Social Networks of Older Immigrants in Phoenix, Arizona

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explored how immigrants cope with and thrive in old age by utilizing social networks, and the hindrances which may prevent this. Through ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth interviews at two senior centers in Phoenix, Arizona with a high concentration of an ethnic minority group – Asian and Latino, I describe what makes the Asian dominant center more resource abundant than its Latino counterpart given prevalent tight public funding. Both centers have a large number of seniors disenfranchised from mainstream institutions who bond together via similar experiences resulting from shared countries/regions of origin, language, and migration experience. The Asian center, however, is more successful in generating and circulating resources through "bonding" and "bridging" older immigrants who, therefore benefit more from their center affiliation than the Latinos at their center.

The abundance of resources at the Asian center flowing to the social networks of seniors are attributed to three factors: work and volunteer engagement and history, the organization of the center, and individual activities. At both centers seniors bond with each other due to shared ethnicity, language, and migration experience and share information and companionship in the language in which they feel most comfortable. What differentiated the two centers were the presence of several people well connected to individuals, groups, and institutions beyond the affiliated center. The presence of these "bridges" were critical when the centers were faced with budgetary constraints and Arizona was experiencing the effect of ongoing immigration policies. These "bridges" tend to come from shared ethnicity, and better social positions due to cumulative factors which include but are not limited to higher education,

professional occupation, and work and volunteer history. I have also presented cases of individuals who, although have developed expertise from past work experiences and individual activities, have limited contribution to the resource flow because of the differences in ethnicity. The study also explored a gendered life course and its impact on the social network for older Asian and Latino immigrants.

DEDICATION

To My Mother and Father.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Two primary factors presently drive the demographic change in the United States. One is diversification of the foreign born population and the other is aging of the overall population. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 banned the quota system and opened its doors to people from non-European countries. It included immigrants from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Middle East, all of whom were small in number earlier. In the latter half of 20th century, the United States saw another shift in the immigration policy that would alter the demographics of the United States: the Immigration and Reform Control Act of 1986, also known as IRCA. One of the provisions of the IRCA was to legalize immigrants who had entered the United States prior to 1982. These two immigration laws were primarily responsible for increasing the number of immigrants from especially Asia and Latin America and also increasing the pool of legal residents and those who became U.S. citizens and thus able to sponsor their family members from abroad. As a result, the United States saw a steady growth of the foreign born population at the turn of the 20th century and this trend continues today. According to the 2010 US Census, there are approximately 40 million foreign born individuals in the United States, which is 13% of the total population.

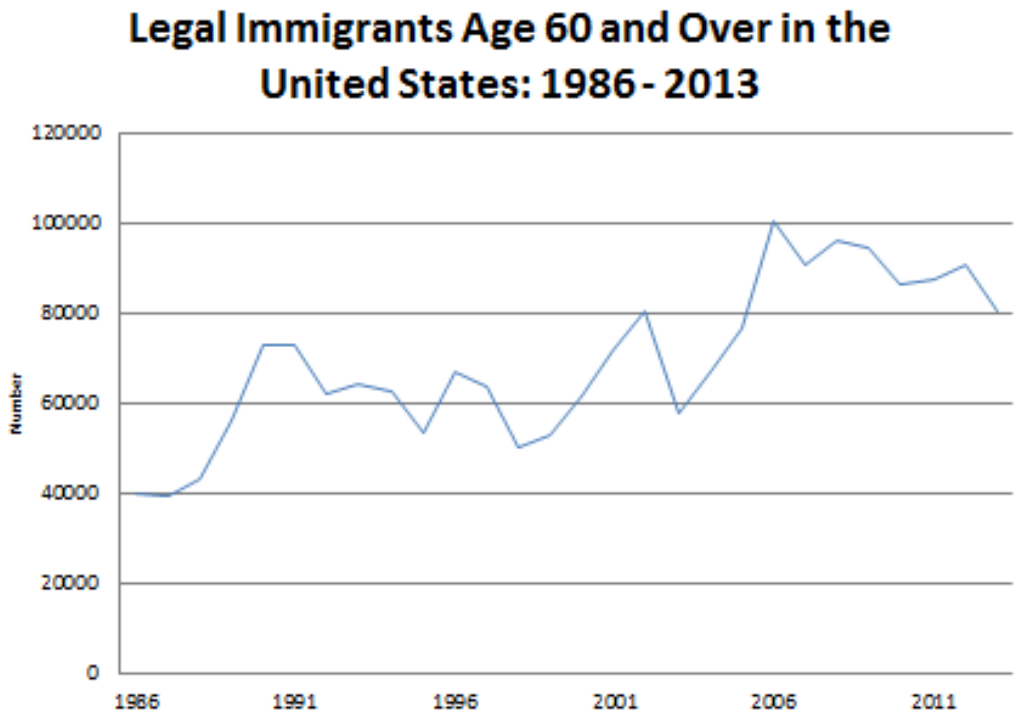
Another demographic trend in the United States is aging. As is the case with many other developed countries such as Japan and France, the United States follows the trend. Life expectancy in the United States has changed drastically in the past few decades. In 2010, the average life expectancy of the U.S. population was 78.7 years old, which is almost 10 years longer than that of 1960. When we compare the average life

expectancies by subgroups, studies report that the overall life expectancy of immigrants has always been 3 years longer on average than that of U.S. born (Singh and Miller 2003). When further broken down by countries of origin, however, variations are observed. Immigrants from Asia (China, Japan, the Philippines) have a shorter life expectancy while immigrants from Latin America and Africa have a longer life expectancy compared to U.S. born counterparts (Hayward et al. 2014; Markides 1989; Singh and Miller 2003). Within the overall U.S. born population, lower socioeconomic status is associated with higher mortality. However, this does not apply to Hispanic immigrants with low socioeconomic status. This phenomenon is called the "Hispanic epidemiological paradox" (Markides 1989). Two possible hypotheses have been presented to explain this paradox: "salmon bias" and selection bias. "Salmon bias" theory proposes that immigrants leave the United States when they become old and ill resulting in the inflation of average life expectancy among the Hispanic immigrants who remained in the United States. Selection bias theory proposes that those who immigrate to the Unites States are generally healthier than those who did not. It is likely a contribution of both theories that are concurrently driving the extension of life expectancy among Hispanic immigrants in the United States.

The two trends, diversification of the foreign born population and aging, drive the overall demographic change in the United States. According to the Census 2010, there were approximately 4.9 million immigrants age 65 and over, which is 12% of the aging population in the United States, and due to aging of the foreign born population and family reunification, these figures are projected to increase over time. Just like the U.S. born population, post-1965 immigrants are joining the aging population. For instance, if

an immigrant arrived in 1970 at the age of 20, he or she would be 60 years old in 2010. The chart below shows the number of legal immigrants above 60 years of age in the United States between 1986 and 2013. Although there are ebbs and flows, we observe a general increase across years, and considering the higher life expectancy among most of the immigrant subgroups, the proportion of the aging foreign born population will likely increase.

Figure 1. Legal Immigrants Age 60 and Over in the United States: 1986-2013



Source: Yearbook of Immigration Statistics

Family reunification is another factor behind the increase in the number of older immigrants today. The growth of naturalized U.S. citizens sponsoring their parents drives the trend. As compared to those who immigrate at earlier years and age in the United States, these older immigrants age abroad and join the aging population upon

immigration in old age. The latter group of older immigrants are most commonly sponsored by their naturalized children. Additionally, there are temporary older migrants who come and stay with family members on non-immigrant visas on a regular basis. These individuals visit their children for three to six months, and either return home or renew visas abroad and return on another visitors' visa. These visits can be seen as a prelude to immigration and permanent residency. However, for the time being, these seniors can only visit the United States for a limited duration of time on non-immigrant visas since the visa protocol of their children precludes them from becoming the sponsor of their parents' immigration. In some cases, temporary visits are simply due to the choice of parents or children.

After families are reunited, many stay with family and take care of their grandchildren while their working age children are in the labor force, a resultant effect that may be partially attributed to the Welfare Reform. While the economy was growing when the Reform passed, the "welfare-to-work" strategy seemed appropriate as a household strategy, and supporting extra family member was more easily accommodated. With an increased income, adult children could support their aging or disabled parents, while a trusting family member took care of the children. However, this arrangement that may be logical with the social and economic policy of the time becomes a problem when the economy stagnates. In time of economic recession, keeping a steady job becomes more difficult, and consequently, external economic pressures for those working and supporting the family increase financial and psychological tension within a household. The former arrangements become nonviable at the household level, and family conflicts tend to occur. Sooner or later, people then tend to turn to the community that they are part

of, relying on formal and informal social support and social services. This includes their local community as well as the immigrant community. Not only do older immigrants face different challenges such as linguistic isolation and less retirement income and assets than the U.S. born aging population on average, but the variation within the aging foreign born population due to diverse migration experiences presents another layer of challenge in providing support and services. Considering the demographic reality of the United States, exploring the strategies of older immigrants, family, and community to sustain and prosper raises important research and policy considerations.

1.2 Research Questions

My dissertation project was started to understand the increasing presence of older immigrants in the United States who may have experienced a divergent life course as compared to U.S. born seniors, and as a result, may be facing different challenges in old age. With the social policies that have become increasingly restrictive starting in the mid-1990s as they limit the beneficiary to its citizens, older immigrants today may not have had accessible support from public programs, and therefore have relied on other means of support, namely family and the ethnic community. Complementing the cultural markers that emphasize strong family ties and ethnic enclaves, an assumption that immigrants help one another all along their life course has thrived in the academic and policy discourse, and this view still prevails today. While treating aging as a normalized experience based on U.S. born seniors, the aging experiences of older immigrants remained under-investigated. The aim of my dissertation is to explore how earlier experiences continue to leave impacts on the lives of immigrants and their well-being in old age, as well as to present cases that reexamine the earlier discourse of integration of

immigrants through endogenous supports of family and ethnic community. I argue that such supporting arrangements are only possible when the family or ethnic community as a collective unit has a pooled resource and that the mechanisms that continuously generate resources are implemented in the social network to bring into and circulate resources. In the absence of such a system, external support may be necessary. A careful investigation, however, reveals that connections to mainstream institutions, despite indirect ones through association with well-connected seniors beyond the center or accomplished children, are critical in keeping the social networks of older immigrants resource abundant.

1.2.1 Who are Older Immigrants?

I focus primarily on older immigrants who have immigrated at a younger age and aged in the United States. However, to understand how these older immigrants are connected to others and draw from and contribute to their social network, it is also important to note the presence of the two other groups of older immigrants. These are recently arrived immigrants who aged abroad and who have arrived for their final abode ("recent immigrants") and those who are temporarily visiting their family members ("temporary visitors"). All of these groups share social space of senior centers and contribute to the dynamics of the social relationships and resource flow where I conducted my study. Furthermore, omitting the presence of "recent immigrants" and "temporary visitors" and focusing only on the older immigrants who aged in the United States would not only give partial understanding of their impact at the senior centers, but also would not do justice to the complexity of the aging foreign born population and the social networks of which they are part. Therefore, while I consider the three groups to be

distinct, my goal is to capture the ways in which the first group of older immigrants engage and interact with the other two groups among many other constituents of their social network.

Of the 4.9 million foreign born aging population, more than two thirds have been living in the United States for over forty years. Still, their old age is different from that of U.S. born population. When compared with U.S. born seniors, older immigrants are living longer but disability is more prevalent among them. They are often linguistically isolated and are more likely to live as part of low income families that tend to have less retirement income or income from assets. There is a wide gap between the average income of native born and immigrants in old age. In 2010, half of the 4.9 million older immigrants had less than $11,000 in yearly individual income from all sources (Batalova 2012)[1]. This may be one of the reasons why older immigrants are more likely to be working in old age.

These conditions suggest that the growing number of older immigrants may be facing more and different challenges than U.S. born seniors. This prompted me to investigate the obstacles older immigrants may face, and how they deal with them. This dissertation project was launched to investigate how individuals, families, and communities navigate the challenges older immigrants face by utilizing their social networks. In addition to the challenges faced in old age, the older immigrants in my study experienced old age in one of the worst economic recessions in recent history. They also experienced their old age in a state where political economy was, to say the least, unfriendly to immigrants and one which was severely impacted by the economic

[1] Of the 34 million U.S.-born elderly, half lived on $20,000 or less (Batalova 2012).

recession. These unique conditions of Arizona added to the challenges faced by the older immigrants and those around them including family, neighbors, and the community in my study.

1.2.2 Old People during the Recession: Work, Retirement, and Social Security

The dependency ratio rises along with life expectancy. The widely used measurement of dependency ratio is calculated by the number of people age 0-14 and age 65 and over divided by the number of people age 15-64, or the working age population[2]. This measurement assumes that adults 65 and over are no longer in labor force[3]. However, studies show that this assumption may be dated (Munnell and Sass 2008; Sweet and Meiksins 2013). It is reported that older immigrants are working longer than U.S. born (Batalova 2012), but some factors are driving people, both immigrants and U.S. born, to stay in labor force well into old age.

The 1983 Amendment of Social Security Act introduced a shift in the eligibility age to claim full Social Security benefits[4]. In conjunction with the longer life expectancy, the time older people spend without full Social Security benefits has become longer, and it will continue to extend in the future. In addition to the gradual shift in the eligibility age, the passage of Senior Citizen Freedom to Work Act in 2000 contributed to people staying longer in the labor force. The act removed the "earnings penalty" for workers

[2] $dependency\ ratio = \frac{Number\ of\ people\ aged\ 0{-}14\ and\ 65\ \&\ over}{Number\ of\ people\ 15{-}64}$

[3] This coincides with the minimum age for receiving full retirement benefits at 65, established in the original Social Security Act of 1935.

[4] It is currently set that, the age eligibility for full Social Security coverage ("normal retirement age") for the individuals born earlier than 1938 is 65, for those born between 1938 to 1942, after 65, adjusted by month, and for those born between 1943 and 1954, age 66. For the individuals born in 1959 and later, it is age 67 (1983 Amendments). The earliest age in which the individuals may start to claim partial benefit is 62.

aged 65 to 69 years, encouraging older people to stay employed (Mosisa and Hipple 2006: 50). Furthermore, the shift from "defined-benefit pension plans" to "defined-contribution plans" such as 401(k) plans transferred more responsibility among individuals to accumulate retirement assets (Munnell 2007). Because of these changes in their economic security in old age, many older adults continue to stay in the labor market, either working or looking for work. The proportion is higher among older immigrants than native born seniors, yet the increasing presence of seniors in general was observed prior to the recession.

The recession starting in 2008, or the Great Recession[5], exposed people across the demographic spectrum to the collapse of the equity and housing markets. This devastating event was initially thought to be an incentive for a later retirement among older adults. Many older adults in their late-career stage at the time of the recession were already in a vulnerable situation due to occasional job losses and sustained joblessness in their early working years from previous recessions, most commonly from early 1980s. Accordingly, instead of staying in the labor force, many older people started to apply for early retirement benefits and disability benefits in unprecedented numbers (Munnell and Rutledge 2013). The layoff of workers including older people occurred, and once laid off especially during a recession, older workers are less likely to be rehired than younger workers. Even those who were fortunate enough to keep their jobs saw a decrease in the value of their retirement savings due to low interest rates and reduced home values

[5] The Great Recession is a period of recession that started in December of 2007 and lasted until June 2009. It is considered to be the worst recession in the United States since the Great Depression of 1929. Despite the official termination in June 2009, the impact of the recession remained very strong in the economy in the subsequent years.

(Munnell and Rutledge 2013). These seniors saw a sudden threat to economic security in old age and had to readjust retirement plans.

The United States suddenly had a large pool of older people whose financial situations were volatile, and the recession coincided with the time in which "Baby Boomers" were starting to hit retirement age. Immigrants were among them. In general, the older immigrants who remained in the labor force fell between two poles. On the one end, there were people who owned profitable businesses or had stable and successful professions and thus hardly faced any threat to job security or to retirement savings. Conversely, there were those who had little choice but to continue working to provide for themselves and family. Many of these individuals were living paycheck to paycheck; some of them, especially those who arrived later in their life, continued to work in order to collect the necessary credits to be eligible for Social Security benefits. The remaining older immigrants wished to work to sustain the standard of living or the lifestyle that they had for decades. For older immigrants who remain in the labor force, including employees and business owners, information about job opportunities and financial support is extremely critical.

1.2.3 The Recession and the Budget: Federal, State, and Local Government

The recession signified significant decrease in tax revenues and subsequent budgetary crises across the board at all levels. The impact of the Great Recession was especially severe in Arizona, whose economy depended on the then growing housing and construction industries. The unemployment rate increased from at or below 4% in 2007 to over 10% in 2010 and has not go back to the level of pre-recession figures and lingering around 7% as of October, 2014 (Bureau of Labor Statistics). Prior to the recession,

Arizona was already one of the highest child poverty states in the nation[6], and in 2011, the total number of children with unemployed parents hit 145,500, a 57% increase from 2007 (Isaacs and Healy 2012). Homeownership declined 23%, second after Michigan (Vespa, Lewis, and Kreider 2013). Between 2008 and 2011, public spending on higher education fell 50%, the nation's highest (Olif et al. 2013). This signified two things. Many university students were facing financial challenges and when full or part time jobs were not available or sufficient, many needed to assume student loans with high interest rates or, in the worst case scenario, a leave of absence due to increased tuition. It also meant that the people who are often able to benefit from higher education while unemployed individuals were less likely to receive education or occupational training due to limited public funding. They would not be able to freely invest in their education with the promise of increased job and earning prospects as they could prior to the recession. All age groups were facing challenges during the recession, and many social services were competing for the same declining funding sources to meet the expanding demands of their clientele.

The impact of the recession in the public sector is time lagged, and it takes one to three years for the impact to show at the local level (Muro and Hoene 2009; Warner 2012). The private sector laid off workers and the cut back on spending immediately resulted in many individuals and families losing their job, housing, and financial assets, which resulted in a growing demand for public assistance. In February 2009, President

[6] Arizona was one of the 14 states with poverty rates of 20 percent or higher in the pre-recessionary period (calculated based on 2000 – 2007). Other states include Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, the District of Columbia,
Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and West Virginia.

Obama signed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA), a temporary stimulus fund to support the areas most affected by the recession such as infrastructure, education, and health care. The stimulus funds were also allocated to aid low income workers, the unemployed, and retirees in the form of cash, material (e.g. food bank), and training, but the stimulus fund was a drop in the bucket or an emergency patch at most. The demand exceeded the supply, and many deserving people were left to fend for themselves.

The state level crisis in Arizona also emerged at the local level. In many states, state aid makes up almost 40% of local government revenue (Warner 2012). As seen in many other states, Arizona also made an effort to shift expenditure responsibilities to the local level. In the area of aging services in Phoenix, the city dealt with declining resources in various ways. First, systematic review procedures using a centralized data system were implemented to review and assess efficacy and efficiency. Second, the organizations administering various public services were restructured and merged to cut back on overlapping duties and share common resources[7]. One of the senior centers where I conducted my field work faced a threat of closure due to the small number of clients, and talks that it may be merged with a nearby center consistently remained as a topic of conversation at the center. Third, vacant positions remained unfilled and the responsibilities of employees increased. The employees also took mandatory furloughs. Finally, the public programs which had been contracted out to local agencies were also

[7] This happened at all levels. At the federal level, the Administration for Children and Families (ACF) merged with the Administration on Aging (AoA) and two other agencies within the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) and became the Administration of Community Living in 2012. The merger was to streamline overlapping tasks and share expertise to accommodate the needs throughout one's life course.

reviewed, and when deemed underutilized, they were terminated. In sum, while the aging population in the United States was diversifying and expanding, resulting in the growing need to diversify services to cater to its clientele, a shortage of public funding limited its delivery. The public sector faced a pressing need to branch out to the private sector to meet the needs of the aging population. As a result, individuals, families, community organizations, and businesses were mobilized to assist even though all were facing financial crises simultaneously.

The social and economic environments where older immigrants lived saw shortages in available public resources. And such environments opened a need to seek resources outside of formal venues. I argue that resources that flow in the social networks are the key in countering the shortage, but there is a vast inequality in the resources depending on the quality and quantity of social ties. My dissertation explores how the named external factors influence the social networks of older immigrants, and also how various bodies of actors play their part in contributing to the resources that flow in their social networks.

1.2.4 The Welfare Reform and Shift in the Responsibility from Federal to State to Local Community

In 1990s, the United States went through a significant transition in welfare policy. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA, hereafter "the Welfare Reform") outlined the measures to shift welfare recipients into the labor force. The stated purpose of the Welfare Reform was, instead of providing cash assistance and social service programs, to support a system that creates potential for individuals by investing in the economy and urban development as well as

the availability of a transportation system so that all citizens could have equal access to jobs.

The shift in the philosophy of social welfare in the United States under the Clinton administration was critical in changing not only family and household arrangements of many people but also the authority of federal and state government. The key measures of the Welfare Reform were threefold. First, it aimed to downsize federal level bureaucracy and transfer administrative authority to each state with a new block grant funding scheme through the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). As a result, most of the federal eligibility and payment rules were discarded and each state now had more flexibility in designing the new funding procedures that cater to the demographic of the state. This means that the funding could prioritize the more needy subpopulations within the state, and in the case of Arizona, it would mean more emphasis on children and young families. Second, it emphasized work for all. The goal was that by 2002, at least 50% of all welfare recipient families and 90% of two-parent families in the nation were required to be working or in work preparation programs, and that each state was responsible in meeting these goals by designing and implementing programs. These programs that meant to shift welfare recipients to the labor force included childcare and job training. Thirdly, the Welfare Reform set a lifetime limit of five years to receive cash assistance. These premises, which were launched in the decade preceding the recession when the United States saw significant economic growth, were hard hit by the economic downturn that impacted the wide range of the population (GAO Report 2002).

1.2.5 Debates on Who Should Qualify for the Social Services and New Strategies

The Welfare Reform had a huge impact on immigrants, individually and collectively[8]. PRWORA, along with the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA), expanded the restriction of welfare eligibility to immigrants who are legally residing in the United States. The laws restricted all legal immigrants who arrived after August of 1996 the eligibility of federal means tested programs such as Food Stamps and Supplemental Security Income, the cash assistance programs that support low-income aged and disabled individuals, and in many cases, of state level programs administered with TANF. As a result, the Reform added to the precarious conditions for the immigrants who had arrived in the United States after 1996 with limited financial resources, faced socially and financially challenging conditions in the post-immigration period, or aged without sufficient savings and without becoming a naturalized U.S. citizen. The policy change also threatened the livelihood of post-1996 immigrants who became disabled during their working years. Faced with the shift in the law, these immigrants, in conjunction with their family, had to seek another form of safety net and reconsider their post-immigration strategy. Furthermore, the Welfare Reform created inequality within the immigrant community. Because the eligibility of public assistance among legal immigrants differed by the year of their arrival, a gap in living conditions emerged between those who receive benefits and those who do not (See Fragomen 1997). In a small immigrant community, this difference could become a source

[8] Prior to the Welfare Reform, undocumented immigrants and persons in the United States on temporary visas were ineligible for public assistance such as food stamps (now called the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP), nonemergency Medicaid, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and its precursor, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). However, the Welfare Reform expanded the restriction to wider group of immigrants.

of jealousy and frustration, as well as a sense of superiority and obligation. These emotions in conjunction with the survival needs affect the social dynamics within the community.

While more responsibility for the welfare of U.S. citizens was transferred from the federal government to the states, the responsibility for immigrants' welfare was transferred one step further—to the immigrant community. Accordingly, the Welfare Reform became a pivotal point in shifting post-immigration strategies for individual immigrants, their families, and the immigrant community. First, because the Reform created an incentive for immigrants to naturalize and thereby become eligible for benefits as U.S. citizens (Espenshade, Baraka, and Huber 1997), immigrant communities were encouraged to naturalize as a safety measure. Second, when immigrants did not naturalize, it moved the welfare of the aged and the disabled primarily into the hands of their families, relatives, and ultimately, the immigrant communities. Therefore, the fates of families, as well as those of individuals, became more dependent on the strength of the immigrant community, especially when individuals were short of their own viable resources. In my dissertation, I illustrate the social networks of older immigrants defined by how community resources are cultivated, shared, and drawn.

1.3 Significance of the Research

The purpose of my dissertation is to explore the social networks of older Asian and Latino immigrants affiliated with an ethnically clustered senior center administered by a municipal government. The study investigates how older immigrants in the study, both individually and collectively, navigate everyday lives to meet their needs when public resources recede in times of economic recession. Considering a senior center as an

integral part of older immigrants' social network, I examine the mechanisms including individuals and organizations which mediate the flow of resources and influence the well-being of older immigrants affiliated to the center. Drawing from the life course perspective, I argue that "resourcefulness" of older immigrants as well as that of the center in which they are affiliated are attributed to opportunity structures throughout one's life and have a cumulative effect at the scale of the ethnic community. Opportunity structures has an imperative and interactive effect beyond a single generation since the abundance (or deficiency) of favorable opportunity structures cumulatively and collectively contributes to existent social inequalities, especially when people are left to fend for themselves without the proper means to do so. I argue that what may seem like an individual endeavor to journey through old age is by no means independent of the social milieu which they have been part of throughout their lives. Social ties people have engaged in shape their lives as individuals and are influenced by those in their social network. Exploring the social networks of older immigrants offers an insight into the impact of earlier opportunity structures in old age that goes beyond individual well-being which mutually enhance the well-being of those in the network.

1.4 Chapter Outline

Chapter One outlines the background and significance of the research. It briefly describes some key demographic and socioeconomic policies in the United States that surround older immigrants, the focal participants of my study. In the same chapter, I have identified the types of older immigrants and which specific group of older immigrants I focus on in depth in the study. The chapter also states the significance of the research.

Chapter Two reviews relevant literature in the field and presents the theoretical framework of the study. It identifies gaps in the literature that my study can address and highlights the areas in which the current study intends to contribute.

Chapter Three has two parts. First, I outline the research design and methodology of the study. I describe the study setting, that is, the senior centers. In the second half, I explore in depth the context of the study. Statistics on the aging population and ethnic groups of my study are examined to better understand the overall demographic trend of the study participants. This chapter also outlines fiscal budgets, and policies and debates on immigration and social welfare pertinent to the study population to better understand the context in which they live.

Chapter Four through Chapter Six presents three areas that contribute to the social capital generation among older immigrants in the study. I present how the presence of bridge persons, organizations of senior centers, and the breadth of individual activities all contribute to the cultivation of social ties within and outside of the senior center and enrich the pool of resources that flow in the social networks of the older immigrants. I also present how the absence of these three factors limits the diversity within the social network and hinders the generation of social capital that would have lucrative currency beyond the senior center. By presenting comparative cases, I argue how these three seemingly independent factors are closely intertwined with each other and contribute to the well-being of older immigrants.

Chapter Seven provides discussions of the research findings and summary of my dissertation. Referring back to earlier chapters, I discuss how older immigrants and those in their social network cope with the increasing normalization of neoliberal policies that

transfer social services from the public to the private domain. How they individually and collectively navigate this changing atmosphere shapes their well-being in time of economic difficulty. Furthermore, I also argue that their ability to do so is a product of socialization in the society in which they have adapted and invested not only their own lives but also the future of their children. I conclude this chapter with my contribution to literature.

2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Theoretical Background

Older immigrants and their social network are influenced by events in their life course. Their present day social ties, participation in the community, and the resources that they have access to through these ties in old age are influenced by their earlier adulthood. The variations in the accessibility and abundance of options of resources in old age may occur due to the social and historical conditions prior to and at the time of migration, participation in the labor force post-migration, and their interface with the host society as well as with their ethnic community. Considering that American society is segmented by various factors including race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, scholars argued that different modes of incorporation define which strata immigrants will enter (Portes and Borocz 1989; Portes and Zhou 1993). As a result of the incorporated segment, the immigrants construct their social world from their everyday lives. The social networks which they form lead or impede their access to information that may be critical for their well-being. Furthermore, delivery of social and community services may vary depending on family dynamics, group dynamics with co-ethnics as well as with non co-ethnics, and organizational support. The presence of "bridge," or those who inter-link different social spheres, has significant implications for the future trajectories of immigrants as individuals and of the institutions and the systems in which they live. In this chapter, I describe the bodies of literature to which my dissertation is intended to contribute.

My dissertation draws on the life course perspective which centers on older immigrants but emphasizes the importance of social ties and intersections of societal

institutions and social groups (Giele and Elder 1998). Social ties include but are not limited to relationships with family and peers. Some of these continue throughout life while others are temporal in nature. The biographies and human developments of older immigrants are also influenced by the context in which they have lived. Mannheim (1927/28) states that those who were born in the same historical and cultural region, or "generation location," make up a foundation for the same historical and social unit of generation. However, being born in the same "generation location" is not sufficient for the social consciousness of a generation to arise. He states that in addition to sharing the "generation location," the cohort needs to participate in the common destiny to function as an actual generation. The extensive impact of economic recession has exposed the whole population to an economic crisis, and therefore created a shared destiny for the cohort who has faced the recession in old age. Timing in which an immigrant was exposed to social changes such as recession and change in immigration policy interplays with his/her developmental stage such as transition from education to labor and family formation. Life course approach enables us to capture the simultaneously occurring events at macro-societal level as well as at group and individual levels.

With another concept of life course theory, "linked lives" (Elder 1998), the life course theorists present that individual trajectories and transitions are linked to the lives of close social ties including family and friends throughout lives. Individuals who are in salient relationships with each other mutually influence one another's lives by directly and indirectly affecting their decision making and behavior (Elder, Johnson, Crosnoe 2003; Greenfield and Marks 2006). These individuals are also "affected by larger social changes through the impact that such changes have on their interpersonal contexts within

more micro-level settings (Elder, Johnson, Crosnoe 2003: 13). In his work, *Children of the Great Depression* (1974), Glen Elder first explored the effect of lasting impacts of the Great Depression even in later generations and presented the "interlocking trajectories" that are the outcome of interdependent generations. He stated that "lives are lived interdependently and socio-historical influences are expressed through this network of shared relationship" (Elder, Johnson, Crosnoe 2003: 13). I will illustrate how immigrants from two different senior centers navigate their everyday needs in old age from this perspective.

2.2 The Review of Literature

2.2.1 Intergenerational Flow among Minority and Immigrant Families

Previous research has led to the conclusion that "minority immigrants are more likely to have support from others who are themselves resource poor, and thus, may be willing but not able to assist." (Turney and Kao 2009: 670). In other words, although immigrants may be more likely to be living in multigenerational households, adult children lack adequate means to support their aging parents. Furthermore, immigrant parents, especially those who have recently arrived, often lack access to formal institutions where they could obtain support. Turney and Kao (2009) report that when compared to native-born whites, a majority of immigrant parents report to have lower levels of perceived social support. Also, the limited English ability of older parents keeps them from engaging in a wider array of social connections where they might be able to draw resources (Menjívar 2000). Proficiency in English is a key factor which reduces the negative perception of accessible social support when compared to white immigrants (Turney and Kao 2009). However, years of living in the United States do not necessarily

erase this disadvantage (Turney and Kao 2009). These results point out that race and ethnicity play a significant role in how immigrants are able to obtain resources from their social webs within the constraints that limited resources impose.

Studies on aging immigrants have focused on "recent immigrants" or "temporary visitors." These are older immigrants who age abroad and immigrate to the United States in old age. Much of the foreign-born population that comes to the United States in old age does so to join their adult children and comes on temporary visas. They, therefore, must return to their countries of origin to renew their visas. They are then forced to accommodate their living situations by going back and forth between two countries to satisfy visa requirements, and some eventually settle in the United States (Treas 2008). These immigrants manage to overcome legal obstacles in order to meet the needs of their younger family members who often need their help at home while they enter the labor force. They also accommodate their needs by engaging in diverse migration patterns. The older immigrants are then able to provide resources while they receive assistance from their children. Their dependency on their children's assistance and resources may be caused in part by an ineligibility to receive public assistance due to an insufficient record of work history in the United States and/or of citizenship status and legal permanent residency even after they transfer from "temporary visitors" to immigrants.

The dependency of older immigrants became more concern after the eligibility requirement revision of the Welfare Reform Act and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. These laws changed the eligibility status and banned legal immigrants who arrived after August of 1996 access to federal means tested programs such as Food Stamps and Supplementary Security Income that support low-

income aged and disabled individuals. With the change in the funding scheme that transfers authority from the federal to the state government, in many cases, legal immigrants also became ineligible for the state level programs administered with TANF. After the passage, not only are undocumented immigrants and non-immigrant foreign residents ineligible for the public assistance, but non-naturalized legal immigrants are also excluded. In other words, when adult children need childcare and cultural nurturance for their children on the one hand, and aging parents becoming highly dependent on the social and economic support from their children, the ground is fertile for interdependence across generations (Kibria 1993; Phua, Kaufman, and Park 2001; Treas and Mazumdar 2004; Treas 2008; Yoo and Kim 2014). Additionally, since older individuals who migrate to another area must leave family members and friends behind, they are cut off from their social support network, cultivated over the years. In order to replace such loss, these migrants often become more involved in social support systems that include non-kin, such as friends, neighbors, and acquaintances (Gelfand 2003). A study on Finnish cases, however, suggests that migrants are less likely than native born seniors who are "aging-in-place" to report informal exchanges with non-kin (Stoller 1998).

Although still limited, a growing body of research is starting to focus on the focal population of my study, the growing presence of the foreign born population who are aging in the United States. Unlike earlier groups of older immigrants (i.e. "recent immigrants" and "temporary visitors"), this group of older immigrants has migrated at a young age and spent their adulthood in the United States. Many of them emigrated for better educational and work opportunities, and some fled from conflicts in the countries of origin where future prospects were limited. Yoo and Kim (2014) explored the three

generation family dynamics of Korean American families whose grandparent's generation migrated in early adulthood and raised families in the United States. Some came with children born in the country of origin and immigrated at an early age, known as 1.5 generation, while others had second generation children after their arrival. The adult children are now starting and managing their own families. This middle generation is torn between societal expectations and values they have attained and adapted in their new home while playing the role of translator and mediator between their parents and the host society, and the traditional roles and values their parents expect them to maintain as they navigate their adulthood as well as to instill them in their own children. The study suggests that knowing the hardships and sacrifices their parents made for their future in the process, and the competing expectations placed upon them, both the parent generation and their adult children generation are required to negotiate and adjust their expectations.

When family exchanges are considered, previous studies have demonstrated different results for Asians and Latinos depending on indicators included and population studied (Lee and Aytac 1998; Aquilino 2005; Mui 1996). Some studies report a higher intensity of intergenerational exchanges among Asians and Latinos than among non-Hispanic whites, and as a result, they are more integrated in each other's lives (Fuligni, Tseng, and Lam 1999; Kwak and Berry 2001; Baca Zinn and Wells 2000; Mirande 1997). Analyses show that when frequency of co-residence among adult children and their aging parents are analyzed, Latinos co-reside more frequently, offer more variation of assistance, and are more family-need oriented than Non-Hispanic whites (Baca Zinn and Wells 2000). Elderly Asians, especially Chinese females, on the other hand, are less likely to live alone (Kamo and Zhou 1994; Chi and Kim 1995). These different

conclusions based upon ethnicity, however, are inconclusive, and situations are actually more nuanced. Scholars report that when socioeconomic conditions are harsh and resources within the family to help one another are limited, a lack of integration among Latino families tends to occur (Menjívar 2000; Roschelle 1997).

Looking specifically at financial, emotional, and practical support, results reveal that Latinos are less likely to provide financial support to family members than non-Hispanic whites (Eggebeen 1992; Lee and Aytac 1998; Spreitzer, Schoeni, and Rao 1996), and emotional support is inconsistent. Among Latinos, some studies have reported less emotional support among kin (Spreitzer, Schoeni, and Rao 1996), while others show neutral results (Eggebeen 1992) or presence of even more emotional support (Mindel 1980). Among Asian immigrants, by and large, elders receive considerable emotional support from their adult children (Mui and Kang 2006; Mui 1996). In terms of practical support, including household chores and transportation assistance, the results are inconsistent. Studies show that both Asians and Latinos provide more practical support than non-Hispanic whites (Mui and Kang 2006; Keefe and Padilla 1987), while others (Roschelle 1997) have shown the opposite. An early study concluded that Latino seniors do not anticipate receiving assistance from family members but instead expect more from governmental support (Crouch 1972). To reconcile these inconsistent results, scholars have explored cultural explanations, such as familism (Angel and Angel 1992), gender ideologies (Matthews and Heidorn 1998), class (Sarkisian, Gerena, and Gerstel 2007; Zhang 2008), and types of exchanged resources (Chesley and Poppie 2009).

Despite the growing scholarship on immigration, relatively little is known about intergenerational ties and resource flow among immigrant families and households.

Arguably, this is primarily due to data limitations. Family and household related surveys rarely focus on nativity, and nationally representative data on family and household that allow researchers to closely analyze these dynamics among immigrants do not exist (Glick 2010). The studies that have been conducted in this area have focused on the effects of extended households and co-residence (Glick and Van Hook 2002, Hao 2003, Van Hook and Glick 2007). Van Hook and Glick (2007) concluded that living in extended households among immigrants may provide various sources of support which are economically and socially beneficial to its members. These resources allow immigrants an easier transition to the receiving society. However, Hao (2003) observed that immigrants are actually less likely to gain private support especially in co-residence, housing, and transportation when compared to the native born population. Whether quantitative or qualitative, various studies note that there is substantial variation by country of origin among immigrants with regard to intergenerational exchanges. Asian immigrants, namely South Asians, Japanese, Cantonese Chinese, and Koreans have been shown to be emotionally and financially more self-reliant and able to draw resources from wider networks, making them less dependent on intergenerational kin networks (Rao et al. 1990, Hao 2003; Hao 2007; Wong, Yoo, and Stewart 2005; Turney and Kao 2009). Latino immigrants tend to rely more on kin networks when compared with native-born whites (Schweizer, Schnegg, and Berzborn 1998). And it has been argued that Mexicans, in particular, are more socially isolated (Stanton-Salazar 2001), and lack a connection to mainstream individuals and institutions (Lin, Cook, and Burt 2001). Consequently, they are unable to extract much needed resources from wider networks, relying more on network within the extended household. Guided by the literature, my

study seeks to further examine the relationship between declining opportunity structures, shaped by the particular legal and economic contexts of Arizona, and intergenerational exchanges.

2.2.2 The Study of Older Immigrants

Despite a consistent (and perhaps increased) interest in immigration and a growing interest on aging driven by the demographic reality, few studies have yet to focus directly on older immigrants. The seminal research by Treas and her associates in this area has guided subsequent work. In an early study (2004), Treas and Mazumdar looked into the lives and conditions of older immigrants who are members of intergenerational families which migrated to the United States at an old age to be close to their children and their grandchildren. Studies of older immigrants have followed this lead to focus on older individuals who migrate to join younger generations of their family (Gilbertson 2009). These studies consistently report the difficulty of adjusting to a new environment, the lack of social connections outside of the family and social isolation (Menjívar 2000), as well as experiences of dissatisfaction and mismatch between cultural expectations about the care of the elderly and structural constraints that they and their children face that may prevent them from fulfilling such obligations (Menjívar 2000). These studies, however, tend to focus on recent immigrants paying little attention to long-term immigrants who have aged in the United States.

In general, long-term immigrants tend to be more fully incorporated into American society than newcomers (Torres-Gil and Treas 2009). The level of degree of incorporation varies by the human capital of immigrants and the age at migration as well as the timing of migration. These are factors that in turn interact with sociopolitical

conditions, that is, the legal and economic contexts which affect the prospects of one's life course. Furthermore, political and economic factors in the context of reception continue to affect immigrants into an old age and shape opportunity structures, strategies, and trajectories. The following section identifies key immediate aspects through which the political and economic factors of the broader context are manifested in the immigrants' lives: legal and economic environment, labor force participation (paid and unpaid), social and health services, and senior centers. Each reveals in concrete ways the effects of political and economic forces by shaping labor force participation and opportunities in the market, as well as eligibility and access to social and community services.

2.2.3 Legal and Economic Context at Federal and Local Levels

The Clinton administration passed two key laws in 1996 which impacted the entire population but especially the population of this study: The Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) and the Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). The PRWORA had three primary foci. First, they changed the nation's welfare system towards one that requires work experience in exchange for public benefits (Loprest 1999). Second, these laws, for the first time, stated that the eligibility for public benefits was defined by citizenship status (Gerst and Burr 2011). Third, the PRWORA included provisions that transferred authority from the federal government to the state (Gerst and Burr 2011; Fix and Passel 2002). As a result, the variation in eligibility across states caused confusion for potential benefit receivers and kept immigrants away from applying for benefit programs (Lofstrom and Bean 2002; Gerst and Burr 2009). Fix and Passel (2002) examined the impact of PRWORA on

immigrant families and noted a substantial decline in the use of major benefit programs (i.e., Medicaid, TANF, Food Stamps, SSI) among legal immigrants between 1994 and 1999. Although Medicaid use did not vary by the citizenship status of the family[9], Medicare use among low-income, working-age noncitizens experienced a significant decline (Van Hook 2000; Fix and Passel 2002; Kandula et al. 2004). Studies report that the declining use of public benefit among immigrants was not due to the increase in naturalization or income but rather was more attributed to the conditions of the states which restricted immigrants access to various public assistance programs and that growth in the immigrant population (Fix and Passel 2002), and those who left benefit programs continued to be economically insecure even if they were working (Loprest 1999).

The IIRIRA mostly focuses on the control and law enforcement on illegal immigration. However, it also restricts permanent legal residents' access to services, reflecting the objectives of the PRWORA and the Social Security Act. Title V of IIRIRA (Restrictions on Benefits for Aliens) states that a person applying for federal public benefits must present proof of citizenship upon requesting assistance (Title V, Section 504). The law also holds that individuals deemed likely to become a public charge are to be denied immigrant visas at consular offices. The criteria defining a public charge include age, health, family status, assets and financial resources, education, and skills. Affidavits of support should remain in effect until the immigrant becomes a citizen or until he/she has worked for ten years. If the affidavits are not observed, charges can be pressed against both parties, the immigrant and their sponsor (Suskind & Susser Immigration Lawyers 2011).

[9] It expanded the health insurance coverage among children.

Arizona's state laws reinforce federal laws. Chavez and Provine (2009) argue that conservative citizen ideology rather than demographic indicators contribute to restrictionist state level policies that impact immigrants. Proposition 300 (Arizona Public Program Eligibility), which passed in 2006, restated that only U.S. citizens, legal residents, or lawfully present individuals are eligible to participate in public programs offered in the state, such as in-state tuition for college students and adult education programs. It also restricted eligibility for child care assistance from the Arizona Department of Economic Security to parents, guardians, and caretakers who fit in the above named categories. Considering that childcare assistance not only serves the undocumented adult but it also provides services to their children, it negatively impacted the well-being of U.S. born children with undocumented parents and guardians, who, in theory, should not have been deprived of assistance. Proposition 103 (Arizona English as the Official Language), also passed in 2006, states that, with some exceptions such as public health emergency and law enforcement, all official actions of the government must be conducted in English. These propositions reinforce the importance of citizenship status and proficiency in English, and fertilized the ground for anti-immigration and anti-immigrant sentiments. Although some scholars argue the direct impact of recession as the main driver of anti-immigration policies and atmosphere in Arizona (see Chavez and Provine 2009), the atmosphere that downsizes support for non-citizens has later been exacerbated by the decline in economy the post housing boom of early 2000s. In addition to what is considered one of the most stringent anti-immigration bills in the country, SB1070, a number of similar bills have been introduced in Arizona. These bills ranged from denying birthright citizenship to U.S. born children of undocumented immigrants

(SB1308 and SB1309), banning undocumented immigrants from accessing services in public institutions and federal benefits (SB1611), and to requiring schools and hospitals to check the legal status of students and patients (SB1407 and SB1405). Although these extreme bills didn't pass, most bills passed and are in effect.

The economic climate in Arizona is presumed to be highly associated with various immigration policies and the anti-immigration atmosphere in the state although several anti-immigration bills were passed prior to the economic recession. Following the rapid growth in the early 2000s, Phoenix was hit hard by the subprime mortgage crisis. Today, the outskirts of the city are filled with empty houses with for sale signs. The vacancy rate in Phoenix is very high. While the average homeowner vacancy of the 75 largest metropolitan areas was 2.4% in 2006, the Phoenix metropolitan area recorded 3.1% (U.S. Census 2010). And these figures for Phoenix have continued to be higher than the national average. According to the Current Population Survey, the unemployment rate in the Phoenix metropolitan area in August 2011 was 8.4%, lower than the national average of 9.1% (Bureau of Labor and Statistics). This study examines how the legal and economic contexts in Phoenix interact with labor force participation and access and eligibility to social and community services of older immigrants in the post-recession period, and accordingly, how this affects resources available through their social networks. I will also take into consideration the impact of these macro contextual effects throughout their life course on their circumstances today.

2.2.4 The Aging Population and Labor Force Participation

The labor force participation of the senior population in the United States has gone through various phases. From 1870s to 1930s, the labor force participation among

those aged 65 and above fell consistently compared to the previous decades (Ransom and Sutch 1988). The Post-WWII period saw an increase in the labor force participation of the older population before declining once again starting in the 1970s (Ransom and Sutch 1988). Since the mid-1990s, labor force participation among individuals aged 55 and above saw a large increase, while it decreased among the rest of the age groups (Mosisa and Hipple 2006). This shift in the labor force participation in old age started to show discrepancies between the policies and practices that were placed in the earlier days (Rubin 1996; Sweet and Meiksins 2013). Economists have explained the transition relative to Social Security benefits, and the labor force participation trends closely linked with the age requirements for receiving Social Security benefits (Hausman and Wise 1985; Gustman and Steinmeier 1986). Concurrently, postponing a complete exit from the labor force and encouraging those in their 50s and 60s to continue working full time was the way to deal with the growing aging population and the change in the retirement support policies (Munnell and Sass 2008). Instead of depending on the shrinking pool of Social Security and employer provided pension plans as well as the prevalence of no retiree health insurance, postponing retirement for a few extra years to provide work generated income and possibly a health insurance to support themselves was suggested to replace the current retirement support policies. In other words, by raising the normal retirement age, the potential financial issues faced in old age may be averted. The decreases in labor participation were observed at age 62 when initial eligibility begins and at age 65 when full benefits can start to be claimed (Mosisa and Hipple 2006). Simultaneously with the shift in the Social Security eligibility age came the federal policies that prevent unexpected or coerced retirement by prohibiting mandatory

retirement and age discrimination (Johnson 2009; Munnell and Sass 2008). There are variations by gender. Although men are more likely than women to participate in the labor force in old age and slower to exist from the labor market than women beyond 50s (Moen and Flood 2013; Warner, Hayward, and Handy 2010), the increase after 2000 was larger among females (Mosisa and Hipple 2006).

Various studies suggest that the delayed retirement age is highly associated with the opportunity cost of retirement (Gustman and Steinmeir 1984; Hausman and Wise 1984; Krueger and Pischke 1992). Some attributive factors in the overall increase in senior labor participation include the passage of the Senior Citizen Freedom to Work Act and the gradual increase of eligible retirement age for Social Security recipients since 2000 (Baum, Hannah, and Ford 2002; Mosisa and Hipple 2006; Munnell and Sass 2008). The Senior Citizen Freedom to Work Act removed the earnings test, or "earnings penalty," for workers aged 65 to 69 years who earned wages may have influenced the retirement decisions of some older individuals, especially those employed full time (Mosisa and Hipple 2006: 50). Additionally, the shift from "defined-benefit pension plans" to "defined-contribution plans" such as 401(k) plans transferred more responsibility among individuals to accumulate retirement assets (Munnell 2007). Furthermore, better health conditions and longevity supported longer participation in the labor force. The reduction in availability of retiree health benefits on the one hand and the increase in the cost of health care also influence the decision to participate in labor force as well as the timing of exit.

Apart from these structural factors, individual level factors such as health status, caring for families including infirm adults and children, and socioeconomic status also

influence labor force participation in old age with some gendered effects marked. Moen and Flood (2013) report that full time employment declines for both men and women after 50s (with faster receding among women), but instead of a complete retirement, many people continue to work part-time, self-employed, and without compensation (i.e. volunteer) throughout their 60s and even beyond. The study also reported that while paid work of any nature declines with age, engaging time in volunteering activities does not. As with the paid jobs, age doesn't hinder or boost participation in unpaid labor; however, there are other factors such as weakening health and responsibilities for family members that influence participation in unpaid labor. One factor that continuously impedes older people from engaging in unpaid work/volunteer is their financial insecurity (Gendell 2008). Given the life course effect of labor force participation and financial security in old age, the literature suggests that people with moderate to high paying jobs that would allow savings and retirement benefits would retire early and, preferably, move on to post-retirement life where they have more free time. If family circumstances and health status are the same, the chance for this group of seniors to engage in the non-paid jobs is higher than those who retire without sufficient savings. In other words, since those who donate their time to do service tend to be better educated and more economically stable (Davis Smith 1999; Hayghe 1991; Smith 1994), those who suffer from consistent job and financial insecurity may be less likely to participate in volunteer activities in young age as well as in old age. This would mean that the latter group has missed various opportunities to participate in civic activities throughout adulthood. The cumulative impact of missed opportunities is immense with inequalities in the resource accumulation in the old age. Furthermore, correlation between higher level of well-being and

volunteering in old age is reported (Greenfield and Marks 2004; Lum and Lightfoot 2005; Morrow-Howell, et al. 2002), adding to the existent inequality into old age.

2.2.5 Immigrants and Social and Health Service

Access to and utilization of various social and health services among immigrants are topics of growing interest among scholars. There are three aspects relevant for my dissertation project: length of time in the United States, new practices surrounding social welfare reform, and the localized context of the immigrant community. After controlling for socioeconomic characteristics, access to health insurance, and differences in morbidity, duration of residence in the United States continues to have a strong effect on health care utilization among immigrants (LeClere, Jensen, and Biddlecom 1994). This suggests that those who have lived in the United States for ten years or longer have more or less equal utilization of health care when compared with the native born population. Access to social welfare for older immigrants has changed in relation to the implementation of new welfare laws. The PRWORA disadvantaged older immigrants by redefining the eligibility criteria based on the date of arrival as well as citizenship status (Angel 2003; Gerst and Burr 2009). This transition created confusion and also increased the fear of deportation among potential recipients (Lofstrom and Bean 2002; Gerst and Burr 2009). Research shows that the PRWORA may be associated with the reduction in the number of those who access Supplementary Social Income and Medicaid (Van Hook 2000; Fix and Passel 2002; Kandula et al. 2004). Limited access to this publicly available financial assistance may also impede older immigrants from making use of long-term care (Burr, Matchler, and Gerst 2010). This is further complicated by the five-year waiting period prior to naturalization, which adds another hurdle to older immigrants'

access to services, especially those who arrive later in life. Since ten years of work history in the United States is necessary in order to become eligible for Social Security benefits, Borjas (2007) argues this may be associated with the observed tendency of immigrants to stay longer in the labor force to accumulate the required years of work experience. However, because of longer life expectancy and the resultant change in the eligibility age for Social Security benefits and also pension plans, at least prior to the economic recession, U.S. born seniors were also staying longer in the labor force (Munnell and Rutledge 2013). An extended work year is observed among older immigrants and U.S. born seniors alike, yet the need to accumulate work history in the United States also weighs in especially for those who arrived relatively more recently. Onset of the economic recession made finding and keeping jobs difficult for all age groups but more so among seniors since they were the first ones to be laid off and the last ones to be rehired during the recession. Consequently, older immigrants who needed to collect work credits were facing extra challenges in the wake of the recession.

Furthermore, a study of elderly Russian immigrants suggests that the life circumstances associated with immigration, cultural norms, and structural factors of the local Russian immigrant community were highly associated with the utilization of health and social service use (Aroian, Khatutsky, Tran, and Balsam 2001). Jenkins (1988) found that the presence of ethnic associations can be an important resource to connect immigrants from old practices and environment to new ones in the destination. These associations are important since they are intermediaries between the family and the larger bureaucratic system. As such, they can be key factors in negotiating older immigrants' interests and facilitate their access to resources (Hagan and Gonzales Baker 1993).

Other case studies reported that difficulties in communication, transportation, cost, distrust of western biomedicine, and a sense of obligation that emphasizes that care should come from self or family rather than from public services keeps aging Chinese immigrants from fully utilizing available health and social services (Aroian, Wu, and Tran 2005). Furthermore, a cross national study reported that countries with more generous social welfare provisions tend to have lower risks of poverty among seniors while insufficient state welfare programs are compensated by multigenerational households in other countries (Tai and Treas 2009). Some of these results conflict with the studies that investigated the social service use of older immigrants in relation to intergenerational exchanges. The dissertation project contributes to explore additional account to investigate these inconsistencies.

2.2.6 Senior Center and Resources

The current study was conducted at the senior center in Phoenix, Arizona. There were two reasons for focusing on the older immigrants who were affiliated with a senior center. One was a methodological reason to configure the parameter of the study, and the other was driven by theoretical guidance. Due to prolonged years in old age and the changing landscape of resources in the social welfare and in personal and family savings for older adults, community resources become critical for their well-being. A senior center is one of the focal points where older people can meet and interact with others as well as participate in the activities that would enrich their lives. It is also an intermediary agency that formally and informally cumulates resources through its ties to other agencies and organizations and makes them available to its affiliated members.

Senior centers are spread all over the United States and play an important role in the well-being of the older population. In addition to congregate meals, various programs are offered on site which range from health and nutrition classes and recreational activities to assistance and support for obtaining social services. Senior centers also offer volunteer opportunities to seniors as well as advocacy services to residents who are 60 years of age and above and those with disabilities (City of Phoenix website). Using a national sample of 246 centers, Krout (1985) reported that senior centers average formal linkages with 10 community organizations. When informal linkages as well as casual linkages are considered, senior centers represent a well of significant resources that participating seniors can utilize.

The funding of senior centers has been declining in recent decades despite the fact that the population it serves is increasing as well as diversifying. In order to meet the demands of a growing population of seniors, multipurpose senior centers are expanding services without an accompanying growth in financial support from federal agencies (Krout 1990). In order to compensate for budgetary pressures, senior centers have held fund-raising activities. This only partially supports the actual budget, and considering the time and effort put in by volunteers, it is not as cost effective (Jackson and Mathews 1995). However, as Jackson and Mathews (1995) stated, these activities contribute to the purpose of increasing altruistic behaviors.

2.3 Conclusion

Guided by the reviewed bodies of literature, the present study examines how seniors who participate in community centers that serve the growing segments of diverse aging population, namely Asians and Latinos, in Phoenix respond to shrinking budgets

and opportunities in the context of the legal and economic context of Arizona. Although varying forces are affecting the daily lives of older immigrants in Phoenix, my dissertation examines the forces at local, state, and federal levels that impact one another in uni-directional, bi-directional, and multi-directional manners. These complex interactions affect the context of senior centers and the social networks in which older immigrants participate. My dissertation investigates how older Asian and Latino immigrants navigate their everyday lives and tap into resources that are both tangible and intangible in nature for their well-being through their affiliation with the senior center in the post-recession Phoenix, Arizona.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY & CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

My dissertation explores how older immigrants access and utilize resources in a state with declining public resources, and how they manage to compensate for this by leveraging their social network. Considering the extensive scope necessary in understanding how seniors navigate and try to optimize their well-being, the research and interpretation involved required a holistic approach. I have therefore conducted research incorporating multiple methods. Primarily this entailed a qualitative method, and archives and statistical data were used to supplement the primary data. Additionally, in order to understand the context surrounding the study participants, I made use of contextual data derived from archives and statistical data in formulating interview guides. These were also considered when formulating analytical arguments which emerged from data collected in the field through ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth interviews. In the following section, I will describe in detail how this research was conducted.

3.2 Research Design and Methodology

3.2.1 Senior Centers

The study was carried out in two senior centers, You yi and La Amistad, both located within a five minute drive from downtown Phoenix, Arizona. You yi serves a mostly Asian population, and La Amistad caters to a predominantly Latino community. These centers were selected based on three criteria to ensure comparability. First, the center had to be serving a predominantly immigrant population. This was initially identified by the type of services offered at the center (e.g., English language class and

citizenship classes) and confirmed by social workers during the first phase of study. Second, the center selected had to have at least one dominant ethnic group: Chinese or Mexican (although there were seniors from other racial and ethnic groups at each center). Third, the center had to be one of the 15 senior centers supervised by the City of Phoenix to control for the effect of the macro context. These parameters were necessary in order to focus on older immigrants who frequent comparable centers, both publicly funded and managed by the city. This common macro factor allows the possibility of comparative analysis between the two.

3.2.2 Fieldwork

Data were collected through ethnographic observations and formal in-depth interviews. Ethnographic observations lasted 15 months at both senior centers, from September 2010 through December 2011. I spent approximately seven hours in the field per visit every week. This included participation in activities, such as attending English as Second Language classes, playing lotería, and dancing as well as dining, listening to presentations and singers, and simply chatting with seniors. I participated in some of these activities passively, but in others more actively as a volunteer and assisted those seniors who had more difficulties interacting with others. Since both centers were short of staff, I also volunteered in the kitchen after obtaining a food server certificate from the county's environmental services department. Furthermore, I also assisted in administrative activities when social workers were out of the office. I accompanied seniors outside of the centers to their homes, and to grocery stores, pharmacies, clinics, and the nursing homes they visited to see siblings and close friends. These multiple roles as a participant, volunteer, and researcher enabled me to engage with the study

participants in various ways. Field notes were taken during these activities. Although formal in-depth interviews were conducted, many key insights and information for this paper came, in the manner of ethnographic research, from informal conversations and interactions with seniors during the time spent at the centers.

Building rapport is the most important initial step in conducting a qualitative research (Glesne and Peshkin 1992). Since I chose senior centers administered by the City of Phoenix as my field site, different strategies were necessary in establishing a good rapport among various entities and individuals. First, in order to conduct research in a public setting, I came across several gatekeepers[10] (Lindlof and Taylor 2010) in the early phase of my study. Unlike recruiting senior citizens on streets or at open areas such as public parks or shopping malls, my study focused on older immigrants who already had access to a public resource center at the beginning of the study, specifically, the senior centers with a high concentration of immigrants and majority ethnic groups. It was necessary, therefore, to gain entry to the senior center. Since the centers are targeted to those 60 years and older, a relatively young adult in the midst of older adults attracts the attention of seniors as well as social workers. There was no way to "pass" as an "insider" (Merton 1972). I was obviously an "outsider" primarily due to my age, but also due to my racial and ethnic background and a status as a graduate student. Because of these differences, I had to be aware of my position and observant in how I presented myself at the center as well as establishing contacts. As an "outsider" trying to understand the everyday occurrences defined largely by the system and culture of the respective center

[10] According to Lindolf and Taylor (2010), a "gatekeeper" is "a person or group that has the authority to approve research access; in effect, they stand guard at the 'gate' that we wish to enter." (p.98).

as well as the background of individuals and their behaviors, gaining trust from seniors and social workers was critical. I knew that some of the conversations I would be having with the seniors were going to involve personal matters and be difficult, and that without their cooperation the scope of understanding would be limited. The presence of an "outsider" can often be intrusive and cause discomfort to those who are not used to this[11]. It can also disrupt normal interactions with peers no matter how self-effacing the researcher tries to be. For these reasons, it was important for me to be non-intrusive, somewhat of a "wall flower." Rapport had to be established on the terms of the study participants. Ultimately, I made extra time and multiple visits to build a reasonable amount of rapport. This led to two months of regular visits without taking notes or recording conversations, just being there so that the seniors would become comfortable with me.

3.2.3 Gatekeepers

The research had multiple "gatekeepers." While some ethnographic fieldwork enables researchers to gain access without formal procedures due to shared demographics

[11] This being said, immigrants themselves have felt their "outsider" status in society, and perhaps because of this, some of the study participants at both centers were outreaching and engaging. A man at You yi said, "Do you like older folks? Or do you feel at home among different people like me? I come here to see my friends but only maybe once a week or two weeks, not every day like some folks…I am not like most people here who come here by bus, talk in Chinese, only sit with Chinese people, and go home and sleep every day. Well, those American people are also like that too. They always sit together and don't talk to others. I like to hang out with non-Chinese people, younger people, exciting people, all kinds of people, people who are different. How much can you keep on talking about your aching back and naughty grandkids? My English is not good but so what? They know that and I know that, but I make friends." At La Amistad, a woman shared her post-migration life during her young adulthood, "I came here to join my mother and help her. I worked with her cleaning people's houses, big houses. Most were decent people but some people treat you very badly…very mean and say cruel things, but I can't say anything because the job fed my family. I live in a very different world." She also said, "My mother always fed those who were hungry. We didn't have much for ourselves, but she never said no to serving food to anyone who knocked our door, and we used to have many passing strangers. My mother taught me to be kind to others and that strangers included."

or the field site being accessible to the general public, this was not the case with my research. In order to gain access to the senior centers and interact with affiliated members, I had to follow the following steps. First, I had to be approved to conduct research at the center by the social workers appointed at each center. Second, I had to be registered with the City's volunteer department, and my presence in the field had to be approved by the Community Services Division, Human Services Department of the City of Phoenix to conduct the research. Third, I had to obtain an approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Arizona State University in order to undergo research involving human subjects.

The first gatekeepers were social workers at the centers. Based on the criteria noted previously in selecting study sites, I had identified two potential sites to conduct a comparative study. On the City of Phoenix website, I found the contact information for You yi and La Amistad including the address, phone number, and the name and email address of the supervisor. I emailed the supervisors introducing myself and my research interest. I requested an appointment for an opportunity to explain that I wished to be allowed to come to the center and interact with the seniors. I received no response and called after a week. At La Amistad, I was told that the supervisor was on vacation[12], and at You yi, the supervisor simply told me to "call the City first." Not knowing what she meant by "call the City first," I decided to visit both centers in person. Once there, the supervisors at each senior center met briefly with me, but it was quite clear that I was not

[12] I found out that when I called, the supervisor at the time was leaving the center and the new supervisor had not officially started the job.

welcomed until I formerly received approval from the City of Phoenix as a volunteer to be at the center on a regular basis to observe and conduct interviews.

Having anticipated difficulties in accessing the field, I was not surprised at the unfriendly welcome. I had assumed that accessing the centers administered by the City would require bureaucratic procedures, but at the same time I had hoped for the centers to be open and accessible for all in the way similar to public parks and libraries. My intentions of wishing to be at the senior centers (i.e., conducting research) were clear in the first email, and since my interest did not have a practical use to the daily services or a promise of immediate observable benefits that would boost the well-being of seniors, my presence at the center may not have appeared attractive to the busy social workers. Unlike practical degrees such as social work, nursing, or public administration, sociology, in the eyes of social workers and the City officials who work with the aging population, may have appeared ambiguous. Had I presented the narrative of a project that would assure immediate improvements in the services at the centers, would social workers have given the same response? Was I not assertive enough in "marketing" my ideas? Did I not have sufficient institutional resources to persuade the importance of sociological research? I recurrently asked myself these questions during the course of my fieldwork and occasional informal talks with the study participants including seniors, family member, social workers, and people from other community organizations and enterprises.

The next gatekeeper was the city office[13]. The telephone number that I had received from the supervisors was a contact at the city's volunteer department. I called and explained that I was interested in conducting a sociological research at the centers entailing field observations and interviews on site. She told me that in order for me to be at the centers regularly, I must be registered as a "volunteer staff member." Upon request, I submitted a short description of the study emphasizing the reason for my being in attendance at the senior centers. After several email and phone call exchanges, I was told that the documents I had submitted were reviewed by the staff at the Community Service Division of the City's Human Services Department and that I had been officially granted access to seniors at the center. I was told that since seniors at the center are service receivers on city property, the City must confirm that any people entering the center on a regular basis will not in any way be a disruptive force. The review process, therefore, was a means to guarantee thorough background checks that the regular presence of a researcher would not be detrimental to the interests of seniors nor interfere with the daily activities of the centers. Furthermore, since I was registered as a volunteer, I was encouraged to help when needed under the supervision of the center staff.

The third gatekeeper was IRB at Arizona State University. It was an exempt process, and I was granted approval in a relatively short time. The process went smooth since I had already gained IRB approval from the City.

Since these gatekeepers were bureaucratic in nature, they required precise and straight forward documentation. Navigating their requirements and gaining entry

[13] The City office was technically the "initial" gatekeeper since the center supervisors had no authority to make the decisions for me to initiate the research.

depended on a clear description of my proposed research and relevant personal information. It was, however, a new experience for those at the respective centers to have the regular presence of a researcher conducting ethnographic research. Occasionally, there were researchers and city officials who conducted survey type study or journalists who did interviews at the centers but never a long term researcher in the field. This difference created a challenge as well as an opportunity. It was a challenge since the social workers had expected me to conduct research involving the distribution of survey questionnaires that would have immediate and practical application. They were not familiar with other methods of research. It was an opportunity since knowing that I would be present at the center on a regular basis for an extended period of time, it was easier for them to introduce me to the seniors. Once in the field, the supervisors welcomed and encouraged me to freely interact with the seniors. They told me that seniors prefer people who come in regularly, and they feel comfortable with people with whom they can look forward to seeing each week. Consistency was very important for my fieldwork and interactions with seniors. The supervisors also allowed me to help them, which turned out to be beneficial in gaining the trust of not only the social workers but also the seniors. Although I always introduced myself as a student from Arizona State University conducting research at the center, a majority of seniors at both centers referred to me as a volunteer who is "doing a good thing for older people like us in the midst of her busy studies." This may be a reflection that neither You yi nor La Amistad had any younger people volunteering. I met no volunteers my age during the fieldwork. At You yi, a senior told me,

> We emphasized [sic] our children to study hard and do well in school and in their careers…maybe a little too much …We don't see them in social work or volunteering at a place like this. So it's great that you do both…

Although not initially planned, volunteering at and around the center was beneficial in building rapport with seniors and enabled me to learn more about their everyday concerns and the issues they faced. The arrangement opened more opportunities to learn about the lives of older immigrants outside of the center through informal talks as I volunteered side by side with other seniors in the kitchen and offering rides. It was during these "out of the routine occasions" when I got to know a different aspect of the person's personality and life, as well as become aware of my own assumptions. For instance, when a woman and I were driving to a sick friend of hers at a hospital, she wished to stop by at a dollar store to purchase a gift. She went around the store looking for what her friend likes. She would share what her friend's favorite colors were and how they used to come to the store together with a common friend from their church. She would also stop by at a children's section and pick up a light blue cardigan for a little girl, saying that the youngest of her three granddaughters would look cute in it. On another occasion, a different woman asked me to join her in going to a clothing store. She excitedly went around the store and picked up several dresses and pants to try on and even suggested that I try on something that was slightly more provocative than my taste. Since her choice of clothing was flashy and quite different from what she normally wore to the center, I asked on which occasion she would wear the dress. This is when I learned that she occasionally goes out for dancing and dinner dates with her male friend and hosts ladies only evening cocktail parties at her apartment. All of which would not have been known if I had only met with her at the center.

By understanding the presence of gatekeepers and building good relationships with the social workers, in particular, I gained some level of dependability not only from them but also from seniors. This has given me opportunities to not only gain access to seniors, the primary participants in my study, within but also beyond the center. This approach, though time consuming and may not be efficient, allowed me to better understand the lives of seniors in a more holistic manner throughout the course of my fieldwork.

3.2.4 Researcher

It is important to provide some information about myself since this may have influenced to some degree my relationship with the seniors at both centers. I am Japanese, in my early 30s, born and raised in Japan[14]. Although I am categorized as Asian in panethnic terms, I am ethnically different from the majority of seniors at You yi who originated from China and Taiwan. On occasions, the modern history of East Asia brought about some tension when interacting with the seniors. Many of them were in their adolescence or early adulthood during the World War II, and they experienced Japanese military actions first hand. Some were also educated in Japanese and remembered some words which they used in greeting me, often with fondness accompanied by the stories of their childhood. More than a handful experienced the atrocities of the Japanese occupation which resulted in mass destruction and devastation. Loss of family members was commonplace. It should be noted that there were some differences in how seniors from China and those from other regions such as Taiwan and

[14] I did however spend a few years of my early adolescence in rural Tennessee when my father was an expatriate employee for a Japanese company and also later in Philadelphia as an exchange student.

Southeast Asia interacted with me, with latter being more welcoming. As a senior man shared in an interview, at the center, people try to stay away from talking about regional conflicts that international politics may induce. According to him, that is the common courtesy respect at the center. At La Amistad, such regional and historical tensions did not intervene in our interactions, and in the eyes of many seniors I was just an Asian student from Arizona State University. In sum, there is no doubt that my ethnic and racial background had some effect on the difference in the dynamics of interactions with seniors between La Amistad and You yi as well as within You yi.

Interestingly, and somewhat unexpectedly, however, it was not so much the ethnicity and the countries of origin that set me apart from the seniors either at You yi or La Amistad. It is difficult to consider all the possible influences of my social position on the interactions with the seniors, but age difference might have had the most impact. The fact that I was much younger than the seniors stimulated their curiosity at both centers, and being a young female student might have facilitated interactions with both groups. For most people, I was around the age of their children, and for others, their grandchildren. My role as a researcher in the field had multiple roles: a volunteer, a daughter, granddaughter, or niece. All of these roles had expectations, gendered and otherwise, attached, some of which conflicted with one another.

3.2.5 Data

I collected the bulk of information through observation and informal conversations during ethnographic fieldwork. Extensive notes were taken during and after each visit. Since I disclosed that I was a researcher, I was able to take notes once initial rapport has been established. There were, however, numerous occasions in which I

was not able to take notes on what I had just observed or heard because I was assisting seniors or helping social workers. I tried to remember these events as much as possible, but occasionally, the exact wordings were lost. In such cases, instead of using direct quotes, I used indirect quotes to retain the essence of what was said in my field notes.

In addition to field notes, I conducted a total of twenty-two formal in-depth interviews in English. I conducted all these interviews at the center, often in a corner of the room to gain some privacy. I recorded fifteen interviews with a digital recorder, and I took notes for the remaining seven interviews. Prior to the interview, I asked whether I could record it to better capture the essence of what they would share. When they refused or showed signs of hesitation, I then asked whether it was acceptable to take notes instead. The figure of 32% not wanting to be digitally recorded may be higher when compared to other contemporary sociological studies, but this may be due to the fact that the study participants, although fluent enough in English, were not as comfortable with English as with their mother tongue. Most shared their experiences in English willingly but declined to be recorded noting that they felt shy because of "incompetent language," meaning their relative lower English language skills. The preference and comfort of the interviewees were respected at all time. During the course of an interview, I stopped recording on several occasions as per request by the interviewee and resumed afterwards. Reasons for stopping recording varied. On some occasion, it was due to an emotional outburst followed by long silence; on other time, it was due to an anticipation to share matters in confidentiality. I also had to end an interview short because the interviewee had to leave, and we continued our interview the following day.

The interviews were conducted in a life history fashion. I asked seniors to share history and events leading up to their migration as well as events that followed (Tierney and Clemens 2012). I asked them to share information regarding their relations with family, relatives, and friends in the countries of origin as well as in the United States, how they established their lives in the United States post immigration, and what led them to live in Arizona. I would ask them about daily activities and how they managed their well-being including social relationships, finances, and emotional and material needs. Other questions included how they spent their free time and how they found about the senior center and the reasons for them joining. I also asked these questions in detail for those who participated in in-depth interviews. I asked similar questions to those who did not participate in the in-depth interviews but in casual conversations during ethnographic fieldwork.

The participants varied in gender, ethnicity (by center), and age. Of the twenty-two in-depth interviews, twelve came from You yi and ten from La Amistad; twelve with females, and ten with males; two were in their 90s, two in their 80s, fourteen in their 70s and four in their 60s. The length of stay in the United States of those interviewed varied greatly, especially at You yi. Although most of the in-depth interview participants had been living in the United States for more than 20 years, You yi had a relatively higher number of recent arrivals, while the participants at La Amistad had been in the United States longer. Most of them came in their late teens or early adulthood with the exception of one woman who arrived within the past ten years to join her family. All interviewed seniors at You yi had at least some postsecondary education and many of them had held professional jobs, such as pilot, nurse, physician, teacher, clerical positions in diplomatic

missions or international trading. In contrast, at La Amistad few members had finished high school and many had worked in unskilled jobs requiring little schooling. Many had helped their parents in farm or janitorial work or working at restaurants, while some had held factory jobs. These occupations reflected an intergenerational transmission of disadvantage. Among both groups, the adult children of the seniors were working in similar jobs; there were accountants and legal professionals among the children of the seniors at You yi, and carpenters and gardeners among the children of the seniors at La Amistad.

I transcribed and coded the data which were collected through in-depth interviews and field observations using a list of keywords. Initially, I focused on ethnicity as they were my first assumptions that guided the divergence of resources and therefore the well-being of seniors. As the coding progressed, themes which identified the social position of the individual such as education, work history and work status, and age emerged, and were further refined into subcategories. Other themes that came to be important were how they managed their leisure time and the nature of individual activities in which they participated. All of these factors defined how seniors were connected to each other, their family, and their community, not only presently but also over the years, and how these social networks formulate their well-being in old age. This process of refinement and analytical modification between what had been expected and what was actually found in the field yielded key points about the experiences of the older immigrants.

As predicted by the extant literature on immigrant networks and older immigrants, I had anticipated that ethnicity would be key to shaping resource flows within each center. Although ethnicity was important, I identified other factors, such as

socioeconomic status, work history, organizations of the center, and individual activities shaping the ways in which resources are generated and flow in the social networks of older immigrants at each center.

3.2.6 Supplementary Data—Archival and Statistical Data

In order to understand the context surrounding my study participants, I used statistical data and archival documents of bills and laws. The sources of statistical information come from the U.S. Census / American Community Survey as well as websites of the City of Phoenix, the State of Arizona (e.g., Department of Economic Security, Governor's Office) and the federal governmental institutions (United States General Accounting Office) and clearinghouses on aging population (e.g. Social Security Administration, Administration on Aging). I was able to retrieve most statistical information concerning the population and the budget and archival documents on policies from the websites of the institutions. Some information not made available to the public on the websites was made available by directly contacting individuals at the department in interest. I identified these contact persons through references by social workers or other city officials, local newspaper articles (e.g., The Arizona Republic) and reports, white papers, and data books from previous years posted on institutional websites.

3.3 Context of the Study

The following section presents the social, political, and economic background in which the study participants are situated as they go through old age. First, I present the demographic landscape of the relevant population. Second, I present a brief background of immigration and social welfare policies that have influenced today's older immigrants.

Lastly, I present the interface of the demographic challenges and the immigration policy debate leading to the recession of 2007 and years after by following the budgetary discourse in Arizona and how the circumstances of federal, state, and local governments intertwine to create the atmosphere for the older Asian and Latino immigrants in Phoenix, Arizona.

3.3.1 Demographic Landscape of the Aging Population

3.3.1.1 Demographic Profile of the United States, Arizona, and Phoenix

At the turn of 21st century, the population of the United States is facing two distinct experiences: growth of the older population and the diversification of the racial and ethnic minority population. The growing elderly population includes a wide range of racial and ethnic minority groups, many of which are predominantly from Asia and Latin America and had immigrated in the latter half of the 20th century.

According to the Census of 2010, the population aged 65 and over in the United States consists of over 40 million people, or 13.0% of the total population. This is a slight increase in percentage as compared to the previous decades[15]. Most of the increase was among the oldest age group 85 years and older. With the "Baby Boomer" generation joining the older population, however, the age group 65-69 years saw a significant increase of 30.4% since the 2000 Census (Werner 2011). Among the older population aged 65 and over, males make up 43.2% and females 56.8%.[16] Approximately 5 million or 12.3% of people aged 65 and over are born abroad, and this is a similar proportion to

[15] It was 12.6% in 1990 and 12.4% in 2000.
[16] Figures are from the American Community Survey 5 year estimate from 2008 to 2012 regarding population 65 years and over.

the foreign born in the overall population. The difference from the younger age groups, however, is that while approximately 35% of the foreign born population arrived in the United States after 2000, only slightly more than 10% of the older population immigrated in the same period. Almost 90% of foreign born seniors arrived before 2000. Naturalized citizens make up almost three fourths of the foreigners among the older population as compared to less than half of the overall population. Despite the high proportion of long term residence and naturalized status among the older population, 8% self-reported that they spoke English "less than very well." This is equivalent to the linguistic ability of the general population where a significantly larger proportion of immigrants have arrived after 2000. Therefore, it is a matter of concern that a similar proportion of the older foreign born population report linguistic difficulties especially since about two thirds of this group are naturalized citizens. In addition, since the majority of the older population is not in the labor force or pursuing education and nearly 45% of them live alone, it is likely that there is a significant potential that a large segment of the foreign born seniors may be at a risk of isolation from society. This is shown by the large presence of the older population living in an extreme poverty among overall population.[17]

In Arizona, the population aged 65 and over was 667,839 or 13.1% of the total in 2000 and 881,831 or 13.8% in 2010. Between the Census of 2000 and 2010, Arizona saw a 24.6% increase in its population. Among the older population 65 years and over, there has been a 32.0% increase. Furthermore, among the population aged 85 and over, Arizona saw more than a 50% increase[18]. These proportional increases are one of the

[17] Poverty status: 39,358,825 individuals 65 years and older were reported to be living in poverty in the 2010 Census. Within this group, those living at more than 100 percent of the poverty level make up 90%.
[18] The figure includes both US born and foreign born individuals.

largest of all states during this period. One unique characteristic of the older population in Arizona is the presence of a relatively smaller proportion of naturalized citizens. In 2010, while on national average close to 75% of foreign born seniors were naturalized, it was only 61.7% in Arizona. Considering that over 86% of older immigrants arrived to the United States before 2000, the naturalization rate in Arizona is lower than the overall trend.

The older population in Arizona resembles that of the United States, but some characteristics are unique to this population. For instance, as is the case with other states, the older population in Arizona tends to be concentrated in rural rather than urban areas. The population of this study, however, is the older population residing in Phoenix, the largest urban area in Arizona. They represent a relatively small proportion of the older population in Arizona and are distinctively different from the overall aging population in Arizona. About 13.7% of Arizona residents aged 65 and older live in Phoenix and have a median age of 73.3 years. Sex ratio is also similar to the overall national trend (43.7% male, 56.3% female). What is unique about Phoenix is the presence of a high proportion of Latino seniors. While the national average is 6.9%, Arizona has 11.0% and Phoenix has 16.1% Latinos among the older population. Asians, the other panethnic group of my study, represents 2.6% of the older population in Phoenix which is slightly lower than the national average.[19] When compared to the state average, Phoenix also has a lower rate of married seniors (50%) and a slightly higher rate of the older population who are in the labor force (18.5%). These data show that the older population in Phoenix is relatively

[19] It is 1.7% in Arizona and 3.5% in the United States.

more ethnically diverse and living independently as compared to the national and the state average.

3.3.2 The Study Participants by Ethnic Groups: Mexicans and Chinese

3.3.2.1 Demographic Profile

In this section, I present the overview of the two ethnic groups studied, immigrants from Mexico and China[20]. Based on national data[21], the foreign born population in the United States consists of almost 40.5 million people, with 11.6 million from Mexico and 2.2 million from China. The sex ratio of these groups is reflexive but opposite. Males are more predominant among Mexican immigrants (53.4% males, 46.6% females) while females are the majority among Chinese immigrants (44.5% males, 55.5% females). When we focus on the 65 years and older population for these two ethnic groups, the gender distribution looks similar for both ethnic groups. Males represent about 45% and females 55%.

On average, Mexicans immigrants are much younger than their Chinese counterparts. The median age for Mexican immigrants is 38.1 years and 44.8 years for Chinese immigrants.[22] More than three quarters of Mexican immigrants make up the prime working age of 18 years to 54 years of age (77.1%), while this age group accounts for less than 65% for Chinese immigrants. Among all Chinese immigrants, the older age

[20] The American Community Survey has different categories for China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan (not Macau) for "place of birth" variable. Hong Kong and Taiwan however are too small to disaggregate for any demographic tables. Although my study participants include Chinese and Taiwanese as well as people from Hong Kong, because of data limitation, I only focus on the population that reported China as place of birth.
[21] Information from the American Community Survey Three Year Estimate 2010-2012.
[22] The average for the total foreign born population in the United States falls between those from Mexico and China. The median age is 42 years and 65 and older age groups consist of 12.9%. 55 and older represents 25.6%.

groups 65 and over consist of 15%, while the same segment is only 6.6% of all Mexican immigrants. If we include the age group 55 to 64 years[23] who are one step away from the "older population," this represents 30% of Chinese immigrants while only 15.6% for Mexican immigrants.

While nearly 60% of Mexican immigrants have less than a high school diploma, and those with college degree or higher consist of only 5%, those with bachelor's degree or above make up almost half of the Chinese immigrants. There is also, however, a large proportion of Chinese immigrants who did not complete high school (21%). These figures present a somewhat bipolar nature of Chinese immigrants and the concentration in the lower end of the socioeconomic scale among Mexican immigrants.

3.3.2.2 Family and Household Composition

Contrary to the previous studies that showed that a large proportion of Mexican immigrants consists of male laborers who share housing with non-family members (Sandoval and Tambini 2004; Villarejo 2011), the majority of Mexican immigrants come from family households (86.65%) and those who live in a non-family household arrangement represent only 13.4% (American Community Survey). Among those reported living in a non-family household arrangement, female headed families consist of 18.2%. Chinese immigrants, however, represent a different scenario. Although the majority of Chinese immigrants also live in family households (73.1%), more than a quarter reside in non-family household arrangements. Within this group, there is a higher rate of females living alone (15.0%) than males (11.9%), and those living with non-

[23] A half of this group (60 and above) qualify for the various social services offered to senior citizens.

family members (e.g. roommate arrangement) represent less than 7%, both females and males combined.

Another indicator of family composition is the presence of grandchildren. Although the population aged 30 years and older who are living with grandchildren is only 3.2% of the national average, it is 7.0% among the foreign born population. Mexican immigrants have a higher representation at 10.2% while Chinese immigrants are 6.1%. Interestingly, however, those who are responsible for these grandchildren are much lower among the foreign born population (23.2%) than the native born population (45.5%). Furthermore, Chinese immigrants are less likely to be responsible for grandchildren than Mexican immigrants. This shows that the foreign born older adults, and particularly Chinese immigrants, are more likely to live in three generational households if they reported the presence of grandchildren in the unit, but are not responsible for the grandchildren. In other words, the caretakers of the grandchildren are the responsibility of the middle generation (i.e. the parents of the youngest generation). This arrangement is different from the native born population where statistics suggest that the grandchildren are living without parents or that the parents do not have the ability to care for their children.

Regarding nativity and immigration status, 65.3% of Mexican and 59.9% of Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States before 2000. Among Chinese immigrants, a relatively large proportion of recent immigrants arrived in 2010 or later (7.7%) when compared to the overall foreign born population (4.4%). Mexicans, however, have a lower percent arriving in 2010 or later (2.2%) than the overall foreign born population. Of all Chinese immigrants, 57.1% have become naturalized U.S.

citizens while only 24.0% of Mexicans have become naturalized. Chinese women (57.2%) are more likely to be naturalized than their male counterpart (42.8%), while the rate of naturalization is almost the same across gender lines for Mexican immigrants. This leaves more than three quarters of Mexican immigrants in a foreigner status which includes legal permanent resident, immigrants on various visas, and undocumented immigrants.

3.3.2.3 Social Integration

Focusing on the measures of social integration such as language use, education, and employment status, more than 90% of Mexican and Chinese immigrants live in a home setting where one or more languages other than English are spoken. Of the 96.6% of Mexican immigrants who reported this, 70.8% comes from a household in which no one aged 14 and older speak English "very well."[24] Of the 91.6% of Chinese immigrants who reported that they speak languages other than English at home, 61.0% reported that they speak English less than "very well." Although linguistic abilities are not distinctively different between these two groups, this is not the case in regard to attained educational level as mentioned above.

When work status and occupations are considered, the differences become more distinct between these two groups. While the labor force participation rate is not that different adjusting for the median age, the types of occupation differ. More than half of

[24] According to the American Community Survey, the survey question asks in the following order: (1) "Does this person speak a language other than English at home?", (2) (If "Yes" to the previous question) "What is this language?", and (3) "How well does this person speak English? (with the options of "Very well", "Well", "Not well", and "Not at all"). This language question was part of decennial census up to 2000. However, beginning with Census 2010, these questions are no longer asked in the decennial census and instead appear in the American Community Survey each year.

employed Chinese immigrants aged 16 years and older are in management, business, science, and the arts. For Mexican immigrants, the proportion is less than 10% and is concentrated more in the construction and maintenance occupations in the primary sectors of the economy such as agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining as well as construction, and occupations associated with production, and "transportation and material moving occupations."[25] Mexican immigrants are represented at a higher proportion among modest paying occupations in low profit margin industries such as agriculture and service, which further deepens the concentration of individuals with a lower socioeconomic status.

3.3.3 Immigration Policy

3.3.3.1 Immigration Policy in the United States

Two quintessential immigration policies in the 20th century that ultimately changed the face of the population in the United States were the Bracero Program and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. The Bracero Program, launched in 1942 and continued until 1964, was a bilateral treaty between the United States and Mexico to import temporary contract agricultural laborers from Mexico. It was a post-World War II economic development effort to solve the shortage of agricultural labor[26]. One of the

[25] This category and others are defined by Bureau of Labor Statistics and used for governmental statistics and reports. "Transportation and material moving" occupations include bus and taxi drivers, delivery truck drivers, hand laborers and material movers, etc.

[26] Unregulated emigration from Mexico to the United States has been a problem for policy makers since the early twentieth century (Aguila 2007). Known as the Mexican Repatriation, as many as 2 million Mexicans and Mexican Americans were rounded up and deported to Mexico during the Great Depression in the 1930s. Faced with the devastating economy, Mexicans were prohibited from being employed on government funded projects in many states. Private companies also adopted an anti-Mexican stance on hiring policy (See Valencia 2006). Legal residents, many of whom were U.S. citizens by birthright or had U.S. born children, were also the target of public raids, and deported in the name of "repatriation." (See Balderrama and Rodriguez 1995).

unintended consequences of this program was the growth of undocumented immigrants who were hired not under the Bracero Program but found jobs due to the labor shortage during the period. As time progressed, because of the growing demand and supply of labor, the use of contracts under the formal agreement between the two countries lessened resulting in a decline in the standards of labor conditions. The Bracero Program continued with little distinction between contract based legal workers and illegal temporary workers[27]. A significant increase of illegal laborers in the 1960s resulted in the Bracero Program no longer being the dominant venue for the importation of migrant laborer, and was terminated in 1964, the year before the implementation of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which changed the compositions of immigrants in subsequent years because of the increase of non-European immigrants to the United States. The law eliminated the quota system established by the "national origin formula" of 1924[28], and focused on skills and family ties of immigrants, which opened doors to people from Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Because this reform created a category for family preferences outside of the quota, chain migration built on family sponsorship became prevalent. This additional category in the immigration law drove the demographic shift in the United States in subsequent decades and is the primary reason for the growth of older immigrants from Latin America and Asia.

[27] In response to the growing number of illegal immigrants, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service launched "Operation Wetback" in 1954 to control the unlawful presence of Mexican migrant laborers in the United States by executing quick apprehension and deportation of these individuals. The Operation, however, proved to be ineffective since the recruitment of laborers outside of the bracero program by farm owners continued (Ngai 2004).

[28] The national origin formula, implemented in the Immigration Act of 1924, calculated the quota based on the 1920 Census. This restricted immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe as well as from Asia.

As for Chinese immigrants, significant policies were implemented much earlier than those impacting Mexicans. Earlier Chinese immigrants came as laborers at the turn of 19th Century in the era of Gold Rush and the construction of the Transatlantic Railroad[29]. Many of them were single males known as "coolies" and participated in the development of the U.S. West as cheap labor. With an onset of recession due to slowing down of the economy and drying out of gold mines, Chinese laborers were targeted as the reason for recession and lower wages. Thereafter, the Act of May 6, 1882 ("the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882") banning Chinese immigrant, both skilled and unskilled, to be employed in mining. The law also restricted new entries and required a form of permission to re-enter if an individual decided to leave the United States. The law was in effect until 1892, at which point, it was extended for another 10 years with a new provision requiring Chinese residents in the United States to register and carry a certificate of proof of their rights to reside, known as the Geary Act[30]. In 1902, the exclusionary measures against Chinese became permanent[31] until it was lifted towards the end of the World War II when China became an ally of the United States. In 1943, all the measures of the Chinese Exclusionary Act were repealed, and the United States allowed Chinese residents to naturalize with the cap of 105 cases per year. The national origin system of immigration and naturalization for individuals of Chinese origin

[29] See Chinese Immigration and the Chinese in the United States on National Archives website http://www.archives.gov/research/chinese-americans/guide.html#introduction. Last accessed on June 16, 2014.
[30] It is formerly titled as the Act to Prohibit the Coming of Chinese Persons into the United States of May 1892.
[31] The exclusionary measures against Chinese became weak by the end of 1920s as the United States faced new wave of immigration from Europe.

continued with several modifications until it was confirmed with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

3.3.3.2 Immigration Policy in Arizona

As a bordering state, Arizona has always had a large number of immigrants from Latin America. Besides, Arizona used to be a part of Mexico, and accordingly, lots of "natives" of Mexican descendants resided in the state prior to the implementations of various immigration policies. The shift in United States immigration policy under the Clinton Administration in the 1990s, which intensified border control in the traditional ports of entry in California and Texas, caused the flow of migrants to concentrate more in Arizona. Arizona was growing rapidly, the labor demand was high, and this unprecedented economic growth was an incentive for an increasing presence of both legal and undocumented immigrants.

Growing concerns about the dysfunctional immigration system became clear. Ranchers and farmers in border towns and Southern Arizona reported trespassing and damaging of property as migrants made their way north. An increasing number of deaths of migrants in the desert also brought attention to the problem. These events resulted in frustration and stirred debate about the state of the immigration policy. This atmosphere among residents was instrumental in the passage of various anti-immigration laws in the 2000s.

Controversial Senate Bill 1070 brought attention to Arizona in 2007; however, anti-immigration policies had their genesis prior to the enactment of this law. In 2004,

Arizona Proposition 200[32] tightened the eligibility of public resources to non-citizens. It included, but was not limited to, requiring individuals to provide proof of citizenship to register to vote[33], and to verify eligibility for non-federally mandated public benefits[34] based on immigration status and restricted the access of non-citizens and undocumented immigrants. It also required public servants to deny services to undocumented immigrants and advise Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) once individuals requesting public services could not provide proof to support their immigration status. Failure to knowingly do so can result in the public servant being fined or even jail time. Although the law was never fully implemented[35], the fact that Arizona passed the law sent an unfriendly message to the immigrant community and created to some degree an atmosphere of fear and confusion to not only undocumented individuals but also to the overall Latino population, especially since the presence of mixed status households are prevalent in Phoenix.

In 2005, an incident occurred that exemplified the dysfunctional nature of the immigration law. A civilian, Patrick Haab, came across a group of migrants, held them at gunpoint, and called the police. There are two versions of the incident. One was that while walking his dog, Army reservist Haab held seven immigrants at gunpoint for fear of his life and called 911. The another is that he blocked the men's vehicle, ordered them out of their car at gunpoint, presented himself as a border patrol agent, and called 911

[32] The Arizona Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act. It was modeled after the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 of California in 1994.
[33] This was later ruled invalid by the federal court first in 2010, and again in 2012 due to the preemption of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993.
[34] Federal programs such as food stamps and subsidized lunches are not included in the proposition, but nearly 60 Arizona social welfare programs.
[35] Only Section 2B of the SB1070 is in effect, and all other provisions were dropped.

(Eagly 2011). The incident resulted in the arrest of the seven undocumented migrants who were moved to the federal immigration detention facility in Yuma, Arizona, and the arrest of Haab.[36] Haab was released upon payment of bond and was often invited to speak to supporters of emerging civilian border patrol movements including the Minuteman Project[37] (Anglen and Carrol 2005).

The event stirred the debate about civilians taking an active position in immigration enforcement and the legality and responsibility surrounding the issue. Under Arizona law, when a felony or misdemeanor has been committed, a civilian may make an arrest without consequences. However, as in Haab's case, an attempted arrest of an individual can result in assault charges against the civilian if the crime is defined as "underdeveloped." While entering Arizona illegally or overstaying a visa is considered a violation of federal law, Arizona law does not allow its citizens to take a stand in a federal crime. Because of the preemption of federal authority over local, Sheriff Arpaio determined that Haab was guilty of a felony and the detained men were innocent.[38] Owing to a recent bill, SB 1372, on human trafficking violations signed by then governor Janet Napolitano in 2005, Arizona law has the power to arrest smugglers and those who conspired to smuggling, but the law does not give local police the authority to arrest undocumented immigrants for their illegal presence in the United States. At this point, the United States Attorney's Office concluded that the driver stopped by Haab committed

[36] Haab was sent to a jail known as "Tent City," which was started in 1993 by Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio to deal with an overcrowding jail population at a relatively low cost (see Maricopa County Sheriff's Office website http://www.mcso.org/JailInformation/TentCity.aspx , last retrieved April 22, 2014).
[37] Anglen, Robert and Susan Carroll 2005. "Case Sounds Vigilante Alarm," *Arizona Republic*, Apr. 13, 2005, at B1.
[38] Anglen, Robert andYvonne Wingett. 2005. "Feds Question Freeing Reservist." *Arizona Republic*, Apr.23, 2005, at B1.

the felony of smuggling while its passengers did not violate the federal law. In Maricopa County, County Attorney Thomas, however, considered the passengers as "conspiring" with the smugglers to be brought into the United States, thereby making their actions a violation of new Arizona law SB 1372 on human smuggling (Eagly 2011, Olivas 2007). As a result, all the criminal charges against Haab were dropped in April of 2005. This incident led to the realization of Sheriff Arpaio that being tough on immigration was a hot issue that is popular with voters.

Immigration law cuts across all levels of government, but federal laws supersede state and local regulations. "Under United States Supreme Court doctrine, a state or local immigration statute may be invalidated under any one of three different preemption tests. In particular, a court will invalidate the law if it directly regulates immigration, exists in a field that Congress has intended to occupy, or otherwise stands as an obstacle to the accomplishment and execution of the full purpose and objectives of Congress." (Eagly 2011). However, the first legal case in Maricopa County enforcing the smuggling law SB 1372 following the Haab case presented an alternative route to deal with federal preemption on immigration matters. By making conspiring to smuggling a crime, the immigrants would lose their eligibility for most forms of immigration relief (See Eagly 2011 p.1761) including any possible special amnesty that may be based on an association with human trafficking and domestic violence.[39] This event exacerbated the institutionalization of deportation by not only criminalizing smuggling at the state and

[39] Victims of criminal activity are granted a four-year nonimmigrant visa called T Visa and U Visa by the United States. This visa category was created in 2000 with the passage of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act and the Battered Immigrant Women's Protection Act (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services).

local level, but also by criminalizing the smuggled undocumented immigrants for conspiring with the smugglers.[40] Leading up to the "Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhood Act," or better known as SB 1070, Arizona in 2010 passed laws that criminalized the illegal presence of immigrants in the State based on conspiring with smugglers. This enabled detentions and faster removals through a smuggling prosecution.

One major milestone in this period was the enactment of the Legal Arizona Workers Act in 2008. This law, also known as the "Employer Sanctions Law," prohibits businesses and employers from knowingly or intentionally hiring an "unauthorized alien."[41] The law held employers accountable for engaging in illegal activity, namely the hiring of unauthorized individuals, a violation of immigration law specifically the Immigration and Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). The enforcement of this provision, however, had been almost nonexistent (See Fix 1991). As a result, despite being pre-empted by federal law, Arizona became the first state to enforce this provision as state law due to the lack of enforcement at the federal level. Although the Arizona law was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 2011, the implementation of this law is skewed against undocumented immigrant workers rather than the enforcement of sanctions against employers. The possible reason for lower numbers of immigrants in the late 2000s can be attributed to the combination of economic recession and decline of

[40] Consequentially, in 2006 Arizona legislature passed HB 2580 requiring that the citizenship of all detainees at detention facilities be identified. This same legislation required judges to take immigration status into consideration when granting bail decisions. With the passage of Proposition 100 in 2006, the Arizona legislature banned undocumented defendants the possibility of bail, resulting in undocumented immigrants being charged with smuggling and a possibility of detainment without any bail followed by automatic deportation.

[41] The law also mandated that employers based in Arizona use the "E-Verify" system administered by the Department of Homeland Security to verify the employment authorization of all new employees starting in 2008.

labor demands in construction, as well as punitive immigration policies (Serrano 2007, McCabe and Meissner 2010). The U.S. Department of Homeland Security reported that Arizona lost approximately 200,000 undocumented immigrants between 2008 and January 2011. Also, during the same period several hundred immigrants were arrested with fraudulent IDs upon inspections many of which was executed during workplace raids, but only very few employers were ever brought to civil court under violation of the "Employer Sanction Law."[42] Although the main purpose of the law was to enforce employers to only hire documented workers, it was effective in only a very few cases. Even though it was not fully implemented, the passage of the "Employer Sanction Law" resulted in an extra layer of fear among the immigrant community since the law provided a legitimate reason to execute workplace raids and to intervene in the immigration system by state and local authorities.

If it was to be fully implemented, SB 1070 would enable local and state authorities to enforce immigration law, a federal responsibility. The primary goal of SB 1070 was to "make attrition through enforcement of the public policy of all state and local government agencies in Arizona" and to "discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States."[43] The impact of the bill was widespread since it not only targeted those who actually were involved in criminal activity first hand, but also those who "conspired" in the process. The redefining of the criminality and extending the scope of participation in

[42] Billeaud, Jacques. 2013. "Arizona Employers Getting a Pass from 2007 Sanction Law." Arizona Daily Star, May 18, 2013. http://azstarnet.com/business/local/arizona-employers-getting-a-pass-from-sanctions-law/article_2fcc5576-b7f0-5791-943a-7c2cc080a075.html Last retrieved on April 26, 2014.
[43] Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, S. 1070, § 1, 49th Leg., 2d Reg. Sess. (Ariz. 2010).

the criminal activity while enforcing stringent consequences through the criminal justice system created an atmosphere of fear among the immigrant community and public discourse of possible intolerance. The law not only deputized private citizens as law enforcement officers, but it also gave them legal authority to enforce the immigration law by reporting as well as being involved in the actual transfer of undocumented immigrants to the police as Patrick Haab did in 2005.[44] A law passed in 2010[45] which allow civilians to carry concealed weapons without a permit and also allowed deputized civilians to carry a gun for the purpose of assisting enforcement efforts added another layer of fear among the immigrant community. The increasing surveillance created tension not limited to the immigrant community and the degradation of social fabric. It also brought back the history of distrust toward institutions among ethnic minorities, especially among Latinos since these immigration laws passed in Arizona in 2000s were directed at the control illegal immigration from south of the U.S.-Mexico border.

3.3.3.3 Impacts on the Older Immigrants

Although these anti-immigration laws in Arizona did not directly apply to the older immigrants who participated in my study, in many cases, they affected some family and household members since some of the older immigrants in the study are residing in the state without proper documentation. Even when they were not household members, some older immigrants shared a place of work or had undocumented individuals working

[44] Maricopa County's Sheriff Arpaio has institutionalized a civilian force of nearly 3000 volunteers to assist law enforcement efforts (Eagly 2011). They are "sworn in" by the Sheriff and help assist the tracking of unauthorized immigrants using privately owned vehicles, boats, and weapons. These civilian volunteers are pardoned for their transgressed behaviors as they are private citizens and professionally trained officers.
[45] Arizona Revised Statutes Title 13, Chapter 31.

for them or their family members. At La Amistad, Sofia, a Latina in her early 80s, mentioned that she lived with her daughter who owns a cleaning business in Phoenix. She also shared with a man who was an employee of the daughter's cleaning business. Prior to the time of interview, he was residing and working in the United States without proper legal status. Although he was a good employee and a great company that helped around the house, the daughter had to request him to leave by the end of my fieldwork. The outcome is that the daughter lost an employee, the income from his rent, and a company who was like a family and could help out around the house. The tight budget and less hand around the house impelled Sofia to take part not only in doing more house chores but also actively seek food from weekly food banks at the senior center.

Mobilizing older adults to participate in food banks at the senior centers seems to be fairly common among immigrant families in times of difficulties. At both centers, I would often see some older individuals living alone receiving some shares from the food bank package of others in addition to what they have already received as their own. Since the food bank packages include fresh produce and perishable food, observing independent living seniors receiving more than they could consume in a week had baffled me. I learned later that they were contributing to feed some family and friends in addition to feeding themselves, and their center peers knew that some of their peers had more mouths to feed. Sofia shared that one of the reasons she attends senior center is the weekly food bank. Although she was not a breadwinner of the household per se, she considered brining the food bank package as an important task and the way for her to contribute to the household. She knows the family appreciates her contribution and that

gave her some sense of pride in the house. This observation also underlines the financially challenges of people in her network.

3.3.4 Aging Policy and Social Welfare

3.3.4.1 Older Americans Act and Agency on Aging

Under the Lyndon Johnson Administration, the Older Americans Act (OAA) was created in 1965. Its premise was a governmental commitment to the well-being of the older population and to create goals for the welfare of older Americans by establishing institutions and mechanisms to provide various services within their community. Title II of the Act established the Administration on Aging (AoA), an agency of the United States Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). AoA is the primary agency that provides various programs in the OAA authorized by the U.S. Congress to support the well-being and independent living of senior citizens and are funded by awarding grants to individual States, Native American tribal organizations, and local communities. The original legislation authorized States through federal grants, appropriate community planning and social services, research and development projects, and personnel training in the field of aging to serve specific needs of the older population. In April 2012, under the Obama Administration, the AoA merged with the Administration on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities (AIDD) and the HHS Office on Disability, and this agency has since been named the Administration for Community Living (ACL).[46] The purpose of

[46] ACL includes the Center for Disability and Aging Policy (CDAP) and the Center for Management and Budget.

the merger was to better serve the vulnerable population by combining expertise on aging and the disabled,[47] thereby eliminating duplicate services resulting in budget reduction.

3.3.4.2 Organizations and Federal Funding

Besides the Agency on Aging (AoA), the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) houses other agencies including the Administration for Children and Families (ACF), the National Institute of Health (NIH), and the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). Compared to other agencies in the HHS, the budget allocated for AoA is relatively small. It consistently has been one of the smallest allocated budgets in the HHS. However, some of the services[48] for older adults are also administered and budgeted by ACF. The budget of AoA peaked in 2011, a year prior to the restructuring of the agency, and leveled out after the merger to form the Administration for Community Living (ACL). Since the ACL merged three different entities including AoA, the share for AoA decreased in the post merger period. On the other hand, the overall budget for the HHS under the Obama Administration was rather stable post the economic recession of 2007. In the presence of a growing aging population, federal budgets were allocated to more directly meet demands on entitlement programs through the Center for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS).

[47] ACL Statement "On April 18, 2012, the Administration for Community Living Statement of Organization, Functions, and Delegations of Authority was published in the Federal Register and served to officially establish the Administration for Community Living (ACL), which brought together the Administration on Aging, the Office on Disability and the Administration on Developmental Disabilities to achieve several important objectives including, but not limited to, reducing the fragmentation that currently exists in Federal programs addressing the community living service and support needs of both the aging and disability populations; enhance access to quality health care and long-term services and support for all individuals; and promote consistency in community living policy across other areas of the Federal government." (ACL Website)

[48] These include the following but not limited to congregation meals, adult protective services, transportation services, and day care services for adults.

Table. The Annual Budget of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

(In Million Dollars)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS)								
Gross Cost	574,245	$612,411	$657,910	$749,004	789,713	817,383	$802,301	$848,967
Exchange Revenue	-49,847	-50,304	-54,071	-57,294	-60,717	-63,686	-65,078	-69,745
CMS Net Cost of Operations	524,398	562,107	603,839	691,710	728,996	753,697	737,223	779,222
Other Segments:								
Administration for Children & Families (ACF)	47,123	$47,336	48,545	52,326	56,369	54,027	49,143	50,566
Administration on Aging (AoA)/ Administration for Community Living (ACL) 2012~	1,388	1,373	1,398	1,441	1,530	1,569	1,488	1,449
Agency for Healthcare Research & Quality (AHRQ)	15	131	-59	-55	86	553	635	606
Centers for Disease Control & Prevention (CDC)	6,555	8,105	8,643	9,274	10,482	10,407	10,380	10,771
Food & Drug Administration (FDA)	1,906	1,913	2,127	2,629	3,130	3,144	3,250	3,394
Health Resources & Services Administration (HRSA)	6,205	6,897	7,053	7,314	9,222	8,523	8,653	8,720
Indian Health Service (IHS)	4,093	4,250	4,415	5,225	5,262	5,240	6,726	5,551
National Institutes of Health (NIH)	28,147	28,489	29,776	30,369	33,776	34,406	31,834	30,691
Office of the Secretary (OS)	2,598	2,169	2,234	2,341	6,720	5,033	3,684	3,900
Program Support Center (PSC)	872	1,414	1,086	1,650	1,063	1,817	1,774	1,636
Substance Abuse & Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA)	3,343	3,320	3,163	3,501	3,362	3,581	3,480	3,432
Other Segments Gross Cost of Operations	102,245	105,397	108,381	116,015	131,002	128,218	121,544	120,946
Exchange Revenue	-2,706	-2,905	-3,074	-3,820	-3,193	-3,782	-3,220	-3,918
Other Segments Net Cost of Operations	$99,539	$102,492	105,307	112,195	127,732	124,436	118,324	117,028
Total	$623,937	$664,599	709,146	$803,905	856,728	$878,133	$855,547	896,250

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Agency Financial Report FY 2007-2013.

3.3.4.3 Joint Venture of Federal and State: Social Service Block Grant

Social Service Block Grant (SSBG)[49] in its current form was created in 1981 for the purpose of reducing costs by consolidating several smaller funding streams shared by both federal and state government. As a result, almost 20 % of the total funding for SSBG was cut to reduce the budget from $2.9 billion for fiscal year 1981 to $2.4 billion for fiscal year 1982. Although the funding for SSBG fluctuated from its inception until the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (Welfare Reform of 1996),[50] the reduction initially seen has continued in subsequent years,[51] and the total budget has been $1.7 billion since fiscal year 2002. Although some minor spikes can be seen in fiscal years 2006 and 2009 due to supplemental appropriations largely to support expenses for natural disaster damages, SSBG has generally been in decline since its establishment. The most up to date budget is $1.7billion.[52]

The strength of SSBG is that, unlike most federal funding, it allows each state flexibility in serving the needs of its population. As long as the funded social services and programs comply with one or more of the five goals of the program,[53] the state has the

[49] SSBG was established under Title XX of the Social Security Act signed in January 1975. It did not become effective until later, however, until the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981.
[50] The law was controversial and President Clinton vetoed the earlier versions twice. However, it had a high rate of bipartisan support and was signed in August 1996 (See Weaver 2000).
[51] According to Dutta-Gupta, Pavetti, and Finch (2012), the SSBG grant fluctuated between $2.4 billion and $2.8 billion between fiscal year 1982 and 1996.
[52] The most recent figures available on the website of the Administration of Children and Families is the report from fiscal year 2012 with the budget of $1.7 billion (Consolidated Appropriations Act (H.R. 2055, P.L. 112-74).
[53] They include 1. Achieving or maintaining economic self-support to prevent, reduce, or eliminate dependency; 2. Achieving or maintaining self-sufficiency, including reduction or prevention of dependency; 3. Preventing or remedying neglect, abuse, or exploitation of children and adults unable to protect their own interests, or preserving, rehabilitating or reuniting families; 4. Preventing or reducing inappropriate institutional care by providing for community-based care, home-based care, or other forms of less intensive care; and 5. Securing referral or admission for institutional care when other forms of care are

freedom to allocate the funds for any social program it feels best serves the needs of its population. The state therefore has an ability to use these funds for areas in which funding may have been previously difficult to obtain under the federal system. Prior to the formation of SSBG, each state only had to submit a report to the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) on the intended use of the funds that included the types of activities to be funded and the nature of the population served. The Family Support Act of 1988, however, required the submission of annual reports of SSBG funded programs to the HHS. Moreover, by 1993, HHS mandated that the reporting requirements and funding guidelines fit the "uniform definition of services" [54] by all states (2000 House Ways and Means Green Book, "Social Services Block Grant"), which made the process more cumbersome and the accountability of states emphasized.

The increase in reports and data collection added administrative tasks for social workers at all levels of social welfare services. Social workers at the senior centers shared the increased loads of reports was consuming a lot of their time every day. The daily report needs to be turned in by a certain time of the day, and as a result, it is not rare to see social workers working on them with their office doors closed during busy center

not appropriate or providing services to individuals in institutions. (2000 House Ways and Means Green Book, "Social Services Block Grant")

[54] According to the Office of Community Services at the Administration for Children and Families website published in 2009, uniform definition of services include the following: adoption services, case management services, congregate meals, counseling services, day care services—adults, day care services—children, education and training services, employment services, family planning services, foster care services for adults, health related and home health services, home based services, home delivered meals, housing services, information and referral, legal services, pregnancy and parenting services for young parents, prevention and intervention services, protective services for adults, protective services for children, recreational services, residential treatment services, special services for persons with developmental or physical disabilities or persons with visual or auditory impairments, special services for youth involved in or at risk of involvement with criminal activity, substance abuse services, transportation services, and other services.

hours. These reports are gathered into a centralized data system that monitors not only the budget and usage of all centers in Phoenix, and used for monthly review meetings.

In addition to its flexibility, another unique characteristic of SSBG is the ability to transfer and pool from other funds. A provision under the Welfare Reform of 1996 replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) Program with a block grant to states called Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). TANF allowed states to transfer up to 30% of funding for TANF to Title XX of the Social Security Act (or SSBG). The PRWORA (Public Law 104-193) originally required that for every dollar transferred to SSBG, states must transfer $2 to the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG). In subsequent years under the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (Public Law 105-33), revision was enacted to allow states to transfer up to 10% of TANF allotment to SSBG without any transfer conditions to CCDBG. This transferring of funds from TANF to SSBG allows families that fall in an income category no higher than 200% of the federal poverty guidelines to receive social services. These people were not eligible for cash assistance directly from TANF.[55] Through SSBG, these families are then able to receive vouchers for various services. Starting in fiscal year 2001, however, under the provision of the Transportation Equity Act signed in 1998, the percentage allowed to transfer from TANF to SSBG was reduced from 10% to 4.25%. This provision was again superseded by the Consolidated Appropriation Act of 2001, and therefore, the TANF transfer cap remained at 10%. A similar provision to lower the cap to 4.25% was included in the Social Security Act in fiscal year 2004, but this again was superseded by

[55] Some of the restrictions are due to time limits or due to the family already receiving benefits for another child.

the Consolidated Appropriation Act of 2004. After numerous twist and turns, the total annual amount of state transfers from TANF to SSBG is about $1 billion, and 30 states transferred more than 4.25% in fiscal year 2011 (Lynch 2012). Arizona, in particular, transferred 9.56%. What was more critical about the Consolidated Appropriation Act of 2004 was that the SSBG ceiling was reduced to $1.7 billion. This meant a reduction of $680 million for the fiscal year 2001 and 2002, followed by the annual reduction of $1.1 billion beginning in fiscal year 2003. Although the Clinton administration signed the Balance Budget Act of 1997 that gave a lower cap to SSBG and allowed Arizona to exploit the flexibility to support low income families that are struggling but do not qualify in the TANF scheme, in subsequent years under the George W. Bush administration, however, the nation saw a huge cut in the budget that supports low income families through cash assistance and social service programs at both the federal and state level.

The reduction in the overall SSBG funding as well as the shifting of transfer cap had direct and indirect effects on the older immigrants. The direct effect is a stricter assessment associated with spending. As previously noted, the centralized data system carefully monitors the efficacy and efficiency of the centers, and if the usage is deemed insignificant, the center will face a warning of closure. This would jeopardize the seniors who frequent the center on a regular basis and consider it central to their social life. For many of the older immigrants at La Amistad, they attend the center particularly because of its existence in their neighborhood. There are, however, other reasons for their preference of La Amistad over another senior center which is located within 5 minutes radius. The nearby center is much larger than La Amistad, and because of the history of

the residential neighborhoods in Phoenix, this center is frequented by a large presence of African Americans. Many seniors at La Amistad prefer the relatively small center which mainly caters to Latino seniors in the neighborhood. Therefore, a talk of closure of the center where they frequent would threaten their perception of well-being. An indirect effect of the changes in the social welfare funding including both SSBG and TANF results in the adjustment of itemized budget allocations of SSBG. For instance, lower transfer cap from TANF to SSBG makes it difficult to leverage the flexible nature of SSBG to support those who fall slightly outside of the TANF criteria. Many of the families of older immigrants fall in this category, and they have benefited from social programs funded by SSBG. However, with the budget reductions, these programs face a threat of disappearing. When asked the strategies if childcare assistance becomes no longer accessible, the family members shared that the first persons to count on would be their aging parents (i.e. seniors in my study). This shows that the seniors would be required to adjust their life styles to meet the demand of their family, and this includes differences in how they engage not only with their family but also with friends and peers at the senior centers. The shift will ultimately require reorganizations of their lives and resources.

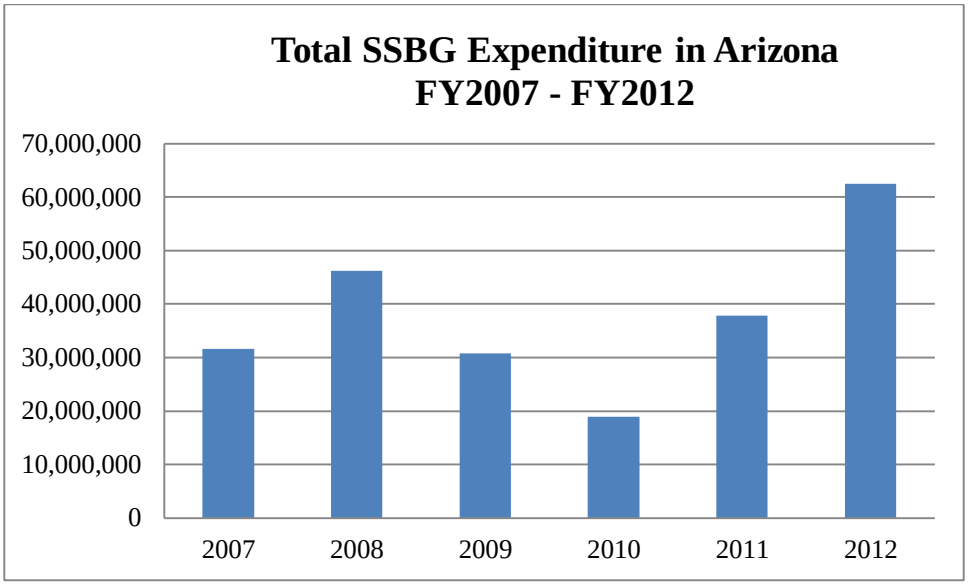
3.3.4.5 Economy in Arizona: Impact on SSBG

The recession in Arizona in 2007 started slightly earlier than the rest of the nation. State employment peaked in October 2007, and it declined until September 2010 when it was at its lowest[56].

Despite bipartisan support, SSBG has been declining in value due to "inflation, funding freeze, and budget cuts" (Dutta-Gupta, Pavetti and Finch 2012: 4) since its enactment in 1981, and had lost most of its initial value by 2012.[57] This decrease has been seen at the national level except for some increase around the recession of 2007.[58] Between FY2007 and FY2012, Arizona saw fluctuations in SSBG, and in 2010, saw its lowest point in recent years, about 60% of the funding for 2007. Interestingly, however, Arizona saw a large increase in the following years although the overall nationwide SSBG budget remained stable. Since SSBG is allocated based on the relative size of the state population, this indicates that Arizona saw a significant increase[59] in population as compared to the rest of the country.

[56] Arizona Republic "Arizona Employer-Sanctions Law Seldom Used." Nov. 2, 2013. http://www.azcentral.com/business/news/articles/20131102arizona-employer-sanctions-law-seldom-used.html Last retrieved on April 10, 2014.
[57] Dutta-Gupta, Pavetti, and Finch (2012) noted that the loss was around 77%.
[58] The increase in 2006 was aid caused by Hurricane Katrina, and the increase in 2008 was to serve the increased number of families that had been severely impacted by the recession.
[59] Between Census 2000 and 2010, the population grew nearly 25% in Arizona (5,130,632 in Census 2000 to 6,492,017 in Census 2010), while the national average was only a 10% increase.

Figure 2. Total SSBG Expenditure in Arizona: FY 2007-FY 2012



Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Office of Community Services; Arizona Department of Economic Security
Note: This figure excludes any transfer fund such as those from Temporary Assistant for Needy Families (TANF)

In Arizona, the majority of SSBG funding serves programs for children. In 2010, on a national average, 52% (12,219,545 people) of the total recipients of SSBG funded programs were children while 48% (11,470,643) were for all age groups of adults. Arizona with 1,521,794 is second in the number of children served by programs funded by SSBG after California. In the same year, 22,486 adults 59 years and younger, and 97,365 adults 60 and older were also served by the SSBG funded programs.[60] In Arizona, a large number of seniors participate in various programs funded by SSBG when compared to other states. Therefore, any reduction in SSBG funding will be precarious for the well-being of older residents.

[60] It is very difficult to provide the proportion of each age group since the great majority (4,107,801) of beneficiaries are identified as "adults of unknown age." Since some other states show similarly ambiguous reports on age groups, the report that the majority of SSBG clientele are children may be an overestimate.

3.3.4.6 The Effects of Welfare Reform on Individuals and Families

These changes in the shifting of funding from federal to state level were executed with the targeted concept of "welfare-to-work" which supports the idea that all citizens are eligible to work and should be able to work and contribute to the society given the means to do so, as outlined in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA). The avowed purpose of the Welfare Reform was to support a system that creates potential for individuals by investing in the economy and urban development as well as the availability of a transportation system so that all citizens have equal access to jobs instead of providing cash assistance and social service programs to sustain the poverty.

The shift in the philosophy of social welfare by the Welfare Reform was critical in changing the family and household arrangements of many people. The reform was especially significant for those who were receiving public benefits to support their families. The primary change of the reform was to downsize the federal level bureaucracy and transfer administrative authority to each State. With PRWORA, the federal government started a new block grant funding scheme through the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), transitioning from Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program (AFDC). By this transition, most of the federal eligibility and payment rules were discarded and each state now had more flexibility in designing the new funding procedures that cater to the needs of the state. The second point was an emphasis on work. By 2002, at least 50% of all recipient families and 90% of two-parent families were required to be working or in work preparation programs, and states were responsible in meeting these goals by designing and implementing various programs such as

childcare to support welfare recipients to be employed. The third point was setting a lifetime limit of five years as a cash assistance recipient with the TANF program[61]. Concerning the effects of PRWORA on immigrants, Title V of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) restricted the eligibility of federal means tested programs such as Food Stamps and Supplemental Security Income, the cash assistance programs that support low-income aged and disabled individuals, and as a result, legal immigrants who arrived after August of 1996 were denied eligibility to these federal programs as well as, in many cases, state level programs administered with TANF.

The shift in the policy saw an increase in the pool of federal dollars available for low income families who were working and a decrease for the non-working families. For the working low income families, the available funds increased from $11.0 billion in 1988 to $66.7 billion in 1999 (Blank and Ellwood 2002), while for the non-working families, it was $24 billion dollars in 1988 and $27 billion in 1992, and then dropped to $13 billion by 1999 (Blank 2002). The PROWRA was instrumental in creating incentives to work by tightening cash based public assistance and increasing work supports such as child care and health insurance in the transition from welfare recipient to wage workers.

The shift in welfare policy was feasible primarily because the U.S. economy was growing and the demand of labor was high in the subsequent years of passing of the law. The unemployment rate in the United States hit 5% in April 1997 and annual

[61] This was a general rule at the federal level, and since each State now had the authority to design and implement TANF programs, the state became eligible to set a shorter time limit, or allowed exemption up to 20% of their caseload to follow a different time limit (i.e. longer than 5 years). The States were also able to continue funding families after the five year limitation beyond the exemption of 20% if the fund entirely comes from state funds.

unemployment remained at 4% until 2001.[62] Wages that were experiencing a decline since the late 1970s to the early 1990s picked up in the late 1990s for both men and women of different skill levels. Labor demand was high in the period following PRWORA, and with the assistance in child care and health insurance, many work eligible adults, especially single mothers, benefited from this policy change.

The population of my study, however, faced more nuanced consequences from the Welfare Reform, as realigned by PRWORA and IIRIRA of 1996. The change in the eligibility of the cash assistance programs as defined in the Title V of IIRIRA 1996 added to a precarious state for immigrants with limited social and financial resources who had arrived in the United States after the reform and aged without sufficient savings or became disabled during their working years. The Reform also created inequality within the older immigrant community. Because the IIRIRA banned immigrants who arrived after 1996 from accessing public assistance programs, a divide, no matter the duration of stay, emerged between those who received benefits and those of same age or disability who did not (See Fragomen 1997). The Reform became a pivotal point in shifting post-immigration strategies for those arriving after 1996. First, the Reform created an incentive for immigrants to naturalize and thereby become eligible for benefits as U.S. citizens (Espenshade, Baraka, and Huber 1997). Second, when immigrants did not naturalize, it moved the welfare of the aged and the disabled into the hands of families, relatives, and ethnic communities.

[62] The figures are on Bureau of Labor Statistics from the Current Population Survey. The lowest was in 2000 at 4%.
http://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNU04000000?years_option=all_years&periods_option=specific_periods&periods=Annual+Data Last retrieved on April 23, 2014.

The Welfare Reform had impacted not only the older immigrants but the entire immigrant population as they continued to steadily grow. The cumulative number of immigrants arriving post-PRWORA grew and this population is aging. Additionally, the low income immigrants are exposed a to higher risk of work related disability, less work related benefits, and less savings than immigrants with higher income and more job security. Furthermore, more older immigrants were arriving in the United States to join their family and to take care of grandchildren while their working age children were in the labor force, a resultant effect that may be partially attributed to PRWORA. While the economy was growing, as it was when the law passed, the "welfare-to-work" strategy seemed appropriate. With an increased income, adult children could support their aging or disabled parents.[63] This becomes a problem when the economy stagnates. Keeping a steady job becomes more difficult, and consequently external economic pressures for those working and supporting the family increase financial and psychological stress within the household.

3.3.4.7 Resources for Family and Caregivers

As the nation ages and family members continue to care for the elderly on a long term basis, respite care for families has become critical. The amendments to OAA in 2000 (OAA Title IIIE) created the National Family Caregiver Support Program (NFCSP). The goal of NFCSP is to provide assistance and services to families who care for the frail elderly. These services are targeted to Americans age 60 and older and include

[63] This is not a completely favorable picture either. There are reports of aging immigrant parents living with their children and their family having various issues which include but not limited to domestic violence and neglect as well as dissonance in expectations.

information and assistance to caregivers, counseling services, support groups, respite services, and other home and community-based services to cater for temporary relief among caregiving families. The service is to give ongoing family caregivers a necessary break from duties to avoid "burn out" as well as to enable them to attend to outside personal duties and meeting with healthcare personnel. The intention of the program is to shift elderly care from a total family responsibility to a certain amount of sustainable long term care embedded in the community.

On December 21, 2006, President George W. Bush signed H.R. 3248, The Lifespan Respite Care Act of 2006, which amended the Public Service Act to authorize the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to award grants to state-designated Aging and Disability Resource Centers (ADRCs). These grants are meant to develop lifespan respite care programs at the state and local level, provide planned or emergency respite care services for family caregivers of children and adults, train and recruit respite workers and volunteers, provide information to caregivers about available respite and support services, and assist caregivers in gaining access to such services.

According to the Congressional Research Service, a branch of the Library of Congress, this Amendment to OAA included the following:

> Amends the Public Health Service Act to authorize the Secretary of Health and Human Services to award matching grants or cooperative agreements to eligible state agencies to: (1) expand and enhance respite care services to family caregivers; (2) improve the statewide dissemination and coordination of respite care; and (3) provide, supplement, or improve access and quality of respite care services to family caregivers, thereby reducing family caregiver strain. (H.R. 3248, https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/hr3248#summary)

The National Family Caregiver Support Program (NFCSP[64] or Section 371 of the OAA), created in 2000, was established to offer information and services including respite care services that are either homebound or community-based. In order to accept the federal program, each state had to pass a legislative act. Prior to this acceptance by the Arizona legislature (HB2789) in 2007, state level respite care programs had already been implemented in Oregon, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma.[65]

The demand for organized respite care in the aging population is a grim reality in today's society since caregiving is such a demanding task for any family member. Nearly half of all caregivers are over 50 years old, and such responsibility can take its toll on their health.[66] In response to the growing needs of respite care service, federal, state, and the private sector are individually as well as jointly involved in developing the means for this care. While some programs may overlap, non-profit organizations take care of individuals and families that may not necessarily qualify under the definition of special needs as stated in the law. The goal of HB2789 was to gather all available resources in the community in light of the growth of the older population and support families by having the state government coordinate various resource entities and interests in the community. It was enacted in 2007 with a yearly allocation of $150,000, and administered by the Division of Aging and Adult Services (DAAS) of the Arizona Department of Economic Security as the leading state agency to coordinate with the local municipal Area Agency on Aging. The program required cost sharing by the users and

[64] The funding for NFCSP is based on the individual State's share of the population 70 and over.
[65] At the time the legislation was submitted to the Arizona legislature in 2002.
[66] See National Family Caregiver Support Program on Administration on Aging (http://www.aoa.gov/AoARoot/AoA_Programs/HCLTC/Caregiver/) for detail.

varies by household income. In 2009, the program experienced funding cuts due to budgetary constraints. Through a competitive federal grant, however, Arizona received funding of $200,000 to continue the program, but the funding was not sufficient for the growing needs of respite care.

3.3.4.8 Budget Review and Discourse in Arizona

In 2009, Governor Jan Brewer declared that the state of Arizona had a budget deficit for fiscal year 2010 of $1.5 billion. She also added that fiscal year 2011 would be worse off with an estimated budget deficit of $3.4 billion (Cabinet Address, Dec. 21, 2009) as well as the termination of federal stimulus funds.[67] [68] In response, the Arizona Legislature reduced the budget for the remainder of fiscal year 2010 an additional $200 million by cutting up to 15% for most of the state agencies. The economic recession of 2007 had brought about almost a 40% reduction in state revenue and that affected the 2010 budget. The Governor addressed the overall demographic change in Arizona and specifically cited the "population growth in school children, university students, health care and welfare populations and inmates in our state prisons" (Cabinet Address, Dec. 21, 2009). She referred to population growth among the dependent population as contributing to the difficulty of the economic issues and that this "fundamentally rules out simplistic solutions like rolling the state budget back to levels of five, six, or more years ago." (Cabinet Address, Dec. 21, 2009)

[67] The funds came from an economic stimulus package under The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 in response to the recession of 2007.

[68] Due to vigorous funding cuts and adjustments that led to the massive reduction of the structural deficit, the FY2011 fiscal deficit was $763.6 million (FY2012 Executive Budget Summary). However, the cuts in various programs continue and programs within Division of Aging and Adult Services have been faced with reduced funding since the recession.

The ongoing debate regarding immigration and border security has been exacerbated by the recession and resultant budgetary crisis. Governor Brewer has taken a strong position in regard to securing the border and criminalizing illegal immigrants and this may be due in part to her frustration in the passivity of the federal government[69]. As the reduction of financial resources in Arizona deepened, her frustration towards the dysfunctional immigration policy became stronger in the public discourse. Compared to other items addressed during the Cabinet Address in December 2009 such as the budget cuts in public education and discretionary programs, Governor Brewer emphasized that a part of the reduction of the budget was caused by the funding of programs by the state such as border security and immigration control which should be the responsibility of federal government, and the expense that Arizona was pouring in these programs should be reconsidered. She also emphasized that public benefits for Arizonans should be only for "those who are legally in this country and reside in this state" (Cabinet Address, Dec. 21, 2009).

[69] As an item in the budgetary review, Governor Brewer stated that the detainment of undocumented immigrants was not the duty of the State, but of the federal government, and that such expenses should not be borne by the taxpayers of Arizona. "I am ordering the Arizona Department of Corrections to return to the custody of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement ("ICE") —as soon as possible—all non-violent criminal aliens as is allowed under existing law. The cost of incarcerating these criminal aliens is NOT Arizona's responsibility. By federal law, the cost of their incarceration is the responsibility of the FEDERAL government. However, the federal government is refusing to adequately fund this program. Even worse, Congress will likely reduce support funding from last year's level. This is an INSULT to Arizona taxpayers: First, the federal government refuses to secure our border and allows criminal aliens to enter our state. Then, Arizona taxpayers pay for the prosecution of these criminal aliens. And then the federal government sticks us with the bill for their incarceration. We cannot afford to be their hosts—and we no longer will be. Director Ryan, please prepare for the orderly return of those prisoners who are eligible for release under existing law to the custody of the federal government for return to their country of origin and reduce your prison beds and budget accordingly. In this process, we must ensure public safety—my highest priority as Governor. We will be working with key legislators to enhance the existing penalties for any criminal alien who returns to our state after release. Arizona taxpayers have paid enough for the refusal of the federal government to fulfill its constitutional duty to secure our border." (Capitalization emphasis in this address was found in the original document prepared by the Arizona state government posted on the Arizona government website.)

In the same Cabinet Address, she also requested the review of discretionary programs, specifying the potential for the withholding for funding of non-mandatory programs that support families on public insurance for children's health through the Arizona Health Care Cost Containment System (AHCCS). Arizona has emphasized the capping of child care assistance. Contrary to much of the budgetary reduction targeting a growing population among younger age groups, there was no direct mention of reduction in services specifically targeting the aging population, except for her plea to "all citizens receiving state services to contribute more toward their benefits" (Cabinet Address, Dec. 21, 2009). Effective immediately, agencies were directed to implement means testing and sliding fees to ensure that the neediest among the population served received the most help. She emphasized the importance and development of the private sector as a key driving force of economic recovery. She noted the need for greater overall efficiency through planning and identifying the responsibilities of the various public entities and need to implement various measurements to monitor the public services of the state.

3.3.4.9 Arizona Budget and Respite Care Funding

On September 16, 2009, the Arizona Department of Economic Security had a meeting presenting the update of the budget for 2010, including indefinite elimination of the Lifespan Respite Care funding ($150,000) starting from 2009 and a 5% reduction in administrative cost of $309,900 and various reductions of $845,800 in programs under Adult Services. Other areas that impacted the aging population were eliminated in fiscal year 2009 in the amount of $1,744,000.

In fiscal year 2010, the Arizona Department of Economic Security (DES) announced a budget reduction.[70] In order to meet this, a 15% reduction for all services was deemed necessary. It included a reduction in SSBG planning funds, implementing means testing and increasing fees in the programs under the Division of Developmental Disabilities, as well as maintaining child care waiting lists and reduction in cash assistance benefits for those TANF eligible. The reduced services directly associated with the aging population includes the elimination of grandparent kinship care which is a $75 monthly stipend for children who are taken care of by their grandparents as well as $1.6 million from aging and adult service programs.[71] This appropriation cut would impact services for many older individuals and jeopardizing independent living in their communities, creating a potential to increase long-term cost to the state by the premature institutionalizing of these adults.[72]

While TANF transfer freed SSBG funds to be spent with more flexibly to serve the aging and adult population, the reduction of federal funds required reconsideration of priorities of the Arizona General Fund and the resultant reduction in DES programs which negatively affected all age groups.

3.4 Conclusion

[70] Earlier in the year, DES announced a necessary reduction of $57,077,900 which included the sum of the 5th Special Session General Fund reduction and TANF shortfall.
[71] The targeted reduction for the fiscal year 2011 pertinent to adult services included further reductions of $1.6 million. This was an additional reduction to the $1.6 million reduction taken in 5th Special Session during the fiscal year 2010. Specifics of the services impacted will be defined by the Area Agency on Aging, the agency that administers the local service providers, but the reduction is approximated to eliminate services for aging and adults on 430 victims of domestic violence, 660 homeless individuals, and 740 older adults receiving independent living services including food delivery and day-care services.
[72] Although some studies show that formal care is less costly than community based informal care for older people (Harrow et al. 1995, 2004), others report contrary findings (Fast 1999l; Shapiro and Taylor 2001). In rural settings where resources are limited to provide sufficient home based or community based care, premature institutionalization of functional aging adults has been reported (Greene 1984).

Given the policy changes during early adulthood and the economic environment surrounding older immigrants and their families in Arizona, the challenges faced today are both cumulative and multifaceted. In this chapter, I have described the demographic characteristics of the population of this study (i.e. the older population), the immigration and welfare policy pertinent to them, and the budgetary crises in the late 2000s to illustrate the complex world in which the older immigrants navigate their everyday life. While there were many changes over the years as seen in the growth of the older immigrant population from Asia and Latin America as a result of the shift in the U.S. immigration policies, some changes happened as a result of "unforeseen crises," such as the recession of 2007, and the need of the individuals to adapt to these changes. This transition, no doubt, created anxiety and confusion among older immigrants as well as families since these changes impacted each age group in a variety of ways and required them to reconsider their lifestyles. Therefore, while one policy may not seem to target older immigrants directly, because many of them have extended families in the United States who often depend on each other for social and financial support and guidance, families often make adjustments to accommodate for the required changes. This is where the resources among those individuals who can use them result in positive experience for not only themselves but also their families and ethnic communities. For those who are not exposed to such advantages, the positive experiences can be limited. How older immigrants, families, and the ethnic community orchestrate to meet new demands created by the changes in the policies result in divergent yet closely linked experiences for all of the parties involved. In the following chapters, I will present how these differences may

be unraveling across groups and the reasons of diverging experiences among older immigrants in my study.

4 WORK

4.1 Introduction

Assimilation theorists argue that bridging social capital would become dominant in the bonding effect of social ties among ethnic minorities as the later generations become more integrated to the host society (Gans 1979, Gordon 1964). Structural theorists, on the other hand, argue that the presence of persistent social and political barriers precludes immigrants and ethnic minority groups from achieving a full integration in the society, and encourages them to maintain bonding social capital among co-ethnics (Bonacich and Mondell 1980). Yet other scholars argue that both bonding and bridging social capital coexist, serving different needs of immigrants and ethnic minority groups (Reitz 1980, Fugita and O'Brien 1991, Fenandez and Nichols 2002).

I agree with the latter group and argue that the presence of older immigrants who aged in the United States is a key in the resource flow at senior centers that are relatively ethnically clustered. These centers tend to attract a large proportion of recent immigrants who aged abroad and recently came to the United States. The main reason is that the seniors feel comfortable with those who share similar language and cultural background. Bonding social capital is cultivated in this environment along these shared characteristics. Additionally, the preference to use an ethnically concentrated center, or ethnic agencies, is due in large part to the presence of social workers who speak the same language and understand the participants' cultural background and, therefore, are better able to assist seniors in linking to the resources of the community and serving their needs (Jenkins 1988). In other words, the connections with ethnically conscious social workers become bridging social capital for the recently arrived immigrants. Because of the nature of these

centers, “recent immigrants” in very large number attend these centers from all over the Phoenix area. Since many of these individuals are not proficient in English and require individualized assistance to help them adjust to the system, the workloads and the responsibility of full time social workers as well as other part time professionals and paraprofessionals become significant. With increasing budget restraints on the staff and services available at the centers, the earlier immigrants can serve as additional “intermediaries” who connect “recent immigrants” to the host society. Apart from the presence of professionals and licensed paraprofessionals, the “recent immigrants” can benefit from attending senior centers that have the potential to become venues to cultivate ties among other “recent immigrants” as well as with those who arrived earlier and are more integrated. The bonding social capital cultivated among those who share similar characteristics provides solace and comfort in the new society, while cultivating relationships with those who have ties outside of the center, or bridging social capital expands their pool of resources. This enables the newer immigrants an easier transition in the host society. Other than professionals, the presence of well informed and well integrated individuals who share the same language and cultural background facilitates smoother adjustment and integration into the larger society by being “intermediaries” or “bridges.” Their presence becomes all the more important when formal resources are scant.

In order for an organization to be sustainable, sufficient resources are critical. Both the circulation and transfer of resources at senior centers occur through a network of ties cultivated and embedded within each center. These social networks emerge and develop as they change their form among the participants who share common space and

time as well as language and cultural background. Besides embeddedness, spatial proximity to those who share the network is highly influential in transferring resources (Audretsch and Feldman 1996). This happens both within and outside of the centers. Through these networks, affiliated immigrants gain opportunities to share their own resources and access the resources of others. Furthermore, access to external knowledge is indispensable for the survival of the organization (see Fritch and Kauffeld-Monz 2010). Social networks of immigrants also, therefore, extend beyond the confines of the senior centers. These extra-center networks allow immigrants who are affiliated with the center to bring in resources from outside and share them with others. The presence of such extensive social networks is especially observed among those who have lived in the United States for a long time. Some of these social networks are localized within the Phoenix area, while others cross domestic as well as international boundaries. They also cross race, ethnic groups, and socioeconomic class.

The characteristics of these extra-center networks are formed as a result of bridging structural holes (Burt 1992) that add to the intra-center resources and are contingent on the experiences of the individual's life course in the following three areas—work (paid and unpaid/volunteer), the organization of the centers , and individual activities (hobbies). It is not only the current status of participation in work (paid or volunteer), and individual activities (hobbies) of the seniors in each area that is important, but also the history of the individual involvement which influences the course of one's life (Wethington 2005). Work, volunteer, and hobbies in old age like those of young adulthood are associated with developing skills and interests. This prepares the individual for the following stages in one's life course, and it enriches the pool of resources by

expanding and strengthening social networks. The organization of the center adds another layer that differentiates the characteristics of resources that flow in the social networks. These accumulated social networks become important conduits for resources to be brought in and circulated. These extra center resources can vitalize center activities and benefit not only those who have actively experienced these networks, but also enrich the lives of other people who have not had this experience but are embedded in the network where bridging individuals also participate (see Small 2010).

4.2 Work and Resource Flow

In this chapter, I will describe how older immigrants have engaged in the past and are currently engaged in paid work, non-paid or volunteer work, and how these engagements in turn influence the present quality and quantity of resources available at the individual level as well as at each senior center. I argue that if the social and economic contexts in which the two centers of this study are located and operated are equal, the abundance of resources at the center is highly dependent on the composition of its participants and users. In other words, the more work opportunities, whether paid or non-paid, the older immigrants have had in the past, the more abundant their individual social network and potential resources will be today. If there is a larger presence of resource affluent individuals affiliated with the center, the overall resources at the center tend to be more abundant, although they are no means linearly correlated. An earlier advantage in life tends to lead to a situation of relative favorable opportunities which is a major factor in setting a positive trajectory and transitions for a smoother integration into the host society (Wethington 2005). An earlier disadvantage in the access to such opportunities, to the contrary, leads to the risk of facing a cumulative disadvantage in old

age. Although various factors intertwine throughout the life course and complicate the scene, cumulative effects, especially when compounded with community level hardships such as economic recession and budget reductions, exacerbate the difficulties among those who have had less access to affluent opportunity structures in early age (Fukui and Glick 2013). By focusing on current work status and work history, I will highlight how these cumulatively impact and define the livelihood in the immigrants' old age.

Work is especially critical since it not only serves as a means to support oneself, but also to open a venue to develop as a member of a society. Throughout the life course, the participation of the immigrants in the labor market has been an important area for cultivating social ties, skills, and experiences in order to advance careers. If immigrants are able to use their human capital, financial capital, or preexisting social ties that are resource abundant, their prospects are optimistic. Some immigrants, however, are more likely to find jobs in the "secondary labor market" (Osberg 1981). This market offers jobs that are "typically short term, unstable, with low pay, poor working conditions, arbitrary work discipline and few fringe benefits" (Osberg 1981: 133) and, therefore, considered to be temporary or a prelude to establishing one's career until shortcomings such as English proficiency and lack of information about career opportunities in the host country are overcome (Piore 1979). Many immigrants start these jobs with the idea that they are only temporary, with no intention of long term employment (Curtis and Lucas 2001). However, they often find themselves stuck in these jobs when they find that the jobs do not guarantee improvement in language proficiency or an abundance of job related information for career advancement. This is due to the limited scope of such networks whose constituents share equally limited resources (Lin 2000).

The current work status, including types of work, compensation, and flexibility of schedule, defines how the livelihood of seniors is structured. Work history defines how individuals have been previously connected to society, and how they are currently connected. It also defines their position in society, past as well as present. The position in the labor market and the connections to people and resources influence the potential stock and flow of resources brought into the center. Similar effects also apply to participation in the community through volunteer activities since participation rate in volunteer work is not universal across all groups in older age (McNamara and Gonzales 2011, Morrow-Howell 2010, Tang 2006) as well as in young adulthood (Farmer 2006, Jones 2006, Loseke 1997, Wilson and Music 1997). Additionally, routine activities in general cultivate a sense of security and confidence (Avni-Babad 2011). This can contribute as a vital means of building relationships.

Older immigrants who come from more favorable social positions serve as "bridges" that connect seniors to outside resources. Their more favorable social positions in the host society are shaped by their social class and work history in skilled jobs during their early years, some of which are prior to migrating. The presence of seniors with contacts outside the centers through paid work enables others who may lack such contacts to access these external resources. Although it may not be financially lucrative, volunteering also provides seniors similar connections outside of their own social groups, enabling them means to tap into external resources. Equally, due to the nature of the paid work and volunteering, resources that may circulate in the senior centers may be redundant or partial due to the variety of external ties held by the seniors affiliated with the center. For instance, if most of the seniors engage in neighborhood volunteer groups,

contacts tend to remain within a limited geographic distance. This also means that neighbors often share similar socioeconomic backgrounds. As a result, the nature of the contacts beyond the center may not be as different from that within the center. This may hinder the potential to diversify resources that flow into the center.

In short, a shared ethnicity, language, and migration history provide opportunities for bonding to take place among those of the same ethnicity, and the senior centers provide such environment. The older immigrants are then connected to broader sources of support by better positioned "bridges" if such individuals are present at the center. The presence of both bonding and bridging social capitals, consequently, enables the overall resources at the senior center are broadened and shared.

4.3 Modest Living of Seniors

In later life, the current work status of the study participants is driven by their work history. There are mainly two categories of individuals in the labor force: those who seek employment for immediate financial sustenance and those who do so for future income through Social Security[73]. Although the number of people currently working in this study is small, the majority work to supplement retirement income or savings. There are others who have little choice but to work in order to sustain their standard of living. These standards vary by individual, but overall, are quite modest. Others are working to attain credits to qualify for Social Security in later years. These seniors are preparing a basic safety net for their future by investing in the minimum requirement set by the

[73] Obviously, the objective for many, if not most of individuals looking for employment encompasses both of these groups. For the purpose of this study, however, the two categories were distinctly separated among the seniors at the centers studied.

federal government. In order to claim full retirement benefits, if an individual was born in 1929 or later, at least 40 credits, which is equivalent to 10 years of work, are necessary.

The modest standard of living of the study participants and their geographical distribution affect resource flow. A large proportion of center users at La Amistad come from within or from adjacent neighborhoods considered to be low income. While this is not strictly the case for seniors at You yi, there is a predominant presence at You yi of participants from low income neighborhoods and subsidized housing. When the residences of center users are concentrated in relatively impoverished neighborhoods or the seniors are predominantly living in subsidized housing in adjacent neighborhoods, the prospects of resources are limited. It affects not only their limited ability to be a source of resources for others since they already share similarly limited resources, but also the ability to maintain their standard of living if the subsidies are reduced. For those who do not live in subsidized housing, they tend to live in low income established neighborhoods in central Phoenix[74]. Among seniors at You yi, however, there are several seniors who live in the central Phoenix but own their homes and have completed paying mortgages. This arrangement somewhat reduces much of the economic burden that the younger working age population faces (Cutter, Boruff, and Shirley 2003). These seniors in comparison to those living in a subsidized rental unit are able to free up the budget others normally spent on housing and allocate them to other things. The presence of these individuals at You yi diversifies the resource flow much more than that at La Amistad.

[74] Since much of the growth of Phoenix has taken in outlying areas, the neighborhoods in Phoenix, especially in relative vicinity to downtown, tend to be relatively old.

Mobility is also associated with access to resources. For example, at both senior centers, recently arrived older immigrants are not interested in obtaining a driver license. Although this limits physical mobility, most seem to manage with regular use of public transportation, reserved vehicles catering to seniors, and rides from friends and family. This is quite different from U.S. born seniors, for whom loss of a driver license due to issues resulting from aging is often considered devastating (Tripodis 1997), and a significant reduction of mobility from this loss can be a cause of depression in old age (Lundberg et al. 1998). A majority of seniors in the study, however, consider walking and using public transportation as acceptable and this gives them a basic sense of autonomy, however modest. Limited transportation, however, can be a setback in finding work or volunteer opportunities outside of their locality. Many older immigrants at You yi also noted that all the activities such as small stores, a dance hall, and places to hear music that were once accessible in their neighborhoods are no longer available. These venues closed down as the city started developing in the outskirts and residents began moving there. The change of times that is coupled with their aging and shift in the urban development makes the seniors less active in community affairs because of fewer places to interact.

4.4 Work and Employment in Old Age

Recent studies in general show increased labor force participation among the older population. This is attributed to financial uncertainties resulting from reductions in company contribution plans and an overall poor economic outlook (Munnell and Sunden 2004) as well as changes in eligibility for Social Security benefits (Gustman and Steinmeier 2009). There has been a general shift in work related expectations and

behavior with more retirement-age individuals remaining in the labor force (National Institute on Aging 2007). Although there is a larger portion of seniors currently working or looking for work at You yi than at La Amistad, this may be due to the relatively younger age of those at You yi. These "young-old," who are more represented at You yi, tend to be more physically active and do not yet qualify for full Social Security benefits, two natural reasons to continue to look for jobs.

The seniors seeking work at You yi are relatively younger than those already out of the labor force or currently employed. The observation mirrors the statistics that shows the average age of seniors currently looking for employment is lower than overall seniors (Gendell 2010). The overrepresentation of relatively younger individuals among senior job seekers is determined largely by job descriptions that preclude seniors who are less physically agile from applying. Although by law age should not be a factor in hiring new employees, most job openings tend to go to younger candidates, especially in the older age groups (Toossi 2009). This is dependent on the type of work available. If positions are not highly skilled or require a specific level of professional expertise, the jobs often demand physical endurance and strength. Some of these include working in kitchens at senior centers and are reserved for the aged population under Title V[75]. These also include work in ethnic restaurants, janitorial and maid work, gardening, property guard and security, and construction. With the growing demands and the particular population

[75] Title V of the Older American Act of 1965. This is also known as Older American Community Service Employment program established under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Labor. The focus of this program is "to foster and promote useful part-time opportunities in community service activities for unemployed low income persons 55 years or older and who have poor employment prospects in order to foster individual economic self-sufficiency and to increase the number of persons who may enjoy the benefits of unsubsidized employment in both the public and private sectors." (http://www.doleta.gov/seniors/other_docs/owp-106-501.pdf)

structure of Phoenix (Gallen 2012), personal assistants at aging care facilities are another viable option for senior employment. All of these jobs, however, are often physically strenuous that require carrying heavy material and standing for long hours. As a result, some seniors in the study reported that personal disabilities or weaknesses disqualified them from this pool of potential candidates. This results in a smaller number of participants actually looking for jobs, and those who are looking are in their early 60s or in desperate need to earn income. In some cases, the seniors simply do not have sufficient savings from previous work to meet an accepted standard of living. In other cases, they either do not have family and relatives to support them or family business to run or assist. It is also important to note that some seniors still working feel their current jobs were exacting a physical toll affecting their health.

In general, seniors reported mixed feelings towards their current work status. This has to do with the incongruence between what is needed and what is available, as well as earlier expectations toward retirement and its reality. These include their financial situation, that is, savings and retirement income, relationship with family members, and physical condition. Maintaining independent living is of primary concern. For the majority in the study, a modest but independent living apart from family members is the goal and the standard to which they hope to attain. The need to find work, therefore, is driven both by financial need and the fear of being dependent on family members (See Saraceno 2010, Silverstein and Giarrusso 2010). This includes primarily an independence from family and relatives both financially and physically, and only secondarily an independence from social welfare. Considering the consistent desire to be autonomous and self-sufficient even in old age, practically all seniors in the study prefer to live in a

modest independent household rather than one with a higher living standard as a household member under the guidance of their children or grandchildren[76].

Since autonomous living is highly valued among the seniors who participated in the study, there is a shared sense of fear to be financially, physically or psychologically dependent on their children, many of whom often have their own family challenges or economic stress. In order to preserve independent living, if savings are not sufficient, the seniors must therefore work. In the current economy, mostly physically demanding jobs are available in old age. This is especially true if the senior does not have specific skills or has not been in a specific profession continuously over the years. As a result, most of the seniors in the study who participate in the labor market have little option in regard to the type of jobs available.

Most of the jobs in which these seniors participate are temporary work based on hourly wages. Except for one female who works at an assisted living facility as a care worker and two seniors who are working at an ethnic restaurant owned by co-ethnics, all other regular center users who are still in the labor force are working on ad-hoc, temporary based schedules. While these three seniors have set schedules which allow a rough estimate of consistent monthly income, for the others, fluctuating income is the norm. Schedule and monthly income depend on the activity at their work places, and this is directly related to the overall economy. Although the general labor market is closely related to the economy, labor force participation and income among this age group are

[76] There was only one woman at You yi who felt comfortable and grateful that she has a granddaughter with whom she lives and takes care of most of the household matters. She was, however, very clear that each month she pays her share of rent and also all the monthly expense that includes her share of food and electricity bills as well as for her prescription drugs.

perhaps more acutely influenced by the economy since they are prone to face age related discriminations, placing already vulnerable seniors in a difficult situation (Phelan, Link, and Tehranifar 2010).

4.5 Working through Difficulty

Some of the seniors studied shared their concerns about a difficult working environment. Joe, originally from the Philippines and a long time resident of the United States, mentioned that he is torn between continuing to work or not. He is employed at a franchise hardware store in Phoenix. The manager calls him on a regular basis to substitute for absent employees. He does not like that his work schedule is unstable and is somewhat frustrated because he feels only needed when there is a shortage of workers. He noted, however, that the company had been generous during his earlier years, and gave him the same position and salary when he moved from California to Arizona. Moreover, the company has been appreciative of his commitment and contributions over the years. Compared to many of his friends, he considers himself to be fortunate to have had a stable job which enabled him to raise his sons in a good environment, a luxury not always enjoyed by others among his ethnic group. He attributes the sound relationship with his sons and family to his work ethic and his ability to impart this to his children. This is extremely important given the intergenerational impact on social mobility. Because of his relationship with his company which enabled him to raise his family with such a foundation, he is more willing and somewhat obligated to be accommodating to the requests of his company today. Although his health may possibly make it somewhat difficult for him to work on a regular basis or take on a task which requires carrying and shelving of heavy materials, he would happily do so to obtain insurance coverage by the

company, for which he currently does not qualify because of the part time nature of his work. He has not reached the minimum age to receive Medicare either, and the joint income with his wife is too high to warrant state retirement assistance.

Joe and Kathy, his wife, are directly impacted by the economy. Joe is unable to retire for both financial reasons and a sense of obligation and commitment to his employer. He takes great pride in his work and technical skills, and was told that if the economy were better he would receive permanent work. His contribution is recognized, especially in the training of junior employees. Joe understands the change in working conditions and how negative aspects such as short hours and relatively low wages are exacerbated by the difficult economic situation, and he is thankful for the opportunity he has, however limited. Kathy is also working and shared a similar story reflecting today's economic conditions impacting all workers, especially those more vulnerable. She is a care worker at an assisted living facility in Phoenix. Originally from Indonesia, she met her husband, in California before they moved to Phoenix more than 10 years ago. She had never worked outside of the home nor was she ever expected to do so. She comes from a well-off family in Indonesia and never felt pressured to work for a living. According to her, she has always been a curious child and her house had a library full of novels and photo books on animals and plants. The only time she worked outside of home was when she helped her friend's bakery, which she calls it as "a small confectionary shop that started as my friend's hobby." After moving to Arizona, however, she decided to start working and took certification courses for care workers at a community college, partly due to her desire to contribute to the family income but also to kill boredom she felt staying at home without family and friends. Upon completion, she

found a job at a care facility. She has been working for 5 years, but much has changed because of the decline of the economy. Several caretakers were let go, meal break time was reduced, and 4 care workers who previously took care of 75 people now serve 100. Kathy noted that those who left worked at the facility longer than she. This may indicate that they were released because of higher wages due to seniority and the reduction of labor costs became necessary.

The exposure for older immigrants to the labor market and any economic downturn makes them more aware of economic challenges. As a result, their perception of long-term economic security may be more realistic. Kathy's colleagues are from different nationality or ethnic groups—Mexican, African (from various countries), Romanian, and Native American. She noted that she was fortunate to have sufficient hours to qualify for insurance coverage with her employer, and that with her husband's part time work, both are contributing to the household income. Their house is also paid for. This was not the case for most of her coworkers who are younger than she, are often the only income provider in the family, and often have small children to raise and mortgages or rents to pay. Kathy mentioned in a later conversation that her pay was low and she wanted to retire, but was unable to do so for financial reasons. The regular income provided the couple some level of solace in old age. If she could work in a different type of job that demanded less physical activity or simply work during day time, she would certainly enjoy continue working. She realized, however, that in relation to most of her peers, she is thankful for what she has, especially in the current state of the economy.

Work conditions reflect connections to family and colleagues (Bianchi and Milke 2010). Joe and Kathy have an excellent relationship with family. Joe's sons and family live in California and occasionally visit each other. The relationships between Joe and Kathy as well as between the couple's respective extended families in California and abroad including Indonesia result in several positive outcomes in constructing social networks and potential sources of social capital. A trusting relationship with his grown children and their families is well grounded and reaches over generation and geography, which the couple admits "a comfort." Both of the sons are financially stable enough to make several trips to visit Arizona each year. They also have sufficient space to invite Joe and Kathy to stay with them during holidays. As stated earlier, Joe attributes his stable job in the past for the success of upwardly mobile sons and his relationship with them. They are confident that their sons and the grandchildren will be there for support if needed. Kathy's motivation and commitment to work are also stimulated by the support of Joe, and partially because of this, she has an excellent reputation at work and is able to develop better relationships with her coworkers for she is able to substitute in for her colleagues when they have family emergency. Since Joe trains young workers, he transfers his knowledge and expertise gained over the years, and also has potential to acquire resources from those he trains. Joe's experience is recognized as valuable and trustworthy by his superiors and his fellow coworkers, and such recognition also invites opportunities to build social networks.

4.6 Adjustment due to Availability: Gender Role and Occupational Choice

Shifting availability of resources requires immigrants to be flexible throughout their life course[77]. Gender dynamics change in the process of immigration and resettlement (George 2005, Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, Kyle 2000, Mahler 1999, Pessar and Mahler 2006). The traditional gender dynamics dominant in countries of origin often become non-functional post immigration due to changes in the work environment and other conditions. Still, the traditional narrative continues to shape gender expectations in immigrant community in private sphere if not overtly in public sphere (Melhuus 1996). The economy and available work in the labor market bring another dimension to the dynamics among couples (Morokvasic 2013). Both Joe and Kathy agree that they have had to adjust their situation based on work schedules and availability. If Kathy has to work the night shift, both adjust their daily routines accordingly. Joe actively does household chores and drives his wife to work and for shopping. Joe makes sure Kathy has sufficient rest, and he is the primary person to prepare meals and clean the house. He shared that upon migrating to the United States in his early adulthood and living independently, he did household chores. Since he was brought up as a middle child in a large family, helping out around the house was part of life from his childhood. The transition to the life in the United States, however, presented him an economic reason to cook and clean for himself. Those capable of adjusting and adapting by taking on new roles that may blur the gender dichotomy are able to better succeed in a new environment where conditions are dictated by the macro economy. In speaking with Joe and Kathy

[77] "Animal social behavior is not static with regard to environmental change. Flexibility in cooperative resource use may be an important response to resource decline, mediating the impacts of resource availability on fitness and demography." (Banks et al. 2011: 1).

independently on marriage, family, and other relationships, it was evident that the couple had not completely let go of traditional gender expectations. Kathy was thankful yet somewhat feeling guilty of having Joe pick her up at work since she thought it was women's job to send off and pick up her partner. This corroborates with the findings of Kibria (1993), where she described that female Vietnamese immigrants in her study actively tried to preserve traditional values including patriarchal norms by taking measures to protect their partners' sense of masculinity, and Kathy may feel guilty as she felt that she was not fulfilling her gendered role. Joe was surprised after hearing my age and noted that a woman of my age should be raising children and making grandparents happy. He also shared worrisome thoughts noting, "You also come from a country that values family line. Aren't they concerned? Is it common for women your age to be single these days? What do men think about this?" Given that their shared everyday routine seems to divert from such standards, some aspects of the traditional gender expectations may be preserved while other aspects are negotiated according to necessary circumstances. While Kathy praised Joe to be an understanding husband, both admitted that their case was "special" relative to their friends, and felt privileged to have a flexible partner when the situation required change and understanding even though it might be against their traditional value system.

Availability of options conditions one to be flexible in occupational choices as well. Several individuals in the study made a relatively smooth transition of work during the migration process. Keith, in his late 70s, was a tailor in Hong Kong. He comes from a working class family. He was sent off to be an apprentice of tailor from early age, while his sister remained and helped around the house. Although they were living apart from

young age, he remembers that she was the one who communicated between him and their parents. After completing his apprenticeship, he worked in the trade in his 20s and 30s immigrating to the United States at the age of 38. Soon after arrival, he was able to find employment as a tailor for a department store and then changed professions due to layoff, and worked at a Chinese restaurant for 5 years. It had been relatively easy for him to find the job at the restaurant because of his connection to the ethnic community in the area (Sanders and Nee, 1996, Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). With accumulated savings, he then opened a small grocery store in Phoenix. He owned his business for 15 years, sold it to a Bangladeshi immigrant and retired. In looking back, Keith noted that his tailor skills allowed him to gain immediate employment after arriving in the United States, and this enabled him to have a steady salary and accumulate savings. After he was let go, and although he had no experience as a professional cook, his early childhood experience in cooking with his family laid the foundation, and during the apprenticeship, he had no choice but to cook for not only himself but also for others working in the shop. Once in the United States without a job, connections to the Chinese community enabled him to find the job at a Chinese restaurant. This job enabled him to support his family as well as helping him widen job prospects in Phoenix. Although difficult, he viewed this period as one in which he was able to support his family and allow his sons to attend college with the help of his connections to his ethnic community. When he moved on to become a small grocery shop owner, his customers included co-ethnics as well as other ethnic groups. The store was located in an ethnically diverse district of Phoenix. As a result, his associates were not limited to Asians, but also Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and Non-Hispanic whites. Unlike other seniors at the center whose children

tend to marry within their ethnic groups, his sons, now an engineer and an x-ray technician married white Americans. Keith and his wife now have 6 grandchildren who are all living in the area. His experiences in work were partially saved by his connections to the Chinese community but his early life experiences as an apprentice also gave him an initial leverage. Building on his human capital and the social network to accumulate resources leading to an investment in his own business further broadened social networks and also connected him and his family beyond boundaries of ethnicity.

Although not everyone has skills like Keith, his work history is one of the typical trends of older You yi immigrants who migrated to the United States by their early 40s in the late 20th century. They may have been professionals or had particular skillsets as craftsmen, but many also embraced a wide vision of job prospects which can be beneficial in the migration process as well as in economic difficulty. While they acknowledge their past training and work experiences provided them a professionally rewarding and comfortable life, these seniors were flexible about job opportunities and never limited themselves to occupations only associated with prior experience and training. Robert, 80 years old, was a former pilot for a major international airline. When he migrated to the United States in the mid-1990s, he was determined that he would not be selective in regard to work. He was much older than Keith when he migrated, and exceeded the normal company retirement age. His goal was to accumulate the points necessary to receive full Social Security benefits. He initially worked as an assistant manager at a senior housing facility and then as a bus driver for public schools as well as city transit in Phoenix. He briefly moved to Los Angeles to join one of his children, again working as a bus driver. He worked 12 years in total, accumulating the necessary credits

to be eligible for full Social Security benefits. Because of his previous occupation as a pilot for international flights, he had the advantage of English proficiency and had accumulated savings upon arrival to the United States. He comes from a family of Air Force. His father participated in the Pacific War as a high ranking officer, and it was only natural for him and his brother to follow his father's foot step. Robert had received his education and training at the Air Force Academy in Taiwan and served in the military until moving to a commercial airline in the late 1960s. He had received early flight training in Phoenix and Georgia in the mid-1950s, and two of his five children were born in the United States. Compared to other seniors at the center he had more exposure and attachment to the United States, and specifically to Phoenix. Migrating after retirement age in Taiwan and with sufficient financial savings, higher education, and fluency in English, he was able to find jobs with relatively good earning power. Self-claimed an "easy going guy," he didn't feel obligated to find jobs with a high level of social status or financial returns. He was divorced when he immigrated and had little worry about supporting his family because the children were already grown. He only needed work to put him in a position to receive Social Security upon full retirement. His expectations were modest, and he had start-up resources from accumulated savings to fall back upon if necessary.

Mary Anne, a former physician and a widow from Shanghai in her mid-70s shows flexibility in her interactions with others. This includes her occasional visits using public transportation to hospitals accompanying other seniors' appointments as well as sitting with seniors to examine documents in Chinese after normal center visiting hours. Earlier in an informal conversation, she talked about her background as a pediatrician, and said

that although she was unable to practice medicine in the United States, she was able to identify symptoms and refer others to appropriate physicians. In addition, she frequently writes a health column for a local Chinese language newspaper[78] about health matters and gives advice whenever asked. She was more reserved in sharing about her private life, and I only know that she came to the United States sponsored by her daughter after her husband passed away in China. At the time of the study, she was living alone in a subsidized senior housing and her daughter was living in the East Coast. The difference from Keith and Robert is that while flexibility for them entailed a change in work environment, for Mary Anne, flexibility resulted in utilizing her expertise and past work experiences to adjust her life style from work to volunteering[79]. Although the approaches are different among seniors, their flexibility post immigration maximized their skills and opportunities. This in turn enabled them to cultivate social networks across different groups and would become the source of bridging social capital and additional economic opportunities (Lancee 2010). The timing of immigration, the age in which they migrated, and the family obligations at the time influence the ways in which immigrants decide the types of jobs and the working style. Gender also interacts with all of these three factors, making certain jobs more or less accessible and volunteering a possible option.

4.7 Expanding the Pool of Resources by Replicating "Models"

The experience of an individual can become a model for others and has the potential to become positive or negative momentum in resource building for other

[78] These publications are very popular.
[79] Although Mary Anne was a volunteer, unlike many others, her volunteer work was reimbursed of the cost concurred during the service by the Chinese Seniors Association within the framework of the RSVP program of Senior Corps (see http://www.nationalservice.gov/programs/senior-corps/rsvp for further detail about the RSVP program).

individuals. The presence of people like Robert, the former airline pilot, can be a reservoir of information for younger or more recently arrived seniors. Another example is his brother, John, 71, also an ex-pilot for the Taiwan Air Force, who retired from the military and joined a commercial airline. When he arrived in the United States in 1998, he was 58 years old. John was single, had no children, and prior to relocating had extensively spent time abroad. Since he did not have family considerations, he was primarily concerned with a consistent cash flow in old age. After arriving in Los Angeles, he continued working with the commercial airline for almost seven years, then retired, moved to Phoenix, and worked at a refugee and immigration center for six years. Finding a job was more about keeping himself busy, connecting to the community, and a path to additional security by accumulating points for Social Security. Unlike younger generation individuals who come to the United States to receive education and seek jobs, seniors who migrate after having attained some level of financial security tend to have lower expectations in work.

The job at the refugee and relocation center for John had a bonus. It gave him an insight into the social and economic situation of immigrants and refugees, and gave him knowledge of the workings of the bureaucratic system. During his tenure, he gained understanding about common characteristics of respective refugee groups, as well as immigrants and their differences. He came to understand inefficiencies involved in the documentation process. Through experiences pertinent to bureaucracies and group dynamics, he learned how to work with and around the system. Politics constantly caused

changes and unequal treatment for refugees, even for those from the same region[80]. His frustrations were also exacerbated by the demands of refugees relative to other immigrants. His agency was trying to find jobs for refugees while also providing financial support for housing, food, and medical expenses. John felt that the refugees received so much more than other immigrants, and this work experience left him with a bitter image that many refugees felt entitled to various assistance as if they had vested rights. He acquired a willingness to try to help less privileged immigrant friends, both co-ethnics and those who were not. John regularly gives rides to other seniors when they need to go shopping or have a doctor's appointment and can also be seen bringing lunch plates to the frail seniors and sitting with non-English or non-Chinese speaking seniors during lunch time.

4.8 Motivations for Work

Work in old age has various meanings for immigrants. Even though most are engaged in similar types of work (i.e., those that require little professional skills and are often physically demanding), the driving force of their labor force participation is different. Some seniors like Kathy and Joe are engaged in current work for necessary monthly sustenance, while others like Robert and John who participated in the labor

[80] For instance, a regulation stated that the monthly financial support was $450 if the refugee had arrived before the fiscal year ending on June 30, and $1100 if he arrived on or after July 1 the following fiscal year. Refugees, like immigrants, are often a small close-knit community (Rema et al. 2010), with friends in a small network. The situation became troublesome since people complained that others from the same foreign area received more financial support. "You see, the family would come to the office and speak in a very angry voice. And you hear this sense of desperation too. But you cannot really explain in the way they understand and accept. It's all about politics, you see. And I ask my boss how I should reconcile the situation, and he just says, 'Well, it is what it is.' And I am stuck in the middle. And you know, the only thing I can tell them is, 'Well, this is the new rule; I cannot do anything for you.' and that is extremely frustrating."

market in old age wanted to optimize the potential flow of resources including monetary, informational, and relational. Still others like Keith were in the labor force as a continuum of earlier years in the initial stage of migration and later faced a need of adjustment as the economic climate changed. In their old age, the financial condition of the first group is more pressing, while the latter two groups have a more relaxed approach to labor participation. The factor that differentiates between the two is work history and the conditions in which these works are embedded. For instance, it was to their advantage if earlier jobs allowed the individual to hone skills that would become a potential leverage to find jobs post migration. If the prior jobs allowed accumulation of savings and job training that enabled one to develop skills that have wider relevance beyond a certain industry this was helpful as was a proficiency in English. On the other hand, if the prior jobs did not contribute to the building of skills and were just physically oriented, or if the individuals had little or no work experience, the foundation on which to build one's career path would be fragile. These initial advantages and disadvantages set immigrants on different paths creating more favorable conditions for some and more challenging ones for others. Work environment complicates both the development of human capital and social capital and influences the career paths that follow, further defining their social location[81]. This cumulative advantage (Mutchler and Burr 2011, Wakabayashi 2009) tends to have influence throughout the life course, despite a disconnect from familiar contexts and value systems to areas that are unfamiliar and inevitable in the migration process. A great majority of immigrants are not able to retain the same level of authority

[81] By social location, we refer to persons' positions within interconnected power hierarchies created through historical, political, economic, geographic, kinship-based and other socially stratifying factors (Pessar and Mahler 2003: 816).

and responsibility attached to previous work, and when the context changes in the post migration stage, they must become flexible about occupational preferences and choices (Bauder 2003). This may be due in part to an inability to transfer certain credentials in education or licenses, a disadvantage in language proficiency, and older age making them less desirable for job training, or all else being equal, a preference by employers for U.S. citizens or immigrants with eligible work authorization.

Another important factor that intervenes and influences the motivation to work is physical mobility. The seniors at La Amistad are less physically active than those at You yi, and this limits engagement in work and also undermines bonding with other seniors. The reduced mobility of these seniors not only restricts them from participating in the labor force, but also precludes them from socializing with those not already seated at the same table in the center. This social isolation exacerbated by their physical condition is often linked to disadvantaged social locations due to a life time of physical labor largely without health insurance and limited access to regular health care.

The physical frailty of many La Amistad seniors intensifies the challenges already existing due to their relative lower socioeconomic situation. You yi also has a large number of older seniors, but these individuals are very active. They often are former professionals with knowledge of not only how to effectively function in the existing society but also how to maximize benefits from the governmental bureaucratic system. The difference in lifestyle that comes from individual socioeconomic standing, largely education and work experience, is important since it shapes the nature of the dissimilar bonding in the two centers. Bonding at La Amistad occurs at a “table” level, usually among a group of three to four people with similar socioeconomic backgrounds who

regularly sit together. Bonding at You yi takes place in a more diverse fashion, in the classroom of ESL[82], at lunch sessions organized outside the center, or numerous other functions often involving a large number of individuals. Thus, although bonding occurs in both places, the heterogeneous social position of the seniors at You yi creates opportunities to convert these other forms of advantage into beneficial social capital.

Labor force participation not only generates income for support in old age, but can keep active streams of information including information on potential job opportunities for those looking for work. Chris, in his early 60s from Taiwan, for example, told me that when he was working at a restaurant, it was easy for him to find job opportunities because he interacted with customers. Chinese who owned different restaurants would approach him and ask him to help out with their businesses. He attributed his younger age and the better economy in the earlier days for these job opportunities, but it is also undeniable that these opportunities derived because he was already working in the industry and his performance was seen by others. Presence in the labor market also provides individuals realistic information regarding their economic position relative to others in the economy through available opportunities and fluctuation in salaries and benefits. It is also important to note that Chris had lived in Japan as well as in Alaska in his early adulthood. During those times, he always looked for opportunities to work and earn money. If a better opportunity was available, he did not mind moving to different company or geographic region.

Direct exposure allows them to have a more objective outlook on their current state, which enables them to better prepare for the future. Joe and Kathy are a case in

[82] English as a Second Language

point. Joe was able to relocate smoothly from California to Arizona since his work offered him a position in the Arizona branch. He had steady work and the income was stable. As a senior attendant at the store, he managed and trained junior staff and managed a department within the store. After the recession of 2007, however, the company had several job cuts, froze new hires, and his salary stalled. As he experienced these changes in the economy, Kathy decided to take classes to become a personal care worker and help the household. They realized that relying on a diminishing single income was precarious as they entered their old age, and although Kathy had never worked in a younger age, she decided to do so to reduce financial risk.

Furthermore, due to a former affiliation to a company or a profession, seniors are able to establish social ties including moral/emotional support, friendship, and points of contact in times of need. These, then become a pool of critical resources when brought into the senior centers. The degree of circulation of these resources depends on the interactions of the cumulative impact of work that is guided by education and previous job related trainings. This influences the long term health and mobility of the individuals involved. These individual traits tend to interact in the senior center settings although this does not explain the more nuanced nature of resource flow among older immigrants at the centers.

4.9 Integrating Individual Resources to Communal Resources

The resource flows at the center are not simply an equivalent of the sum of resources available to the individuals. However limited the pool of resources an individual may possess, especially if there is little affiliation to groups and entities outside of the center, the presence of seniors who have various affiliations due to work

history or current labor force participation has the potential to compensate for this lack (See Small 2010). These skilled and socially adept seniors are able to engage in various work environments which allows them to cultivate resources which enrich the pool of resources that can be shared with others. As a result, not only the presence of such intermediary seniors, but the actual number of these seniors is of paramount importance. This difference is obvious when the work history and current work status of the senior center users at You yi and La Amistad are examined.

One distinct characteristic of seniors that differentiates the experiences of work relative to resource flow at La Amistad and You yi is that the majority of the seniors are out of labor force. Distinct gender differences are observed as well. Females at La Amistad never worked outside of the home during their prime working years. They therefore have not accumulated work experience as is the case with most men at both centers and several women at You yi. This in effect limits the cultivation of networks beyond family, neighbors, and friends. In other words, the social network of women who never worked tend to cluster among those who share similar demographic markers, and in the case of women at La Amistad, equally resource poor older women. At La Amistad, almost all men and the few women who had worked in the past are retired, and therefore not active in the labor force. Lack of participation in the labor market limits the information relevant to jobs and job related training. It also precludes seniors from a direct exposure to the economic situation, leaving them with an unrealistic view of the economy and their place in it. Moreover, at La Amistad, those who worked in the past have little savings to support themselves in old age unless they were working in government jobs that included a retirement package, and they also tend to experience

multiple signs of declining health. In part this is due to the fact that many of them, both men and women, worked in informal sectors including helping the business of their family members or relatives and migrant work as seasonal farm labor. This creates a precarious condition in which there is little private means for support in old age among elders at La Amistad. Unlike seniors at You yi, lack of a stable job often made it more challenging for them to sustain a household with upwardly mobile intergenerational transfers, and as a result, their children are not much better off in terms of the pool of resources. There are several women at La Amistad who previously worked at government agencies such as community centers or served in military and national coastal guard that offered good benefits, but the number is small. Compared to those at You yi, a smaller number of La Amistad immigrants are looking for work. Some are eager to work in order to support independent livelihood or contribute to their household, but they have been unsuccessful in achieving this. Others have completely given up and manage their livelihood with public subsidies, family support, and what little savings they have. Each individual more or less pulls resources from wherever possible. Few resources flow from social networks beyond their daily lives between the center and their home since their social networks have not been previously developed beyond those who are in a similar economic situation in old age. The seniors of La Amistad are therefore lacking in resources from the presence of numerous individuals who are connected to larger networks due to work history or current work status that we see in You yi.

The work histories of the seniors at You yi who are currently working include "stay at home" women who never previously worked for pay, working at family businesses catering mostly to co-ethnics, and professionals such as those in teaching,

legal and financial services, and real estate. Work outside the home brings financial benefits, eliminates boredom, and presents opportunities to meet others, both co-ethnics and others from different ethnic backgrounds. These are arguably resources which seniors can access and accumulate not only for financial resources and contacts but also for information regarding better household management. Kathy, for instance, shared that she initially was very anxious about working outside of the home because she had never done it previously. She had raised her children in Indonesia, but when she remarried in the United States after migration she was dependent on her husband and his children. However, she always had a desire of serving others, and after finding her calling as a personal care worker, she has been exposed to this new environment. Her colleagues, many of whom are also immigrants, come from various parts of the world. Some are breadwinners of the household, while others, like her, work to compliment income. She acknowledges the job to be physically demanding and of low wage but enjoys the friendship she engages with her colleagues. The work provides not only financial support but also moral support through the friendships.

> Before I didn't have friends I can discuss things here. I shared my problems with my sister in Thailand. Yes, I also share with my husband. He is always calm and caring; he is a good listener. But sometimes I want to talk to female friends. Now, I have friends at work. They are mostly younger than me. We laugh and joke at each other, and that lighten things up. Life is challenge [sic]! And you need to work hard, very hard. And you need friends. We support each other. I babysit for my colleague's son. My husband gives ride to my colleagues sometimes when he picks me up.

Work in old age, however, also represents a physical burden and a decrease in leisure time. Whether paid or voluntary, it is important to note the types of jobs in which the study participants take, especially in relation to those held in earlier years since earlier

jobs and work experience determine the pool of safety net resources and change the meaning of current work status. In other words, the types of jobs determine whether current employment is out of necessity. The majority of jobs that seniors still hold are not white collar jobs, but labor intensive and crucial for self-support or to maintain independence. This is not the case for those who had a professional career in their younger adulthood since these seniors have more options in old age: whether or not to work, and if they decide to work, a greater choice in the type of jobs available and the amount of hours they wish to work. One group of seniors has a very autonomous nature while the other has no such luxury but to work for a simple sustenance. The financial conditions of the seniors who are more autonomous tends to be more stable since many have sufficient savings, and if they decide to continue working in old age they tend to have more flexible schedules and a certain degree of autonomy. It is noteworthy that work outside the home, whether paid or voluntary, allows opportunities for interaction with others which can be brought into the center. Because educational and work opportunities differ by gender among the older generation and that especially among Latino seniors in my study, the scope of interactions varied between two centers as well as between men and women. Once social ties are formed among women, however, the intensity of interactions are stronger. Women tend to rely on each other in multiple aspects of their lives and more involved.

4.10 Conclusion

Seniors make important contacts in their earlier work experience which can later be tapped into in times of need. They also learn the "culture" of organizations and how to work with governmental and non-governmental bureaucracies and the private sector.

Each work setting and occupation has its culture, and the level of autonomy and authority varies. For instance, a work history that includes jobs in bureaucratic settings can translate into knowledge about how to maneuver the application process for medical benefits and insurance. These experiences provide seniors with tools to help navigate the complex systems of medical and welfare bureaucracies. Through earlier exposure to organizational structures they become better informed about constraints and options, and in general are better informed about various other aspects of life. In turn, the presence of these seniors, or "bridges," becomes a critical resource for others who may have limited experience in areas requiring organizational knowledge. These "bridges" often act as advocates, organize the seniors and even negotiate with service providers on various issues relevant to the livelihood of the seniors[83] (DeFilippis 2001, Dow 1999). Because the prerequisite of a "bridge" includes earlier exposures to cultivate their human and social capital, it tends to favor men over women. However, the tendency for women to be more involved also make them a likely "bridge."

Current participation in work outside the home provides another source of vital resources that affect the well-being of individuals as well as the group in ways not often noticeable as a resource. The presence of older immigrants who continue to be active in the labor force creates channels which can connect job related information potentially beneficial to other seniors. In addition to information associated with job opportunities, these seniors can cultivate critical links to others for information, knowledge and

[83] This became clear when a local agency came in to conduct a focus group interview. While appreciative of the City of Phoenix's efforts to hear their views, these "bridges" clearly stated their experiences of poor treatment at hospitals and government offices due to miscommunication and lack of accessible translators. They were making sure that their voices were heard, and many were making suggestions to improve the situation.

resources that are not directly related to jobs, but come from knowledge and social contacts gained at their work settings. These include knowledge about better insurance and medical care, financial resources for emergencies, as well as private social service agencies and legal service professionals who would support them in times of need.

5 ORGANIZATION

5.1 Introduction

The structure of the organization makes a difference in how social networks develop among seniors, and structure defines how individuals are connected to each other, to the center, and to the social workers at the respective centers. These structures can be defined by both the physical environment of the center as well as the rules and personnel of the center. A public senior center is an organization that is embedded in the community and reflects the characteristics of the neighborhood. It is also a social entity operating within the guidelines set by the municipality, in this case, the City of Phoenix. Personnel are assigned by the city, and the council of each center is made up of users of the center elected by other members. Each center often has a unique history and background, and these differences define the characteristics of the individual center, its users, its operations, and the issues that arise on daily basis.

5.2 Geography and Surrounding Neighborhood

The geography of each center is quite different. You yi, because of the availability nearby of various public forms of transportation such as light rail and several bus routes, is able to attract those who live beyond walking distance from the center without relying on personal vehicles. These environmental factors situate the seniors at You yi in a favorable position to connect to other parts of the city, and allow them more accessibility to amenities the city offers. This can be an asset in generating bridging social capital outside of You yi.

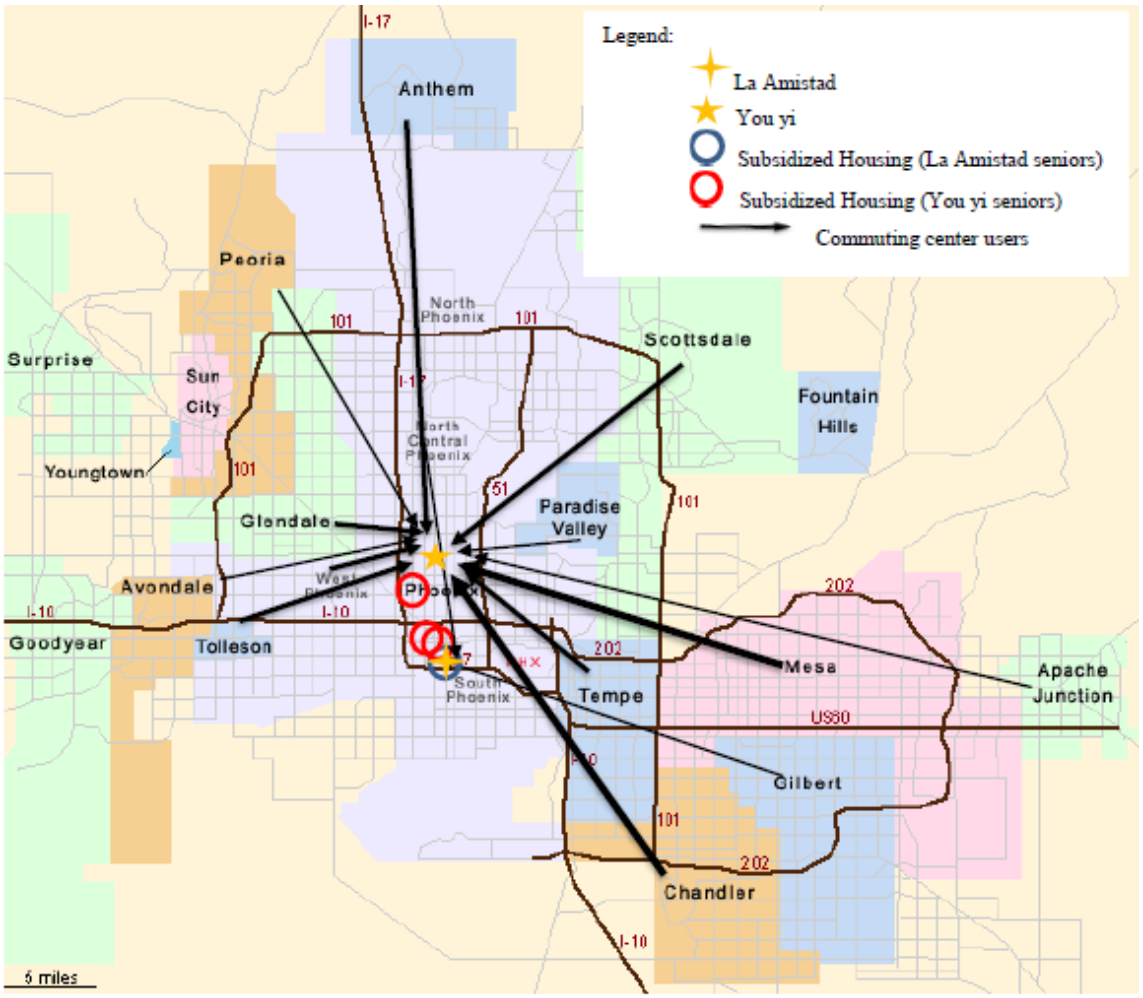


Figure 1: The Map of Residing City of La Amistad and You yi Seniors

You yi is located in North Phoenix, about 5 minutes from the downtown area by car, in a non-Asian middle class neighborhood and surrounded by a commercial area. It is located near a cul-de-sac street close to two major thoroughfares, Camelback Road and 7th Avenue. A light rail station is one block from the center. Next to the center are a gated apartment complex, a veterinary clinic, and rental storage units. There are parking spaces behind the center, but these are reserved for the managers and staff; there are also three handicapped spots. Some parking is available on the street, but most of the seniors and visitors park for free in a large gated parking lot across the street which is part of the

center. On regular days, the gated parking is quite empty. It only becomes full for special events such as monthly birthday celebrations. The majority of the seniors use transportation other than private vehicles. These include dial-a-ride, senior transportation services arranged by the center, and public bus. Others are dropped off and picked up by family members. Only a few seniors drive or carpool. Although the light rail station is located just one block north of the center, hardly anyone uses it to commute on a regular basis.

The exterior of the building, landscaping, and the neighborhood are well maintained. A maintenance worker, employed by a cleaning and maintenance company contracted to the City, is a Chinese immigrant with little command of English. Every weekday morning, she tidies up the outside of the building[84]. There are steps to the entrance and a ramp is available for wheelchair access. The architecture of You yi "looks Chinese." The façade is painted red, and there are Chinese characters on the wall. The red paint creates a welcome contrast to the monotony of the surrounding neighborhood. It has been recently painted which not only adds to a positive atmosphere, but indicates that the center has a sufficient maintenance budget for proper up keep. This is in contrast to La Amistad where the entrance has a heavy steel door and the same dull tan color as other parts of the building. The grating sound of the door constantly being open and closed is in sharp contrast to the relative quiet of the center. Fortunately this door becomes automatic once it is opened half way which allows seniors easier access to the center. The building is only basically maintained with little attention to landscaping. A prominent feature is a playground for children near the entrance. I initially thought that the center was designed

[84] Two Latino men come in to clean up after lunch and work with her.

for multigenerational use, but no children were ever seen playing in the playground during the course of my fieldwork. The only times I saw younger people were on birthday celebrations and sporadic appearances by the adult children of the seniors.

La Amistad is located in South Phoenix, a poorer area of the city near 7th Avenue and Buckeye Road in a residential neighborhood. There is a large hospital nearby, and the center is situated close to heavy traffic and a highway exit. There is a bus station on the main street, a few blocks from the center, but because of heavy traffic in the area it is usually not used by the seniors. The neighborhood consists of a setting often found in low and lower middle class communities in the Southwest—small single family houses, small front yards and sometimes fences surrounding the property, along with multi-family public housing of one to two bedroom units side by side under a single roof. These rows of houses are separated only by a wall. The area has a relatively high concentration of Latinos (Census 2010). The streets surrounding the center are well kept with wide sidewalks and landscaping, maintained by the City of Phoenix. La Amistad is similar in the structure, size, and feel of the surrounding neighborhood and blends in well. There are usually, however, a number of homeless people with empty wine or beer bottles crowding around a nearby store only a few blocks from the center. Despite occasional concerns for safety, La Amistad is located in the center of the community and often functions as a focal point for seasonal events and celebrations[85].

The main entrance of La Amistad is set back from the street. In the morning, seniors can be found conversing at a picnic table in front. It is often the same group, a

[85] Although the neighborhood is quiet during the day, there is concern about gang activities and overall safety at night. This was raised in a hearing session (or focus group interview) conducted by Maricopa Association of Governments at the center.

man in a white hat and three women who are often joined by others as people begin to enter the building. Small verbal exchanges take place in the interactions in these groups. Once inside, regular users sit together at their tables and are joined by others who occasionally join the conversation. Bonding social capital is much more pronounced in these tables than ones occupied by non-regular users. At times, two men sit at a table together. They do not talk, but sit quietly without engaging in particular activities. One notices me; I smile and say hello. In return, he acknowledges me with a nod, but there is little interaction between us or those who may share the table. This detachment is often prevalent. Many seniors simply sit quietly staring at the walls and do not talk to others at their table. Despite the fact that they share the same social space and in close proximity to others, isolated individuals are a large part of the daily scene.

5.3 Personnel at the Senior Centers

Organizational commitment has been known to be beneficial to the maintenance of an organization by reducing the voluntary turnover of members. Since committed individuals tend to have a strong desire to stay in the organization, they are more likely to accept organizational goals and values and actively engage in organizational activities (Kim and Rhee 2010, Mowday, Porter, and Steers 1982). Consequently, the organizational commitment of social workers to each center and to its members is deeply connected with the continued positive operations of the center itself.

Tenure of social workers is a factor that may work as a proxy for their organizational commitment. The appointment process and tenure varies among centers. There is often a rotation in jobs or shifts in location of jobs depending on the activity of each center and budget constraints. Social workers are hired from different backgrounds

at both centers. Some hold only a high school degree with a social worker certificate, while others hold advanced degrees in social work or are working towards one. Some previously worked with older immigrants, while others have had experience in different areas of social work such as juvenile correction, homeless shelters, and food banks working with both U.S. born and immigrants. Approximately half of the social workers at La Amistad and You yi come from the majority ethnic group which the center serves, and there is usually at least one social worker who is able to assist the immigrants in their native language. This enables many to feel comfortable in consulting and requesting assistance, but it also leads to endless demands and complaints which often challenge the patience and management skills of the social workers since they have daily tasks to undertake. Ability to speak the dominant language, however, is not a prerequisite for appointment. It is always an advantage to be proficient in the primary language but not a prerequisite. At La Amistad, a new supervisor fluent in Spanish was appointed after her predecessor who was not proficient in Spanish moved to an upper management position within the City's Senior Services Division. The seniors often indicated that they appreciated the new supervisor understanding Spanish. Although her primary language is English, her ability to communicate with the seniors in their native language gave them a sense of comfort despite her relative short tenure at La Amistad.

The supervisor of You yi, on the other hand, has been in the position for over 20 years. She was with the center when it was privately run and supported by ethnic associations such as the Chinese Seniors Association and church groups, and before it was incorporated into the Senior Services Division of the City of Phoenix. She is the symbol of the center, known to be an advocate for the older Asian population in Phoenix,

and is called upon to participate in workshops and conferences held in Phoenix as the representative for the older Asian population. Civil servants such as those from the Social Security Administration and law enforcement often depend on her to disseminate information regarding policy changes and public safety updates to the seniors.

At the time of this study, La Amistad had one full time female social worker (supervisor), Gabriela, and one female "float" social worker, Katrina. While the supervisor is permanently stationed at the center, the "float" worker visits multiple centers in the city wherever assistance is necessary. During the initial period of my fieldwork, Katrina was at La Amistad less frequently and visited other centers regularly to guide diversity and inclusion workshops. She also gave talks on confidence building and self-respect. Later on, she was at La Amistad more regularly and noted that La Amistad had become her base center and that she planned to be there more often. Her main focus in the past was to create programs and offer workshops, but increasing workload due to a shortage of full time staff at La Amistad, as well as the recession and the resultant budget restraints limiting new hiring, necessitated her to change from "float" to stationary. She said she prefers to visit multiple centers because in doing so she can make a greater contribution in the well-being of a greater number of seniors. She also noted that La Amistad is a "very demanding center" that often requires "attention beyond the center."

On the other hand, since You yi has more stability, the social workers are able to engage in various functions. There are three full time staff members and one part time, who comes in once a week, to work on cases. Other than these, there are several native speakers of Mandarin and Cantonese in their 40s and 50s who volunteer on a regular

basis. Additionally, co-ethnic professionals in health care and real estate frequently visited the center to inform the seniors and their family of recent changes in policies and upcoming vacancies for new housing facilities as well as researchers occasionally coming in to offering workshops. The supervisor encourages researchers to host a workshop in return for conducting research at the site. This active collaboration in different areas by the supervisor is critical in building a senior centered community with a strong support system. Because of such assistance, social workers[86] at You yi can focus more on delegating and management functions as well as on specific projects such as English as a Second Language class.

During the fieldwork, social workers at both centers who had experience working in different centers, either full time or as a "float," noted that each center is unique due to the population served and issues faced. One of the benefits of being a "float" social worker is becoming exposed to a wide variety of individuals and issues impacting the seniors.

> Each center has its own character and issues. You can get really consumed with the issue at hand, but when you are exposed to other centers, you then realize that other centers have their own challenges too… You get an opportunity to view situations in a more objective manner.

This not only enables the social worker to better understand the users of the centers in relation to the specific context of their neighborhood, but also to assist them with resources acquired in the expanded role of work in different centers. Similar to the seniors who become "bridges", by having ties to those they meet at work and

[86] None of the You yi social workers seemed overworked, were able to take regular vacations, and such absences did not disrupt the stability of the center.

participation in community activities, the "float" can become a source of bridging social capital due to the nature of the work. Katrina did not want to be based full time at one center and was excited that she was able to return to a "float" position at the end of my field work when a newly hired full time social worker joined La Amistad. Although Amelia, the new worker, was equally fluent in Spanish, she did not have the experience or social capital of her predecessor, and it will take time for her to be as effective as Katrina who understood the benefits of visiting multiple centers. "Float" work also kept her from getting burned out, a major concern among professions that require "emotional labor" (Hochschild 1983)[87] such as social work. The challenges of social work, is especially significant for new hires. La Amistad had hired an individual proficient in Spanish who had completed a master's degree in social work. Her credentials and enthusiasm seemed a good fit, but she decided to leave after only few months because "it was different from what she had in mind." Social work demands patience and flexibility, and daily tasks often go beyond what is listed in the job description. Turnover rate is much higher at La Amistad than You yi. This may be due to limited resources and fatigue by social workers, exacerbated by various social factors beyond the center such as poor living conditions and the physical condition of the seniors.

5.4 Inside the Senior Center

The physical setting and condition of the center influences interactions among people and therefore the flow of resources. At the organization level, the positioning of

[87] Hocschild (1998) defined that emotional labor requires "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value" (p.7).

offices as well as tables and other furniture contributes to the dynamics of the center. At La Amistad, Gabriela, the supervisor, and Katrina, the "float" social worker (later replaced by Amelia), each has her own office. Gabriela's office is located close to the entrance just behind the reception area and Katrina's is next to the dining room. Their office doors are usually open, but during the time they spend on office work, or during their lunch period, the doors are shut. Although they may want to engage and interact more with the seniors, administrative tasks are necessary and must be completed daily. These may entail private counseling sessions or telephone consultations, but often are about compiling data on center usage such as lunch consumption and other mundane activities which are given to their superiors.

Daisy, a senior volunteer, at La Amistad is the receptionist and transfers calls to the two social workers on site. She also collects lunch donations and tabulates volunteer hours by the seniors. She is a regular user, but unlike most, she is one of the few non-Latinos from the neighborhood. Daisy enjoys individual activities such as reading and painting as well as group activities such as dance. She comes in early every morning and sits at the reception counter almost all day, greeting fellow seniors as they arrive, but does little to interact with others once everyone comes in and finds seats. She often has lunch alone at the front desk. She may walk over to chat with other seniors but spends her day mostly reading at her desk. As the receptionist she is the representative of La Amistad. Since she is not Latina, however, she does not ethnically represent the center. Furthermore, she often has difficulties transferring telephone calls when they are in Spanish. This often puts her in an awkward situation, but she mentioned that she has learned to deal with it. Katrina, the social worker, however, told me,

> We have very little collection of lunch donations. We ask seniors for the suggested donation of $2.50 at all senior centers in Phoenix, but we rarely get $20 a day. We ask for the donation the first thing when they come to the center as they sign in the morning, but it just doesn't add up to the number of people that are there. I think it has something to do with the receptionist. If we had the right person, like someone who is more aggressive and not afraid of requesting the donation in a better manner, folks might feel inclined to pay. I don't think we have the right person for the job. You have to know how to address these things to this population. If we had a Latino, it would be more effective.

Daisy is an Anglo originally from New York and lives in the subsidized housing in the neighborhood. Her economic situation is similar to most seniors at the center but not her ethnicity. As is the case with many Latinos at La Amistad, she also considers the center as a home away from home and a place to congregate with her neighbors. Outside of the center she is involved in a church chorus group, painting, and dancing. She grew up in a relatively affluent household with strict parents but decided to take her chance in fine arts. She worked at galleries and worked with photographers in her early adulthood in New York. Because of this affiliation in metropolis, she encountered with people from all over the world, and felt comfortable among different ethnic groups. Although not in the youngest group of seniors at La Amistad, Daisy is highly active and energetic, and not only participates in the classes offered at the center, but also is involved with the community. Her outgoing nature and the volunteer position as a receptionist seem to enable her to be a "bridge" that allows resources to flow to and from the center and seniors. As a non-Latino, however, this sets her apart from rest of the seniors, and, as a result of her inability to speak Spanish, impedes her from sharing her knowledge and resources with others.

There are three full time staff members and one part time social worker at You yi. Only two, the full time supervisor and the part timer speak Chinese. Unlike La Amistad,

You yi has the advantage of long term social workers. The supervisor, Joan, originally from Hong Kong, has been with the center for decades, and Marcela, the assistant supervisor has been with the center for almost two years. Joan speaks Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin), but Marcela does not. Marcela, a Latina in her late 30s, was previously at a senior center in a different part of Phoenix. However, due to funding problems and resultant imminent closure, she was transferred to You yi. She replaced the previous social worker who was fluent in Chinese. The social worker who was replaced was then transferred not to a Chinese speaking center but to a predominantly English speaking one. This relocation of human resources caused by budget constraints necessitated the shifting of available resources. Rather than a logical resource allocation based on ethnic and linguistic preferences, however, the job appointment at You yi was based on employee seniority. The individual who was eventually terminated had the least amount of seniority. It seems logical, however, that a social worker who speaks the language of the seniors at a specific center should be assigned there to assist them in their language. This is especially important since one of the primary reasons ethnic minority seniors congregate at a certain center is that there is a social worker on site with whom they can speak in their primary language.

During the course of fieldwork, several seniors at You yi asked me for help in translating from English to Chinese. One morning, a couple approached me with a document recently received from the government. It read that the husband and wife will no longer be eligible for Supplementary Security Income. Personal information and reasoning were stated in the documents including income, family, and household status. The man was quite agitated, and in showing me the document asked for an explanation as

to why he had received the letter. It was a busy day and the Chinese speaking part time social worker who normally dealt with social welfare matters was not on duty. The supervisor was busy with appointments and other tasks. As I had regularly been on site for the past several months taking notes and speaking with seniors, this individual assumed that I was one of the social workers capable of assisting him in Chinese. He did not approach the assistant supervisor knowing she did not speak Chinese, but instead approached me because, as an Asian, I could pass as Chinese. I told him and his wife that I was not a case worker and that these matters had to be discussed with a specific social worker who comes in once a week. They did not understand at first, but several individuals fluent in Chinese and English translated. They seemed to have understood the situation but were still anxious about the letter and were eventually persuaded that nothing could be done until they saw the social worker. This showed that first, the couple was advised to bring their case to the person who was able to assist. Secondly, there were individuals able to intervene and translate. They were also aware that the key to solving the problem at hand and reducing emotional distress was to focus on the key social worker who deals with such cases rather than consulting with me or the supervisors who were on duty but did not deal with particular issues of social welfare. In other words, these "bridges" served as navigators for the couple as well as linking the resources to them.

5.5 Contacts with Local and Ethnic Organizations

As shown in the previous chapter, due to their higher level of education and diversity in occupational and life experience, the seniors at You yi have an advantage over those at La Amistad in being able to connect to a wider variety of associations and

individuals. This is one factor that contributes to the difference in both the quantity and quality of resources available at a center.

The length of employment of social workers at the center also plays a major role in the ability to cultivate ties with the community and expand the pool of available resources. Tasks of social workers at senior centers are multidimensional. These include supervising and management on site as well as administrative reporting to the City of Phoenix. They work on individual cases when counseling and guidance are necessary, and also refer seniors to specialists as well as organizations having expertise in areas of concern raised by seniors or their family members during counseling sessions. These organizations and consultants are not limited to any specific ethnic group but can be a central source of support. For example, because of the long association of the supervisor of You yi with the center and the greater community, she not only has connections with ethnic group associations such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, but also with non-ethnic associations such as public health non-profit organizations that reach out to various ethnic groups. Consequently, the long term tenure of the supervisor at You yi has had a positive effect on broadening the foundation of accessible social capital for the seniors at her center. Mutual trust and general support have developed over the years. The supervisor was part of the ethnic community and was able to develop strong ethnic relationships. For instance, she was instrumental in acquiring funding from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce for the building of the center[88]. According to the Chinese United Association of Greater Phoenix, an umbrella entity that serves as a clearinghouse for all

[88] You yi is used on the weekends for Mandarin language class for Chinese Children in the community, and thus serves a larger part of the Chinese community.

Chinese ethnic organizations in the region, the Chinese Senior Association was established in order to build a community center for Chinese senior citizens. This culminated in the establishment of You yi. One of the goals of the Chinese Senior Association is to guarantee affordable housing for seniors in the community, and they were a significant force in the establishment of the senior housing complex. Within a five miles radius, there are two public subsidized housing complexes which house mainly seniors from You yi. These facilities are available in addition to other subsidized housing in the area which house seniors from all ethnic groups. The two buildings, however, one of which was recently completed in 2011, are the result of mobilization by the Chinese community. The leaders of the community in business and state government were successful in lobbying to have the development qualified as subsidized housing.

During a visit to the site, which was still under construction in September of 2010, Rick, in his late 60s, introduced himself as a second generation Chinese involved in the project, and proudly showed me around the building. He emphasized that the project would not have been possible to complete without strong support from the Chinese community. Most significant was the committed involvement and leadership of those who aggressively lobbied the Housing Department of the City of Phoenix to classify the facilities as subsidized affordable housing. In short, the relatively comfortable housing of seniors at You yi can be attributed to the breadth of resources available in the Chinese community. In contrast, this cannot be found with seniors at La Amistad.

Finding affordable housing is always more challenging for recently arrived immigrants on a tight budget. Although there is often the expectation of a multigenerational household in which the older immigrant lives with the visa sponsoring

children, this can create conflicts which may be mitigated by separate housing for the parents. The clash of expectations often causes arguments which may lead to an uncomfortable, if not hostile environment at home for all involved parties. Amy, originally from Taiwan, came to see the building of the new apartments. She had lived with her husband, who worked on a diplomatic mission in other states before he died. Prior to his passing, she had her own trading business, but decided to close down the business and moved to Arizona to join her daughter. Upon seeing the construction of the new subsidized housing, she was ecstatic.

> I am so excited about this project. I will apply…Oh yes! I hope I will be selected. My daughter lives in the city with her husband and children. She is very successful and has a large house in Phoenix[89]. I am proud of her. She has an extra bedroom so I used to live with her, but I felt quite suffocated like I always had to work around their schedule and couldn't go out whenever I wanted. You see, I like to go out and see my friends and do things with them, but I felt like I had to ask my daughter before making decisions to do so. It's funny. When you grow up and your children also have their independent lives, you really don't want to live with them in the same house. It's wonderful to have your family close by…but just not in the same house. It becomes just too much… for both of us.

Some seniors at both centers actively seek subsidized housing as a primary option. This tendency is observed among those who have lived in the United States for a long time, whether alone or with their spouse and partner, but at You yi, this is also common for those who have lived by themselves before joining their adult children. At the new housing construction site, I met a daughter whose parents, members of You yi, were living in older buildings across from those under construction. She and her husband own a restaurant in the city. According to Rick, our guide and a U.S. born son of a renowned leader in the Chinese community in Phoenix, their business is quite successful,

[89] I was told that the daughter works for City of Phoenix judiciary branch.

and they have a large house outside of the downtown area. The daughter mentioned that she had invited her parents to come and stay with them, but they made it clear that they would rather be around other seniors and able to converse in their native language with those of their own age group who share similar experiences. They now visit each other regularly, and so far things have been working well. She shared a concern, however, that her father is starting to show signs of frailty, and eventually this may force a change in the housing arrangement. For the moment everyone is content. On hearing our conversation, Amy added,

> You have your own life and we don't want to be a burden. We have a lot of fun times together here too, especially if you like mah-jongg and karaoke. I often have a little cooking club at my apartment. It really is a nice thing to have friends around our age living near and are able to talk in Chinese.

This type of affordable housing is a desired option for older immigrants who want to live independently. If seniors live with their children, they may not be able to connect with other seniors outside of the center because of the limited availability of transportation. When they live in the same apartment complex, however, they are able to visit one another more regularly and do not need to depend on their children as much for transportation and other services. Such independent living in this specific neighborhood has been made accessible due to the efforts of active members of the Chinese community. Since these complexes are publicly subsidized and listed along with other public housing in the registry, they are not exclusive to Chinese seniors and are supposed to accept non-Chinese residents with limited income. However, the name of the housing community was Chinese, and the vast majority of seniors at the subsidized housings consist of recent immigrants from China.

Studies show that those who speak little English or are linguistically isolated, and less informed about the social welfare system in the United States are considered to be the least able to independently obtain access to public assistance (Pottie, Ortiz, and tur Kuile 2007). Additionally, there is an assumption that kin, often the visa sponsors, are often financially able to support if not provide housing for older immigrants (Hieber, D'Addario, and Sherrell 2009). This often leads to the conclusion that older immigrants are less likely to live in public housing. Furthermore, close family networks (often confirmed by visa sponsorship) often result in the public perception that the immigrant population among homeless population is small. However, Tanasescu and Smart (2010) argue that the buffering capacity of social networks are finite, and when there are more people who are dependent on others, and when the dependency exceeds the capacity of social network, families and friends are no longer able to support the older immigrant population. This precarious nature surrounding immigrants and their sponsors become acute in times of economic difficulty, and ultimately means an increase of housing insecure people among the immigrant population.

I therefore suggest that some reasons for the relatively low homelessness among older Chinese immigrants may be partially attributed to the presence of various organizations that go beyond the immediate social networks of older immigrants. Due to connections to the ethnic community, moreover, the Chinese seniors attached to You yi have greater access to subsidized housing than other seniors who may be equally qualified or even more qualified. Although individual resources may be limited among both the seniors as well as their immediate family, membership in the senior center may create the opportunity for a more comfortable living for the older immigrants. In order for

this to take place, the presence of well-informed family members is highly critical. They are the key figures in navigating the system to achieve the desired result in obtaining housing for their parents.

While I was in the field, You yi hosted an information session for applying for the subsidized apartments. The notice of the event was widely disseminated to members of the community. Many seniors, including non-regular users, attended the session with their sons and daughters. It was held on a week day morning, but the center was crowded. It attracted as large a crowd as those on seasonal ethnic celebrations. The lecture session was given in English by a realty agent with translation provided in Mandarin by the supervisor. Most questions came from family members, and they in turn filled out the necessary application forms.

In many cases the decision of older immigrant parents applying for independent housing at a subsidized senior housing facility tends to involve a joint decision among family members. Unlike other subsidized housing for seniors which tend to attract those from a wider demographic spectrum, the seniors at You yi who apply for subsidized housing may have limited income as individuals but not necessarily as a family unit. Families separate their income to show that the immigrant parents are especially low income, out of labor force and therefore are eligible for public housing and entitlements. The system is established as such that if strategic measures are followed, there are ways to abuse available public resources for the interest of the family since the individuals involved may not actually be as qualified as others. As is the case with Amy, it is not uncommon to find older immigrants living in the subsidized housing proudly sharing stories about their professionally and financially successful children living in Phoenix or

different parts of the United States, enjoying frequent visits to as well as from their children, and occasional international visits to their countries of origin. It is true that qualified seniors may be the deserving recipients of subsidized housing, but with a collaborated arrangement with their family, many manage to lead a lifestyle that is above the standards of those who should depend on public support.

La Amistad seniors, on the other hand, do not have housing facilities organized by the dominant ethnic community. Although the majority of Latinos at the center are residents of subsidized housing located in the neighborhood, these are owned and operated by the City of Phoenix without any investment from the ethnic community. There is no organized ethnic community or organization connected to the center to lobby for housing in a manner similar to that seen at You yi. Housing units in which the seniors at La Amistad live are a remnant of racially segregated public housing built by federally financed Phoenix Housing Authority between 1939 and 1941 (Sheridan 2012: 271)[90]. According to Bolin et al. (2005), the construction of a stigmatized zone on account of racial segregation and economic marginality in South Phoenix started as early as in the late 19th century, and through the decades of neglect contributed to degradation of the neighborhood. The process in which the community developed for La Amistad was not a voluntary effort by Hispanic organizations but rather largely imposed one. This also differentiates the historical background of La Amistad from You yi. Although Chinese lived in South Phoenix along with Mexicans and African Americans (Sheridan 2012), the

[90] The purpose of racially segregating Mexican communities along with African Americans was to limit access to federal and other types of loans and thereby widening the economic disparity and the quality of livelihood between Mexicans and African Americans living in South Phoenix from rest of residents in Phoenix (Sheridan 2012).

majority of seniors at You yi today did not originate in South Phoenix or had moved out from the area decades ago. Among La Amistad seniors, the needs of subsidized housing were not addressed in a collective manner as were with the Chinese community of You yi, and there was no advantage of having an effective association that predated the foundation of La Amistad. Even today, needs of the aging community are not addressed in collective manner by the ethnic community that would influence the well-being of La Amistad seniors.

Latinos at La Amistad made little effort to generate resources from within their own community, such as formulating concrete plans for affordable housing, instituting leadership to address these needs, or negotiating with the City. Over all, they did not have the resources to accomplish this. In the absence of such resources, they accepted their existing living conditions. If they had to share rooms, they did. If they had to look after their grandchildren, they did. If they had to follow the rules imposed by their children, who were the heads of the household, they did. If the cooling system was not properly working, they would complain to the housing office but eventually endured their request to wait until the whole project went to renovation. Since the renovation itself was perceived as a loss of housing and potential necessary relocation, they often felt little in control of their living conditions. Although they were placed in nearby temporary housing, because of miscommunication and potential fears of being reported as overcrowding and therefore losing the subsidized apartment unit, they tended to tolerate and cope with the limited conditions when necessary and for as long as required.

Supervisors of La Amistad also have shorter tenure, which makes community organizing more challenging. Unlike the supervisor of You yi, an important member of

the ethnic community with significant support from the community, the field supervisors of La Amistad come from outside of the community and are chosen based on merit by the City. With frequent changes in personnel and no effective resource organization to support them such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, supervisors at La Amistad have limited opportunity to produce any collective action which might produce results similar to You yi. Also, unlike their counterparts at You yi, few adult children at La Amistad are socially and economically well off, and there are even cases in which the seniors themselves provide housing as well as basic daily necessities and support their adult children and grandchildren. As a result, although there may be children who want to help their older parents obtain better living conditions, they are unable financially to do so. Several factors must align in order for collective community action to produce desirable results (Rubin, Rubin, and Doig 1992)[91]. This requires considerable planning and organizing as well as resources in many different forms, most of which are lacking in La Amistad. Given that not only an immediate locality but additionally its neighboring localities exert influence in social integration of immigrants (Tselios et al. 2014), the presence of viable community organizations beyond the immediate locality of a senior center is critical and that the collaboration of the senior center with those organizations will likely affect in facilitating the integration of older immigrants. The concentrations of Latinos in the neighborhood where La Amistad resides did not act in favor of delivering efficient services for the targeted population such was the case of small but growing Mexican immigrants in rural Montana (Schumalzbauer 2009). The history and the

[91] The authors claim that in order for the organizing effort to bear fruit, strategies in fund raising and news releases as well as orchestrating various political actions while constantly seeking academic knowledge are vital.

geography of the growth of ethnic minority differed tremendously between the two regions, resulting in different opportunities and challenges.

Many seniors from La Amistad shared stories about issues relating to current housing. Diana, a long-time resident of the neighborhood who grew up in Texas and migrating with family from one farm to the next in her early years, complained about her air conditioner saying that she must go to the center to cool off and often stays there long after others have left. When I visited her at her apartment, however, I noticed that it was not only the poor functioning air conditioner that was causing problems, but the number of residents and an oversized TV that were adding to the heat. She has a daughter and two granddaughters living with her. The daughter's boyfriend was visiting at the time. Diana showed me around her one bed room apartment where four or five people sleep. Two (or three) sleep in the living room, and she shares a bed with one of her granddaughters. After we left her apartment, she said,

> Too many people in the house, don't you think? But my daughter is out of work right now…so I said to her to come and live with me. I was living alone before that, but ever since she has been out of work, my household became big.

She added that she often has her own boyfriend at the apartment and he divides time between the family of his own daughters and her place. Occasionally, when everyone is there, the one bedroom apartment has six occupants. She manages within the available conditions rather than trying to change them, because she feels powerless to affect any significant change and also her wish to help her loved ones when they are going through difficult times. Similarly in the spirit of helping the loved ones, other seniors share what they receive from the food bank each week with family and friends. This unexpected responsibility and the role reversal (or rather a continuation) as provider of their adult

children in difficult times are experienced by many seniors at La Amistad. However, doubling or tripling up in one bedroom subsidized apartment or giving and receiving extra food between the seniors are done covertly. This is because subsidized housing and food bank have strict guidelines beneficiary must follow. If they fail, it could jeopardize their eligibility (Desmond 2012). As a result, the situation which Diana and others face is a dead-end scenario in time of recession.

5.6 Conclusion

The sense of powerlessness among seniors at La Amistad is due not only to the limitations of individual assets but more also due to the significant limitations of organizational resources that surround the center. While seniors at You yi are able to pool resources by taking advantage of "bonding" and "bridging" social capital at both individual and organizational level, La Amistad is not able to do so due to the absence of strong organizational support as well as individual assets, which may be associated to some degree to the differences in the history of how each senior center community has developed. The presence of informed and educated seniors who can effectively demand services and families who know the system and are supported by effective organizations create an atmosphere which enhances civic cooperation and makes the most use of available opportunities. Absence of a negative legacy of structural inequality as well as a strong individual and organizational advantage enabled the Chinese community to draw resources in more coherent and collaborative manner for You yi seniors. These differences gave a magnitude of leverage to seniors at You yi and a sense of complacency among those at La Amistad.

6 INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITIES AND HOBBIES

6.1 Introduction

Use of time at the senior center varies widely among individuals. Each member may have a different way of interacting with other seniors and social workers as well as in making use of available resources. Similar to the classic study of classrooms within a school by Rebecca Barr and Robert Dreeben, How Schools Work (1983), how time is spent outside of the senior center often influences these behaviors, and how time is spent in the center influences how one engages with the outside world. As people proceed in their life course, their use of time begins to diverge by preferences as well as barriers induced by demographic markers. These factors interact and are often associated with the availability and accessibility of opportunity structures at a younger age, which are then exacerbated by the social network which individuals cultivate and engage in over the course of their adulthood. The social inequality observed in early age is carried over to old age and reconfirmed through institutions such as the senior center.

Factors affecting opportunity structures are cumulative in nature. Early school experiences impact whether the student will successfully complete secondary education and continue on to post-secondary education (Heckman 2000). When explored on a micro level, the context within schools also creates a different learning climate for students in college bound classes and non-college bound classes (Oaks 2005). Since education is associated with job opportunities and potential earnings, the differences in education influence accessible financial and informational resources. Each transition from education and labor is not necessarily a decision at a given point in time, but one based on options developed cumulatively in the process. If each transition diverts one

person to a certain trajectory and another into a different path, there eventually may be a considerable gap between the two individuals in their late adulthood. With the hope of understanding how various opportunity structures may have shaped the later lives of adults in the study, I have examined the activities and hobbies in both the past and present. In addition to exploring at the individual level, I will show connections between how activities of an individual may impact the ways in which affiliated members are connected to each other at the center as well as to others important to the center, and how these activities continually influence the ebb and flow of resources at the center.

It is difficult for those who have left school and entered the labor force at a young age to engage in individual activities and hobbies which may give them opportunities to explore interests, which then become a factor in furthering their career paths and social capital accumulation. Lack of investment in individual activities and hobbies due to economic pressures may not only impede individuals from full development of human capital but may also limit the scope of their social circles. It is undeniable that earlier experience, though not exclusively, sets a trajectory evidenced in later life.

Individual activities and hobbies cultivate interest and passion, thereby influencing one's life. As Virginia Woolf noted in her famous book, *A Room of One's Own* (1929), each individual must have space to explore and cultivate one's desires to fulfill oneself. As often critiqued, the importance emphasized by Woolf may only be a middle class luxury since individual space may not be affordable for the less fortunate or those who come from different cultural norms. Unlike the middle class who often have an option to invest time and resources on education or individual activities and hobbies, some people have little option but to become a wage earner at an early age to support

family. Some relevance to Woolf's thesis, however, is supported by other studies (Arieti 1976, Bush 1969, Storr 1988). One should consider how her thesis is developed in the everyday lives of individuals throughout their life course. In this chapter, I focus on how individual activities and hobbies in the past and present can contribute to the well-being of seniors. I will demonstrate that what may seem as individual matters such as activity and hobby actually go beyond mere personal satisfaction and shape opportunities for interactions with others both within and outside of the centers. In other words, solitary activities allow one to not only generate personal fulfillment in later life but also to become a viable resource which binds people together and benefits the entire group.

Individual activity has greater potential to expand and connect people than often assumed. What seems as an activity completed solely by an individual may easily become a social activity when conducted in a communal setting. These activities are informal and often orchestrated in an organic manner, and around these individual activities sprouts a sense of belonging and community. Since members contribute to the available resources at the center, the nature of individual activities in which seniors engage outside of the center are not independent of the total pool of resources.

6.2 Solitary Activity in Older Population

Informal activities take place in the free time of individuals both within and outside of the senior center. Since both centers are made of a large communal space with no partitions to create smaller private spaces, often participating in individual activities at the center may at first seem odd. Once we learn, however, that each individual has various voluntary or involuntary preferences and restraints, it starts to make sense why seniors may engage in individual activities at the center. Although time spent may vary,

many users engage in various individual activities. Some start the moment they arrive. Unlike those who come to the center mainly to socialize, these seniors greet social workers and fellow seniors as they enter but spend little time socializing. They quickly proceed to their areas and begin individual activities. These may include reading, working on crossword puzzles, sending emails using the center computers, and making arts and crafts. Some also utilize facilities such as exercise, while others may play the piano[92].

Although solitude is an unavoidable part of our lives, it is often considered as a risk factor in development and life satisfaction. Lemon, Bengtson, and Peterson (1972) first developed a systematic testing of the activity theory of aging, which proposes that the key to successful aging lies in continuous social participation and interactions with the community. A decade later, researchers refined this model, reporting that while results were mixed, informal activity frequently contributed positively to the life satisfaction of respondents, while formal activities often had a negative effect on life satisfaction (Longino and Kart 1982). Therefore, communal activities, both formal and informal, can contribute positively as well as negatively to one's life satisfaction depending on the nature of these activities.

More recent studies have focused on the senior population with physical and mental difficulties. Late life depression is a common issue in the aging population, and the magnitude of this can be accelerated if not diagnosed and properly treated. Depression is a primary reason which hinders participation in social activities, and this

[92] Exercise equipment is only available at You yi, but pianos are available at both centers.

also applies for people with spouses who suffer from health conditions including depression (Utz et al. 2002). Despite the onset of depression, there are ways to stabilize and even reverse the effect. Hong, Hasche, and Bowland (2009) reported that those participating in social activities are less likely to be depressed, and those identified as depressed at the onset of the study showed a reduced level of depression over time as participation in social activities increased. Although the causality is yet to be determined, negative correlation between participation in social activities and depression is replicated in studies. Similarly, positive results have been reported for cognitive ability among seniors who participate in individual activities (Singh-Manoux, Richards, and Marmot 2003). These results of social and individual activities in old age further encouraged me to explore this area in the conducted study.

Studies have shown that the meaning attached to solitary time and individual activity changes across one's life course. Larson (1990), while noting that solitude has both potential and liability, indicated that people place a meaning of loneliness and passivity on experiences of daily solitude, and this notion is more acute among adolescents than seniors. As people age, solitude becomes more commonplace, and for this reason less emotionally burdensome (Larson 1990). Even though solitude in adolescence may be emotionally taxing, since some solitude is a vital part of individual development, it is often dealt with in a less stressful manner. In contrast, although negative emotional impact was not identified during the duration of study, Larson (1990) also acknowledges that extended solitude in old age is often associated with a greater negative impact.

The effect of solitude varies not only across life course but also by quantity and quality. While literature indicates that a higher frequency of social interaction in one's life is associated with more positive outcomes in the well-being of an individual and reduces the notion of loneliness (see Larson 1990), the quality matters more than its quantity (Franzoi and Davis 1985). Most of the studies that focus on the nature of social interactions, however, are conducted among adolescents, and we know little about how this interaction might unfold among older adults (see Davis and Kraus 2006, Segrin 2003).

Guided by these perspectives on solitude and individual activity, I highlight in this chapter how the seniors in my study have experienced both solitude and investment in individual activities and hobbies over time, and how they have viewed these experiences. Furthermore, I draw a link between how past experiences and the individual's interpretation of solitude both past and present are reflected in time spent at the senior centers. I also note the connection between how these individual experiences influence the pool of resources which may be accessible to other users at the respective centers, and the association between individual activities and hobbies and communal resources which may or may not be beneficial to the group as a whole.

6.3 Individual Activity as a Means to Connect

People take up individual activities which they enjoy in early life, and seniors in my study are no exception. Over the years they have cultivated their passion, talents, knowledge, and skills through engaging in various activities. Some may be passionate about certain activities, while others are newcomers to those pursuits. There are also others who extend their profession to an activity after retirement. What all these seniors

have in common is that individual activities keep them engaged and may also become vital opportunities to connect with others.

There are a few exuberant music aficionados at La Amistad. Johan, a Polish immigrant who is a regular, comes to the center around lunch time. He lives in the neighborhood and is wheelchair bound. Compared to most of the seniors at La Amistad, Johan is robust and relatively young, and this distinguishes him from others. His non-Latino background also sets him apart. He started playing piano as a child in Poland, and continued to play sporadically after immigrating to the United States at a young age. Although he did not speak much about the family he grew up in, given that he was in his late 50s at the time of his study, Poland in his young age had just experienced a historic devastation. This may indicate that he is from a well-off family who had the resource to provide him with regular piano lessons. In search for a better life, he came to the United States alone in his early 20s, started working in carpentry, and started his own family. Early in his post migration days he was fully occupied supporting his family and did not have the freedom either to play the piano or the means to afford one. Working as a carpenter, his life was "hectic but sufficient" for him and his family until he became paralyzed from the waist down due to a work related injury. During one of our many conversations he shared that having worked for so many years, always in control and being a goal oriented, ambitious person, the experience of becoming immobile and having to depend on the support of others was extremely difficult. He often became frustrated with his situation and channeled this unfairly towards his family which eventually drove his wife and children away. He told me,

> You know, I really truly hit rock bottom, losing my legs, my work, and my family. I am not very religious, but you start to wonder about things. And at that point, I decided to take up the piano again…Of course I didn't have a piano. I was too broke. But I knew I had a talent, so I called up music stores and churches and asked whether I could come in and teach people how to play the piano.

He eventually found an opportunity to not only play for himself but to share his joy of music as well as to earn money by teaching others. He lives on disability income in a subsidized housing, and the extra cash helps. What is more critical, however, is that he regained his dignity from utilizing his talent and connecting with others. Occasionally, he said he gets upset because his pupils come in without sufficient practice.

> I have always loved music. In Poland, the teachers were very strict, so I played the same line of music again and again until I had it perfectly. They would not give me a break! But here, I can't be too strict…It's hard sometimes…but I love the piano and if I can meet some children who are also inspired by the piano, I am happy now.

Johan's passion and talent, which he developed in his early days through the individual activity of playing the piano have brought back a sense of self-respect and a practical means to reconnect to a social life. He lives alone but seems to be in a better relationship with his children.

Johan mingles little with other seniors at the center. Even when he shares a table during lunch, he hardly speaks[93]. After eating lunch, he goes to the piano at the corner of the center and starts playing. His relatively well built physique and wheelchair require Johan a wider space when moving around within the small confines of the center, but Johan always tries his best to make sure he is not in anyone's way. He lets older seniors take their lunch first and always lines up at the end of the queue. He also picks up the

[93] It is common to find tables which are predominantly of one gender very quiet during lunch time. Mixed gender tables tend to be livelier and people are more likely to engage in conversation.

plates of other seniors along with his own when they finish their meals. During a conversation, I pointed out that he always put other seniors before him. He replied with a smile, noting with some frustration that, despite his extra measures to do this, others think he cares only about himself because he plays the piano so much. He also added that other seniors do not understand the joy of music[94]. They often tell him to stop playing the piano saying it is too loud and they are not able to hear each other. To counter this, he says that since they rarely talk to each other; there is no reason for them to complain. He understands that the piano was not properly tuned, but it still plays well. He agreed that some songs may have been somewhat loud, but for Johan, playing the piano was a way to exert emotions, a meditation, and a means to connect with others. Depending on the audience, however, it could be viewed as "noise," setting him further apart from the other seniors.

During the course of my fieldwork, there was one woman who approached Johan and talked about music. Tiana was in her early 60s, and her late husband who had played trumpet had died the previous year. She would often share stories about his CD collections, mostly jazz. Sometimes she brought one of the CDs from his collection and shared it with Johan and me.

Once the three of us got to know each other, Johan asked whether I wanted to learn to play the piano. I told him that I would be delighted, but it would require his patience. Our weekly lessons started, and every time I would go in to the center for my fieldwork, he was waiting with a sheet of music. One of the seniors as well as the social

[94] The seniors are actually fond of music in general, but they are more interested in different genres of music such as rock 'n' roll or traditional Mexican songs rather than the classical music Johan plays. The differences in taste are due to differences in upbringing and exposure at an earlier age.

workers told me that Johan was happy that he had finally found a person at the center who was interested in the piano and he looked forward to my visits. He would always ask if I had practiced. Whenever I was busy on tasks at the center or talking with other seniors and could not join him at the piano, he would become discouraged. On such occasions, Tiana would join Johan and tried to learn a basic scale from him. I do not know whether it was to encourage him, or possibly she was driven by her urge to understand something about what her late husband was passionate. Although Tiana was not a daily center user, what had been an individual activity for Johan and at times an annoyance to other seniors, occasionally turned into a communal activity in which Johan was able to assist a fellow senior through his talent in music. At the same time, Tiana was able to share the solitary activity of bereavement with others at the center by relating stories about her husband's passion for music. Although she may not have originally considered the center as a place to share her sorrow but to help her carry on a normal life by interacting with other active seniors, the center served as a means for her to better handle her loss.

6.4 Individual Activity as a Means to be Independent

La Amistad had others with artistic talent. Mario, a Latino in his early 80s who is also wheelchair bound, played the guitar. Unlike Johan, he plays only on special occasions and upon request. He plays songs familiar to the other seniors, and often they sing along. He said he did "many bad things back in the days," but appears amusing and friendly and is popular. We once had the following conversation:

> Mario: You must have seen me somewhere, ya?
> Researcher: (Perplexed) Well…hmm…really?

Mario: I was an actor. You know John Wayne? I was in many films with him! You must have seen me!

Researcher: Wow! My father used to love John Wayne films, and he used to make me watch them with him…Gosh, what an honor! You were in those films! She Wore an *Yellow Ribbon*?

Mario would wink at me and continued on with his stories. I do not know whether he was really an actor or not. Some think his story-telling may be due to his tendency to drink at times, but his descriptions are very vivid and in detail, and it is a joy to hear them. His stories often end with the remark, "You see…, I was something back in the days," as if to confirm his past achievements. Mario did not complete middle school; according to him, he was never into studies and often skipped class. He was, however, capable of delivering music that resonated with the majority of seniors at the center due to his shared ethnicity with them which was not the case with Johan. Mario grew up listening to these music in his neighborhood in Los Angeles while growing up and learned to play the guitar on his own. He had several siblings but they dispersed in geography as they grew up. He also left house in his late adolescence, but he recollects upon peaceful times and guitar ballads he played with his older brother.

Due to his story-telling ability, guitar playing, and outgoing personality, many people including the social workers at La Amistad thought Mario would like to take part in a news segment for a local TV channel. The camera crew came to the center and his apartment located in the neighborhood, and focused on showing how little he had at home and how the amenities as well as social relationships at the center offered important resources necessary for the well-beings of older adults with little means. The TV report was made in response to the economic downturn in Phoenix and the possibility that the center would close due to the fiscal deficit after the housing bust of 2007.

Mario later told me that he did not want to share his private life with the public, but he decided to do so to help the center remain open. He had always been hesitant to invite people to his apartment and that he liked to keep his life outside of the center private. Gabriela, the supervisor of the center, who had visited his place prior to the TV crew, said she was "very shocked" to find that the apartment was bare. "No decorations on the wall, a few dishes and kitchen utensils…and that was it." Once I gave him a framed photo of him playing the guitar at the center. He appreciated it, but kept asking me what he should do with it. Not knowing his living conditions at that time, I innocently made an offer to come to his house and nail it on the wall for him. After he gently declined, I then suggested that he could perhaps place it along with other frames of photos on a side table. There was a moment of an awkward silence, and it was only after speaking with Gabriela that I realized his apartment was more of a shelter and not a place which furniture and memorabilia bring a sense of home.

His private nature became more apparent after an incident at his home. Mario was a regular at the center and one of the first to arrive each morning in his automated wheelchair. When he had not been seen at the center nor heard from in two days, people began to worry. Eventually, Gabriela went to his apartment to check on him. When she knocked at his door, she heard him but there was no response. Looking into a window she saw him on the floor unable to move. She got help from the apartment office and was able to help him up and back into the wheelchair. Mario seemed to have been in the position for two days, not knowing what to do.

> I could tell he was very embarrassed…Poor Mario. I just wanted to give him a hug and tell him that it's OK and these things do happen, but you know…he is a

> very independent person…I just gave him his space and asked him to come back to the center.

She was almost in tears as she shared the story. Later in the week I learned that his son had subsequently suggested that he move in with them. Though reluctant to be dependent on his family, Mario decided to temporarily stay with his son.

In his absence, La Amistad lost laughter in the morning from his reality-fiction story telling. Since no one else played the guitar, his playing was replaced by CDs and hired mariachis on monthly birthday celebrations and seasonal events. Seniors often asked how he was doing, but as his absence continued, the topic of conversation shifted to other matters. When I saw him after about a month, he seemed smaller and weaker. He was happy about returning, but he did not seem as carefree and cheerful as before. He was more reserved in his narratives. He noted,

> Truth be told, I am actually glad that my son and his wife were willing to take me in. I want to stay mobile with my boy (tapping at his automated wheelchair), but I am so thankful that they are around. I had not been in touch with them regularly. They have their own lives…

Although their relationship was not estranged, Mario and his son and his family led separate lives and did not see each other frequently. Mario lived very modestly and tried to keep his independence relying on the automated wheelchair. His hobbies of story-telling and guitar playing on occasions brought people together at the center, but he never boasted about his artistic talent that he had. After his return, I learned that he drew in his leisure time. Once he quietly shared an intricate sketch he had drawn. “I used to draw more when I was younger, but I am too old for that so I do it when I feel like it.” Indeed, Mario had many talents. Perhaps that was why his stories are so lively and action packed. Perhaps he was indeed an actor. While his modesty made him likeable, the same attribute

limited the full exposure of his artistic talents to be appreciated and utilized to lead other seniors at the center. His hobbies gave him the means to connect with others, but these same activities may have heightened his need for independence and artistic sensitivity. A willing ad-hoc entertainer for the community, his activities contribute tremendously to the pool of resources at the center but did not gain him as much recognition from his fellow seniors as he deserved nor did it transfer into him leading a painting or guitar class at La Amistad. His contribution, although considerable effort was exerted, did not resonate with his fellow seniors, and the social network therefore did not extend beyond the confines of the center.

6.5 From Individual Activity to Communal Activity

Individual activities and hobbies that women engage in tend to have a more communal effect. At La Amistad, Laura in her early 60s had always been fascinated with arts and crafts, especially jewelry making. Previously a resident in the neighborhood of the center but currently living about 40 minutes away, she only comes to the center once a week and often brings in some material she is making and shows them to her friends. “I love making jewelry...I love wearing earrings like crazy. See, these I am wearing right now, I made it to match this shirt. Aren’t they adorable?” She has a fine taste in combining colors and types of materials. When I asked her about her jewelry making, she replied, “It’s a long story, dear. I won’t stop once I start talking about my jewelry making. I am a bit of a fanatic!”

Laura is obviously passionate about her hobby and enjoys talking about it to others. She was introduced to jewelry making with beads when she was in her early 50s. At that time, Laura used very small beads and thin wires and made intricate design

patterns. She picked up the hobby when she decided to leave her office job. As she got older and her eyes became weaker, she moved on to larger beads. She also explores other materials such as stones and feathers to refine her designs. She uses the internet to search for some inspiration and also visits different craft stores at least once every couple of weeks.

> My doctor told me that this is great. I mean working with beads and making jewelry really keep me alert and active too. It's a funny thing. I can spend hours after hours at craft stores! Ha ha, of course, I never take my husband along when I go to those places. He would be bored to death and I also want to chat with the girls at the store. Oh, they all love my earrings! So, I sometimes give them away. I make so many but only few of them stay with me. I often give them as gifts or sell them.

She enjoys sharing her passion and teaching others her craft and appreciates the respect and admiration received from her fellow seniors and her friends outside of the center. By giving and selling her hand made jewelry, she engages in social transactions with her peers and new encounters as well as strengthening the social ties that she has had over the years.

There are many women who also are involved in arts and crafts such as knitting, sewing, and embroidery at both La Amistad and You yi. Not all are, however, as outgoing as Laura when it comes to sharing their interest. Many view these activities almost religiously as if they were a source of meditation. A group of women at La Amistad often sit together and engage in embroidery. They tend to be relatively older seniors in their late 70s and early 80s. Similar scenes were observed at You yi. These women almost immediately begin working on their craft as soon as they enter the center. They look up occasionally to exchange a word or two, show what they had accomplished, and then return to their work. Their occasional conversation topics center on family

matters such as grandchildren. Health issues are also a frequent topic. I asked whether they go shopping together to purchase the materials. When they are making something for fundraising events, either a social worker (La Amistad) or the craft group leader (You yi) usually shops for them. When they are working on individual projects, they sometimes make a trip together (You yi) or go with family or other friends who are not necessarily part of the group from the center (La Amistad and You yi). Based on several informal conversations, the women at both centers spend a great period of time working on these arts and crafts only when at the center.

Interestingly, these women at both centers naturally congregate to conduct individual activities in a communal space. At home, even in their old age, they are concerned with housekeeping matters, and other chores become higher priority. Betty at You yi noted,

> When I was growing up, my mother used to make dresses for us…and I did the same for my girls. They wanted to wear jeans, of course, it's America, right? But I made them skirts and dresses. I would add laces I knitted around the collar or make a little embroidery of flowers. We did not have much money, but I tried to make sure my girls looked nice.

Rosie, another senior at You yi echoed,

> We used to buy large pieces of cloth, and I made bed sheets and curtains out of them. Back then, money was very tight, so we had to be smart. I used to stay up late to get sewing done after my kids went to bed. I guess I was trying to prove myself to be a good mother…and a good wife too…

Unlike Laura and the men at La Amistad, these women who engage in arts and crafts today as hobbies did not start engaging in these activities as a pastime but rather adapted to economic needs. In this way, they also tried to live up to societal expectations as a wife and mother. Economic and social realities today do not dictate the necessity of

such activities, and they therefore have lost practical utility. However, these activities have become a matter of pastime in old age and a means to connect with other women at the center who have led a similar life as wife and mother, which is now the primary place in which they engage in these crafts. Since these activities have become hobbies rather than critical tools of housekeeping and managing home economics, the women prefer to engage in them outside of the home, because they feel that any time or activity reserved for them or for their own interest should be secondary to the needs of the family. These women congregate at the center to share their pastime, knowing that once they return home, their time will again center on the family. This may include anywhere from cleaning the house to taking care of their grandchildren. The time they spend focusing on their knitting and embroidery is the time that enables them to step aside from the daily demands and expectations that they face. This shows that the gendered engagement of activities which were once out of economic necessity reflect the gendered roles and expectations embodied by the seniors to this day.

The women who participate in arts and crafts are confident and proud about their contribution to the center just as they were confident of their contribution to their family in the past. What they produce becomes products for fundraising events that involves the larger community. At both centers, the women are acknowledged for their talent, dedication, and contribution. Although they may not directly interact with others outside of the center, because of their center affiliation, their skills and talents connect them to members of the community via the artifacts they make. At the same time, the senior centers are able to connect with the larger community by selling these products and in return receive financial contribution from the residing community.

In a society where older people are often labeled with the biased assumption of being "non-productive," the presence of these women is empowering. An interesting point is that most of them do not consciously take on a leadership role in fundraising per se, but rather they merely enjoy their hobby and take pride in the fundraising result which it causes. If social workers, however, ask certain women to take on specific leadership roles, many do. Arts and crafts, along with simple acts of sharing food brought to the center, are examples of activities that initially begin as an obligation to family rather than for simple pleasures. These activities that may be domestic and family oriented eventually turn into a communal activity for these women and a means for civic participation beyond the scope of center with orchestrated arrangement with larger institutions. This shows how gender plays into the formation of social network of older immigrants and the varying interface men and women have with the larger society both at younger age as well as in old age.

6.6 Individual Activity as an End

Some seniors engage in other individual activities at the center. Navina, a Filipina in her 80s, does crossword puzzles when she arrives at You yi. With few exchanges with others, she opens her crossword puzzle book. If she happens to find a newspaper, she looks for the page with the crossword puzzle. The language barrier may be one of the reasons she engages in this activity. Since the majority of seniors at You yi speak either Mandarin or Cantonese as their primary language, she has less opportunity to meet and speak with anyone fluent in English. "I wish I could communicate more with others…But it's OK. I never get bored working on these. I like to keep my mind sharp so I have to do

something. I also use the treadmill machine." She did not seem to mind engaging in individual activities while surrounded by others engaging in various communal activities.

I learned Navina was a registered nurse in a hospital in Las Vegas, where she and her husband owned a house and raised children. She even became a head nurse at her hospital unit and managed junior nurses. This was before she retired and moved in to live with her granddaughter in Phoenix after her husband had died. Her previous social life was vibrant. She often invited family and friends over to her home for dinner. "When I was in Las Vegas, I used to cook all kinds of dishes and invited everyone over. I like to have people around. And they loved my food." She mentioned that she misses those days, but now is content living a quiet life with her granddaughter who drives her to the center. Had she stayed in Las Vegas she may have continued to be more actively involved with her peers and friends by sharing food just like the women in La Amistad. However, relocation resulting in lack of close friends in the area or at the center with whom she can casually converse, her knowledge in nursing or skills in cooking are not recognized and do not become a potential resource at You yi. Her experience in managing a team of nurse and physician's assistants and the leadership skills which she may have acquired go unnoticed due to limited interactions between her and others. She focuses on her activities independently without actively seeking out to connect with others. Although most of her time at the center is spent in solitude, Navina is content. As she noted, she is always busy "doing her own thing."

I also came across seniors who seem lost at both La Amistad and You yi. Social workers as well as regular users often try to engage and encourage them to join in some activities which vary from formally organized programs such as dance and painting class

(La Amistad), Mandarin chorus group and ESL class (You yi), as well as informal activities such as *loteria*, pool (La Amistad), and ping-pong (You yi). Similar to Navina's case, language, however, often becomes a barrier in communication unless the seniors are mobile enough to do physical activities such as pool or ping pong. Less mobile seniors who are less social or do not speak the main language at each center face "challenges" in finding their space, especially when they do not have individual activities in which they can immerse themselves. These seniors often end up aimlessly wandering around, or if they are not particularly interested in individual activities, just sitting and observing others.

Emilia, a woman in her 70s from Vietnam, is one of these inactive seniors. She is the only Vietnamese[95] at the center, and no one seemed to be able to communicate with her. In spite of the fact that she is a regular, she has difficulty communicating with others. She walks around the center usually towards the other end of the room where there is tea and coffee. She pours herself a cup of tea and tries to return to her table. Due to her physical handicap, however, she occasionally loses her balance and spills what little she has poured in her cup. She often shows signs of frustration bursting out her emotions by ranting unrecognizable words, possibly partly due to a difficult home life, and perhaps, partly due to her inability to connect with other seniors.

Not knowing how to start communicating with her, I sat with her with a paper and pen and drew a world map to show where I was from and also asked about her. After using Roman letters, Chinese/Japanese characters, a Vietnamese dictionary, drawings,

[95] According to a Vietnamese American visitor, she spoke a regional dialect that is difficult to understand even by native Vietnamese speakers.

facial expressions, and hand gestures for about thirty minutes, all I could make sense out of our conversation was her name and that she liked to hold my hands. She mumbled many words but I was unable to understand. The following week, I brought in several index cards that had some words written in Vietnamese[96] on one side and English on the other. Of the ten cards I prepared, she only understood one, "good morning." Feeling discouraged, I sat with her for a little longer thinking about the next strategy. At that point, she reached for my hand, so I held on and covered her hand with my other hand and nodded. She smiled and went on talking to me in her language. Greg, a Taiwanese senior, who was observing us, later told me that he "feels sad" that she cannot communicate with others. His strategy, he shared, to communicate with her is to tease her by touching her foot. He said,

> It lightens up. She seems to like that. I am like that to everyone. I can do those things, because I like to play with people. Even to you, ha ha, you see…But people try to communicate seriously and that just doesn't work with her.

During the course of the fieldwork, Greg was indeed playful around Emilia, and she seemed to engage with him. Although limited, there is some interactions that may contribute to her well-being.

According to social workers, she lived in a complicated household. Her husband had taken a younger woman, and they all lived together with the children of the second wife. There had been several reports of domestic violence, in which Emilia was identified as both the victim as well as offender. Social workers at You yi paid close attention to her and even sought assistance from shelters and mental health professionals, but the

[96] I jotted down some basic greeting phrases and words found in an English – Vietnamese dictionary on the Internet.

situation has not improved. As literature indicates, extended solitude, despite the presence of family members, creates an abyss of loneliness, a matter of concern in the modern society (Bauman 2000). This may have driven her to hold the hand of a stranger. What can a senior center offer Emilia? Emilia had multiple factors which hindered her connecting with others or availing herself of the resources at the center: language, physical disability, household complexity, etc. which contributed to the scope of loneliness. Still, it is perhaps the simple playfulness of fellow seniors that is more important for her well-being than various formal programs. Her participation at the center, despite all the hindrances, enables her to encounter such people, and perhaps provide a moment of escape from harsh reality of home. However, Greg is an outlier case because he was not hesitant to cross both ethnic and gender boundaries and often tries to interact with her while the majority of seniors at You yi tend not to be involved. Aware of this situation, the social workers had delegated a female "bridge" to check in on Emilia every time she comes to the center. Although they do not share their ethnicity nor do they share family situations, Emilia looks forward to seeing her once every week. Since they are both women, this arrangement tend to give a shared level of comfort seniors at the center.

In the absence of family support, a senior center provides a potential for seniors to connect with others for support in old age. However, potential support does not solely depend on empathy of others. They often emerge from some common ground, which is often a necessity for the sustenance of a social network. The seating arrangement at the center often follows these underlying commonalities. Shared ethnicity is a critical factor, and therefore, older immigrants who share language and culture come to the respective

centers and congregate with those with whom they feel most compatible. Although this is the case with the majority of seniors, there are always ones who become marginalized due to different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This deepens the sense of lack of connection and support which doubly confines one into continuous loneliness as well as creating disconnects in the social networks that emerge within the center.

6.7 Individual Activity as a Source of Information and Referrals

Individual activities and hobbies also take place outside of the center. It is common to find seniors who only engage in communal activities while at the center, and keep a private life outside of it, even though they may be living in the same block or apartment complex as fellow seniors at the center. Robert, in his 80s, for instance, occasionally comes to the center to play ping pong.

> When I want to meet people and talk to them, I come to the center. I play ping-pong and we have a good time. And I go home and listen to classical music on the radio...alone. In my nest with wine and classical music…very relaxing. I like it that way.

Classical music has been his passion for years. During his professional life, Robert, now a retired pilot, would listen to classical music to relax before and after flights. Classical music has been his "life-long friend" and led him to volunteer work as an usher at local symphony concerts. He is well known at the center for his taste in music and has become the person to see at You yi to learn about classical music or to volunteer at musical events. Robert freely shares his information with others and finds joy in sharing his passion for music.

> Most of these folks cannot speak English fluently, but music is for everyone. If they are interested, I tell them about the volunteer opportunities and encourage them to apply. You don't really need to know much English; basic "good evening" and "welcome to the symphony" will do. It's a nice deal. Once you are

> registered, you can pick days of your preference to volunteer. I chose days based on the program. They (the Symphony) would call me up when they don't have sufficient people, and I say, "Sure, I will be there." and they like that.

Mary Anne, a former pediatrician from Shanghai, continues to study medicine and areas related to health even after retirement. I would often catch her reading what seems like scientific papers in Chinese at the center. Her zeal for study and her commitment to medicine have continued all throughout her life. Although she is unable to practice medicine in the United States, she has become a volunteer medical communicator. Due to her continued studies and desire to serve others, she is able contribute to her fellow seniors at You yi with basic health information and by clarify medical situations. She also volunteers to accompany others to local doctors, and is helpful in overall communication with the physician. Since most of seniors are English illiterate, individuals such as Mary Anne who have prior experience in a specific area can be a critical resource for the center. Although the scope of her assistance may have diminished since immigration to the United States, her experience contributes to the pool of resources at the center.

Individual activities may convert into practical knowledge that becomes critical in the lives of immigrants. Grace and Cindy, both in their 60s, read through the local Chinese language newspaper and quickly move to the last page where there are advertisements of professional services: lawyers, accountants, architects, and realtors. Grace points out a lawyer and gives me unsolicited advice, noting that if I want to get my green card quickly I should see a particular attorney. Originally from Hong Kong, Grace, landed in the United States via Brazil. She was married to a Chinese man in Brazil and had a son at a young age. When he was in high school, the couple separated and the son

was sent to the United States. After adjustment of the son's citizenship status, he became her visa sponsor. Grace mentions that the process to this point already took more than ten years, but the subsequent procedures were even more tedious. It was necessary for her to travel between Phoenix and Rio de Janeiro in order for her visa to be processed. She said that for years she had paid large fees to different attorneys hoping to receive permanent residency and soon after switching to this lawyer, she had received her green card. She shared her experience and the journey to attain permanent residency was not an easy path.

> My son was here, so I would see him a few months at a time and go back to Rio and come back again. It was like my primary activity to make weekly calls to the lawyer. It was very draining…financially and emotionally.

On different occasions, others at You yi also noted that they had received their green cards in a short period of time from the lawyer Grace and Cindy identified. A green card signifies permanent residence which allows individuals to travel outside the country, work legally in the United States and, after a certain period of time, become eligible for subsidized housing and social welfare. It is also a path to citizenship. Thus, information about permanent legal residency and tips on acquiring it efficiently within a relatively short time period are critical resources for all immigrants.

6.8 Conclusion

The experiences gained from individual activities over the years contribute to well-being as well as smoother transition for other older immigrants interested in the same paths. These experiences resulted from their profession, domestic labor, or hobbies. Accumulation of knowledge, skills, and connections derived from individual experiences serves as a communal resource from which affiliated seniors can benefit. However, these

experiences become sources of common resource only when they are appropriately shared and utilized by other seniors. While differences in ethnicity and language often leave much of these resources unnoticed such was the case of Johan and Navina, bonding that occur due to shared ethnicity and language enables the resources to be shared and utilized as seen by the examples of Mary Anne, Robert, and Cindy and Gina. Disability and conditions of domestic life often add more challenges that impede the flow of resources. In some cases, patient and empathetic individuals engage with those who tend to fall outside of the network, but the ad-hoc nature of interaction restricts them to fully engage and benefit from the network within the center. Given the conditions in which bonding may occur within the center, the presence of senior centers where seniors share ethnicity, language, and migration experience are influential for older immigrants be autonomous and mutually support one another. The down side of it is that, within such environment, there is always a presence of minority group of seniors who reside outside of the network due to the differences. It is also important to note that individual activities tend to reflect gender roles and expectations, and results in a varying social network between men and women in old age.

7 DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

7.1 Discussion

This chapter presents discussions from the findings and the summary of findings from my dissertation. In the first chapter, I launched the project asking how immigrants navigate change in their socioeconomic environment as well as in their physiological and social needs as they face old age. First, I discussed how older immigrants and those in their social networks cope with the increasing normalization of policies that transfer social services from the public to the private domain. Second, I mentioned that the ways they individually and collectively navigate the changing socioeconomic environment determine their chance to strengthen their sense of well-being in old age, especially in time of unprecedented economic crisis resulting from the Great Recession in the United States. Furthermore, by looking into the history of migration and work, I also discussed that the ability for older Asian and Latino immigrants to access to resources is highly associated with the cumulative process throughout the years and associated with the opportunity structures that are defined by how they were incorporated into the host society. The opportunity structures have defined not only their lives through the accumulation of resources as a result of interactions with those who share the social network, but the lives of their children as well as many accessible resources are intergenerational in nature. Due to within group variations in immigration and settlement experiences, the older immigrants at You yi had a wider range of resources in old age regardless of their individual pool of resources, while the older immigrants from La Amistad were not able to diversify their collective resources, perpetuating a similarly

resource poor pool. Accordingly, the older Asian and Latino immigrants in the study faced dissimilar conditions as a group today.

The harsh socioeconomic environment of Arizona followed after the housing market collapsed. Together with the atmosphere that supports anti-immigration policies, created challenges for providing social services to vulnerable populations, including immigrant and mixed-status families and households. In Arizona, the vulnerable populations are concentrated among younger age groups as the high rate of child poverty shows. This population included a higher number of children of color, many of whom are children of immigrants. At a more general level, the older population in Phoenix, on the other hand, has been predominantly white and tended to have had a solid representation in the politics of the state and the local government. As is the case across the nation, the higher representation of the older population in politics has given them a voice, often a conservative one, which has garnered them a political will to support their needs prior to the recession in Arizona. This included providing sustainable senior services and improvement of access to subsidized transportation and housing. When resources are finite, this is important to consider as this situation contributed to reduce effort to provide support to the younger population, including restrictions to public services to immigrants in the state, both documented and undocumented. Even prior to the recession, politics and demography in Arizona showed a clear division: the predominantly white aging population on the one hand, and increasingly multiracial young population on the other. In the midst of this dichotomous framework, the small but growing aging population of color was overlooked. As a result, the challenges that may be unique to this segment of population often went under-investigated.

There were other factors that contributed to the overlook of this population. The long held view of assimilationist perspective considers that immigrants will eventually assimilate to the mainstream, and therefore, their aging process will resemble that of U.S. born counterparts. In other words, the field of aging did not incorporate the effects of migration and relocation as well as the influence of social and economic contexts in the early years that may have altered the life course of immigrants from those of U.S. born. Considering the cumulative effects of events and opportunities, by the time immigrants hit their late adulthood, they would have been exposed to diverging context from U.S. born and the challenges they face may vary as well. The assimilationist perspective contained an underlying assumption that the issues which older immigrants face would be the same as those of U.S. born seniors. Another factor that contributed to the neglect of examining the challenges of the aging foreign born population is the "myth" of close knit community that presumes filial piety or familism in the immigrant community, over-emphasizing family as a unit while the fate of individual seniors go unexplored (Sadarangani and Jun 2014). There is an assumption that immigrants take care of their elders within the family and that they primarily address financial problems within their family with the help from their ethnic community. These assumptions have led to the long-held notion that older immigrants would not depend on public institutions and services and the responsibilities are left on the shoulders of families. However, these assumptions do not hold in reality as presented in my dissertation. The migration experience intervenes with one's life course, which often redefines their relationship with their family and also their social positions in the country of origin as well as in the destination.

In this process, immigrants are exposed to new sets of values, faced with situations where they are required to adjust their values, and accommodate with what is available. Some may try to hold on to what they are familiar with by creating a space that replicates the community and the lifestyle from the origin country, though they are not quite the same. Others may choose to adjust to what works best for them given the resources in the host country (Lamb 2009). Still others accommodate transnationally across borders (Zhou 2012). As a result, while the host society, including its government policies, may have anticipated that immigrants would rely on private resources, these immigrants seek out public services just like U.S. born seniors. In fact, immigrants in the study demonstrated how they create their own systems of care that consists of both public and private resources and compliment formal care with informal care according to their needs and accessibility (Menjívar 2002). Some older immigrants, often in conjunction with their family, senior center, and ethnic community, strategically distribute their demands so as not to be fully dependent on their family. And by reducing the burden on the family with the support of senior center and ethnic community as well as utilizing public resources, not only can older immigrants live independently but also indirectly support their children's investment in the host society. In turn, the children reciprocate by contributing to the community resources through donations and contacts to mainstream institutions.

The loop of resource generation, by easing up the burden on family and shifting some of the responsibilities to larger entities, that is, ethnic community and, when appropriate, public service, tends to be effective in building a system of old age security in times of economic difficulty. This adaptive social security system not only caters to the

material needs of older immigrants by mobilizing family and the ethnic community but also their emotional needs by providing a space to interact with those who are in a similar stage in the life course. It requires an orchestrated effort that is multigenerational and multilevel in nature, such as the ones observed among You yi. Furthermore, this extensive support system enables resources to be shared with those who may not directly have an access to them due to their limited English proficiency or lack of knowledge about the public system, which are the two major factors that set older immigrants at a disadvantage, through bonding on common ethnicity, language, and migration experience.

The presence of "bridges" is significant in this extensive social security system that generates at the senior center. The "bridges" are the older immigrants who are well connected to other institutions and social relationship beyond the premise of center in which they are affiliated. These individuals share the dominant language and culture of the center and migration experience as others yet they often come from a more privileged background and are proficient in English. Although their pre-migration occupation was considered to be in professional job and management position, not all of them worked in the similar job in the United States after they had migrated. However, these individuals consistently sought a job, whether paid or non-paid, and established connections to people and organizations beyond the senior center. Although most of them mentioned that their life after immigration presented them challenges and adjustments, they admit that their background, whether higher education or professional experience in the country of origin, kept them afloat financially and also resilient. They focused on trying to find venues to make themselves resourceful while enjoying the company of their family and

friends; earning income was a perk for many of these individuals as they had sufficient savings and were living modestly. For most "bridges," the children were often highly accomplished professionals in the United States, while others were single. Either way, unlike many older immigrants at La Amistad and also You yi, these bridging seniors at You yi did not need to worry about their financial situations nor of their children.

These bridging seniors are giving to others, and other seniors respect and count on these individuals. Furthermore, they were also recognized by the social workers and requested to take on lead roles such as leading a language class, women's circle, and chorus groups that frequently perform outside of the center. They also serve as a medical consultant and the City's volunteer activity agent, providing other seniors information and access to facilities such as clinics and symphony hall.

The seemingly successful aging among older immigrants at You yi are not free from unintended consequences either. The continual chase to be resourceful and independent sets the older immigrants (the parent generation) apart from their children at the same time as the latter generation builds their life in the United States, resulting in the absence of involvement in each other's everyday life. This may in fact be a different look of intergenerational relationship among immigrant families, especially within the discourse of Asians and Latinos. Although many of the first generation in the study immigrated to the United States to better the prospects of their children (as well as their own), and some grown children, on the other hand, after acquiring the citizenship to sponsor their parents, hoped to reunite with their parents to be closer, the society to which they have immigrated rarely support the system that would bring them any closer. Instead, the more each generation adjusts to the ideal ways of life in the United States,

that is, being self-sufficient and independent, the more the divide between generations seems to occur. It also results in the feeling of unfulfilled responsibilities not only on the part of children with regards to care of aging parents but also on the part of older immigrants not being able to guide their children as they juggle between complex web of responsibilities and expectations. This may be the reason that, on numerous occasions, a number of older immigrants shared a conflicting feeling of a sense of pride for their children's accomplishment and their absence in their everyday life. In those occasions, they also share the stories of earlier days when they left their parents and siblings and launched their journey as immigrants in the United States. Many were told to make a living while their siblings took care of ailing parents, and many did not make it to the funeral. In a moment of reflection, they come to a conclusion that what they have is a blessing as compared to what they put their parents through. To make peace with the internal conflict then, the older immigrants rely on the integrating narrative that values self-sufficiency. Perhaps, it is the narrative that drives the society in which they have become part of, and immigrants are the successors that continue the legacy. The emphasis is also repeated by their grown children.

The senior center in conjunction with the ethnic community supports the endeavor of both generations. Hence, rather than immigrant families partaking the household strategy as literature have continuously showed, my dissertation brought forth the daily lives of older immigrants who lead or wish to lead an autonomous and independent life, and how family and community as well as public policies may support the goal.

7.2 Summary

My dissertation explored the ways in which immigrants are coping with and thriving in old age by utilizing their social networks, and to the contrary, the hindrances that set them apart from achieving the goal. By conducting ethnographic field work at two senior centers in Phoenix, Arizona, where high concentration of an ethnic minority group (Asian and Latino respectively) is observed, I described the conditions that make the Asian dominant senior center more resource rich as compared to the Latino dominant senior center given the similarly tight public funding faced by both centers in the post-recession of 2007. Both centers have a large presence of seniors who are disfranchised from the mainstream institutions and bond on similar experiences which result from shared countries/regions of origin, language, and migration experience. However, because of the diversity observed, older immigrants at the Asian center, in general, tend to benefit from their center affiliation.

I have presented that the diversity observed at the Asian center and resulting abundance of resources of seniors in their social networks are attributed to the following three factors: work and volunteer engagement and history, the organization of the center, and individual activities. It was observed at both centers that the presence of seniors who share ethnicity, language, and migration experience enabled them opportunities to bond with each other and share information and companionship in the language in which they feel most comfortable with. What differentiated the two centers, however, were the presence of several individuals who are well connected to individuals, groups, and institutions beyond the affiliated senior center. And the presence of these "bridges" were critical when senior centers were facing budgetary constraints in the post-recession and

the state was seeing one of the highest points in the ongoing anti-immigration policies. I have also described that those who became "bridges" tend to come from better social positions due to cumulative factors which include but not limited to higher education, professional occupation, and continual work and volunteer history, and that in addition to the shared ethnicity prevalent at the center. By presenting cases of individuals who have developed expertise from past work experiences and individual activities they have engaged but do not share the ethnicity with the predominant group of the center, I have identified their contribution to the resource flow are limited due to their narrow bonding possibility at the center.

My dissertation contributes literature in three ways. First, since research on social networks of immigrants has focused on younger, working age population, little has been conducted on the social networks of older immigrants. Using ethnographic methods, my dissertation examined the social networks of older Asian and Latino immigrants who are affiliated with a senior center with high presence of an ethnic group. I explored their social networks by observing how older immigrants engage with others at as well as beyond the center and presented how they navigate their daily lives and have their needs met by utilizing resources that flow in these social networks. The methodology I used, which is a two-site ethnographic study under the same sociopolitical environment, was effective in comparing and contrasting the factors that are shaping the nature of social networks at the two senior centers. The study described the layers of inequality that happen at the individual level and that cumulatively result at the center level. Understanding the inequalities in resources that flow in the social networks deserves the life course perspective of individuals and a close consideration of opportunity structures

that have shaped their lives over the years. By looking into the lives of older immigrants, the findings of my research added a longitudinal perspective to the study of social network. My dissertation also argued that the social network in old age is highly shaped by the cumulative effect of life long opportunities (or there lack of) which are influenced by structural factors such as the economy, social welfare policies, and immigration policies.

Secondly, my research contributes to broaden the understanding of the integration of immigrants. One of the important findings of my study is the presence of bridging individuals who are well connected to individuals and entities beyond the senior center and are able to draw resources from the affiliation. Some bridging individuals were able to cultivate connections to the community earlier in age through participating in the labor force. Others were able to utilize their knowledge and skills from their past work experiences and individual activities of their passions to engage in volunteer activities that may individually or as a part of a group connect them to the larger society. The findings of my study resonate the importance of continuous opportunities for work and civic engagement in the process of integration of immigrants. This often becomes a challenge for individuals who immigrate in old age, especially after their prime working years. However, I have presented that through an affiliation with a senior center, linguistically challenged "recent immigrants" may also enjoy participation if not integration to the larger society through volunteer activities as well as individual activities engaged in the communal setting of senior center.

Lastly, the study contributes to an understanding of older population and aging studies. Although the foreign born population is equally aging as the native born

population in the United States, little has focused on this population in the studies of aging until recently. While a growing number of quantitative and qualitative studies have been conducted in Canada, this has not been the case in the United States. Furthermore, to my knowledge, there has not been an ethnographic study conducted at senior centers in the United States focusing on foreign born population to date. Conducting a study at senior center at the current juncture is meaningful especially when senior centers across the country are facing funding reduction while the aging population diversifies and demands reconsiderations of organizations and services. For these reasons, my dissertation contributes to the field of studies on social network, integration of immigrants, and aging studies.

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