Seniors' Housing Update

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THIS IS *my* HOME

The Story of Older Korean Immigrants

by Eunju Hwang, PhD, BC Real Estate Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow,
Simon Fraser University Gerontology Research Centre

Editor's Note: *We are featuring articles in this issue of SHUP and the latest GRC News on the problems faced by aging immigrant elderly as they relate to health care and the built environment.*

"When I hear the song, Arirang, I know that I am home." "When I see the house on the hill, I miss my small house in Korea." "When I smell this spicy food, it reminds me of my mom cooking at home." The purpose of this study was to create a culturally-relevant supportive environment for aging Korean immigrants by first examining their meaning of "home." Home means comfort. Home means security. Home means the history and memories with one's family. This study was the story of older Korean immigrants.

Several years ago, I worked with the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority and Korean Service Center in Minnesota developing culturally appropriate services in the Cedar/ Riverside neighborhood. I learned how cultural uniqueness could help to launch a neighborhood project. We were not sure if the Assisted Living Program could be successful given Koreans' family-centered values. With the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)'s support, I listened to aging Korean immigrants' stories on "home" before establishing the program.

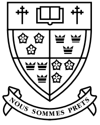
KOREAN IMMIGRANTS IN NORTH AMERICA

Older Korean immigrants are known as a "triple jeopardy" group. By virtue of being ethnic minorities, they are subject to lower socioeconomic status, education and language barriers, immigrant status, and discrimination on the part of the dominant society[1]. Many older Koreans come to North America sponsored by their adult children. They have aged in Korea and face multiple adjustment problems. In terms of income, housing quality, education and rates of chronic illness, the ethnic aged encounter harsher conditions than the majority of older North Americans.[2] All these issues intensify the problems of growing old.

Korean immigrants are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in North America. In Canada, Census statistics show that the number of Koreans has significantly increased since the early 1990's. Between 1991 and 1996, for instance, there was a 94.5% increase in the Korean community in Vancouver.[3] In 2002, about 24,000 Korean-Canadians with permanent resident status and 10,000 – 15,000 Korean students with a temporary permit lived in Vancouver alone.[4] In the U.S., the Korean population has increased dramatically, too. After abolishing the national origins quota system with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, Asian immigration to the U.S. has increased rapidly, including those from Korea. Between 1980 and 2000, the number of Koreans increased by 309% reaching over one million by the year 2000.[5]

METHODS

The phenomenological approach of examining "life stories" was utilized emphasizing unique subjective experiences so different meanings of "home" for individuals were uncovered. The "life-world" or experiential or phenomenological space of the person was found from this perspective.[6] Home is understood as experience reflecting psy-



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Gerontology Research Centre
2800 – 515 West Hastings Street
Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6B 5K3
Telephone (604) 291-5062
Fax (604) 291-5066

Acting Director, Gerontology Research Centre: Andrew V. Wister, PhD

Editorial Advisor: Gloria M. Gutman, PhD, Professor, Gerontology Dept. & SFU Director, Dr. Tong Louie Laboratory

Editor: Raymond G. Adams, MLIS, Information Officer, Gerontology Research Centre

Design and lay-out: Jocelyne Laflamme

chological (i.e., attachment and sense of belonging), physical (i.e., residential space), and social (i.e., community services, neighborhood sensitivity, and health care programs), and cultural interactions.[7] That is, "home" is seen as a nexus of an individual's experiences from a larger context.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 12 participants (9 women and 3 men aged 56 to 87) recruited through the managers of government-subsidized housing and ethnic service centers in the neighborhood. The interviews were taped, the qualitative data transcribed, and then we read the text and questioned meanings. We identified three themes which related to different aspects of "home": psychological, physical, and social. These key aspects were highlighted in Korean first and then translated into English.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT: I BELONG HERE

"Home" is a source of sense of belonging. As I walked into a 65-year old man's house, he shook my left hand. His story started with how he lost his right hand. Working at a factory, a big cookie machine ate his right arm one day. He made a witty judgment of not understanding English at that time. He was nowhere fitting in. Yet he had a clear idea where his home was. Some of his church friends were relocated to Los Angeles with their adult children, but to him, where he already made networks was his home:

…I know people here. Since I have lived here over 30 years, I know everyone. Maybe we are not that close, but we exchange greetings and know living conditions; in addition, how can I make friends at this age? This is very important. I talked to friends who moved to Los Angeles. They moved because their children lived there. Well, the thing is that in a word, it is "lonely." Here I can meet [friends]. At church, I can talk to people who have lived here for 10 or 20 years, but there [in LA] it is new… [65-year old man]

The participant above values people that he knows as a resource. He thinks that it is hard to make friends as people grow old, and that moving away would not be a good idea because there are not many people that he would know in a new location. For an active future life, he values the people he has known. In this case, his social network is formed based on an ethnic church. The meaning of "neighbours" is likely to extend to people at his church or Korean people he knows; the meaning of his neighborhood might be expanded to the surrounding Korean community. Neighborhoods and neighbors are, thus, interpreted in the larger social context. These individuals are not merely people living close to his house; they are people whom he knows. They are the people at his ethnic church, the people at ethnic restaurants, and the people at Korean food markets. Thus, belonging to the neighborhood for him means belonging to the Korean community in Minnesota.

Another participant explains why she wants to stay where she is. She talks about how she shares everything with her neighbors and how that makes her feel:

I read the newspaper. After reading it, I give it to somebody. I do not want to throw it away because there is a lot of useful information. This is too valuable to get rid of… Can I share this with someone? So I ask several people if they want to read it. They want it. I give it to people who sit next to me during the lunchtime. They love it. Do you know what happens next? After they finish reading it, they give it to some people working in the garden or dining room to prepare or to wrap vegetables. We share everything here. It is good for everyone… [85-year old woman]

This participant values what she shares with her neighbours. She has been living in government-subsidized housing for two years. Not long ago, she had difficulty adapting to this new way of living. Her choice to move into this com-

plex was not easy. Although her decision was voluntary, because of her frailty, she says that she felt useless by the time she had moved in. However, she now knows people with the same interests (for example, reading the newspaper and planting flowers), and now feels that this is "where I belong." She feels useful.

PHYSICAL ASPECT: AT MY APARTMENT

In order to create a sense of home and deliver services efficiently, the service center staff thought that they needed to designate the elderly service building where the service center was in. One difficulty we had was that some residents were frightened to move into this gigantic 23-story building. Although many staff at the service center thought that there was going to be many negative responses, I heard only one person mention the physical aspect of her current housing. Beyond all the psychological and emotional levels of the meaning of "home," there was also a concrete need for "home-as-shelter":

Higher floor, lower floor… it does not matter. All the same… I am satisfied with this apartment. Well, living alone… my [previous house] was too big for me. I felt inconvenient at the house. The restroom was too far away and the kitchen too [because] the house was too big. [Some people] say, "Isn't this too small? Why do you like this [small] apartment?" So I say, "I like this. There is nothing I can do about it." (laughing)… Umm, living here… now in my situation, I am totally satisfied. Everything is grateful, I mean, everything. Everything is given… even if there is no service, well, only providing a shelter itself is very grateful… I do not care if it is high or low. It does not matter when you live alone, although other people perceive a higher floor is worse than a lower floor… [87-year old woman]

The exterior of a building is the first impression that many people have. A small-scale building creates a more home-like environment. Because of the participant's experience with a previous house, the small unit is viewed more favorably than a big unit. In addition, this participant lives in government-subsidized housing and receives Supplementary Security Income (SSI), which is the main source paying for her rent and Medicaid, in addition to using food stamps. She is heavily dependent on the government for her daily living. It is not surprising to find that she is extremely grateful about her current situation and is impressed by the way the government supports her needs. In order to make the elderly feel comfortable in their units, social support services were also provided within the residential space.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECT: THIS IS MY FINAL HOME

Although the Assisted Living Program now serves more than 30 participants in this neighborhood, there were many concerns in the beginning. I learned that the older Korean residents who had stayed there more than 10 years initially did not want to move in, but could not stay in their homes as they needed various services. While it was not clear which factor is a cause or effect, there were certain interactions between the use of, or willingness to use, community services and a sense of belonging to one's neighborhood. There was hesitation using formal services in the beginning. These relationships were influenced by cultural values. Community services and the neighborhood came to serve the role of an extended family. One of the government-subsidized housing residents emphasized the importance of community service programs for an active life:

I did not want to move in here. I did not like it. I signed up and cancelled my request, but I had a back problem. I could not stay… Here services were provided and I needed help, meal and house chores. The quality of building is much better, I mean, the previous apartment, but there is no way that I could have such services. The only reason I am here is because of the ethnic service center. Then, I have lived here [for a while,] feeling this good. I like it here… I was sick. One day I realized that I could not stay at my daughter's house anymore... I could not live at my daughter's house anymore. I felt useless… Despite it was under my daughter's roof… I could not be [a burden to them]. So I said to them "I cannot stay at your home. I feel sorry, but it is time to give up." Then, I moved here… After giving up everything and thinking, "This is the only choice to have a meal," it was easy to adapt… How can I argue if this is good or bad under the circumstances that I cannot cook my meal? Due to my frailty, I started to use in-home care services. I have met people. Even though I do not know how to play games, I have participated in all of the activities. They are for us, so I want to cooperate. It does not matter whether I want to go or not. I love being with people. This is heaven, very heaven… Here is the heaven… Everything looks good. Even a nurse takes care of my medicine. People ask me if I need anything. They ask. I do not have to talk to them... For the elderly, this [place] is the best. Here is the best. Who could take care of us? This is the best shelter… heaven, and shelter… How can I express this? I want to die here…[85-year old woman]

Moving to a new place can be a disruptive event for the elderly. The participant above hesitated to change her residence, but now it is like a "final home" for her. Community service programs are great resources for this participant. For her, social interactions with her neighbours are a very critical element for her quality of life. Thanks to the services provided, the participant feels more confident. Independent living for the participant depends on community involvement. Friends in the same apartment complex provide her with daily companionship, sharing everyday activities and interests with one another. Neighbors do not have to be family, nor do they need to be close friends. However, for this participant, her neighbors are seen as an "extended family." This strong tie affects her feeling of belonging to her neighborhood, hous-

ing satisfaction, and her desire to stay at her current housing. On the other hand, social isolation could decrease the level of housing satisfaction, but not necessarily the desire to age in place. In a different way, a 67-year old man living in a government-subsidized apartment stresses the importance of community dynamics:

I want to participate in social programs, but there are only women. I do not have any [male] friends here. My close friends all died… I cannot sleep at night. It is too noisy. This neighborhood is one of the high crime areas. There are many bars. I do not go outside at night… I do not like… it is not like before… after many different ethnic groups come to this place. Before, this apartment was only for seniors… After changing to mixed-income housing, this has been getting worse. I have never felt happiness after moving here. I live here only because of health insurance. I will stay here, live here… I have to live here anyhow… Although my health status is getting worse, I have to stay here. Do I have a place to live [other than here]? I have no choice without staying here. Somehow I like LA. It looks like Korean people are better off there, I still want to move to LA, but my children are here. I should stay here. [67-year old man]

This participant expresses his frustration of limited community services for him. Although he is willing to be involved with community services, it is not easy for him to participate. This participant is neither satisfied with his housing nor involved with community activities. He cannot find anything in common with his neighbors, which makes it difficult for him to feel a sense of belonging in his neighborhood. He feels that he can not initiate any kind of social interactions. It seems as though he has no desire to make efforts to get involved in any social activities. It also seems as though there is no point in undertaking new projects in his old age. He chooses to stay in his current housing as he ages, but obviously this does not reflect his housing preference. More than anything else, staying close to his adult children is the most important factor in his decision. Although they are not living together, he wants to keep in close contact with his adult children. Since they are all living in the Twin Cities area, he does not want to move to another community:

I do not know [about the future]. Well, it is good if I die [here], but if not, I would go to a nursing home. I cannot depend on my daughter. If my health status deteriorates, I would move to a nursing home, well… For now, I am here… I do not have any place to go. I live here. I cannot move to somewhere else. I cannot go. [82-year old woman]

The decision of where to stay depends on the participant's children. The participant lives at one of the government-subsidized housing projects where many Koreans live. She has been on government welfare since she moved there and used in-home care service programs. Although she says that she wants to stay in her current housing for the rest of her life, she is afraid that her daughter's family would make her move somewhere else if her health condition deteriorates. Thus, the entire decision of where she ends up will be contingent on what her children want.

Even though there is wide evidence as to how older Korean immigrants interacted with the various aspects of their residential environments, the social aspect plays a critical role in influencing feelings of "home." The social aspect (i.e., neighbors and friends in the community, and accessible ethnic-oriented services) supports and interacts with the individual residents. In addition, cultural values are revealed through the participants' interview responses. Although the participants did not want to live with their adult children, they wanted their children to be more or less involved with their decision of whether or not to move from their current housing.

DISCUSSION

Overall, the meaning of home for older Korean immigrants emphasizes their interactions with neighbors. Their definitions of neighborhood and neighbor are somewhat extended. Home means a place linking an individual to one's neighbor, a locus of intense emotional experience and a center of social activities. Through such interactions, it is clear that Korean-American elders interpret "home" as a place to share with their neighbors. The definition of "neighborhood" among older Korean immigrants was expanded to the Korean community in Minnesota, where many social and organizational interactions occur in ethnic churches, other ethnic organizations, and the ethnic service center. All of the activities increase the participants' sense of belonging in one's current neighborhood and feeling at home.

It is interesting to see how family-centered cultural values influence a feeling of "home" and how these make many older Korean immigrants reluctant to use formal community services. Many believe that using these services meant failing family responsibilities. It is complex analyzing how cultural values play a role in making the decision to stay or move from current housing, but accessibility to community services could make a difference. Because they knew where an ethnic service center was located, many participants could find information regarding services that naturally led to a greater utilization of them as well as a greater sense of community. Community services enabled older Korean immigrants with limited resources to feel more confident and to better manipulate their surrounding environments.

Identifying unique cultural values practiced everyday provides useful information for current policy initiatives. Successful aging in place takes place continuously across one's lifespan. In order to improve the quality of life among diverse groups of older immigrants, policy makers should apply a multi-faceted approach. Integrated interpretations from micro-

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Centre Activities

COMINGS AND GOINGS

The Built Environment stream of the GRC and the Dr. Tong Louie Living Laboratory are pleased to welcome the following new appointments:

Dr. Eunju Hwang, Ph.D., joined the GRC in September in the position of BC Real Estate Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow in Environmental Gerontology. Eunju's doctoral degree is in Housing for Special Populations with a minor in Gerontology from the University of Minnesota – Twin Cities. She has worked with the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), St. Paul Public Housing, and ethnic service centers in advocating underserved populations and promoting elder-friendly livable communities. She was a HUD Doctoral Dissertation Research grant recipient between 2002 and 2004. From 2005 to her arrival in Vancouver, she was a Postdoctoral Associate at the University of Georgia Institute of Gerontology.

Loren Lovegreen Ph.D., joined the SFU Department of Gerontology in September. Loren was educated at Baldwin Wallace College, USA (B.A.) and received a Ph.D. in Sociology from Case Western Reserve University, USA in 2006. Prior to joining the Department, she served as the Assistant Director for the Center for Health Promotion Research at Case Western Reserve University. Loren's primary areas of training are in the Sociology of Aging and Medical Sociology. Her current research interests include migration decision making processes of retirees, housing preferences and person-environment fit, return migration, and understanding the intersection of housing, health, family network systems, and planning for future care needs.

Brent Carmichael, M.A.Sc., EIT. Brent graduated from UBC with a Bachelor's Degree in Mechanical Engineering in 2003. Shortly after, he came to SFU to work with Dr. Alex Mihailidis (formerly a Postdoctoral Fellow at the SFU Gerontology Research Centre) who was developing an unobtrusive skin-tone-based computer vision system to track a person's hand movements for use with smart home technologies aimed at helping older adults age in place. In January of 2004, Brent enrolled in the Master's program in Rehabilitation Engineering at the Institute of Biomaterials and Bioengineering at U of T. Under the supervision of Dr. Geoff Fernie at the Centre for Studies in Aging (Sunnybrook Hospital) and the Toronto Rehabilitation Institute, Brent developed equipment to aid in the evaluation of patient lift and transfer technologies. Currently, he is Research Manager of CIBER – Computational and Integrative BioEngineering Research at the School of Engineering Science, Simon Fraser University. In this role, Brent and graduate students and Dr. Bozena Kaminska are collaborating with Dr. Gloria Gutman, Director of the Dr. Tong Louie Living Laboratory and Gerontology Masters Candidate Teena Love in a project entitled "Towards More Elder Friendly Acute Hospital Environments." For information about this exciting project, funded by Fraser Health and being conducted at Burnaby Hospital, visit the Living Lab website at www.sfu.ca/livinglab/research.htm

NEW GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

Industrial Economics Inc. and G. Gutman, Smartgrowth, livable and sustainable communities: Is it good for seniors. CMHC ($66,958.)

DR. TONG LOUIS LIVING LABORATORY

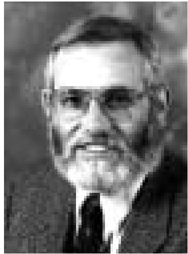
by Gloria Gutman, Director
Dr. Tong Louis Living Laboratory

The Dr. Tong Louie Living Laboratory is a joint venture of the SFU Gerontology Research Centre and the BCIT Technology Centre. One of the SFU projects currently in progress will be of particular interest to SHUP readers. This project, taking place at Burnaby Hospital, is focused on evaluating a series of modifications to the physical environment of medical and surgical units so as to make them more elder-friendly. The first phase of this project gathered information from Acute Care of the Elderly (ACE) Units in the U.S. Design features recommended by ACE Unit staff, as well as some innovations developed by **Teena Love** (MA Candidate, Gerontology) who is working with the Principle Investigator **Gloria Gutman**, have been incorporated into a modified four-bed unit. This unit is being compared with a standard four-bed ward. Study participants are community-dwelling seniors aged 75 and over who role-play being a patient admitted to hospital either because of a hip-fracture or because of congestive heart failure. These are the two most common reasons for admission of older persons to surgical and medical units in Fraser Health. With the growth of the elderly population, modifications that may enable people to get back on their feet and resume normal activities of daily living while still in hospital and thus prevent de-conditioning need to be explored.This study is doing just that. The study is funded by Fraser Health and being conducted in partnership with the Geriatric Clinical Service Planning and Delivery Team.

HOME AND IDENTITY IN LATE LIFE

An International Perspective

by **Habib Chaudhury**, Assistant Professor, Department of Gerontology and
Graham D. Rowles, Professor and Director, Graduate Center of Gerontology, University of Kentucky


Dr. Graham D. Rowles

Dr. Habib Chaudhury

Home and Identity in Late Life: International Perspectives (Rowles, G.D., & Chaudhury, H., Eds., 2005, Springer Publishing Co., ISBN: 0826127150, www.springerpub.com) addresses the complex and rich topic of experience of home from contemporary multidisciplinary and international perspectives. The experience of home environments, the relationship of this experience with self identity, and the evolving meaning of home over the life course have received increased attention from researchers in recent decades. During the 1980s and early 1990s, several books and anthologies focused on aspects of the topic (see for example, Altman & Low, 1992; Altman & Werner, 1985; Marcus, 1995). It is now widely accepted that home provides a sense of identity, a locus of security, and a point of centering and orientation in relation to a chaotic world beyond the threshold. It is also increasingly acknowledged that a sense of being “at home” is related to health status and well-being and that disruption of this sense, through *in situ* environmental change (for example, change in an established neighborhood), relocation (either forced or voluntary), or through disruption of a more existential sense of being at one with the world, can result in significant changes in well-being. In many cases, involuntary relocation and separation from a sense of identity has been shown to have pathological consequences and to lead to increases in rates of morbidity and mortality.

Home and Identity provides a second-generation synthesis and interpretation of the field. Its contributors focus on the meaning of home to elders and the manner in which this meaning may be sustained, threatened, reconstituted, or otherwise modified in association with both normal and pathological changes associated with the experience of growing old. Equally important, the book provides an international perspective that emphasizes the contrasting but complementary perspectives of different cultures. It includes original contributions from leading contemporary scholars who seek to take us beyond the *ad hoc* findings of the past century.

We have commissioned and organized the chapters to accomplish five distinct but overlapping objectives. First, this volume seeks to provide a contemporary summary of recent conceptual scholarship and empirical research on the substance, meaning, and significance of the experience of home in later years. A second objective is to expand horizons of discourse by embracing international perspectives on home. Integral and parallel to such elaboration, is adoption of increasingly complex and nuanced perspectives that reflect the ongoing evolution of gerontology from a multidisciplinary to an interdisciplinary field (Bass & Ferraro, 2000). A third objective is to contribute novel theoretical perspectives on the meaning of home. By moving in these directions, the intent is to facilitate a fourth objective—creation and sharing of original perspectives that can guide future theoretical, substantive and methodological inquiries. A final important objective is to explore practical implications of a deeper understanding of the meaning of home for improving the quality of life of our elders.

The book is comprised of six parts. In chapter 1, Coming Home, which constitutes Part I of the volume, we establish a framework for the chapters that follow by providing an in-depth review and overall perspective on complex interrelationships among place (environmental context), life history, and evolving personal identity that characterize the meaning of home. The chapter incorporates insights that have emerged during the past decade within the framework of a general model of “being at home” or “being in place” that we argue represents a fundamental human need. In addition, the chapter explores and summarizes what is known about practical and applied implications of developing deeper understanding of the meanings of home. The stage is set for a series of thematically organized chapters that amplify different aspects of the phenomenon.

Part II comprises chapters on the phenomenological Essence of Home. A primary focus here is on presenting alternative conceptions of the meaning of home and identifying and distinguishing those themes that are universal and those that may be culturally or environmentally specific. Emphasis is placed on highlighting contrasting views of home in the context of the life course and as experienced by the elders of different cultures. The section begins with a review and synthesis of Western conceptualizations of meaning of home in old age which have been suggested in environmental psychology and environmental gerontology and

presents empirical findings from Germany identifying a typology of dimensions of the meaning of home (Oswald and Wahl, Chapter 2). A particular focus is on comparative assessment of home in the former East Germany and West Germany in the context of reunification. The remainder of the section comprises contributions that focus in more detail on specific aspects of the meaning of home. In Chapter 3, Rubinstein and Medeiros contribute a philosophical interpretation of the relationship of a sense of home to self and identity. Sherman and Dacher (Chapter 4) consider the role of cherished possessions and memorabilia as elements of the creation and maintenance of home. Finally, in a detailed analysis of the arrangement and use of space in the residences of elderly Hindus in India and the manner in which the residence becomes the site of shrines that are integral to the conduct of daily life, Mazumdar and Mazumdar (Chapter 5) provide an exemplar of the deep religious meanings that may pervade a dwelling, making home a sacred place.

Having introduced the reader to different dimensions of the phenomenon, Part III, Disruptions of Home, focuses on antitheses of home. We explore threats to home as well as the absence or apparent absence of home. Rubinstein (Chapter 6) vividly captures our imagination of the experience of severance of home as a political, social and personal reality. The many facets of meaning of home for the diaspora come to light in this chapter. Issues of separation are exemplified in Lewin's exposition on the immigrant experience of home (Chapter 7). Lewin provides theoretical perspectives on the meaning of home for elderly immigrants and explores issues of habitation and integration of Turkish and Iranian immigrants in Sweden. A different form of alienation from home that frequently accompanies dementing illness and the potential for reconstruction of home are considered by Frank (Chapter 8) as she explores the relationships among the meaning of home, sense of self, and unsolicited outbursts involving the word "home" among people with Alzheimer's disease. Finally, Watkins and Hosier (Chapter 9) present and illustrate a theoretical perspective on the global phenomenon of homelessness that advocates moving beyond the limitations of an overly simplistic home/homeless dichotomy. Each chapter in this section focuses on the manner in which often enforced modifications or variants of "mainstream" living result in the need for consideration of fundamentally different conceptions of home.

In Part IV we consider home in a temporal context through explorations of the dynamic theme of Creating and Re-creating Home. Cattell (Chapter 10) provides insightful perspective on the ways in which she gradually developed a sense of being at home as, over several decades of sojourns to western Kenya, she became assimilated within the perspective on home of the Samia. She demonstrates how the cultural expression of home and community and its link to places of origin is embedded in the cultural landscape of sub-Saharan Africa. Considerations of home, identity and belonging in later life for inner-city men are explored by Russell (Chapter 11). Picking up on the theme of homelessness, she presents data revealing how, over their life course, elderly men in urban Australian communities develop senses of home that reflect the characteristics of their life histories and affinity with a neighborhood or familiar area rather than a specific dwelling. Adopting an architectural perspective, the manner in which the meaning of home, following relocation from a community to a specialized communal residential environment, evolves in parallel with a lifelong residential trajectory is explored by Caouette (Chapter 12). Her in-depth multi-method study of 25 elders not only identifies themes in modifications of perceptions of home following relocation but also provides important insight into her participants' perceptions of potential future relocation to a nursing facility and their preferences regarding the design of such facilities.

Part V focuses on the relatively overlooked area of Community Perspectives on the Meaning of Home. Here, we move beyond the dwelling. Chapters are included on the manner in which sociological, historical and anthropological aspects of community life, social conditioning and shared expectations influence the formation and evolution of group identity and shared understandings of home in particular communities. The section considers ways in which shared aspects of community experience contribute to an emergent sense of communal territory and architecture and willingness to identify with, become attached to, and defend shared community space as a manifestation of home. Norris-Baker and Scheidt (Chapter 13) examine the interrelated concepts of place identity, place attachment and place dependence in a discussion equating home with community. Their discussion of sustaining community, protecting community identity, re-framing community, accepting a dying community, and letting go of community as manifest in the small towns of Kansas provides us with insight on home viewed on a larger scale. The meaning of home on the neighborhood and community level and its impact on identity and well being of older adults is also explored by Peace, Holland and Kellaher (Chapter 14) in their study of three English communities; one metropolitan, one small town/suburban, and one rural/village. Through focus groups and in-depth personal interviews with elders they are able to show how themes of belonging, insecurity, connectivity and movement pervade appraisals of community as home. Important questions are raised in their concluding comments regarding

housing policy, community planning and supportive service delivery for older adults. In the final chapter of this section, Després and Lord (Chapter 15) describing an extended program of research in Quebec City, Canada, look into the topical issue of aging suburbanites and planning of the suburbs. There is plenty of food for thought, debate and action in this chapter for city planners, architects and regional health care authorities concerned with responding to the needs of older adults who would like to continue to live in neighborhoods originally built with less environmentally vulnerable middle-aged populations in mind.

In the final section, Part VI, Leaving Home: Commentaries, we have invited three eminent scholars to provide critical commentary on the volume. Each commentator adds a unique perspective on the topic. Amos Rapoport, a leading critic of the lexicon of terms employed in existing research on home (Rapoport, 1995), provides a challenging critique of basic underlying assumptions and emphasizes the continuing ambiguity of the concept. He contextualizes his critique of the terms "home" and "place" in terms of their value in achieving the goals of this volume and asks if use of alternative terms might have been more effective. Kim Dovey, author of a seminal early contribution to the literature on home (Dovey, 1985), provides a counterpoint to Rapoport as he celebrates the paradox of home in its potency and mystery in representing an experience of stability and of a dynamic evolution over time. He also identifies common themes in the various chapters of this volume. Maria Vesperi, an anthropologist, journalist, and prolific writer, contributes a unique interpretation of home against the backdrop of current demographic transitions and social change that represents a look forward to the need for an expanded view of home that will become increasingly pertinent within the political economy of the future. In a concluding reflection on the intellectual path travelled, we identify recurrent themes in the book and suggest useful future research directions in an invitation to continue probing ever more deeply into what it means to be coming *home*.

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(the psychological aspect) to macro- (the cultural aspect) provide accurate descriptions of unique experiences for ethnic minority groups. This approach makes it easier to develop social support services efficiently. In other words, this approach makes it possible for individuals to identify at which level older adults need such services, and whether these services should address the physical or social level.

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