoshan is different from above language, and it origins from Teochew dialect. People who spoke Fujian province's dialect and settled at the east of the Pearl River Delta in Chaoshan, near Guangdong's border with Fujian Province. Nowadays, North of Shantou is Chaozhou, which is pronounced "Teochew" in the Teochew dialect.

Cantonese becomes the most popular language in local elderly people in Shenzhen (Li and Gan, 2017). One factor of impacting migrating parents often at risk of psychological stress and social isolation are language barriers. Generally, Shenzhen works as migrating city, so it is easily heard that people speak Mandarin walking on the street, while it also ignored the local elderly people, who prefer speak local dialect and usually focus on households in the small family. The following are direct quotes from the interview:

6: We always speak Shandong dialect at home, which is close to Mandarin. If people speak Mandarin, we can understand, however, I feel uncomfortable when local fellows in Shenzhen prefer speak Hakka dialect.

This participant lacks of language proficiency and the unique cultural differences of the Shenzhen elderly groups required him for suiting the new social environment through local dialect. The local dialect represents identity that can be recognized as visible identity. Additionally, one of the participants complained that most of his neighbors were came from Henan Province and spoke Henan dialect even they stayed in common room, while he didn't understand Cantonese. He complained, *"I speak Jiangxi dialect, it is quite different language from them, and I never say anything when they talking about our common issue in public activity room...I always look like deaf-mute person"* (No.5 participant).

The primitive and unified traditional ideology of language and regional identity often appears in bilingual context (Gan, 2013). Predominantly when the first language has a minority language status in the present environment (speak hometown dialect in Shenzhen, except

Guangdong Province and Mandarin areas), the importance of maintain one's first language can be emphasized from the perspective of maintaining and developing one's ethnic identity. It can explain why the No.5 participant neighbors always gather together to use local dialect. However, its value can be challenged by ordering mastering the majority dialect from Guangdong Province. One female participant explained the challenge about the new languages:

7: I cannot understand Chaoshan dialect even I arrive here for 6 years. Although community workers speak Mandarin and print official documents on public room, stronger friendships explore more useful information. Sometimes, some of my friends understand both language (local dialect and Mandarin) and translate some useful information for us through their local group discussion. However, they are also too busy to communicate with us...My fellow asked me to learn new dialect. It is no possible!

She believed that it is hard for her to learn new language, especially as illiterate. She seemed to be exposed in long-term culture environment, but misunderstanding of local dialect make her lost acquire useful information and friendship, which is similar situation as No.5 participant. Behind of "difficult to get the useful information", we can conclude that language barriers can be a gap for migrating parents to incuse in a new social environment. The next section extends the cultural inclusion from food habit and festivals.

5.4.2 Difference in daily culture: food habit and festivals

From the demography characters of migrating parents, it is easy to recognize them as low-age elderly people. However, every person represents themselves culture background. The following content will be described from food habit and festivals aspects to get a picture of migrating parents culture inclusion in daily life.

Food culture is related to local culture and by-product of local weather condition and geography environment. The importance of food in understanding elders' culture lies precisely in its infinite variability that people from different parts of china have different eating habits. The following narratives of participants from three different cities have quite different characters.

6: I always eat dumpling in the morning, after arriving in Shenzhen, I making dumpling for my daughter and her family members. If I don't have time to make it, I will go outside to buy some bread to them. Actually, my daughter prefers noodles, my son-in-law is from south of China, and I will prepare porridge for him.

8: *The vegetables are too expensive and taste worse in Shenzhen, you know, our village vegetables taste better than here.*

Every narrative reflects their background. Although migrating parents rarely have opportunity for delivering their own culture, they still insist some culture, such as food habits. No.6 participant has north-east traditional habits of eating dumpling, which habits rarely popular in local Shenzhen citizen, but for her, means everyday breakfast. From family background perspectives, No.8 participant lived in village until following his son to Shenzhen and enjoy more uncontaminated vegetables and cheaper prices of food in countryside. What's the commonest, wherever the city may be, the life there is much more expensive than in the countryside.

As anthropologist M. Landman once said, "Without culture, human is nothing". The behavior of human can reflect own culture, especially for the traditional festival. When I investigate this participant was almost close to spring festival, which was the most important festival in China. Every family member wants to come back in order gather together and have a family relaxing time. But, 69 years old participant complained with her festival.

In spring festivals, my son usually organizes a trip for whole family to visit other cities nearby Shenzhen but I don't like travelling. The most happiness time is that wants every family member sit together and talk with other. I really miss my hometown!

Youth migrants prefer modern way to expend their holidays with families, such as travelling; some of elderly people prefer staying at home, such as No.2 participant. According to this quote, it could be argued that involvement in traditional culture is advantageous for elderly migrating parents because, unlike in Western countries where senior citizens did not confer prestige by public automatically, traditional Chinese culture embraces a collectivist culture description.

5.4.3 'Hukou' system and Health care: medical insurance reimbursement

According to Shenzhen insurance policy, migrating parents who have not registered household system (Hukou) in Shenzhen, cannot enjoy the medical insurance reimbursement in Shenzhen. That means elderly people should pay the bill by themselves or bring the receipts back hometown and wait for the reimbursement process after long time. What No.6 participants told me in the interview shows that this is a quite complex process.

6: *I had surgery of heart diseases in 2006 in Shenzhen. After 2 years, I followed my son to Shenzhen where it is said to have better doctors and better medical conditions. Actually, I*

only did simple health examination twice because the cost is high. We cannot afford to it payment without medical insurance...But my Hukou is in my hometown and so my health insurance is also there. So I have to go back my hometown once a year in order to reexamine my heart disease and pick the medicine that can last for 1 year, as well as to save time for shuttle back and forth between two places.

Her narrative allows us to point out that the Hukou status influences a lot one's medical insurance and thus life quality. She first reflected that better medical care always in big city, Shenzhen, but she acknowledged that elderly people couldn't pay for the high medical fees. This phenomenon is ubiquitous among migrating parents in Shenzhen, and more explicitly realized by No.4 participant statement as she told me:

4: I have Rheumatoid arthritis, one of aging symptom. At the first year, I shuttled back and forth between two places frequently in order to get medical fees back in my hometown. My daughter asked me to take a break. Recent years, I go to hospital nearby my home (Shenzhen). My legs have painful feelings during seasonal changes, so I must go to hospital (Shenzhen) and have no choice to pay for expensive medicines...I cannot change my 'hukou' to Shenzhen because my husband is still there in hometown taking care my son's children. How can I do!

No. 4 participant's account highlights certain foundational features of relationship of Shenzhen household system and medical insurance reimbursement. If migrating parents want to change *Hukou* to Shenzhen, both of elderly couples must change *Hukou* together, basing on the rules of Shenzhen household registration system (Shenzhen, 2016). However, this situation put No.4 participant in dilemma that she migrate to Shenzhen for taking care younger daughter's family and domestic chores, while her husband did the same thing for elder son in hometown. It is evident that the main challenge of migrating parents faced is health care in Shenzhen; most of adult children choose to be self-finance for supporting their parents. Thus, in this narrative, it is difficult for her to get better medical benefits and enjoy free advanced medical condition in Shenzhen.

5.5 Stay or back

The sense of identity and sense of belonging is an important symbol to judge the completion of psychological adaptation. In general, it is easy for immigrants to complete the economic, daily life and interpersonal relationship adaptation, but the psychological level of adaptation is difficult in a short time. The psychological level of adaptation mainly refers the highest level of adaptation to the subjective emotional identity and ownership. From the time

dimension, some of my participants have been living in Shenzhen for almost 10 years; their adult child live in Shenzhen longer than elders. As time goes by, the psychological status of the change is to assess the degree of social integration of the important indicators.

5.5.1. Lack of belonging and well-being: fragile situation

Migrating parent's experiences are unstable because elderly people don't have accommodation and job in the Shenzhen, particularly for elders who from village with lower income. Apart from their children, they don't have relatives or friends in Shenzhen. Moreover, there is a fragile situation that they are about to leave and go back to their hometown at any time.

6: When I came to Shenzhen, I feel I don't have right to make decision. I depend on my son because he offers me food and accommodation in Shenzhen. So, I don't complain too much. Once, I had conflict with my daughter-in-law's mother, you know, she always orders people to do something and required young couples to give birth to more children in order to inherit family business... Then, I went hometown after the fighting. But, I love my son (Sign).

This participant came to Shenzhen 9 years ago, but she went hometown at least five times during these years because she has strong conflict with her daughter-in-law family (local Shenzhen citizen family). Although intergenerational negotiations are important in the migration process, negotiation between the elderly couples and new family members (son-in-law and daughter-in-law) also influenced the decision-making. In No.6 special case, the son is married with a rich local girl, accordance that he married with this girl's family²². So, the daughter-in-law family has stronger economic condition and then has more powerful position in the family, therefore they always interrupts this small family and creates conflicts with No.6 participants. The quote reveals that the migration of elderly parents was depend on her son. In some extent, small conflict happened in family will influence on migrating parents' feeling of belonging. Some elderly people usually seek support from their relatives and friends who lived in hometown through telephone. However, if they cannot deal with the problems in hand, they will consider come back hometown at first and wait for adult child call for need. After that, they come to Shen Zhen again.

Life satisfaction is derived from the most direct experience of subjective cognition on the life status, subjective evaluation of quality of life and embodiment of social harmony. But, several

²² Matrilocal residence (in Chinese shangmennvxu) exists in modern day china and varies explanation from urban to rural. It always means that the new family is more near wife's family than son's family. In this case, girl's family bought this house for this young couple (Clemens, 2016). There are no exact evidences to explain the high rates of matrilocal residence we found in urban Guangdong and Beijing.

informants expressed a rootless state when describing their present life to me – a strong sense of wandering, lack of support and inclusion among my 8 participants. Three participants are not living with their spouse for several years. No.7 participant has been separated from her husband for 6 years, she said:

7: In the first year, I came to Shenzhen with my husband before having my grandson. After living 1 year, he decided to go back hometown because of my elderly son's request. I remained with my daughter for taking care of her son. Once, my husband hurt his leg, but I felt guilty and sad that I couldn't accompany with him and take care of him. Now, the home is not real home. I don't have people to talk with at home in Shenzhen.

No.4 participant has a similar experience. She also complaint her life to me and said, “*So boring and annoying in Shenzhen. I don't know when I can go back home.*” Elderly people shoulder the most of domestic chores in adult children's family and take care of grandchildren, while the quickly path of life make them exhausted. The belonging means that subjective recognition of person is belonging to what kind of the groups. Generally, it is easily questioned about person's hometown and influenced by new place cultures. The level of culture, life experience and original life environment are impact on migrating parents, means that elderly people need time to adjust the psychological and behavior area. Otherwise, it creates a serious challenge to elderly people. These impacts are greater for migrating parents compared to younger migrants because the elder migrant experience their aging processes as well as one kind of acculturation to new cultures in new city (Hu and Long, 2013). Meanwhile, it highlights the psychological inclusion that seems to be related to engagement in belonging and happiness.

5.5.2 Stay or Back?

The signal of person who really included in new place is that has exact plan for planning the life in new environment. When the aging is increased, it is reality that elders should choose a place for later life. As demonstrate in previous research, the elder care models of traditional families drive the elderly immigrants to follow their adult children because family care usually plays an important role, as well as influence by filial piety, so elders can consider about current resident place as endowment land.

There are 7 participants out of 8 participants who are struggling with the question on remaining or not in Shenzhen. 4 of them (No. 3, 4, 6, 7) decide to go back hometown. No.3 participant commented that “*We will stay in Shenzhen until my daughter gets married in*

Shenzhen, and then back hometown". Comparing their behavior of maintain staying in Shenzhen, their narratives already point out the expectation of themselves. The whole process of migration involves a complex and reciprocal social system that also affect some family matters, such as childbearing or marriage arrangements. Traditionally, basing on the Confucian thought, a woman should be obedient to her parents before marriage, while family commonly arranged marriages in which the bride and groom for them(Wong and Bo, 2010). But, different from the past, parents have strong sense of obligation of satisfied children's need rather children unconditional obey. No.4 and No.6 participants make an inference to this reality:

4: ...My husband is getting older and told me that raising daughter is like raising children for another family.

6: Although I lived in Shenzhen 9 years, I still miss my hometown. In the recent years, I will back hometown and stay with my husband. Staying in our lovely city is more comfortable. Even though my son rejected my request, I insist my wish.

In their narratives, the mainly reasons for them decided to go back hometown in the future because of their spouse. It is worth noted that No.4 participant reflect an old Chinese proverb, which means that new wife had to obey her husband's parents and honor his ancestors, especially frequently tormented by her mother-in-law (Cao et al., 2013).The unbalance family structure also makes the migrating parents strong sense of lacking of belonging in her daughter's home in Shenzhen. No.6 narratives mentioned about the conflict of stay or back hometown between her son and she, while it may related to many reasons. Generally, adult children receive support from their parents, they also will contribute to fulfill filial piety and consider elderly care. In this case, one-child always burden more pressure than multiple children family (Zhang and Li, 2005). Her son asked them to migrate with him and stay in Shenzhen in order to family unit and balance reciprocity in family. Actually, the dilemma is not only occurred in one family, as the narratives from No.2 participant, who stay in Shenzhen because of no choice.

2: My son wanted to start a small business in Shenzhen and asked me to sell my house in hometown to support him. He promised me that he would buy a new house for me in hometown when he earned enough money. Finally, he succeeded and bought house in Shenzhen. No house for me in hometown. He thought the medical care policy is better for me in Shenzhen...I don't have a home now.

Financial issues in the family had a tremendous impact on migrating parent's plan and elderly care. She sacrificed her own life saving for her son intended to be controlled by her son and had more concerns about her later life. She was less possible enable to afford living separately from her son even when they were experiencing family conflicts. Actually, she was depended on her son own needs.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The main question of the research is seeking to explore how do migrating parents experience their new life in Shenzhen when living together with their children. This study was framed within a different background between urban and rural areas, with participants taking a comparative approach to decipher between their experiences of living new city with their adult children, while it also challenge a predominant filial piety ideal. The primary objective was to identify the experience of Chinese migrating parents living with their adult children in new city. The following questions were proposed in support of the research question:

1. What do they expect from their new life in Shenzhen? 2. What kind of problem/challenge they experience? 3. How do they adapt to the new environment and the new life situation?

I used narrative analytical frame and theoretical framework to explicate the substantive findings of this study. In this chapter, I will offer a reflection on some key findings as well as further research strategy.

6.1 Summary of the key findings

To conclude this research I would like to answer above three questions briefly. My first question was “What do they expect from their new life in Shenzhen?” The result of the research shown that most of informants were expected adult children to fill filial piety and better life quality concerning medical care. The collective paradigm in Chinese culture context describes the Confucians virtue “filial piety” as Chinese culture product, refers that hierarchy, authority and obedience are the main feature of filial piety behavior in family (Aris, 2016) .With decreasing level of health conditions, medical care is also important for migrating parents. Few of informants were expected economic support and public services. They have stable income or pension, as well as lacking of participation outside home in Shenzhen. The other question that I approached in my research is “What kind of problem/challenge they experience?” I have concluded that migrating parents were mostly integrated difficultly from emotional and social life aspects. Such as lacking of emotional support from adult children, language barrier, difference between daily culture (mainly referred food habits) and medical insurance reimbursement under Household registered system. The final research question was “How do they adapt to the new environment and the new life?” Answering this question, the result of this research point out that these respondents’ inclusion situation are vary, especially for migrating parents whether live with their adult children or not. Only 1 respondent (No.1 Informant) are separately living with her adult

children, while she has high level of social inclusion than I have expected. She joined in different kinds of social activities in the new community, as well as visited tourist place in Shenzhen. Other informants always spend leisure time on watching TV programs, cleaning adult children's house and taking a walk after dinner.

From last chapter, two points should be highlighted: new norms of intergenerational reciprocity and challenges to traditional gender difference.

Imbalanced intergenerational reciprocity forced the migrating parents to lower their expectations of support from their adult children. After migrating to Shenzhen few years, some of them start to re-adjust their perceptions of filial piety (being-parents) and focus more on fulfill obligation (as grandparents). Most of migrating parents are middle-class and have enough living condition in original place until migrating to Shenzhen. The meaning of migration to elderly people is that give up their stable lives and living away from their long-established accommodation and original relationship in hometown. After migrating to Shenzhen, co-residential living arrangements usually turned the elderly parents into 'full-time' caregivers in the family. Most participants reported that they 'looked after their grandchildren for 24 hours everyday', 'took grandchildren to and from school', and 'did almost all the domestic chores'. Only the No.1 participant's families, the elderly couples lived separately with children in order to provide basic help in Shenzhen, enjoying higher quality of life. By doing so, migrating parents remain believed that they had maximized their contribution to the children's households although they had sacrificed a lot in their personal life. The result of research is also shown that parent's contribution to the children's household is not fully recognized and thus many informants experience a feeling of living dependent on others (jirenlixia 寄人篱下), or a loss of their autonomy.

The important finding challenges the gender difference in China. On the one hand, it challenges the conventional understanding that women play important role of taking care of family members. Generally, grandmothers performed more housework and provided more childcare than their husbands if the elderly couple co-resided with the same child. However, my data indicates that men also are taking responsibility of childbearing either the migration or at their hometown. It challenges somehow the traditional gender in China, "Women are men's substantial and has role of taking care of family" (Liu and Zhao, 1994). Nowadays, the numbers of migrating parents are increased, but most of them are men. On the other hand, the traditional Chinese family model that parents were still much more likely to live with married sons than with married daughters. Actually, another interested finding from my data found

that traditional family model is no longer applicable to contemporary China, especially in Shenzhen (Xie and Zhu, 2009). Migrating parents are more likely to live with children with stronger economic background, if they have choices.

Migrating parent's wisdom is questioned in the context of the advanced culture in Shenzhen, of which they know very little because their experience-based knowledge seems to lose the validity after the change of context. As a result, these elderly are likely to lose their major social roles that were a source of status, power and prestige in their home.

From psychological perspective, having more time to relax and socialize not only contributed to the migrating parents' psychological well-being, but also broadened their own social networks. The lack of participant outside of home is influencing elderly people well-being and quality of life. Their daily communication should not only be limited to family members or small circle social relationship. Participating actively in local community activities can empower these migrating parents to maintain their independence and to deal with daily life time without the help of their adult children.

6.2 Some critical reflection of my own research practice

The process of critical reflection has proved to be an effective tool for examining this research work. Contrary to some migration studies and ageing literature in China, it has enabled me to develop my understanding of intergeneration relationship, showing that breakdown of the networks of interdependence and reciprocity as well as challenge traditional views on filial piety. This has allowed me to look at how migrating parents position themselves in relation to identity, and also made me to think that following their adult children migrate to new city is a strategy to enhance the collective welfare of the household and positively accepted by the older generation.

However, looking back I can see that some aspects of fieldwork were not fully considered. In the last two interviews, I had in-depth interview with No.7 and No.8 informants. Comparing with the other familiar six informants, I found it difficult to build rapport with these two informants. After in touch in few days, they invite me to their home and accept my interview. During the interview, it can easily conclude those female participants are more talkative than male participants. Sometimes, female participants intend to talk any irrelative topics in the interview, thus I should lead the informants to the right direction again. Therefore, in-depth interview require me to qualify for better interview skill and stronger ability to communicate

with informants. These critical reflections make me to be able to learn more for future practice.

6.3 Concluding remarks and further research

This research has increased our insight into migrating parent's new city life in China. It indicate that aging migration can be experienced very differently, depending on many factors, such as gender difference, elders migrant's characterize, new city accommodation conditions, especially how the intergeneration support influence the process of migration. More closer intergenerational relationship can offer better support to migrating parents so that they can integrate into new environment easily. Instead of focusing on the elder migrants alone, the study has given a thorough consideration to the familiar context in which the decision and experience of migration are shaped. In addition, it also provides new insight on changes of gender relations in China.

During this research, many interesting aspects of aging migration in China have emerged, such as the relationship between family support dynamics and the quality of life of migrating parents, how the migrating parents participate into community and the development of gender in China from migrating parent's perspectives. These topics would be interesting to explore further in a more longitudinal research.

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(*My own translation of the title)

Appendix 1: In-depth Interview Guide

Topic: *Stay or Back: Chinese migrating parents experience of social inclusion under intergenerational support*

Research question: *How do they experience their new life in Shenzhen when living together with their children?*

1. Introduction

Introducing myself and explaining the objective of this interview

2. Personal Background of Parents of Migrants Workers

-Name

-Gender

-Age

-Marital status and the number of children

-Economic and general health condition

-City of origin

3. life situation before migrating

-network and social activity in their daily life?

-Occupation and income in original city

-Situation in relation to pension and health care.

4. process of migration

- who raised the issue

- the decision making process

- expectation from the children, and their own expectation towards the new life in the new city.

5. situation in new life

Social network and activity

Included or excluded?

Cultural differences

Relations with the families, in particular the children they live with

What has changed?

Positive and negative,

Economic situation and emotional needs Health care arrangements

Possible challenges, difficulties or problems

How do they cope with them?

What kind of support they need from the family, local society/community and the government (economic, emotional and health care)

Plan for future (leave or stay?)

What kinds of problems they meet in this city?

-Problems of getting along with family members in new environment (Changing types of family structure)

-Problems of build new relationship (different language and different local culture) Do they think about living separately with their children in new environment?

-Any problems of medical care and pension benefit?

How do they cope with above problems?

How is their children pressure impact to their city life?

6.Expectation towards the family, community, and the government

- Economic, emotional and health aspect, how much they expect from family, community and government support?

-What were the most challenging and difficult parts about social support? Why? -Have they been integrated into the local community?

-Future forecast

Back to hometown or still stay

Appendix 2: Informed Consent

Informed Consent for a Master Thesis in Master of social science: *Stay or Back: Chinese migrating parents experience of social inclusion under intergenerational support*

I am a Master student in Social work at the Department of Social Science, Nord University in Norway. I would like to invite youto participate in a Master thesis research about migrating parents experience of social inclusion in Shenzhen. Your participation will be taken mainly in form of interviews. I would use pseudonym in the project instead of your real name in the thesis in order to protect your identity. This study is an academic one and will be shared amongst my supervisor and other appropriate members related to the Nord University. The Master thesis that results from this work will be published in a hard copy and will be housed at the Nord University library and the Department of Social Sciences at the Nord University, Norway. As a participant, you have the right to ask for more information about this study and to withdraw from the study any time during the interview.

I appreciate your cooperation to participate in this study. Thank you!

Yu Huang

(Please sign below if you are willing to participate in the interview process for the Master thesis research study outlined above.)

Signature:.....

Date: