Ageing within Migration Context

Understanding Non-European Immigrants'
Perceptions of Ageing in Sweden

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1

ABSTRACT

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The aim of this thesis is to understand how do non-European immigrants view their ageing in Sweden, with a particular focus on the performance of ethnicity in the immigrants' unfolded stories. On the basis of the study purpose, a qualitative research method of ten semi-structured interviews with non-European immigrants reside in Lund and Malmö were conducted. In order to see the light of the immigrants' perceptions about their ageing in the migration process. In general, findings of this study suggest that ethnicity practices arise by all means. Social networks with people sharing the same ethnicities; women immigrants' under stress about ageing in Sweden with precarious economic conditions; gender roles in the family are all the determinants of the immigrants' concerns about their views of ageing in Sweden. Nevertheless, these findings are constructed by the immigrants' particular ethnic backgrounds and individual employment situations, and thus they might not be the only conclusions for the other comparable studies.

KEYWORDS: ethnicity, ageing, elderly care, migration, non-European immigrants, gender, society, intersection, Sweden.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Ageing, gender and migration have been studied over time in the social world, yet they have seldom been integrated with the thoughts of sociology or social work. Especially the interaction of ageing and gender has been neglected in feminist research so far. To be specific, age is one important part that attribute various values to people, which might be understood in a way to another life course (Biggs, 1993, p. 16). Nevertheless, I consider that gender and ageing can be inextricably entwined and extensively perceived from each other in social life. For instance, the process of ageing is not an isolated element which is solely defined by the flow of time. However, profoundly influenced by the shifts in multifarious relations such as gender and living circumstances over the life course. In the same way, the challenges of ageing and changing of habitats also emphasise the impact on women's and men's roles in the society and family, as well as their relationships. Thus the connections of ageing, gender and migration arise when making adjustment to social changes time after time.

In my point of view, ageing and gender are corresponding to both the macro and micro level, which are ranging from the dissemination of power and social classes to identities and social networks. Therefore, I realise that the correspondence between them is wide-ranging and of incalculable possibilities on the grounds of social disparities inclusive of ethnicity and economy. In addition, the globalisation of international migration has been a significant cause of the ethnic diversity that leads to further requests for thoroughly deliveries of social work practices. Specially aiming to improve the social integration of the first-generation immigrants who are possibly jeopardising the transfer of culture and economy (Forssell & Torres, 2012, p. 115). Moreover, in order to promote special care

needs to elderly immigrants and their families, to be able to understand their diverse ethnicities and cultures is vital to plan ahead in social work practice.

That being so, the overall aim of my study is to understand how do non-European immigrants view themselves being ageing in Sweden. Based on that, I would like to explore how do these three elements, ageing, gender and migration interact with each other, as well as how do they shape the lives and beliefs of immigrants in Sweden. Since these elements inter-link with the others and each of these inter-links act differently on the outcomes, hence, intersectionality has been regarded as a suitable theory to achieve this purpose. By reason of the selection of non-European background, thus, in consequence would enquire more focuses on cultural and ethical concerns. Also, in order to understand non-European immigrants' perceptions of being ageing in Sweden, to be aware of that their perceptions are constructed on the particular social beliefs is of utmost importance for the study. Therefore, based on the study purpose and the roles of intersectionality and social construction theory, the research questions are structured as:

What factors have constructed the non-European immigrants' perceptions of ageing in Sweden? So how do those factors intersect each other?
How does ethnicity unfold in the interviewees' stories about their lives in Sweden?

Furthermore, I also limit my study to the first-generation non-European immigrants who have lived in Sweden for more than five years continuously by the time of the interviews. By the same token, these first-generation immigrants in my study refer to immigrants who were born and raised in the other countries

outside of Europe until their ages of twenty. The detailed explanation of the selection of the interviewees and the conduct of the interviews for my study is in chapter four, the methodology section.

Therewith, the following section is an illustrative pattern which brief the history and current situation of migration to Sweden and a condensed overview of the Swedish elderly care practice for a general understanding of the forms in the Swedish society. Moreover, in chapter three theoretical framework which is applied to the composition of my thesis is presented by the explanations of social construction theory and intersectionality. Aside from these two major theories, the transition stages and turning points of return migration, ethnocultural diversity, social networks within transnationalism, and the feminist model of family care based on the previous studies are shed light on in this chapter as well. Over and above that, on the basis of the theoretical framework and inspirations from the previous research, the analysis section is interpreted and categorised into five parts: images of 'old age'; employment and economic status; social network of immigrants; social norms and consensus; and gender roles.

2 Background

Sweden has welcomed people studying, working and escaping from political unrest and wars for many years. Its international acclaim for immigration integration and welfare state support is one of the most generous in Europe to date, which has attracted a large circle of varied immigrants (January 16, 2014. Migration Policy Institute. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assessing-immigrant-integration-sweden-after-may-2013-riots). Moreover, as stated by the

latest residence permits granted statistics of Swedish Migration Board, numbers of immigration have increased gradually over the years. Additionally, among those immigrants, non-European origin is perhaps the foundation of the assumption of 'special needs' from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. By the same token, under the topic of elderly care, according to the Official Website of Sweden (Sweden.se), there are more municipalities prefer to privatise some functions of their elderly care and authorise private care providers to perform their operations. Besides, all of the recipients in the elderly care organisations have the rights to choose from home care and special housing public or private operators (Elderly care in Sweden, 25 March 2014, Sweden.se). However, the focus on elders with non-European backgrounds who then might probably have 'special needs' underlies the arisen from the awareness of the elderly immigrants' special needs over the past decade by the Swedish government (Torres, 2006, 1344).

On top of that, in one of the most recent subject issued by the Federation of Swedish County Councils and the Swedish Association of Local Authorities. One discovery has been brought up into the debate: "Many elderly immigrants live in big households with their children and grand-children. This means that the daughters and sons of those that have come to Sweden as elders must often work and worry about their mothers and fathers who are alone at home. Many elders also feel isolated and perceive themselves to be a problem for their children (Landstingsförbundet and Svenska Kommunförbundet, 2003, p. 11)." On account of this discovery, the assumptions about immigrants' being ageing in another comparatively different social category has been constructed to a particular group (Torres, 2006, 1352).

3. Theories and Previous studies

3.1 Social Construction Theory

For the purpose of this study that is to understand how do non-European immigrants see their ageing in Sweden, specifically in a way of interview story unfolding about ethnicity discussions. On that ground, multifarious responses from the interviewees had been expected and proved. According to Franks (2014) that people, who are from the different particular cultural circumstances, occur to think and behave differently (p. 419). As well, the formation of the contents of mind including the ways of thinking, cognition of others and themselves, personalities and habits, and even the standpoints of the interviewees' images of their ageing in Sweden are recognised as the reaction of their respective experiences which is socially constructed to a large extent (Frank, 2014, p. 419).

Franks (2014, p. 418) also suggests that the interaction between people is on the basis of presumptions about their beliefs and purposes. These presumptions also connect with group memberships, conventional ideas and so on. Furthermore, proposed by Greenwood (2004, p. 20) that mental states are constitutively social if they get involved with other people. Which is said : "a belief or attitude that is held by an individual (or individuals) socially: that is, because and on condition that other members of a social group are represented as holding that belief or attitude" (Franks, 2014, p. 418).

Many researches applying social constructionism have been done, and questions have been raised about the interrelation between particular societies and minds. These societies might relate to social practices, institutions and so on. However,

according to the recent answers that those specific social and historical circumstances are the most significant reasons for the appearances of particular mental phenomena (Franks, 2014, p. 419). As a matter of fact, relationship, citizenship, festival and television show, none of those things could have existed without society. Nonetheless, those particular mental phenomena developed by social and historical circumstances vary substantially which as well are not entirely chosen or constructed by people themselves intentionally but rather connected with facts and statistics (Hacking, 1999).

On the other hand, when women, such as daughters are mostly seen staying in the house with the old, are not widely inevitable but rather produced by some particular societies (Franks, 2014, p. 418). Such individual social forces that have helped forming people's attitudes play a ubiquitous role in their social lives, thus explains the norm of 'raising daughter to care for the old' has been regarded as an appropriate gender division of labour in some societies while some are not.

Furthermore, on the basis of the context of ethnicity that is often defined as a collective identity that holds onto common traditions and culture. Thus explains the ethnic group is also often constructed by people who share solidarity which is not shared by others. Moreover, this solidarity is often determined based on religious beliefs and practices, place of origin, and the feeling of kinship, and so on (Greenwood, 2004, p. 2). Therefore, in the studies relevant to migration topics that are interrelated to individuals coping with new societies and cultural transformations, ethnic groups, that are constructed by societies, have been extensively brought up in the research. Moreover, some people in their ethnic groups tend to reconcile themselves whilst mark people from the other groups disparate from them. For instance, one of the interviewees from the Philippines

had expressed her confidence in representative of her ethnic group by indicating 'Every Filipino would tell you the same thing'.

All in all, on account of the roles of social construction theory, the non-European immigrants' impressions of old age, gender roles, and social norms are all socially constructed factors that would impact on their ageing perceptions.

3.2 Intersectionality

According to Taylor et al. (2011, p. 99, 143), intersectional studies have been important in clarifying how modes of different subjects systematically entwine each others. In a way that has focused primarily on gender, ethnicity and class. Additionally, one important reason of why do I choose intersectionality theory is that it reflects the complexity of everyday life and analyses how people are positioned in multiple categories (Taylor et al., 2011, p. 137). For instance, in my study, although I have interviewees originally from the same culture, that does not indicate they are positioned to be analysed identically since gender, class, age, and education still vary sizeably. The strength of intersectionality crystallises social relations in a particular social group and addresses the complexities within or across groups (Taylor et al., 2011, p. 102). In the mean time, It also helps analysing gender and power relations in a particular immigrants group, and how do these multiple ethnic groups interweave one and another in my research. All in all, instead of finding the righteous, the theory of intersectionality emphasising more on addressing and understanding social groups by bringing focuses of various identity categories and defining classes in the standpoints of the social world (Taylor et al., 2011, p. 137, 240).

Over and above that, due to the primary concern of feminist work in intersectionalities debates, and contemporary intersectionality takes many forms including migration, transnational cooperation, communication, population ageing, and has many implications for gender relations (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 94-99). Hence, in my research of non- European immigrants ageing in Sweden, it is likely to bring considerable reflections on the social meanings of ageing. For instance, there might be greater changes of how people define old age through geographical mobility and women's and men's roles in work and family. Contemporary relations of ageing and gender power has thus become more complicated (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 95). However, through ageing brings greater differences, it can reduce some men's power, but it does not necessarily bring changes. As Crenshaw states "Intersectionality is what is done by people who are doing the doing (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 133)." I agree with her statement on account of that intersectionality serves as a significant promotion that helps us think through something across boundaries. This promotion is used to deal with the complexities and intersection of different social concerns while recognising those differences are puzzling (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 138).

Notwithstanding, intersectionality theory is applied to the notion of knowledge that differentiated according to different social categories and positions which people occupy in (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 139). Likewise in my research, the categories of age, nation, ethnicity, gender and power relations are invoked in social analyses jointly. Moreover, Lutz et al. (2011) also suggest that memories and positions of people are constructed and again reconstructed during the changes of their life courses (p. 148). Thus, I agree with their suggestion that during the immigration processes of my interviewees, their experiences were

transforming since they had negotiated themselves into the new identities in the Swedish society. On this account, I believe that intersectionality theory makes the best appropriate to comprehend and analyse the multi-level social categories and the complex experiences of my interviewees. For instance, on the ground of social construction theory that gender, social network, social norms, and individual impressions, as well as the objective probabilities of employment and economic conditions, are all factors that influence the interviewees' ageing perceptions. However, those factors do not exist solitarily nor unaltered, but rather changing and interacting with other others over times. Thus, highlight the justifications of intersectionality so as to enlighten more possibilities for analyse the relations and inter-links between those factors. In consequence of the above, I consider the social construction theory and intersectionality would provide the most applicable perspectives for this research.

3.3 Previous studies

- **Return migration - Transition of stages**

One study that was conducted by Martin Klinthäll in 2006 about return migration among immigrants in Sweden. His study shows that some circumstances such as the transition from a wage income to a pension which are connected to the withdrawal from the labour market has suggested an increased propensity to return to the immigrants' origin countries (p. 153). When immigrants who are involved in a labour market reaching the legal retirement age of sixty-five in Sweden, the result has been found that the probability of return migration increases particularly for men (Klinthäll, 2006, p. 153). The link between place of residence and income has been regarded as a significant and immediate factor in

immigrants' decision on return. This finding coincides with one of my interview results that some of the interviewees were waiting to go back to their origin countries after they become eligible for pension fees. As well as the men interviewees were postponing their decisions on the return dates to the origin countries after they consider themselves holding adequate economic savings.

In addition, Klinthäll's study explains that migration mostly take place when people are in the early years between ages 20 and 30 of their productive phase in particular of today's industrialised world (2006, p. 154). Yet, more women than men choose to settle in the host country mainly for the purpose to keep connection with their children, also because some of them have become more self-determining in the host countries (Klinthäll, 2006, p. 156). However, circumstances may change over time thus the statements regarding return migration are expected to alter (Klinthäll, 2006, p. 157). These circumstances are affected by various reasons, for instance, social and cultural environment, relationships, languages and climate. Consequently, when the utility of circumstances is higher in the country of origin than in the country of destination, the rate of return migration is presumed to increase (Klinthäll, 2006, p. 159). Likewise in my study, those women interviewees who have children born and growing up in Sweden expressed their utmost concerns about their children and more attachment to Sweden than the other interviewees who have their children living outside of Sweden. One of the common preconditions for 'return' of those women interviewees is the decreasing bond from their children assuming one day when they grow up after twenty years old.

By and large, Klinthäll interprets that when labour market considerations are no longer matter for the choice of locations, the tendency of return becomes higher.

At the same time, the weakening of the connection between income and place of residence has also contributed to the trend of return (2006, p. 154). Thus, his study demonstrates that one kind of immigrants who had an intention to go back after spending some time in the labour market. While another type of immigrants do not have a distinct plan to return especially after they have spent a long time in the host country and have children born in the host country. This is thus called 'myth of return'. Nevertheless, preferences for stay or return may change over time (Klinthäll, 2006, p. 160).

Hence, although economic situations are necessary for the behaviours of immigrants. There are other factors operating on micro level (including individual and household) and also on macro level (including political changes and economic developments at home and abroad) that determining the migration outcomes (Klinthäll, 2006, p. 160).

- **Ethnocultural diversity and citizenship**

Culture and ethnicity are always the principal concerns of my study, distinctions and similarities could be revealed at any time among people and the societies. Specially when people migrated to another relatively contrasting societies, whether persisting to their origin cultures or adapting to the present societies; whether holding on to their origin ethnic groups or involving in the new communities are confronting with immigrants themselves and also the host societies. The interviewees participated in my study had migrated at adult ages that imply that the origin cultures and ethnicities might have greater influences on their beliefs than the ones who migrate at earlier stages. Thus for the aim of my study to understand how does ethnicity unfold in my interviewees' stories is of

vital value to get the pictures of how do they relating themselves to Sweden in the ageing process. On the other hand, the study conducted by Birte Siim (2013) about gender, diversity and migration challenges to Nordic welfare, states that immigration and multiculturalism are highly involved in politicised issues debate (p. 616). Moreover, the discussions of multiculturalism and globalisation have present new challenges for equality beyond the nation states according to Siim's propose (p. 617). On the other hand, how do immigrants define their 'affiliation' to the host countries and what are the analytical separation of 'belonging' and 'politics of belonging' have been brought up by Siim (2013, p. 618). Declared by Yuval-Davis in the study by Siim, that analyses of 'belonging' must be founded on an intersectionality perspective thus serves evaluations about how gender intersects with other kinds of diversities. This is a vital point that bonds with issues of citizenship and belonging in an analysis (Siim, 2013, p. 618). Siim (2013) also finds that in the studies referring to interrelations between inclusion and exclusion within and beyond the nation states. Intersectional approach is an useful methodology to address interactions between social categories, for instance, gender, ethnicity and class (p. 618), as well to address how those categories are articulated (Siim, 2013, p. 624).

Nonetheless, in the study point of Sweden, illustrates that Swedish integration policies differ from the general Nordic trend for the reason that Sweden "emphasises national cohesion and belonging rather than accommodation of cultural and ethnic subgroups (Siim, 2013, p. 621)." For example, it is not an obligation for immigrants to learn the Swedish language for citizenship, it is voluntary but not mandatory; moreover, immigrants have the liberation to arrange their accommodations. Generally speaking, Swedish integration policies tend to prioritise personal rights rather than obligations (Ibid). In my point of view that

prioritising individual rights have maintained the multiformity of ethnicities and characteristics in the Swedish society. As well as the aspects of the interviewees' thoughts about their ageing in Sweden at the time being and in the future. In the same way of social work practices of elderly care attentiveness about varied ethnicities and individual needs.

- **Transnationalism and Social Networks**

According to the aim of my study which is that to understand how do non-European immigrants view their ageing in Sweden. I consider that the social networks of the immigrants and the cross-nation ties to their origin countries are of necessary effects to my research. Especially when it comes to the recognition of their immigration process, and also the comprehension of the motivations of their attitudes and beliefs about being ageing in Sweden at the interviews. That being the case the study by Mouw et al. (2014) illustrates the consequential connections between transnational and social networks. They argue that because of the absence of the acknowledge on the actual social networks which connect individuals in transnational societies, has resulted in the incompletion of the debate on transnationalism (p. 354). Even though, the academic interest in transnationalism is rising in the discussion of migration research as a way to explain immigrants' cross-nation ties to their origin countries. As a result, entirely focusing on transnationalism has little persistent contribution to the process of immigrant adaptation (Mouw et al., 2014, p. 329).

In the conclusion of their research, they brought up the inadequacy of most survey evidences are randomly collected and little on information of immigrants' networks in transnational debate. Although, they have also mentioned the

difficulties of gathering data on immigrants' binational networks which might be a hidden population that is hard to reach. All in all, this study by Mouw et al. (2014) demonstrates the benefits of collecting immigrants' network information in transnational studies would provide a clearer investigation of the prevalence and the influence by transnationalism (p. 354).

- **A feminist model of family care**

Hooyman and Gonyea (2008) had studied in family care through a feminist model in practice and policy directions. The central of this study analysis are the concepts of the social construction of gender-based inequalities in family care and the variations in family care by race, ethnicity and social class (p. 149). Their research helped to acknowledge the impacts on gender roles through the particular ethnicities in my study. By means of showing that it is clearly women, such as daughters, daughters-in-laws, wives, mothers, and granddaughter who provide the majority of the in-home care to elderly people which is the role of gender that obligated to elderly family members (Hooyman & Gonyea, 2008, p. 150- 151) to reflect the societal expectation and ethnic beliefs that assigned caring as a regular women characteristic. As demonstrated by my interviewees that women especially daughters undertake the responsibility of elderly care. However, this appointed role to women does not perform by the women interviewees when they were in Sweden where there has no precisely divided gender functions. Instead, they chose to adjust that role accordingly to their origin ethnicities and the Swedish society, yet their concerns about their elder parents in the origin countries still remain frequent.

In addition, their study examines how demographic, social and economic condition changes influence women's caregiving experiences. By applying a feminist framework therefore to move toward an aim of gender justice (Hooyman & Gonyea, 2008, p. 150-151). The researchers explain the reasons for applying a feminist perspective are briefly stated as that women have historically been subjugated inside the home. Such as said by one of my interviewees that women were brought up as the nun in the history and women did not allow to leave the house. Also, the point of feminist analysis is how does the concept of gender create socially constructed structural, relational, and symbolic differentiation between men and women (Hooyman & Gonyea, 2008, p. 152). Nevertheless it is too complicated to explore into the stems of the occurrence of the gender concept for my study, regardless of the saying of the paternal line or maternal line. People appeared to follow this idea from the antecedents, and that gender concept can still be found in some of the ethnicities in the world. For instance, the men interviewees from my study had migrated to Sweden with the primary intention of earning money for their whole families. Whilst the women interviewees had their occasions to 'migrate for love' and 'if things do not work out, I will probably go back to be the girl taking care of my parents'. Over and above that, not only gender but also race, ethnicity and class have been taken account of the variations in family care through a feminist analysis. For instance, not all women have the same experiences, and such inequalities have been created by social policies (Hooyman & Gonyea, 2008, p. 153).

On the other hand, gender-based inequalities in family care have also resulted in women's higher rates of poverty through the life span, particularly in their old ages (Hooyman & Gonyea, 2008, p. 152). To illustrate one correlated example from my study that those women interviewees who hold less economic power in

their migration processes in Sweden due to the lack of employment opportunities because of being a full-time mother or their unskilled Swedish language tended to have forebodings for their ageing and elderly lives in Sweden. Moreover, this fear for old ages was mostly from the anxious of their continuous deficient economic power. All in all, in conclusion of this study, Hooyman and Gonyea suggest that choices in family care would be stimulated through cultural and geographical attainable outreach. Thus, people would know how to obtain care through national or local services (2008. p. 165). Giving attention that care for the elderly is not a private nor individual stress, but a societal responsibility which requires a collective response for improving the rights of both caregiver and receiver. To sum up the central ideology to achieve this goal in this study, Hooyman and Gonyea consider that the elimination of gender-based inequalities in caregiving and choices and empowerment for men and women is of the most consequential effect (2008, p. 166).

4. Methodology

4.1 Sampling Procedure

In the very beginning of my research preparation, I had planned to do a Chinese immigrants focused research that would approximately include eight to ten elderly Chinese immigrants. Since my research question was directed towards a particular category of people who are not originally integrated with the Swedish society, either from the interconnected Nordic or European countries. As Bryman (2012, p. 416-418) suggests that by applying a strategic sampling would enable the researcher to find the particular participants who are significantly relevant to the

proposed criteria. In that case, I decided to enrol a purposive sampling method in my research. To a higher degree, included in the purposive sampling method according to Bryman (2012, p. 417), I had enrolled two levels of "sampling of context" and "sampling of participants" from the method. Expatiated on non-European immigrants over forty years old of ages with permanent residential permits in Sweden and have been living in Sweden for more than five years consistently. Accordingly, I consider it as a suitable method of finding applicable interviewees for my research since the participants I have selected were not on a random basis but based on particular backgrounds (Bryman, 2012, p. 418).

However, due to time and distance restrictions, I could not obtain adequate Chinese elder immigrants for my research. Although I had contacted the local folk communities and Chinese restaurants, as well, I had sent out information letters to each Chinese people I had met on the street. In spite of that, none of them had reached me back with the reasons of 'being too busy to participate' and 'do not know what to say' and 'I will reach you back later' but my phone never rang from them since then. Thus, I opted for rearranging interviews with immigrants who are not only from China but also from the Philippines and South America. Therefore, my research topic had been redesigned from 'elder Chinese immigrants' to 'elder non-European immigrants'.

Providentially, after launching to one Filipino woman whom I have always known, she has introduced me two more Filipino people who would contribute to my research. In the same way, one Chilean woman, who also participated in the interview, have introduced me two more interviewees from South America. Gracefully, I had six interviewees from the Philippines and South America for my research. Nevertheless, to find even a small number of Chinese interviewees was

still my goal. Due to the reason of their increasing migration to some Western countries and the substantial population it has among the total immigrants in Sweden. Yet, ascribed to the declines from the former experiences, I have applied a more planning-less strategy than inform ahead of the interviews. Which for instance, I went across four Chinese elder immigrants on the street, and after talking to them shortly, I started conducting the interviews without delay. Regardless of how hesitated they were before the interviews, once we started talking, they have given me considerable information that I would be appreciated to employ for my research.

Nevertheless, I did not reach a conclusion about how many interviewees I was planning to have in advance. As Bryman (2012, p. 425) points that it was difficult to recognise how many interviews would contribute to a satisfied rational research only at the preparation stage. Moreover, many researchers appear to have more participants in the research until the data has reached its desirable level (Marshal et al., p. 11). Thus, after each interview I had, I made a rough estimation learn that if the received data was abundant for my further analysation. As well in order to decrease the redundant data which might lead to unnecessary extra work (Marshal et al., p. 14). In that way, after conducting ten interviews I was content with the extent of different information I could seize in relation to my research questions.

4.2 Conducting interviews

At the beginning of sampling interviewees, I had limited the categorisation to people who were residing in Lund or Malmö, for the concern of being convenient and efficient for the results. Although telephone and Skype interviews were

suggested by several suitable immigrants residing in the other cities. Giving the explanations clarified by Bryman (2012, p. 488) that telephone interviewing is unlikely to work well considering about the time consuming and which most significantly is hardly to observe the body language of the interviewees. On that account, I decided on doing face-to-face interviews in Lund and Malmö that I could meet my interviewees in person.

Since the aim of my research was to understand how do non-European immigrants see their ageing in Sweden and also specifically to a research question of how does ethnicity unfold in interviewees' stories about their lives in Sweden. On that ground, the answers from them could vary substantially and possibly deviate from the outlined schedule. Thus, I decided to do semi-structured interviews that cover a list of specific topics as interview guide. But in a flexible interview process with fixed sub-questions in accordance with each interviewee (Bryman, 2012, p. 471). That being so, most of the fixed sub-questions were picked up based on the reflections from the interviewees during the interviews (Ibid). Before meeting each of the interviewees, I also did rough research on the backgrounds of my interviewees so to come up with relevant sub-questions. Such as some basic knowledge of geographic information, social stratification, and elderly care policies of their origin countries. Hence, to some extent would minimise the probability of provocation in the interviews due to lack of consciousness of their origin cultures, several distinct answers from the interviewees would also be brought up since the sub-questions varied. Yet, by and large, each interview has had followed the same interview framework and with a similar phrasing (Bryman, 2012, p. 471).

For each of the interviews, the apply of recorder has been informed and accepted by my interviewees. By giving them guarantee that only myself would have access to the conversations we have, and their private information would be classified confidentially. Over and above that, the locations for the interviews were chosen by my interviewees as where they feel free and comfortable to talk, only with one request from me that it should be less interfering with the recording. Being thankful, the interviews went agreeably in view of that all of the interviewees were unblocked to talk, and I have gotten ample data for my study. Equally important, the audio recordings were plain for repetition. In addition, agreed by my interviewees afterwards that they did not sense any uncomfortable either judgemental words during the interviews, thus made them talk freely. On the other hand, I had asked each previous interviewees at the end of our conversations to learn if they might have extra information to say and if they might have suggestions for the improvement of my interview guide. Therefore, I could have the opportunities to gain more applicable enlightenment other than the interview guide and to adjust the interview guide accordingly to the following interviews.

Nonetheless, brought up by Bryman (2012, p. 471) that semi-structured interviews could also be understood and carried out in a deep-going framework, typically in qualitative research and with a life historical point of view.

4.3 Analysing interviews

According to one of the three Communication Analysis assumptions proposed by Heritage (1984, 1987) (Bryman, 2012, p. 525) "Analysis is grounded in data." By

noticing the way that interviewees say something important, their body postures and the tones of their expressions might imply some meanings. Such details are significant to analyse what points the interviewees are trying to achieve (Bryman, 2012, p. 525) and if they feel constrained or delighted by the interview questions in my point of view. So as to use the Communication Analysis method to grab diverting reflection from my interviewees to obtain the analyzation, other than taken salient notes simultaneously when interviewees put up visual transition during the communications, I had also employed two recorders for each interview in case that one of the recorders might be functionless. Served by the voice recorder that enabled me to transcribe all the interviews for a more appropriate scanning of the interviewees' responses. By the same token, knowing that what is said by the interviewees will be fully recorded, and transcribed later has terminated my concerns of taking excessive notes at the same moment. Also, allowed me to focus on "following up interesting point made, prompting and probing where necessary, drawing attention to any inconsistencies in the interviewees' answers" (Bryman, 2012, p. 482).

Although, the transcriptions can carry out fine-grained details that have occurred during the conversation naturally (Bryman, 2012, p. 522). A large time-consuming and a vast amount of paper supply are also two notable disadvantages of transcription (Bryman, 2012, p. 484). For the problem of time-consuming, I had applied a telephone dictation application that benefited me from transcribing the four Chinese language interviews in much shorter time since I could briefly repeat the interview answers in my mother tongue which is Chinese, and then the dictation application would transform the vocal materials to characters at once. However, this application was not much compatible with other languages that are

not said by native speakers, so that I had transcribed the other six English interviews in a fundamental way.

Still, I had a pile of transcribed texts to be analysed in the end. Aiming at this point as noted by Bryman (2012, p. 591) that one common procedure employed by qualitative analysis researchers is to use a computer software that assists qualitative data analyzation. Correspondingly, I used a qualitative data analysis software called MAXQDA that facilitated the retrieval and coding processes of my data analysis and the following interview themes summing-up. Therefore, based on the aim of my study and research questions to understand how do non-European immigrants see their ageing in Sweden and how does ethnicity unfold in their stories, I have the option and facility to classify those relevant themes to move forward to the analysis procedure.

4.4 Narrative conceptualisation - 'Turning points'

Interviews that I have conducted were carried out in a way of 'story telling' or 'experiences sharing' from my interviewees in a personally and culturally coherent manner so to speak (Sandelowski, 1991, p. 162). Therefore, the conceptualisation of narrative that is transforming knowing into telling which interlinking the past, present and future experiences has shown importantly relevant to my research.

Generally speaking, the points of my interview data that presented my interviewees' the future imaginary ideas of being ageing in Sweden are based on their different perspectives on their personal experiences previously and newly

engaged after the migration. Stories and viewpoints told by them were not isolated but rooted in their cultural, social and historical settings (Moen, 2006). They are a set of facts about how did my interviewees see the subjects despite to determine whether they are 'true' or not. Interestingly, counter-words had been frequently brought up in the interviews such as 'here' and 'there', 'they' and 'we'. This obvious distinguishing of the interviewees themselves from the Swedish society was their way of presenting their relationship with the Swedish society and also the preserves of their origin ethnicities. Thus had also suggested part of their quiet expectations of 'moving back' to the origin countries. To be clear, I choose to use the word 'quiet' for the reason told by some of the interviewees of their passive intentions of giving up on their contented manner of living and occupations before the migration and that was not disposed to express to their current partners or children. Notwithstanding, those quiet and other external expectations had given motivations to their plans of the varying turning points of 'when to move back'. Thus, the interviewees reviewed their thoughts and experiences which are based on the past and present through telling individual stories. In the same way, by applying narrative conceptualisation method that I could make use of their stories into the analyzation.

4.5 Limitations and Delimitations

- **Subjective probability**

One unyielding fact about conducting interviews is that "the interviewers are a part of the interviewing picture" (Seidman, 2012, p. 22) and this is also one of the most considerable disadvantages for me as a researcher to avoid. Since I am a

27

foreigner myself living in Sweden thus made me being in that 'same picture' with my interviewees. Nevertheless, as a researcher I was extensively aware of it, and I tried to minimise subjective interactions with my interviewees by being neutral, neither asking nor answering any leading questions. As well as avoiding much body gestures and facial expressions that might probably cause the interviewees a second thought of their responses.

Notwithstanding, in the procedure of analysing data, coding, interpreting, and presenting it exceedingly relies on my liabilities and my instinctive ways of thinking. When I was conducting and directing the study in the light of my research aim which is to understand how do non-European immigrants see their ageing in Sweden. Thus, sometimes I kept examining the context and proceeding by questioning myself that might I feasibly deposit a risk that I frame these interviewees more alike than they actually are? Since the most affirmative dimension of them is that they are non-European and live in Sweden. Is it the most equitable way to categorise these people into those groups? Yet these questions could not be explained by one exclusive point, possessing whatever perspectives to construct the groups would come up with different results. In line with my research aim, I believe that would be the most suitable pattern to form the categories by emphasising on the elements that are related to ethnicity considerations. Under any such circumstances, being part of the picture or painting the picture is inevitable as researchers might come up with the subjective point of views when analysing data that shares comparable or disparate experiences. That is, on every aspect of the research is unavoidably manipulated from my subjectivity although I attempt to reduce it as much as I can, it still can not remain negligible.

- **Reliability and Validity**

Unlike quantitative research that employs solid numbers to present results, qualitative research is to a certain extent that influenced by interview words and circumstances of the moment in time. Seidman (2012, p. 23) indicates that reliability is rather difficult to be tested in qualitative interviews. Likewise, considering of my research, it was beyond possibility to confirm the accuracy based on the information given by my interviewees. Even though one method assisting my study is narrative conceptualisation that to unfold the interviewees' stories that have no requests of accuracy. Still, how often had they thought about those interview questions? Alternatively, were those answers from them came forth temporarily because of their mood at the moment of the interviews? For instance, most likely, that information were corresponding to their experiences and experiences from people around them, which vary considerably. What's more, in the case of my interview questions that in regarding the Swedish elderly care system. It was impracticable to examine the credibility of their answers without ethnographic research which would contribute to observing the Swedish elderly care communities daily lives so as to compare with my interviewees' answers. Despite that, answers such as 'personal interests' are still feasible to some extent, giving consideration to there is no way to make things up since the information was already formed subjectively.

Over and above that, the answers of the interviewees might be affected easily by their emotional states before and at that moment of the interviews, the interview framework might be affected by different reasons as well. Therefore, the issue of validity came into my research limitations. However, according to Seidman (2012, p. 24) that to improve the validity of the study, a three-interview structure which refers to "interviewing participants over the course of 1 to 3 weeks to account for

idiosyncratic days and to check for the internal consistency of what they say" is suggested to researchers. Be that as it may, due to my research aim which is to understand the assumptions of the interviewees rather than to inspect the hypotheses, I could not apply this method in my research and I could only meet my interviewees once for the short-time interviews. On that account, it was beyond demanding to maintain complete validity of their answers.

- **Generalisability**

One limitation that of great significance in my research is generalisability of the findings. As Bryman (2012, p. 416) clarifies that researchers who use purposive sampling method like my case are mostly expected unable to contemplate the possibility of giving generalisable results to a larger population but mainly to pursue diverse perspectives and experiences of the interviewees in regarding to the research questions.

Knowing that, I tried to involve the most common experiences of my interviewees, and the general findings of the study were consistent with the findings of several previous studies from the relevant fields that I had searched. Nevertheless, considering the small sample size of ten interviews for my research, the findings are far beyond conceivable to be generalised to all non-European immigrants living in Sweden.

- **Language**

Another limitation of my research is the language. First of all, I have carried out four interviews in Chinese and transcribed these interviews in Chinese and then I

have translated some of the quotes in English for the following analysis. Therefore, considering of the different means of expressions between Chinese and English, think it likely that some of the meanings in the original text might be lost during the translation. Further, six interviews were carried out in English, and none of us are English native speakers. Although I had the thoroughly designed interview framework, and I did not need to participate much in the interviews. It would to some extent still be an adventure for my interviewees to have second thoughts about how to express their ideas through their mother language to English. This could be effortlessly seen in their talks when they made some pauses. During that process, some of their statements might be less accurate than their primary thoughts.

- **The selection of research group**

At the beginning of my research, I had decided only to focus on non-European immigrants although there are a large group of immigrants from European countries living in Sweden. This might be less demanding for me when searching for all population than just looking for non-European immigrants. However, I decided on giving up European immigrants research for two main reasons: geographic reason and culture blending reason. In the first place, as being European living in Sweden who is closer to their origin countries where might take much shorter travel times than immigrants who are originally from countries further than Europe. This geographic facilitation 'makes life easier' as expressed by some of my interviewees afterwards. Learnt from my interviewees that it took them lots of consideration on should they travel back home or not due to long distance between Sweden and their origin countries. Hence, being geographically far away from their origin countries made them homesick sometimes.

Furthermore, cultures between European countries are better understood from each others than cultures in countries like Asia. Explained by Patel (2013, p. 538) that "cultural policy has remained an ancillary field of European integration", and culture is often seen as a platform of facilitating co-operation in varied field in European unity. The shared experiences and practices among European countries deepen human behaviour's interpretation indirectly.

Briefly from the above, for the aim of my research that I want to study how non-European immigrants view their ageing in Sweden, where might be of considerable differentiation between them even some of them are originally from the same countries. Notwithstanding, their ages, gender, education level, thinking habits, health condition, social classes are distinct from one another. Moreover, any interaction between two of these or more not given factors would generate new disparities. For instance, knowing one perspective of the interviewees' experiences is deficient, ideally, to know the other perspectives which might had constructed that one perspective or had been built from that one perspective would develop to an intimately understanding of the interviewees' stories. On account of the varieties of my interviewees, using the theory of intersectionality for the analyzation would provide the maximum prospects of the research.

5. Analysis

The analysis of my research data is based on the ten interviews that I have conducted with the eleven immigrants (three male; eight female. One Chinese couple participated in one interview) age over forty and have been continuously living in Sweden for more than five years. In order to ensure a sufficient result, the research scope was inclusive. For instance, my interviewees are from very divergent backgrounds including unemployed single mom, restaurant owner, retired single woman, well educated and not educated. Four of the seven female interviewees are married to or in a relationship with Swedish people by the time of the interviews, one of them had divorced. Whilst one other female interviewee immigrated with her husbands from the origin countries and one female interviewee's husband also from the origin country but died years ago. Nine of the eleven participants are all the first-generation immigrants to Sweden from their origin countries, besides two Chinese couple immigrated after their daughter's settlement.

According to the theories of social construction and intersectionality, the thematic data from the interviews were sorted on the basis of elements from the societies that had constructed the interviewees' perceptions. For instance, their living environments before and during migration process; rumours had been heard and told to them; social beliefs from their origin cultures; and a variety of facets that decided to the (un)satisfaction of their migration procedures and so forth. Over and above that, by the function of the intersections between each of the elements had generated the succeeding five pivotal factors for the analysis of the study. First of all, before comprehending the interviewees' perceptions of ageing in Sweden, the fundamental stage is to understand their personal definitions of 'old

age' so as to provide preconditions for the further analysis. In the second place, the socially constructed gender roles and social norms from the particular cultures had derived the appurtenant factors such as employment and social networks that had also affected the interviewees' perceptions of ageing in Sweden. From the above and by the assistances of social construction theory and intersectionality, the five factors that impact the perceptions of ageing in Sweden of the non-European immigrants are categorised as following:

5.1 Images of 'old age' and 'ageing in Sweden'

First of all, how to define 'old age'? And when does old age begin? What is it like to be old? I was inclined to ask these questions before I had started my research since my research question is to attain my chosen immigrants' point of views about their ageing in Sweden. Thus, I had expected various and interesting viewpoints about 'old age' from my interviewees. However, people pass through the years of their lives within different frameworks accordance with different social beliefs and cultures. Not hard to figure out that those social beliefs and cultures, within which people live, have contributed to their viewpoints of when and what being old mean (Wilson, 2000, p. 17). Alternatively, to put this in anther way, people's viewpoints of when and what being old mean are constructed in their social beliefs and cultures.

Moreover, in some societies, ageing experiences also vary according to gender and social classes (Wilson, 2000, p. 18). Some people regard themselves still young after the age of seventy, while some other people regard themselves already not young at the age of forty. Additionally, some people who are from a more

ample family and sturdy social class fearless of ageing comparing to those who are striving for a stable and guaranteed elderly lives on their own. Through these different social backgrounds, would directly effect on their attitudes toward being ageing, particularly being ageing in another country.

Interviewee Paloma had mentioned in a dejected tone:

"You might have to compare to life here, and there I had to say and they are very different. Because we have different positions as well. There I have my own flat, I have my job, I have my money, I have my friends, my family, yes, it was a good life. It is quite different in every sense. Well, when you are in different power positions, not only economic power, but it is important especially when you are long away from home. So, well, when my son grows up, I would feel more comfortable of living in my home in Chile rather than the uptight life here." <Paloma, Chile, woman>

Notwithstanding, rather the images of ageing itself, Paloma had given her experiences about Chile and Sweden stated as 'there' and 'here'. For the two locations, she had constructed separately in her mind suggests two separate livelihood experiences and ageing images by some means. Yet in my opinion that these pictures of 'there' and 'here' are framed with the interviewee's present migration knowledge by the time of the interview and the emphasis about 'there' and 'here' might be possibly altered to 'here' and 'there' abide by the shifting of the locations. The key terms in this review of Paloma's response are 'mind' and 'social construction' which incorporate emotive and motivational states that exhibit intrinsically psychological representations. Moreover, advised by Franks (2014) that the representation or images from the mind is a matter of social conceptual inclination that promotes the subsequent actions (p. 418).

Whilst, instead of presenting ageing images in Sweden, interviewee Alejandra had first of all mentioned her thoughts about being ageing in her origin country where she might get more abundant social resources:

"About ageing, of course, I am not afraid of ageing, the last time, I think about that, I will always be in Chile, I die in Chile. Not something logical or rational, if I try to speak about it, I will live in my family's beach house." <Alejandra, Chile, woman>

When asked about her opinions on bringing her parents to Sweden to live together, she smiled and said:

"No, they have their lives there. They have two houses, one in the main town and one in the southern Chile, and they like their lives, even though they miss me a lot. But we do not know what will happen if they leave everything and come to Sweden, they may be put in a small apartment with me and my boyfriend."

Unlikely, interviewees, who are from a less reliable economic situation in their origin countries, had prearranged to immigrate to Sweden for a better economic change. Under such circumstances, 'being aged', which means 'being too old to work for money' according to their interpretation, has become one of the most consequential and daunting boundary lines in their lives after immigration. Stated by interviewee Carlos, a male restaurant owner from Chile, and now he is residing in Malmö:

"I came here by myself first and then my wife and kids came, I don't know, I don't know what we are going to do when we are old, but before old, I must work, I have a restaurant, then to make money. But the rent, everything is so high, it is too hard to be rich. But if you want to have a good elderly care, you must be rich, even someday when I go back home with my wife, we should save some money. If we do not have that money, I think I will still be here working till I have that money."

In the light of intersectionality that aims to subvert the detached structures of individual categories of inferiority so as to reveal the entanglement and interconnections (Bastia, 2014, p. 239). Gender, ethnicity and social class are recognised as being the essential intersections in the case from Carlos and the layout of his images about ageing which to be specific is 'I will still be working till I have that money'. For instance, his immigrating to Sweden for a better economic change for his family coincides with a focus towards the recognition of gender difference and a performance of masculinity. While on the other side, the gender performance and struggles for a preferable social class and economic condition were assigned as the subordinations to the cultural recognition (Bastia, 2014, p. 240).

By the same token, interviewee Li, a Chinese male who is working in a Japanese restaurant in Malmö had expressed that:

"It's too hard to make money at home, and more work to do, because you know people start working early and go back home late, my small restaurant in China before, opened for twenty hours a day, I barely slept. But here is better, not too much work, and money is better too. Only when you have enough money, you can take care of your family well. My daughter is still a little girl, she will need money when she grows up, and until that day, I have to work hard to make sure that everything is fine and in control. I cannot just be old until that day (Laugh)!"

Correspondingly that Li's images of ageing in Sweden which could be summed as 'I cannot just be old until I have that money for my daughter and for my family' holds equally reasonable out-turn with Carlos's ageing images in Sweden. The key analytical concepts played in Li's answer contain gender, economy and ethnicity as the major explanation for the migration experience by Li and as well

37

as his family in China. Under the existing gender relations in Li's family which has been seen as a constitutive element of their decisions on Li's immigration to Sweden, and the gender relation has simultaneously been challenged by the process of the immigration. Thus it can be seen, I agree with Bastia (2014) proposed by intersectionality that there are no systematically intersected elements (p. 242), rather converged unpredictable and multi-axial during the process. Therefore, whoever had made the conclusive decision on Li's or Carlos's immigration, their families' positions in the immigration processes have become extra dependent on the masculine phase due to the power of economic issues. Also, the families' images of ageing for themselves no matter in Sweden or the origin country are transforming along with Li's and Carlos's variation of the immigration practices.

Solely focus on the interview data, except one female interviewee Lin from China, who aged seventy-six at the time of the interview had described her reluctant feelings about 'being old' and lonely. Other relatively younger interviewees who were guaranteed sufficient social resources in their origin countries had talked about 'old age' with ease. While most of whom were considered as bread winners of the whole families had showed their subjective rejections of 'being old'. None of them had pointed or agreed with any particular numbers of age that is regarded as old. Following the logic of social construction theory, even though get old and ageing are matters of biological wear and tear, the ageing body has physical changes through times thus can be identified in anywhere (Wilson, 2000, p. 18). It does not manifest the same changes for all ageing bodies, nor defined as the same patterns physiologically in different cognitions (Wilson, 2000, p. 18). On the other hand, according to intersectionality theory, the meaning of migrating to Sweden reflects on greater changes of geographical shifts, immigrants' roles at work and

within the family. Thus, the images of ageing have become more complicated with different boundaries and social concerns (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 95, 138).

Nevertheless, Colombo (2014) suggests that emotion also plays a significant role in social lives (p. 33). People can be unwittingly motivated to compliment and criticise of certain social phenomenons when interacting with others, even with unrelated strangers (p. 36). Interviewee Alejandra had mentioned that:

"Older Swedes do not seem like lost their lives, because like most of the Chilean old people is like dead walking, walking dead, not like zombies but they just wait to die. But the Swedes, they seem alive, they go and buy things from stores, like Marcus's grandparents, one is ninety-two and one is ninety, they have these social meetings every week, and they have friends, it's very hard to see that in Chile, people just closed in the house." <Alejandra, Chile, women>

According to Alejandra that her images about ageing in Sweden and also in Chile were constructed upon aural or visual messages from some particular occurrences around her rather the experiences comprehended herself. Thus, she had set herself in the equivalent positions as the occurrences she had noticed.

Interviewee Leah had shared her story with discontent emotion:

"The doctors here give so many medicines the old people does not need. They give like twenty pieces of different medicines, how can a body accept those things? I mean, Hello! You cannot be better if you do that, it only makes you worse. So I told my husband I do not want to be here." <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

Yet another time, 'here' and 'there' had been brought up by another interviewee. However, how does the precise distinguish between the statement of Sweden and their origin countries appoint is not simply about geographic locations since the

statement of 'here' and 'there' is constructed upon their personal understandings which is rather sentiments than placements. That is, from the perspective of social construction theory, the clarification could be employed to analyse mental states which is constitutively social constructed that involves the belief or condition of the other people (Franks, 2014, p. 418). Thus briefly speaking, the terms of 'here' and 'there', or also 'us' and 'them' occasionally from the interviewees' responses are depended on the illustrations of the others' illustrations.

Be that as it may, there is no assured answers to affirm or negate their statements. Those considerable diverse images of how did they look at elder life in Sweden were very likely formed by social phenomenons they had heard or seen partially around themselves. I can not entirely deny that those images of theirs were not constructed upon their emotions at the moment, but, the tie between those emotions and under which certain circumstances are tightly bonded.

Interestingly, all of my interviewees, no matter what kind of lives and social backgrounds they have had, showed their intentions straightly or obscurely of returning to their origin countries at the times of the interviews, although they were still 'waiting for chances' to 'go back'.

5.2 Employment and Economic condition

On the basis of my study purpose that is to understand how do non-European immigrants view their ageing in Sweden, economic condition has been described as one intention of their variational attitudes toward the ageing processes in Sweden. In particular of how do they view their ageing and when to return to the

origin countries, as well as will and will not return to the origin countries are all facts of the non-European immigrants' prospects of their ageing in Sweden. By the same token, Fournier et al. (1988) suggest that a sort of variables which have been caused by economy determinants of tax burden, housing cost, and living expenses would affect immigrants' arrangements forthwith (p. 247). Especially for older persons who are simply relying on pensions, which are the key and only material security that they have in their later lives. Having said that, according to the Government Offices of Sweden that "everyone, who has lived or worked in Sweden, is entitled to a pension (Pensions in Sweden, http://www.government.se/ sb/d/15473/a/183496)." Thus, pension has become one important reason for holding immigrants from leaving Sweden to the other countries where they might have no economic supports.

When being asked about ageing in Sweden, one of my interviewees, Leah, had mentioned:

"My plan is when I am fifty, if I can manage to save money until I am fifty; I will go back home. If not, then I will have to wait for my pension. Me and my husband are planning to do that." <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

From the perspective of narrative conceptualisation, the 'turning point' which I suppose meaningful in my study that consist of the main transitional stages of the interviewees' views about their ageing in Sweden. Hence, in this statement from Leah that at her age of fifty could defined as the 'turning point' of her transition in her ageing process in Sweden. What's more, the 'turning point' is not an unitive criterion. Nothing but an individual proposal that is interlinking the interviewees' past, present and future experiences.

Additionally, the seventy-six aged interviewee Lin from China had frustratedly expressed her emotions for several times:

"I cannot leave. Otherwise, I will have no pension to receive anymore. It's so lonely in here, you are young and you are able to move, to do everything you want, but I'm old, the only thing I'm able to do now is come to the park, alone. My son has asked me to come to his place, but I can only go for one month each half a year. Otherwise, I will have no money."

Not difficult to find that Lin's condition of ageing is schemed on the economic stresses. Those economic stresses have led to her involuntary stay in Sweden and being ageing alone without her family within reach. Thus shows immigrants, who are merely depending on pensions, have been enforced to save money during their years of work when they find it hard as being old (Wilson, 2000, p. 90-91). Also, to some extent, for immigrants who are unwilling to allocate money to an unresolved elderly life, leisure activities and social networks have been cut down.

Notwithstanding, as specified by Algan et al. (2010), beside the lack of long-term strategies and policies to assist integration of immigrants into the society. As well as the labour market and economy are often recognised on the grounds of social exclusion of these immigrants in many Northern European countries (p. F4). Moreover, from a theoretical standpoint of intersectionality, which further identifies the complexity of social and economic structures that pressures immigrants to carry out work and day-to-day pursuits in a limited range of branches (Lee & Piper, 2013, p. 2). On this account, Algan et al. (2010, p. F4) explains that the more efficient and integrated immigrants are in the economic conditions and labour market, the higher will be their attachment and contribution to the host country.

In addition, one study about immigrants in Canada authored by Kazemipur and Nakhaie (2013) indicates that the levels of attachment of immigrants to Canada are notably related to immigrants' economic situations, yet, to a higher degree, employment status have become much more requisite than economic circumstances (p. 618-619). This indication could be found through the conversations with my interviewees as well; Paloma said that:

"I think economic issue for me is the most important, because you are like a kid, you have to ask even if you have a few saves, it's not the same because you are not working here." *<Paloma, Chile, woman>*

"Before I got here, I already had my life, I had my friends, my job in a professional way. I think that is the most I miss because here I had to start from zero again, and nobody knows me." *<Paloma, Chile, woman>*

"If I do not find a job, don't have the right condition to live here, especially now I have a kid. If I do not have a good job, because I need to raise him with dignity and to think a little bit of the future, to have saves. Yes, I will be back in the Latin America." *<Paloma, Chile, woman>*

That being the case, for those who had been employed before immigration, such as my interviewees Paloma, Alejandra, Riza and Leah, who had engaged in better and more successful careers in their origin countries as they declared that way had expressed a low level of satisfaction with part of their immigration experiences and a higher passiveness of their ageing in Sweden. In particular, interviewee Alejandra said that:

"In Chile I had an ex-boyfriend and I had a higher salary than him, my idea was to mix the income, pay the bill and then divide in two, so we both have the same amount of money to live, it doesn't matter how much each one earns. I still have the same idea now, but since I don't have a job yet, my boyfriend now is the breadwinner. And it affects him in

some ways, like he has to pay for too many things, everything, gives me the feeling that I'm a daughter instead of a couple. Then it's the 'I'm an immigrant, I don't have a job, I don't have money', so in every different position, I'm vulnerable and he's not."
<Alejandra, Chile, woman>

From this expression of views from Alejandra, three individuals are in the example that include the ex-boyfriend, Alejandra herself, and the current boyfriend who is the native Swedish people. However the definition of Alejandra herself has been stated as 'immigrant' and 'vulnerable' when she explains her personal concerns about her relations with her Swedish boyfriend who was the breadwinner by the time of the interview. Interestingly, stated by Alejandra in the beginning about her previous experiences in Chile that 'it does not matter how much each one earns (whilst she made more than the ex-boyfriend did) and I still have the same idea now'. Although her standpoint had changed to 'in every different position, I am vulnerable, and he's not". The change in the evaluation standard was not just derived from the change in the relationships with the ex- and current boyfriend but rather the alteration of the employment status, adjustment in the locality, livelihood adaptation and economic situations. In terms of intersectionality theory agreed by Bastia (2014), the reconstruction or conversion of a life story, which is typically on migration study, is firmly incorporated with intersectionality. Such as Alejandra's multiple and situated identities had placed her in the different society negotiated power (p. 243).

On the other side, the study carried by Kazemipur and Nakhaie (2013, p. 623) shows that the relationships between employment status and attachment to Canada are excessively influenced by the expectation of the immigrants in the first place. As immigrants started growing different attachment in the host country due to the interactions with the society and institutions. Intersectionality theory could offer a

better understanding of the outcomes that could be different for different groups of immigrants by reason of the diverse features of the interactions (Lee & Piper, 2013, p. 2). In such case, interviewee Olaya, who had also been employed in Chile before her immigration to Sweden, expressed her contentment comparing to some other interviewees who might have been disappointed at some point:

"For example, I came to Sweden today and I started learning Swedish tomorrow, and shortly after that, I started looking for jobs. And I got a job in a hotel. So I was working in there for four or five years, I did everything. I don't have problems with finding a job, but what kind of job, the jobs that people don't want to work, it's like cleaning, washing dishes, wake up at four in the morning. But it was fabulous, I've never done anything like it, it's a wonderful experience. But you know, not many people want to put themselves in that situation." <Olaya, Chile, woman>

In line with my study purpose to understand the non-European immigrants' views of ageing in Sweden, acknowledge their previous experiences in Sweden is also of vital importance since it gives fundamental grounds for the development of the existent and expectations of their views about ageing in Sweden. Nonetheless, the cost of living and the economic situation caused by employment status are still considered as the most significant effect on my interviewees' arrangements for staying or leaving Sweden. According to Fournier et al. (1988) that the flow of migrants from the origins to the destinations or inversely is closely related to the expenditure (p. 254). Rather than a resolved issue, considering thoroughly about intersectionality in the public sphere to diverse groups of people remains arguably (Lee & Piper, 2013, p. 9-10).

5.3 Social network of immigrants

The overall aim of my study is to understand how do non-European immigrants view their ageing in Sweden. One explanation for ageing is that the process of becoming and being biologically old aged, and that process of ageing in Sweden which including individual occupations and the reinforced social roles in Sweden. In turn, these occupations and roles provide senses of values and attachment which are affected by social interactions and the engagement of social networks (Wu et al., 2011, p. S60). Therefore, I consider understanding the social interactions and networks for these non-European immigrants is of great benefit to understanding their views of ageing in Sweden. Moreover, in regard to the particular ethnicity concerns of my study, to know how do these immigrants form their social groups and networks is a way to express the functions that ethnicity operated. Over and above that, during the interviews, the interviewees had presented their daily social activities from time to time. Thus had also become one decisive factor for further analysis of the non-European immigrants' views of their ageing in Sweden and the display of ethnicity from their stories.

There are some previous transnational studies about immigrant communities that their social network ties were affected by assorted reasons. Immigrants participated in my research tended to be highly homophily oriented. Given a particular interpretation that they may turn to social network for support that is more similar to themselves. Moreover, these similarities were often regarded as experiencing similar situations and problems (Ayo'n & Naddy, 2013, p. 360).

Notwithstanding, consistent with other studies that my interviewees stated the significance of their networks in their immigration durations.

Interviewee Leah said that:

"In the Philippines, it's like you can talk to your neighbour just like that 'oh I don't have rice, I don't have sauce', 'you can borrow'. But here you can't do that, no you cannot, except if you have a Filipino close friend nearby. (laughs)" <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

Likewise, Interviewee Li shared his idea of 'no time and no need for the other groups beside his own':

"I don't really make friends here; every day is just about work and make money for my family. Communicating with my other Chinese co-workers is enough, we can talk about our experiences and suggestions for work, such as, where to get a better wholesale trade and tax issues. Besides, it's really unnecessary to meet the other groups, if you ask any Swedes for help, do you ever thought that they will give you a hand? No, we don't even know each other. I have no time and no need for the other groups." <Li, China, man>

From the two responses above, 'there' and 'here' appeared once again. To be brief and in line with the social construction theory clarified in details from the previous section. The personal sentiments that constructed the definition about 'there' and 'here' beside the geographical descriptions is one representation of the immigrants' social networks and attachment to the particular social groups.

In addition, when being asked about their interactions with other people, answers were given comparable, for instance:

"I don't really go out with Swedes. Normally it's easy when you have a Filipino friend, it's easier to understand. Of course; also, I got relatives from my husband, so it's better for me to learn them. But my friends are mostly Filipino." <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

47

"I like to hang out with my school friends; some of them are Swedes, some of them are not. But it's because I feel more comfortable, if I have to ask for help, I will go to my Chilean friends, they are the ones I can relate the most. Although we don't hang out that much, we have something very strong that have been created, I don't know." <Alejandra, Chile, woman>

"We can relate to people with our own ideas, own age, it's like throw a joke, you throw a joke and the others can understand it, because they know the structures behind the joke. If you feel some ways sometimes people with other backgrounds will not understand it. And language, is so important, when you are sad or when you are pissed, you can express in your own language." < Riza, the Philippines, woman>

So to speak, coworkers and friends, who have been attached to equivalent experiences and who share the same ethnic beliefs, were found to be a vital part of their networks. Not only that, family and in particular spouses were frequently mentioned as the key component of their network (Ayo'n & Naddy, 2013, p. 373). Especially when those female interviewees who were unemployed and substantially depended on their spouses. Wu et al. (2011) argue that social network is a routine to understand respondents' living arrangement and through the prevalence of contact with different members assist to recognise individual's settlement status (p. S62). Moreover, ethnicity orientation has been unfolded between the lines of the interviewees' responses. For instance, phrases as 'own ideas' and 'own language' had announced their ethnic inclination allusively.

However, given the limitation of my study that I did not collect standpoints from native Swedish people. Thus, answers from my interviewees about 'being an outsider' or 'being racially discriminated' cannot be looked into thoroughly. Although, interviewee Alejandra had given an example of the time when she had injured her foot:

"The doctor talked to me in Swedish, and I said 'I'm sorry, I don't speak Swedish, can you translate into English?' I knew he speaks English, he's a doctor, he cannot graduate without English. So he just said Swedish to my boyfriend 'she has nothing, just go home.' We couldn't go, because I couldn't step. I felt very vulnerable in that room, hey, you are a doctor, you supposed to help me." <Alejandra, Chile, woman>

That being so; she had given her straightforward answer about being ageing in Sweden:

"For now, I will be in Sweden, but when I feel 'oh I'm dying,' I will go back to Chile." <Alejandra, Chile, woman>

In the regard of narrative conceptualisation that in specific of the turning points of my interviewees' stories are created for their elderly lives by the interviewees themselves. The narrative turning point in Alejandra's elderly life proposal is that when she feels 'she is dying', and under that circumstance would possibly bring adjustment to her ageing process in Sweden. Beyond that, despite officially holding legal resident permit, some of my interviewees still considered themselves as 'outsiders' in Sweden and most of them are women.

Interviewee Leah said:

"I still go back home. Because I don't really consider myself as a Swedish, I am a Filipino. Even though I have the paper, but I can't adapt to their culture, maybe a little bit but not all." <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

Besides the ethnic construction of the two major social network groups which are 'them' and 'us' as frequently raised by the interviewees. As well as some other relatively younger women interviewees had continuously used 'going back home'

49

'the Swedes' in their answers. Yet, in accordance with the intersectionality theory that gender and age are not applied correspondingly, however, rather be understood as intertwining perspective thus to examine how do gender, age, class, and nation mutually formulate each other (Krekula, 2007, p. 163). To be more precise, when age and gender are understood as intertwining perspective, based on interview data with women aged over sixty-five, those interview information tends to a physical concern about bodily change instead of social adaptation. Whilst, the men interviewees, were mostly concerned with their economic conditions as being the breadwinners of their families (Krekula, 2007, p. 163).

Regardless of how comparatively less concerned about social adaptation of elder immigrants than the biologically younger immigrants. The challenges from cultural shifts and social adjustment for elderly immigrants are still crucial (Kim et al., 2001, p. 787). Primarily and even unconsciously, those racial and ethnic disparities influence mental conditions among elderly immigrants. According to Kim et al. (2001), immigrants and the elderly are the most in jeopardy under social stressors, specifically when elderly immigrants who are presumably social and linguistic isolated (p. 787).

I had met my interviewee Lin (China, woman, age seventy-six) randomly at Malmö Folkets Park; she was sitting on a bench with her friend who is also from China and seemingly the equivalent age as her. During our conversation, I had learnt that Lin's friend was living in Stockholm by the time of the interview, and she went to Malmö to visit Lin for a very short period. The meeting between them seemed extremely precious to them since other than this meeting, they would remain alone most of the time. When I asked Lin why not joining the Chinese group in Malmö if she feels unaccompanied, she answered:

"Is there a Chinese group? I don't know. Even there is, I won't go. I'm too old for any activities, and I can only be a burden to that group."

Over and above, the two interviewees, who were a couple from China, resettled to Sweden for the reason of their daughter and grandchild. The interview with them was also random when they were searching for Chinese people on the street to ask the directions and I was stopped on the way by them with a question in Chinese language that 'are you Chinese?'. Before the interview, they told me that they had been looking for Chinese people for a few minutes since they were not able to communicate in neither Swedish nor English. When being asked about their immigration experiences, they explained that:

"We did not plan on too much things before coming to Sweden, we were and are just staying in the house taking care of our grandchild, and cook for my daughter and son in law since they are working while we are not. This is our life here, just taking care of our grandchild. Besides that, we cannot do anything, how can we go out without knowing the language? See, now we even got lost. Sometimes when the telephone rings, we just ignore it, because we cannot communicate anyways."

Aside from culture shock that was referred to by my interviewees, which might be one intention that confines social contact and integration. According to the cases above, language barriers can also limit access to plenty of social services, activities, and employment (Kim et al., 2001, p. 788). Be that as it may, intersectionality theory offers an extensive performance in the analysis. What is being addressed is that perceptions, experiences, age, employment status, and gender could considerably intertwined with an intersectional approach (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 191). Therefore, how and why do immigrants form their social networks

in some certain ways can not be generalised, but rather be analysed on particular individual emphasis.

5.4 Social Norms and Consensus

As what has been discussed from the previous section is that a noticeable amount of social norms of culture and ethnicity have been brought up by my interviewees. By indicating a distinguish between 'us' and 'them', and 'here' and 'there' to describe their parted experiences of ageing in Sweden and life form in the origin ethnicities. Regardless of which pattern of 'here' and 'there' do they think preferable, their understanding of ageing in Sweden is different from the visionary ageing process in their origin countries. Yet these different understandings are individually. Furthermore, starting from a social constructionist perspective, the understanding of various cultural values and beliefs is significant about old age. (Wilson, 2000, p. 18). Although, culture can be complicated and problematic when it changes over time through all sets of practices and social values. It cannot be ignored on grounds of the diversity in elderly lives is shaped by social beliefs and culture (Wilson, 2000, p. 19, 71). Likewise the construction of 'us' and 'them' is an illustration of the divisional ethnicities by the interviewees.

Therefore, in terms of immigrants who are originally from a dominant culture that elderly people should be looked after by their families appear antipathetic when facing or imagining elderly lives without their families nearby (Wilson, 2000, p. 19). On that account, the phenomenon of 'living separate from children' or 'living in elderly care communities' in Sweden has become a prior distress for most of my interviewees. While asking my interviewee Alejandra about the elderly care

52

communities, she said that "by putting people into the elderly house is like throwing them in the garbage." However, there is no reason to judge the Swedish elderly care communities no matter formal or informal in the same patterns as Chilean elderly care communities according to her individual experiences. My interviewees still planned to return to their 'home countries' or to have a reunion with their families geographically.

Interviewee Leah had responded by constructing the terms of 'here' and 'there (Asia)' many a moment of time:

"Here, oh, they have to live by their own. It's like my husband's grandfather, we have to visit him, once a while, I don't know how many times a year, but once a while. I always ask my husband 'when are we gonna visit them?' and he always say 'aw, I'm busy you know,' It's always busy. In Asia, or just in the Philippines, it's always like 'okay we take care of them', we live together, they live with us. Seriously, you can see them every day all the time in case they need something. But here, you just call, you have to call them before you can visit them because they want their private lives even when they are old." <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

Moreover, on the subject about ageing in Sweden, Leah had answered:

"That is really a difficult question because I don't want to be here. I think I don't want to be alone; my husband's grandparents have their own apartments, and I don't want to be like that. And I don't think my kids will take care of me here, I don't think so, because most of them, they have their own lives. Here they only care for themselves, of course, they care about the family but not like we do. They care about the parents, but it's not the same like we are in Asia. Especially in the Philippines, because we are family oriented, we help each other. So here I don't think my own kids will do that because it's not their culture."

Besides the explained terms of 'here' and 'there', 'us' and 'them'. Leah had interpreted and considered her children as 'them' which is Swedish people according to her standpoints. Interestingly that her children are carrying her genetics biologically as well as carrying her Swedish husband's, she still regarded her children 'them' as the native Swedish people due to the reasons that the children were born in Sweden and raised by all means of the Swedish culture rather than her own Filipino ethnicity.

By the same token, interviewee Paloma also explained her attitude towards being ageing in Sweden as "that is so sad, I do not want to die in here.":

"In Latin America, most of the old people stay at home with their kids until they die, unless one of them is very sick and need medical care, then you can put him or her in the special elderly care house. Otherwise, if you have the resources who can contact the nurse to come to your home to take care of the elderly people. Of course we have such elderly houses, and of course someone have left their parents there, some of them with good intention, some of just forgot…it's not like here, I have heard it's very good like child care in Sweden. I can't judge, but it's very sad that old people here live alone, they live far away from their grandchildren and their kids. I don't want that for me." <Paloma, Chile, woman>

Be it that giving positive recognition of Swedish elderly care or being ageing in Sweden, having families close by, remains an active inner wish of all of the interviewees. For instance, expressed by Olaya:

"I become sad about not able to be with my people, not to be with my parents. I wish I have my family. Not because it's bad here, not because of Dan, he's just amazing, he's a good partner, a good father, a good person everyone can wish for. I have an inner wish of going back to Chile, which I have had for many years. Truth is even though nothing is

54

impossible, now when I have kids, I'm considering responsible for." <Olaya, Chile, woman>

Other than motherhood, there are also gender differences in the way that those migration choices and plans are made. For most of the women interviewees who have their children born and raised in Sweden, showed more attachment to Sweden comparing to the others who have their children living in the other places. From the theory point of view of intersectionality that on the basis of socialist feminist concerns, gender has been taken into account with the focus on identity and culture thus to dislocate the primary concentration of redistribution in the recent context (Bastia, 2014, p. 245). Yet intersectionality itself does not provide general power within each isolated structure, but it functions by bringing lies between the existing concepts into the parallel frameworks to acknowledge the connections among one another (Bastia, 2014, p. 245). However, as argued from the beginning of the paragraph, this function by intersectionality needs to be embedded in social relations as well for the aim to avoid complexities. Moreover, when speaking about 'return to their home countries' in the narrative concept, they explained that the turning point of their plans would be expected until their children turn twenty years old, which is officially regarded as adult in Sweden. In addition, the second generation, who need child care, may also be the reason for their mothers or parents to stay (Wilson, 2000, p. 76). Such as the Chinese couple interviewees who had migrated to Sweden after their retirement on the request of their daughter so to look after their grandchild. As specified by them, "We will go back home after our grandchild enters primary school." However, their elder lives after they return to China are not presumed being 'lonely' or 'away from child' ascribed to their confidence in that their daughter will also return to China by that time:

"Of course, we won't be alone; we only have one daughter and of course she will look after her old parents. They can develop their careers well in China also, but it will wait for some years, we are still very healthy and strong now. But until that day when we are too old to move around, they will come back."

Suggested by Kim et al. (2001) that East Asian cultures are well known for it's Confucian ethical conception of filial piety which is initially arose in China and plays a significant role in elderly care (p. 792), together with the example above explains respectfulness and compliance with one's parents. For the most part, people do not wish to disobey such social norms, which would inevitably label them unfilial and ruthless. Rather, people comply with such social norms that demanded by their parents and country of origin, most times of their own accord due to the ingrained family values they have absorbed (Weber, 2014, p. 11). As the majority of the interviewees are from the Confucian ethical background, thus give rise to the importance of put forward the Confucian ethical conception in my study. Although the minority of the interviewees are from South America, which is not recognised as a typical Confucian ethical society, happened to interpret analogy with the filial piety concept in the interview findings of elderly care.

Interviewee Leah had said:

"Here, taking care of your parents, grandparents, is really a big deal, because you have your own life to take care of. But in the Philippines, it's always a package, when they are old, and you need to take care of them no matter what. That's what we do in Asia." <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

By this token, the images of ageing in Sweden for Leah was constructed upon her understanding of ageing in the Philippines. On this view, her psychological orientation had supported her actions and the division of the terms of 'here' and

'there (the Philippines)'. Thus according to social and cultural construction that the contents of minds are relatively determined by social and cultural settings instead of specific times or locations (Franks, 2014, p. 419). Accordingly, the terms of 'here' and 'there' are representative of the understanding of ethnicities and cultures rather than geographic positioning in my point of view.

On the side, as a consequence of these social norms and beliefs, it is not difficult to explain most of the interviewees' disappointment or fear of being ageing without having family by their side. Nevertheless, for interviewees who do not have their children by their side in Sweden are more doubtlessly to return to their origin countries. Moreover, on that ground, mostly men. Additionally, women who are from less freedom or gender equal countries also tend to be more willing to continue their residence in Sweden (Wilson, 2000, p. 76).

Interviewee Olaya described:

"Sweden is the most gender equal country I've ever known in my life. I don't think there's any other country in the world that is this much equal. Like in my family in Chile, I was always the last one getting the food on the table, because men should always get food first, and then it's mom and sisters, then it's me. But here, I do whatever I want, I love that, on this part, it feels like heaven!" <Olaya, Chile, woman>

Notwithstanding, in view of social construction theory, intersectionality leads us another way to comprehend the complexity and diverse involvement in culture construction and individual determination (Weber, 2014, p. 16). As being the mainstream of gender in the use of intersectionality, how the other factors such as ethnicity, class, age and race correlated to gender in intersectionality have significant meanings and values in different contexts. Hence, the correlations in intersectionality highlight the importance of cooperating the different contexts of

ethnicity/class/age/gender with historically founded meanings (Bastia, 2014, p. 246). Likewise, the separation of 'here' and 'there', 'us' and 'them' by the interviewees is a process of categorisation that created in accordance with different social contexts based on their own understanding and experiences. As a consequence, in line with my study purpose to understand how do non-European immigrants view their ageing in Sweden relate to ethnicity perspective would represent a stimulating and innovational aspect of looking at the interconnected conceptions.

5.5 Gender roles

According to the overall aim of my study that is to understand how do non-European immigrants view their ageing in Sweden. Moreover, under their opinions of preferably being ageing within the family house with children, I would be interested to explore how do migration challenge the norms of appropriate elderly care behaviours. As well as, the dissension within such social norms between economic migration and 'proper' women behaviour (Hofmann & Buckley, 2011, p. 78). In most cases of the migration world, while men migrants preserve the traditional breadwinner roles, women migrants comparatively confront stress between migration and gender norms (Hofmann & Buckley, 2011, p. 80). Also, at the time when women migrants arrive at the destinations, they tend to be keenly devoted to family ties and continue with their origin cultures, rather than repudiate the restrictive gender norms from their origin countries. Although the destinations are relatively more behavioural flexible (Hofmann & Buckley, 2011, p. 80). Therefore, in such circumstances I also consider the understanding of

the interviewees' origin ethnicities relates to gender norms is vital for perceiving the motivations that shape their views of ageing in Sweden.

On the account of above, some of my interviewees had actively promoted gender norms that encouraging men economic migration whilst women play the roles of housewives and care providers. I find that gender contents are adequately expected and judged by cultural notions. For instance, in some cultures that assign family responsibilities to the eldest son to care for the parents, and this assignment has been transformed to the eldest son's wife since the boy is expected to be outside of the house as breadwinner (Long & Harris, 2000, p. 22).

When it comes to division of the elderly care in family, interviewees Leah and Alejandra had explained:

"We have nine siblings; six of them stay in the house. My older sisters, they live beside each other, so my dad can live with them each for a month. If something happened, they can just go to the others." <Leah, the Philippines, woman>

"In each family of my parents, they have a single daughter. My father's sister was taking care of my grandparents until they died. In my mother's side my grandma is still alive, my grandfather is already died, and I have an auntie that is taking care of my grandma. But with my siblings, I don't know, I don't know what will happen. (laughs) Maybe I will be the single daughter going back to Chile and taking care of my mother. (laughs)" <Alejandra, Chile, woman>

It is rather difficult to archive the values and advantages of who should be a care provider for elderly people (Long & Harris, 2000, p. 24). However, women have been historically outlined the roles as wives, mothers and daughters. Hence, it has become a general social value that commit women provide care for elderly people

in the family. Although, in recent societies, due to geographical reasons or personal relationships, the acceptance of women only to care for their parents instead of care for their husbands' parents has heightened. Women are still expected as care providers in the family (Long & Harris, 2000, p. 24). In the light of social construction theory that suggests that moving to a different social context would produce a 'culture shock'. That is no foundations for practising the original deep-rooted ethnic beliefs (Franks, 2014, p. 420). For this reason, the views of ageing in Sweden of the interviewees are invariably promoting comparisons between the contrasting social backgrounds.

Interviewee Lin had said:

"I don't have a daughter; it would be easier if I have a daughter. I only have two sons; one is living in Shanghai, and the other one is living in Germany. They both have their families, their wives, and they won't take care of me. I just go to stay with them one month a year each." <Lin, China, woman>

Notwithstanding, based on a feminist point of view that being men or women does not impact or differentiate experiences of the world. And "the meanings of masculine and feminine are culturally created and maintained (Long & Harris, 2000, p. 25)." Thus, gender studies cannot be separated from cultural illumination for the purpose of a better understanding of the grounding of care providers to elderly families (Long & Harris, 2000, p. 25). That being so, intersectionality theory could be applied to envisioning the interconnection of multiple patterns and constructions in elderly care during the migration process (Bastia, 2014, p. 238). Specifically, it allows for the comprehension of various constitutions such as ethnicity, social norms, and class that create the notions and roles of gender (Bastia, 2014, p. 238). Moreover, in regard to the migration process, women and

men contend to maintain their gendered roles on the basis of origin cultures. Yet these gendered roles should also be perceived adaptable in accordance with the social values constructed at the destinations (Bastia, 2014, p. 242). Correspondingly, on the other hand, when women immigrants show less independence than men, or when women immigrants demonstrate less power than men, beside gender consideration, other determinants also need to be examined. Interviewee Paloma had mentioned:

"My ex-husband he's in his own country, and he has his family, he has his shop. But I was alone all by myself. I wasn't independent anymore. So my cases are not gender problem, it's more like economic problem. I know the other immigrants who had married to Swedes, they are more likely to have the same problem, it's not about the men who have more power, it's about he's the one making money." <Paloma, Chile, woman>

Be that as it may, women immigrants' staying fragile at the labour markets has altered their relationships with their families to some extent. For instance, Paloma, Alejandra and Olaya had all mentioned that 'most likely, partner is like father, mother and sponsor, everything and bank'. When it comes to men who are the only economic suppliers in the family whilst women tend to ask for permissions of each money flow, under such circumstances, power positions in the family would turn to the ones who give those permissions. However, except men interviewees who had migrated to Sweden with the purpose of being the economic suppliers of their families. Also beside interviewee Lin, who had retired from Swedish labour market; interviewee Ma and her husband who had migrated for grandchild care reason. All the other women interviewees who had migrated "because of love", had relatively presented more vulnerable situations in their immigration experiences. As it is not carefree for those women immigrants who had come to Sweden with no employment insurance to join the labour market since it might also take some time for them to master the language thoroughly.

For all that, given the persistence of gender inequality in the labour market, women immigrants were more expected to stay as housewives (Bookman & Kimbrel, 2011, p. 124). Nevertheless, this gender inequality in economic positions in the family might be considered normal in some cultures. Such as interviewee Paloma said that: "my mother never have financial independence, or any other kinds of my father has." Although this phenomenon was regarded typical and characteristic for Paloma herself, it was still a phenomenon that just regarded reasonable in Paloma's family in Chile. Being in the similar case of her mother that financially dependent on the partner was regarded above the ordinary in Sweden by Paloma. Thus, her views of ageing in Sweden were shifted to a different standard that created by herself or the environment surrounded her. Notwithstanding, interviewee Riza and Alejandra, their mothers were all housewives. Despite that, being economically dependent in Sweden, which is a country interpreted as very gender equal by my interviewees, still gave rise to their distresses. Just as Paloma said: "I felt like I was a kid again, I think I lost my maturity." On that account, it is of great meaning to analyse all potential variables such as socioeconomic status, culture, and class which often intersect in gender researches (Bookman & Kimbrel, 2011, p. 123-124).

By the same token, race, class and ethnicity are considered primary and subsequent in the social constructions of gender norms which notably affect individuals' perceptions over places and time (Berg & Morley, 2014, p. 37). Yet these elements, which constructed gender norms, are not detached features but rather intertwined that assembles interlinkages with multiplicative effects as well as in the perspective of intersectionality. It is then the interlinkages that explain the non-European immigrants' views of their ageing in Sweden.

As a consequence, the low-income or no-income women immigrants are encountering challenges that would increase their economic burden, sense of powerlessness, strain on their partners, and fear for ageing without pension incomes (Bookman & Kimbrel, 2011, p. 126). Therefore, apart from the expectation and requirement of returning to care for elderly families as 'daughter's role', another direct outcome of these economic challenges might also lead to a higher rate of women immigrants return to the origin countries.

6. Conclusion and Discussions

The overall aim of this study was to understand how do non-European immigrants view their ageing process in Sweden, and particularly focus on the unfolded stories about ethnic concerns of my interviewees. According to the research questions of the study, ten semi-structured interviews with the non-European immigrants age over forty in Lund and Malmö were conducted to figure out the factors that had constructed their perceptions of ageing in Sweden. In line with the social construction theory and intersectionality, five factors including 'images of old age', 'employment status', 'social network', 'social norms', and 'gender roles' have been demonstrated as the fundamental motivations of the interviewees' attitudes toward being ageing in Sweden.

To be specific, these theories inclusive of narrative conceptualisation assist with the indication of the most common findings that economic conditions and social norms impact on the way of how do the interviewees view their ageing in Sweden. Nevertheless, elements such as employment status before and after

migration; power relation in family which was derived from economy; and whether the guarantee of financial support after biologically losing work capability is steady or not, all influence on the immigrants' proposes of their elderly lives in Sweden. By the same token, social norms and ethical values of the interviewees have resulted in their attachment to the families so as to refuse living without their families in elderly lives. On the other hand, such social norms have also put responsibilities on the younger ones to care for their elderly parents. Besides, the attached importance of women's role as care providers is a deep-rooted notion that women were working inside the house while men were working outside of the house. Even though this historical notion has gradually been blended into the modern societies thus has weakened the gender inequity in labor division. Be that as it may, women's lack of economic power still led to their vulnerabilities in family care. For instance, the presupposition that had caused the feeling of tension for most of the women interviewees was their short of employment and fragile financial guarantee comparing to those men interviewees who had migrated with the precondition of employment in the Swedish labor market. Generally speaking, reasons of these immigrants' roles of being care providers or breadwinners are of various motives, hence, intersectionality reduces the risks of neglect the connection and impact between those motives.

Furthermore, one finding of the study illustrates the construction of these immigrants' social networks with the native Swedish people were not optimistic. I would not conclude that integration was a problem, but the numerous factors that have blocked these interviewees' assimilation to the Swedish society still need supplemental practices to achieve a more satisfied living conditions for the both parties. All in all, not thoroughly understand the Swedish language has directly isolated their participation in any kind of the social activities and has also reduced

their job opportunities in the Swedish labor market. For that reason, being distant from the native Swedish society and ignorant of public information had led to their incomprehension of the Swedish elderly care policy and the care system. Likewise, their understandings of the Swedish elderly care were constructed on their individual experiences and the experiences they had seen from the other people around them, rather than the updated information from the official Department of Sweden. Notwithstanding, this perception of the care system and the society were both constructed on the basis of the different mindsets. Just as the two interviewees, who were from the same origin culture, had regarded the elderly life in Sweden relatively contrasting. Moreover, in accordance with one of the research questions, ethnicity concerns have been unfolded extensively from the interviewees' stories such as the formation of their social networks during their migration process. Even though these interviewees were from quite different settings of ages, educational levels, economic environment, housing conditions, states of health, and the relationships with families; they are generally inclined to be part of their own ethnicity networks or the international groups instead of joining the majority population with the native Swedish people. Given the grounds that they are more likely feeling easier and more comfortable with their cultures and ethnicities as presented by the interviewees. The ethical preference to their original cultures has to some extent caused their withdrawal of being ageing in Sweden.

In general, findings of this study show that the factors, which had created the non-European immigrants' attitudes toward being ageing in Sweden are mainly constructed by the immigrants' ethical backgrounds and their economic conditions. Also, the tendency of returning back to the origin countries is often revealed when they consider that their individual needs of elderly care cannot be

fully achieved in Sweden, such as their wish of living with their children and family. On the other hand, in regular, the imbalance of the economic conditions would promote the flows of the migrants to a relatively more sufficient economic side. Therefore, the insufficiency of financial guarantee of the immigrants' elderly lives in Sweden would contribute to their likelihood of returning to the original countries. Nonetheless, immigrants, who had migrated to Sweden for the purpose of being breadwinners of their families, had estimated their ageing in Sweden on the ground of their economic levels and the adequacy of their savings. Yet these factors that had created the non-European immigrants' perceptions of their ageing in Sweden are very possibly changing over times. Hence for future studies, an intersectional awareness of the dynamic alterations of age, gender, economy, employment, and family relationships of the immigrants would enlighten more possibilities for the research. Additionally, studying from an ethical standpoint which inspires all terms of different perspectives would be propitious.

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Appendix 1
Interview guide Background information:

Basic information of interviewee:

Age;

Gender;

Marital Status;

Where are you from?

What was your education level?

Before migration:

Where were you living before migrating to Sweden?

Have you ever worked before in origin country?

How was the life back there in origin country? (Family, relationships, daily activities etc.)

Did you have hesitation before migrating to Sweden? If yes, then what was that?

After migration:

When did you arrive in Sweden?

At what age?

What were your reasons for migration?

Do you speak Swedish? If yes, since when did you able to use Swedish? And please describe your proficiency.

What was the differences of your life before and after being capable of speaking Swedish?

Have you ever worked or have been working in Sweden?

Where do you live in Sweden and for how long have you been living in Sweden?

How long did you plan to stay in Sweden?

What do you think is the most different between Sweden and origin country?

What was/is the most difficult part for you of living in Sweden?

Are there any changes of your life style after migrating to Sweden?

What do you long for in your origin country?

Family concern and Future plans:

Where do your origin country family members live? (If parent/parents alive. Who are or who will be taking care of your parents?)

Have you ever thought of bring them to Sweden for your convenience? Or to get 'social welfare'?

What do you see and think about the elderly care and elderly life in Sweden?

For how long do you plan to stay in Sweden?

Have you ever thought about ageing in Sweden?

(If you could compare or have an imagination of your elderly life) Where do you prefer to live your elderly life? Sweden or origin country?

Have you ever been informed about how the elderly care works in Sweden? (If yes, are you aware of the changes of elderly care policy in Sweden?)

What kind of elderly care do you prefer? (Home care by your family, care workers, or national/private elderly care communities? Please explain.)

(If you prefer elderly life in origin country) What are the trigger points that might bring you back to your origin country?

What do you think about the 'daughter role' or 'female role' in elderly care in your origin country?

(If you choose to stay in an elderly care community) Do you have any preferences of male nurses or female nurses?

Are you scared of ageing? Or ageing in Sweden? What differences do you think between ageing in Sweden and ageing in your origin country?

Do you think ethnicity, culture and social construction involve in your life choices?