University of Southampton

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Economic, Social and Political Sciences

Negotiating Intergenerational Support: The Effects of Socio-Demographic Changes and Economic Development in Kampong Ayer (Brunei Darussalam)

by

Kartini Rahman

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Gerontology

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Abstract

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As population ageing and rapid socio-demographic and economic changes are experienced in Southeast Asia, policy makers in the region rely on family support as an important source of support for older adults. At the same time, family support is believed to be affected by modernisation, resulting in the loss of values and support for ageing parents. This concern extends to Brunei, yet there remains a lack of empirical knowledge on intergenerational support and relationships and the situations of older adults. To develop a detailed understanding of older adults and their families, and of socio-cultural factors and the influence of change, ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation were conducted in Kampong Ayer. Over a period of six months repeat in-depth interviews and observations of fourteen families, their community, and members of older adult's kinship networks, were carried out. This thesis presents an examination of i) the Brunei Malay family system, ii) how it has adapted to socio-demographic and economic changes, iii) the nature and extent of intergenerational support flows within kinship networks, iv) the unmet needs of older adults.

The results indicated that the number of children a parent has does not guarantee support in later life despite a parent's significant long-term contributions to secure the independence and successes of their adult children. The findings revealed varied situations characterised by the heterogeneity of circumstances and experiences. Furthermore, the influence of Malay kinship was apparent. Particularly, the act of *mengasuh* (raising children in the sense of caring for own children, informally adopted children, or nieces and nephews) and maintaining contact over time, demonstrates the importance of cultivating bonds over the life-course. These earlier *mengasuh* actions, and preservation of bonds over time, influence support for older adults in later life. Sibling relationships maintained throughout the life span are significant in fostering relationships outside of the nuclear Brunei Malay family system. Socio-demographic and economic changes provide economic opportunities which have benefited older adults and their families, rather than breaking down familial ties. This thesis adds new evidence to our understanding of intergenerational support in Brunei Darussalam, the vulnerabilities of older adults, and the resilience of families to adapt to changes.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Kartini Rahman

Title of thesis: Negotiating Intergenerational Support: The Effects of Socio-Demographic Changes and Economic Development in Kampong Ayer (Brunei Darussalam)

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission:

Signature: ..... Date:.....

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Definitions and Abbreviations

ABIM.....*Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia* (Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia)

ADL.....Activities of Daily Living

ASEAN .....Association of Southeast Asian Nations

BND .....Brunei Dollar

GBP.....British Sterling Pound

GDP .....Gross Domestic Product

GPS.....Government Pension Scheme

HDI .....Human Development Index

IADL.....Instrumental Activities of Daily Living

IFLS .....Indonesia Family Life Survey

MIB.....*Melayu Islam Beraja* (Malay Islam Monarchy)

MLFS-2 .....Malaysian Family Life Survey

NCD .....Non-Communicable Disease

OAP .....Old Age Pension

SEA .....Southeast Asia

SMEs.....Small Medium Enterprises

UK.....United Kingdom

US.....United States

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

Population ageing involves an increase in the number and population of older people relative to young, caused primarily by a process of fertility decline, and secondarily by an increase in life expectancies (Lloyd-Sherlock, 2010, p. 8-9; Zimmer and McDaniel, 2013, p. 1). Fertility decline and the relative increase of older people signify challenges in terms of changing family structures, as there are fewer family members and caregivers available for those in need of care (OECD, 2011, p. 20). Underlying issues of shifting intergenerational relations and support, as well as decreasing numbers of family members, call into question the supply of family support today. Traditionally, family has been the "first line of emotional and economic support for older people" (Achenbaum, 2010, p. 29). This first line of defence encounters issues raised by population ageing, which long-standing developed societies in Europe and North America have had more time to address (Chow, 2005, p. 5). By contrast, developing or more recently developed countries in Asia face rapid fertility decline and population ageing in a shorter period of time, and furthermore there are socio-demographic and economic attributes unique to each country (Chow, 2005, p. 5; Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2007, p. vi). These rapid changes in Asia are accompanied by a general lack of a comprehensive or substantial system of state provision (Croll, 2006, p. 478; Lee Hock Guan, 2008, p. xii-xiii). It is uncertain whether the current family-based welfare strategies adopted by Asian countries are sustainable without significant adaptations in light of changing family structures (Lee Hock Guan, 2008, p. xiv). Challenges brought on by the imbalance of old to young age groups are further catalysed by trends such as urbanisation, increased labour participation of women, and migration (Kalache, Barreto and Keller, 2005, p. 39; Lowenstein and Katz, 2013, p. 190-191; Phillipson, 2013, p. 597). Intergenerational relations and family support in the Asian context are therefore set in a time of volatile change and unique country-specific environments. These issues show a need to investigate the impact of socio-demographic and economic changes on family-based support systems, and ultimately question whether current policy strategies and family support are beneficial to the wellbeing of older adults.

The aim for this thesis is to investigate how intergenerational family support is negotiated in the face of rapid social changes, in the country of Brunei Darussalam (henceforth also known as 'Brunei'). The focus is on the Kampong Ayer community, a water village located on the Brunei River in the capital city of Bandar Seri Begawan (BSB). Kampong Ayer is an important site due to its significance in the legacy for Brunei Malays, who are part of Brunei's majority Malay ethnic

group, and its past as a home to a majority of the population (Yunos, 2009c, p. 65; Department of Economic Planning and Statistics Brunei Darussalam, 2019, p. 4). Although a site of historical significance, Kampong Ayer has been affected by Brunei's surge of economic development and socio-demographic changes in recent decades (Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin, 2017, p. 14-15). These changes occurred from the 1950s and 1960s onward due to breakthroughs in oil and gas exploration, infrastructure development, modernising of government administration, housing resettlement programs, and mass employment in the government sector. Migration is apparent as Kampong Ayer was a densely populated community in the 1970s, but by 2015 13,000 people had reportedly moved out over a period of 30 years. According to the 2011 census, only three percent of Brunei's population still live in Kampong Ayer (Mat Sani, 2016; Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin, 2017, p. 12). The possible implications these socio-demographic and economic changes have on older adults in Kampong Ayer, makes Kampong Ayer an important site to study changing familial support. It is imperative to understand the current situation of support within the family, when family is the main policy strategy in ensuring the welfare and wellbeing of the older population. The Brunei government's significant reliance on the extended family system to care and support older people is concerning due to a lack of evidence supporting this policy direction for Brunei, in particular a lack of research on the vulnerabilities and challenges of older adults.

To explore the effects of socio-demographic and economic changes on families and intergenerational support in Kampong Ayer, the following research questions guide this thesis:

R1. What are the norms and ideals concerning family, kinship, and intergenerational support amongst Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer?

R2. How has the family system of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer adapted to socio-demographic and economic changes?

R3. What is the extent and nature of intergenerational and intragenerational support flows within kinship networks? How have they changed over time?

R4. What are older people's needs unmet by current intergenerational support flows within the family? Which groups emerge as vulnerable to a lack of support and care?

Chapter 2 Country Profile of Brunei Darussalam

2.1 Introduction

Through this country profile, I introduce areas of concern regarding Brunei's readiness to secure the welfare and wellbeing of older adults. In section 2.2 I first summarise key geographic, demographic, political features, and economic history of Brunei. I then state the characteristics of Brunei's ageing population. I investigate striking socio-demographic and economic trends which are relevant to the wellbeing of Brunei's older adults and intergenerational relationships and support. Brunei's current policies and strategies regarding the welfare of older adults are briefly discussed. Section 2.3 is an assessment of socio-demographic changes in Kampong Ayer. To conclude the country profile, I elaborate on key aspects which make Brunei's socio-demographic and economic composition unique and the potential issues this raises for older adults.

2.2 Is Brunei ready for an ageing population?

2.2.1 Key socio-demographic, geographic, and political characteristics

Brunei Darussalam is a geographically small country located on the island of Borneo in Southeast Asia (SEA). At 5,270 sq. km it is approximately the size of Norfolk, a country in the UK (Deterding and Sharbawi, 2013; The World Bank, 2017). With a population of 459,500 persons in 2019, Brunei has a small population in comparison to other SEA[1] countries (ASEAN, 2018, p. 1; Department of Economic Planning and Statistics Brunei Darussalam, 2019, p. 3). Brunei has four districts[2], with Brunei-Muara the most populated district (69.5 percent of the population) and the district containing the capital city BSB (Department of Economic Planning and Statistics Brunei Darussalam, 2019, p. 4). The majority of the population, 71 percent in 2010, live in urban areas (United Nations Population Fund, 2012, p. 1). Kampong Ayer is considered an urban area due to its history and location as the heart of the capital city.

Politically, Brunei is one of the oldest sultanates in the region, established from the 14th century and currently with an absolute monarchy political system (Hussainmiya and Tarling, 2011; Pusat Sejarah Brunei, 2018). Brunei has been an absolute monarchy since its independence in 1984

[1] ASEAN member states used for comparison, being Thailand, Lao PDR, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Vietnam, and Cambodia.
[2] The four districts are Brunei-Muara, Tutong, Temburong and Belait (Department of Economic Planning and Statistics Brunei Darussalam, 2019, p. 4)

from being British Protected State for a century (Fanselow, 2014, p. 91). Historically, Sultan Muhammad Shah was the first sultan who established the Muslim kingdom of Brunei in the 14th century (Da-Sheng, 1992, p. 10). Whilst Brunei was under British protection from 1906 due to territorial disputes with neighbouring Sarawak, a British Resident's advice was to be accepted in all matters except those concerning religion (Horton, 1986, p. 354). By 1950s, the then reigning Sultan Haji Omar Ali Saifuddien Sa'adul Khairi Waddien ibni Almarhum Sultan Muhammad Jamalul Alam II, exhibited authority by refusing the British Resident's advice particularly on constitutional reform to support democracy (ibid, p. 373). Presently, His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, The Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam, is the 29th ruling monarch, Prime Minister, leader of the executive branch of the Brunei Government and the Council of Cabinet of Ministers (Prime Minister's Office, Department of Information Brunei Darussalam, 2013, p. 21; 2016). Along with holding supreme executive authority, His Majesty appoints the Ministers and Deputy Ministers (The Constitution of Brunei Darussalam, 1959, p. 17-18). These characteristics show that Brunei is a small country with a robust government presence in the development and running the country (Ahmad Kumpoh, Haji Wahsalfelah and Haji-Othman, 2017, p. 25).

What is politically unique about Brunei in comparison to other Southeast Asian nations is Brunei as a rentier state. Firstly, I explain what a rentier state is. Rents, generally mean accrued government revenue that is generated by the export of natural resources (Schwarz, 2008, p. 604; Beblawi, 2016, p. 199). In the context of a rentier state, external revenues are classified as rents because they are passively earned without much effort (Hafez, 2009, p. 459-460). For example, large amounts of natural resources of a country are bought by external players, without the need for a productive or labour intensive workforce (ibid, p. 460). Beblawi (1987, p. 384) states that every economy has some elements of income from rents, however a rentier economy is one where it is significantly determined by rents. The facets of a rentier state are that at least 40 percent of government revenue is made up of oil revenues swayed by the global market economy due to the volatility of oil prices, and that the oil revenue is directly collected by the state (Benli AltuniŞIk, 2014, p. 77). The export of oil in Brunei which began from 1932, resulted in oil royalties which turned Brunei into one of the richest nations in the world (Horton, 1986, p. 365). Brunei's economy is dominated by the oil and gas sector, which has consistently accounted for 50-60 percent of the GDP and 90 percent of exports (World Integrated Trade Solution, 2015; Department of Statistics, 2016, p. 3; 2017, p. 3). This means Brunei's provision of welfare and infrastructure, which are funded by natural resource income, is vulnerable to oil shocks, as in 2014-15 oil revenue accounted for 86.33 percent of government revenue.

Thus far, the features of a rentier economy have been described. Next the socio-political elements of rentier economies are elaborated to explain their significance in Brunei. I then illustrate the unique implications of Brunei's rentier state in comparison to other Malay majority countries in SEA. Rentier economies influence a state's system of government and society because rents are redistributed as state-provided welfare (Beblawi, 1987, p. 385). Political theorists argue that oil dependent rentier state economies are less democratic because citizens are less taxed or not taxed at all and therefore do not hold the government in any accountability (Sandbakken, 2006, p. 135; Benlİ AltuniŞIk, 2014, p. 82). Furthermore, a monarchic form of government is legitimised through a social contract, whereby political liberties are exchanged for the wealth and welfare provided (Ross, 2001, p. 333; Beblawi, 2016, p. 206). A small fragment of society is involved in the creation of wealth, whereas the majority of society work to utilise and distribute wealth (Beblawi, 1987, p. 385; Sandbakken, 2006, p. 135).

Brunei's rentierism is described as a "Shellfare" state (Gunn, 2008, p. 4-5) wherein citizens benefit from personal income tax-free economic security such as free healthcare, public housing, free education, universal old age pension, and privileged public sector employment. The term "shellfare" is coined due to the significance of the Shell group of companies who initiated the exploration and exploitation of Brunei's natural hydrocarbon resources from 1913 (ibid, p. 3). In addition to welfare funded by oil revenue to secure citizens' loyalty via an implicit social contract, Islam as Brunei's national religion and the national philosophy of *Melayu, Islam, Beraja* (MIB, Malay, Islam, Monarchy) further officially legitimise the Malay Sultanate as appointed by god (Kershaw, 2001, p. 13; Croissant and Lorenz, 2018, p. 19). The national idiom of MIB is proliferated through the media and Brunei's education system, where MIB is a compulsory subject up to the undergraduate level (Kershaw, 2001, p. 19; Oxford Business Group, 2013). Although Islam has influence over political parties in both Malaysia and Indonesia, this differs from the legitimisation of absolute authority of the Malay Sultanate in Brunei (Kikue, 2002, p. 356; Müller, 2016, p. 162; Kloos and Berenschot, 2017, p. 186-187). In comparison with neighbouring Malay majority countries, the national philosophies of Indonesian *Pancasila* and Malaysian *Rukun Negara* (National Principles) promote democracy or policies made by public consensus (Morfit, 1981, p. 841; Department of Information of Malaysia, 2016). Further differences of national philosophy within the region are how Bruneian's welfare and aspirations are under the reigning sultan's responsibility and control. Citizens of Brunei are entitled to adequate welfare and wealth because of the social contract of submitting loyalty in return, whereas in Malaysia and Indonesia, citizens are entitled to vote for their wants and needs through democratic elections (Buehler, 2009, p. 51-52). The context of Brunei citizen's entitlement to welfare and wealth is important

when considering the unique implications this may have on Brunei's older adults, who expect universal old age pension and adequate welfare provisions from the state.

Having explained how a social contract arises in rentier states like Brunei, let me now describe the influence of Brunei's economic history over various generations, and the role of the state over time. Discussion of Brunei's economic history is to situate how different generations may benefit or be at a disadvantage from Brunei's economic progress or downturns. The consequential impact of oil exports only occurred in 1973 in Brunei, due to the quadrupling of oil prices during 1973-1974 (Gunn, 2008, p. 4). This expanded Brunei's Shellfare state, especially in the education sector, the public sector employment which continues to absorb 70% of local workforce, resettlement housing schemes, and free healthcare (Cleary and Francis, 1994, p. 68-69; Sulaiman, 2003, p. 71). Generations born pre-1973 would not have had the same opportunity as those post-1973 generations received in terms of access to education, and government jobs. In relation to my study sample, the older adults ages range between early teen years to mid-thirties during the mid-1970s when infrastructure development particularly expanded (cf. chapter 5, section 5.2). Prosperity from the oil boom period ended due to the 1997 Asian economic crisis, and issues of insufficient government revenue due to falling prices further intensified during the 2008 global economic crisis and the oil price wars of 2015 and 2020 (Gunn, 2008, p. 7; Bandial, 2020; Centre for Strategic and Policy Studies, 2020, p. 11). Due to the waning of oil boom years, Brunei's fiscal policies reformed to reduce public sector spending (Gunn, 2008; Hj Abu Bakar and Han, 2020). In recent decades, the Shellfare arrangement shifted its welfare responsibilities towards individual responsibility, such as in promoting entrepreneurship amongst youth so they can create their own jobs, pressuring families to take a stronger role in supporting their aged members (cf. section 2.2.5), and encourage the mindset of self-reliance rather than dependence on government handouts (Department of Economic Planning and Statistics of Brunei, 2020, p. 33). These shifts of welfare responsibilities call attention to the current generation of young adults who are unable to rely on the public sector for employment, as their parents had. In my study sample, there is evidence that this affects young adult children. The limits of public sector employment are also cemented in the hiring freeze of public sector jobs in recent years (ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office, 2018, p. 21). Furthermore, Brunei's older adults, who were too old to benefit from post-1973 oil boom developments, have inadequate pensions in comparison to the pension schemes acquired by their adult children. They now depend on their families for old-age support (cf. section 2.2.5). My thesis examines whether adult children provide sufficient assistance to older adults, and whether it is reliable support.

The varying effects in different generations of Brunei's political economy and history are evidence of the country-specific context. The effects of a rentier economy and oil boom developments are

important for understanding the contexts of different generations of older adults and their families. Next, I describe Brunei's ethnic diversity, and the importance of Malay citizenship. I further relay the heterogeneity within the Malays of Brunei, by considering social class and socio-economic status differences.

Although Brunei's national philosophy is captured by MIB, Brunei has numerous ethnic communities (Ellen and Bernstein, 1994, p. 18; Maxwell, 2001, p. 182). The majority ethnic group are Malays, at 65.8 percent[3]; this is inclusive of seven sub-groups, Brunei, Kedayan, Tutong, Belait, Bisaya, Dusun and Murut (Department of Economic Development and Planning, 2011, p. 3; 2015; Department of Economic Planning and Statistics Brunei Darussalam, 2019, p. 4). Each of these Malay sub-groups has identifiable customs that are considered native to Brunei. For this thesis, despite the focus on the sub-group of the Bruneis, this sub-group in question will be referred to generally as Brunei Malays[4]. Another major ethnic group is Chinese, representing 10.3 percent of Brunei's population (Department of Economic Planning and Statistics Brunei Darussalam, 2019, p. 4). The population of all minority ethnic groups combined add up to 24 percent in 2019, and are composed of ethnic minorities such as Europeans, Chinese, Indians, Thais, Koreans, and Malays from other countries (Neville, 1990; Department of Economic Development and Planning, 2015, p. 28; Department of Economic Planning and Development Brunei Darussalam, 2018a, p. 4).

Bruneinative Malays are privileged with civil service employment opportunities, provisions of land and houses to the poor through the Landless Indigenous Citizen Scheme Policy (*Skim Tanah Kurnia Rakyat Jati*), and easier access to higher education (Loo and Hassanal, 2009, p. 150; Roseberg, 2017). The benefits bestowed to Brunei-native Malays shows how Brunei citizenship and Malay identity are entitled to advantages. Despite such entitled advantages, differences between social classes and socio-economic status (SES) within the Brunei Malay ethnic group persist. These differences reflect important heterogeneity that could otherwise be overlooked by focusing only on overall privileges. SES differences between generations is suggested by the implications of Brunei's economic history previously discussed, namely that some generations pre-1973 do not have the advantages of those post-1973, and that the youth maturing during the oil price wars years cannot wholly rely on the government for employment. Social class differences within generations can be seen in the rigid differentiation between nobles and non-nobles which is officiated by titles earned by birth right or awarded by the Sultan (Brown, 1970; Ahmad Kumpoh, Haji Wahsalfelah and Haji-Othman, 2017). At the top of the nobility hierarchy

[3] The Brunei Malays representing two thirds of the population has been relatively unchanged in more recent years since 2014, and much earlier from 1971 (Warwick, 1990, p. 29)

[4] This differs to some scholars referring to Brunei Malays to include all Malay sub-groups mentioned, such as Maxwell (2001)

are the royal family, while lower nobility are descendants of nobles known generally as *Pengiran* (Ahmad Kumpoh, Haji Wahsalfelah and Haji-Othman, 2017). Non-noble officials hold high ranking offices in the government, with higher ranking non-noble officials given the tile of *Pehin*, where lower ranking non-noble officials are titled based on their responsibly for state affairs and religious matters (ibid). In comparison, no such officialdom exists for small business owners, entrepreneurs, or people who work for themselves. It is interesting to note any SES or social class differences within the private sector or self-employed, and how this differs between older adults and their families. Furthermore, far more benefits are accrued through employment in the public sector, including pensions (cf.section 2.2.5). Such social class and likely SES differences between and within public and private sector employment are important, especially as more youth nowadays are expected to work for themselves, and in considering older adults who were unable to have such benefits from government jobs.

Education is also related to SES, as Brunei's latest Household Expenditure Survey (HES) data showed stark differences in education spending between household income quintiles (Department of Economic Planning and Development Brunei Darussalam, 2018b). Differences between household income quintiles reflects differing social class or SES situations. The first, and lowest, quintile earned at the most a household monthly income of $2860 BND or less, on average spent $18 BND or 1.3 percent on education per month. The second quintile earned a household income of $2864 – $4677, spent $51 or 2.3 percent on education. By comparison, the highest and fifth quintile earned $9771 and above, spent $525 or 10.7 percent on education. The HES report did not include data on the number of people living in each household. If poorer households are larger – as is suggested by the evidence in this thesis due to families requiring housing and financial support and therefore coresiding with their older parents – then the average of $18 spent per month is even more constrained. Thus reflecting significant social class and SES differences, even amongst a majority Brunei-native Malay population.

The following sections discuss the context of Brunei's lack of success in diversifying the economy, escalating unemployment, and limited policies aiding the social security of older adults, particularly considering the finite resources for welfare provisions. First, I outline the characteristics of Brunei's ageing population to justify why this is important to investigate. Within this section I discuss the demographics of Brunei's ageing population, with notable issues of health, fertility rate, and women's formal labour and education participation.

2.2.2 **Brunei's ageing population**

Projections show Brunei having 30 percent of the population aged 60 years and above by 2050 (United Nations, 2019, p. 8). Due to this rapid ageing population, the United Nations placed Brunei as amongst the top ten countries in the world with the largest percentage point increase from 2019 to 2050 (ibid). It is projected that globally older adults will live far longer (United Nations, 2019, p. 7-8). This includes people surviving to age 80 and above, who will eventually need support in their activities of daily living for a longer time period (Palanivel et al., 2016). Reinforcing this in the context of Brunei is the high average life expectancy at age 60, which is 20.1 years for men and 21.8 years for women. This underlines the importance of financial and welfare sustainability at these later ages (World Bank, 2007, p. 24).

Statistics show that not only are older adults more at risk of NCDs, but women in general are more at risk (Ministry of Health Brunei Darussalam, 2017, p. 31). Women in Brunei have a longer life expectancy at birth (78.5 years) than men (76.4 years in 2018) and thus more likely to fall into the oldest-old age group (Department of Economic Planning and Development Brunei Darussalam, 2019, p. v). This raises the question whether these older women have social security, in terms of sustainable financial and welfare in later ages, and intergenerational care and support especially in times of declining health. Importantly, it is generally common for older people to experience multimorbidity, particularly those who are from lower socio-economic groups (Barnett *et al.*, 2012, p. 42).

Care and intergenerational support are affected by socio-demographic changes regarding women's labour force participation and Brunei's decreasing fertility rate. Studies have shown that generally, higher female labour participation, higher education attainment, and marriage at later ages have an effect on family forms, especially in terms of an increase of older people in single households, a rise in childless women, and arguably a potential decrease of family support resources (Knodel, Ofstedal and Hermalin, 2003, p. 44; Lowenstein and Katz, 2013, p. 191; Devasahayam, 2014, p. 1). This is relevant to Brunei because socio-demographic changes which have occurred during Brunei's period of economic development, particularly from the 1950-70s, indicate a changing situation for women during this time. This calls to question whether gender norms have changed over time considering such developments in Brunei's infrastructure, provisions, and opportunities for women, which is explored further in chapter 3 (cf. section 3.3.4). The transformation of Brunei during the expansion of its oil and gas industry and consequential national development plans to develop infrastructure, provide education, healthcare and employment, coincided with changes in Brunei's socio-demographic structure similar to changes in the demographic structure of the SEA region of the time in declining total fertility rates

(Hermalin, 2000, p. 3-6). To explore this, I investigate the relationship between Brunei's total fertility rates, female labour participation, and female education enrolment. The relationship is depicted in Figure 2.1.

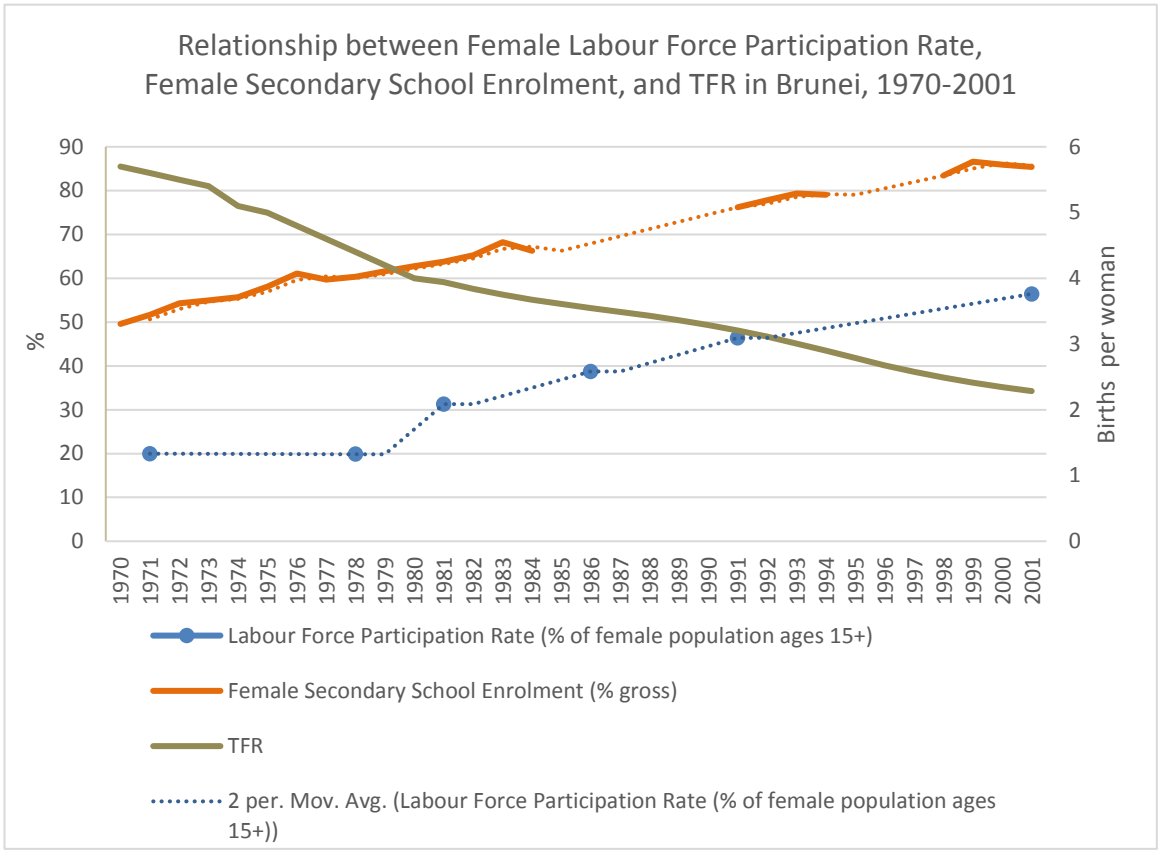

Figure 2.1 Relationship between Female Labour Force Participation Rate, Female Secondary School Enrolment, and TFR in Brunei, 1970-2001. Source: Author's own analysis using data from the World Bank (2019)

Brunei experienced a sharp decline of fertility from a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) of 4.99 in 1975 to 4 in 1980 (World Bank, 2019). Figure 2.1 suggests a correlation with school enrolment and female labour participation. This is corroborated by findings in a 2006 study in Brunei, that average age at time of marriage for working[5] women was 23.1 years, and for non-working women 19.2 years (Anaman and Kassim, 2006, p. 805-806). The development contributing to this was an expansion of education in the 1950-70s and inclusion of females, with the first secondary school opening in 1951 (de Vienne and Lanier, 2015, p. 222). The literacy rate increased from 58 percent for women in 1971, to 85 percent in 1991 (de Vienne and Lanier, 2015, p. 222). Furthermore, women are more represented in tertiary level education in Brunei, with significantly more females enrolling

[5] 'Working' for the study meant being employed in the formal sector (Anaman and Kassim, 2006)

and graduating than males (Hiew and Tibok, 2019, p. 5-6). These trends reflect a significant change in female education attainment, with inevitable implications for female labour participation and intergenerational support which will be discussed next.

In Brunei, the 1980s was a period of transformation for women's employment. This entailed a period of government expansion and job opportunities for men and women (Thambipillai and Sulaiman, 1995, p. 111; Anaman and Kassim, 2006, p. 798). Prior to this, in the 1970s and earlier, women were dictated by custom to work as clerks, teachers, nurses and midwives. Those who did not have sufficient qualifications tended to remain in the home, or work in the fields (Horton, 1995, p. 85). This however changed, as a determined effort by the government was made to bring women into the workplace through spreading education, and further extending women's employment opportunities (ibid, p. 85). In 1971 the female labour participation rate was 20 percent, by the 1980s this figure increased to 31.3 percent, and by 1991 it rose to 46.4 percent (Department of Economy and Statistics Brunei, 1971; Social Affairs Services Unit Brunei Darussalam, 1994, p. 3). The relationship with declining fertility rates is due to the idea that as women's labour participation increases, women would also be employed throughout their child bearing and child rearing years (Lin Lean Lim, 2002, p. 206). Furthermore for the case of Brunei, studies suggest that Brunei has a lack of formal childcare provision, lack of housekeeping sharing with partners, and no monetary transfer support from the government (Siddiqui, 2014, p. 35; Rahman, 2019). This suggests how Brunei government's recent emphasis on self-reliance also affects women of today, who need to work, yet do not have sufficient benefits expected from a rentier state to support them into wealth, comfort, and prosperity (cf. section 2.2.1).

Despite the increase of female labour participation rate in Brunei overtime, women are still at a disadvantage to men in some regard. These insights are illustrated in the following chart, Figure 2.2, where the unemployment of men and women in Brunei are compared.

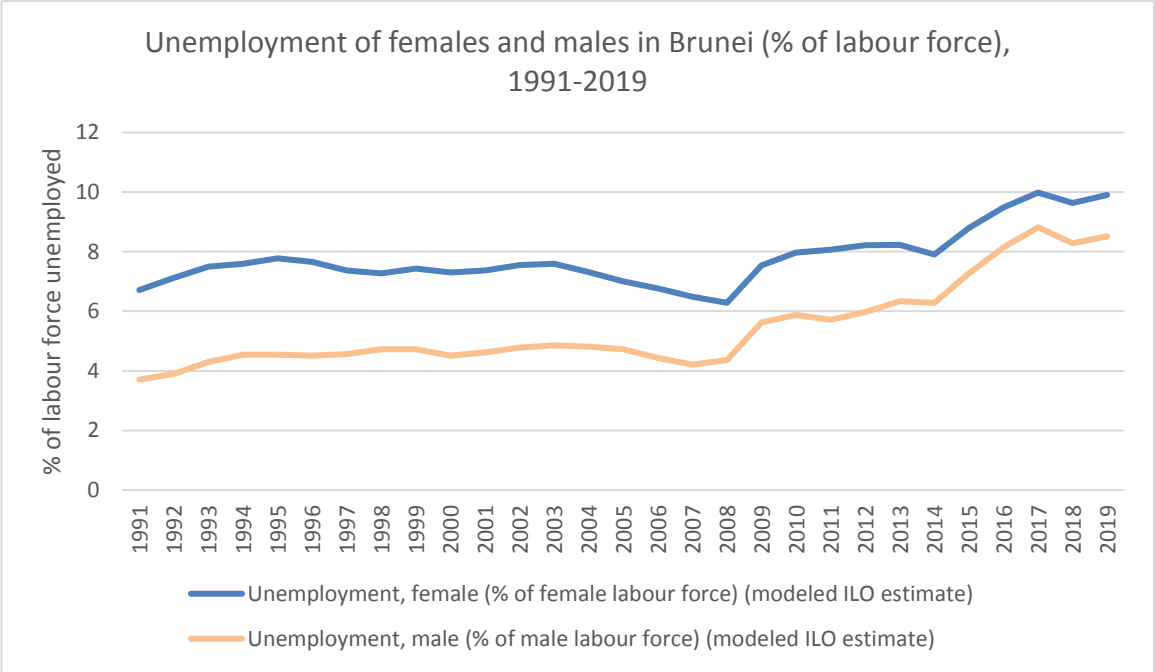

Figure 2.2 Unemployment of females and males in Brunei (% of labour force), 1991-2019. Source: Author's own analysis suing daya from International Labour Organisation (2020a;(2020b)

It can be theorised that differences in employment between men and women are narrowing, as statistics show that amongst citizens and permanent residents of Brunei, men and women had equal pay amidst the employed labour force (Department of Economic Planning and Development Brunei Darussalam, 2015, p. 3; Tsue Ing and Zytek, 2017, p. 10). At the same time, Malay women graduates who attained tertiary education and were actively seeking work, were more likely to be unemployed and for longer time periods than men[6] (Rizzo, Cheong and Chian, 2016, p. 92). A Brunei study also found that women who were married were more likely to be employed than unmarried women whereby the average age of non-working respondents was 33.5 years[7] (Anaman and Kassim, 2006, p. 807). This shows that women having more roles in formal work does not necessarily disrupt family forms, instead may have more resources for it. It also showed a possible vulnerability in unmarried women, who may be unable to put away enough savings in her working life, or unable to contribute to older parents as they themselves continue to get older.

So far, this section showed that education is an important part of equalising opportunities for women, but disadvantages still exist. An important relevant issue is that even as women continue

[6] No significant gender differences were found amongst Chinese graduates actively seeking work. (Rizzo, Cheong and Chian, 2016)
[7] This was slightly higher than employed women respondents, whose average age was 32.4 years (Anaman and Kassim, 2006)

to have better education attainment than men, there is significant long-term unemployment for Malay women at tertiary level. This suggests if unemployment continues to increase generally in Brunei, it may affect women more so than men. As it was shown that married women in Brunei were more likely to be employed, these trends show a potential vulnerability for unmarried women, wherein their long-term unemployment may impact intergenerational support capability, and their own financial stability as they progress to later ages. One reason relating to the financial and welfare sustainability of older adults is Brunei's lack of a diversified economy, which contributes to escalating unemployment.

2.2.3 **Brunei's lack of success in diversifying the economy**

The oil and gas industry has had some positive impact on Brunei's development, but ultimately Brunei faces challenges. There are two major effects, infrastructure development and oil and gas sector dependency.

First, throughout the past century the development of Brunei's economy fuelled by reserves of petroleum and gas, and technological advancement of the oil and gas industry in the 1960's, considerably benefited infrastructure growth (Brunei Shell Petroleum, 2015; Energy and Industry Department Brunei Darussalam, 2017). Wealth derived from oil transformed Brunei due to the vast increase of state revenue, which was eventually allotted to social, education and health development (Hj. Aliuddin, Sahari and Nair, 2014, p. 111). Prior to Brunei's first commercial find of oil and gas, Brunei's government had little income to support development, and was largely debt-ridden (Siddiqui, Hashim and Wahid, 1996, p. 5; Hj. Aliuddin, Sahari and Nair, 2014, p. 99; Nani Suryani, 2018, p . 9). Thus, there was a stark contrast from the past experiences of poverty to the sudden oil wealth in the 1950s (Harry, 2015, p. 44). Currently, Brunei has a high standard of living and the second highest income per capita in ASEAN (OECD/ERIA, 2018, p. 212).

The reliance on the oil and gas industry as a main source of revenue for the government continues today, however, with uncertainties regarding Brunei's welfare sustainability and economic growth due to the lack of success in economic diversity (Bhaskaran, 2010, p. 16-17; Ahmad Siddiqui, Al Athmay and Bin Mohammed, 2012, p. 398; Prusak, 2016; Kriskkumar and Naseem, 2019, p. 17). Studies have shown how unsustainable the future of Brunei's welfare system and government source of revenue is (Borneo Bulletin, 2015;2016; Cheong, Milojević and Rajak, 2016, p. 14-15). The unpredictability of oil prices has contributed to four years (2014-2017) of negative growth (Bandial, 2018). Brunei's lack of economic diversity correlates to issues of unemployment due to the shortage of jobs for the population, and the public sector cannot continually absorb the labour force (Ahmad Siddiqui, Al Athmay and Bin Mohammed, 2012, p.

407; Cheong, Milojević and Rajak, 2016, p. 15). The implications of escalating unemployment for families and older adults in Brunei are discussed in the next section.

2.2.4 Escalating unemployment in Brunei

As of 2019, Brunei's population has the most people in the working age in ASEAN, with persons aged 20-59 years comprising of 62.8 percent of Brunei's population (The ASEAN Secretariat, 2019). However, despite having a large potential labour force, unemployment has substantially increased in recent decades. This is particularly so for high youth unemployment (ages 15-24 years) in comparison with other countries regionally. This is illustrated in Figure 2.3.

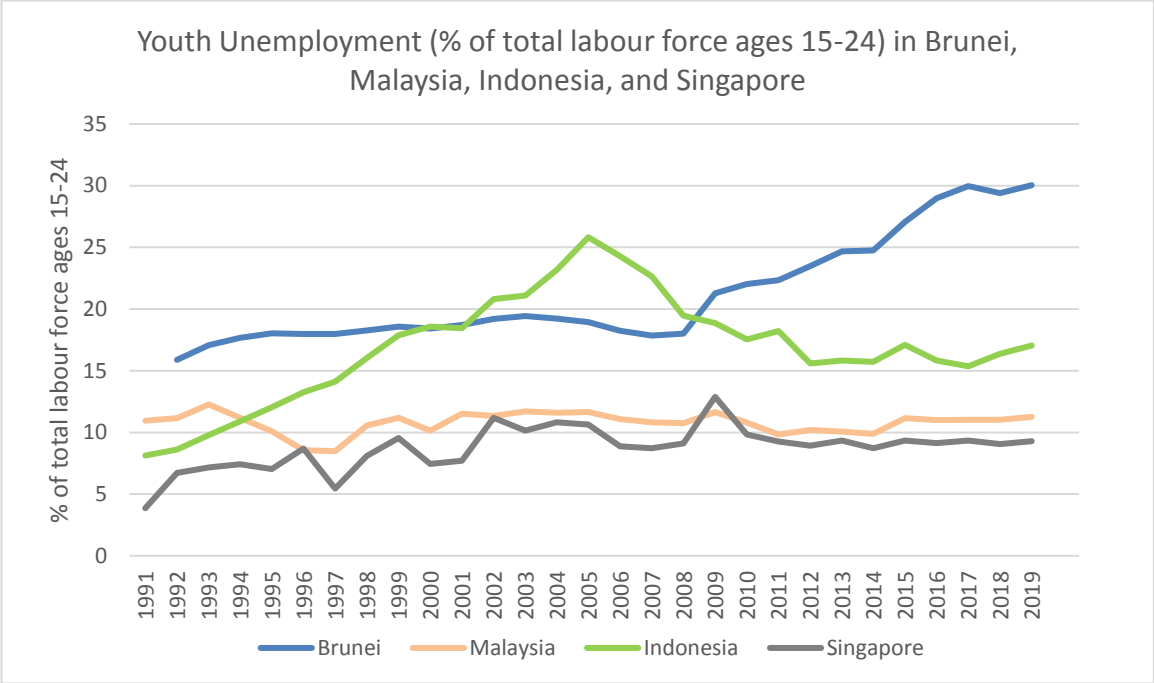

Figure 2.3 Youth unemployment (% of total labour force ages 15-24) in Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore. Source: International Labour Organisation (2020c)

These figures are concerning because these calculations of labour force include youth who are actively seeking employment and currently available for employment (Department of Economic Planning and Development, 2017, p. 5; ILO Department of Statistics, 2017, p. 7). Therefore, a trend of high youth unemployment may suggest downward intergenerational support flows to unemployed youth who are not engaging in productive activity. This may be an issue of misaligned resources of older adults if there is a trend of downward intergenerational support flows and if youth unemployment is also indicative of long-term unemployment. This is especially concerning if these older adults and families have a low socio-economic status as resources may be constrained. In my thesis, resource constraints are shown in the adult children who work in the

private sector or are self-employed (cf. sections 5.3.3, 5.3.4, 5.3.5, and 5.3.8), which shows how macro-trends play out in individual lives or communities.

Brunei has a problem with unemployment within the general population, not only with the youth. As discussed, education is theorised to improve employment chances and has been shown to narrow gender differences. Even if Brunei has a skilled and educated labour force there is a lack of job availability as suggested by the following statistics. Brunei has the highest net secondary school enrolment rate in ASEAN at 97 percent, yet Brunei has the highest unemployment rate in ASEAN as of 2018 at 9.2 percent[8] (The ASEAN Secretariat, 2019, p. 27). Thus, despite having the second highest income per capita in ASEAN, Brunei has a critical problem with unemployment, which may affect intergenerational support and the wellbeing and social security of older adults. Since intergenerational support may flow downward due to the significant youth unemployment, older adult's resources may be constrained if they have a low SES. Low SES families would then generally have no upward support flows to older adults. Older adults could possibly be the main contributor to the family due to the universal OAP. This questions the welfare and social security of older adults. The next section discusses the limited policies Brunei has in aiding the wellbeing and social security of older adults.

2.2.5 **Limited policies supporting older people in Brunei?**

In terms of policies concerning Brunei's older population, the old age pension (OAP, *Pencen Umur Tua*) is available to Brunei citizens and permanent residents aged 60 years and above (Cella *et al.*, 2007, p. 15; Haji Saim, 2010, p. 141). Brunei citizens must have lived in Brunei for 10 years prior to applying, and those not born in Brunei must have lived in Brunei for at least 30 years (Chambers, 2017, p. 14; JAPEM, 2018). Residence in another country during this period must only be for up to three months. The pension has been $250 Brunei dollars (BND) a month since 1st October 2006[9] (Chambers, 2017, p. 18; JAPEM, 2018). This is approximately £142.93[10] GBP a month. The government pension scheme (GPS) is given to those who began their government service before 1st January 1993, those who began their government service after this date will not qualify for this pension (The World Bank, 2007, p. 14). The GPS is still provided for those employed in the Royal Brunei Police Force, and Royal Brunei Armed Forces regardless of when they started their

[8] Unemployment rate as of 2018 for the other ASEAN countries are, Cambodia 1.1 percent, Indonesia 5.3 percent, Lao PDR 0.6 percent, Malaysia 3.3 percent, Myanmar 1 percent, Philippines 5.4 percent, Singapore 2.9 percent, Thailand 1.1 percent, Vietnam 2.2 percent. (The ASEAN Secretariat, 2019)

[9] Pensions were previously lower, starting at $20 BND when first introduced in 1955 (Department of Community Development Brunei Darussalam, 2015)

[10] Conversion of BND to British Pound Sterling (GBP) as of 15th June 2020

government service. The pension is payable with early retirement[11], with a minimum of 10 years of service required (ibid). The GPS gives the retiree varied pension rates depending on years of service, with a final income replacement rate of 75 percent after 30 years of service (The World Bank, 2007, p. 14; Haji Saim, 2010, p. 141-142). For other Brunei citizens and permanent residents employed during working-ages of 18-60 are eligible for the following pension and saving schemes. Employees who began government service on or after 1st January 1993, and private sector employees receive pension through the provident fund, where 5% of their salary is contributed to the fund, a supplementary pension is also provided where the employer contributes 3.5% of the monthly salary into the provident fund. Upon retirement, the lump sum of the provident fund plus accrued interest is paid. These show that it is an advantage for those who can be employed during working-ages to have such saving schemes. Generations born and growing up in the post-1973 years are also at an advantage due to having the benefits of Brunei's expanding infrastructure and welfare provisions (cf. section 2.2.1). Older adults who were part of the pre-1973 generation are unable to have the same pensions their adult children have (cf. section 2.2.1).

The OAP aims to improve the quality of life of older people, acting as a safety net to ensure no citizen is deprived of basic needs (Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports Brunei Darussalam, 2011, p. 21). While this is the case for the OAP, the policy strategy of the government is also geared towards an ethos of stimulating self-sustenance in an aim to alleviate "financial burdens" and "dependence on welfare benefits" (ibid, p. 20). It was believed that the government should only "supplement rather than replace the traditional family's role" (Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports Brunei Darussalam, 2013, p. 6). This is done by encouraging income generating activities. The Self-Reliance Scheme, set up in 2006, is a micro-financing scheme to initiate or expand small-scale businesses without interests, guarantor requirements, and administrative charges (Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports Brunei Darussalam, 2011, p. 20). In 2011, an Empowerment Programme was introduced where applicants are required to undergo mandatory training on business managements, self-development, entrepreneurship, and skill training before micro financing can be given (ibid). Outside of pensions and micro financial schemes, Brunei provides assistance in activities of daily living in the Homecare program, with the help of trained volunteers (ASEAN Representative of Brunei Darussalam, 2013, p. 6). The Homecare program is available to older adults living alone, aged 60 years and above, who are frail and require care (Pg Hj Hashim, 2018, p. 26). Volunteers provide assistance with cooking, bathing, cleaning and toilet-use, and emotional support through companionship (ibid, p. 26). The objective is to "support older people

[11] Average retirement age for military and police officers are low at 44 years of age (The World Bank, 2007).

independent living at home" and "to reduce the burden of family care givers" (Hyunse, 2014, p. 8). In 2018, 27 older adults were receiving support through Homecare (Pg Hj Hashim, 2018, p. 26). To encourage active ageing, local community leaders and groups, and Health and Education sector representatives formed a Health Promotion Committee to promote healthy lifestyles, and Four Senior Citizens Activity Centres for community-supported recreational and sports activities are located in each of Brunei's districts (Ministry of Youth Culture and Sports Brunei Darussalam, 2014, p. 3-4). In 2019, Brunei has recently introduced the Digital Skills Training program for older adults to encourage employment and entrepreneurship for older people (Authority for Info-Communications Technology Industry of Brunei Darussalam (AITI), 2020). In addition, the government provides a heavily subsidised healthcare for citizens and permanent residents, with a $1 BND registration fee per visit (Haji Saim, 2010, p. 140; Tant, 2014, p. 185).

Although the government provides welfare provisions, financial schemes and community programs, the family is seen at the core of old people's welfare. It has been established by the government that the extended family system is the main strategy for supporting the elderly, whereby "caring for the elderly is considered as the direct responsibility of the family. The customary family care of the elderly is still strong, a situation explained by the religious and traditional values of the Bruneians. This is provided through the extended family system" (ASEAN Representative of Brunei Darussalam, 2013, p. 4). In 2019, this was reinforced by the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports: "in Brunei Darussalam the family institution underpins its social fabric and therefore, it is crucial for the family institution to be strengthened and preserved as part of a social protection policy, while learning new solutions to provide effective platforms for Brunei's ageing population to lead active, healthy and contributing lifestyles" (Kon, 2019). This indicates the significance of Brunei's strategy to strengthen the family institution and provide opportunities for the ageing population to be active contributors.

The extended family system is defined by the government of Brunei as a multi-generational household (Social Affairs Services Unit Brunei Darussalam, 1994, p. 2). A gap in this policy direction is that this overlooks the nature of family systems, arrangements of care between non-resident and co-resident family members, contributions of the older adult, and wider support networks. This is something this thesis hopes to do. Currently the Brunei government's reliance on family responsibility for older adult care, and the provisions and services have remained relatively unchanged in 30 years (Cleary and Maricar, 1992, p. 240). Although there is an OAP, future challenges are its sustainability, escalating health care costs, and demand for quality healthcare, which is challenged by the sustainability of government funds (Hj Md Said, 2012; ASEAN Representative of Brunei Darussalam, 2013, p. 2). Despite advances in programs for older adults and Brunei's high level of HDI, economic downturn and unemployment are a problem. It

can also be generally argued that in light of global demographic shifts, governments must provide policies or programs to enable support where gaps are present, and stimulate family solidarity and exchange (Lowenstein and Katz, 2013, p. 193).

The ageing population and lack of sustainability in Brunei's welfare system add to the critical need for research. Since policy strategies rely on family responsibility for the welfare of older people, this research aims to address how individuals and families in Brunei support one another, and how these family systems adjust to demographic changes and socio-economic developments. In the next section, I explain the significance of Kampong Ayer as a research setting.

2.3 Kampong Ayer

As Brunei is a majority Malay populated country, this thesis elected to study the Malay family system of Brunei, with a focus on Brunei Malays. Kampong Ayer (literally: water village) is an established site for the ethnic group's heritage and history, a "quintessential Brunei Malay community" (Leake, 1989, p. 87; Abdullah, 2016, p. 87). It is the largest water village in Borneo, about 2.2 square kilometres on the Brunei River, with approximately 13,000 residents in 2011 (Evers, 2015, p. 3-4; Mat Sani, 2016). The historical significance of Kampong Ayer to Brunei Darussalam is that it has been recorded in Brunei's history since the 16th Century, and has had the largest settlement in Brunei prior to the 20th Century (Haji Mail and Haji Abu Bakar, 2016, p. 101). In 1911, Brunei's first census noted that more than half of the country lived in Kampong Ayer (Horton, 1995, p. 37). *Puak Sakai*[12], means "the followers [of a leader]" (Yusof, 1958, p. 74). They are known in history as the first group of settlers on the Brunei River and first followers of the ruler of Brunei (Brown and Brown, 1970, p. 29; Pusat Sejarah Brunei, 2009). In the 1960s *puak Sakai*, included inhabitants of the principal fishing villages, were known as the 'real Bruneis' (Horton, 1995, p. 8). This makes it an appropriate setting to explore the cultural significance and family system of Brunei Malays specifically.

Kampong Ayer's many distinctive villages raises the question whether family systems amongst the Malay population in Kampong Ayer differ by village. However, the descriptions of Kampong Ayer villages in existing studies suggest differences were mainly in trade, labour and skills (Haji Mail and Haji Abu Bakar, 2016, p. 17-18; Bakar, 2018, p. 153-154). In my fieldwork, there were no differences in kinship norms despite fieldwork taking place in three villages. In terms of village organisation in Kampong Ayer, there are currently five *mukims* (subdivisions of a district) situated

[12] Brown and Brown (1970, p. 29) noted that *Sakai* at the time of his fieldwork was considered a derogatory term. It is mentioned in section 2.3 of my thesis only as used in historical accounts referenced.

in Kampong Ayer, namely Saba, Peramu, Burong Pingai Ayer, Tamoi, and Sungai Kebun, and there are several villages (*kampongs*) in each mukim (Yunos, 2006). What is also reflected is the community insularity and locality of the Kampong Ayer lifestyle, as traditionally activities and livelihood were locally dependent (Haji Mail and Haji Abu Bakar, 2016, p. 100). This suggest the importance of local economy of Kampong Ayer. Village names were identified by the variety of handicrafts and trade conducted by village members, such as Kampong Pandai Besi known for ironsmithing, and Kampong Pemukat fishermen using *pukat,* a type of fishing tool (ibid, p. 107). Despite these known differences associated with skills and trade rather than kinship, the villages in Kampong Ayer all had cultural and historical significance to the Brunei Malays.

Kampong Ayer consists of self-built homes stemming from owners' desires and necessities, with a maze of interconnecting wooden walkways between houses (Haji Adenan *et al.*, 2014, p. 8). Although there are many villages, the types of homes are similar. These villages had wooden stilt housing over water, boats for means of travel, and with fishing as the main industry of the communities. Figures 2.4-2.7, below, illustrate the intertwining layout and design of most houses and walkways. These pictures also show the closeness of the houses, how neighbours and walkways connect to each other. What can also be noted is the juxtaposition of the old homes of Kampong Ayer to the modern buildings and landscape of the city. This juxtaposition is obvious due to Kampong Ayer's concentrated location within the pocket of the Brunei River in the middle of Brunei's capital city BSB.

Figure 2.4 Image of houses in Brunei's Kampong Ayer along the river bank. Source: Author's own (2017)

Figure 2.5 Image of houses in Brunei's Kampong Ayer next to a jetty. Source: Author's own (2017)

Figure 2.6 Image of a walkway within Brunei's Kampong Ayer. Source: Author's own (2017)

Figure 2.7 Image of walkways between houses in Kampong Ayer. Source: Author's own (2017)

Below is Figure 2.8, a map of Kampong Ayer, and its location on the Brunei River, in BSB.

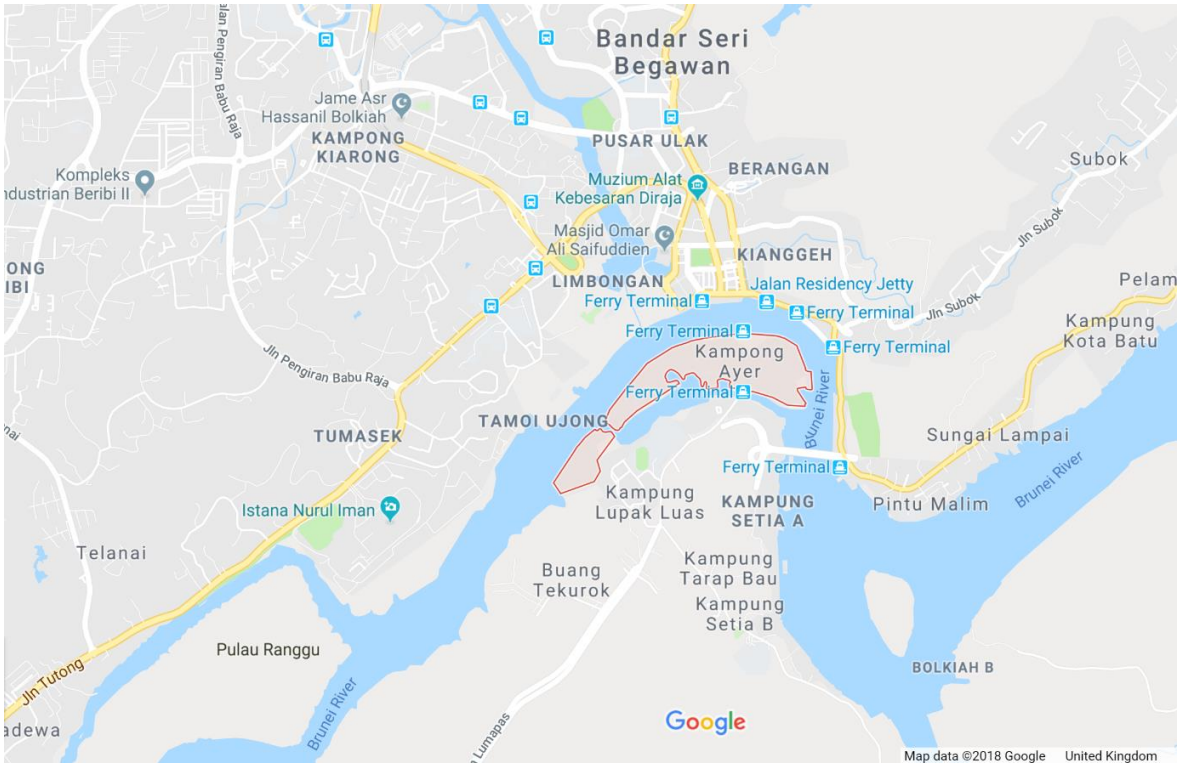

Figure 2.8 Map Image of Brunei's Kampong Ayer. Source: Google Maps (2018)

What is shown here is how the villages of stilt houses are located over the water, in the pocket of Brunei River at the centre of BSB. Transport to and from Kampong Ayer requires water taxis, and bridges from land. Other than boats, there are a few entry ways by wooden bridge to certain

areas of Kampong Ayer. The landscape and environmental setting of Kampong Ayer, and Brunei generally, is influenced by the Brunei river, and an equatorial climate characterised by high rainfall and high temperatures and humidity (United Nations; Dykes, 1996, p. 388).

To illustrate the living conditions in the 1950s and 60s, when many of my respondents were young, I now briefly consider a published autobiographical account of life in Kampong Ayer during those decades. Dr Haji Abdul Latif (2011, p. 63) states that the main livelihood was fishing, but other sources of income included selling of goods such as rice and vegetables, or self-employment in various odd jobs, such as carpentry, roofing, logging – gathering wood from the forest. Below, Figure 2.9, is an old photograph of sellers.

Figure 2.9 Old photograph of sellers, year unknown. Source: Haji Ismail *et al*. (2019, p. 2)

Rarely did people of Kampong Ayer work for the government. An important distinction of Kampong Ayer people during the 1950s-60s were that they refused government work, showing that Brunei's state at the time had not developed sufficient government revenue or welfare provisions to attract loyalty. Once civil service expansion and Brunei's rentier state flourished in the 1970s, younger generations of that time were in higher education and civil service work (cf. sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). Growing up in the 1950s-160s, it was the norm for all in Kampong Ayer to live near cousins and family members, who would only be a step away (ibid, p. 64). According to this account, the lives of Kampong Ayer children involved going to school in the morning, in the

afternoon helping parents with chores, the most important of which for Kampong Ayer children was gathering fresh water for household use from wells (ibid, p. 67). These were reached by paddle boat (ibid). Children jumped into the water without fear, and learnt to swim from an early age, starting from the steps of the house (ibid, p. 68). Latif (ibid, p. 70) states how things have drastically changed in Kampong Ayer since he left to raise his family on land in the 1970s. Those who currently live in Kampong Ayer are still waiting to get government housing, and the majority of those born in Kampong Ayer have left due to government resettlement schemes (ibid). Figure 2.10 is an old photograph of what houses and walkways used to be.

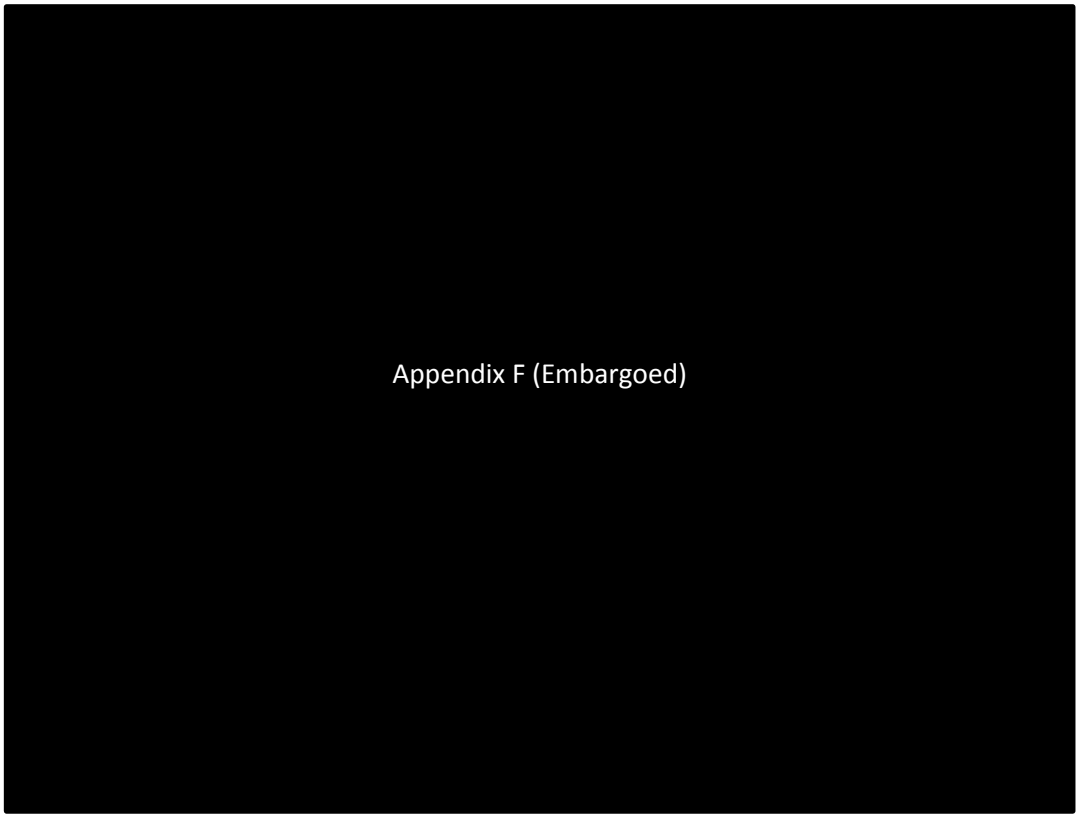

Figure 2.10 Old photograph of houses and walkways, year unknown. Source: Haji Ismail *et al.* (2019, p. 7)

Effects of migration and change in economy and employment are also noted in other literature. Variously Kampong Ayer is described as a once vibrant fishing community, but with few fishermen remaining in the 1990s (Horton, 1995, p. 8). Younger people are leaving the fishing trade to seek office work, but not always successfully (Leake, 1989, p. 86; Bakar, 2018, p. 155-156). It has been noted that migration has been occurring since World War Two and the 1950s through housing resettlement schemes (Mat Sani, 2015; Oxford Business Group, 2016). Prior to this, the government has been trying to move Bruneians onto dry land since 1906, therefore migration out of Kampong Ayer is not new (Yunos, 2009a; Haji Mail and Haji Abu Bakar, 2016). What differs is that migration out of Kampong Ayer has been more rampant in recent decades, which

accelerated in the 1980s, and had a negative effect on its local economy (Yunos, 2009c; Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin, 2017, p. 14). Elaborating on this, a study using in-depth interviews and focus groups with people of Kampong Ayer and Kampong Ayer people who have moved on-land, recalled that Kampong Ayer was once a "tremendous experience", a symbolic of community with deeds being reciprocated by neighbours, the home being open to anyone, but in recent changes it was "like a refugee camp you see everyday" (Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin, 2017, p. 15). Now drug trades of meth are a problem, with some children of Kampong Ayer being used as runners to deal drugs for friends and family (ibid, p. 16). Consequently, the identity and symbolic meaning of Kampong Ayer in broader society has drastically changed to a symbol of poverty ("*simbol miskinan*"), yet is still being used for tourism (Haji Ibrahim, 2011, p. 71; Haji Mail and Haji Abu Bakar, 2016, p. 117; Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin, 2017). This has also affected the relationship of Kampong Ayer people with on-land people, where currently some Kampong Ayer people are ostracised and insulted by on-land people, to the extent that some Kampong Ayer people feel ashamed of their roots (Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin, 2017, p. 17). An opposing account states that many community members are still permanent residents of Kampong Ayer today, and that the community remains relatively traditional in many respects (Haji Mail and Haji Abu Bakar, 2016, p. 117). The opposing perspectives shows that studies need to consider a wider variety of experiences to determine in what ways Kampong Ayer people are affected by socio-demographic and economic changes. Furthermore, Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin (2017, p. 19) and Haji Mail and Haji Abu Bakar (2016) both take culture and traditions as skills or practice in crafts, and as a national imagery, rather than culture beyond this.

In this paragraph, I explain how Kampong Ayer is unique compared to the rest of Brunei because of Kampong Ayer's composition and population profile. As discussed in section 2.2.1, Brunei expanded its infrastructure mainly in education, health, employment, and housing resettlement schemes, particularly in the years post-1973. Movement out of Kampong Ayer accelerated in the 1980s. People who moved 'on-land' are the key beneficiaries the post-1973 oil boom. They swelled the middle class and represent the wider society of Brunei living on-land. Kampong Ayer's small enclave of urban society is characterised as a symbol of poverty. It includes older adults of the pre-1973 generations, and the small number of their adult children who are unable to attain middle class aspirations of housing resettlement and advantageous government employment, compared to a majority of their contemporaries on-land. Kampong Ayer not only lacks numerical representativeness to Brunei's total population[13], but also the composition of its population suggests it is a selective section of Brunei's social class, generational cohorts, and SES groups. The

[13] Kampong Ayer represents 3% of Brunei's total population (Wong and Tham, 2018)

implications of this thesis' selectiveness are that the findings would not be generalisable or representative of the rest of Brunei, particularly if the trend of migration continues. Furthermore, as Brunei's population continues to age, it is likely that Brunei Malay older adults will not continue to live in Kampong Ayer in years to come, as the current inhabitants of older adults pass away. It is nonetheless important to capture the experiences of this particular and arguably vulnerable sub-section of society. This study aims to analyse in what ways socio-demographic and economic changes and differences between generations occur, and whether current policies and intergenerational support flows are aligned with the needs of these particular older adults. The experiences of older adults living on-land are likely to vary from those living in Kampong Ayer, yet examining this small section of society is important to show to researchers and policymakers that experiences of older adults within one country show significant heterogeneity and differential vulnerability and need. Additionally, capturing the experiences of those excluded from the majority of society is important for understanding what gaps may be present in the government's welfare provision which has led to such exclusions.

This section on Kampong Ayer has shown that although Kampong Ayer is regarded as historically significant to Brunei, socio-demographic and economic changes have made an impact on its residents, though the impact of this on families has yet to be studied. Since current residents of Kampong Ayer are noted as senior citizens, children and foreigners (Mat Sani, 2015), there are unanswered questions of the situations of these older, and how families make arrangements of support while coping with these socio-demographic changes.

2.4 Challenges for Brunei's Ageing Population

To conclude, I can answer that Brunei has several advantages in its readiness for an ageing population. Brunei's OAP and health care are all-inclusive provisions when compared to the pension schemes in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia (Haji Saim, 2010, p. 140; International Labour Organisation, 2018, p. 106). These countries depend on employee contribution schemes and means-tested social assistance programs, rather than blanket universal coverage as found in Brunei (Asher, 1999, p. 5; International Labour Organisation, 2018, p. 106). This is evident in the coverage of pension and social assistance schemes, which are remarkably low in Indonesia and Malaysia (International Labour Organisation, 2011; Muliati, 2013, p. 11-12; International Labour Organisation, 2018, p. 106). Despite Brunei's advantages in universal OAP, the challenges are the costs of the extensive welfare system, which may be burdened by resource demands in an ageing population, and modernisation in health care (Azim, 2002, p. 44; Haji Saim, 2010, p. 150). Due to Brunei's lack of success in diversifying the economy and reliance on a finite resource (cf. section 2.2.3), the sustainability of funding for welfare programs is especially concerning. This implies that

current and future older populations may have reduced welfare provisions compared to past generations. Moreover, if trends of unemployment continue (cf. section 2.2.4), the wellbeing and social security of older people and their family will become even more strained.

Investigating the situations of older adults and the family systems underpinning them is important because Brunei's policymakers argue that a family-dependent strategy becomes increasingly vulnerable as Brunei's family system is affected by modernisation (ASEAN, 2010; Haji Saim, 2010, p. 131; Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports, 2013). Appeals by policymakers to strengthen the institution of the family for old-age support need grounding in actual knowledge of family systems in Brunei. The country profile presented in this chapter shows that decreasing fertility rates and higher female labour participation not only impact Brunei's demography, but may have implications for families and intergenerational support as adult daughters are more involved in formal employment and new forms of work compared to previous generations. This suggests a need to understand women's role in family systems of Brunei, and what this means considering socio-demographic and economic changes (discussed in chapter 3, section 3.3.4). For the purpose of my thesis, it was evident from the country profile that the periods of change to be focused on are periods of development and reform, particularly after the oil boom years in post-1973, the experiences of generations unable to reap the oil boom benefits of pre-1973 and more recent decades in the 2000s during the volatile period of oil price wars (cf. section 2.2.1). These time periods illustrate the experiences of different generations, as well as important moments of development and change for Brunei. Existing studies on Kampong Ayer show that the impact of socio-demographic and economic changes such as migration and changes in job industries are poverty and social disharmony, yet there are opposing views that tradition and community identity is upheld (cf. section 2.3). No examination has been made of what is meant by traditions and kinship, and how this is affected by socio-demographic changes. This is a particularly pressing issue in Kampong Ayer, which is nowadays often seen as a site symbolic of poverty and housing primarily older adults and children. This raises the need for investigations on how families with displaced working-age adults support each other and achieve the intergenerational family support on which government policy seems to be premised. Overall, the country report showed the significance of studying support arrangements of families and older adults, role of women and older adults in the family, Brunei Malay culture, and the multitude of experiences and situations of families experiencing socio-demographic and economic change.

Chapter 3 Literature review

3.1 Introduction

An in-depth literature review is required to narrow the subject areas to guide and inform the data collection stage (Punch, 2014, p. 60). The literature on SEA involved countries with a significant Malay population: Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore. Literature on family systems of Chinese, were also reviewed because Brunei, much like Brunei's neighbouring countries, has a significant proportion of Chinese in their population. Broadening knowledge on the types of family systems and intergenerational support arrangements of Chinese in the region situates Malays in comparison. This allows for better understanding and conceptualising of how different family systems make negotiations of support. The objective of the following section (3.2) is to review the drawbacks to various ways intergenerational support is measured and how this research can address the gaps and shortcomings in knowledge.

3.2 Measuring Intergenerational Support

3.2.1 Living arrangements

It is common for intergenerational support to be measured through living arrangements. This is motivated by various assumptions and research methods. The general component in measuring intergenerational relationships is collecting data on who lives with whom, although various approaches are distinct in what data is collected. One perspective in measuring intergenerational support through living arrangements is that closer proximity ensures more intergenerational support. Several studies argue that using co-residence or living arrangements as a measurement of support is significant, because living in the same household means that exchanges between family members are continuous (Natividad, 2008, p. 163), or readily available (Wu and Rudkin, 2000, p. 230). Co-residence can balance the costs of living and will especially benefit seniors in poor health and those with higher housing costs (Chan and DaVanzo, 1996, p. 34). However, the danger in overlooking the motivation or causes of living arrangements is ignoring how the older adult or adult child views these living arrangements. For example, Keaseberry's (2001, p. 644) approach in studying old-age support on Java assumes that coresiding or living in close proximity is beneficial to the older adult. This approach also views older adults as recipients of care and focuses on the scale of their ability to care for themselves, without exploring the role or contributions made by the older adult to their children (Keasberry, 2001, p. 659). Keasberry's

study would have benefited in having a broader concept of wellbeing. The study resulted in descriptive findings and assumed causes, when in fact findings should have been raising more questions, such as why older people who can take care of themselves choose to live alone. There was no information whether those older people who had low competency in instrumental activities of daily living (IADL) wanted to live with others. This illustrates how findings of studies focusing on living arrangements may have limits in their explanation of support, depending on the approach of the study. Another example of this is Chan and DaVanzo's (1996, p.46-47) study looking at ethnic differences in parent's co-residence with adult children, where there were significant differences of co-residence behaviour between ethnic groups. In aiming to find the reasons for the differences between ethnic groups in likelihood to co-reside, explanatory variables such as education, income, culture, and health were shown to be relevant. This study was able to question why these patterns occur but only by generalising socio-demographic and cultural values of ethnicities; the emergent reasons required further investigating (Chan and DaVanzo, 1996, p. 47-53). Other factors are also overlooked and recognised by other studies. Such as Wu and Rudkin's (2000) study on stress buffering in the Malaysian setting, and De Vos and Holden's (1988) study on living arrangements of the elderly, both of which recognize the limitations of their measures. Wu and Rudkin (2000, p. 233) in that the underlying mechanism of the "buffering relationship" is not investigated, and De Vos and Holden (1988, p. 688) in realising that the co-residential unit may only represent a small fraction of the kin who the older adult may turn to for support.

The need for broader measures of intergenerational support is further argued by Knodel and Saengtienchai (1999, p. 206) in their critique of large-scale representative surveys which solely focus on living arrangement categories. They call for the need to maximize data collection ability to capture complex realities, because otherwise non-resident children and kin are not taken into account. Knodel and Saengtienchai (1999, p. 200) mitigate this issue by using a 'quasi-qualitative' case study approach in Thailand. The data collection methods included in-depth interviews with open ended questions, but also used structured forms for quantitative data collection to help guide the interviews (ibid, p. 200). The approach consisted of case study interviews with older adults on living arrangements guided by three forms listing detailed information required such as background, and matrices representing respondents' children, where they resided, when they separated from parent's household if non-resident, and exchanges of material and non-material support (ibid, p. 200). Living arrangements was also captured via detailing in diagrams where children and kin lived. This approach was able to expand the concept of co-residence. This is important in recognising that in living arrangements where older adults and adult children co-

reside, there are varying degrees of interaction between them (Knodel and Saengtienchai, 1999, p. 205-206).

Evidence of limitations of living arrangements as a measure of intergenerational support is not only found in SEA, but in wider parts of gerontological literature, such as in Europe and Africa. For example, a quantitative study using secondary data from the Generations and Gender Surveys in three European countries by de Jong Gierveld, Dykstra and Schenk (2012), revealed that intergenerational co-residence is not associated with better wellbeing or support to older adults. Furthermore, the study found no evidence that older adults who live alone were more lonely that older adults who co-reside with adult children (ibid). Other studies reveal the importance of understanding cultural context and norms in examining intergenerational support and its relationship with residential arrangements. The Liu and Esteve (2020) study collating living arrangement patterns from secondary data of 21 European countries via the European Labour Force Surveys (EULFS) of 2006 and 2016, shows inter-regional differences in the timing of adult children leaving of parental home, union formation and so forth. The Liu and Esteve (2020) findings indicate the importance of regional context. The Hank (2007, p. 170) quantitative study analysing secondary data from the 2004 Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe, revealed that closer proximity to older adults does not equal stronger relationships or more frequent contacts, and the significance of proximity differed by regions where living further apart was considered a norm. The findings of Hank's (2007) study shows the influence of culture and norms in understanding the significance of proximity and intergenerational relationships. Defining households and household membership also requires cultural context. The Randall, Coast and Leone (2011, p. 220) qualitative study of Tanzania shows that each cultural community shares values and norms which influence the meaning of household. Furthermore, they found evidence from a range of studies that households are defined by units of production and consumption, as well as kinship relationships (ibid, p. 226). Units of production and consumption, are identified via the sharing of resources and eating from the same cooking pot (Armstrong Schellenberg *et al.*, 2008). Thus, a multitude of factors require investigation when examining living arrangements, and co-residence alone cannot determine the sufficiency of support to older adults or the adequacy of older adult's wellbeing.

To consider complex realities, qualitative methods are required for studies concerning living arrangements. Although the approach of using census and survey data, and living arrangements within those as an indicator of intergenerational support, has its usefulness due to easy and regular availability and standardisation of measures, there are problems in defining households and understanding exchanges within households (Knodel and Saengtienchai, 1999, p. 202-204). Thus, census data can be limiting. Another approach in measuring intergenerational support

through living arrangements is exemplified in the Mehta *et. al* (1995, p. 114) study in Singapore, which uses focus groups to examine decisions around living arrangements, and feelings of older adults on this. This approach has some advantages and disadvantages. The focus group setting allows for analysis of the interactions between the older adults, to understand the meanings and feelings towards certain situations or concepts. This can add to what meanings or feelings are emphasised collectively or in interaction, such as an emphasis to consider home ownership in the case of the Mehta *et. al* study (1995, p. 118). But as these older participants are strangers to each other, there may be a reluctance to divulge information for fear of judgement.

In concluding this section, studies had shown the significance of intergenerational co-residence to assess older adult's wellbeing due to the idea of possible continuous exchange between family members and resource pooling. However, broader concepts of co-residence and living arrangements must be addressed, as studies noted varying degrees of co-residence and interaction and kin outside of co-residential unit as potential support for older adults. The gaps of measuring intergenerational support through living arrangements are found here as a need for broader conceptualisation of wellbeing, and to include the older adult's and adult child's perspective of what is appropriate or ideal. By conceptualising these issues within the cultural context, this can add an understanding to the reasonings behind preferences and behaviours of intergenerational support and living arrangements. As opposed to noting differences between cultures or ethnicities, deeper examinations of why these differences occur can add to how intergenerational support is measured by recognising the role of culture and kinship. Since there is a lack of studies measuring intergenerational support and investigating living arrangements in Brunei, the findings of my thesis can be an understanding of Brunei's intergenerational support situation and the reasons and preferences in living arrangements. The findings can address the extent and nature of intergenerational support through addressing these gaps in context to living arrangements, and further relate to the how families adapt to socio-demographic and economic changes in terms of migration (changes are explored through existing studies in sections 2.3 and 3.3.4). The next section (3.2.2) explores how studies have examined intergenerational support in terms of support flows.

3.2.2 **Support flows**

In this section, I consider the findings and limitations of literature on support flows. Support can involve different directions of flow and different actors, and this has implications for how support flows are measured. In terms of directionality, support can flow upward, from adult child to older adult, or downward, from older adult to adult child (Grundy, 2005; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2010; Evandrou *et al.*, 2016). Rather than just dyadic support flows, they can also

involve extended kin from kin networks, such as siblings, nephews and nieces or other kin (Wenger, 1991; Agree, Biddlecom and Valente, 2005; Schröder-Butterfill, 2006). These elements of support flows are important to measure varied situations and determine the extent and limitations of intergenerational support flows to older adults.

There can be weaknesses in measuring support flows depending on the objectives of the study, here I explain the disadvantages of studies which only focus on older adults as recipients of care. Many gerontology studies in SEA are motivated by the desire to investigate the effects of socio-demographic changes and economic development on the care and support of older adults (Chan and DaVanzo, 1996, p. 29; Keasberry, 2001, p. 641; Hermalin, 2003, p. 123; Natividad, 2008, p. 162; Abdul Aziz and Yusooff, 2012, p. 186; Mohamad *et al.*, 2016, p. 5). However, this focus primarily situates older adults as recipients of care, which can disregard the agency, participation, and contributions of older adults. The focus on upward flows operationalises social support only as assistance from adult children (Mohamad *et al.*, 2016, p. 7).

Caldwell's theory on intergenerational 'wealth' (or support) flows overcomes the limitations of studies that only focus on older parents as recipients of care, the limitations of quantitative measures, and reflects the need for local context in investigating support flows. Although Caldwell's (1976) primary research objective of explaining demographic transition and fertility decline is distinct from my thesis, Caldwell's contributions to the measurement of support flows are relevant here. Caldwell (1976, p. 358) found that qualitative and anthropological approaches are required to understand intergenerational wealth flows and the associated extent, motivations and strengths of familial obligations. Caldwell's (2005, p. 723) work showed that parents were instrumental in developing children into independent adults by raising them and providing education, but that the reliability of return support from children was strongly shaped by culture and local socio-economic conditions.

Caldwell (ibid, p. 724) thought of educating children as an insurance for old-age security, and for other reasons such as reputation and increasing value of children for marriage. In rural South India, educating children provided opportunities for links to towns and insurance against drought cycles (ibid). Although insurance for old-age security was not guaranteed, as Caldwell's findings in South India showed that net returns from children were not certain (ibid). His work shows that conceptualising and measuring support flows as mainly upward and older adults as recipients limits the understanding of significant contributions older adults make and neglects their reasons, motivations, and socio-cultural factors. Relevant literature of Malay societies exploring these themes are explored next.

Literature of Malay societies in the region shows a pattern of intergenerational support flows that are often downward throughout the life-course with a lack of obligation for return support. However it is necessary to not oversimplify the varied patterns of support flows (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004b; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1787). Ethnographic studies show different family systems of the Javanese and Minangkabau had opposing intergenerational support flow patterns (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1803). The intergenerational support flows among Minangkabau families were mostly upward flows; patterns of support were determined by matrilineal kin networks and socio-cultural components were detected, such as participation in labour migration and older adults' reliance on younger generations (Kreager, 2006; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1794). The Javanese families in this study experienced balanced, downward and upward patterns support flows as well as no flows; this was influenced by practices of informal adoption, preferences for independence, and the lifelong responsibility of parents to even mature children who have failed to attain independence (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008). Evidently parent's role as providers are not limited by age, as downward flows continued in later older age (ibid). Interdependence or balanced support flows were considered ideal (cf. section 3.2.3). Socio-cultural and family system differences were also documented in a quantitative study in Malaysia, in which Chinese parents were more likely to receive transfers and more in amount than Malays (Lillard and Willis, 1997, p. 122). Ethnographic studies of support flows were able to provide more varied situations and reasons for support flows while also accounting for socio-cultural elements, compared to quantitative studies (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004b; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008). This adds to the necessity of qualitative methods particularly for my thesis research questions (cf. section 1.1). Additionally, my research will contribute to understanding the patterns and circumstances of intergenerational support flows in Brunei, thereby adding to the discussion of varied Asian family systems in the region.

Thus far, the literature review has shown that parents are significant contributors, and the importance of considering the social and cultural context of a society in determining behaviours, circumstances and intergenerational support flows. In this paragraph I consider the importance of downward support flows, and the lack of upward support flows of Malay families. A quantitative examination of the IFLS, showed that upward intergenerational wealth transfers only accounted for 3 percent of parent's household income and time spent caring for older adults was less frequent than wealth transfers, which would suggest low levels of monetary and instrumental support to older adults from the younger generation (Frankenberg, Lillard and Willis, 2002, p. 632). Taken in isolation, this evidence alludes to possible vulnerabilities in the older generation. Ethnographic fieldwork in Indonesia was able to discern varied situations and reasoning, which

quantitative methods were not able to. An example of this is socio-economic differences, with one pattern being that the more that parents earned the less likely they were to receive upward support flows (Lillard and Willis, 1997; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008). Yet, downward support flows were even observed for poorer older adults, suggesting the existence of a particularly vulnerable group (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004b; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008). A social expectation for parents to support a child in need contributed to this outcome, as it was thought to be "a sin (*dosa*) for parents to be well-off and not to help their children" (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004b, p. 521) (see also Section 3.2.3).

Consequently, a direction of support flows, does not necessarily equate a similar experience across communities, ethnicities, and socio-economic groups. The varied situations were also detected in instances of balanced support flows, where there were varying degrees of interdependence between members of the different generations of a family or only occasional transfers (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1791). Support flows also changed over time, some families had favourable outcomes which were either upward or balanced support flows. Downward support flows reduced over time as younger generation became more self-sufficient (ibid). Some older adults continued to be net providers as they advance to older ages and some older adults had no flows (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008). Furthermore, ethnography showed that there were multiple circumstances which influenced the situation of support flows in an integrated way, such as childlessness, pension incomes, along with socio-cultural preferences (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004b). This underlines the importance of engaging in ethnographic research methods. In the next section, I elaborate on the literature of support exchanges in the region, focusing on interdependence, agency, obligations, and the influence of socio-cultural factors.

3.2.3 **Support exchange**

Capturing intergenerational support exchange, as opposed to dyadic or one-way flows, involves various components. This section examines how previous studies have approached support exchange and their strengths and weaknesses. Studies measuring support exchange illustrate the reciprocal nature of intergenerational support. The reciprocity lens indicates a similar concept of two-way flows and characterisation of interdependency over time (Brubaker and Brubaker, 1999, p. 7; Mehta and Leng, 2006; Antonucci and Jackson, 2007, p. 683), thus pointing out the dynamic nature of intergenerational support exchanges. Depending on the objective of the study, measuring intergenerational support exchange can produce different types of findings, examined through varied approaches and methods. An example is Verbrugge and Chan's (2008, p. 9-12) quantitative study using data sets from two Singapore based surveys in 1995 and 1999 respectively. Verbrugge and Chan's (ibid, p. 8) objective was to test the primary hypothesis that

the more family support given to an older adult, the more support the older adult would provide in return. There are several disadvantages to the methods and objectives of this study. Firstly, the quantitative study fails to acknowledge the complexity of reciprocal relationships. The methods were unable to account for changes over time, investments in future help or giving due to past help, or feelings towards family ties (ibid, p. 9). This is because the study used cross-sectional analyses from two survey-based data sets that was not designed to be longitudinal (ibid). The two data sets were analysed independently, this was to account for more indicators rather than to examine support exchange over time (ibid). The quantitative study does not evaluate the reciprocal nature of support exchange, which involves various factors and reasoning for the nature of reciprocity such as, familial ties, notions of obligation and mutual dependence, as well as family strategies and negotiations (Li, 1989, p. 41-42; Finch and Mason, 1993; Hermalin, 2003, p. 190; Thang, 2013, p. 209). Such in-depth measures of support exchange would elaborate on the causes, motivations, norms and other factors which may drive support exchange.

A second disadvantage to Verbrugge and Chan's (2008) study is the lack of exploration of socio-cultural factors. The study is not representative of other cultures, as the majority of Verbrugge and Chan's (ibid) respondents were Singaporean Chinese, whose strong obligation to provide support to parents was noted. The objectives of the study also do not recognise support provided by older adults that is not dependent on reciprocal support.

Let me contrast Verbrugge and Chan's (2008) quantitative study with Li's (1989) ethnographic study of Malay Singaporeans. Li's (1989) research objective was to understand culturally informed activities of daily life, and the relationship of Malays' culture with broader economic and social conditions in Singapore. Li noted that the cultural context of household practices was important to understand intergenerational transfers. Three Malay kinship ideas, previously identified by Banks' 1983 (cited by Li (1989, p. 7)) provides the cultural Malay context which influences household operations and intergenerational transfers. First are duties of parents as defined by Islam to ensure the next generation is able lead independent and self-sufficient lives, second is *muafakat* (consensus), meaning social relationships are should have a mutually benefiting consensus (Li, 1989, p.7-8). The third kinship sentiment is *kesayangan* (love), which develops through blood connection and sharing of co-residence; this is further explored with relevance to relatedness (cf. section 3.3). *Muafakat,* or the consensus aspect in social relationships, means mutual-agreement through individuals having the agency and willingness to be generous (Li, 1989, p. 8; Masri, Mohd Yunus and Sh. Ahmad, 2016, p. 258). The willingness to give defines the ideal condition of all social relationships and the ideal negotiation process between people, wherein the act of giving is more valuable than giving through forced obligation (Li, 1989, p. 8). According to Li the voluntary gift comes from an individual within household relations, rather than

groups of people between villages, because gift giving is personal and intimate. Gift giving has a purity described by Bourdieu in 1977 and Mauss in 1966 (cited in Li (1989)), based on the willingness and honour of the giver that the gift is without expectation. Therefore, the recipient can never repay, and thus purity in gift giving creates significant ties and relationships between individuals in household relations. This notion of gift is embedded in Malay kinship. Conversely, Li (1989, p. 10) notes that gifts also have a self-interest in building relationships and moral obligations with the recipient, but that this notion is publicly contested by the giver. Such implicit and denied aspects of material and support transfers are difficult to capture by quantitative methods which are constricted by pre-determined survey instruments. Ethnographic methods employed by Li (1989), such as repeated observations and interviews, can extract socio-cultural factors because it allows the researcher to interpret meanings based on long-term interactions with respondents. Mahmood's 2002 study (cited in (Frankenberg, Lillard and Willis, 2002, p. 630)) using Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS) data, assumed there is an obligation to care for parents, because respondents felt that children were obliged to look after older parents. In comparison, Li's (1989) study has been able to show more deepened and complex notions of obligation.

Li (1989) found that *kasihan* (pity) was commonly used to describe transfers within the household, signifying a sense of love (*kasih*), giving (*kasi*), pity and a favour. *Kasihan* is seen to be belittling and condescending, because beyond the household it implies a pitying feeling to those of less fortunate or in extreme poverty (ibid, p. 11). Yet Li stated that transfers of a *kasihan* nature in the household show feelings of those giving more than they have received or receiving less than what they would like. An individual accepting that they are receiving less than what they expected or hoped for is a gift in itself, because they show pity on the person unable to provide generous transfers. *Kasihan* and giving can also indicate intimate power structures, as it involves those who are better off pitying and giving to those who are not. The Malay kinship sentiments described and the meanings attached to transfers convey how economic or other forms of repayment are not made explicit in all societies (ibid, p. 43). This exemplifies how support exchange is not always reciprocated, norms and behaviours around this are situational, particularly due to cultural context.

So far, it has been established that Malay kinship and cultural context is important in understanding intergenerational exchanges. The notion of gift-giving and lack of obligation adds to the discussion on support flows (cf. section 3.2.2), whereby Malay older adults are less likely, and do not expect, to have a return of support. Now I discuss interdependence as the ideal nature of intergenerational relations, and agency of older adults regarding support exchange. Interdependence in intergenerational support is important because outright dependence signifies declined status and unfavourable reputation (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1791-

1792). The significance of interdependence relates to the importance of agency, explained in the next paragraph.

The agency of older people in support flows reconceptualises older adults as actors and contributors throughout the life-course, rather than only as recipients of care in old age. In support exchanges, an older adult's inability to provide or reciprocate support results in them becoming dependent on others and losing their agency (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a, p. 135). Agency and being less dependent on others places individuals as higher in the social hierarchy because social relations ideally occur with self-interests protected (captured in the notion of *muafakat*/consensus), and mutual assistance (*gotong royong)* sought (ibid). Since honour and social standing derive from a willingness to provide without obligation, as mentioned in gift-giving, and social relations ideally occur in self-interest and mutual agreement, dependency and inability to partake in both, lowers one's order in the social hierarchy. Extreme dependence or inability to reciprocate due to poverty and ill health can result in low levels of care and, in the absence of kin, there is a risk of complete failure of care (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a, p. 137). Negative consequences of dependency also occurred amongst poorer older adults, who required food and shelter, but did not have kin to help them, charity then became the last resort (ibid, p. 137). Negotiation of preferred situations through arrangements such as later life adoption are ideal because older adults can preserve their agency rather than submit to dependency or pity (ibid). Investigating support exchange is therefore complex and involves multiple individuals and relationships over time.

Other key components to consider is intensity or extent or intergenerational exchange. The study by Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill (2008), for example, considered the totality of factors in which support exchanges are embedded. This showed that minimal exchanges between the generations can be due to ideal self-sufficient existences, or that significant flows might be part of an arrangement that overall reflects an even balance of flows, with some family members giving, others receiving (ibid). By contrast, Beard and Kunharibowo (2001, p. 25) excluded transfers of other children and kin, focusing just one adult child, which therefore failed to account for the totality of exchanges with others. Recognising the factors and processes of varied situations is an intriguing and important approach. In this approach, observing contributions and exchanges requires observation over long periods of time to decide how to categorise support flows and account for varied situations of exchange. For example, in the two different communities of Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill's (2008, p. 8) study, different settings may illustrate different arrangements and situations. In summary, the components of support exchange talked about so far are intensity or extent, and the descriptive explanations such as who the participants of exchange are, and what forms of support are given. To determine causes of how support

exchange is arranged, or why exchange happens, the research must consider the factors which influence these.

3.2.4 Wider networks

This section will discuss how studies have investigated wider networks of support in SEA. The existence of wider networks in which older people are embedded illustrates that sources of support are often not restricted to the nuclear family or co-residential unit. Anthropological research shows how kinship bonds occur outside of blood-ties, and these bonds allow for varied and dynamic support exchanges and support flows (cf. sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3)(Carsten, 1995). Consideration of wider networks shows that support comes in various forms and is not necessarily confined to family members and those within a household.

The importance of looking into wider networks of support can also derive from an appreciation of gaps of support within the family which can arise and leave certain groups of older people highly vulnerable. Findings on three distinct communities in Indonesia show that networks emerge and evolve throughout the life course, due to gaps in the immediate family. Childlessness and absent children exacerbate the situation of vulnerable older adults (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2004, p. 32). Childlessness signifies a gap of support, but children are also important in establishing a household (cf. section 3.3.3). Informal and formal adoption is key to overcome childlessness, this differed from later-life adoptions because parents would raise their adopted children with love, gift giving, and lack of obligation according to Malay kinship sentiments (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a, p. 122) (ibid, p. 122). Poorer people lacked socio-economic influence and reputation to elicit adoption, and more adoptive relationships broke down amongst parents of low SES (ibid).

Abdul Aziz and Yusooff's (2012, p. 194) quantitative study in Malaysia, concludes that there are relatively low reports of older people feeling lonely, and comments that although external institutions cannot substitute for close family, the older adults use their social circle and the community to fill the gap. However, there are limitations to how quantitative studies capture interviewee perspectives, and hidden factors because the survey instrument is pre-determined. In rural Java, where nuclear families are the norm and childlessness is common, kin networks was an important resource of care and support in later life (Schröder-Butterfill, 2006, p. 14). The studies mentioned illustrate how wider networks are crucial when there is a resource gap or gaps within the family. This shows that research focusing on family support alone can be criticised as overlooking important wider networks of support, critical for vulnerable groups of older people.

There are strength and weaknesses in researching wider networks of support of older adults. Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill's (2004, p. 2) study in Java, Indonesia, includes collecting life histories, fieldwork, observations of exchange over periods of time, and semi structured interviewing, which allowed for extensive coverage of the communities researched. The Java study addresses actual family networks, where and how gaps in networks of support emerge, and how members utilise available kin (ibid, p. 4). The study underlines specific sources of vulnerability that are a reason for the gaps in family networks, using qualitative and quantitative data research methods (ibid, p. 4). It can be argued that pre-determined network markers, such those designed for quantitative surveys, do not accurately reflect actual wider networks, because there may be unaccounted people not included in the quantitative survey. In order to have robust findings on actual wider networks collecting life histories and observations over time is needed, but is incredibly time consuming (Litwin, 1996, p. 4). The problem with collecting data at one observation point in time is that roles and social context of relationships within the wider networks would not be illustrated. The ideal situation in measuring intergenerational transfers within wider networks is that all exchanges can be sufficiently documented, and that all members of the wider network are accounted for. This can be challenging and time consuming in nature but would provide the holistic picture of how wider networks of support are managed and evolve in response to changing circumstances. The gap in that even such research on support exchanges and wider networks concentrate on relationships between parents, children, and grandchildren, at the expense of considering the relationship of siblings and distant relatives.

In intergenerational support literature, siblings and grandchildren make up the extensive network of available kin, especially so as an alternative to the lack of support from children or in cases of childlessness (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a, p. 128; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 15; Schröder-Butterfill and Fithry, 2014, p. 15). However, in most cases siblings make up the periphery of a supportive network, with siblings playing a major role in older people's support in a minority of cases only (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 15). Memberships and roles of members in such networks change and are not static (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 15; 2015, p. 8). Reviewing how siblings are alternatives to support for some older adults in later years, adds to the discussion the extent or availability of older adult siblings in compensating for gaps of support.

3.3 Family Systems in Southeast Asia

3.3.1 Introduction

In order to study how families make arrangements of support in contexts of rapid socio-economic changes, one of the main areas of focus for this research are family systems, their functions, how

they are impacted by change and the implications this has for older adults. The concept of family systems refers to the "normative manner in which family processes unfold" (Skinner, 1997, p. 54), such as living arrangements, the life-cycle of households, inheritance and succession, gender preferences and norms shaping intergenerational relationships. Family systems are dynamic because negotiations of normative family processes are made and remade according to situations encountered. Family systems are therefore an important component to understanding which arrangements of support are made and how resultant support arrangements are evaluated.

3.3.2 **Types of family systems**

This literature review section focuses on family systems in SEA, to examine how the main family systems in the region influence intergenerational relations and support, to look at existing literature on how families have adapted to change, and what various arrangements for support in later life have been adopted. This section discusses the Malay and Chinese family systems in detail as these make up the majority in Brunei. Although there are community specific experiences and differences between different countries, there are also various commonalities which illustrate cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is an important factor affecting family systems and family norms, therefore looking into and comparing studies on Malays and Chinese in the region can be insightful for Brunei's own communities. Tania Li (1989, p. 7) projects this further by noting that there are no fundamental differences between Malay and Javanese traditions, and that Singapore Malays are composed from various SEA origins. Also, Chinese family systems have a strong historical influence from Confucianism (Hashimoto and Ikels, 2005, p. 437). This shows the influence of cultural heritage and importance of cultural factors in this research.

Kinship refers to systems of relatedness between individuals in families and wider networks. Individuals are typically part of households and families, while these families are in turn embedded in larger kinship groups. Focusing on household or family is only one of several possible ways of understanding social organization and may leave out important links that extend beyond the household and the immediate family (Farber, 1966, p. 33). There are flexible boundaries concerning definitions of family, and diverse formations depending on varied kinship systems. These formations are shaped by kinship obligations or norms, governing what it means to be related by blood, descent or marriage, gender and social economic rights, obligations of individuals in different kin positions, and the division of labour (Radcliffe-Brown, 1941, p. 2; Skinner, 1997, p. 54; Mason, 2001, p. 161). Family systems are diverse, specific to culture and community; however the concept of familial obligation is at the centre of all family systems (Croll, 2006, p. 473), albeit processed in different ways, as family systems variably define the "rights and obligations of particular kin relationships" (Mason, 2001, p. 161). The main family systems in SEA

have different ways of defining norms and obligations which affect processes of intergenerational support; this will be further explored in this literature review section.

Family systems can be broadly classified as conjugal (or nuclear), joint, and stem family systems (Skinner, 1997, p. 55). Conjugal family formation is based on marriage, with both bride and groom leaving their natal household to start a new household (Ibid, p. 55). Stem family systems prevail when a spouse is brought in for only one of the offspring in each generation, and junior and senior conjugal units then co-reside (Ibid, p. 56). Joint family systems are when spouses are brought in for all category of offspring (usually of one gender), and the household form typically undergoes conjungal, stem, and joint phases (Ibid, p. 56). Unilineal, bilateral, patrilineal and matrilineal kinship systems define membership with regards to distribution of kinship rights and obligations (Farber, 1966, p. 34). Unilineal systems operate when marriage does not provide full membership for the spouse and an individual's membership exists throughout their lifetime to the kinship group they were born into. By contrast, in bilateral kinship systems both the husband's and wife's kinship groups are given equal consideration and marriage gives an individual membership to their spouse's kinship group while retaining membership of the natal family (Ibid, p. 34). Patrilineal joint family systems are often a type of unilineal system characterised by male bias, as the bride moves into the groom's household and loses membership of her natal family, and inheritance favours sons (Skinner, 1997, p. 59). Matrilineal joint family systems, another type of unilineal system, are characterised by the groom moving into the bride's household, and inheritance favours daughters (ibid, p. 59). These systems show how priority of lineage or inheritance, or an individual or couple's relations are processed. Family systems present an undercurrent of values to gender roles, how resources are arranged, living arrangements, the nature of reciprocal support, intergenerational relations and identity of carers.

In the following I describe one of the main family systems in the region, the Malay bilateral conjugal or nuclear system (Li, 1989, p. 12-13; Knodel, Ofstedal and Hermalin, 2003, p. 43; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1783). It is important to discuss Malays in the region in detail, as Brunei's own Malay ethnic groups bear a close relation (cf. section 3.3.3). Given a conjugal or nuclear family system, the married Malay couple eventually establishes their own independent household, although usually after several years of marriage (Beard and Kunharibowo, 2001, p. 19). As a bilateral kinship system, there is equal consideration towards the husband's and wife's kinship groups. That said, older adults in need of care would typically seek help from the women in their families. In a comparison study of ethnicities and intergenerational support in Malaysia, Malays were least likely to live with their parents after marriage, but when they did so it was usually with the wife's parents (Chan and DaVanzo, 1996, p. 35). Despite setting up an independent household, familial ties often remain important.

For Malays, familial ties, relatedness and reproduction are rendered from the "heat of the hearth", women's domain of the kitchen, where according to Malay notions blood is formed and transformed through the act of eating and sharing (Carsten, 1997, p.53, p.108). Consumption is noted by Carsten (1995, p. 228) as "milk feeding as babies" and "sharing of rice meals cooked in the same hearth". New relationships can be made in the everyday acts of consuming rice and living together (Carsten, 1995, p. 228; 2000, p. 18). This is further cultivated in the raising of children, extending to close physical and maternal affections (Djamour, 1959, p. 34-35; Carsten, 1997, p. 108-109). Women are therefore central in creating relatedness, as they are "source of both shared substance and of the strong emotional bond" (Carsten, 1995, p. 229).

Malay societies are traditionally egalitarian, with the cultures and practices present around the nuclear bilateral family system (Benjamin, 2011; Abdullah, 2016, p. 94). Malays organise their economic productive activities, enter close personal relations, approach their whole kinship domain through the model of balance, fluidity, and the conjugal family (Geertz and Press, 1961, p. 3; Karim, 1995a, p. 38-39; Benjamin, 2011). Balance is in the ideal interdependence and lack of obligation (cf. section 3.2.3), and fluidity in kin relations (cf. section 3.3.3). Related to this is how the symbolic nature of siblingship is at the core of Malay social organisation and carries an egalitarian connotation. Siblingship also extends to relatedness on a horizontal level with members of the community, as sibling terms and relations are used between village members. This is in contrast to societies where more absolute distinctions are made between related and unrelated (Carsten, 1997, p. 102-103; 2000, p. 104-105). Siblingship has not been explored in the context of Brunei, in contrast to Djamour (1959) and Carsten's (1995, 1997, 2000) works on Singapore and Malaysia, respectively.

Central to Malay kinship is the notion of mutual agreement and serving the best interests of all social relationships (cf. section 3.2.3), particularly between husband and wife, and kinship sentiment with a "voluntary moral component" present in all social relationships (Banks, 1983, p. 128; Li, 1989, p. 7). Thus, kinship is expressed through acts between kinsmen which result in mutual wellbeing and in spirit of good will, without force or obligation (Banks, 1972, p. 1255; Li, 1989, p. 9). Malay kinship sentiment in intergenerational transfers can be said to have a long history of downward intergenerational flows of wealth (Djamour, 1959; Li, 1989); recent studies have captured this as well (cf. section 3.2.2). This shows intergenerational relations between parent and child, where "children are a possible asset but not a sound investment" (Li, 1989, p. 41), and returns from children are conditional, negotiated, and not obliged (cf. section 3.2.3). Another example of how kinship sentiment characterises intergenerational support flows, is that older parents strive to be as independent as possible to avoid being burdensome and this can be

viewed as a gift toward their children (cf. section 3.2.3)(Li, 1989; Knodel, Ofstedal and Hermalin, 2003, p. 43).

The existence of the Malay family system favouring independent households and involving older parents who do not explicitly expect or receive obligated help from their children, not only undermines the idea of Asian families as homogeneous and traditionally in favour of multi-generational living, but also raises questions of how older adults negotiate intergenerational support. Thus far, Malay kinship sentiment shows how flows of goods are built on voluntariness and a notion of gift giving, and that intergenerational flows are characteristically downward, demonstrating the contributions of the older adult. This is an issue for countries solely upholding the extended family system as an old-age care strategy. This fails to recognise the contributions and independence of older adults, and the realities of economic insecurities with their adult children.

In comparison to this, the tradition of filial piety among the Chinese population in the region is more prescriptive and entails clearer expectations of support for older parents. The Chinese Confucian tradition has a prevailing sense of seniority, solid intergenerational ties, and the idea of children repaying a debt to parents (Mehta and Thang, 2008, p. 216-217). Chinese families have a patrilineal joint family system, where there is a strong preference of sons and duty falls towards the oldest son to take care of the elderly parent (Chan and DaVanzo, 1996, p. 33; Verbrugge and Chan, 2008, p. 8). Historically, parents have invested more in their sons, which allowed for further returns of repayment and increased debt towards their parents (Williams, Mehta and Lin, 1999, p. 296). Care of older people was traditionally the daughter-in-law's responsibility, which sometimes strained the relationship between the older woman and daughter-in-law (Kee, 2014, p. 183). As Croll (2006) has argued, because of fertility decline, urbanization and value changes, daughters are now increasingly relied on for care in later life. Filial piety is traditionally grounded in the notion of the older parent as highly respected, and children are selflessly devoted to them (Thang, 2013, p. 207). In Singapore, adult children have little expectation of help from the government, unless in dire need, and the older parent would seek help from the state as a last resort (Teo *et al.*, 2006, p. 90). However, this does not mean the older person ceases to offer help, but just that the children are obligated to help in later life (Verbrugge and Chan, 2008, p. 8). For example, a study of reciprocity in Singapore found that older women performed more home-based services than older men, older women and men equally provided advice, a person often both receives and gives financial support, and seniors who received companionship were more likely to give financial help to their family (ibid, p. 22).

Although these family systems have a strong presence in society, Skinner (1997, p. 54) emphasises that family system norms shape but do not control behaviour. The variability of family systems in a given society are further shaped by factors such as class, ethnicity and region, which further points to its dynamic nature (ibid). Further studies into how these main family systems operate within distinct communities and specific socio-demographic changes show that although there are general governing principles to these main family systems, in-depth analysis uncovers how these main family systems are affected by economic and demographic shifts, and social context of the society or community (Keasberry, 2001, p. 660; Kreager, 2003, p. 12; van Eeuwijk, 2006, p. 64; Abdul Aziz and Yusooff, 2012, p. 191; Kee, 2014, p. 184). For example, the commonality of childlessness in East Java and the extended history of marital instability and infertility (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2004, p. 12), illustrates a distinct character of a particular community where adoption is common. Although Maeda (1975, p. 164) states that Malays frequently practice informal adoption or fosterage, the particular historical pattern of childlessness in East Java is one distinguishing factor which shapes the practices within the residing community. Another example is how main family systems in Singapore are exposed to unique economic developments and demographic changes, as well as cultural history and government policies, which affect the communities within the country. The impact of these economic developments and demographic and social changes will be further explored in section 3.4.1. In the following section (cf. section 3.3.3), I explore in-depth the culture and family system of Brunei Malays to situate experiences of families and older adults.

3.3.3 **Brunei Malays**

I firstly explore available relevant literature on how Brunei Malays. Then I examine the anthropology of Brunei Malays and address the gaps in knowledge. I conclude by reviewing how examining the culture of Brunei Malays is meaningful in understanding and measuring intergenerational relationships and support.

The Brunei Malay identity is described as the Malay Muslim way of life, and speaking the national language of *Bahasa Melayu*, Malay language (Leake, 1989, p. 86; Ahmad Kumpoh, 2016, p. 132-133). The Brunei way of life is described as governed by *Adat Brunei*, or Brunei Customs, a traditional code for all aspects of personal life, made up of *Adat* of Law of Islam, *Adat* of custom, *Adat* of any tradition as according to the ethnic group, "*Adat resam*" as social habits (Ooi Keat Gin, 2016, p. 1). As part of MIB, the national idiom and identity can be noted as publicly unshakeable and indivisible. Studies suggest that Brunei people have become increasingly homogeneous due to adoption of and integration to the dominant Brunei Malay way of life, and

socio-political movements to a single national MIB identity (Haji Wahsalfelah, 2005, p. 12; Ahmad Kumpoh, 2016, p. 132; Ahmad Kumpoh, Haji Wahsalfelah and Haji-Othman, 2017, p. 6). However, in the everyday life of Brunei's ordinary people, the concepts of Malay and Islam are fluid and negotiable (Fanselow, 2014, p. 106-107; Haji Abdul Samad, 2019, p. 29-30). This is manifested in "an inclusive, changing, and hybrid discourse of Malayness" (Ho Ming Yit, 2019, p. 148). My thesis takes a broader definition of Malay-ness by comparing anthropological works of Malay societies in the region to those within Brunei. Recent studies in Brunei show that ethnic groups such as the Dusun, Iban, and Bisaya still have their own socio-characteristic identity, pointing to the existence of heterogenetic ethnic identities in Brunei (King, 1994, p. 178-179; Tassim, Haji Abdul Aziz and Md Salleh, 2013, p. 4-5). With Muslim Malays there is a negotiation of identity, there is a coexistence of Islam's higher concerns of the soul along with a strong sense of ethnic identity and beliefs (Kimball, 1975, p. 24-25; Trigger and Haji Wahsalfelah, 2011, p . 81; Abdul Razak, 2015, p. 52). These may adhere to MIB notions that "adaptation between cultures inside and outside will continue", however this can only be accepted "as long as it has no elements other than Islam" (Pelita Brunei, 1989, p. 7).

Generally, these negotiations between customs and traditions, and Islam and MIB, shapes the everyday self and norms, resulting in behaviours, and relationships in family and wider society. In acknowledging this complexity, kinship and everyday practices of Brunei Malays can be explored by noting that what is publicly believed may be realised in more complex ways and must be captured through local context, the heterogeneity of situations, and qualitative research (noted in section 3.2, and next section 3.4). This is important for capturing the ways older adults and families function, without generalising the idea that knowledge of values means acting on values. An example is the national and general belief that the dominance of MIB and Islamic teachings through free education enshrine collectivist values of familial obligation and respect for older persons (Ahmad Kumpoh, Haji Wahsalfelah and Haji-Othman, 2017, p. 22; Pg Hj Hashim, 2018, p. 29; Idris, Tengah and Mohd Noor, 2019, p. 60). Yet, in the private sphere of family life, such obligation and respect may not be guaranteed.

This is evidence that to understand the culture of Brunei Malays, we must understand it as part of and composed from a larger Malay society defined by Malay kinship. A too narrow focus on prescribed teachings of familial obligation through MIB may ignore more complex realities at the local level. For Brunei Malays there is a lack of current evidence-based observations. Haji Wahsalfelah's (2005, p. 282) thesis explores how Brunei's traditional woven textiles in constructs tradition and promotes the national philosophy of MIB and oneness of culture. The thesis does not provide varied evidence of customs or the kinship system of Brunei Malays. The majority of other recent studies concentrate on kinship systems of other ethnic groups of Brunei such as the

Kedayan, Dusun, the Lun Bawang in the Temburong District, and Bisaya people (Walker, 2010, p. 36). Currently none focus on the family system of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer of today, nor on the position of older people within the kinship system.

The existing literature on the Brunei Malay kinship system is informative, but an update is required. Kimball's (1975) ethnographic account of Brunei Malays provides a snapshot of social practices, norms, and relationships present within the community of the village in Temburong. The study provides insights on people's migration from Temburong to Brunei's capital, which attest to the fact that migration is not a new phenomenon; similar experiences were noted in Kampong Ayer (cf. section 2.3) (Haji Ibrahim, 2011; Zul Hamdi, Abdullah and Narudin, 2017; Bakar, 2018). Other changes observed by Kimball (1975, p. 99) include the education participation of youth, and emphasis of formal education and salaried jobs, which caused pressures to extend ages of marriage. This is relevant to Ahmad's (2018, p. 21-23) recent examination showing a delay in age of first marriage and rise in proportion of people single in Brunei. My thesis examines how families adapt to such changes, and what is the family system of Brunei Malays. Though Kimball's (1975) study is out of date and situational to the Brunei Malays in Temburong at the time, it provides a contrast to the findings of my thesis.

Brown's (1970) study of socio-political structures of Brunei makes note of kinship and marriage of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer, but needs to be updated to consider the situation today, especially the socio-demographic and economic changes of Brunei. Brown further neglects studying Brunei's society at large, poorer everyday people, and making regional comparisons. My thesis addressed this gap in knowledge by studying perspectives from Brunei's lower social order and making regional comparisons of kinship, intergenerational relationships, and support. Acknowledging the lower social order also addresses the heterogeneity in Brunei's society in terms of socio-economic differences.

Leake's (1989) work is informative of kinship norms and values of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer, and how these have changed by detailing the practices at the time. However, Leake's (1989) research lacks detailed exploration of why and how negotiations of norms are made, and what support arrangements are adopted by families. Although Leake's (1989) study is more recent, it is important to follow up and also consider the effects of migration movements and other socio-demographic and economic changes on Kampong Ayer's people today. My thesis addresses the gap by contributing research on Brunei Malays through examining processes of kinship and the family system.

Thus far, I have addressed the gaps in the existing research, now I turn to review how they illustrate family, older adults, gender, and living arrangements of Brunei Malays and relate this to

studies of Malays in the region. Brunei Malays practice bilateral kinship (Brown, 1970; Leake, 1989, p. 90). Temporary residence with either married partner's parents is common, and often the married couple leaves to form their own household when they have acquired enough savings (Leake, 1989, p. 90). Kimball (1975, p. 76) shows this temporary residence as a more culturally informed practice. Brunei Malays practiced temporary uxorilocal residence, where a couple just married would live in the house of the bride's parents; all Malay marriages in the village observed practiced this for one week after the ceremony (Kimball, 1975, p. 76). After this, many women would go to where the husband lived, or they would live neolocally, separate from either the bride's or groom's parents (ibid). It was observed that all the village houses in Temburong were neolocal residences (ibid). This is similar to studies on Malay families (cf. section 3.3.2) where it was customary to eventually establish a new household (Ong, 1990, p. 260; Beard and Kunharibowo, 2001, p. 19).

Traditionally, marriage amongst Malays was more pragmatic than for a loving union (Heaton, Cammack and Young, 2001, p. 482). Preferred marriage was with a first cousin, the parent of the groom should ideally be the elder sibling of the parent of the bride, as a way of keeping things in the family (Kimball, 1975, p. 68; Leake, 1989, p. 88). This sense of relatedness between husband and wife is important to view themselves as related, rather than being related. This cultivating of relatedness in Malay kinship is vital as a significant factor in intra and intergenerational relationships and support, where appropriateness and preferences depended on the closeness of kinship ties (cf. section 3.2.4). This paragraph asserts the importance of cultivating close kinship ties, in viewing each other as related to be member of kin, and in marriage as expanding the kinship network. In Brunei, marriage was observed to be the most important part of social life because of the ensuant extensive alteration to the kinship network, where one marriage partner gains the relatives of another (Kimball, 1975, p. 68). The involvement of kin from both parties is evident at all levels of wedding preparation, including choice of partner. The difficulty to determine who was related or unrelated is relevant here, as locality was the most important factor in choosing a spouse, because "those who live close by become kin"(Carsten, 1997). In modern times, choice of partner amongst Brunei Malays was more for romantic reasons and personal choice (Leake, 1989, p. 88). However, aspect of viewing each other as related may continue as a vital way to appropriate inter and intragenerational relations and support (mentioned in section 3.2.4).

Although marriage is seen as the most important part of social life in the Malay world, it is also unstable: divorce has historically been high. This is variably theorised as due to the bilateral nature of kinship, acceptance and simplicity of divorce, ease of remarriage, and the role of fate in

suitability or harmony of couples (Djamour, 1959, p. 139; Jones, 1980, p. 286-288). Divorce rates have varied amongst Malay populations regionally but have been generally high in global comparison (Jones, 1994, p. 188-191). Divorce in Brunei was done with "classic Muslim divorce" with saying "I divorce you" three times, and ex-partners would be free to remarry (Kimball, 1975, p. 77). Traditionally, Brunei Malay women were able to initiate divorce by applying to the religious official, who will summon the husband (Mohamed Ibrahim, 1964, p. 41; An-Na'im, 2002, p. 262). Currently in Brunei, divorce application from either husband or wife must be done with formal application in accordance to Brunei Islamic Law (Attorney General's Chambers, 2012, p. 33). Therefore, although marriage is important in expanding kinship network, kinship ties between husband and wife and in-laws are not definite and are in fact fragile and easily broken. This fragility in ties means that although cultivating relatedness is important to establish appropriate intra and intergenerational support, ties and support are not secure. Fragility in kinship ties have yet to be explored in intra and intergenerational support amongst Brunei Malays.

In this next paragraph, I explore the independence and strengths of Malay women. It is believed that upon marriage, responsibility for the woman shifts from her father to her husband, a man is always responsible for a woman's social and economic needs as he holds the power and earns the wages, however women control family matters and develop strong bonds with their children (Kimball, 1975, p. 69; Leake, 1989, p. 90). However, studies show Malay women as in control, and having strong influential roles, for example as independent income earners, and by maintaining social networks through kin (Geertz and Press, 1961, p. 78-79; Ong, 1990, p. 261; Brenner, 1995). Public perceptions and gender differentiation in laws, inheritance, and guardianship over women differ from actual practices on the ground. Women lack representation in the public sphere of politics, business, and economics (Puteh, 1996). This differentiation in public and private, albeit not a definitive one, does not diminish women's strengths within and between informal and formal domains (Karim, 1995b, p. 18-19). Gender and power are more fluid in SEA communities, hierarchies are balanced out and power is anchored in complementarity (ibid). Rather than a definitive dominant ideology of male power, contradictory elements of gender roles coexist and are realised by people more subtly (Brenner, 1995, p. 40). An example in Brunei is the commonality of Malay women[14] using informal networks to bypass regulations for SMEs (Sivakumar, 2008, p. 85). The multifaceted status of men and women, formal and informal, is also reflected in Islamic law of inheritance. Ideals of equality, Islamic law and Adat law have been traditionally managed by the people themselves (Djamour, 1959, p. 48; Jones, 1994, p. 11).

[14] Sivakumar's (2008) respondents are members of the least active lobbying agency for women's businesses, yet it is the most popular due to its networking capabilities.

Islamic laws of inheritance did not differ greatly between countries in the region and are interpreted by the Malays similarly through bilateral emphasis (Geertz and Press, 1961, p. 76). In Brunei, inheritance law favours men, but Brown (1970, p. 35) notes that the law was not always applied by the people. Subtle gender roles in intergenerational support and relationships should be considered in Brunei.

Kimball (1975, p. 70) and Leake (1989, p. 90) stated the normative gender hierarchy of men responsible for women's social and economic roles. However, Brunei Malay women were relatively independent. This is reflected in Kimball's (1975) early own account, and Sivakumar's more recent (2008) study of Brunei Malay businesswomen, the Kampong Ayer *padians*. Brenner (1995, p. 22) rightly critiques that some ethnographies tend to reiterate dominant representations, rather than examining their complex nature and negotiations. Kimball's observations showed Brunei Malay women customarily having significant roles in managing family life and labour-intensive food production, and unmarried young women leaving the home to pursue education and work. The wife would "hide cash and valuables" for the family and "should a wife suddenly die or forget, they are lost beyond recall" (ibid, p. 16). This is reminiscent of Carsten's (1997 p. 148-150) writing on rice cultivation in Langkawi, Malaysia, as women's work. Brunei Malay women's role as independent income earners and significant contributors to household sustenance is also reflected in historic accounts of Kampong Ayer. *Padians,* or women vendors of Kampong Ayer, played a historic part in Brunei and Kampong Ayer's economy up to their decline in the 20th century (Yunos, 2009b, p. 32). *Padians* are now extinct reportedly because women are unwilling to work in unsafe conditions, they have moved to sell goods on-land in a nearby market, and as shops and people moved on-land there was a lack of customers in Kampong Ayer (Bakar, 2018, p. 155). *Padians* sell goods, such as rice, vegetables, fruit, fish and dried biscuits, on boats along the Brunei River, and were usually older women aged 50 years and above (ibid, p. 153). Historians state the first women *padians* as indentured slaves, but more people, especially widows, took up the trade as a means of income (Yunos, 2009b, p. 34). There were some men vendors (*laki padian*), but *padian*s were the "choice employment for women" (Bakar, 2018, p. 152). These accounts chime with others in the SEA region of how women were not dependent on men for survival, nor confined to the home (Manderson, 1983; Ong, 1990). Upon marriage, women and men's relationship are more or less equal, with major decisions consulted on, but with women dominating decisions regarding everyday matters in a generally accepted arrangement (Geertz and Press, 1961, p. 46; Ong, 1990, p. 261; Brenner, 1995, p. 23; Carsten, 1997, p. 95). A women's inherited property and earned income are her own, which her husband has no control over (Brenner, 1995, p. 23). Brenner (ibid, p. 41) argues that women's strengths with money and self-control compliments men's weaknesses in impractical spending

and sexuality. However even Brenner (ibid) acknowledges the danger of absolutes: the complementary roles of men and women cannot be due to one guiding principle, but need to be seen in the local context, history, and the sometimes contradicting beliefs people hold. What can be said for Brunei is that women have important positions in organising and keeping family finances and as independent income earners, yet these roles are embedded in a complex fluidity of gender hierarchy. How these roles and statuses play out in intergenerational support and relationships has not yet been explored in existing studies.

Now that I have discussed the role of women in the family and society, I now turn to the role of children in the family. Mother and child are the closest kinship bond as mentioned in the previous section (3.3.2). A child's spiritual and physical wellbeing is dependent on the mother's influence, as mentioned by Brenner (ibid, p. 44). The mother's role in cultivating relatedness amongst her children continues in later years of the life-course, and in practicing informal adoption as an older adult (mentioned in section 3.2.4). This suggests that women can sustain and nurture close kinship bonds in later life. Women's roles and activities in the family therefore cannot be viewed as minor. Children also have important roles within the family. A marriage is fortified upon birth of a child, otherwise it is a sterile union. Childless couples will adopt because of children's importance as signifiers of a home (Djamour, 1959, p. 88, p. 93). It was also common for older adults to informally adopt grandchildren when they are older or enter contractual-like agreements in later-age adoption (cf. section 3.2.3). Both the roles of women and children in the family are therefore vital as establishing a home, cultivating relatedness, and generating intergenerational relationships throughout the life-course. Women can depend on their strengths in cultivating relatedness, meaning widowed, never married, or childless women have the agency to be independent and build intergenerational support and relationships when needed (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a, p. 115; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 10-11). Yet as returns of support is not obligated and unreliable (cf. section 3.2), having independent income is important. This can protect women in later ages against likely major expenses such as hospitalisation (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 10). A person's socio-economic standing and reputation is also a factor to the likelihood of successful adoption (ibid, p. 11)(cf. section 3.2). This aspect of cultivating relatedness by women throughout the life-course is yet to be explored amongst Brunei Malays. It is also unknown in existing studies on Brunei Malays of the role in socio-economic status and gender in the situations of intergenerational relationships and older adults.

Having discussed the role of family members within the nuclear family, what can be said about the role of older adults among Brunei Malays? For Brunei Malays, old age is seen as the final

recognised stage of the life cycle[15] (Kimball, 1975, p. 78). An older person is less active than those who are younger, but still participates fully in society (ibid). An example in Kimball's (1975, p.79) study is when an older woman cannot do fine sewing or crocheting due to failing eyesight, she instead cooks or helps tend children. Leake (1989, p. 90) notes that this is one of the advantages to multi-generational living, as families can pool their resources and help each other with chores. However, there are disadvantages to this. Mainly being the large scope for disagreement, with aggravated conflict between generations (ibid). Kimball (1975, p. 79) implies both older men and women like to sit around, chew betel nut, smoke cigarettes or pipes and talk, and are often consulted by younger adults. Older people are seen by younger people as repositories of knowledge concerning traditions and customs, and they have the privilege to joke and tease freely with any person in the community (ibid). Frequently both older men and women commented how "young folks today do not really do things the proper way that they were done when we were young" (ibid, p. 79). Kimball (ibid, p. 102) interprets this as a continuous transmission of memories and culture through commentary on how the young do things: "through all Malay history there have been old people sitting about at weddings and other communal occasions making the same complaint". Such repeated cycles of older adults' critiques suggest a common dialogue about the young never really doing things as before, but without this necessarily affecting older adult's wellbeing. This shifting of norms, as observed by Tania Li (1989) of Singaporean Malays, relate to how cultural ideas are recreated and adapt under new circumstances, yet are informed by cultural knowledge. How families adapt to these circumstances of socio-demographic and economic changes are discussed in the next section (3.3.4). To conclude, this paragraph shows older adults as independent and continuing to provide contributions to the younger generations, corroborating with previous discussions (in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3). Older adults are not dependent on younger generation, they provide wisdom as well as significant contributions to younger adults. When older people are less physically able to work, they adapt by providing cooking and childcare. Multi-generational living had its advantages and disadvantages in Brunei, as noted by Leake (1989), the varied situations of multi-generational living and conflict between the generations have yet be captured in recent studies. Changes throughout the generations are interpreted as continuous in all Malay societies, and does not imply to impact older adult's wellbeing, what lacks in existing studies is in what ways families and individuals adapt to socio-demographic and economic changes in Brunei. Investigation in Brunei of intergenerational support and relationships had not been done to provide evidence that

[15] These stages were recognised as: newborn (*anak baru keluar*); baby or toddler (*anak damit*), young person (orang muda); mature adult (orang basar); middle age or early old age (*orang tua*); old person (*tua banar*) (Kimball, 1975, p. 78).

changes are negatively impacting older adults, which is important for policymakers (cf. section 2.4).

To conclude this section on Brunei Malays, I now reiterate the gaps in the literature. These studies make interesting observations about kinship and practices of Brunei Malays. Although Kimball's study covered the social norms and behaviours of the village's life cycle, the focus was not on family systems or intergenerational support. Therefore, available relevant research is limited on kinship and family systems, and non-existent on intergenerational support. With relatively larger quantities of work on kinship of other ethnic groups in Brunei, it is also important to fill in this gap in knowledge. Because the focus of this research is on Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer, the family system and arrangements of intergenerational support will not be generalised to all Brunei Malays. However, this research is an importance advance on research on intergenerational support in Brunei. In the next section (3.3.4), I discuss literature on the region on the impact of socio-demographic and economic changes.

3.3.4 **Impact of socio-demographic and economic changes**

It is widely acknowledged that readiness and ability adult children to provide care and support to older relatives in various countries is undergoing change, especially in light of rising issues of poverty and health (Kreager, 2003, p. 12; van Eeuwijk, 2006, p. 64). This is relevant to Brunei, where there is escalating unemployment and vulnerabilities to NCDs especially among older people (cf. chapter 2 Section 2.2.2 and 2.2.4). Studies around the region show that despite urban-rural migration, support is still regularly met through visits, care for basic needs, and financial support (Keasberry, 2001, p. 660; Abdul Aziz and Yusooff, 2012, p. 191; Kee, 2014, p. 184). This demonstrates that negotiations between family member's needs and resources are made to result in arrangements of intergenerational support, to allow families to meet their needs. In this section I will detail the various ways socio-demographic changes affect families in SEA, and how families consequently adapt.

Looking at the region at a macro level, it is evident that the demographic forces which most impact families are the decreasing fertility rate in SEA, as well as other trends such as increased female labour force participation, urbanisation, globalisation and migration (Knodel, Ofstedal and Hermalin, 2003, p. 26). Much like the country profile of this thesis in chapter 2, this would suggest that family forms are impacted by factors such as postponement of marriage, fewer children in the family, and growing economic insecurity in a globalised economy. Intergenerational support has been reported as challenged by these global economic and demographic developments (Knodel, Ofstedal and Hermalin, 2003, p. 32; Lowenstein, 2005, p. 404). However studies in

Malaysia and Indonesia have shown that intergenerational support remains strong over geographical distances, and support is also met through diverse family forms and wider networks of kin (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2004; Abdul Aziz and Yusooff, 2012; Kee, 2014).

As countries in SEA economically develop and industrialise, female education attainment increases, and there are higher female labour participation rates. This was also evident in Brunei (cf. section 2.2.2). The literature review of the region showed that there were impacts on family forms in that there is a later age for marriage, fewer children in the family, and increased pressure on care giving and domestic roles (Jones, 2004, p. 13; Li and Velkoff, 2005, p. 40). At the same time, older women across Asia have generally low formal labour force participation rates, low levels of education and health status and are often widows (Chow, 2005, p. 12-13). It may have been difficult for quantitative studies to capture female participation in agriculture, service and trade especially in the past, because women in SEA have tended to be economically active outside the household, as mentioned previously (cf. section 3.3.3). Therefore, modernisation may exaggerate the changes of labour participation. With increased formal female labour force participation among the younger generation of women, older women are important caregivers not only to their husbands, but also contributing to intergenerational support through household chores and looking after grandchildren (ibid, p. 13). One study found older women not to be adequately provided for within the family, and to have difficulty in accessing other public or private resources for financial security due to not having been engaged in formal employment (ibid, p. 13). Despite this, older women's important role as caregivers contributes significantly towards intergenerational support (women's role in Malay families mentioned in section 3.3.3), which can be viewed as a commodity or as a gift depending on the meanings attached (cf. section 3.2.3) (Li, 1989, p. 41-45; Schröder-Butterfill, 2004b; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008). Commodification is when, for example, woman's labour has a value to be paid into the division of labour of the household (Li, 1998, p. 682). Voluntary gift giving, on the other hand, encourages long term bonds because gifts are given out of free will and love (cf. section 3.3.2)(ibid).

In the following, I explore the tensions and changes regarding gender norms of Brunei Malays over time, whilst comparing literature concerning gender norms of Malay women. Firstly, I focus on changes with respect to women entering the public sphere of work and education. Next I examine the changing gender norms of Malay women as mothers. I then state the implications changing gender norms have on Brunei Malay women in Kampong Ayer. Literature on the history of Brunei Malay women shows that Malay women have played an important role in the household as the managing household economy, household production, businesses and in earning income (cf. section 3.3.3)(Kimball, 1975). However, historically and generally, Malay

women lack representation in the public sphere of politics, business, and economics (cf. section 3.3.3)(Puteh, 1996). The gender norms that have changed over time in Brunei are aligned with Brunei's history of economic development (cf. sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). What has shifted over time in Brunei is the incorporation of women into the public sphere via expansion of employment in the public sector, and higher education opportunities for women, particularly for the post-1973 generation (cf. sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). The discussion of following literature will show that there is a distinct apprehension towards Malay women in the public domain. Ong (1990, p. 271) illustrates that in Malaysia, Malay men see educated women as a direct competitors to higher paying jobs. Additionally, ABIM (*Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia* or Muslim Youth Movement Malaysia) view Malay women inducted into the public sphere of work and education as a threat to male authority (ibid). ABIM portrays the youth movement in Malaysia towards Islamic revivalism, which suggest Islamic overtones in their perspectives towards Malay working women (Weiss, 2004). The apprehension in women's public position, is also evident in the gender norms of the private sphere. The norms perpetuated by the Malaysian state[16] and Islamic revivalists, of the ideal Malay housewife self-sacrificing and obedient to her husband and mothering, was observed by Ong (ibid) as only something middle-class women were able to do because they did not need to work. Thus, such Malay housewife ideals could not be attained by women who needed to work, i.e. those in the poorer or working class, which stresses the impossibility for all women to meet such demands. Malay housewife ideals imposed by the state differ to those practised and normalised by the poorer or working class. Class divided gender norms arising out of Islamic revivalism and social mobility of the past few decades, exist in Singapore as well. In Singapore, middle-class mothers strive for religious rearing of their children at the expense of their own careers, and their working class older parents are unable to comprehend their adult daughter's decisions to forego a career (Bte Rafie, 2011). This discussion of literature shows that there is an opposition to the Malay woman in the public domain, that although opportunities to higher paying jobs benefits women economically, there exist gender norms which disprove their economic successes. Importantly, there are also differences amongst social classes. Stivens (1998) study on the modernising of Malay mothers illustrates the pressures Malay women face, such as with the state prescribed modern practices of child rearing, the taboos instructed by older generation, whilst there are expectations of working mothers to provide adequate maternal care. Interestingly, domestic helpers provide support to working women, and relieves the men from needing to undertake a child rearing role (ibid). Men's absence in helping their wives indicates the alleviation of societal pressures on men (ibid).

[16] The Malaysian state supports the fundamental role Malay women have in rearing Islamic values to their children (Ong, 1990, p. 271; Stivens, 1998, p. 62)

The implications of the apprehension towards Malay women in the public domain, and social class differences in gender norms, means that for post-1973 generation of working women who likely left Kampong Ayer require support in caring for children. It can be supposed that support in caring for children may include domestic help and help from their older adult mothers, yet it is questionable whether Brunei Malay women's inclusion into the world of work is normalised. These post-1973 Brunei Malay working women, are likely to be abound with societal pressures to be faultless mothers, but also have opportunities to work and earn income. The likely absent support from men and their husbands means Brunei Malay women may rely on their older adult mothers or other women in their family to help them. The implications of changed gender norms are that the older adult women part of the pre-1973 generation, do not have opportunities for education or advantageous public sector employment, and are therefore at an economic disadvantage compared to their adult children. The implications changing gender norms has on Kampong Ayer are that housing resettlement schemes, along with other infrastructural developments post-1973, influencing migration out, may mean that likely financially capable adult children do not co-reside or are near older parents. My thesis seeks to examine whether these Brunei Malay older adult women who have remained in Kampong Ayer are vulnerable to a lack of care.

Increased female labour participation may affect living arrangements through increased multi-generational living. Despite the historical reference to the bilateral-nuclear family system of Malays, in Singapore there are reports which record that in the year 1990 Malays have an extended family life-style, with 'one family nucleus two generation' households, consisting of the married couple, their immediate children and one or more grandparents (Tham Seong Chee, 1993/4, p. 6). According to the report, home ownership rose from 42% in 1980, to 71% in 1990, alluding to a preference to accommodate for larger families (ibid, p. 10). The report adds that this multi-generational living is important due to the increasing number of Malay women seeking formal employment, making it necessary for grandparents to provide child care (ibid, p. 10). This is further exemplified by a study done in Malaysia, where it was shown that helping to manage the children's household and minding grandchildren were reasons mentioned by both generations on why they co-reside (Abdul Aziz and Yusooff, 2012, p. 192). Families also engage in hiring domestic help where mothers work; domestic help was also sought for the needs of older adults in poor health or disability (Kee, 2009, p. 349; Thang, 2013, p. 211). In Singapore, survey data from 1999 concluded that daughters and foreign maids were the main caregivers of older people, and that informal caregivers "do not relinquish care giving when publicly paid home care is available" (Teo *et al.*, 2006, p. 92). Idris et al. (2019) conducted a qualitative study in Brunei interviewing the perspectives of 11 caregivers. The results showed there are negative impacts

from caregiving, on informal caregivers to older people (Idris, Tengah and Mohd Noor, 2019, p. 29). For an older adult to be sufficiently cared for, support was required from many people (Idris, Tengah and Mohd Noor, 2019, p. 29). The study showed that not all adult children provide help needed, even if the primary caregiver is the poorest amongst the siblings or does not work (ibid). This signifies the unreliable nature of support to older parents, which echoes the findings of other studies on Malays' lack of obligation to support older parents (cf. sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.2). Idris et al.'s (2019) study noted the financially challenging, physically, and emotionally demanding nature of caregiving to older adults. This suggests that although there is increased multi-generational living observed in the region due to the need to meet childcare demands through older adults caring for grandchildren, there remains a difficulty in providing care for older adults in return.

Migration and the increasing mobility of populations within SEA is another factor which impacts how families negotiate intergenerational relations and support. The practice of migration for Malay families occurred throughout the generations for economic and employment opportunities (Fraser Jr., 1960, p. 128; Jones, 1994, p. 113; Carsten, 1997, p. 436; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1784). Brunei Malays have similarly practiced migration as shown in Temburong and Kampong Ayer (cf. sections 2.3 and 3.3.3), how have older adults and families adapted to the migration? The literature review demonstrated for other Malay families in the region, although urban to rural or international migration did impact the proximate availability of adult children, that there were both positive and negative impacts of intergenerational support. Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill's (2015, p. 8) study showed that family negotiations are made due to migration of younger people, for example through division of labour within the family network, in that adult children who remained in the community provided intimate care, food, companionship and labour, whereas those who migrated provided financial support. Migration can result in improved family sources of income, while intergenerational support can still be provided for through visits, communication, and financial support (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999, p. 5; Keasberry, 2001, p. 660; Kee, 2014). Urban-rural migration also includes migrant elders who, for example in Sarawak, do so due to failing health or dependency, or because their assistance is required in child care and providing support to their adult children (Kee, 2009, p. 350). Living in urban areas brings positive outcomes of access towards modern facilities and services, while isolated rural elderly might not have easy access to modern facilities (Hermalin and Myers, 2002, p. 4; Kee, 2009, p. 349). Keaseberry's (2001, p. 659) study showed that adult children who migrated due to urbanisation or industrialisation did not neglect their older parents, indeed migration increased monetary support for older people (ibid, p. 660). That said, vulnerable groups, such as women aged 75 and older, were more likely to live alone and have no children. Furthermore, households with the oldest elderly members received the lowest

amount of monetary and material support (ibid, p. 660). This shows how migration of adult children can have an overall positive impact, while still leaving some subgroups vulnerable.

In the wake of demographic and economic changes, it is believed by researchers that traditional family values, such as filial piety, are generally being challenged (Chan and DaVanzo, 1996, p. 29). However, it is shown through a study on Malay families in Malaysia, that adult children still express feelings of closeness and devotion whether coresiding or living away from home. This is expressed through frequent visits, telephone calls, attending to parent's basic needs, providing care in times of illness, and confiding in them of problems and issues (Abdul Aziz and Yusooff, 2012, p. 191). This is also evident in the findings of a qualitative study done in Sarawak, Malaysia, where children who move away still made frequent trips over varying distances to visit and care for their parents (Kee, 2014, p. 184). Literature also shows how arrangements made are contextually or situationally dependent, for example the preferred living arrangement of most older Indonesians is not to co-reside with children (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1784). Co-residence is only seen as a necessity in times of hardship and difficulties (ibid, p. 1785). Despite the Singapore government's insistence on maintaining multi-generational households as a first line of defence, studies in Singapore show that older parents wish to remain as independent as possible from their children, which is an incentive for the older adult to remain in a separate dwelling with an independent income (Teo *et al.*, 2006, p. 60). This raises the question as to the extent multi-generational household is beneficial for older adults. This was discussed previously as having its advantages and disadvantages, with Malay families having separate households as ideal, and how multi-generational living may lead to intergenerational conflicts (cf. section 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). There is a gap in knowledge as to the types of living arrangements of Brunei Malays as a response to socio-demographic and economic changes, and the disadvantages and advantages of these living arrangements to families and older adults.

The literature review also shows how norms and ideals of family systems are to be negotiated due to contextual socio-demographic and economic changes such as female labour participation, changing gender norms, migration, living arrangements, and care giving needs unmet. It is noted that families, other social units, and cultural values governing intergenerational support can adapt to societal change, and be resilient to the challenges of a transforming society (Chow, 2005, p. 7). The outcome of this are patterns of intergenerational support arrangements, changing to suit situations of the society. For Malays, norms continuously adapt in changing circumstances as noted previously (cf. section 3.3.3) and as studied by Tania Li (1989).

This section has discussed some of the consequences of and adaptations to socio-economic and demographic changes in certain societies and communities in SEA, especially in relation to old-age

support arrangements. Overall, the picture suggests that family systems adapt well and continue to engage in intergenerational support flows. Yet the extent to which intergenerational support is sufficient for older adults depends on the specific situation. This calls for research which accounts for family systems, intergenerational support arrangements and variability within the social context of a given society or community. These local contexts are important to determine if older adults are satisfied with these negotiations, and if these arrangements are beneficial to them and their families.

3.4 Key Principles Framing the Study: What are gaps and limitations in existing literature?

The gaps and weaknesses from the literature review on measuring intergenerational support and family systems in SEA, have resulted in key principles guiding my thesis study. One key principle is the importance of an in-depth locally contextualised study. Considering social and cultural context, as opposed to seeking national representation, is important to understanding how arrangements of support is formed in certain areas and communities with specific identities (Phillipson *et al.*, 2001, p. 37). Social context of ageing comprises the influences of social setting, environment, values, and norms on the experience of ageing. These factors can be structural, socio-demographic or institutional components, such as the welfare system, the political or economic climate, ethnicity or cultural heritage and values (Victor, 2005, p. 5). As it is evident that there are norms and ideals on family embedded in various societies (cf. section 3.2 and 3.3), this study aims to reflect this by acknowledging the sense of locality, the heterogeneity of society, and influences of culture.

In this paragraph I consider the importance of an in-depth locally contextualised study. The role of local and cultural context was evident after reviewing how intergenerational support is measured, which showed the significant differences between ethnicities and cultures in the region. In previous sections (3.2.2, 3.2.3 and 3.2.4), local and cultural contexts were important in understanding how and why intergenerational support was provided. These contexts were the obligation or lack of obligation in support, the ideal interdependence or balanced support flows for most Malay societies, and the importance of close kinship connections in gaining support. These cultural factors were explored in family systems of SEA (cf. section 3.3) and anthropological studies (cf. section 3.3.3). The discussion showed the influence of Malay kinship in the roles and perspectives of family members, support, and wider society. The influence of Malay kinship was exemplified by the significant role of women in relatedness, the fluidity of relatedness, women's

dominant role in the household, and the conjugal and bilateral family system as central in understanding Malay society (cf. section 3.3).

To thoroughly examine these cultural factors in intergenerational support, I address the following gaps and limitations of existing studies. Quantitative studies suffered from over-generalisation of ethnic differences and absence of broader concepts for wellbeing, household, co-residence, and a lack of older adult and adult children's perspectives (cf. section 3.2). The quantitative studies adopted the researcher's perspectives by using pre-determined measures support, without gathering data on what support means to older adults and adult children. Concepts of wellbeing, household, co-residence, and perspectives of adult children and older adults were deepened through qualitative research, as shown by the quasi-qualitative study by Knodel and Saengtienchai (1999) and focus group interviews by Mehta, Lee and Bin Osman (1995) in section 3.2.2. Complex realities, heterogeneity of society, intergenerational support and relationships can be more comprehensively researched through ethnographic fieldwork (cf. sections 3.2.2, 3.2.3 and 3.2.4).

Another key principle guiding my thesis is the need to capture people's evaluations of support arrangements, rather than just the arrangements per se. People's evaluations are important to understand the sufficiency, appropriateness, and underlying feelings and motivations of support. This is a gap in quantitative research. Through qualitative research people's perspectives can be reflected when investigating intergenerational support and relationships.

A key principle framing my thesis study is heterogeneity at the local level. Whereas local context considers local culture, situations, and wider societal factors, heterogeneity focuses on the differences between subpopulations, family networks and individuals (Schröder-Butterfill, 2015). Literature in measuring intergenerational support and family systems in SEA (cf. sections 3.2 and 3.3) showed varying situations based on gender, kinship network, and socio-economic differences. Overall, qualitative studies are more suitable because quantitative studies were unable to gather data to include relevant questions on the range of situations of older adults and why these situations occurred. Areas overlooked in the literature on support flows, support exchange, and wider networks amongst Malays (cf. sections 3.2.2, 3.2.3, and 3.2.4) were support involving siblings, nieces, nephews, and people outside the kinship network. More in-depth data is needed to capture the heterogeneity of kin situations in intra and intergenerational support.

In conclusion, there is need for richer data and deeper understanding on intergenerational support in Brunei, which corroborates the importance of conducting research on intergenerational support of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer. This research addresses the gap of knowledge in how intergenerational support arrangements are made in consequence of socio-

demographic changes of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer. Previous research on Brunei Malays does not clarify to what extent support arrangements are beneficial, and how negotiations of support are made.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The methodology chapter explains why a qualitative and ethnographic approach, and participant observation methods are deemed suitable in tackling the research questions. Further sections of the chapter focus on the target respondents, recruitment, and the chosen field site. The data collection process is explained in detail, and a summary of the data analysis process is provided. For my thesis, I focus on investigating Brunei's family systems, the state and nature of intergenerational relations and support, the factors which affect these, and the impact of economic development and socio-demographic changes to Brunei's older people and their families. This is expected to reveal the malleability and heterogeneity of support arrangements, to uncover how support is arranged in the face of changes in Brunei's context (cf. sections 2.4 and 3.3.4) and to question if family support arrangements meets the needs of older people.

It is important to consider a research approach because it is defined as a perspective of tackling a research problem, a prescribed way of looking into an issue (Crotty, 1998, p. 2; Flick, 2007, p. 20). This concerns a paradigm, which in context to research, means a set of beliefs, values and practices shared by a research community (Braun, 2013, p. 3). A qualitative, ethnographic approach was adopted for this study because social meanings and reasons behind why older people and families make arrangements of support, can best be investigated with a flexible and exploratory approach in order to have an appreciation and understanding of the situational nature of meanings and culture (cf. section 3.4). This approach allows the exploration of people's perceptions of change, and the varied accounts and experiences of them.

4.2 Epistemology, Ontology and Research Approach

This section details the ontology and epistemology underpinning my research and how this has shaped the overall research design. Epistemology means the theory of knowledge, how it can be acquired, and how it can be regarded as acceptable knowledge (Bryman, 2008, p. 13). The literature review (cf. section 3.4) showed that gathering localised data from participants' perspectives is key to understanding local context. My epistemological approach is interpretivist because an interpretivist lens allows the researcher to have a focus on the processes and meanings attached to social phenomena, such as participant's behaviours, actions, beliefs and values (Bailey, 2017). An interpretivist stance regards reality as socially constructed. As culture is a mutual creation and negotiation between individuals in a society, it is a constructed notion.

Ontology means the beliefs the researcher has on the nature of social phenomena and the nature of reality (Gray, 2004, p. 16; Denscombe, 2009, p. 118). As this research has a focus on social and cultural context to ageing, the nature of the world I studied reflected social and cultural processes of society (cf. section 3.4). My ontological stance is constructivism, believing that social phenomena and meanings continually change and evolve with experience.

The research questions imply the suitable research approach to gain the data needed (cf. section 1.1). The research questions (cf. section 1.1) emphasise the exploratory nature of the research of how intergenerational support is arranged and how this experience is contextualised by socio-economic changes and factors. In defining the issues for investigation in this research, exploratory questions of 'how?' and 'why?' were constructed and expanded upon. The nature of the research questions suggests that this research was more suitable with a qualitative approach over quantitative due to the broad topic areas to be explored. In qualitative research, research questions are often exploratory, broad enough to identify significant areas to be investigated, but sufficiently bounded to constrain possibilities (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 25). A qualitative research approach meant that an iterative and highly reflexive approach to data collection and analysis process was employed.

This research design acknowledges the significance of literature review throughout the research process. In the beginning of the research process, a review of relevant literature framed by the research questions was conducted. Doing this at the beginning of the research process, to explore the relevant concepts, and began to direct and add to the research questions. The literature review is also important in the analysis stage, to draw comparisons between the findings and existing literature. Thus, the findings from the literature review are used as a foundation for comparison, but also to raise issues and themes which require further exploration throughout the data collection and analysis process.

Other methods were considered for this study, and there are several reasons why they were unsuitable in exploring the research questions (cf. section 3.4). Structured interviewing or use of questionnaires are a practiced method in exploring the subject matter of intergenerational relationships and support but suffer limitations. They have the disadvantage of pre-determined responses and response categories (cf. section 3.2). This is a disadvantage because meanings are pre-defined and imposed externally, the perspectives of participants are consequently not addressed, and what concepts may mean to them is lost (cf. section 3.2). This hinders exploring the cultural context of a community from within. Another unsuitable method is secondary data analysis. Secondary data analysis of data from previous ethnographic studies was considered, but no appropriate secondary data exists to address the research questions.

4.3 Ethnography and Participant Observation

In this section of the chapter I discuss the data collection process, what data collection methods were employed within the field, and how this occurred. The purpose of participant observation, my chosen approach, is to generate an understanding of localised and holistic cultures through observation, which acknowledges the complexities of people's everyday experiences and socio-cultural processes (Crang, 2007, p. 5). Data were gathered by conducting multiple in-depth interviews and informal conversations with participants, observations, and participation in the field over the course of six months. This resulted in 40 audio recorded in-depth interviews, within a larger set of 135 observations and conversations (cf. section 4.7 Data Analysis). The 135 observations and conversations comprise of 135 descriptive field notes which describe notable observations and conversations with older adults, members of their kin network, and members of the community. 40 of the 135 descriptive field notes were audio recorded in-depth interviews. The conversations and observations are notable because it added important information about the life-history, daily activities, support flows, or relationships of older adults. The conversations and observations included moments of eating and/or conversations with older adults (and their family members), family or community gatherings, religious functions, and birthdays.

In this paragraph I explain the ethnographic approach of my thesis. Culture is not only to do with patterns of behaviour but also attitudes and beliefs which motivate behaviour (Hunt and Colander, 2002, p. 95). Culture can be defined as a way of life that changes over time, and although it has a strong historical presence, it is malleable to agency (Longhurst, 2007, p. 12). Culture is a social construct, concerning norms and social meanings of gender roles, inheritance, and beliefs around support and what is adequate or appropriate support (cf. sections 3.2 and 3.3). Understanding these cultural processes requires an ethnographic approach (cf. section 3.4). What makes ethnography a suitable approach is the central notion that meaning and purpose cannot be separated from human behaviour, and that it is important for the researcher to understand the contexts and holistic circumstances of observed and described behaviour (Boyle, 1994, p. 162).

Ethnography has been defined in different ways by a range of authors (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 1). The fundamentals of ethnography are first-hand interactions necessary to understanding the experience and cultural context of participants, and an iterative and inductive approach that evolves throughout the research (Tedlock, 2003, p. 190; O'Reilly, 2012). My thesis adopts an interpretive ethnographic approach, which emphasises intersubjectivity and acknowledges the role of researcher in the interpretation and generation of data. Taking reflexive notes was important to keep in mind my perspectives throughout the data collection process. Reflexivity

helped me to track my own thoughts of the themes and reflect where my interpretation the data came from.

The reasons I decided not to rely on in-depth interviewing alone is because I wanted to be able to compare what respondents say they do and their beliefs to their behaviour, to what can be observed. The risk of administering a questionnaire or conducting in-depth interviews without participant observation is that this also loses the context and setting, which participant observation can add. Therefore, participant observation was the best method in investigating the research questions. To answer my research questions (cf. section 1.1), I gathered data on beliefs and feelings around family, support, societal changes and reflecting on past and current relationships. I also gathered data on older adult's kinship network, availability, support arrangements and relationships with kin and other members of the community and how these had changed over time (Kahn and Antonucci, 1980). Due to the volume and different types of data required, the flexible and iterative process of ethnography and participant observation allowed me to build case studies for older adult respondents signifying heterogeneity of situations and circumstances (cf. section 5.2).

To allow me to understand older people's lives in context, participation in this research included spending time with as many members of the community as possible, establishing relationships and building rapport. I took part in gatherings such as religious or day-to-day informal social meetings, community centred activities such as celebrating the Golden Jubilee, support or day-to-day activities, and I tried to assimilate to the network of relationships in the community. Everyday activities and routines with individuals and families included cooking, eating, cleaning, watching over children, helping children with schoolwork, watching television, and accompanying participants on errands. Over time I was absorbed by the host family and became, to an extent, an extension of their network. The head of the host family, whom I called *Pa Haji* (meaning: Father Haji), helped me as a gatekeeper to the community and introduced me to older people and others. My settling in process was handled by the matriarch of the household, who I referred to as *Bu Hajah* (meaning: Mother Hajah). I was proudly introduced as an adopted daughter ("she's like our adopted daughter now"), living with them for six months for a university study. My host family were proud to state they have an adopted daughter attending university in the UK. Thus, my presence as a young university student studying overseas, made the introductions and participation process easier. The importance of participation cannot be overstated, as I gained important insights from my relationship with the family. For example, to corroborate my 'adoption', either of my host parents would explain: "she eats with us." This helped me to understand first-hand the importance of commensality in the creation and maintenance of relationships in Kampong Ayer (cf. section 6.2.4).

Being part of the host family was both an advantage and disadvantage. An advantage is that access was easier, this was evident in the first two weeks of data collection, when I introduced myself and began interviewing a woman nominated by the gatekeepers. Other older women were quick to get involved, asking questions of the gatekeeper accompanying me. As I was associated with a member of the community, people expected to see me around and knew where I was residing. This helped in quickly becoming a familiar face. A disadvantage is that there was a level of obligation to the host family. Especially in the beginning, the host family would not let me leave the house on my own, because of my unfamiliarity with the area; my host parents felt responsible for my safety and whereabouts. This meant that it was difficult to approach people in the community without the approval of the host family. By the final two months of my stay I was able to do more fieldwork on my own. I spent more time with the participants, and I had grown accustomed to where not to go for safety reasons. In hindsight my final two months should've been the opportune time to talk to more older people in the community I hadn't met, but at the time I wanted to be respectful and not lose trust of the host family. I felt it would be disrespectful to go against my host family's warnings, that Kampong Ayer is a dangerous place to walk alone, by visiting areas I had never been in.

The advantages and disadvantages outlined are echoed in the literature on how social position determines what the researcher is likely to see or encounter. The particular position of the researcher in a network of relationships in the field will determine what can be observed (Vidich, 1955, p. 354). As a participant I was aware to behave according to what was appropriate in the setting. I recognised the ways I presented myself in the process of negotiating access to the community (Crang, 2007, p. 24). An implication of the constrictions of data gathering, is that longer time spent in the field would have likely allowed for more rapport, familiarisation, and assimilation as part of the community. Being part of the community may have allowed me to venture out on my own more often. I observed that other unmarried young women did venture out on their own within Kampong Ayer, but they were not researchers unfamiliar with the people and villages. It may have been easier for me over time, after assimilation as part of the community, to visit older people and their families alone, as shown in my final two months.

Additionally to being a participant in the community, I adhered to a combination of methods for data collection, with an element of unstructured, flexible, and open-ended design (McCall and Simmons, 1969, p. 1 ; Burgess, 1982, p. 23; Davies, 2008, p. 77). It is in the nature of ethnography to have a flexible range of methods and approaches in field work, to allow the researcher to select a suitable blend of techniques (Burgess, 1982, p. 23). I used a blend of methods involving social interaction with subjects in the field, participation in everyday activities with community members, observation of pertinent activities, formal and informal interviewing, having a reflexive

diary, and writing field notes. Kinship diagrams were also drawn to identify kin networks and living arrangements. With these methods in mind, participant observation involved complex layers and methods to data collection which did not occur consecutively but were used daily and interactively over the six-month period.

As already noted, participant observation was a way for me to gain rapport with the participants. People I had developed relationships with came to share their beliefs and feelings. There were situations where the complexity of relationships and support was more evident. For instance, one-off interviews that only focus on a dramatic event, like a conflict, can give a one-sided impression of a relationship. Dramatic events I observed were conflicts between participants, such as Rabiah and her sister-in-law (cf. section 5.3.3). Spending time with the participants allowed for data on other aspects and factors of their relationship, such as how Rabiah and her sister-in-law were once successful business partners. This act of participation and repeat conversations allowed me to pay attention to what participants say in relation to what they profess to believe and what they do. For example, Azwan stated he was asking for money from his co-residing adult children to pay for household bills, but his wife Wardah was actually compiling the money and at times secretly used her own pension to pay on her son's behalf (cf. section 5.3.4). Time spent in the field helped to get beyond general patterns and allowed me to collect differing accounts of a given set of support flows.

When conducting in-depth interviews, a semi-structured topic guide (see Appendix A) was used in the first interview. Observations were made throughout the interview, with an observation guide kept in mind (see Appendix D). Over time questions and observation guides were altered. This became dependent on the topics explored, how these were related to the research questions, and what information was needed per older participant. After the interview, it was not unusual that conversations and interactions continued. Notes of these informal conversations were also made. Observations of interactions, settings, conversations and activities were noted to capture what occurs in the community and the families. With the participant observation method, a range of techniques and types of data recorded are involved for collecting data. I recorded data in the form of writing, drawing, and photographs. The writing up of field notes was an important part of the research, this contributes to early analysis by sorting and exploring the things collected daily. In the first week of living with the host family, taking out the notepad in the middle of conversations brought a shift and change in comfortability. Eventually it became easier for me to begin the day in the morning with a note pad already out in the communal area of my host family home. This was usually to write up reflexive notes. I took my notebook out more often during recorded interviews. In informal conversations or observations I would often take notes afterwards.

The criticisms of using participant observation as a method of data collection is that it can be superficial when there is random data gathering (Atkinson *et al.*, 2001; Bailey, 2017). Poor data can be un-analytical and anecdotal, without being focused on a coherent line of enquiry. I aimed to resolve poor data gathering issues by making systematic checks in data collection, I took a step back and reflected on the research questions per case, throughout the data collection. In some instances during the fieldwork, I would check with the participant what they had meant when they said a certain thing. This way the participant could clarify or add more information.

To summarise, this section has detailed why participant observation was chosen, the methods used, the various criticisms or issues, and what was done to mitigate these disadvantages. These data gathering methods led to rich data. Although analysis is to some extent inextricably linked with data collection, a lot of the analysis occurred after completing 6 months of fieldwork (section 4.8).

4.4 The Study Location

One village in Brunei was chosen as the main field site where I lived with my host family during the fieldwork and spent most of the time. This village was part of a cluster of three adjacent villages within a sub-district, and respondents resided in all three. The village I lived in will be referred to as Village A, located in between Village B and Village C. In this section I explain why the focal village was chosen, and I describe the study location.

The village was chosen was due to the accessibility and availability of a host family. I had contacted the host family through a colleague of a family member. After I explained my research interests in older adults of Kampong Ayer, and that I would require long-term accommodation for a period of 6 months for data collection, the host family agreed to accommodate me during the period of mid-September 2017 to end of February 2018. Choosing one area as the main field site was also due to practical reasons. As Kampong Ayer is a vast containment of villages within sub-districts, it is more practical to focus on one area so that there is intensive engagement with members of a particular community, its surroundings and external factors. Being situated in one place encouraged building rapport with community members and research participants and allowed for positioning for observing within an enclave of social interactions and observing everyday behaviours repeatedly overtime. This is aligned with the methodological approach of participant observation.

Being situated in one area was important because I was unfamiliar with the community. Prior to entering the field site, I had not met the host family and I had no direct familiarity with people of Kampong Ayer, I also had no experience navigating the area of Kampong Ayer. Hence, my position

was that of an outsider, who would live with gatekeepers who were insiders of the community. As Kampong Ayer villages are described as each having their own characteristics and identity (cf. Section 2.2), choosing one area with three villages allowed me to immerse myself in the community and gain an understanding of the village characteristics and identity.

4.5 Sample and Recruitment

The primary respondents for my study are older adults aged 60 years and above, residing in the three villages in Kampong Ayer. Secondarily, I also wanted to interview and observe the kin network of these older adults. I interviewed three authority figures of the community, including two village heads. In this section I describe who the target respondents are, and why I required the input of their support network. I state my reasons for including the perspectives of younger generations in the community and I describe the process of recruitment. In all instances of sampling and recruitment ethical guidelines were followed from Section 4.6.

The sample size of the primary target respondents are 19 older adults aged 60 years and above. This sample is evenly distributed by gender, with nine female respondents and ten male respondents. Communication with the target respondents, was in *Bahasa Brunei*, *Melayu Brunei* or Brunei language. Differences are small, and only few traditional Brunei Malay terminology were used. I used *Bahasa Melayu* to inquire about certain phrases or words unfamiliar to me[17]. The age range of older adults was from 60 to 100[18] years of age. Eight older adults resided in Village A, seven in Village B, and four in Village C. These were selected through snowball sampling and purposive sampling, snowball sampling means identifying possible participants through enquiring participants recruited in the study. Purposive sampling means selecting and finding participants based specific categories. This study targeted a variation of types of participants according to criteria of wealth, living arrangements, marital status, number of children, health status, and level of dependency on others. These approaches to sampling were done with the help of gatekeepers. Gatekeepers are people who would give researchers access to primary target respondents through introducing the researcher to members of the community. Gatekeepers in this research are members of the host family, living in Village A. This recruitment process began with a nomination of a possible participant by the gatekeepers, who assisted me in setting up an appointment, and introduced me to the older adults. Once I relayed information about the

[17] Examples of this is local term *Kubu*, meaning *Jeti* in Bahasa Melayu, Jetty in English. Local term *Pile,* referring to *Jambatan* in Bahasa Melayu, Bridge in English. And local term *Membarai*, meaning *Membayar* in Bahasa Melayu, and To pay in English.

[18] The age of respondents was determined through their age at the time, asked through interview questions

research and gained their informed consent I proceeded with a semi-structured interview guided by a topic guide (see Appendix A). This was followed up with repeat interviews and visits, usually involving informal conversations and participation. I sought the guidance of older adults, key informants, and gatekeepers to learn who the older adults in the community were, and to gain suggestions of who to interview. The gatekeepers and members of the host family would accompany me to the interviews and visits during the first three to four months, as they feared it wasn't appropriate for me to work alone (section 4.3). In these introductions I was introduced as a university student living with the host family for six months. The introductory meetings were quite formal, and it was customary for the host to provide a drink and snack. Although I had brought gifts (local boxes of biscuits), these were not accepted willingly at the first meetings. Eventually with repeat visits they became something to be shared with the grandchildren of families. Meeting older adults without some form of connection to the community is challenging, therefore gaining rapport, and establishing relationships was important (section 4.3). The introductions from the gatekeepers and living with the host family for an extended period assisted with this.

A key advantage of ethnographic research is observing participants in their natural setting. In my case this meant that by observing the older adult's lives, I also came to know those who are part of their social circle, family network and daily life. My initial purpose of speaking to members of older people's kin networks was to gain the point of view of other generations (i.e. young and middle-aged adults) on the topics of intergenerational relations and support and changes to these. I also wanted to include younger network members to illuminate the perspective of those who support older adults or benefit from the support of the older generation. During my fieldwork, talking to other family members irrespective of age became increasingly important to understand the varied kin networks, perspectives, beliefs and situations within a family. Including these multiple points of view also added depth and helped to triangulate the interview and observation data (Flick, 2004). I mostly recruited family members of the older adults I was interviewing. I also interviewed three key informants, two of which were village heads. The third worked as a high-level official within Kampong Ayer and was suggested to me via an outside contact who knew I was returning to Brunei to gather data on Kampong Ayer. These interviews with key informants were guided by a semi-structured list of questions, prompting for further inquiry on interesting and relevant information.

At the start of my study I explained to the gatekeepers, village heads and older adults that I was interested in recruiting people aged 60 and over. However, there are pitfalls in over-relying on accessible and cooperative respondents when sampling. One of the ways I overcome the overreliance on gatekeepers was to try and target a variation of types of participants according to

criteria of wealth, living arrangements, marital status, number of children, health status, and level of dependency on others. However, it must be noted that these categories were not easily defined or implemented. Having some broad criteria was helpful in the search for participants but there were obstacles and challenges in gaining access, searching for participants, developing relationships with members of the community, as well as unexpected factors.

Some of the challenges were the interpretation and definition of older adult, the interpretation of residence, and the influence of gatekeepers. Within the first week of entering the field, I explained the research and relayed the main target criterion of older adults 60 years and above to the gatekeepers, members of the host family, and village head. It was continuously mentioned during this process, and throughout the research, how few older people were left in the village ("Not a lot of old people left", "We are the last old people here"), how they have migrated to on-land housing, are registered as residents in Kampong Ayer but have left the house empty or as a place occasionally visited, or utilised as an extension of their living space from on-land ("They all moved on-land", "Well their house is still there, but it's empty", "He only left his bed for him to sleep in sometimes"). Identifying residence was complex in nature but reflected the sporadic living arrangements in a community affected by migration. This is exemplified by the fact that there were almost 80 older adults registered as pensioners in Villages A and B. But this figure turned out to be misleading. The village head explained that approximately half of the registered pensioners have left the village for on-land housing but agreed to collect their old-age pension from a trusted neighbour[19].

Another factor was the definition of old age. I defined old age as those who had years past the pension age of 60. People in the community referred to older people as those with a history of experience about the community. These people who knew the history of the community, were referred to as the "real old people" ("*Orang tua banar*"). They can be thought of as those who are 'old-old' (in this case approximately 70 and over). Those in the early 60s were not referred to as an old person, but as someone who reached the pension age or "has pension already". These older adults can be thought of as young-old. The young-old were thought of differently compared to the old-old people, and the perspectives and experiences of these categories also differed by gender. In helping me to recruit participants, the *orang tua banar* were first nominated. Once I emphasised my interest also in those who were in their early 60s or had just started receiving their pension, this generated more suggestions. Thus, while in the field I saw the importance of

[19] OAP must be delivered by the village head. The pensioners who have left Kampong Ayer, haven't registered as living in their new village of residence.

looking out for participants who met a range of criteria to ensure that the sample was inclusive of a variety of possible situations and types of respondents.

Another factor affecting my recruitment was the influence of gatekeepers, which can lead to data biased towards certain views or sub-groups, and at worse can lead to research actively manoeuvred by influential people keen on promoting a particular perspective. One such challenge was how participants were nominated by gatekeepers. In first few instances, I was given a few names confidently as prime candidates, the older people who had a lot to say, who had a significant past cherished by the gatekeepers as prime examples and representatives of their life in Kampong Ayer. This had an impact on the sample because it disregarded other members of the community. As this research aimed to capture as much of natural setting of the older people in the particular community, it was important that a broad range of older adults were included, so that no one would be excluded. Another factor was how good the memory or hearing of the older adult was; some names were mentioned but quickly rebutted by the gatekeeper because the older adult wasn't thought of as physically fit and was thought that this would have put me at an inconvenience. It was apparent that interviews with relatively healthier older adults was encouraged, and this had put me at a disadvantage of not capturing a realistic representation of all the older adults in the villages. Because older adults may have been immobile and unmentioned. Though observation of some spouses of older adults were noted, however they were not the primary participants in this study, and some refused to be interviewed therefore no interviews were done. It was therefore important for me to broaden my approach to some extent and suggest more specific criteria for possible respondents. For example, those who were first proposed during these brain storming sessions were men. Only after I asked if there were any women, were a few more names mentioned. There was a reluctance to nominate older adult women who were 'merely' members of the community. Only one woman was nominated during the initial discussions because she possessed a prized skill. Eventually the dialogue concerning the people in the villages became relatively more open.

In terms of recruitment, I observed the reluctance of gatekeepers to nominate older women of the community in the first week of data collection. I then had to actively balance the sample. Women were difficult to get access to earlier on because I was not formally introduced to them. Initially, I had recruited adult women, older men, and adult men. Men who helped me as gatekeepers stated that older women in the community were generally not used to outsiders and therefore difficult to access. My gatekeeper stated "It is hard for them [older women] to talk to people they don't know"… "Men are more accustomed to talking to outsiders". In practice, during the fieldwork older adult women were not shy, some even approached me themselves, and they were more knowledgeable than men on household matters. Perhaps they were more comfortable

in approaching me themselves because I am a young woman. Overtime, I got to know more members of the community and recruited older adult women. My role as a young woman helped recruit older adult women in an implicit and subtle manner, without the help of men in the village. If I were a young man, I am unsure if I would have had a similar situation, I perhaps would have a more difficult situation in recruiting older adult women. It was important to be engrained with the community as best as possible to get to know a variety of people and networks. Participation and establishing rapport were therefore important in gaining access to older women of the community.

4.6 Ethics

This section details ethics guideline submitted as part of Ethics and Research Governance Online (ERGO) application, as required for the University of Southampton. I gained ethics approval for my thesis study on 30th August 2017 (Submission ID: 28201)(See Appendix E). I reflect on how these ethical guidelines were followed in the field.

I received consent from my participants, by introducing myself and my background as a researcher, then I explained the aims and objectives of my study. I gave a copy of the participant information sheet or PIS (see Appendix B). The PIS was conveyed verbally, to thoroughly explain all facets of their involvement in the study. I asked if they understood each section, or if they had any questions. I explained why they were suitable to participate, and that it was not compulsory for them to participate, and the activities involved if they were to participate, such as repeat interviews and visits. I explained the benefits of the study, the benefits at a wider context such as investigating policy implications, as well as how it would contribute to gaining my education qualification. I would warn them that I would ask about sensitive information such as financial activities, and personal relationships. I stated that they may refuse consent if they wish, and that it is their right to withdraw their consent at any time during the study. I gave them ample time to process the information. Sometimes, I asked for an appropriate time for me to return, I also gave them the option to contact me once a decision has been made. I reminded them that my contact details are provided in the PIS.

There are two options of how the participant gave their consent. One option is through consent form (see Appendix C) signature. Another is that participant can give verbal consent, in giving verbal consent they agree to the consent form statements, and I signed on their behalf. If this is agreed, then the participant will proceed with giving verbal consent. In some cases, the participant did not want to be audio recorded, I asked if I could take notes instead and this was agreed. Consent to take photographs of private property or in the private sphere such as housing,

facilities, or of the participants themselves was made verbally. I asked if the participant approves of any photograph of them being published, or if they approve that it only be used as a reference for myself, where it is only seen by me and in a protected data management system. I let the participants know prior to them giving consent, and appropriately throughout the fieldwork, such as if they asked or before an in-depth interview, that it is not compulsory for them to participate, and it is their right to withdraw consent to participate at any point during the 6 months of data collection. Participants were also told that there is no penalty if they wish to withdraw consent to participate. No participants had withdrawn from the study or wished for any data to be omitted, other than aiming for anonymity.

A week before I moved in with the host family, I decided to meet them for an informal introduction. As I am an unmarried Bruneian Malay woman, it was morally appropriate to have my parents accompany me and lead most of the introductory conversations, while I explained my research. It was agreed with my parents that my study location, host family identity and information relating to the study be strictly confidential. Having my parents as possible contacts in case of any emergency was important for me in the field. When I settled in the first day with the host family, I relayed the contents of the PIS as they had preferred not to read it. I stated the aims and objectives of the study and they agreed to act as gatekeepers to identify and introduce me to older adults in the village. At this point the host family agreed to participate not as older adults within the study, but as key informants about the village and agreed to be observed about their daily lives in Kampong Ayer. This meant to document the distinct way of living and activities in Kampong Ayer. From three weeks into data collection the host family agreed to be more involved as participants of the study concerning intergenerational relations and support, consent forms were signed by members of the host family. I met key informants, such as the village heads. The objective for me to meet the village head was to request for their assistance as gatekeepers for access to the community, and to request for information on welfare of older adults in the community. However due to their restricted schedule, they could not act as gatekeepers and instead offered relevant information.

In meeting with older adults in the community I was introduced by a gatekeeper, who was a member of the host family. If other family members were present, they were also given a PIS. At times, the consent form was left with the participant to be signed later and verbal consent was given in the meantime. In repeat interviews, conversations and visits, further informal permission was asked for the participant's consent to being interviewed, visited, or observed that day. In meeting and interviewing the family members of an older adult, this was done in the natural setting during visits with the older adult participants. Sometimes during an interview or visit, family members would take part unexpectedly, and their consent would be asked for either

during the interview or after. In some cases, I asked the older adults if they would like to nominate their family members to be interviewed. I stated that it was not compulsory for the older adult to identify people for me to contact and interview for the study. The older adult would sometimes advise me to visit at a certain day or time, when their family member would be around, so I could explain the study and request for their permission and consent. In other cases, a family member would be present in the household and I introduced and explained the study. As I aimed to include the perspectives of other family members, snowball sampling was done with the assistance of older adults and their family members. I explained it was not compulsory for them to assist me with recruiting participants, and it is their right to refuse and their choice to assist. After some familiarity with the community and family members of the older adults, I approached the younger adults in these age groups myself.

Covert observation is observation of the participant without the participant being aware they are being observed. I did not intend to engage in covert observation of people. My participant observation activities did involve large groups of people in public spaces, in such contexts, it was not appropriate or possible to obtain explicit consent from everyone present. As noted above, I seeked the permission of the village head to conduct research and repeatedly informed people I met that I was conducting research. This is referred to in the Association of Social Anthropologists ethical guidelines as consent would initially need to be sought from individual gatekeepers such as the village head, and that researchers should take steps to be introduced to local participants and strangers visiting the community (Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth, 2011, p. 2). There were no large-scale events, such as rallies or religious festivals. There were group settings with many people present, I asked permission from the head of household or group leader to observe. If they were uncomfortable, I did not proceed. Generally, if there were any signs of people not being comfortable with being observed, interviewed, or visited I ceased my activity on that occasion. In ethnographic research it is not always possible to get written informed consent from every participant, as previously reiterated, unpredictable situations such as large-scale events, as well as informal conversations which are part of the field work and data collection. In this instance, I reminded people wherever appropriate of my status as a researcher. I had PIS and consent forms in hand to help explain the nature and purpose of my research.

Due to the nature of the research with participant's family members and network of support, involving socially sensitive and personal topics, there were some instances of participants experiencing minor inconvenience, discomfort, or distress. The topics uncovered were negative familial relationships, financial woes, hurtful memories or trauma, which caused respondent have

negative feelings. It is hoped that respondents found talking about their daily lives and social relationships fulfilling and interesting, at times to provide a release. When participant showed observable signs of discomfort or distress or stated that they are uncomfortable with continuing with the interview, I reminded their choice withdraw from the interview or study, either to not answer any particular question(s), or to take a moment to answer a question. I also gave participants the option of continuing with the interview later, if the timing or situation was inconvenient for them.

As the interviews were conducted in the private sphere of the participant's home, there were occasions when family members or others intervene. The interactions were not harmful, and when discussion of topics contributed towards the interview, I asked if it could be included in my study. Since the community was small, and over time, people became more aware and had consented to the study. When the other person had not been previously informed of the study, I explained details of the study, gave them a copy of the PIS, and aimed to gain informed consent. I gauged if the participant was willing to have this other person involved in the interview. In interactions when the participant suggested it was an inappropriate time for the interview, I asked if they would like to reschedule the interview. There were times I gently excused myself from the interview during times I gauged any interaction to be an inappropriate time. I then proposed to reschedule to continue the interview to another time.

Since my research design included spending a prolonged time interviewing, observing, and participating in the community. It was therefore important to thoroughly explain what entailed participation in the research and gain informed consent. It was important for myself, as the researcher, to have a respectful attitude to the participant's privacy and values. I was not coercive in asking questions, I was flexible in arranging interviews, and allowed time for the respondent to answer questions throughout the interview. Since this research required participant observation, I maintained an effort to be respectful of the community's values and sense of privacy, I took time to allow for participants to reveal information they wish to share or allow me to participate in community activities.

In aiming to protect participant anonymity, disclosive data such IC (Identification Card) numbers was not collected. Full names and signatures were obtained in terms of giving consent. But from the beginning of the research pseudonyms or replacement names were used in storing data, electronic and hardcopies. I created an anonymisation log of all replacements. This log was known to transcribers and myself, so that they were able to transcribe using pseudonyms or replacement names. The log is kept safely in a secure research data storage system, in a password protected file and computer. The assistants who helped transcribe interviews, signed a confidentiality

agreement, and were given strict rules and guidelines to aim to maintain participant anonymity and confidentiality. To maintain confidentiality between the family networks, I did not reveal what family member A said about family member B while collecting the data. However, I did use general statements, to elicit any feedback on themes.

Addresses of participants was only known to myself, since it was a small community, I did not need precise addresses, as they were easily remembered. All personal data or identifiable data were destroyed once the study is complete. In writing up, analysis and transcribing, pseudonyms were used. The published or written up work therefore use such replacement names. There is a risk that the identity of the participants is known even though replacement names are used and addresses are not disclosed, in that certain characteristics such as age, gender, employment activities, are revealed in the data. This is even more so, as this study is focused in on a small community, and face to face interaction is involved. Therefore, it is important that full anonymity cannot be promised, but that any measures to aim for anonymity were taken, such as the measures previously mentioned, including pseudonyms for the study location. All identifiable information, such as the anonymisation log, were destroyed at the end of the study.

4.7 **Data Analysis**

Unlike the linear model of most other types of research designs, O' Reilly (2005, p. 176) explains that with ethnography it is difficult entirely to separate analysis from data collection, because analysis starts while still in the field and continues throughout the research process. This reflects an iterative-inductive process whereby data collection and analysis are interlinked, and preliminary analysis leads to further data collection. My analysis in the field began during my data collection. In speaking to my respondents or observing a family gathering, both me and the respondents would interact. In my interaction with respondents, I continually generate questions or ideas based on new information. I recognised that my respondents were affected by my presence or questions and would behave or give information based on their perception towards me. Hence why participant observation was important to allow time for rapport and to consider changes in respondent's answers. For example, in my conversations with older adult women such as Haryati, who eventually revealed uneasy feelings about another older adult woman. After my conversations and observations, I wrote up field notes in an 'intellectual diary', where "flashes of insight" and themes would emerge. Themes emerged sometimes as a product of the inter-relationship between the data, the research participants and myself. For example, themes generated in my intellectual diary included my interpretations of older adult's feelings toward providing support to adult children. After a conversation with an older adult which included information about providing support to adult children, my field notes would include what

occurred, what was said, how it relates to other data, how it relates to other themes, and any new themes. Having an intellectual diary was important to analyse data and produce new questions or themes. Reflexivity assisted in the analysis by forcing me to question whether there are different perspectives to data gathered or themes arising. This would lead to development of questions and concepts, which prompted collection of further information.

After the fieldwork had ended, my sample size was 19 older adult participants across 14 families. A case study approach was adopted to examine each family within their own context, life-history, and relationships. The subsequent analysis resulted in nine case studies, of which four are included in the next chapter (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.3.4); a further four included were summarised in less detail (cf. chapter 5 section 5.3.5, 5.3.6, 5.3.7, 5.3.8). The construction of the case studies represents the ongoing analysis where I reflected on the gathered data and kept in mind the research questions. The format was more fluid and processual in the beginning; eventually case studies were structured chronologically starting with the early life of the older adults, married life, and life with children and the intergenerational support flows. The format is that each case study centres on the life-history of an older adult respondent and the inter- and intragenerational support flows of the members in their kinship network. The analysis involved drawing together, contrasting and interpreting the evidence from multiple interviews and multiple respondents in each case (Gerring, 2016; Yin, 2018). Data from the larger set of respondents supplemented the breadth of the data and contributing further perspectives and experiences of intergenerational support flows.

I had written up case studies on the main older adult respondents shown in table 5.2.1 (chapter 5). Case studies are intensive studies representing the broader community I aimed to study (Gerring, 2016). I selected case studies to have a diverse representation of older adult situations. General themes that cut across all cases were based on concepts of the research question. Key themes from each case study related to broader narrative across the case studies. Input from other older adults (cf. table 5.2.2) was used to corroborate situations, and a summary was written up for each of these older adults (cf. table 5.2.2) to have a superficial and broader perspective of older adult's situations. Some older adults were married to the other older adult participants in table 5.2.2. Hence, for these couples the main older adult had more extensive input and presence in the case study. Their input was also important to generate relevant themes and a summary of their intergenerational support flows and relationships. Other older adults I met in the field, who I did not generate an extensive case study or summary, also provided different perspectives to situations. No repeat interviews or observations was conducted with such older adults because they did not want to have full participation, they were not included in the case studies. These

different perspectives, such as on women's fishing, allowed me to generate new questions to older adult respondents in table 5.2.1.

Chapter 5 Results

5.1 Introduction

I have decided to present four detailed case studies and four summarised case studies in a way that refines their life histories and intra- and intergenerational support flows (cf. section 5.3). Firstly, I describe the socio-economic status (SES) of all older adult respondents, and a summary of intergenerational support flows.

5.1.1 Socio-economic Status of Older Adult Respondents

I illustrate the range of SES amongst the respondents and explain how these categories were defined. The range of SES if shown in figure 5.1.

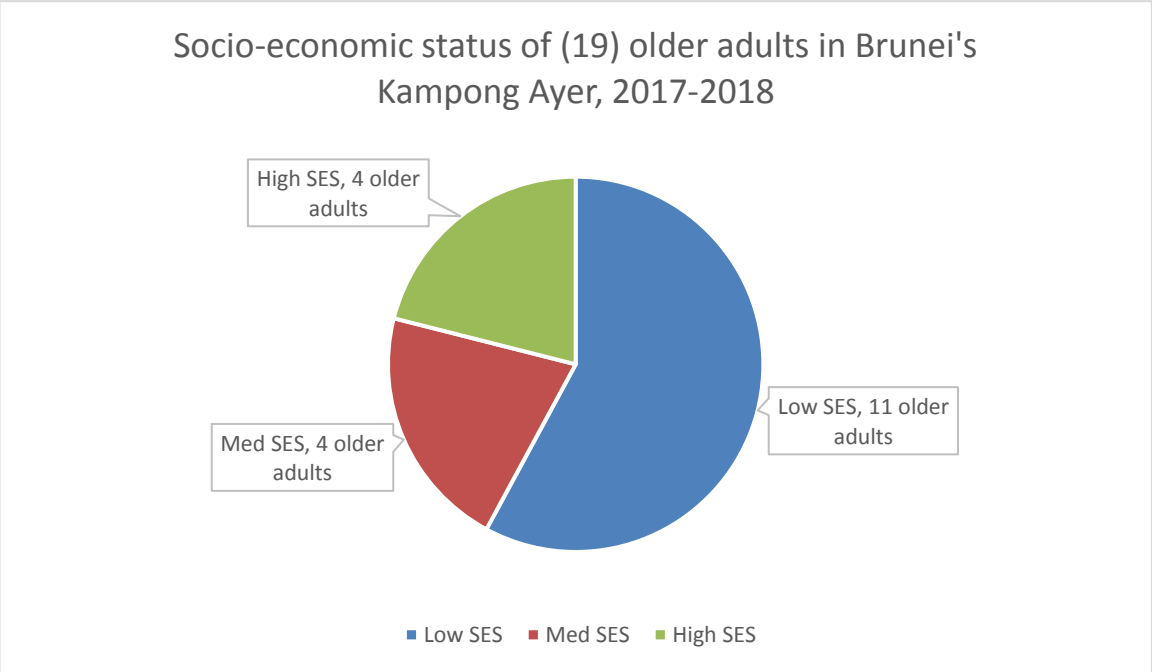

Figure 5.1 Socio-economic status of (19) older adults in Brunei's Kampong Ayer, 2017-2018. Source: Author's ethnographic fieldwork.

Categorising older adults in low, medium and high SES was done by assessing any income, pensions, properties, and references people made either of themselves or of other people. SES is not static; these categories only reflect a short time period where the SES of these older adults did not change. Some couples had differed in resources of income and properties and had independent support, yet the couples did have an interdependent relationship, this is explored further (cf. section 5.3).

In exploring the nature of support amongst low SES older adults it is important to mention Brunei's universal OAP (cf. section 2.2.5). As older adults in Brunei have the universal OAP of $250 BND[20] per month, respondents in the low SES category were comparatively getting by when compared to other studies in the region where there is no universal old-age pension. Comparatively with other respondents, 11 older adults were categorised as having low SES because they depended solely on the OAP. They compare themselves to others, "well what is there to do, we don't work like everyone else, sometimes we are able to have a catch sometimes no, only when fuel is enough then we will go fishing". Low SES older adults did fish, odd jobs or sell things, but this provided minimal income. Low SES older adults earned at the most $15- or $30 BND some days, but they also worked inconsistently. Low SES older adults who were unable to have a small business, voiced their desire to participate economically, "we can't get as much fish as we used to, but we keep trying". In recent years, maximum of $200-300 BND a month was earned by some, but only if fishing often. They also needed to fix torn nets and pay for fuel for the boat. Generally, these older adults recently reduced these business activities due to ill health, or lack of money to keep the business going.

Due to the existence of the universal OAP, there was a foundation of welfare which gave older adults the opportunity for a certain level of independence and negotiation. Balanced intergenerational support flows that occurred in the low SES group were either iterations of frequent but balanced intergenerational exchanges or an independent existence with occasional gifts or transfers involving other family members. Older adults in low SES had their own residence, either built or bought decades ago, or inherited.

Older adults in the medium SES group have business ventures that were more successful than those in low SES group. Furthermore, the medium SES group is made up of two older adults (Hilmi in section 5.3.2, Khairul in section 5.2.2) and a widow, Delima (section 5.3.7). They had property or income from small businesses although with modest earnings. What partly distinguished the medium SES group from the low SES group is that they did not have adult children who significantly depended on their financial support and they consistently received financial support from adult children. Older adults in the high SES group either have a government pension, are formally employed, or have a more expansive business such as a larger shop, shops on-land or on-land clients.

[20] This is approximately a universal OAP of £142.93 British Pound Sterling (GBP) per month. Conversion of BND to GBP as of 15th June 2020.

5.1.2 Summary of intergenerational support flows

A summary of intergenerational support flows of the 19 older adults is presented in figure 5.2. It does not display the adequacy or complexities of support flows between kinship network members but shows an important description of support flows between adult children and older adults. The information used to determine intergenerational support flows included observations of practical support, such as fixing the home, cleaning, cooking, transport, ADL support, caring for grandchildren. Material support provided and received, such as cash, payment of bills, stocking up the pantry, was also examined. Emotional support was determined via interviews and observations with older adults and their families, this was shown in their description of visits, contact, and relationships with family members. My analysis of intergenerational support flows resulted in situations shown of older adults with predominantly upward, downward, or balanced (figure 4.2). To generate the direction of intergenerational support flows, I analyse the totality of support flows in a family by mapping out older adults' kin network and directions from each member. I then summarise the dominant direction of the intergenerational support flows. Repeat interviews and participant observation allowed me to gather multiple accounts of support flows, which helped triangulate and analyse the direction of flows. Although, some older adults had no flows with kin or some adult children, this was not the dominant situation of older adults at the time of the fieldwork. Relationships of no flows from adult children are considered in my analysis to interpret the overall situation of older adult's support arrangements.

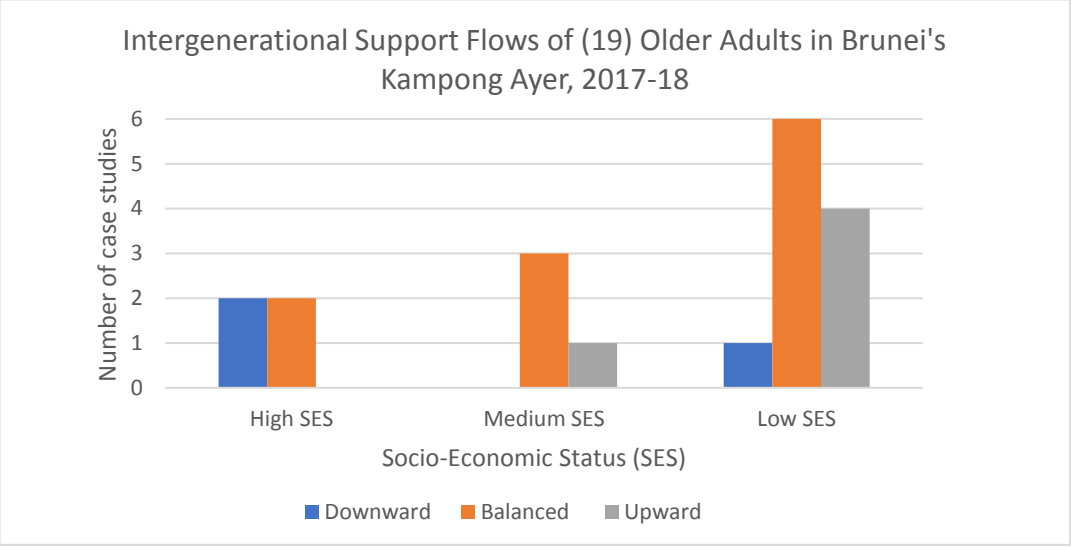

Figure 5.2 Intergenerational Support Flows of (19) Older Adults in Brunei's Kampong Ayer, 2017-2018. Source: Author's ethnographic fieldwork.

These results show that older adults who have downward flows of intergenerational support are predominantly in the high SES group. These high SES older parents provided material support to

unmarried adult children or adult children in higher education, at times also providing material and practical support to grandchildren in a skipped generation household, or to other adult children and grandchildren during the weekend. Any return of support from adult children did not balance or outweigh older adults' contributions. Older adults with high SES can continue to provide to their adult children, further building their future opportunities with higher education. Majority of balanced support flows are in the medium SES group. Older adults who had upward support flows were in the low SES group, these were women who were also in poor health. Not all upward support flows were the same. For these women, some upward support flows were from high SES adult children they co-resided with, such as Soraya (cf. table 5.2.2). Others, such as Wani and Aidah (cf. sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.8), have inadequate support or needs met by their available low SES adult children. Wani and Aidah depend on others outside their kinship network to provide additional support needed, such as housing or hospitalisation. Their case studies are exemplified in Chapter 5 (cf. section 5.2.5 and 5.2.8). One reason for these results is the different needs and availability of support from adult children. Second, as previously established in the literature review, there is no obligation for reciprocated support with the Malay family system (cf. sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3). This was also evident here, "if they give, they give", "I wouldn't ask". To analyse these results more thoroughly, I present the case studies in the next section (5.3).

In analysing the residence of older adult's kin networks, I developed three categories. Firstly, is co-reside meaning to indefinitely stay in the same household. Secondly, quasi-reside means to be a part of the household activities such as eating, cooking cleaning without necessarily staying overnight. Quasi-reside also meant kin who irregularly stayed over in the older adult's home. Non-residing kin means kin who do not stay or visit the older adult regularly. The categories were developed by observing and noting the living arrangements of adults. Over time I also had data on their daily routines and who visited older adults.

The health status of older adults are categorised into three categories: poor, fair and good. Older adults who were active and reported to feel healthy are categorised as 'good'. Older adults who have relatively minor health issues or felt they were feeling too tired to do things they used to, such as caring for grandchildren, are categorised as 'fair'. Older adults who have difficulty walking, serious health problem that has caused recent hospitalisation or needing activities of daily living (ADL) support, are categorised as 'poor'. Support for ADL meant assistance in daily activities such as walking and getting out of bed.

Prior to the case studies I present an overall profile of the respondents.

5.2 Profile of Older Adult Respondents

5.2.1 Main Older Adult Respondents: Case Studies

Name	Gender & marital status	Age in 2017	Economic status	Health status	No. of Children	Intergenerational Support Flows
1. Wardah	Married woman	60s	Low	Fair	8	Balanced
2. Delima	Widowed woman	60s	Medium	Good	10	Upward
3. Rabiah	Widowed woman	60s	Low	Fair	1	Downward with some reciprocity
4. Maziah	Married woman (married to Mohammad)	Early 70s	Low	Good	7	Balanced
5. Farhana	Married woman (married to Ahmad)	70s	Low	Fair	9	Upward
6. Wani	Widowed woman	70s	Low	Poor	2	Upward
7. Latipah	Married woman (married to Hilmi)	70s	Low	Poor	9	Upward
8. Aidah	Never married woman	70s	Low	Poor	1 adopted	Upward
9. Hilmi	Married man	80s	Medium	Good	9	Balanced
10. Ahmad	Married man (Married to Farhana)	80s	Low	Poor	9	Balanced

Name	Gender & marital status	Age in 2017	Economic status	Health status	No. of Children	Intergenerational Support Flows
11. Emran	Married man	Early 100s	High	Poor	9	Balanced

Table 5.1 Main Older Adult Respondents: Case Studies from Ethnographic Fieldwork in Brunei's Kampong Ayer, 2017-2018. Source: Author's ethnographic fieldwork.

5.2.2 **Other Older Adults (non-case study respondents)**

Name	Gender & marital status	Age in 2017	Economic status	Health status	No. of Children	Intergenerational Support Flows
12. Ibrahim	Married man	Early 60s	High	Good	4	Downward with some reciprocity
13. Ali	Married man	60s	High	Good	8	Downward
14. Haryati	Widowed woman	60s	Medium	Fair	7	Balanced
15. Azwan	Married man (married to Wardah)	60s	Low	Poor	8	Balanced
16. Mohammad	Married man (married to Maziah)	Early 70s	Low	Fair	7	Balanced
17. Khairul	Married man	80s	Medium	Fair	14	Balanced
18. Nazmi	Widowed man	Late 80s	Low	Fair	7	Balanced

Name	Gender & marital status	Age in 2017	Economic status	Health status	No. of Children	Intergenerational Support Flows
19. Azmy	Married man	Late 80s	High	Fair	11	Balanced

Table 5.2 Other Older Adults (non-case study respondents) in Ethnographic Fieldwork in Brunei's Kampong Ayer, 2017-2018. Source: Author's ethnographic fieldwork.

5.3 Case Studies

5.3.1 Case Study 1: Hajah Maziah and Haji Mohammad

Socio-demographic characteristics	
Age	Both early 70s
Health	Both able to do chores, walk out to town and care for grandchildren. Had less energy that comes with age
Number of adult children	7 adult children who are all married. 5 live on-land, 2 married adult children with families coresiding
Socio-economic status	Low. Maziah and Mohammad did not have the income from doing odd jobs they used to. Occasionally both do work for people in villages, but this is inconsistent, and earnings minimal. Both depend on OAP of $250 BND a month
Intergenerational support-flows	Both balanced

Table 5.3 Socio-demographic characteristics of Maziah and Mohammad

Early life

Maziah's father was blind soon after she was born, eventually she started taking care of her father. She was forced to grow up fast and wise beyond her years stating, "I was already an adult at 8 years old taking care of my parents", bathing him and serving him his meals on a tray daily. In hindsight, she understood that as an eight-year-old it was not the norm to have adults depend on her. But when younger, it was something she felt she had to do, there was no other choice around it. During this time, Maziah's mother and her nine siblings also relied on Maziah to provide this instrumental support for their family. She was the third of ten children in the family and the eldest daughter coresiding. Maziah's older sister had moved out to live their aunt and helped run their aunt's store. Maziah's mother worked as a cleaner to financially support the family. Maziah ensured that her mother would come home from work to a cooked dinner, "when she would eat she would only need to take the food… I would have done the cooking". The upward support flows helped her parents; Maziah was also expected to take care of her younger siblings. Despite having these responsibilities, she went to school and reached first year of secondary school by age

thirteen. Maziah also gained the skill of sewing during this time, which gave her the opportunity to make money. A skill and trade she kept throughout her youth to adult life. Mohammad used to fish with his family when he was young, like most children did in the village. He also learnt from his father and his father's family how to fix and make boats. In contrast, Mohammad doesn't keep in regular contact with his brother, Ibrahim, who lives nearby. Muhammad and Ibrahim converse on formal matters, such as about business and community goings-on. Muhammad and Ibrahim's children are strangers to each other, which Muhammad does not appreciate. Muhammad wishes his nieces and nephews would check up on him.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

Maziah's time continuing to take care of her family delayed her marriage to Mohammad for three years, until things were stable enough that she could direct her care and support towards starting her own family. She was thirteen, had finished school and wanted to get married, but Maziah got married at sixteen years old instead. When Mohammad got married to Maziah and moved in with her to her family's house, he found what job he could around the village, such as carpentry, fixing boats, and as a water taxi driver. The income from this was not much, "it's not that it wasn't enough" but they "made do with what they had". He remembers how they used to buy daily necessities from people selling on boats who went door to door. The necessities they buy have not differed much, only that they now need to travel on-land, and it costs more than it did before. He then worked as a labourer; however, he was not eligible for a government pension as he was paid daily.

At the same time as starting her own family, she lived with her older parents, and continued to support them and her older uncles and aunties who lived with them until their deaths. Maziah notes that men are unsuitable in taking care of older people, unless it is a son taking care of a father. The siblings she had supported, had moved out once they got on-land housing, save for her younger brother who lived nearby with his family. Although Maziah was still the main caretaker for her older parents, aunts and uncles who stayed, "I cared (*mengasuh*) for them all" "I've done a lot of caring (*mengasuh*)". Maziah continues to support her younger brother living nearby, and one of her sibling's has a grandchild who goes Maziah's home from time to time as they go to school nearby with Maziah's own grandchildren.

In the past, Maziah worked as a seamstress to people who lived on-land. She would accept requests if they offered to pay her. For every garment, the people of high status would offer her a large sum of money, $200 BND. She views this as her talent, and she would like to continue sewing, but now she is busy with her grandchildren. Her grandchildren currently take up too much

of her time and she is unable to do much else but care for them. She is also unable to see as well as she did and working as a seamstress takes up too much time.

Now Mohammad continues to work in fixing boats, odd jobs in the village such as fixing houses, but stresses that he does not look for work. Mohammad says “if someone requests only then will I do work, if no one asks then I don’t do anything”. Mohammad prefers to leave work up to fate, he says “only Allah has the power with good fate” and “if someone requests me for a job, that is good fate” (“*Rezeki*”: See Case Study 2 Section 5.3.2). He finds that looking around for work and asking people is shameful, “I wouldn’t stress myself to ask for work here and there, it is shameful”. Even when people do make requests, Mohammad does not get a lot, it might be $1-2 BND, to $10-20BND at most. Sometimes Maziah cooks food and Mohammad helps organise others in the village to showcase traditional goods to tourists as part of visits held by officials in the village. But he wouldn’t ask for money from the officials, he stresses “I rarely want to willingly take people’s money, if they give I take, to ask [scoffs], we husband and wife, we don’t do that”. They consider doing these jobs as favours, as “it’s only to help someone”.

Consequently, Maziah and Mohammad’s only form of consistent income is the pension from both husband and wife combined, “both our old age pensions that’s all we have, we don’t have any other income”. Although they spend it separately. Maziah spends it on food for the house because Mohammad doesn’t understand or know what to stock up for the house. The children and Mohammad pay for the bills for the house.

Children and intergenerational support flows

What makes Maziah and Mohammad’s situation balanced is that Maziah provides downward support to her adult children and grandchildren, by caring for the grandchildren who are coresiding. Maziah and Mohammad are doing house chores, cooking, providing a place to live for the adult children who are saving up to buy their own home. Their eldest, Muiz, has sufficient income and stable job and has eight children who all go to school within walking distance from Maziah and Mohammad’s home. Three of Muiz’s children who go to the nearby secondary school stay in Maziah and Mohammad’s bedroom. Due to this, Maziah and Mohammad sleep in the living room with other younger grandchildren. Muiz has a close relationship with Maziah and Mohammad and is at the house often. He helps stock up their kitchen, and eats the food prepared by Maziah daily. There are balanced support flows as Maziah and Mohammad provide support to Muiz in terms of living arrangement, cooking, and caring for Muiz’s children.

Maziah's eldest child, Muiz with eight children depends on Maziah to care for three of his children. Maziah's two married daughters and their families stayed at home like she did, however, Maziah continues to cook for the household, whereas they do not. These is balanced support flows between Maziah and Mohammad and their children who need help, and no flows with their children who do not. This is detailed next.

Current Intergenerational support flows in Maziah and Mohammad's family are balanced. Although there is financial and material support from adult children, it is in exchange of caring for grandchildren and practical support provided. Even though Maziah and Mohammad have raised seven children, they have support from three children, but only because these adult children also need support from their older parents. They do not expect return of support from their children or others, and they would not ask for it. There are continued downward support flows to extended family members, such as Mohammad's son, and Maziah's sibling's grandchild who co-reside or quasi-reside. They have no flows from adult children who have moved on-land and who are independent and do not require their support. Mohammad wishes their adult children could see them more often and check up on them, but Maziah justifies that some of her adult children are too busy to visit.

Their second child is Shahyzul has a good paying office job. Shahyzul rarely visits them, Maziah says he has been too busy to visit since he started working in the office job. Shahyzul provides no support. Their third child is son Rizal, Rizal is married to Raihana and has four children. Rizal lives in walking distance in a nearby village. Rizal maintains close contact and visit each other often, his wife, Raihana mostly stays home with the children and her older mother. Rizal does odd jobs and makes minimal income compared to his siblings, Mohammad states that he is happy as long as Rizal does not get into trouble and does honest work. Maziah and Mohammad's coresiding children are Ema and Nura. Ema and her husband co-reside with their five children. Ema stays at home and doesn't work, but her husband works. Nura is Mohammad's niece who they raised as their own. Nura and her husband lives with them, on occasion they stay with the husband's family for the weekend. Nura has three children. Similarly, to Ema, Nura doesnt work, but her husband works. Nura and Ema take turns to pay for the house electricity bills, therefore they provide monetary support. Mohammad pays for the water bill for the house. Maziah and Mohammad further help them by providing temporary residence while Ema and Nura save up to buy their own house. Maziah helps watch over her coresiding grandchildren, whilst Ema and Nura both prioritise care of their own youngest children who are both around one year old. For other chores in the house, Maziah's daughters wash their own children's clothes, Maziah and Mohammad rarely help with this, "their mothers do it themselves".

Cooking is a major form of support from Maziah. Maziah prepares food daily because she does not want to see her children suffer or struggle. She says, “yes we prepare food for them, their situation makes me pity them”. Once Maziah is done cooking she asks her daughter to take the food for the children, “when they want to eat they can help themselves for their children”. Mohammad says the children do not cook, and Maziah is their cook. Mohammad sympathises with the work Maziah does for their children, especially with the large number of people living in the house, “I feel bad for her, cooking here and there, that’s what makes me feel for her… cooking is tiring, who said it wasn’t tiring”. Sometimes in feeling bad for her, he helps her wash up the dishes. But he is quick to add “rarely”.

Maziah and Mohammad’s remaining two sons, Bahrin and Naif, are both married and have good jobs with stable income. They moved out to live in government subsidised housing. They rarely visit unless it is for an occasion or religious event such as the Islamic New Year. It can be said there are no significant support flows from these adult children, despite them apparently being in a financial situation to help. Maziah and Mohammad excuse their lack of visits as being “too busy”. Yet Mohammad speaks negatively of his nieces and nephews who live near him yet but do not visit him or ask him how he is doing, stating “that’s not right”. This signifies how he appreciates people visiting him.

Mohammad emphasises how everyday there are always people crowding in the house, “everyone gathers here every day, there is no off day”. For some older adults in the village, there would be a spike in visits from their grandchildren when it is school holiday season (witnessed during the fieldwork). For Maziah however, there is no difference: still the same number of children running around, meaning they all go to school in the village. Whereas for other families in the village, some grandchildren go to school elsewhere, and only during holiday months do the grandparents take care of them while their parents work.

Mohammad thinks buying household necessities as more of as a daily occurrence than a planned out monthly, “truthfully we don’t spend monthly here, but here every day we spend”. Usually this is to spend on food daily, whatever is bought that day will be eaten that day. This type of spending is characterised by other men in the village, as spending all money gained in that day and worry about tomorrow’s needs tomorrow. Mohammad notes that “what is important is if there is no need for something we don’t buy it, whoever buys food for grandchildren it will be eaten when we are gathered round here”, signifying a more relaxed approach in buying treats for grandchildren to be finished for the day. Mohammad is not the main manager of household necessities, he states “I’ve never known what is needed in the kitchen”, this is Maziah’s role. Her approach to spending on household necessities is more organised. Once a week, on her own

accord, Maziah spends her own pension to buy precooked tamarind paste, rice, and essential ingredients to cook for the household. She also buys any treats or things she knows her grandchildren will like. Her pension money is finished and not enough to buy all she would like by the end of the month. The household (and those who visit) help themselves throughout the day to what Maziah cooks from the morning. Sometimes her children bring food bought by themselves and/or their husbands after work. This is to be eaten with the grandchildren for dinner. Dinner time is a moment everyone shares what they bring, and what Maziah has cooked.

Maziah sympathises with her children when it comes to caring for their own children. She feels bad about how they must work, drive back and forth, and take care of their children. She says, "they do all sorts for their job right? They can't pick up their children". She therefore takes on caring for her grandchildren and household tasks. Maziah states that the reward for providing care is twofold, as she makes her children's life easier, and she makes her grandchildren happy. This warms her heart.

Maziah and Mohammad don't expect anything, and they rarely get cash from their children. They think of how their children have their own children who have not started working. Mohammad says, "We can think… see now how much they need to spend on their children, their children don't work yet". The welfare and ease of their children and grandchildren is more important than expecting money for themselves. This older couple's lack of expectations is a form of support to their adult children.

They have a doting relationship to their grandchildren. They are stern when they do not want them to get injured or into trouble in the house. They have two young grandchildren living with them who haven't started going to school yet. Mohammad adoringly says they "know about getting money, they know how to ask". Another example of their doting relationship is how Maziah spends a portion of her pension for her grandchildren, it is for food they would like to eat, toys, biscuits, "I use my own money, sometimes I go out on my own, get on the boat and walk to wherever". Although she mentions they take up her time, energy and space in the house, she wouldn't say it is a chore or difficult. If I put it in a negative connotation, asking if it is difficult taking care of her grandchildren, she defends her care-taking as not costing her too much time or effort. Yet at the same time, she stresses the fact that many grandchildren stay with her or visit during the day. When probed, she doesn't put it down as something detrimental, or her work as too much. "I just cook, I don't mind", and "as long as I cook that's all, whatever is cooked in this house will be eaten". Maziah being wanted and needed by her children, and grandchildren is something she feels good about. Although Maziah alludes to her work being not difficult, she also details how much effort she puts into caring for her children and grandchildren. Maziah would not

outwardly put her children down as taking up her energy and time, but she likes the recognition of her efforts.

Some older adults romanticise with living over the water, commenting things like “it feels good living over the water” and they are not used to living on-land. However, there are more reasons motivating them to stay. For some it is independence, not being comfortable with the uncertainty of living in someone else’s home (even if it is their child’s home). For others there are primarily financial reasons. Mohammad mentions that he would have liked to move to on-land housing. Their current house in Kampong Ayer was inherited by Maziah and is the house she grew up in, it is quite small, old and needs fixing. They worry about its stability over the water and have not been financially able to ensure that the foundation is stable. The main large living room in front of the entrance was usually dark and utilised natural sunlight in other rooms. The beams and pillars holding up the house tilt dangerously, in comparison, the house next door was in worse condition. It had been abandoned due to it tilting almost to the point of collapse, it was in constant view from Maziah’s veranda. The house next door was a reminder to Maziah of what may happen to their own house and was brought up in conversations about her concerns. Although Mohammad had an offer for housing years ago, they did not have the money for deposit and subsidised monthly loan. He states, “we here don’t have money. Well there is enough for spending on food. That’s why it makes me not bothered”. It is interesting to note that he does have adult children who are financially able to provide him support in attaining a housing loan. Yet, Mohammad mentions that he would not apply for housing again. He acknowledges that he does want on-land housing but justifies that it would take too much effort now, “it’s not that I don’t want it now, I’m just not bothered anymore”. Perhaps Mohammad does not want to ask for support in this. The generational difference between Mohammad and Maziah, and their adult children, are evident in Mohammad and Maziah’s inability to afford subsidised government housing. Mohammad and Maziah are left behind in Kampong Ayer, despite aspirations to live on-land. Meanwhile their adult children can live on-land, like many of their contemporaries of the post-1973 generation who are able to fulfil middle class aspirations and benefit from government accrued wealth.

The movement to on-land housing is not new, Maziah experienced it with her own siblings who moved on-land. Maziah remained and inherited the house she grew up in whilst caring for her older parents. Maziah notes that it is too expensive to live on-land, as they would need to buy a car and buy petrol. The expensive lifestyle noted by Maziah reflects more wealth needed to live on-land, and middle class lifestyle which is differs from living in Kampong Ayer. Mohammad doesn’t have a car, like Maziah, he takes boat rides and walks, or walks out to nearby shops on-land. For Maziah, she goes out with her sister-in-law, who lives nearby, to the market in town by using the boat and walking. Sometimes she goes out on her own to the market. Although there is

convenient transport, it is important to note the issue of older people who are unable to walk down the slippery cement steps from the piers to get to the boats. This is a problem mentioned by village heads, and officials working in the area. Other older adults in the villages also mention this as a problem. It is apparent that using the boats is an important mode of transport which Maziah and Mohammad rely on, but as they get older or develop physical disability, they will not be able to travel by themselves or with ease.

Key themes

This case study shows there is a lack of reciprocity and unpredictability in sibling relationships, despite crucial sibling support in youth. Persistent contact and continued support were important to establish relationships over time, this is explored in relation to siblingship in section 6.3.

This case study shows that asking for work or money is shameful, and preferably avoided. Older adults avoid dependency by looking for extra income, they take pride in not asking for money, and instead they leave it up to fate and Allah. Older adults unwilling to ask money from adult children or unwilling to look for work may therefore mask unmet needs. By contrast, older adults who do ask for money can represent examples of having had to compromise on ideals. The avoidance of dependency is discussed in relation to other case studies and literature in section 6.2. This case study shows how the aspirations to live on-land is unmet due to lack of financial means, which adds to the discussion of Kampong Ayer's uniqueness from the rest of Brunei, as well as generational and social class differences in section 6.4.

The balanced and interdependent support with co-residing adult children does not indicate that all needs are met. Balanced support flows are sufficient for everyday needs for this family, and there is no outright dependence on any individual, but there are housing issues and insufficient funds. Interdependence and balanced support flows are discussed as the ideal in section 6.2, but the thematic disadvantages and vulnerabilities in the case studies are also explored (section 6.2). There is pity for co-residing adult children and no expectation of support from them. This lack of expectation as a form of gift to adult children is explored in the discussion chapter (section 6.2).

Cooking is not only a form of support but underlines a woman's fundamental role in the family. For this family, gathering and eating together are consistent rituals and the basis of daily intergenerational support. This evidence of cultural context of household relations is explored in section 6.2.

5.3.2 Case Study 2: Haji Hilmi and Hajah Latipah

Socio-demographic characteristics	
Age	Hilmi is early 80s, Latipah is late 70s
Health	Hilmi is healthy. Latipah has difficulty walking, multiple ailments, and requires ADL support
Number of adult children	Eight adult children. None coresiding, Hilmi and Latipah live alone, they had a domestic helper living with them, but the domestic helper left before the fieldwork began
Socio-economic status	Hilmi: Medium, Latipah: Low
Intergenerational support-flows	Hilmi: Balanced, Latipah: Upward

Table 5.4 Socio-demographic characteristics of Hilmi and Latipah

Early life

Hilmi lived in Kampong Ayer in the same village he lives in now since he was born. His father left their family at a young age. Hilmi's life growing up with his two younger siblings was a difficult time for him. As the eldest he took responsibility to ensure they survived. Himli wishes he had a larger family with more people to rely on: "there are benefits to having a large family". Hilmi wanted to go to school but was forced to sacrifice this so he could work to finance his two younger brothers go to school. No one else was willing to pay for his brothers' education.

At around eight years old, he started working in the village learning all types of trade from fishing to gathering wood in the forest. Like many of people in the community, Hilmi worked for himself. Eventually, Hilmi and his younger brother built their houses next to each other. His brother sold the house around two decades ago and lives in on-land housing. Hilmi fondly recalls, misses having his brother live nearby, and having his own adult children living with him, "it was better then, us all getting together".

Hilmi is respected in the community, because he is one of the older-old people and closely tied to the community history. Hilmi can be classified as part of the pre-1973 generations, particularly because he would have been in his mid-30s. Prior and during the early years of marriage he participated in inter-village competitive sports. Now there are fewer people in the community to partake, and competition isn't what it used to be. In village gatherings Hilmi is one of the few older men all wearing white, who sit inside the main room of the house with the village Imam. Whilst the many women, young and old, gather in the large open dining and kitchen area. The

other men, young and old, sit outside on the balcony chatting loudly, whilst the men indoors proceed to read a prayer, as the women follow.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

Hilmi married Latipah when they were both in their early twenties, in the early 1960s. Both did not go to school, due to this they referred to themselves as "people of the past". Their eight adult children currently do not co-reside with them and have left Kampong Ayer to on-land housing. Being young adults during the pre-1973 period of Brunei means their childhood was radically different from their childrens'. The continuous mention of hardship endured by Hilmi is evocative of this, particularly as Hilmi had to make sacrifices to send his brother to school. Which is considerably different from the provisions provided to Hilmi's own children in the next section (Children and intergenerational support flows).

Latipah has difficulty walking and has multiple ailments which needs medication and regular doctor's appointments. Because Latipah is unable to walk far as her leg hurts and she does not like to use the wheelchair, this makes it difficult for her to leave the house. Prior to fieldwork they depended on having one domestic helper living with them to do daily chores and provide ADL support for Latipah. This was paid by the adult children at $300 BND a month. The domestic helper left because she felt lonely in Kampong Ayer and missed her family in Indonesia. For about two months into the fieldwork they were without a domestic helper, Hilmi found this time difficult because he would stay home, which he does not feel comfortable doing. Hilmi would rather leave the house to "find work (*rezeki*)" as a water taxi driver, to go to the mosque or the market. *Rezeki* means work or sustenance that depends on fate. The phrase to "find *rezeki*" was often used in the village, as their fate in what they earned was out of their hands, but it is important to be active in finding "work (*rezeki*)".

Another concept to finding work (*rezeki)* is the concept of *bekerja sendiri*, or working for yourself. *Bekerja sendiri* is a known concept in the village in contrast to those who worked in the government. Hilmi remembers the past as a difficult time where "money was hard to come by". Jobs required hard labour, like fishing, collecting rocks, collecting sand, collecting wood"… "this is what it means to work for yourself (*bekerja sendiri*)". These were the kinds of jobs available because "there was no work back in those days". This era of no work or working for yourself is evidence of the pre-1973 generation, prior to the expansion of Brunei's civil service. When Hilmi was young, before marriage and in the early years of marriage, nobody wanted to work for wages or "commanded work" because those wages were low, about $2 BND a day. It was a difficult to look for money, they had to take their own initiative and be self-motivated to find work. This

ethos continues for Hilmi and others in the village who continued to work for themselves and find *rezeki* (cf. sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.6 for example). The era of no work in pre-1973 generation where one works for themselves (*bekerja sendiri*), seems to echo the era of youth unemployment and government emphasis of self-reliance and entrepreneurship.

The concept of work is distinctively framed by respondents: some activities and behaviours were not outwardly regarded as work. Contractual or government work is seen as something official, but when respondents make money through other means it is not regarded as work. For Hilmi, he felt he officially stopped working at 75 years old and expresses how he hasn't had a job since. However, he operates as a water taxi driver, and Latipah has a very small retail shop hidden at the back of the house. He worked as a water taxi driver before and after retirement and has only recently slowed down due to his wife needing medical attention at home. Hilmi's work with the government did not offer him the government pension scheme, because he was daily paid (prior to 1993 monthly paid government workers could have the government pension scheme, see section 2.2.5). When Hilmi turned 55 years old (the retirement age prior to 2010), he took another job as a labourer. For Hilmi, this has meant reliance on the OAP and on finding *rezeki* as a water taxi driver in old age.

Hilmi feels bad if he leaves Latipah at home, because she needs help getting around the house, and is worried about her safety if she is alone. During this time without a domestic helper, Hilmi leaving the home to go to the market has become a problem. Hilmi states they depend on their daughters bringing them out. Upon talking to the adult children, the daughters would regularly take Latipah out (regardless if there was a domestic helper or not) to restock the pantry with food to cook and essentials. This signifies how it is only through Latipah that the majority of the household necessities are restocked rather than by Hilmi going to the market (see next section: Children and intergenerational support flows). Occasionally Hilmi goes to the market in town and shops for fish or vegetables, whatever is lacking in the pantry, or whatever he feels like eating that day. Hilmi only buys things to be eaten and finished that day. Hilmi's freedom, to go to the market to buy what he desires and to find *rezeki* as a water taxi driver, is important to him.

In the latter half of the fieldwork, Hilmi and Latipah's adult children found a new domestic helper. Having a domestic helper improved their situation somewhat, it was a way of compensating for what the children cannot provide themselves since they have moved out (more details next section). The downside is that employing their helper was difficult, and in this family's history they also had abruptly shortened contracts. It also required a $3000 BND deposit, which the adult children paid for. Hilmi felt their efforts were wasted when the domestic helper left. The future

issue is whether in ill health or if there was further immobility of the older parents, a domestic helper would be the most reliable source of alternative care.

Latipah does the cooking in the house. Currently, the new domestic helper accompanies her, and Latipah tells her what to do: cut vegetables or wash dishes. Latipah made money ("not a lot") through having a shop at the house. She now gets around $10 BND a day at the most if they open the shop, but days the shop was open was inconsistent, depending on mood. Despite Hilmi's notions that it was not the norm for women to work back then, and that they would stay in the house to take care of the family. Latipah earned and managed the selling of things from the home throughout their married life. Up to the early 2000s they were earning more than they do now. The situation of Latipah and Hilmi reflect on how Malays do not automatically pool their resources, and women are independent income earners (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.3)

Children and intergenerational support flows

Hilmi and Latipah had nine children. One of the children passed away. The children grew up in the same house, where Hilmi and Latipah live in how. Growing up the children felt it was difficult to travel because places seemed far to them, they did not have cars or ease of transportation compared to now. Hilmi relied on his friends and neighbours for transport. When Hilmi started working as a labourer, he did not have a car and did not know how to drive. He would carpool with his friend to work. Hilmi learnt how to drive much later in life. Some adult children state when Hilmi was younger the "village worked together (*gotong royong*) as a team", yet Hilmi being able to not rely on others for transport was a positive achievement. His daughter comments that transport for him became easier, as he did not have to rely on others. It took him a long time to learn because he does not know how to read and write. He does not have a car currently and uses his boat to travel.

In the past, the adult children walked to their primary school in the village. They would also walk to afternoon religious school within Kampong Ayer. Once they attended secondary school, they used the boat to go to school in the city. Hilmi paid for the boat monthly for their children to go to secondary school. Each person would cost $30 BND a month. Nowadays, the adult children recall that because they themselves have cars, their own children are better off. The adult children find it easier that their children do not go to school in Kampong Ayer, so they don't have to rely on boats and they are safer being driven in cars. Currently, only six of the grandchildren go to school in Kampong Ayer, but their situations differ from their parents as they get dropped off and picked up, and do not live in Kampong Ayer. These discussions imply that the needs of children are prioritised in both generations. Grandchildren going to school in Kampong Ayer is seen as support to Hilmi and Latipah by providing them company, since the adult children do not live there

anymore. This is a way for this family to adapt to compromise and meet the needs of those in the family.

The current intergenerational support flows are predominantly upward for Latipah, with adult children providing transport for doctor's appointments, payment and arrangement to employ domestic helper, payment for buying necessities, visiting as emotional support. Their children's availability dictates when Latipah is taken out shopping. Her children make the most of her leaving the house for the doctor's appointments, they "follow what she wants, follow where she wants to go". This is the only chance they get to help buy her necessities, whatever is required for the house "that's it really". The children also pay for Latipah's things to cook. Zarah, their youngest child, takes Latipah to the clinic every Saturday, if she isn't available, Rosmah will take over. They will update each other on who is busy. If one person is unable to take over, then they make up for it the next time. They are understanding of their siblings who are teachers who are unable to leave during office hours, so the others are usually the ones who take Latipah out on her appointments. Latipah's appointments are regular, which makes it a convenient opportunity for the adult children to help provide household necessities.

Stocking up the household also supports Hilmi. Other support includes how Hilmi and Latipah share one mobile phone which was given to them by their children. They are not used to texting, however Hilmi knows how to call. Latipah only knows to pick up the phone if someone is calling. They used to have a landline, but the cable which was hooked at the top of their house was stolen by robbers. This is a common problem for houses in villages.

Intergenerational support occurred differently between different adult children, and sometimes arrangements were made through discussion or agreement. Agreement and compromise to benefit all parties in some way is evident in this family. Rosmah, Adi, Syaza and Zarah are four adult children who interact the most with Hilmi and Latipah during the fieldwork.

The eldest is their daughter Rosmah, currently in her 50s; married and has three children. Her children are the eldest of all the grandchildren, and none of them are married yet. All her children are preoccupied with school, and higher education. She is respected by her siblings and advises them. Second is son Alif, age early 50s. He has a good job, married, and has four children. The third child is their son Amirul, age 40s, married and has five children. The fourth child is Zaty, in her 40s. Zaty is married, has one child, and has a good job. Their fifth child is Adi, is in his 40s; married and has three children. He has a job as a teller. Although he works near the city, he lives more than an hour's drive away, because he moved into his wife's family's home. During the weekdays he drops off his three children in the morning at Hilmi and Latipah's, then picks them up after work. During school holidays the children are rarely over during the weekdays. During

this time, they sometimes come by during the weekend instead. Their sixth child is Ain, she is in her 40s; married and has one child. She is a has a regular paying job. Their seventh child is Syaza, she is in her 40s; married and has three children. Syaza works near to Kampong Ayer. All three of Syaza's children go to primary school in Kampong Ayer, and then afternoon religious school nearby. Syaza picks them up when work is done by 5pm. The ninth and youngest child is Zarah, aged late 30s, has been the one arranging for the domestic helper through an agent. Zarah, is married and has three children, sometimes visits after work, and gives money to Hilmi, through a silent respectful handshake and kiss before she leaves.

Hilmi provides support by providing his on-land house, which he has completed paying all the loans for, to his grandchildren to benefit them: "it is my house really, but truthfully my grandchild lives there". Living in Kampong Ayer would benefit Hilmi if Latipah had ADL support so that Hilmi can seek to find work and extra income. Moving to on-land house would mean Hilmi would be at a disadvantage being away from his skills and resources as a water taxi driver. The convenient arrangement it seems is to have a domestic helper living with them. Hilmi living in Kampong Ayer also benefits his children who send their children to school in the village.

Hilmi and Latipah's adult children view Adi's children and Syaza's children visiting, as an opportunity to provide support to their older parents, that "at least they have company" and "at least if their grandchildren come by, they have company at home". It is convenient for the adult children to send their children to primary school and afternoon religious school. This "makes it easy", a moral relief for the adult children, without having to compromise their time and responsibilities to their own families. There are six grandchildren who come during the weekday to attend primary school in Kampong Ayer, and it is known that once they go to secondary school they will be moving to school on-land[21]. Another proviso to the upward support flows is how Hilmi and Latipah's house is beneficial to their children who send their children to school in the area. The adult children find this a form of support which meets visitation requests. However, it is not the ideal, Hilmi has noted it would be better if his adult children had moved back in.

Rosmah recognises that they all need to visit Hilmi and Latipah, because they are now living away from home and it gets quiet and lonely for their parents. It is felt that visiting and spending time with their parents is the cornerstone to being family, "see it's like that, [Hazimi needs to visit] so that he is [part of the] family". Hence, those who rarely visit are encouraged to do so. Rosmah feels guilty: "it makes me sad to see. I have already left and am living elsewhere; we have our own

[21] There is only one secondary school in all of Kampong Ayer.

responsibilities". Latipah and Hilmi do look for their company, "sometimes if we [adult children] don't visit they look for us, they look for their grandchildren".

The adult children feel it is shameful if adult children send money, and do not visit their parents. They find it more important to show they love and care, because they feel this is what parents want and need. To try and repay their parents for raising them, no amount of money will ever be an adequate payment. If they warm their parent's heart, make them happy, it "eases their heart", even if the parent are not rich as a result. The children feel their parents do not ask for money and would not ask for money, they always ask their children to visit them. The adult children feel Hilmi and Latipah have no use for wealth, older parents look for love and care, "their heart feels good to see their children arrive, to see their grandchildren visit. This warms their heart". What adult children find important is to also care for them when they are ill, and to take them out to buy things they need. Hilmi is a medium SES older adult, because of his ownership of an on-land house, current house, and money from working as a water taxi driver. Latipah is in the low SES group because she rarely opens her shop, the income is minimal, and therefore depends on her OAP if she does not receive support from adult children. This shows how spouses do not necessarily share their resources, and how spouses can have different socio-economic status.

Sometimes in visiting the adult children and grandchildren would spend an hour or two, at times it would be the whole day, this amount of time is to fulfill their role to entertain their older parents, "we have to entertain them because they are family, they are our parents, right?". It is more guaranteed that they visit if there is a function, "we all come down to visit if there is a function or what not". Other than functions, their adult children have an opportunistic approach when it comes to visiting. If they have nothing else to do and have spare time, they "might as well" visit their parents. At the same time, it is calculated, the children are aware who spends more time with their parents, and this allows them to operate more freely because some of Hilmi and Latipah's needs are already met by others. By depending on their siblings who send their children to Hilmi and Latipah's house as a form of support, in order to split their time between their own family and husband/wife's family, this results in some weekends when Hilmi and Latipah are alone. In the older parent's eyes, it is unpredictable as to when they will be alone. However, the children adapted to this predicament by arranging for a domestic helper.

Another way they arrange their support is by having a Whatsapp chat group. They "discuss together first" to see who is available to take Latipah to doctor's appointments. They also use it to let each other know if they will be attending functions and if they will be visiting that weekend. This group is also used to remind each other to visit, "convince them they should visit occasionally to see our parents. See our father in the village, even for a short time, not long, one hour to two

hours is enough". If the adult children are too busy, when at least one person can visit they feel at ease, "we always take turns during the weekend". If the adult children are unable to visit because they are busy, they encourage each other to come during family functions at least. This signifies the importance of mobile phones for communication.

Although Hilmi's children portray their efforts in visiting, Hilmi and Latipah both feel their children only visit them when there is a function, and that they are alone most of the time: "it is just us here see. No one else here, if people visit it would be good, but currently they don't". They count visiting as when all the adult children visit. Other moments, when their adult children pick up grandchildren, or take them for doctor's appointment does not count for them. Large harmonious gatherings wherein the adult children stay the day or overnight is the defining picture of 'children visiting'.

The children worry about the health of their parents, "they are getting older, hopefully they will be healthy". They want to make the most of caring for their parents while they are around, yet some adult children visit inconsistently. The children do not remark on the importance and urgency of Latipah's need for care, or how these needs affect both Hilmi and Latipah. This business is kept guarded. Rosmah, was subtle and apprehensive in sharing the details of her mother's illness. However, she was comfortable to share details through a hypothetical situation she conjured up. This reveals a care in exposing her parent's weaknesses, and a level of respect towards them. This level of respect is also extended towards how she describes certain issues with her siblings. Such as how Hazimi, the eighth adult child aged late 30s, rarely visits. Hazimi is married, lives with his wife, and has a good paying job as a uniformed officer. Although Hazimi has no children, Rosmah is understanding that Hazimi and his wife's shift work causes him to be too busy, "we have to be understanding". This is defended by Rosmah as a sound reason.

Children feel linked to their parents into the afterlife because how they treat their parents now will reflect the prayers they receive from their parents when their parents die, "people say the prayers of our parents are most effective". The adult children state that it is the children's duty (*wajib*) to not make their parent's cry or frustrated. *Wajib* means it is a sin if you do not do something. However, Hilmi and Latipah, and other older adults, do not ask for money or support from their children, and prefer a lack of dependency. Hilmi and Latipah do not communicate that their OAP is not enough to pay for things themselves. They do get adult children paying household bills, and stocking up of household necessities, but it is not something they are comfortable or open with, it is implied they would rather have more money to spend on their necessities. Despite Hilmi and Latipah requesting for their children to visit more, justifications are accepted for compromising on the ideal.

Hilmi and Latipah communicate wanting their children to visit, but do not communicate how it would be better if their adult children lived with them. Their children also justify current support arrangements of hiring domestic helper or having visits every so often as adequate because of their own responsibilities to their own families. Adult children cannot pick sides because "attention is with our parents, and attentions is with our in-laws too". It is like having two parents, to "divide their love and care". If this was to be weighed, it would be even, because it is a responsibility. This feeling of responsibility is the same despite gender, caring for the wife's or husband's parents is thought of as equally important. One of Hilmi's sons prioritises his wife's family, because his wife's mother has been ill for some time. The adult children understand each other ("we siblings understand to be understanding") in how being married has its responsibilities. Adult children state that their parents have also "become understanding" to adult children's responsibilities of having in-laws. Yet from Hilmi's perspective they would like to be visited more often.

Even though they feel responsibility to their partners and their in-laws, what they feel towards their parents carries more weight because they took care of their children since birth, "from young to grown up until we reach success until when?". The care from a parent is never-ending. The adult children feel that the responsibility and duty of a child to the adult is to accommodate family, and to give them love and care, because they were born already being their parent's responsibility. "A child's love and care toward older people that's our duty (*wajib*) is it not?". That even though they have their own house they would still feel responsible if their parents are alive. It is not something to be avoided. If people were to shirk these responsibilities it would be considered wrong: "for a Bruneian that responsibility must be there". These suggest adult children abandoning parents would be considered wrong by people and may give a bad reputation, but in observation, actions of adult children in this family are easily excusable or "understood".

Providing domestic helper is an arrangement of support between the children to cope with needs of their older parents, however it is also to maintain a level of independence and compartmentalizing responsibilities between the families. Although it would be cheaper for Hilmi to move into his own on-land house, he would not do so because his grandchildren need it. Spending money on domestic helper is also a more beneficial arrangement than Hilmi and Latipah moving in with one of their adult children, because Hilmi and Latipah are adamant to remain in Kampong Ayer. While Hilmi finds it may be a reason to leave the village being separated from all his children (and siblings) all living on-land, he finds it not a good enough reason to move out Kampong Ayer, as it is a waste to leave or sell the house they own and already live in. He also feels it is a waste to sell it as he has opportunity to make extra money in selling things and being a

water taxi driver when he needs to, “to find *rezeki*”. It also seems their adult children and family would not move back into the Kampong Ayer house, or choose to live nearby. Despite one of his children being married and childless. As well as Syaza who works in Kampong Ayer, and whose children go to school there, yet she still stays on-land.

Hilmi is open to having his children move back in because having families live nearby as it was an ideal and safer time. This is especially necessary with Latipah needing ADL support. Hilmi and Latipah make do with what their adult children can provide. Hilmi is excited and happy to mention that they do stay over occasionally in the weekend. As if always awaiting the adult children; the house is dressed like a day care, with rooms ready for the adult children and their families to stay over, toys, old birthday decorations, and schoolwork hung up. Instead of coresiding, the adult children compromise by visiting during the weekend, either staying for the day, or staying overnight. This is only occasionally when they do have the time. Having free time is the main factor which dictates when they do visit, but there is also the underlying factor that they have other responsibilities with their own family, as well as their in-law’s family. Conclusively, needs of Hilmi and Latipah are compromised and the adult children are not obliged to prioritise the needs of Hilmi and Latipah.

Key themes

Intergenerational support in this family represents a compromise of older adult’s preferences. Older adult’s prefer adult children to co-reside to provide ADL support and to have more frequent gatherings. Since they do not co-reside with adult children, gathering, eating together and spending time with adult children are important ways to cultivate relatedness. These everyday acts are for the family to stay bonded (discussed in section 6.2).

Finding *rezeki* signifies self-initiative and agency. Restrictions to *rezeki* are not favoured. *Rezeki* provided opportunities in getting work and ability to prosper, despite a difficult childhood. Older adult’s needs for agency and *rezeki* is discussed in section 6.2. The duality of generations, where pre-1973 work for yourself (*bekerja sendiri*) generations, and the 2000s youth self-reliance and entrepreneurship is discussed in section 6.4. In context to Kampong Ayer, these are the two generations left behind, where current government provisions were not sufficient to fulfil wealth and lifestyle aspirations.

Adult children feel bonded to their parents because of their parents raising them, but they cannot repay them because there is no obligation to pay. Children do provide important monetary support, but they understand this is not enough, they understand that visiting and spending time

with their parents is necessary, too. Despite these feelings, there is an implicit agreement between adult children to benefit all parties in some way, as opposed to fulfilling obligations to care for parents (discussed in section 6.2). Although needs (bills, monetary support, some visitations) are met, there is uncertainty in hiring domestic helpers; uncertainty in alternative forms of support are discussed in section 6.2.

Availability of domestic helper, and mobile phone technologies benefited the family by providing alternatives to support and communication. How availability of domestic helper and mobile phones benefit families are discussed in chapter 6.

5.3.3 Case Study 3: Hajah Rabiah

Socio-demographic characteristics	
Age	Rabiah is in her mid to late 60s
Health	She is healthy, has energy to do chores, but has high blood pressure and has taken medicine for diabetes
Number of adult children	1 adult child who co-resides with her
Socio-economic status	Low
Intergenerational support-flows	Downward with some reciprocity

Table 5.5 Socio-demographic characteristics of Rabiah

Early life

Rabiah was born and lived in the furthest part of Borneo before moving to Kampong Ayer when she got married to Yahya in her thirties. Growing up she lived with her parents, and her only sibling, her younger sister Aarifa. Her parents and her younger sister have all died. Aarifa had died recently prior to the fieldwork. Rabiah was visibly distressed over this as they had been close and being far away, she could not do much to help her sister. Her mother died in her thirties, while Rabiah was still young attending secondary school. As an adult whilst living in the same home with her father and younger sister, Rabiah became a secondary school teacher, and received her own income. Rabiah's father died in his sixties, when Rabiah was already married and living in Kampong Ayer for ten years. Although half of Rabiah's life has been in Brunei, she remains in contact with her family members living far away. During their marriage, Rabiah and Yahya regularly visited Rabiah's family often. Continued connection was evident through phone calls,

Rabiah's support for her nieces and nephews from a young age, and their continued visits back and forth. Rabiah gave plenty of attention to Aarifa's children in helping raise them.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

Yahya's family was from Kampong Ayer, and they have lived in Kampong Ayer for generations. Once Yahya and Rabiah married they co-resided with Yahya's siblings and his parents. Rabiah noted that the family units were "doing their own thing", but further conversations revealed their support arrangements were much more intertwined. Yahya was the eldest and over time earned up to $2000 BND a month from a private company. Yahya was the eldest of eight siblings, and comparatively his siblings earned much less. Most of Yahya's siblings continued to work as fishermen and did odd jobs to earn money. Yahya became the main provider for household necessities such as food for cooking, clothing, diapers for other family units, and bills. Rabiah remembers that for about a year towards the end of their stay at Yahya's parent's house, Yahya and Rabiah would buy two trolleys worth of goods at a time. This amount of shopping in one trip is considered a large amount in the village, and a sign of wealth. However, even for this large amount of shopping, it was just enough to feed everyone.

Overtime the majority of Yahya's siblings moved out and Yahya's younger brother, his brother's wife and children remained. Rabiah claims that Yahya's youngest brother was doing unlawful things and was not working. Rabiah looks back on this portion of her past with regret and justification as if they had no other choice, saying "I felt sorry for them, AND my husband also felt sorry for them". Helping raise Aarifa's (her sister's) children is looked at more fondly by Rabiah, whereas she perceives helping raising Yahya's sibling's children as something they had no choice over because they both pitied Yahya's sibling's lack of stability. The sense of "*paksa*" ("force") … "what else is there do to?", represents inner tension or tension in relationships, and a lack of choice. Rabiah often uses the word *sabar* (patient) to describe how she dealt providing help to Yahya's siblings, "we can only be patient", "it is important to be patient in the times when people needed our help".

Another form of support was childcare. Before Rabiah had her son, Hisham (who is now in his mid-20s) Rabiah would also provide childcare to her nieces and nephews. Rabiah would tutor them as an additional tuition to their normal school and made sure they completed their homework. After a few years of living with Yahya's parents she had Hisham, and he eventually was also tutored by Rabiah alongside his cousins. Using her experience as a teacher, she was a strict but also helpful tutor to ensure their homework was completed correctly. She would make sure they had a schedule and a solid amount of time after school spent being tutored by her.

Rabiah took care of their daily needs and felt she invested her time and care like they were her own children.

Yahya's passing two years ago, had a significant impact on Rabiah and Hisham's life. Yahya gave a government subsidised on-land house to Hisham, about five years prior to fieldwork. Yahya applied for housing, and they eventually got the terrace house which Hisham is paying for now. The on-land house changed from being officially under Yahya's name to Hisham's name. The guarantor of the loan was Yahya's sibling's (and his sibling's wife, Azura's) son. Since the on-land house is under Hisham's name, Hisham must pay for on-land house loans ($150 BND a month) and the compulsory electric bills. When Yahya was alive, Yahya would pay for the food for the family, and Hisham would pay for the on-land house. This was the arrangement for Hisham's future. Rabiah envisions an ideal scenario of Hisham visiting her on occasion when he finally gets married and settles down in the on-land house. In the ideal situation Hisham would be able to provide support such as transportation, financial, and providing necessities to Rabiah when needed it. The reality is different. After Yahya died, Hisham stopped paying the loan for the on-land house for almost two years. This was unbeknownst to Rabiah, she found out through a phone call from the government informing her that Hisham was in debt, and the overdue bills were up to $3000 BND. The unpaid years being 2015-2016 is evidence that Hisham stopped paying after Yahya had died. Because of this the guarantor, Yahya's sibling and Azura's son (who live in Kampong Ayer), was notified to pay the debt. This caused a rift and tensions between the families. This situation strained the relationship between her and her sister-in-law, Azura. Rabiah and Azura used to be civil. When Yahya was alive, Rabiah, Azura, and Yahya were in a business together selling dried food. Rabiah presented me with a picture of the two of them and told me how they ran their business for extra money using traditional techniques making dried food. This business was something they were known for.

Rabiah's disappointment in her nieces and nephews that have turned their backs on them or have been harsh with them is apparent. Rabiah feels she has spent time caring for those who in the end have not given her the help or support she needs today. Although, Rabiah felt they were on their own when they moved out (10 years ago), they still helped Yahya's siblings. Yahya spending money to buy a new house was seen by Rabiah to support Yahya's siblings. Yahya's parent's house was given to Yahya's youngest sibling, so the sibling had a place to live. The nieces and nephews would also spend time at Yahya and Rabiah's house to be looked after. This still occurs, to a lesser extent, as Hisham's young cousin stays over to have dinner, shower, and leave in the evening or early morning to school.

To pay off the $3000 BND debt, Aarifa (Rabiah's sister) gave Rabiah money, which Rabiah feels guilty for. Eventually Rabiah paid Aarifa back. She feels it is important to pay borrowed money back because it is someone else's money. Rabiah justifies borrowing the money as a "forced" decision because they needed to keep the house for Hisham's future. Rabiah also felt it is a waste to lose the on-land house, since it had already been paid for up till the time Hisham stopped paying. Rabiah cannot leave the Kampong Ayer house because she feels it was a gift from Yahya; it was the only legacy left by him. The house was already been bought in full by Yahya. The downside is that Hisham and Rabiah would now have to pay bills for two houses, and loans for one of them. If she only had herself to worry about, Rabiah states she would not need to help pay for rent and would only need to pay for daily necessities such as food, electricity and water bills for the Kampong Ayer house.

Yahya may have contributing to Hisham paying for the on-land house loan, "if he [Yahya] was alive this would not happen". Evidence which adds to Yahya contributing to Hisham's on-land house loan was how in 2011 (around the time they acquired the on-land house), Yahya decided to apply for "daily assistance welfare" from the government. Four years later they still have not received the welfare, and Yahya dies. Rabiah says they get called from time to time by the welfare department to be interviewed. Rabiah has recently received feedback from the welfare department that her son is still able to work, and consequently they are not entitled to the welfare. According to Rabiah many people in the village received the daily assistance welfare, but she herself has not. Rabiah is left out of the many people who have received welfare, and expectantly waits for the welfare to arrive. Receiving welfare seems to be the norm.

Rabiah looks back at her husband's sickness with regret, she wished he would have listened to Rabiah and Hisham's warnings to stop smoking. Rabiah and Hisham miss Yahya greatly, and Rabiah feels particularly lonely. Rabiah's loneliness is an apparent and troubling element of her life now, she says "I don't go here or there, I have no friends…. it's like this, what state would you expect me to be in?...For me, it is sadness." In the morning, she takes out her laundry to dry consisting only of the clothes she wore the day before. She walks out to her balcony, which like most houses in the village have a permanent laundry line hung across. On this she hangs clothes such as sweatpants, a blouse, sometimes a batik cloth she wraps around her lower body as a skirt, items of clothing for one. By noon the call to prayer is heard across the village, a chorus echoes from other mosques in Kampong Ayer. The village is vibrant during the day, this is especially so during the weekend. In the weekend families gather in the front of their house, sitting on the patio, their doors and windows open and the commotion of activity heard from the outside in. For Rabiah, she stays inside the house and doesn't go out to the mosque when the call to prayer is heard. She prays indoors and once she is finished she sits on the bench gazing and making small

conversation to those who walk by in the village. Like most people in the village, this is their regular manner, to greet people who walk by, asking where they are going. But at times she chooses to speak to no one as she sits outside.

Another impact to Yahya passing away, was the reduction of resources in the household. When Yahya retired at 60 years old in the mid-2000s, he got the universal OAP ($250 BND a month). They couldn't live as comfortably as before, Rabiah said "well what is there to do, we don't work like everyone else, sometimes we are able to have a catch, sometimes no, only when we enough fuel then we will go fishing". Yahya and Rabiah fished together to earn extra money. She did this because there was no one to accompany him. Hisham mentions that not only was there a drop of residents in the community due to people moving to on-land housing provided by the government, but also because of a fire disaster in the early 2000s which destroyed 15 houses. It is interesting to note that when Yahya retired at 60, his siblings were younger than him and were working to support their own families. It seemed Yahya could not rely on his siblings to accompany him fishing. Women fishing in Kampong Ayer is traditionally uncommon, not that girls never experienced joining their fathers or brothers fishing. Other older adult women comment that "there is now" older women accompanying their husbands fishing. Rabiah did not enjoy going fishing with Yahya, but she felt she had no choice.

Yahya and Rabiah fishing would provide for themselves fish to eat, as well as fish to sell. Rabiah was also "selling goods" such as ice-cream and dried food, to earn extra money. The extra income overall was helpful. They only worried about buying vegetables. A month after Yahya dies Rabiah started receiving her OAP[22] ($250 BND), which she sees as a blessing. Receiving OAP is indicative of the extensive welfare provisions unique to Brunei. But currently, by the middle of the month, Rabiah and Hisham feel the struggle to stretch what money and groceries they have. Rabiah is hopeful and wishes for extra money to make their living more comfortable throughout the month. Rabiah wishes to continue a small business because but does not have extra money to fund a business, "you can only trust in finding *rezeki* (sustenance)". *Rezeki* meaning that whatever earned depends on fate, but it is important to be active in working. Due to Hisham's financial instability downward intergenerational support flows continue, this is described next.

[22] Rabiah must live in Brunei for 30 years before being eligible for the OAP, despite already meeting the age requirement (see section 2.2.5).

Children and intergenerational support flows

Hisham is in his mid-twenties, unmarried, and is employed with an unstable income. His employers at a private company reduced his pay from $500 BND to $300 BND prior to fieldwork due to Hisham being unable to turn up to work several times. Hisham was not able to get a doctor's note, consequently his employers decided to deduct his salary. Rabiah does not like where he currently works and finds his employers difficult and inconsiderate. The inconsistency of Hisham's work in the private sector and his unstable income depicts the differences between working for the advantageous public sector and with the private sector. Rabiah does not describe Hisham's employment problems harshly or with negativity against Hisham, but in a manner of care and protection for Hisham, this suggests how protecting Hisham's reputation is an element of their relationship.

Hisham and Rabiah seem to have a doting relationship. Rabiah's love for her son is evident, she glows when Hisham is around and when he speaks highly of her. When Yahya was alive, Hisham and Rabiah were apparently not close, but when Yahya died, they both cultivated a bond. Their bond is fused by the responsibility they feel towards each other. Despite having financial troubles and living in the same village as his uncles and aunts, help for Hisham is not guaranteed. Hisham and Rabiah feel alone. Yet, they state how, ideally, they would like to not depend on anyone. This is despite having depended on Rabiah's sibling and niece for monetary support ($3000 BND on-land house debt). Hisham echoes this sentiment, that other than his mother he can only count on his "auntie Amalina".

Rabiah helped "care" (*mengasuh*) for her niece Amalina throughout her schooling years. Over time, Amalina eventually became a teacher, got married and continued to live with Aarifa (Rabiah's sister) in the house they inherited from Rabiah and Aarifa's father. Amalina has been a significant source of support for Rabiah, whom she can depend on financially and emotionally throughout the years. Rabiah and Hisham frequently use the car to make trips to Amalina who lives many hours away by car. During hardships Rabiah and Hisham rely on the support of Amalina, despite living about 200 kilometres away. It is a tiring few hours' drive to visit Amalina. Their visits usually span a weekend, with staying overnight at Amalina's to be able to have energy to drive back. Despite the distance, Rabiah finds visiting Amalina uplifting. Rabiah calls Amalina, sometimes on the day itself, to let her niece know she is keen to visit. Amalina gifts them with necessities once they arrive. It is usually ingredients for Rabiah to cook, such as vegetables. Rabiah also brings them what she can, what she has in the house. Rabiah usually offers Amalina money for the goods that Amalina buys, but Amalina rejects the money. Instead, Amalina gives Rabiah money usually $100 BND or less. Amalina would not be able to afford give her more than

this, explains Rabiah, because Amalina does not earn much. The closeness Rabiah feels towards Amalina is exemplified, in the frequent visits, and how affectionately she talks about Amalina and the support Amalina has given her. The familial bond Rabiah and Hisham feel towards Amalina is resilient despite the distance between them. Rabiah currently feels her life would have been easier if she lived near Amalina, as she says her family would able to understand her and are able to communicate with her with ease. However, Rabiah worries that she cannot rely on Amalina too much, as Amalina has her own children to care for, and is also ill.

Upon further conversations it is revealed that there are disadvantages to Rabiah and Hisham's interdependent relationship. Rabiah states having a small family means there are fewer people to rely on, "who is going to help me with this and that – having only pension… that's not enough, isn't it?" Hisham is the only person she can appropriately rely on, yet Rabiah does not oblige him to support her. The intergenerational support flows between them are influenced by several motivations and factors noted below.

One of her main concerns, is her dependence on her pension to provide for her and Hisham, which runs dry by the middle of the month. With no other form of monthly income, she is in the lowest category of wealth amongst respondents. On the day Rabiah gets her OAP, Hisham drives her out to town and the fresh market to buy the groceries they would need. Buying groceries would take $100 BND out of the pension. These groceries would need to sustain them for a month. One of the ways they cope with this is by rationing what they eat. Rabiah cooks once a day in the morning, boiled rice, which would be eaten for lunch and dinner, and once her son gets home from work. She uses the rest of her pension money to pay for the electricity and bills of the house. Electricity bills for the house in Kampong Ayer was $100 BND a month. Since they have changed to using the electricity meter in 2012, it is $50 BND a month. Even though there are only two of them in the house, the money they have each month is not enough.

Hisham is disinterested in finding extra income, he feels defeated and uninterested in being a water taxi driver. Beneath their stilted house is a boat docked fitting perfectly between the stilts. The boat used to be Yahya's boat for fishing and water taxi driving. Rabiah and Hisham both view working in the government sector as an ideal job because of the good and consistent salary. Hisham and Rabiah's view of a government job as ideal, yet the competitive nature and lack of government jobs available, reflects the disadvantages of current youth in Brunei. Wherein employment cannot be easily provided by the government, and youth are expected to be self-reliant. Hisham continues to apply for government jobs whilst already being employed in a private company. Years before when Hisham completed O' levels, he applied to job openings without luck. During this time, he went fishing with his father while continuing to look for work. More

recently in the past two years Hisham applied for government jobs around ten times, but only experienced three to five job interviews and written tests. Rabiah was not hopeful that Hisham would get a government job. The lack of hope and inability to get a government job is symbolic of a part of society left behind from middle class wealth and aspirations afforded by the government.

Hisham has financial obligations, which has put a strain on his declined wages. However, Hisham's reduced salary has meant financial trouble for both Rabiah and Hisham. Hisham uses his $300 BND earning to pay for the on-land house ($150 BND), and car loan payments ($200 BND) for the car Yahya had given to him. Rabiah justifies her son paying for the on-land house because "he works, before it was Yahya". This suggests how Rabiah would not oblige or force Hisham to pay for things, she feels helpless that she cannot help him more. However, Rabiah does already help Hisham plenty. Rabiah's OAP is being used for "daily necessities" and "daily food" and she feels does not have enough funds to "take the responsibility" to pay for the on-land house. Rabiah evidently does try to help Hisham in paying for daily necessities and financial support, but she notes she does not have enough money to take all the responsibility.

In the ideal situation, Hisham would be financially secure and achieving the status of a successful adult. With the feelings around age, Rabiah sees Hisham as young because he has not married yet. I asked, "he is young?" Rabiah replies "yes, he hasn't married yet". Ideally being an adult means owning a house, married, and having a good job. Hisham's situation bothers her greatly, "how is he going to – going to get married if he doesn't have enough money? Knowing now, what it is like nowadays". Rabiah is fearful that he will not be able to fulfil his duties as an adult, such as worrying that Hisham will not be financially able to pay for a wedding or get married. Rabiah feels responsible towards Hisham, until he is financially secure. Hisham says he has responsibilities as a working adult, as "the man of the house", and "only child" of Rabiah. Yet it is revealed that Hisham living with Rabiah has enabled him to live without needing to pay for certain bills or daily requirements. Rabiah is ashamed if he cannot move on to the next stage in his life, she does not blame him, but she does what she can to help him.

Rabiah's downward support flows to Hisham are to ensure he becomes a capable and independent adult. Thus, Rabiah is motivated by love, parental responsibility, and achieving the ideal. Rabiah absorbs the financial burdens of Hisham's responsibilities. Hisham states that "I'm responsible for this and that, but if it is not enough mama pays for it too". Hisham also asks for money from Rabiah to pay for his phone bill "sometimes". Other than household items or the bill of the house they both live in, Rabiah has helped him pay for the debt for the house through her bond with her sister Aarifa and niece Amalina. Hisham does provides practical upward flows, such

as transport and emotional support. Rabiah needs transport to buy things, to visit Amalina, and for doctor's appointments. Hisham took it upon himself to oversee the maintenance for the car.

Rabiah's health issues are high blood pressure, cataracts, and diabetes. These health issues had been manageable for her and not the biggest concern for her now. She is mostly concerned with controlling what she eats to ease her blood sugar spikes (she is asked to take medicine but recently stopped). I wonder if she gets unwell, who can she count on? With her niece living far away, and her son struggling with work, he would struggle more so in taking on the responsibility as a caretaker. This would be unfavourable for their financial situation as well. If Rabiah's support and investments in Hisham allow him to achieve the ideal, then Rabiah may have the support needed in the future. If their current situation of downward support flows continues and if Rabiah gets unwell, this family may need to depend on outside help, such as welfare or charity.

Key themes

Mengasuh relationships are not investments to have return of support, but to create bonds, out of *kesayangan* (love) and good will. The fluid motherly bond of *mengasuh* is described as feeding and clothing them. There is a weight to the *mengasuh* support to nieces and nephews, which is emphasised in the effort of the support. The sadness in what the relationship has become shows that *mengasuh* has an impact on the older adult. The ideal outcome would have been a cordial relationship and no conflict, which represents the ideal outcome of gift giving. *Mengasuh* in different relationships shows the fluidity of relationships over time, the power of motherly bonds, and the importance of cultivating relationships, explored in section 6.2.

There are unmet needs, such as inability to buy food necessities, pay household bills, and provide monetary support to adult child with ease. There is unmet needs due to the older adult mostly providing downward support flows and having depleted resources. The parental responsibility to ensure an adult child is able to be a self-sufficient adult is the highest priority. It is unpredictable whether needs will be met in the future, or will increase. Continued downward support flows are discussed in section 6.2

Siblings are an important source of alternative support when there is insufficient support from an adult child, this is explored in section 6.3. The bond between siblings and networks from siblings such as nieces, are nurtured through continued visits, gift giving, contact and phone calls (discussed in section 6.2.4). The frequency of contact, emotional connection, and care is evident in this case study.

5.3.4 Case Study 4: Hajah Wardah and Haji Azwan

Socio-demographic characteristics	
Age	Azwan and Wardah are both in their early 60s
Health	Azwan has poor health and heart problems, Wardah is tired due to getting older
Number of adult children	8
Socio-economic status	Low
Intergenerational support-flows	Both Balanced

Table 5.6 Socio-demographic characteristics of Wardah and Azwan

Early life

Wardah has lived in Kampong Ayer her whole life. The house her parents owned, where she grew up, used to be within walking distance from where she lives now. Her family were fishermen and sold fish for a living for as long as she can remember. Life when she was young required hard work, such as going by boatride to a nearby well they to fetch fresh water. Wardah was the eldest of four children. Her mother passed away when she was 11 years old, and her duties at home intensified because of this. It helped that at the time her neighbours were her cousins, aunts, and uncles, and they helped each other when they needed to. One of the major things Wardah felt she contributed was by helping her family sell fish by accompanying her family wholeselling it on the riverfront and markets in the city. She never followed her father out to sea (not that it was uncommon for young girls back then to experience this) instead as the eldest she was busy with house chores, helped gutting fish, selling fish, and also going to school. Wardah was encouraged to attend school. She attended one of the two secondary schools in BSB, which opened in the early 1950s. During this time, students from Kampong Ayer travelled by boat and it was a further trek once they landed in their dock to get to the nearest school, this meant an early start to the day.

Wardah's three younger siblings currently no longer live in Kampong Ayer. They moved out to houses on land, one of them in a different district. Wardah followed her husband by staying in Kampong Ayer, and her husband perceives her living in Kampong Ayer as being the only one of her siblings "living in Brunei", because of Brunei's history and origin in Kampong Ayer. Her three siblings are Yazid (in the furthest district), Zati (in the central district of Brunei Muara), and Zakiyah (lives further away from Zati and Wardah). They all lived in the same house growing up, but Zati moved in with Wardah when she and her husband got their own house. Zati stays most in

contact with Wardah. Wardah's siblings are generally still in contact with her, and provide her a place to stay if there is a wedding or function they attend together. Wardah has a mobile phone and uses Whatsapp to regularly contact her friends (from a Muslimah group, a group of older Muslim Women who do religious activities together in the village), her family members, and siblings. They update each other using Whatsapp, sending each other pictures, and discuss family functions.

Azwan's family has also lived in the village for generations. Azwan had eight siblings. Most of his siblings have moved on-land, two continued to live in the village (one recently deceased) in separate houses. Azwan followed his family tradition and has been a fisherman all his life and worked in nothing else for more than 50 years. Azwan went fishing with his great-grandfather and grandfather when he was young, starting from 6 years old, and after he finished two years of primary school he started to work as a fisherman full time. Azwan was unable to pick up as much as he wanted from school, and is still unable to read and write. Azwan only knows how to sign his name, although this does not bother him.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

Wardah and Azwan married in the 1970s; Wardah was in her late teens, and Azwan in his early 20s. They were both asked to get married to each other by their parents. A black and white picture of their wedding day hangs on the wall in the living room, amongst pictures of all their children, and their children's wedding pictures. Wardah felt it marriage itself was an important duty and is one of the biggest responsibilities to uphold. Wardah states the importance that "it is fair under *Nafaqah* for working husband to give us [wife] money". *Nafaqah* meaning the Islamic legal term for a husband's financial support to his wife, that a "separation, 'this is my money' 'that's your money' can't happen". Wardah has control over household finances, which is evident in how she manages payment of household bills (see next section: Children and intergenerational support flows).

They had a traditional but grand Kampong Ayer wedding, borrowing their clothes from the royal palace. Not only were their families related, their families were close neighbours in the same village. It was common for cousins and siblings to live in the same village. Wardah claims being married within a close-knit family and with a cousin, made things much simpler than what it is like today "marrying people we don't know". Marrying cousins had the foundation of trust and loyalty with existing family members as well as with the community, since everyone was somehow related. It seemed everyone living in the village was related either through marriage or blood, save for relatively recent new tenants who were not from the village. Marrying cousins was

normal in her time, compared to the current generation where she notes that this is more unacceptable. This value of loyalty and trust is still felt with Wardah, as when she needs help she prioritises asking her neighbours and family members. She feels it is a sign of loyalty to rely to her family members. Signifying the importance of her relationships with people around her, who are to some degree related through being in the same village. Neighbours are the people she prioritises first after her children. Currently in defining neighbours, she encompasses this as her children, nieces, nephews, and distant relatives. Neighbours Wardah relies on particularly are her nieces and nephews from Azwan's side of the family.

She sees this as a moral issue, the right thing to do, rather than relying on those who she views as living too far away. Wardah comments that asking family members for help who live outside of Brunei is inconvenient and troublesome because they would take too long to arrive. Adding to how she values neighbours who can help first and foremost for moments such as if she needs a car ride to the hospital or help to watch over the house. Although Wardah prides on the reliance and helpfulness of her neighbours and distant family, she "relies on effort" … "as long as there is effort" and attendance rather than monetary. In situations such as weddings, if people have any leftover money they may give, but Wardah does not expect anything. She instead values their effort to help around when needed. The situation of a wedding is relevant to her, as her youngest daughter had recently got married.

Wardah lives with Azwan in a house they bought using the money accumulated from fishing. They have been living here for almost 30 years, prior to this they lived in Azwan's parents' house after getting married. Azwan's father earned a large amount of money from fishing, at the most $15,000 BND in one month. This surprised the young adult gatekeepers who had accompanied me in visiting Azwan and Wardah. This suggests that this is an astonishingly large sum, even for those who lived in the village. Others in the village claimed this too large a figure and that it couldn't be true. However, Azwan's father was known to be well-off according to Wardah. An evidence of this is how Azwan's father (using money earned from fishing) paid for both Wardah and Azwan's pilgrimage to Mecca. This requires a large sum of money, and only people who were financially stable had the opportunity to go. For others in the village pilgrimage was something they saved for, such as Yahya (cf. section 5.3.4) and Hilmi (cf. section 5.3.2), or their parents paid for them to go. Being able to go on the pilgrimage more than once is another sign of wealth (cf. section 5.3.6).

When Wardah was living with Azwan's parents, Wardah had a difficult time carrying children, she remembers the multiple miscarriages earlier on in her marriage. She did not receive medical care; this was something she took care of by herself. The families coresiding would cook separately, the men would fish together, but the earnings would be divided evenly. Despite the shared living

space, they operated as separate family units, and Wardah felt that their budget was tighter because they had more children than anybody else. Wardah remembers the pressure to find extra income, “it was difficult, it was only us looking for food, for eight [children]”. She adds that not many people know that feeling, to have a lot of children and the pressure to be financially secure enough to feed the children. Wardah does not know how it feels in the shoes of someone who works full time in an office or company as opposed to what Azwan does by going out to sea. Wardah feels if they had worked in an office job, they may have had an easier time providing for eight children. Wardah mentioned how it was not easy to co-reside with Azwan’s parents, as there were many rats and many people under one roof. They did so until Wardah had her youngest child, only then did they move to a new house. When they moved out, Wardah’s younger sibling Zati lived with her and assisted caring for Wardah’s children.

Wardah’s feels she missed the opportunity to work in a salaried job when she was younger, because she had to take care of her children. When she finished two years of secondary school, it was the norm for teachers during that time to only require primary school education to become teachers. Due to this she often looked at her life with moments of wonder, that she could have become a teacher herself. The youth now are being educated for a longer duration, in contrast to Wardah, who finished the highest level of education attainment that was compulsory and available at the time. Wardah and Azwan consider being a teacher highly respectable job, and she makes justifications of why she was unable to work. Wardah compares herself, “Me? I’m no teacher, this is all I am here, a housewife”. Azwan jokingly adds that, she is a “teacher of cooking”. This affectionate joke presents some perspective of women’s role in the household. Wardah’s continuous modesty about her role as a housewife reveals how she sees herself as not having a job that is seen as a successful by society standards. She excuses herself that her only job was to take care of her children, because in her time there were no domestic helpers around. Wardah reveals how she stayed at home to take care of the children because no one else could do it for her, using words “no choice” and “before it was forced”, stating no one was around to help her.

Wardah compares this to the current ability of women to work, now that domestic helpers are available to help take care of children. This also masks a deeper expectation of women. Wardah states that women were now expected to work because both the husband and the wife must generate more income together for the family to survive in today’s economic climate. This reflects a socio-demographic change which affected this family, there are higher level of education standards, more job opportunities, better income earning for women. Her daughters were encouraged to study, and it is something Wardah is proud of. Wardah advises if people wish to study to keep studying, and if they can’t study, to find work. This is also emphasized by the commentary on how expensive things are now compared to before. Azwan and Wardah

continually comment on how prices and standards of living have changed. Wardah understands how prices have gone up and it is harder for her adult children to provide for their children. Azwan comments that their daughters are the smart ones and were able to get higher education attainment, which marks a shift in public perceptions around women, work, and education. Yet, this downplays Wardah's significant contributions throughout her life, helping her raising her siblings, helping whole-selling fish, and doing house chores. Without these contributions her father and siblings may have had a more difficult time.

Currently, Azwan does not spend much time at home. From mid-day and during the afternoons he will go out by boat or walk to the market. He will come home before sundown, before prayer time. Wardah is more situated at home and within the village, she is never without a bonnet cap, sitting on the large patio of her home giving caution to her son and grandchildren who were fixing the boat or preparing to go out to sea. Her children and her would often gather in the front of the house in the late afternoon awaiting her daughter to arrive to pick up the grandchildren. She would also usually be walking to and from the mosque wearing the top half of her white praying shawl talking to neighbours or helping strangers with directions. Wardah was quite capable and comfortable leaving the home alone to pursue her activities, stating "staying at home would be boring, wouldn't it?". Her activities were such as going for prayer and attending Muslimah group classes (to learn Quran reading) in the Mosque.

The importance of religion is a more recent development. Other older adult women noted how they used to crimp and curl their hair in various fashions, that they did not wear headscarves like younger women of today. They add that younger generations wearing headscarves is a good development, yet in the village, I observed how older adult women wear a bonnet instead or do not cover their hair. When Wardah was younger, women were not normally allowed to be tutored how to read the Quran, "we weren't allowed back then". It was only the older people who knew how to read the Quran, memorised Quranic verses, and knew how to lead a prayer. Girls who were allowed by their parents to be taught had to go to one woman's house, who could teach them. Other than that, children were not given religious education and no religious schools existed compared to now. As time went on, children were sent to private teachers living in nearby villages for convenience of transport before a religious school officially opened in their village. Wardah and other older adult women were thankful of the Muslimah group, and how their children and children generally in Brunei can now attend religious school.

Other activities include how Wardah will accompany Azwan fishing if the weather conditions are good. She accompanies him fishing when she has time and does not need to care for any grandchildren. Azwan used to fish with other men in the village but does not anymore because

everyone has left or has become older. Azwan used to be able to venture far towards Malaysian borders, even when he was alone 10-20 years ago. Azwan used to fish every day of the week except Friday, Friday being the day Muslims congregate to pray in the mosque. In Brunei it is recognised as a non-workday because of this. Wardah states he is too old now to go alone. Wardah, thus has a vital role in acquiring extra money. She only does it so they can find extra money, "it depends on when we need to look for money". It is not usual for women to accompany their husband's fishing, but it is something done out of necessity in later ages (section 5.2.3 Case Study 3). Other women in the villages recognise that it is something older women do now to accompany their husbands, but it was not the norm when they were younger.

Azwan earned more as a younger fisherman, up to $3000 BND a month when fishing with his grandfather and father more than 30 years ago. The population of fish started to dwindle, "fish know how to run away", in the past 10-30 years, and this affected them as they gradually could not get the income they had earlier on. This aligns with how when coresiding with Azwan's parent's, people who fished would earn less than those who worked for a company. The difference is now stark, Azwan would now earn around $200-300 BND a month maximum, depending on how often Azwan would fish. To fish also means to pay the cost of fixing torn nets and buying fuel for the boat, meaning additional costs.

In the beginning of fieldwork, it has been two years and four months since Azwan stopped fishing regularly. He has heart complications due to high blood pressure, which has been a factor in him taking a break from fishing. The opportunity to rest came once Azwan became eligible for the universal OAP; the $250 BND became a financial buffer. Wardah had long warned him he should not be going out to sea because of his health and the distance it requires fishermen to travel nowadays to find fish. Even though both Azwan and Wardah have a pension, and Azwan's health is weakening, they started to fish again a month into the fieldwork. Azwan claims his heart issue was getting better prior to this. They decided to resume because the years of being unable to fish made it difficult for them to have extra income, which they feel they need considering their living situation (explained next in: Children and intergenerational support flows).

Wardah is quite accomplished and determined, as exampled in Quran reading classes, her vital role in fishing with Azwan, and her contributions to her father and siblings. There are subtle gender differences between self-perception, perception of Wardah by Azwan and what occurred privately. Such exterior perceptions hide the extent of Wardah's continuing contributions in later years. Furthermore, being in the Muslimah group provided spiritual and educational benefits and gave those involved a good reputation in the village. Not everyone was accepted, "you have to do

it for the right reasons" … "it's better if no bad people join". Those who did not have good relationships with other older adult women were left out (cf. section 5.2.3).

Children and intergenerational support flows

Azwan and Wardah have eight children who they grew up together in their grandparent's house, until the youngest was born. Downward support flows continued when the adult children got married, were in the process of finding a home, and living in Wardah and Azwan's house. These support flows were balanced as their adult children who lived with them, provided Azwan and Wardah important support flows. Whilst living with Wardah, the adult children paid for phone bills, fixed the house, and gifted Azwan and Wardah with their own mobile phones. Wardah was thankful for this: "nowadays things are modern". Their phone is for their necessity "only to make our lives easier", to contact her children and things beneficial for her. Wardah is adamant that she does not use Whatsapp to spread rumours. Azwan and Wardah also provided co-resident adult children with food, and Wardah cared for her grandchildren. During this time, Wardah and Azwan also slept in the living room to accommodate their adult children and grandchildren and provide extra space. The reasons the children moved out was because their husbands would "take them" and "off they go!", as a normal process of life. Wardah would have welcomed her children continuing to stay.

Currently, intergenerational support flows are balanced but with a complex arrangement, with mainly three of their adult children coresiding (Faez and Fifah) and quasi-coresiding (Aina). Fifah, is their second eldest, a daughter in her late 30s with a young son, who has been living with Wardah and Azwan, on and off, for the past three years. Fifah currently works in a shop and earns the most out those who go to the house regularly. She earns close to $2000 BND dollars a month. Fifah usually stocks up the kitchen for the house for everyone, although this is not something discussed or planned between the family members, it is something Fifah does on her own accord. Fifah and her husband are in the process of getting divorced after eight years of marriage. She relies on the house as a place for her child to be cared for, while she works. Fifah's divorce was only known later, and not at the beginning of the fieldwork.

The third child, Faez in his mid-30s. Wardah states Faez as her "[my] responsibility", and he is protective over her. Faez does not have a full-time job and lives with them in their house. For income, he will go fishing when there are fish in the sea, that is the right time ("that's the way of fisherman"). Faez was only able to finish primary school. Out of embarrassment, Wardah compares that her other children have all finished high school and are successful. Wardah and

Azwan have advised him to get a certification of his primary school education so that he could apply for work with formal certification, he did this but this hasn't helped him in any particular way to find a job. Azwan notes he does not mind their children taking any job as long as it is not immoral or inappropriate. Similar things were said by other older adult parents whose children did not have good jobs.

It was made clear that people, and Faez, were involved with illegal gambling i.e. cock fighting. When walking around the village and observing the houses, three other houses in the same village had the same wired cages. Roosters crowing had become a familiar sound to me as so many of them would be in the village. Others in the village casually mentioned that people are involved in cock fighting but did not want to disclose any other information. It is clear it is not something openly discussed, this made it uncertain how much income was generated from this activity.

Faez has a car and contributes to the food to be cooked in the kitchen. It is stated by others that people who do not have a regular salary can get a car by having the loan under someone else's name. Faez's wife and two children are living at his mother-in-law's house, also in Kampong Ayer; the couple are having marital problems. Sometimes his two children come over to Wardah's house. Wardah also provides downward support by caring for Faez's children when they are around, but also paying his part of the house bills when he cannot, and also by giving him pocket money when he asks. She justifies this by being understanding that he must pay for his car loan, and that his children are his responsibility.

Aina, their 5th child and daughter in her early 30s, is always at the house on Saturday with her children, as her children do not go to school on Saturday. Aina does not work, and her husband works full-time in an office job. They have two boys and two girls. In Wardah's house, Aina has a room because she spends the whole Saturday at the house and goes home at the end of the working day when her husband has finished work. Sometimes they stay till later in the evening and leave by 9pm. Because Aina is not working, Wardah can depend on Aina sometimes to take care of the grandchildren when Azwan and Wardah go fishing during the day.

There is a flexible payment towards necessities, where they cannot depend on their children to pay for bills all the time, which leads to them to saving money, "just in case". Wardah and Azwan ideally expect each person coresiding to make food contributions for the house. This was not monetary, more commonly to bring food to restock the pantry. It is not planned or allocated, but noted in terms of contributions, "people say give and take. You can't just rely on one person". Wardah and Azwan contribute fish, as it is convenient for them, if they have not fished, then Azwan will buy fish in the market. For necessities, such as rice, sugar, powdered milk, vegetables, it is always stocked by co-resident children, majority of the time it is Fifah.

There is imbalance due to a gap of support from Faez who does not provide adequate contributions to the household. This causes a financial strain on others in the household who provide more out of “pity”, and do not get adequate support in return. For example, their daughter Fifah’s contributions to household necessities, made Azwan and Wardah’s pension adequate for their own daily needs and contributions. However, Wardah worries that Fifah cannot keep up with it financially. Due to things being more expensive now, it requires Fifah a lot more money to pay for less. $10BND worth of goods used to fill one boat, said Azwan. Wardah feels guilt that Fifah provides for the house, Wardah notes that Fifah has her child to think about. This motivates Azwan and Wardah to look for extra money when they can. They feel blessed they have a pension to rely on but feel constrained that their income has reduced since Azwan has stopped fishing. They felt if Azwan was able to fish it would make their situation easier, so Fifah does not have to contribute too much.

Wardah notes that it can’t just be herself and Azwan, and she doesn’t expect herself to pay for all the food in the house. However, she feels guilty that her children do pay for the food in the house, even if it is for themselves. They blame themselves for not being able to pay for everything required in the kitchen, they say “our income is less now” or “it’s been two years and four months since we were able to find extra money”. She has the guilt in mind that her children also have other bills to pay, and she thinks of Faez’s car loans, and Fifah paying for her children’s things. Therefore, Wardah does what she can to pay for the bills if the children are not able to. Wardah feels it is her children’s financial responsibility to send the grandchildren to school, and to pay for their daily needs, “that’s their responsibility”. She feels her children’s responsibility to their own children is “most important, money for their children to study”, signifying the importance of parental responsibility.

This differs from situation of others, because some older parents do pay for bills yet their co-residing adult children are financially stable enough and do not require significant support (cf. sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.7: Hajah Delima). It is interesting in contrast to others who require visitation for ADL support, in the case of Latipah (cf. section 5.3.2). Wardah’s needs are different because Wardah has children living with her, and Hilmi does not have coresiding adult children and his wife Latipah requires ADL support (cf. section 5.3.2).

Adult children who frequented or visited the household usually brought food to eat or cook. Early in the morning Wardah has already made rice to be eaten by everyone in the house. Fifah or Aina buy food to eat, such as cooked chicken, and everyone eats this together in the morning. Adult children who rarely visit, would so visit on Sundays; they will bring food, and everyone will eat together on long mats on the floor. Eating daily as a group is important, “the grandchildren would

want to eat too. If we eat, it would be strange if the grandchildren don't eat". Wardah views buying food to be cooked or eaten as meant to be shared: "money isn't for our own selves". To make the food sufficient for everyone in the house, necessities like chicken and fish need to be contributory amongst those who live in and frequent the house. This arrangement has made Wardah and Azwan's OAP enough to spend on their needs. Wardah instructs Azwan to buy fish from the market if there is no fish in the house, or they cook what fish they have caught. Pointing out the meaningfulness of being able to fish and contribute their catch. They do not save money from fishing. Whatever is earned from fishing ($60-70BND a day) would be used for the needs of that day, such as food to be eaten for dinner. Wardah states it is important to eat what they want and finish what they eat, "people say don't fight our *nafsu*". *Nafsu* directly translates to 'lust', but in Wardah's context she means a craving for food. To have leftovers is bad and signifies a waste and buying too much for their need.

Now I state describe the situations for their other adult children. Their eldest, is 40-year-old son Ashraff, has a uniformed personnel pension and lives in government housing. Having worked for 20 years as a uniformed personal in Brunei (see section 2.2.5), Ashraff was able to resign and receive the full pension (80% of final salary). Ashraff has two children, a boy and a girl in their late teens. Out of all the adult children he sees Wardah the least, and rarely visits (not even once a month). Occasionally Wardah will get a phone call from him, and he asks her how she is doing, signifying a source of support if needed, and the importance of continued communication. Wardah calls him as well because she hardly sees him, to ask him how he is. Ashraff likes to reassure her that he will visit with the children, even if he seems to rarely visit in comparison to others.

Wardah and Azwan's fourth child, son Razi, has four children. Wardah and Azwan's sixth child, son Sayid, has two children. Wardah and Azwan's youngest, Farah, is in her mid 20s, and has a six year old child. She moved out, to live with her husband who works in a good salaried job as uniformed personnel. Wardah keeps in touch with Ashraff and Farah the most, through phone calls, Whatsapp and occasional visits. Wardah has visited Farah more often than visiting Ashraff, she travels with her adult children. Azwan does not like to stay over on-land in his adult children's houses, he also discourages Wardah from staying over, "it's better being here so we can fish anytime".

Wardah states as not having any large debt, yet further conversations reveal financial commitments. Wardah must settle $200-300 BND dollars to the door-to-door salesman who sells material to make Malay dresses for women. She decided to make clothes for herself and as a gift to her daughter for an upcoming wedding they are attending. Other financial commitments

include the mobile phone bill, about $5 BND dollars each week, Wardah and Azwan each pay for themselves. Examples of other financial commitments include how in the past few years, they had issues with house. They were able to get government welfare, who did almost $5000 BND worth of repairs. They haven't received any other type of welfare other than this. They did not ask for money or receive help from their children to help them repair their home. Wardah and Azwan's reliance on government welfare is unique to Brunei, and is accepted as an alternative form of support when nothing is available. Wardah and Azwan do not hide that they have received welfare, in fact they readily and proudly state how they were are able to receive government welfare.

There were also crucial downward support flows, helping Faez pay for the house bills and giving him cash here and there, because Wardah is understanding that he has "car loans and all, why would a parent put their child in distress?". Prior to Wardah having an OAP, Azwan would pay for the bills out of sympathy. Now that Wardah has her OAP she pays for bills when the children do not chip in. Wardah has previously paid $50 BND every three months. Wardah gives the money to her children, who goes to pay for the water bills. Wardah feels stressed when the water bill is yet to be paid (sometimes it was overdue), "it's difficult for me. Once I have my pension then I can pay for the water". This suggests she is the person most likely to pay the water bill, even though ideally Wardah and Azwan expect their co-resident children to pay for it. When first asked, Azwan says he requests everybody in the house to pay for the bill, but it is eventually known that Azwan often pays for the bill himself, and upon further conversations, Wardah also contributes on behalf of her children.

Debt is something Wardah is worried about, and she warns her adult children not to go into debt as it is the worst thing which can be passed on to their children if they died. In referencing other people in the village, Wardah explains how shameful it is if her children to borrow money from her to pay debt. Wardah learnt about not getting into debt from her elders, and she tries to teach this to her own children. Wardah discouraged Ashraff (eldest son) to not buy the house nearby in the village, and to save money for his own children's future. Wardah, herself, tries to make do without going into debt. An example is how Azwan and Wardah planned carefully for their children to have traditional weddings. To avoid expenses, traditional weddings meant they cooked themselves and had "help" ("*gotong royong*") from people in the village. When Wardah's adult child got married, her other adult children helped further with providing monetary support for the wedding. In analysing this, avoiding debt was possible by having support from others in the village, and intergenerational support. It is implied that wealth flows, gifts between $30-$50 BND, was given a few times a year by non-resident adult children, during Eid and when they receive bonus wages from employers. Wardah states: "I don't ask! They give!", signifying

importance of no obligation for children to pay her. Yet important day-to-day support flows remained relatively confined to those who co-reside or quasi-reside with Wardah and Azwan.

Wardah does not like to expect and depend on monetary support from her children, she feels guilty because of the children's responsibility for their own children: that they have a lot to pay for, and prices have gone up. They say it is not in their nature to acknowledge that the money they receive from adult children is not a lot. They are thankful either way, because "they have a lot of children. It is hard [to expect money from them]. It feels wrong ("*galat*")." Wardah uses the word "*galat*" meaning a certain feeling of withholding due to respect towards someone. They justify the small amount of money their children give (or don't give) with the notion that their children don't ask them for anything. Azwan states, "we are having it easy too, they [children] don't ask from us". However, this covers up the more involved and intricate living and interdependent support with Fifah, Faez and Aina. Wardah likes to save money by hiding it around the home for "our needs, even if our kids are around" and "sometimes my children ask to borrow… we must give money". Wardah feels no there is no option to providing her mature adult children with money: "I feel *kasihan* (pity), who can complain?" Justifying and keeping hidden the small amount of money received and the support their children receive, not only protects their children but also protects the parents from a sour reputation. Ideally, bills or necessities for the house are split between co-resident children, as stated by Azwan and Wardah. It also signifies the ideal of an exchange of support in those who live with them. Older parents do end up paying for their co-resident adult children but, like Wardah, they state it is out of compassion and pity towards their adult children, and as without a choice. Wardah and Azwan want to be able to provide such support, hence their drive to work for extra income and saving money.

Currently, Wardah is in a different phase as a caretaker. When it comes to caring for grandchildren, this does not disrupt Wardah's personal activites, she prioritises fishing with Azwan and praying in the mosque and her Quran reading classes. Wardah does not miss her Muslimah classes and activities. Wardah values her continuing education at the local mosque. When Wardah is busy at the mosque, Fifah cooks for the house. Wardah can depend on Aina to care of her grandchildren if she isn't at home. Sometimes when Azwan and Wardah are not home, Aina or Fifah will not come over with their children. Wardah does not view taking care of her grandchildren as bothersome, only that she does not have as much energy as she did when she was younger. Some of her grandchildren are also old enough to care for themselves. Wardah rewards the grandchildren when they pass their end of year exams, and the grandchildren are aware of this and ask for it. On such occasions, Wardah gifts her grandchildren $30 BND and buys them a gift such as ladies' robes for prayer. She feels it "warms the children's hearts" and this rewards her in return.

Key themes

Support from adult children differ depending on the capabilities of the adult child. There were adequate upward flows of support in return as the adult children paid for bills of the house, fixed the house, and gifted important things to older parents. Intergenerational support flows change depending on the needs and capabilities of adult children and older adults is discussed in section 6.2

The older adult's needs also change. This case study is an example of older adult women's dominance in the household. Her daughters substitute her in caring for the grandchildren when needed. There is pity towards an adult child that receives more support than gives, which signifies that the situation is far from ideal. Intergenerational downward support flows are indicative of parental responsibility, and their compromise to meet the ideal (discussed in section 6.2). The ideal balance of support flows is shown in how money for food is not meant for one person (discussed in section 6.2). Sharing and consuming food is treated as a communal act. The older adult woman has an important role in sharing food, cooks the staple food (rice) daily, whilst others contribute food. The role of women in cultivating relationships and bonding over food is discussed in section 6.2.

The relationship older adults have with other adult children, and support provided in times of need, signify that older adults do have support to turn to when needed (discussed in section 6.2). A good reputation enabled support from neighbours and wider networks of support, discussed in section 6.2.

5.3.5 Case Study 5: Hajah Wani

Socio-demographic characteristics of Wani

Age	70s
Health	Poor health
Number of adult children	2 adult children
Socio-economic status	Low
Intergenerational support-flows	Upward

Table 5.7 Socio-demographic characteristics of Wani

Early life

Before Wani was married, she already had health issues with a weak heart, and was hospitalised for two years. Wani's situation contrasts with her siblings', whose own houses on-land are said to be spacious. Throughout Wani's life-course she contributed to the raising of her siblings from a young age, and she was the only one of her siblings not to attend school. This was not due to her being a young girl at the time because even her younger sisters attended school in town. Mainly her parents raised Wani to have a unique role at the level of her parental unit. Wani jokingly refers to this as "adult school". She learnt her mother's craft and helped her sell items from the house, do house chores, and take care of her siblings, "when [siblings were] young I would take care of them". Wani's parents entrusted her to take care of the house finances as time went on. Her father would pass her the money he had earned for the day as a water taxi driver, they "give me money to keep for them… he got ill and I really did keep their money for them"… "they didn't want anyone else even when my siblings were around". Her siblings went on to marry and live on-land, whilst Wani took care of her older parents in their later years. During this time, her siblings rarely visited, as her older parents continued to depend on her, "his eating and drinking none of my siblings would do it". Despite Wani's life of providing downward and upward intergenerational support flows, she has been unable to attain reciprocated support or enjoy the same opportunities her siblings had.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

Wani's husband had a permanent job with minimal earnings, and he died many years ago.

Children and intergenerational support flows

They had two children. Wani lives with her married adult daughter, Humaira and Humaira's husband. Humaira has four children, three of them co-reside as well. Humaira's eldest son is married and lives with his in-laws. He has a one-year old child who gets dropped off for Humaria to take care off, while he and his wife work during the day. Humaira doesn't work and takes care of her one-year old grand-child, and Humaira's husband works odd jobs around the village. He relies on charity of his family from wider networks living nearby, who pay him to look at things in the house. His family are happy as long as he doesn't get in trouble. This puts Humaira and her husband both in the low SES group. Humaira has always lived with Wani. Wani's second daughter, Hana, lives on-land and with a relatively good monthly earning. Wani states "she's smart". Hana is married and lives in her own home with her husband, she visits Wani a few days throughout the

week. Wani doesn't visit Hana's home and doesn't remember what it looks like or where it is. Wani and Humaira's living arrangement the past two decades has been erratic, they had to move a number of times due to their house being burnt down in fires. This led to Wani and Humaira currently living with a neighbour. Others in the village justify this as appropriate because they are "distant relatives" and "everyone in this village here is related anyway". Wani and her neighbour share what is technically two houses joined as one, with two entrances and separated electricity meters. Her neighbour is an older adult in a skipped generation household with a grandchild. The bills of the house are separated, as is their cooking for the day, although both older adults use the same kitchen. The section of the house Wani and her family stay is promised as an inheritance for the neighbour's eldest son. Wani has been living here for two years, and the temporary nature of the living arrangement is worrying her. She would like her own home, even if it means moving on-land to government housing. Her willingness to move on-land illustrates the urgency of her living situation. On the other hand, her daughter who lives on-land but does not take Wani to live with her. Hana is a source of monetary support but not for accommodation. Even in crisis, and even between parent and child, multi-generational living is not practiced for old-age support.

Wani is in the low SES group, she relies on her OAP, but managed to save a few hundred dollars kept hidden in her room. Her chronic back pain has made it difficult to do house chores and she relies on others to help her. Humaira and Humaira's second eldest son cook for her. Humaira reminds her to take medication and takes her to doctor's appointments. There is interdependency here, as Wani's connections to her neighbour enabled them a temporary home, and Wani's dependency on her daughter makes living together beneficial. Wani and Humairah had previously temporarily moved into Humairah's in-laws' house within the village, but this was unsuitable and overcrowded, there were other married sibling-in-laws living under the same roof.

Wani's situation shows that despite having contributed to several kin in her network, most of them have not reciprocated when needed. The interdependent relationship between her and her eldest daughter has given her upward support flows. At the same time, Wani relied on wider networks, via her neighbour, as an alternative support. This was only deemed appropriate due to being portrayed to others as being distant relatives. The reality is that their relationship is not appropriate or with close enough a relation to enable a permanent or secure place of residence. Upon close inspection, this arrangement of living with the neighbour is more of an act of charity, probably intended as temporary, and not an ideal situation in terms of reputation. Wani is often referred to in terms of pity ("*kasihan*"). Hence, low SES older adults may acquire upward support flows, but this does not mean the situation is the most appropriate or sufficient.

Key themes

When there is a gap of support due to insufficient support from adult children, alternative support from wider networks are important during a crisis. The wider networks of support can be insecure and not ideal, particularly when it is negotiated through emphasising distant relations. The situations of wider networks of support is explored in section 6.3.

Low SES families can have insufficient intergenerational upward support flows being, due to needs not being met. The lack of sufficient flows from capable adult children show that intergenerational support from adult children is not obliged. The heterogeneity of intergenerational support flows are explored in section 6.2.

In some older adult's youth there was a lack of choice in providing support, and a responsibility to care for parents and siblings. Sibling support in later life did not occur for this case, despite siblings being in financially capable positions. The lack of communication and visits over time contributed to the lack of deep bonds with siblings. How sibling relationships develop overtime is explored in section 6.3.

5.3.6 Case Study 6: Haji Emran

Socio-demographic characteristics of Emran	
Age	Early 100s
Health	Poor health
Number of adult children	Four
Socio-economic status	High
Intergenerational support-flows	Balanced

Table 5.8 Socio-demographic characteristics of Emran

Early life

Emran was born in his grandparent's house (his father's parents) in Kampong Ayer. Emran held back his tears every time he talked of his mother and his time as a young child. He felt misery in how difficult it was to get food: "we suffered back then trying to look for food", "it was so difficult". His father had also left him: Emran shakes his head in disbelief that his father left him while he was still a baby being cradled by his mother. When this happened, his mother's father,

also living in Kampong Ayer, took in Emran, his siblings and his mother. Due to his father leaving them, Emran had to help his mother, and they relied on his mother's parents. As a young child he started selling banana fritters at the front of his house. He would cry whilst selling these because he felt hungry. His mother would make these banana fritters with great effort, as they did not have flour back then, and they would have to be prepared overnight. He started fishing at 13 years old earning 20 to 30 cents a day, working two to three-hour shifts.

Emran had to learn different languages as a fisherman. After fishing he worked in construction, where there was more to be earned. To buy things during that time, meant when buying in the village, owing people money and paying them back on a weekly basis. This was how he managed to build his own house, he credits being able to owe people money, and paying them back.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

When he first got married, he moved to the village he lives in now, where his first wife, Hanie, was from. Emran was first married at 18 and was married for a long time to Hanie. They had nine children, but only four are currently alive, three of them are already receiving a pension. After some time, Emran managed to accumulate some wealth. Things changed when he started to sell fish at the age of 36 and earned thousands of dollars in a month. Prior to this he worked as a labourer. As a fisherman he went around the fishing areas with touched into Malaysia, he claimed there was no area where he has not been. He senses that this determination to work in business, is no longer prevalent in Brunei. This enduring motivation to find a living ("find *rezeki*") is consistent with other older adult respondents and is valuable in a significant way. With this money he was able to fund Hanie's pilgrimage to Mecca eight times. Emran himself has gone on the pilgrimage six times. Emran tended to save his money for this, "once I get a little *rezeki* after one year [of saving] I would use it to go to Mecca", because it was important for him: "it's not a waste of my money, where else is better?". It is noted by other older adults that it used to be more affordable going on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This does not account for changes in standard of living and inflation, therefore, going on a pilgrimage several times is still an achievement.

Emran married three times. After Hanie passed away, Emran married an Indonesian woman about ten years ago. They ended the marriage quickly, as he said she deceived him. Now for the past four years, he is married to a young woman, Annisa, in her 40s. He calls her "Na".
Annisa's brother, her brother's wife and son, have moved into Emran's house in Kampong Ayer. Annisa's nephew regularly helps Emran at the store. Annisa provides daily support to Emran and manages the household necessities. Annisa does the shopping for the household and takes a boat

ride to town and the market. Whatever is left over from Annisa's shopping Emran would use it to buy "whatever I feel like having".

Emran said he lived in his own house for eighty years. He owns a large store, as a front extension to his house. The entrance makes the shop seemingly small, with an open entrance the size of two small doors. Once entered one is amazed at the size and shape of the large square room containing a variety and colourful selection of goods. It was dimly lit by natural light, and almost engulfed by all the things he was selling. The wall to the left has two large windows made of glass vents letting the air and sunlight in, and two rows of cabinets of ingredients, such as dried fish, rice, herbs, instant noodles. On the right side one window lets the air in, and there was a cooking station. Next to the stove there is a tall clear refrigerator selling cold bottled drinks. There is a row of goods on the right side of the shop, set on a cabinet table, on top of which is a rack with dried foods. In between the cabinets and facing the entrance is the cashiers table, a large wooden table which is covered in children's candy. This is placed against the back wall of the room, and behind the cashiers table is a small archway which you can see Emran's living room. A door at the right side is an entrance to his large open spaced living room. His living room space is organised with trinkets and vintage pieces carefully displayed in a tall glass case. Emran sits at the cashier's desk when he can if the shop is open. If he is not at the desk, he is sitting watching the TV in the living room behind the desk or lying down on the couch. Meanwhile his nephew would be managing the cashier.

Children and intergenerational support flows

Emran's four adult children who are currently alive do not live with him. Emran stresses that his children live too far, and that the distance between them is greatly felt. Years ago, his children would gather to eat and drink, but it was not the case anymore. This may have been before Hanie, their mother and Emran's first wife died. His youngest son, Masri, has eight children. Masri rarely comes to visit now that he has moved to a district which requires up to two hours' drive. Emran stresses that it is difficult for Masri to visit him because the distance is too far. Before Masri moved away he would visit Emran most often out of all the adult children. Emran's other three children live in the same district as Emran. Emran says within one week typically two of his adult children would visit to check on him, but it is rarely that they all gather and eat like they used to.

For Emran, the most important gift a child can give to the parent is being responsible for how they are being perceived by others. This is because the child reflects the parent. Emran stating that he cannot ask of anything from his children, the only thing he can ask from his children is to take care of his name is an understatement to intergenerational support Emran received in the past. I

reflect that this is because Emran does not like to show any dependency, “if people want to give me food, no I don’t want it, never”. Emran’s adult children have helped in his businesses, when they were younger, they worked in his shop. Years ago, Emran applied for government loan for his business. To do so, he relied on one of his children to be a guarantor for the loan[23]. Emran was grateful for his children’s help, and grateful that he was able to pay the loan. He was motivated to pay to avoid debt.

Emran claims his only sickness is of old age, but in speaking to Emran I noticed he was not likely to disclose his weaknesses. Emran states his sickness is something that is inevitable due to long life, a long life which is not blessed to many people. Emran says his doctor warned him that if he stops smoking, he will get ill, therefore it is better for his health to continue smoking. Overtime, it became obvious that Emran required more assistance than he states. Annisa worries for his health; in a kind and persuasive voice she reminds him to take medicine and tries to get him to sit inside to rest if he is at the cashier. In recent years Emran’s children have not allowed him to walk alone, as he has been prone to falling. He is upset about these rules but follows them begrudgingly. In times of need, such as if Emran needs to be hospitalised, Emran would contact his adult children and they would come visit him. Masri would visit him the next day since he must travel far. Emran notes that it is without fail that even in such circumstance Masri would visit.

Key themes

The key theme illustrated by this case study is that of maintaining an impression of a lack of dependence (discussed in section 6.2). In actuality, important support flows are received from wider networks, such as the nephew and new in-laws helping with the shop.

Significant intragenerational support from is received from a young wife, such as caring for the older adult’s wellbeing, cooking, and managing household needs. Socio-economic status is a factor in how older adult men can remarry. This older adult was able to prosper despite the hardships in youth, which has enabled him to have independent resources (shop, property, and savings), which made him able to provide for multiple wives. The older adult has negotiated for support through marriage, due a gap in support, as all his adult children have left. This may point to vulnerability of older adults unable to remarry (which is more likely among older women), who live alone, and do not have resources (discussed in section 6.2).

[23] To be a guarantor for the loan, the guarantor needed to have $1500 BND salary.

There is balanced intergenerational support flows because adult children and the older adult maintain independence, with gifts of support and contact over time. The significance of balanced support flows is explored in section 6.2.

5.3.7 Case Study 7: Hajah Delima

Socio-demographic characteristics of Delimal	
Age	60s
Health	Good health
Number of adult children	10
Socio-economic status	Medium
Intergenerational support-flows	Upward

Table 5.9 Socio-demographic characteristics of Delima

Early life

Delima is relatively healthy well into her 60s, and a widow for more than ten years. She is an only child and has lived all her life in Kampong Ayer. Growing up her family had a small store front connected to their home, where her mother sold cakes. Delima's father was wholeselling fish to the market. Delima was familiar with self-employed business growing up, helping her mother make and sell cakes, and her father wholesale fish to the market.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

Delima married her husband Amir when she was 25 years old, they had ten children together. During their marriage years, Delima did catering business at home. Amir worked as a fisherman in the early years of marriage, then worked with in government department. Amir died ten years ago. Now, Delima still runs her catering business, which continues to be successful.

Children and intergenerational support flows

Currently, Delima co-resides with her two unmarried adult daughters, Mia and Diana, who are in their early 20s. Delima's eight children quasi-reside by visiting at least once a week. Delima's daughters, Nina and Nisha, visit Delima more often. Quasi-residing with Delima is her one married

adult daughter Nisha (she is in her mid 20s), and Nisha's husband, who have no children together. Nisha and her husband move from Delima's house a few days a week, to Nisha's in-laws house a few days a week. Delima's fourth youngest, Nina, had recently moved on-land. Nina married her husband and raised her young children, while living with Delima. Now that Nina had moved out after securing a home, Delima's younger daughter Nisha, who had more recently married started to co-reside more often after Nina left, than with Nisha's in-laws. Nina quasi-resides by sending her children and her domestic helper to Delima every weekend. When Nina and her husband finish working on Saturday, they would join their children and stay over at Delima's house. Nina's domestic helper helps with taking care of Delima's grandchildren, assisting with cooking in the household, and for the catering. Delima isn't troubled with taking care of the grandchildren, "they have the domestic helper". Although in my observations, Delima does dote on her grandchildren when they call for her. Delima's grandchildren like to be held and cared for by her.

Delima's house is a modified Kampong Ayer house that is more modern than the neighbouring houses, with sliding doors, and tiled and cemented walls and floors. Delima's house has a kitchen with more than one oven and modern cooking wares for Delima and her co-resident adult daughters' catering business. Mia is doing catering full time but is also planning to have another side business. Diana is due to start postgraduate studies soon at the local university. They adapted to changing palettes of the customers, by adopting to new recipes, cooking techniques, and equipment.

Delima's seven other children are married and live on-land, with good and stable incomes. All seven of her non-resident adult children give Delima approximately one to two hundred dollars a month, to the point Delima herself jokingly says it is "like earning salary". Although Delima does not oblige her adult children to provide monetary support, she says "whatever is left over they would give me"… "follow circumstance". Delima uses the monetary support from her non-residing adult children to help pay for the housing bills, water and electricity.

Mia and Diana contribute to the household, by "follow[ing] the spending in this house". It would be inappropriate for Mia and Diana to contribute cash like their married siblings would because they are unmarried, and their wellbeing is within the responsibility of Delima. The interdependence between Delima and her unmarried adult daughters is daily; Delima is provided with transport, companionship, and material support. Typically, Delima, Mia and Diana would go out to town during lunchtime, "go out look at things" and buy ingredients or stock up the pantry for the house. Mia and Diana and her co-residing married daughter Nisha, would pay for stocking up the pantry, "whatever is needed for the kitchen, I don't need to buy anymore". Delima spends on ingredients for catering, "I only buy [ingredients] for my cakes". Delima's co-residing

unmarried adult children, Nisha, and Nisha's husband, do not explicitly provide monthly monetary support. Mia, Diana, and Nisha implicitly contribute to stocking up the kitchen. Mia and Diana particularly support Delima in the catering business, transport and companionship. Delima's intergenerational support with Mia and Diana is balanced. Delima manages and owns the catering business which she pays the ingredients for, and pays for household utility bills using money given to her by non-resident adult children. Although Delima and her daughters have had entrepreneurship successes, Delima's daughters are or have attended the local university. This suggests that they aspire for graduate level employment and income, rather than solely relying on catering business for daily necessities. The support from Delima's other adult children helps cushion Delima and the co-resident member's spending for daily requirements.

All of Delima's non-resident children continue to visit her every weekend, as an almost second home where they leisurely sail and fish and eat together as a group. Most of her non-resident children and grandchildren stay overnight during the weekend at Delima's house, using mattresses and makeshift beds in the spacious living rooms and bedrooms. The modern Kampong Ayer house would be packed with her adult children and grandchildren from Thursday onwards.

These arrangements of quasi-residing and movements of families on-land to Kampong Ayer showed continued relationships and mitigating distances between family members. Delima does not want to move to on-land housing or reside with her on-land adult children, "for as long as I can stay here". Delima's independence and own home is important to her, "I wouldn't want to move, I don't take or ask". Delima does feel she can rely on her children to help her when she would need it, prolonging separate independent living was more preferable, "all my children have their own homes, they take me on-land whenever I want to".

Delima's case, is an ideal case of intergenerational support flows. Support flowed mostly upwards, with some exchanges occurring. What was most preferable was a level of self-sufficiency, with interdependence, and continued connection to adult children. This is an ideal case of adapting to socio-demographic change of migrating adult children. The adult children who migrated on-land continue to establish a connection to Delima and the Kampong Ayer home, through regular visits and participating in household activities such as fishing and eating. Delima's adult children quasi-resdied would also indirectly contributing to household, by bringing food to share.

Delima has implicit mutually benefiting support with Nina. Nina has the security of leaving her children and domestic helper with Delima. At the same time, Delima has support from the domestic helper helping taking care of the grandchildren and assisting with the catering. Socio-demographic change of increasing labour participation of women in formal work, meant in Nina's

case, adapting by having enough money to hire domestic helper. Delima is not relied on to spend most of her time to take care of her grandchildren, because the domestic helper does the work too.

Delima benefits from the family's economic opportunity overall. Delima's business are also doing well, her catering business receives orders every day. She recalls what is was like growing up in Kampong Ayer, when adult children only moved to house within the water village, not on-land. Delima misses how families lived nearby each other, so they can easily eat together. Yet for Delima, there is continued contact and visits despite migration of families.

Key themes

Increasing labour participation of females in formal work, also shown in daughters of other case studies, are indicative of a wider trend and socio-demographic and economic change. The hiring of domestic helpers to help women was a positive change. Families experienced the hiring of domestic helpers who when visiting indirectly or directly assisted older parents. This case study shows labour participation of women to be a benefit to older adults rather than a hindrance (discussed in chapter 6).

The arrangement of quasi-residence, caring for grandchildren or utilising the Kampong Ayer home, can benefit both parties. This case study illustrates an ideal scenario of mutually benefit and upward support to the older adult. Families can mitigate distances by continued visits and quasi-residing (discussed in 6.2.5). Family members benefit from quasi-residing if no one is too dependent (discussed in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2).

5.3.8 Case Study 8: Hajah Aidah

Socio-demographic characteristics of Aidah	
Age	70s
Health	Poor health
Number of adult children	1 adult child – adopted at a young age.
Socio-economic status	Low
Intergenerational support-flows	Upward

Table 5.10 Socio-demographic characteristics of Aidah

Early life

Aidah is in her 70s and has never been married. Growing up, her father (referred to in this case study as Malik) was a fisherman and collected rocks for construction. Her mother died when she was a few months old and she was raised by father's older sister. Malik remarried to Fatin; it took them a long time to have more children. Eventually, Malik and Fatin had six children.

Fatin, who Aidah does refer to as her mother, sold food from the house. When Fatin, Aidah's younger brother learnt how to cook from Fatin before Aidah did. Aidah grew up with "many mothers". It is implied that Aidah is close to her brother's older sister who raised her, who she nicknames "*Tua*" (meaning "Old", in the Malay context means "Eldest"). Aidah often recalls stories of Tua, and what it was like in the past. Aidah had close relationships with distant relatives in the villages, who she keeps in touch with today.

Aidah used to work as a cook in a school since the mid-1970s, when she was 30 years old. When Aidah was in her mid-30s, she informally adopted Lyanna, who was then a toddler. She is one of Aidah's distant relative's 11 children.

Marriage and relationship with spouse(s)

Aidah remains unmarried and lives with her adopted daughter, Lyanna and Lyanna's husband and their three children. Aidah and Lyanna used to live with Aidah's niece and her niece's family. About 11 years ago, when Lyanna married, Lyanna and her husband "were forced" to move out because it was getting crowded. Aidah "followed" Lyanna and moved to their new house.. Currently Aidah's niece and her niece's family, who they used to live with have already moved to on-land housing.

Children and intergenerational support flows

Lyanna's husband and three children co-reside with Aidah in a rundown and unkempt area of the village, which some villagers choose to avoid. The house is dark, and rubbish is piled up in corners and on the floor. It is large, like most Kampong Ayer homes. The walkways near their front door are fragile and narrow. Aidah wishes her grandchildren would sleep in her room with her, but they choose not to because Aidah's room is rat infested. Lyanna was unable to fix broken parts of the house using glue because it tended to fall apart again. A large silver traditional steamer to make cakes is in the kitchen, where majority of light from enters from. Lyanna and Aidah have a close relationship, however support flows are insufficient. Aidah requires daily attention, such as someone to cook for her, and do house chores. Although Lyanna provides the daily support to meet Aidah's needs, Lyanna is also preoccupied with selling confectionaries. Lyanna learned from Aidah the special ways to make the food, but as Aidah became more physically unable to work, Lyanna took over and has done so for several years now.

Lyanna and Aidah live on low financial means. Comparatively, Aidah's siblings are more financially stable, and have moved on-land. Aidah keeps in touch with them and visits them regularly. Aidah gets invited over to see her relatives regularly. Aidah's middle-aged distant relatives give her $20 BND a month and continued to send her food every month although they have all moved on-land. About four of her distant relatives visit their older mother living near Aidah. Whilst on their way to their older mother, they usually visit Aidah.

The economic climate of Kampong Ayer has changed. Demand for Aidah's foods was not what it was, the type of food Lyanna sold remained traditional and true to Aidah's techniques. It was less in demand than modern foods of today. Being in Kampong Ayer was not the problem: in comparison a widowed older adult woman, Delima and her daughters, who live in Kampong Ayer, have a similar business. But they strategically chose to make more modern types of food, such as donuts, and had the money to invest in ovens and mixers. By contrast, Lyanna relies on selling to her neighbours, who pity her. The confectionaries were talked about openly by others as a special and rare item sold by Aidah. They were rarely associated with Lyanna, despite Lyanna currently being the primary maker and seller. The low earning from the food suggests their poor socio-economic status.

Three months into fieldwork, Aidah had to be admitted to hospital. Lyanna stated that Aidah seemed fine prior to this. It seemed sudden to Lyanna and others in the village. Aidah received help from her siblings who admitted her to an expensive private hospital on-land, which Aidah's sibling's paid for. Lyanna felt disconnected and helpless, as Aidah could not be taken care of in

Kampong Ayer but had to remain on-land to be nursed back to health. Prior to the hospitalisation, Aidah stated that she did not like to be away from Kampong Ayer, because she wanted to be near her grandchildren. She worried about the state of the house and worried who would watch over the grandchildren.

Key themes

An older adult's relationship with siblings are important in providing support when needed. Without such support, situations of low SES could have been particularly vulnerable. Older adults who earlier in life established relationships with kin, and continued that relationship over time through gift giving, contact, and gathering, have possible support in wider networks. Wider networks support are important alternatives to support, which was cultivated over time (discussed further in section 6.2). Being never married and having multiple mother figures may have influenced the network of this case study (sibling support discussed in section 6.3). The day-to-day life issues differs from occasional support. The day-to-day issues include the lack of technology uptake, poor housing conditions, and low income.

Chapter 6 Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a synthesis and interpretation of data and case studies collected from fourteen families in Brunei's Kampong Ayer. The case study analysis is based on repeat interviews with older participants and their family members. These case studies presented the partial life histories of a set of indicative participants to explain the development and meaning of their current living and support arrangements and contrast these with circumstances and preferences that existed when they were younger.

The research questions guiding this study are:
R1: What are the norms and ideals concerning family, kinship and intergenerational support amongst Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer?
R2: What is the extent and nature of intergenerational and intra-generational support flows within kinship networks? How have they changed over time?
R3: How has the family system in relation to intergenerational support of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer adapted to economic development and socio-demographic change?
R4: Which groups of older people emerge as vulnerable to a lack of support and care?

The evidence from the case studies will be reviewed and related to the existing literature (chapter 3). Specifically, by discussing older Brunei people's ongoing support for adult children, the practice of raising children who are not biological offspring, and the true meaning and function of co-residential living arrangements, the extent and nature of intergenerational support flows can be understood. As significant support flows in Kampung Ayer are not only between generations, but also within generations, involving spouses and siblings, the chapter will further draw together the evidence on intragenerational support and relate this to the existing literature. In doing so, those older people who are particularly vulnerable will be identified. I conclude the discussion chapter by summarising my contributions to existing knowledge.

6.2 *Mengasuh*, the raising of children and intergenerational support flows

Parent and child relationships are noted as the closest bond in families globally (Lee, 1986, p. 251; Tham Seong Chee, 1993/4, p. 21; Verbrugge and Chan, 2008, p. 8; Lii Teh, Tey and Ng, 2014, p. 9). Universally, it is expected that a parent should raise a child with unconditional love and care. This

is sometimes cemented in laws which legalise the expectation that a parent is to care for their child and serve the child's best interests (United Nations Human Rights, 1989; Commission of the European Communities, 2006, p. 2; Parkinson, 2011, p. 211; Children's Bureau, 2018, p. 2-3; 2019, p. 7). Despite this global acknowledgement, preferences and characteristics of families are more heterogenic than homogenous as shown in the literature review of family systems and intergenerational support (cf. chapter 3)(Mason, 2001, p. 161; Noack and Buhl, 2004, p. 64; Croll, 2006, p. 473; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1803-1804; Mehta and Thang, 2008, p. 216-217). The findings observed in Kampong Ayer showed there are unique Brunei Malay characteristics in parent and child relationships and the support between them. These characteristics are the ways older adults continue to support adult children past pension ages, and how return of support is not obligated. These are thematic within the studies indicated in the literature review of Malay societies in SEA (cf. chapter3)(Banks, 1972, p. 1255; Li, 1989, p. 72; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1790). These characteristics are explored in broader themes which are, (i) older adults' continued support for adult children and how this differs by SES, (ii) support being affected by availability of support rather than number of children, (iii) in co-residence and living arrangements and, (iv) inter and intra-generational support relationships occurring throughout the life-course but changing over time.

6.2.1 Preferences of intergenerational support amongst Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer

This section of the discussion chapter focuses on how SES of families affects the nature and extent of support flows, how older adults continue to support adult children, and the impact this has on older adult's wellbeing. Older parents continuing to provide support to their adult children is an important facet to intergenerational support flows, because this displays an asymmetry to what has been generally described as the traditional familial support or filial responsibility to older parents of Asian families (cf. chapter 2 section 2.2.5)(Social Affairs Services Unit Brunei Darussalam, 1994, p. 2; Lii Teh, Tey and Ng, 2014, p. 211; Kon, 2019). Existing literature (cf. chapter 3) and findings (cf. chapter 5) show that for Malay families, there is a preference for balanced support flows and avoidance of visible dependence on adult children as this undermines reputation (cf. section 3.2.3). For this section I describe various situations of preferred or compensated intergenerational support flows, and contrast this with the vulnerabilities of continued downward support flows to adult children.

The Kampong Ayer findings show how achieving the preferred independence and balanced support flows was influenced by the SES of families throughout life-course (cf. chapter 5). It was found that the more resources the members of an older adult's kinship network had; the more upward support flows were observed. An example is Delima, where her non-resident adult

children give approximately $100-200 BND a month, “like earning salary” (cf. section 5.2.2). Another example is Hilmi and Latipah whose adult children pay for a live-in domestic helper, and Maziah’s co-resident adult children who take turns to pay for the house bills (cf. sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2). This was not straightforward in Kampong Ayer, as variations of support flows worked in tandem with the resources and situations of the older adult, and resources and capabilities of other adult children. This is reiterated in previous studies which showed that complex arrangements differed upon situation of family networks and living arrangements (cf. section 3.2)(Beard and Kunharibowo, 2001, p. 31-32; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008).

Much like previous studies, there is a preference for older people to maintain independent source of income and to contribute to the household economy (cf. section 3.2.3)(Beard and Kunharibowo, 2001, p. 29). The relationship with adult children, coupled with their financial capability and needs, allowed for a preferred balance of support flows. This is further reflected in Kampong Ayer where medium and high SES older adults had intergenerational support flows that were more balanced or downward (cf. section 5.1). The situations of respondent’s balanced support flows were similar to other studies where older parents were still working or attaining substantial income, and there were dependent young children or adult children, at the same time some adult children in the network were also contributing (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1795).

Older adults who had their own resources of wealth, reputation, and health had more agency and opportunity for negotiating support. This is reflected, for example, in the case of Emran’s recent remarriage, Wardah’s help from neighbours (*gotong royong*) and wider networks, and the caring for grandchildren, co-residence, and practical support throughout the case studies (cf. chapter 5). The importance of having independent income resonates with existing literature on the importance of not being too dependent on others (cf. section 3.2.3). The findings showed that older adults living in Kampong Ayer had opportunity to find *rezeki* through selling goods, fishing, and water taxi driving (cf. chapter 5). In the past older adults were able to make more money with their ventures for their own spending, as shown with Azwan’s father and grandfather (cf. section 5.3.4), and Emran (cf. section 5.3.6). Older adults in Kampong Ayer had more economic opportunities within the community because of the high income earned from fishing and selling goods (cf. chapter 5). Currently, older adults are dependent on their pension to pay for higher costs of living and continue supporting adult children who stay with them and who cannot pay for themselves (cf. chapter 5). Those who had restrictions on seeking *rezeki* were not satisfied with their situation (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.3, and 5.3.4).

The findings showed that older adults preferred not to be too reliant on others (cf. chapter 5). This resonates with literature on the importance of not being overly dependent (cf. section 3.2.3)(Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008). In Kampong Ayer, older adults considered debt to be shameful, children must not inherit the debt of their parents, loans must be paid back, and lessons on avoiding debt are passed down the generations (cf. chapter 5). Some older adults had no choice but to be reliant on others for support (cf. section 5.3.2, 5.3.5, and 5.3.8). This was generally due to older adults' lack of resources and increased needs due to ill health (section 5.3.2, 5.3.5, and 5.3.8).

Support from adult children was unpredictable. For older adults with increased needs, it was appropriate to receive support from adult children because older adults raised (*mengasuh*) them (cf. chapter 5). Raising children into adulthood is a process of *kesayangan* (love) resulting in a bond made over time. This resonates with Li's (1989) work on Malay kinship and unpayable debt through gift giving. Thus, older adult's actions and circumstances earlier in their life span, such as in raising and caring for children, affect their later life conditions, such as who they can appropriately receive support from. This illustrates the value of taking a life course perspective in gerontology, whereby later life circumstances are influenced by an individual's history of factors (Silverstein *et al.*, 2002; Evandrou and Glaser, 2004; Bengtson, Glen H. Elder and Putney, 2005). However, the unpredictable nature of adult children's support puts older adults in a precarious and potentially vulnerable position.

Concurrently, low SES older adults had more upward support flows, either due to poor health with dependency on ADL support, economic or physical inactivity and limited ability to provide practical or material support. Examples of this are the case studies of Wani, Latipah, and Aidah (cf. section 5.3.2, 5.3.5, and 5.3.8). The findings showed that the majority of low SES older adults had adult children who either provided practical or material support in upward or balanced support flows (cf. chapter 5). The extent of this was varied, where some older adults had inadequate, insecure or limited support, for example Wani's insecure living arrangement (cf. section 5.3.5), Wardah and Azwan's weakening health and financially dependent adult children (cf. section 5.3.4), and Aidah's poor health and financially unstable co-resident adult child (cf. section 5.3.8). Some acquired intragenerational support through wider networks of kin, such as neighbours or older adult siblings (cf. sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.8), yet maintained a separation and independence from these wider networks. This is further explored in the next section of this chapter (cf. section 6.3).

Thus far, my findings contribute to existing literature on the preference for and nature of balanced support flows, lack of dependency, and importance of agency and independent income

for Brunei Malay older adults. Next, I discuss in what ways older parents continue to provide support to their adult children.

6.2.2 Older parents continue to provide support to their adult children

Older adults are motivated and obliged to continue to provide support to their adult children due to parental responsibility (cf. chapter 5). This reflects Li's (1989) work which documents parents' duty to ensure their children obtain independence and self-sufficiency (cf. section 3.2.3). For example, Wardah states: "he is my responsibility" (cf. section 5.3.4). Parents' objective is for their adult children to achieve financial independence and adult children to own their own home (cf. section 5.3.3). The findings echo literature stating how older parents continue to provide support to mature older children (cf. section 3.2.2). In my findings, even after adult children no longer co-reside, older parents often continue to support their adult children through monetary support, caring for grandchildren or benefits in quasi-residing in older adult's home (cf. chapter 5). In this section I explain the different situations of older adults continuing to provide support to their adult children and how this relates to the existing literature.

My findings showed that older adults' feeling *kasihan* (pity) towards adult children emphasised how older adults had been giving more than they received or received less than what they would have liked (cf. section 5.3). These notions of *kasihan* correspond to Tania Li's (1989) study stressing the importance of Malay kinship in understanding household relations and transfers (cf. section 3.2.3). For example, Wardah felt pity towards her adult children in a helpless way and lacked choice in providing downward support to her adult child (cf. section 5.3.4). The lack of choice is similar to Rabiah's situation with her financially unstable adult son (cf. section 5.3.3). Other examples include not expecting support and practical support as an important way of indirectly providing downward support flows. For instance, Maziah pitied her adult children's responsibilities and as a result cooked and cared for the grandchildren and did not expect her adult children to visit (cf. section 5.3.4). In the literature, practical support and not expecting to get monetary support are also seen as an important contribution to relieve the burdens of adult children (cf. section 3.2.3).

Let me evaluate how co-residence was a way older parents in Kampong Ayer continued to provide support to their adult children. I compare the experience of past generations to current and analyse the similarities and differences. I conclude this section with how socio-demographic and economic changes have affected families, and why some older adults in Kampong Ayer are currently at risk of insufficient support. Securing independent living after marriage occurred in the following ways, as reiterated in the literature review (cf. sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). The findings

add to literature of how Brunei Malay newlyweds would eventually establish their own independent household after several years of marriage and attaining financial stability or subsidised public housing (cf. section 3.3.3)(Kimball, 1975, p. 76; Hassan, 2017, p. 19). This was an expectation across all respondents in Kampong Ayer, as well as detailed in past experiences of the older adults, “once married, eat separately” (cf. section 5.3.6). For example, the newlywed adult children of Emran, Hilmi, and Wardah, had lived with them for a period of time (cf. chapter 5). These adult children bore their own children whilst coresiding, then eventually moved out after securing a house of their own. Wardah, Rabiah, Haryati and Wani had done the same in their own early years of marriage, except instead of moving to house on-land they had moved to a nearby house within the water villages (cf. chapter 5). This period of transition is an important distinction because for Malays early years of marriage and having children is a significant life-course event which traditionally occurred in a living arrangement of intergenerational co-residence.

This period of newlyweds living with their parents can be indefinitely extended due to the younger generation being financially unable to move into their own home. My results show how socio-economic inequality has intensified over time, and this is a factor in living arrangements. Examples of newlyweds living with their older parents for an indefinite extended period were Ahmad and Farhana’s two sons and their families who lived with them, and which was also the case with Maziah and Muhammad’s adult children (cf. sections 5.3.1, and 5.2.1: Ahmad stated “once they get a home they will all move out! They are waiting”). This reflected the common expectation and sentiment of older parents in Kampong Ayer, albeit in different scenarios. For Rabiah it was waiting for her son to be financially able to move out of the house (cf. section 5.3.3). This living with older parents for an extended period after marrying also occurred in the past , as shown with Rabiah’s brother-in-law who needed the support of his older parents, and Yahya, via co-residing with them (cf. section 5.3.3).

There are significant socio-economic differences and similarities in the period of transition of newlyweds across the generations. The differences between generations are fewer within poorer families. Families who did not adapt to economic changes over time remained poor and have newlywed adult children living with older adult parents for a longer period of time. The past generation for example is exemplified by Maziah and Muhammad (cf. section 5.3.1), who would have left Kampong Ayer if they had been able to afford subsidized government housing. In comparison, in wealthier families older parents had more periods of time without any adult children co-residing (cf. section 5.2.2). Adult children who continued to live with older parents in wealthier families usually did so for other reasons, rather than being in a period of transition after marriage. This is seen with the following older adults, Khairul, Ibrahim, Ali, Nazmi and Soraya (cf. sections 5.2.2). The adult children co-resided because they were unwed, in higher education, or

providing support to their ill older parent. For Khairul's case, his daughter living with him mutually benefited himself, his wife, and his unmarried daughter (cf. section 5.2.2). Overall, among better-off families, children migrate to on-land accommodation after marriage. Literature showed that decline in home ownership in Brunei is attributed to Bruneians in their 40s who have found it difficult to pay monthly instalments in public housing loans due paying for family's needs (Hassan, 2017, p. 25). This supports the idea of socio-economic differences in co-residence, and how intergenerational co-residence can occur due to the vulnerability of the adult children, as found in East Java (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004b, p. 523).

This analysis of cases shows how socio-economic status (SES) is a factor in living arrangements as seen with the differences between married adult children in poorer families, some of whom have remained with older parents, and married adult children from wealthier families, who have all migrated on-land (cf. chapter 5). Furthermore, living with adult children who were financially unstable and required older parent's support was more observed in low SES families than high SES families. High SES older parents were able to support their co-residing adult children's continuing education (cf. section 5.2.2). Globally, it is shown that living with adult children who had a lack of resources of at a disadvantage would affect older adult's health negatively (Evandrou and Glaser, 2004, p. 787). Possible vulnerabilities are how low SES families are less able to compensate, more likely to co-reside, and with older adults having increased needs due to diminishing resources or ill health. Instead of co-residing with adult children who were in higher education, poorer families co-resided with married adult children who were unable to move into their own home as was the ideal (cf. section 5.3.).

Out of the fourteen households in the three villages observed in Kampong Ayer, three households experienced adult children waiting for a house after marrying and staying longer than expected; this was among four lower SES families (Rabiah, Maziah and Muhammad, Wardah and Azwan, Azmy), and two medium SES families (Ahmad and Farhana, and Delima) (cf. chapter 5). Three households involved families that had adult children who stay with them while schooling; these involved medium and high SES older adults (Ibrahim, Ali, and Delima) (cf. section 5.2.2). The financial status of families points out that there is a relation between economic status, education, and the time married adult children stay. This reflects a polarising socio-economic situation in Kampong Ayer. The three households that had children in higher education; their other adult children were financially stable or successful on-land, and the older adults themselves had more income than other families in the village (cf. section 5.2.2). The medium status family with over-staying adult children had financially successful children who moved on-land who gave financial and other support to their older parent (cf. section 5.2.2). Whereas the lower SES families, with adult children over-staying had more adult children depending on them than support given to

them (cf. sections 5.3.1, 5.3.3, and 5.3.4). It can be said that some poorer families were at a disadvantage.

A similarity between wealthier and poorer families in co-residence, was that adult children only chose to live with their older parents if this benefited them in some way. This was also the case if the older parent was ill, adult children would not move into their parent's home, instead there were arrangements of hiring domestic help, or temporary co-residence at adult children's house on-land when older adult were in critical condition or required hospitalisation (chapter 5). For Hilmi, adult children's own interests and needs are given priority over those of older parents (all interests equal) (cf. section 5.3.2). The adult children acknowledge that this was a way to provide emotional support to their older parents, to visit them regularly, as a mutually benefiting situation (cf. section 5.3.2). For Khairul, he rarely sees his other adult children, they would only congregate at if there was formality (cf. section 5.2.2). Overall, regardless of SES, it was a significant running theme that adult children were not obliged to live with their older parents and only did so if it benefited them in some way. This conveys the vulnerability of ill older adults, and how older adults cannot expect to rely on their adult children to live with them, even in times of need.

Older parents providing support through co-residence is not a new occurrence as it has been the way with Kampong Ayer families in past generations. The differences between the generations are the socio-demographic and economic changes. These changes have resulted in currently putting older adults in Kampong Ayer increasingly at risk of lacking sufficient support. Some older adults are more at risk than of previous generations due to lack of financial gain from doing own businesses traditionally, lack of technology update in Kampong Ayer businesses, lack of community ecosystem of business, and increasing migration looking outward to land where more there are more employment opportunities (cf. chapter 5). It was the circumstance of a changing economy, which was no longer conducive for private business and the fishermen of Kampong Ayer, which had once served to provide for the older adults who could continue to fish late in their lives (cf. chapter 5). This means that there are poorer families who are left behind by development, and whose older adults have even fewer resources of support (cf. section 5.3.3, 5.3.4, and 5.3.8).

In conclusion, this section aimed to relate the findings to existing studies and add in what ways intergenerational support and the well-being of older adults are undermined or improved their family's capacity to adapt to socio-demographic and economic changes. This section of the discussion chapter showed how in parents trying to avoid being burdensome, by striving to be as independent as possible, and additionally with the voluntary, conditional and non-obligatory nature of support in Malay families, the discussion agrees with the literature review that children

are an asset but not a reliable investment (Li, 1989, p. 41; Knodel, Ofstedal and Hermalin, 2003, p. 43). Continued downward support flows to adult children was observed, and this put low SES families and older adults at a disadvantage.

6.2.3 **Does multi-generational living benefit older adults or adult children?**

Literature states that co-residence is assumed to be positive for older adults because there is a pooling of resources and a continuous flow of support (cf. section 3.2.1)(Lii Teh, Tey and Ng, 2014, p. 6; Mohamad *et al.*, 2015, p. 517). The findings showed that this did not occur. Spending and saving occurred interdependently between a married couple and with some intergenerational support flows occurring independently. As an older adult man, Azmy said "she saved money until ten thousand dollars probably, I never used it" (cf. section 5.2.2). Women were more in charge of spending for the kitchen and other household necessities (cf. chapter 5). This is aligned with ethnographic work on Malay women having exclusivity to their earnings and their dominant role in the household (cf. section 3.3.3)(Djamour, 1959, p. 42). During the fieldwork, earnings were referred to as coupled, "both our old age pension that's all we have, we don't have any other income", yet spending was done implicitly between couples without much corroboration (chapter 5). Larger decisions on spending would be made together such as buying a house or weddings (cf. sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4).

Shared costs were not obligated and were on voluntary basis. This concurs with Tania Li's (1989) work on the importance of a lack of obligation and voluntary gift giving amongst Singaporean Malays (cf. section 3.2.3). Amongst Kampong Ayer respondents, older parents sometimes asked for their children's share to pay bills, but it would be common for an older parent to pay more when their children was unable to provide (cf. section 5.3.4), or for older adults to not even ask when they knew their children could not pay, Azmy stated "if [son-in-law] has monthly income, if not then they can't [pay for bills]" (cf. section 5.2.2). Thus, there is monetary support to adult children who were unable to pay for utility bills (cf. sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4). Sometimes other economically stable siblings helped provide for the utility bills or for shared kitchen essentials, whether they co-resided or not, but it was not expected for the economically stable sibling to provide for others (cf. section 5.3.4). Overall, the case studies showed that the nature of this support was based on loose voluntary basis with no set guidelines. Monetary resources are not pooled together, which means families operate on their own terms, this exemplifies that multi-generational living is not entirely for the benefit of the older adult as sometimes assumed (cf. section 3.2.1).

The findings are consistent with literature which acknowledges the importance of support from non-coresiding adult children (cf. section 3.2.1). Although some older adults did have opportunities to work (discussed previously in section 6.2.1), some older adults were vulnerable because of ill health, limited resources or time (cf. sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3, and 5.3.4). The findings showed that older adults had support from non-residing adult children, such as Wardah's daughter doing the cooking or caring for the grandchildren, while Wardah and Azwan went fishing (cf. sections 5.3.4). Hilmi's adult children paid for a domestic helper, which allowed Hilmi to leave home to work as a water taxi driver (cf. sections 5.3.2). These examples show that non-residing adult children provided important support, and that support was not restricted to multi-generational living.

Older adults who were in poor health and required ADL support, were also a potentially vulnerable group. For some, support for ADL was met from a diverse set of members in the kin network (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.5, and 5.3.8). Varied situations occurred such as temporary co-residence with adult children or older adult siblings, reliance on adult children living in closer proximity, divided tasks of support between adult children, and domestic help (chapter 5). This was seen with Aidah, Wani, Latipah, and Emran (cf. section 5.2). For some, majority of the care was mostly relied on an adult daughter who co-resided (cf. sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.8). Care for older adults needing ADL support was not guaranteed even if there were financially capable adult children or many adult children in their kin networks (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.5 and 5.3.6). Older adults did not necessarily receive the best ADL support when they had less resources or number of adult children who they could rely on (cf. sections 5.3.5).

Once an adult child moves out it was unlikely that they will move back in, unless the adult child was going through divorce or spousal dispute, such as with Wardah (cf. section 5.3.4) or with Emran's mother (cf. section 5.3.6). Studies have also shown that widowhood was a reason for widowed women to return to her parent's household (Fraser Jr., 1960, p. 211). For the widowed older adult women in the study, they were widowed in older ages when their parents were not alive and they themselves were at an age of grandparenthood (cf. chapter 5). This was also found in other studies, namely that older parents are less likely to co-reside after age 70 (Johnson and DaVanzo, 1998, p. 101). Returns to the nest less likely for Malay families than Chinese and Indian (ibid, p. 112).

Of course, co-residence is not the only way adult children can support ill older parents. The findings showed that adult children provided support through ensuring their parents attended doctor's appointments, giving them transport to the doctors or to other places they require; for the older adult women, the adult children took them out to buy groceries and household needs

(cf. chapter 5). This showed how some adult children were only able to provide limited support, this was because it was the best they could provide in light of their other responsibilities (cf. section 5.3.2). More support was needed, as shown when there was no domestic helper to help with ADL, this became a difficult time for Hilmi and Latipah, conditions improved when a domestic helper was available (cf. section 5.3.2). Adult children benefited from this because they are not required to move back into their old parent's home, and the older parent does not continue to live in the adult child's home (cf. section 5.3.2). This also reflects the way adult children continued to receive support from older adults in a way that, to an extent, mutually benefited both. This is evocative of Tania Li's (1989) investigation of consensus and mutual benefit in Malay kinship (cf. section 3.2.3). This also showed the importance of living arrangements operating on a networked basis, where those not residing did play an important role of support.

Aside from co-residing or living separately, I encountered varying degrees of co-residence which includes quasi-residence. Co-residence cannot simply be defined as only those who sleep and live in the older adult's house. What stands out with Malay families is that the house encompasses a network of family members, and support flows to and from each other irrespective of where they officially reside. Neighbours were sometimes family members or friends who provided support (cf. section 5.3.1 and 5.3.4). Co-residence includes adult children or other family members who frequently visit and are consistently part of the household routine although they may officially reside elsewhere. Being part of the household routine means being part of the support flows within the regular routine of the house, meaning caring for grandchildren, cooking and household chores. Examples are grandchildren who get sent to school in Kampong Ayer for the day or week, everyone gathers, cooks and eats dinner or lunch together in the older adult's home (cf. chapter 5). Another example is Maziah's adult son, who comes by at lunchtime to eat the food she cooked earlier, and Maziah's grandchildren who live with her during the weekdays (cf. section 5.3.1). Family members such as this, who frequently visit the household and are consistently part of the household routine are quasi-residing. Quasi-residing is emblematic of Malay kinship housing and process of kinship making (Carsten, 1997). Cultivating relatedness through quasi-residing or co-residing and sharing of food is discussed further in the next section (cf. section 6.2.4).

In contrast to being part of the household routine, those who provide monetary support and visit from time to time are not co-residing and not quasi-residing. This definition is comprised of the ways respondents referred some adult children as always visiting, or that it was like they lived there (cf. chapter 5). Whereas for other adult children, their visitations were rare, and this was not included as quasi-residing. This shows the importance of investigating how an older adult or adult child views living arrangements (cf. chapter 3 section 3.2.1). This takes into account inter and intra-household support flows, and quasi-residence, meaning those who participated in

household activities and support flows, though may not co-reside permanently (Knodel and Saengtienchai, 1999). The findings showed that the concept of co-residence needed to be expanded to illustrate the ways families adapt to provide and receive intergenerational support. Forms of living arrangement that benefited the older adult have varying degrees: co-residence, quasi-residence, visitations, and support from distance.

Thus far, I have shown that multi-generational living in Kampong Ayer is not simply multiple generations living in one household, but multiple generations living amongst each other through commensality, seeking ideally to mutually benefit each other's lives. This finding supports wider literature on Thailand and Africa which showed that co-residence was not aligned with intergenerational support or even of sharing of food and other resources (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.1)(Knodel and Saengtienchai, 1998; Randall, Coast and Leone, 2011). In an ideal scenario multi-generational living benefits both older adults and adult children (cf. chapter 5). In the previous section (6.2.2), I explored the ways continued co-residence benefited adult children. For this section (6.2.3) I discussed how support flows occurred beyond household boundaries, and the importance of cultural context in exploring the nature of inter-household support flows. The findings contribute to the importance of cultural context in measuring intergenerational support flows (cf. section 3.4). Multi-generational living and support flows not only goes beyond household boundaries, but great distances were also mitigated. Next, I discuss how Brunei Malay families in Kampong Ayer mitigate migration to generate intergenerational support and relationships.

In chapter 3 section 3.4.3 migration and change in living arrangements was examined as an effect of socio-demographic and economic change. Migration is also stated as a significant change which decreased the population and economic prosperity of Kampong Ayer in the 1980-90s (cf. section 2.3). The findings showed that migration for work, financial gain and practical reasons occurred throughout the generations and was not something new for more recent generations. Older adults and older adult's parents moved to Brunei's Kampong Ayer to benefit from work opportunities (cf. sections 5.2.2, 5.3.3, and 5.3.6). This shows that migration for financial gain for the older adults and in previous generations occurred normally. This resonates with the literature review in section 3.4.3, how Malay societies in the region in more recent times and from decades ago had practiced migration for financial gain (Fraser Jr., 1960, p. 128; Jones, 1994, p. 113; Carsten, 1997, p. 436; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1784). What is unique about Kampong Ayer is that massive migrations occurred out of post-1973 oil boom which provided government revenue for welfare provisions. If migration occurred as a way for financial gain, would this gain be a benefit to older adults despite the concern of increasing distances between adult children and older adults? In chapter 3 section 3.4.3, literature showed that distance is

mitigated by mitigating distances through visits, communication and financial support to older adults (Ofstedal, Knodel and Chayovan, 1999, p. 5; Keasberry, 2001, p. 660; Kee, 2014; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2015, p. 8). The findings showed the importance of mobile phones to communicate and mitigate distances between adult children on-land and older adults in Kampong Ayer (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.3.4, and 5.3.6). Distances were also mitigated by transportation; cars made visiting convenient, as shown in the dropping off of grandchildren to attend school in Kampong Ayer (cf. section 5.3.2 and 5.3.4), the ease of adult children visiting when called for (section 5.3.6), and the comparison of transportation system of the past (cf. section 5.3.2 and 5.3.4).

Older adults did receive important support flows from non-residing adult children (cf. section 5.3.2, 5.3.4, and 5.3.5). However, some older adults received no flows or insufficient support from non-residing adult children who had rarely or never kept in touch with them (cf. section 5.3.1, and 5.3.5). No flows from adult children exhibits the unpredictable nature of support from adult children, but also shows the importance of continued contact as a measure of possible resources of support for older adults when needed. The findings and discussion in this section contribute to the argument from other research that technology and modernisation has mitigated distances between generations and contributed to enriching familial bonds (cf. section 3.3.4).

6.2.4 **Cultivating relatedness: Sharing of food and residence**

Cultivating relatedness through sharing of food and residence is a key component of Malay kinship, as mentioned in chapter 3 (cf. section 3.2.3, 3.3.2, and 3.3.3) through the works of Djamour (1959) and Carsten (1995;(1997). In Kampong Ayer, it was evident that women played an important role in cultivating relatedness, and that this act of sharing and commensality was crucial to sustaining and creating bonds over time. This reflects the Malay kinship element of *kesayangan* (love), and it's significance in intergenerational support (cf. section 3.2.3). In this section, I discuss my findings in relation to the literature, and the importance of cultural context in examining the nature of intergenerational support.

This underlines the key principles framing this study and shows that qualitative research can address the limitations of quantitative research (cf. section 3.4). Observations, repeat interviews and conversations with older adults and members of their kin network allowed me to generate data on perceptions and feelings around support arrangements (cf. chapter 5). My own participation in the field also reflected the significance of sharing food and residence in cultivating relatedness, with my 'adoption' by my host family validated by the length of my co-residence and my regular eating and sharing of food with the host family (cf. section 4.3).

Typically, main meals of the day in Kampong Ayer would consist of sharing and eating together what was cooked and what was bought from outside by co-resident and non-resident family members (cf. chapter 5). This sharing signifies an ideal in balanced contributions, as money for food was felt not to be for one person's exclusive use (cf. section 5.3.4). This ethnography in Kampong Ayer agrees with Tania Li's (1989) work on Singaporean Malays which asserts the value of examining everyday activities, such as cooking and eating, to study household relations and broader societal views and ideals.

Nuanced themes regarding intergenerational support were revealed through gathering data on everyday activities, needs, and views of older adults and their families. When household necessities depended too much on one person, this caused tension and worries for the older adult (sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4). Visiting older parents and eating food together regularly was an important activity to "be a family", signifying a sense of cultivating relatedness (cf. section 5.3.2). Cooking and eating together, was defined by older adults as the appropriate and the best way to visit (cf. chapter 5). Visiting older parents was felt by adult children to be important, and providing money was not enough (cf. section 5.3.2). Older adults were more detached from adult children who rarely visited, and would make excuses for them but still wish for them to visit (cf. chapter 5). Older parents rarely had an interconnected relationship with adult children who only infrequently participated in sharing food and residence. Some adult children quasi-resided by continuing to partake in household visits (discussed previously in section 6.2.3). Rabiah's continued her relationship with Amalina, through visits and gift giving has reinforced their relationship, which was based on Rabiah's *mengasuh* in earlier years (cf. section 5.3.3). Communication through mobile phones was important to continually generate contact and bond with adult children, however not all older adults were adept to using a mobile phone, such as Latipah (cf. section 5.3.2) and Wani (cf. section 5.3.5), which shows some vulnerability. This paragraph demonstrates the significance of eating together, sharing food and residence, in the context of the intergenerational support and relationships of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer.

Women's central role in cultivating relatedness through sharing food and eating became evident in my evaluation of the everyday activities of families in Kampong Ayer. Women in Kampong Ayer had important roles inside as well as outside the home, corroborating literature regarding the important roles of women in Malay families (cf. section 3.3.3). In Kampong Ayer, women were influential in managing the household and as important contributors to the household income and necessities (cf. chapter 5). Furthermore, the case studies showed that from previous generations to now, women contribute to household incomes, have ambitions, and participate in different forms of work and community activities (cf. sections 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.4, 5.3.5, and 5.3.8). This questions whether women's restriction to the domestic sphere, as often posited by the

literature, may be an exaggeration (cf. section 3.3.4). Accomplishments and contributions of women were sometimes underplayed by others, such as their husbands (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.4, and 5.3.6). Participant observation and repeat interviews permitted me to question, interpret and uncover different perceptions and compare what was said to what occurred. The Kampong Ayer findings addresses the limitations of quantitative research methods, which are at-risk of lacking depth (cf. section 3.4).

My findings showed women's dominance in the household. The older adult mother, who oversees the kitchen, would cook early in the day for other members of the household to share and eat throughout the day (cf. sections 5.3.1, 5.3.3, and 5.3.4). This food would also be provided to those who quasi-reside and offered to family members who may visit on occasion. When the older adult mother is physically unable to cook as much, she will be helped by other women in the household; sometimes she would cook just enough for herself when she felt like it, or would rest when it became too difficult physically as others cook for her (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.4, and 5.3.5). Current households sometimes have domestic helpers helping women to cook, which differed from experiences of the past (cf. section 5.3.2). In the weekends, when children were not in school, ideally other adult children would visit, and the women would cook together for everyone to eat together (cf. chapter 5). The examples have illustrated the kitchen as the centre where substance (food) is made for gathering and eating to occur. The representation of the kitchen, women's role, and feeding aligns with Carsten's (1997) work on the hearth as women's domain (cf. section 3.3.2). This section illustrates how the older adult mother continued to provide food for her adult children if she was physically able to, whether they resided with her or not. This signifies continued support from older adults to adult children (cf. section 3.2.2). The findings also indicate the fluidity of family, support, and residence. This supports the need to measure intergenerational support flows using qualitative and ethnographic methods, which can generate data on the varied arrangements and situations of older adults and their families (cf. section 3.4).

Women managed household necessities, including stocking the pantry and ingredients to be cooked. It became clear that older adult men were unaware of what necessities were bought regularly for the household. Men were less aware if adult children had contributed money or items to the household kitchen or pantry (cf. sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.4, and 5.3.6). Older adult men knew to buy what they felt like eating that day, or they were instructed to buy ingredients from the market. In my observations and in conversations with older adult men, they had also rarely participated in the cooking and cleaning process before or after meals. This contributes to their separation from the hearth, where their participation, if any, was awkward (cf. section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2). Older men viewed money as something to be spent and finished for their needs that day, whereas older women viewed money as to be shared and to last throughout the week or

month (cf. chapter 5). These nuances in everyday activities show the significance of women and their centrality in important household transfers, and cultivating relatedness. In the next section, I discuss further on cultivating relatedness through the notion of *mengasuh* and older adults who cared for many children as their own.

6.2.5 ***Mengasuh*: Caring for many children as their own children**

In this section, I describe the meaning and context of *mengasuh* and its significance to older adults and intergenerational support flows. I then relate this to relevant literature on the meaningful act of raising children for Malays in SEA (cf. section 3.2.3, 3.3.2, and 3.3.3). *Mengasuh* is a term to describe how older adults have cared for many children, who are not their biological offspring, as their own (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.5, and 5.3.8). *Mengasuh* was used most frequently by respondents to describe relationships of an adult who takes care of a youth. *Anak angkat* (raised child) – a term often used in other Malay languages and cultures -- was rarely used by respondents in the field. *Mengasuh* was preferred, as was the emphasis that they are related to the child, "my niece/nephew" or "a*ku mengasuh*" ("I raised [her/him]"). Direct translation of *mengasuh* is raised, but the findings showed that *mengasuh* also means to care for someone (cf. section 5.3.1). In the Bahasa Melayu dictionary *mengasuh* means "to teach", but the social context means to raise or take care of someone. It is the act of caretaking, which carries the weight of personal effort and meanings, a sort of imprint from one person to another and vice-versa. As seen with Rabiah, her *mengasuh* of her nieces and nephews was not forgotten, and the implications of her *mengasuh* persisted despite the way the relationships had turned sour (cf. section 5.3.3).

In comparison, *anak angkat* was the title which would be given to an adopted child, formally used by respondents to establish claim, or declaration and claiming parental responsibility in the parent-child relationship (cf. section 5.3.8). The degrees to *anak angkat*, as well as *mengasuh* ranges from short to long term raising, through to legal adoption. Usage of *mengasuh* revealed the varying types of relationships in the field, as this allowed for a broad perspective on what constituted informal adoption to simply caring for a child as their own for a short or long period of time. The *anak angkat* title can be explicit to convey inclusivity, such as seen with the host family's introduction of myself (cf. section 4.3). Families were less willing to refer to their adopted child as *anak angkat* unless it is a declaration.

Relatedness was established through the act of *mengasuh*. The act of being co-residents, sharing extended periods of time and doing activities together in a house, strengthens the bond and characterises the act of *mengasuh* (cf. sections 5.3 and 6.2.4). The continuation of these activities

at later life stages between the now adult child and older adult further continued their relationship and made it more likely for return of support to the older adult (cf. section 5.3.3). Despite the differences in time span and reasons for caring, the outcomes of the relationship are still unpredictable (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.5). In older ages, older adults continue to *mengasuh* children, such as Maziah and her co-residing grandchildren (cf. section 5.3.1), Rabiah with her visiting nephew (cf. section 5.3.3), Haryati with her co-residing grandchild (cf. section 5.2.2). What was observed was how the relationship or connection in continued exchanges overtime. *Mengasuh* and support to adult children and young children continue play a vital role in establishing connection and relationships. This resonates with the important role of adoptive relationships, and the Malay kinship sentiment of love, in establishing wider networks of support (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.4) (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a). The findings of my thesis therefore contribute to gerontological literature on intergenerational support flows, which illustrate how understanding cultural context and Malay kinship are important in examining resources of support.

Mengasuh was also an investment for the caretaker and indirect support for the child's parents. In Rabiah's situation, there was also indirect support wherein motivations for childcare was to help the child as well as the parent (cf. section 5.3.3). The results showed how raising children elevated one's status, children in the home was something to be proud of, and grandchildren were prized (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and 5.3.4). Yet, positive reputation for having raised many children masked the reality of daily struggles of insufficient support in older ages (cf. section 5.3.1 and 5.3.3). Evidently there was a limitation to *mengasuh*, and the large number of adult children in a family network would not guarantee sufficient or appropriate later life support for older adults (cf. discussed in section 6.2.1 and 6.2.2). This unreliability of children as resource of support for later life is an ongoing theme in literature (cf. chapter 3) and was evident in the results (cf. chapter 5).

6.2.6 Gaps in kinship networks: Alternatives to support

In this section I discuss the gaps in kinship networks of older adults, and how older adults have alternatives to support. The importance of the size and circumstances of kinship networks is elaborated in the literature as influencing intergenerational relationships and support flows (Schröder-Butterfill, 2006). The literature shows that larger kinship networks put older adults at an advantage, especially for those who have gaps in kinship networks such as due to childlessness, absent family members and children (cf. section 3.2.4). My findings show that the size of kinship networks expand throughout the life-course, through marriage, re-marriage,

adoption and adoptive relationships (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.6, 5.3.8). Wider networks of support mitigate the gaps and lack of support from adult children.

Kinship networks expand due to siblingship, by evoking a *mengasuh* relationship, such as with nieces and nephews (cf. section 5.3.3). Adoptive relationships also occur through marriage, such as Emran's adoptive relationship with his nephew (cf. section 5.3.6). Widowed or divorced men who remarry to mitigate a gap in support, for example due to absent or distant adult children (section 5.3.6). Anissa, Emran's third wife, for example, provided Emran with intragenerational support in managing household, buying goods for the home, and providing ADL support (cf. section 5.3.6). Older adults who were not likely to remarry were widowed women, which suggests that they lack this particular avenue to reducing their vulnerability (cf. chapter 5).

In my findings, widowed and unmarried older adult women mitigated gaps of support, such as from absent adult children or depleted resources, without (re)marrying (cf. chapter 5). Wani negotiates for support through assuring her neighbour that her co-residence is temporary and her co-residence was mutually beneficial (cf. section 5.3.5), Haryati informally adopts her grandchild (cf. section 5.2.2), Aidah adopts her distant relative's child (cf. section 5.3.8), and Rabiah calls upon Aarifa and Amalina for support (cf. section 5.3.3). *Mengasuh* in the adoptive relationships allows bonds to strengthen as substance is continually shared. Support that is almost contractual in nature, such as Wani's neighbour allowing Wani to co-reside only on a temporary basis, was not secure (cf. section 5.3.5). Older adult women thus have an advantage by engaging in adoptive and caring relationships throughout the life course and in later life. In chapter 3 (cf. section 3.3.4) women were noted as possibly vulnerable due to lack of access to resources and more likely to be living alone after the age of 75 (Keasberry, 2001, p. 660; Chow, 2005, p. 13). A limitation of my study is not having any respondents who lived alone. However, my findings contribute to understanding how older unmarried women in Brunei's Kampong Ayer can mitigate gaps of support.

As adults get older, there is an increasing vulnerability to poor health, especially so if older adults have no supportive relationships with adult children (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2015, p. 16). When it came to practical care, such as ADL support, there is less time and effort for care due to meeting the financial and practical needs of their own children (cf. section 5.3.2). The lack of time and effort to provide care to older adults supports the difficulty of being a caregiver to older parents, as noted by Idris et al.'s (2019) study in Brunei (cf. section 3.3.4). Idris et al.'s (ibid, p. 59) study found that informal caregivers were strained when other family members did not assist in caregiving. Currently, adult children who have the economic wherewithal compensate by hiring a live-in domestic helper for their parents (cf. section 5.3.2 and 5.3.4). Increased female labour

participation in formal work, means that quasi-reside and hiring of domestic helper are an important way for families to adapt. Hiring of domestic help reflects literature stating the effects of increased labour participation of women (cf. section 3.3.4) (Kee, 2009, p. 349; Abdul Aziz and Yusooff, 2012, p. 192; Thang, 2013, p. 211). My findings also showed that this was an advantage for well off or better off families (cf. section 5.3.2). My findings agrees with literature that show the vulnerability of low SES families who may not have relationships of wider networks of support or resources to afford alternative care (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2015, p. 18). Low SES older adults, such as Aidah (cf. section 5.3.8) and Rabiah (cf. section 5.3.3), were able to rely on wider networks for support in need (discussed in section 6.3). So far I have looked at findings and literature regarding intergenerational support, next I discuss siblingship support and relationships.

6.3 Siblingship in intra- and intergenerational support flows

6.3.1 Introduction

The previous section of the discussion chapter focused on the intergenerational relationships and support flows between older adults, their adult children, and grandchildren. Section 6.2 explored the concept of *mengasuh* and its role in fostering relationships and networks. This section (6.3) examines sibling relationships between older adults and the kinship links which include nieces and nephews. To explore this, I focus on the relationship between older adult siblings, older adult's nieces and nephews, and the nature and extent of support flows between them.

6.3.2 Siblingship in Malay Kinship

Despite the symbolic closeness of siblings in literature and Malay kinship (cf. section 3.3.2), the findings and relevant literature show that the nature of family systems, cultural contexts and structural circumstances influence the extent and willingness of siblings to provide support in a crisis or on a day-to-day basis. The definition of siblingship is the relationship between brothers and sisters that is culturally and contextually defined, and dependent on the particular society (Cicirelli, 1994, p. 9). The notion of sibling and its meaning within Malay kinship was explained as being core of society (cf. section 3.3.2). Cousins are defined under siblingship, and siblingship is used to define kin (Carsten, 1991, p. 436; 1997, p. 102-3). This reflects the fluidity of Malay kinship and family structures, yet fluidity of relatedness hints at the underlying fragility in expansive networks, adoptive kin, and created kin (Schröder-Butterfill, 2006, p. 6; Schröder-Butterfill and Fithry, 2014, p. 14).

In Brunei's Kampong Ayer, similar tones of siblingship defined kin and relatedness, where "we are all related here anyway" was a common refrain. Providing housing for a neighbour, or coresiding as a form of support, was justified as "they are distantly related" (cf. section 5.3.5). Moreover, house ownership was traced back to formerly belonging to someone's brother or sister, "she now lives in Haji's brother's house, they bought it from him" or "my brother used to live there", even though the sister or brother had long left the village and sold the house to someone unrelated. For me as a participant in the field, extending kin terms meant becoming someone's older or younger sister or just sister ("Sis") in general, "you can call her big sister, Tini is older than you". Nieces and nephews providing support to older aunts or uncles, or siblings helping each other as older adults was a reoccurring theme and an observed source of support for some older adults (sections 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.4). Indicating the significance of siblingship in the findings, however, there is a limit to sibling support.

Another component is how the literature of Javanese in Indonesia, who like Brunei Malays are in nuclear-bilateral family systems, show the influence of such systems. With the nuclear-bilateral ties as the norm, there is an extent to fluid and diverse networks and family forms due to mobility of population, divorce, and informal adoption (sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3)(Djamour, 1959, p. 110; Fraser Jr., 1960, p. 209 - 210; Carsten, 1991, p. 426; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1783-1784). My findings show there is limitation to wider networks of support, in context to siblings, which are further elaborated in comparison to the literature.

6.3.3 Nurturing sibling relations in Brunei's Kampong Ayer

The significance of siblingship is in how it outlasts parent relationships and is one of the longest lasting connection from people's younger lives (Goetting, 1986, p. 712; Davidoff, 2012, p. 341). Siblingship, to an extent, lives on throughout the life-course despite trajectories and moments of separateness or distance, which occur due to migration, marital and parental status and differences in financial status. Despite life transitions, the literature showed that depending on existing status of the sibling relationship and individual and family characteristics, crisis situations resulted in various forms of an increase or decrease of closeness, support, and active sibling ties (Lee, Mancini and Maxwell, 1990, p. 438; Connidis, 1992, p. 978). The longevity of siblingship does not guarantee sibling support in later life, factors influence its extent. At the same time, there is a voluntary nature of adult sibling interaction (Connidis, 1992, p. 980). In this section I add to these existing literatures on siblingship by providing evidence of how Malay kinship influences sibling relations.

Siblings who are left behind in Kampong Ayer, reflect some older adults who were unable to move on-land and realise middle-class aspirations, and who are part of the pre-1973 generation unable to fully benefit from Brunei's infrastructure expansion. Sibling social-class differences was also evident with Wani (cf. section 5.3.5) whose siblings live in large houses on-land. Despite social-class differences, siblings who were in geographic proximity, or in regular contact, demonstrated frequent support (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.3, and 5.3.4). The nature and extent of support was influenced by nurtured relationships, rather than past support to be reciprocated. I will explain the nature of the intragenerational support flows between older adult siblings, in context to existing literature (cf. chapter 3).

The difference between parent-child bonds and bonds between siblings, are that siblings are not expected to support each other (cf. section 6.2.6). Djamour (1959, p. 44) describes the expectations of adult children to help destitute older parents, if older parents are unable to help themselves. In contrast, the expectations of older adult sibling support can be limited to *gotong royong* or neighbourly help (cf. section 5.3.4). This reflects the custom of mutual assistance (cf.

section 3.2.3)(Li, 1989), which is different to the *kesayangan* (love) bond in parent-child relationships. In growing up siblings do have close relationships, but over time there is a separation between some siblings (discussed in section 6.3.4). Sibling relationships are used to describe the relations outside the home (cf. sections 5.3.4 and 6.3.2), social organisation and mutual assistance (cf. section 3.3.2), rather than in terms of love or responsibility in parent-child bonds. Consequently, the findings show that older adult siblings with deepened bonds had nurtured their relationship over time through gift giving, support flows, visits, and contact (cf. sections 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.4, and 5.3.8). Securing alternative support can only happen in circumstances of available support from available kin networks. For older adults in Kampong Ayer available networks were dependent on the relationships that were nurtured over time. The findings showed that deep bonds between siblings made it easier for older adults to negotiate for support when needed (cf. sections 5.3.3, and 5.3.4). In the crises observed in Kampong Ayer, some older adults had support from siblings (cf. sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.8), whilst others relied on adult children (cf. sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.2), or wider networks, such as neighbours of loosely distant relation (cf. section 5.3.5).

Aidah and Rabiah had moments of intragenerational support in a crisis rather than as part of their daily routine (cf. section 5.3.3 and 5.3.8). This had a limit because they continued to have day-to-day issues such as paying for bills, loneliness, and lack of assistance to daily living in illness which were not resolved by the support from siblings (cf. section 5.3.3 and 5.3.8). There was also a limit to Maziah's sibling support, her geographic proximity allowed for day-to-day companionship and some support (cf. section 5.3.1). Maziah's sibling's children or spouses were turned to first for help in crisis (cf. section 5.3.1). Maziah did not have to offer her sibling to co-reside with her when they lost their home, because her sibling moved in with in-laws, but in any case Maziah would not have had capacity to help her sibling if she needed it (cf. section 5.3.1). This is reflected in the effects of adult children on older adult sibling ties: older adults turn to adult children instead of their sibling (Connidis, 1992, p. 977). This also reflects how adult children are first looked to for support amongst Malays, and in the findings (cf. section 6.2.6).

In the case of Kampong Ayer, this is even if adult children's support is insufficient or questionable. For example, Rabiah and Aidah (cf. sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.8), both had one adult child living with them who were financially unable to help, and in some instances these adult children required their older parent's help. These older adult's relationships with their siblings was more crucial than filial support in their respective crises of financial debt and hospitalisation (cf. sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.8). Childlessness was overcome in this case, through Aidah's adoption of Lyanna at a young age, and continued contact and support flows with her siblings, and wider networks of support (cf. section 5.3.8); in Rabiah's case with her siblings, through continued visitation, gifts

and contact despite distances (cf. sections 5.3.3). The challenge of reliable support from their adult children in later life is also met by these arrangements with their sibling networks.

The findings demonstrated that near or far sibling relationships that older adults could count on had ties throughout the life-course based on gift giving, contact, and rapport (cf. sections 5.3.3, 5.3.4, and 5.3.8). This echoes the notion of active sibling ties requiring regular contact and interdependence between sibling sets to improve family condition (Peterson, 1990, p. 450; Connidis, 1992, p. 981). Continued contact also reflects the cultivation of bonds through the older adult's acts of gift giving, eating and gathering with their siblings (cf. sections 5.3.3, 5.3.4 and 5.3.8). The findings of Kampong Ayer siblings showed that active sibling ties did contribute to support in crises. Siblingship literature had said that in a crisis, such as divorce and widowhood, siblings' could support those who they already had close emotional bonds with (Connidis, 1992, p. 978). My findings add to this by showing how widowhood in some instances did not bring siblings together, and separateness prevailed, because of a lack of relationship, contact and rapport established over time with siblings (cf. section 5.3.5). Wani's case is an example of the least ideal (cf. section 5.3.5). Other than conflict, the least ideal was siblings being geographically distant and lacking continuous contact over the years, "… hardly see each other". Others wished for their siblings to live nearby once again, and longed for closeness especially in time of need, such as Hilmi wanting to have a reliable source of care for his wife Latipah (cf. section 5.3.2). They also rarely called each other "it is rare to call each other back then…" and "that's why it's difficult being separated like this… we weren't separated in the past" (cf. sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.5). This reiterates the importance of the mobile phone, which allowed older adults to keep in contact and communicate with siblings (cf. section 3.5.4).

Thus far, I have described the varied situations of intragenerational sibling support and the nature of sibling relationships in context to Malay kinship. The literature review identified older women as a potentially vulnerable group (cf. section 3.3.4). A disadvantage of older adult women in Kampong Ayer were that they were unlikely to remarry, unlike other widowed or divorced older adult men (Emran in section 5.3.6, and Azmy in section 5.2.2). However, women who were widowed or never married, or with absent adult children, negotiated for alternative support (discussed previously in 6.2.6). I now discuss the situations of women and sibling support in Kampong Ayer. Key findings were how sibling support was significant for women rather than men, and how women's sibling relationships change over time. Though significant intergenerational contributions were made by older women as caregivers to grandchildren, themes of contributions and relationships throughout the life course were identified during the fieldwork as important. Furthermore, partial life histories revealed that significant intragenerational support was provided by the older adult to their sibling in their youth (discussed in 6.3.1).

In Kampong Ayer, older adult women did have vulnerabilities despite having wider networks of support to mitigate gaps of support. In Wani's case, she had an insecure living arrangement, and a temporary nature of support with her children's in-laws then her neighbour (cf. section 5.3.5). Wani's situation resonates with "extensification" of support, which means kin who are on the periphery of an older adult's kin network, who become more involved as the older adult's needs increase (Schröder-Butterfill, 2006, p. 13). Wani's situation corroborates with Schröder-Butterfill's (ibid) finding that members on the exterior of networks provided discontinued and insecure support. Wani's lack of adequate support from adult children caused extensification in her case, despite large kin network of financially secure older adult siblings who had large houses on-land (cf. section 5.3.5). In contrast to Wani, Rabiah and Aidah's siblings provided support in a crisis (cf. sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.8). What differed between Wani's situation, and Rabiah and Aidah's situation, is the loss of contact with Wani's siblings (cf. section 5.3.5). Wani's needs for housing differed from older adults' needs of financial loan which was eventually paid back (cf. section 5.3.5), and temporary co-residence in time of hospitalisation (cf. section 5.3.3). This reflects the circumstantial component of support flows, relationships of exchange contingent upon needs and resources on both sides.

For both Aidah and Rabiah, they were unmarried and childless for a significant portion of their adult life, only to either have or adopt children relatively late in adulthood, at 30-40 years of age (cf. section 5.3.3 and 5.3.8). The beginning of their adult life was spent establishing nurturing relationships with their siblings, nieces, and nephews, they either co-resided with or lived nearby to. This was already a relationship establishing moment earlier in the life course. This reflects the importance of sharing food and residence, and women's role in developing creating relatedness in relationships (cf. sections 3.3.2 and 6.2.4). This shows how nurturing and adoptive relationships earlier in the life-course can influence later life support, which echoes the significance of life-course perspective in gerontology research (Bengtson, Glen H. Elder and Putney, 2005).

Closeness of women with their siblings, from studies in the US, point out that females maintain kin ties more than men (McGhee, 1985, p. 86-88; Lee, Mancini and Maxwell, 1990, p. 433; Cicirelli, 1994, p. 14). In Taiwan, brother-brother relationships provided the most help to each other due to a patrilineal family system, showing contrasting literature to the nuclear family systems of Malay societies and the US (Lu, 2007, p. 634). My findings and case studies (cf. chapter 5) add a cultural context to the closeness of women to their siblings. Inversely, older adult brothers who lived near each other, Ibrahim and Mohammad, their families had separate lives that was not interconnected (cf. section 5.3.1). This is contrast to the interconnected lives of Ibrahim's and Mohammad's wives and wives' siblings (cf. section 5.3.1).

A limitation of this thesis research is a lack of larger and more varied sample to include widowed childless men, whose wider networks of support, and extended kin are important in crisis. In a case of widowed childless men in Indonesia, widowhood as a crisis showed that existing bonds of obligation, those in immediate network, were weak and faded in crisis (Schröder-Butterfill, 2006, p. 13).

In concluding this section, some women were vulnerable to a risk of support in older age, whereas others have mitigated changing circumstances and increasing needs. In context to siblingship, for some there is vulnerability in that sibling network support in crisis relieved problems temporarily, but day-to-day living had continued problems which may add up. Although this study took into account current support flows, and previous changes and crisis, new crises or changes in network members and roles may occur. Thus, continued study can enlighten how families and older people mitigate changes and increasing needs, and whether current arrangements change.

6.3.4 **The limits of sibling support**

Despite notions of indivisibility and siblingship as central in Malay kinship literature, and families building networks through fluid bonds (cf. section 3.3.2), the Kampong Ayer findings and other studies of Malay societies in SEA have shown that there is an extent to how these networks and relationships provide support (Schröder-Butterfill, 2006, p. 14-15; Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 15). In intergenerational support literature, low SES older adults are at a disadvantage in securing support (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 12; 2008, p. 1804; 2015, p. 23). Older adults in low SES had persistent gaps of support due to continued downward support to out-of-work adult children, insecure providers of support motivated by charity or pity, and lack of social mobility to attain middle- or higher- income advantages (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2007, p. 12; 2008, p. 1804; 2015, p. 23).

My findings add to the abovementioned research by showing how low SES older adults were more likely to have gaps of support and downward support flows to out-of-work and low income adult children (discussed in section 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). The gaps of support amongst Kampong Ayer respondents were discussed in section 6.2.6, which showed how alternatives to support had to be negotiated due to the nature of bonds. Discussions of sibling networks in Kampong Ayer add to these existing literatures by comparing how siblingship evolves throughout the life-course, to be a source of support for some and not others. Showing that nature of relationships between kin, and the composition of kin networks, are a factor to how support is manoeuvred in later life. Within the Kampong Ayer findings, is the element of separateness. Separateness in context to the findings means a lack of involvement in day-to-day activities. The importance of cultivating relatedness through sharing food and residence is explained in section 6.2.4. This section

discusses how some sibling relationships intertwined, others had no flows, but ultimately for both there is separateness in adulthood and later life.

Separateness in nuclear-bilateral Malay families, was almost necessary to avoid dependency (Kreager and Schröder-Butterfill, 2008, p. 1803). In Kampong Ayer, multi-generational living ideally had interdependent boundaries, "people say give and take; you can't just rely on one person to buy" (cf. sections 5.3.4, 6.2.1 and 6.2.3). There is less separation between co-residing older adult siblings, and this occurred in moments of critical illness. Although elements of independence are kept intact, there is temporary co-residence during time of recovery or hospitalisation (cf. section 5.3.8).

Co-residence between married siblings of adult children and siblings in middle-aged adulthood were also observed. These had moments of conflict, similarly in literature, it was preferably avoided (Carsten, 1997, p. 66). In Kampong Ayer, Delima's adult child was recently married and living with in-laws, but then moved back into the older parent's home when a sibling who had also recently married managed to move out to their own home (cf. section 5.3.7). This was not due to conflict, but to maintain a balance of needs and support in Delima's home (cf. section 5.3.7). In Kampong Ayer, when there were inadequate contributions from a co-residing adult child, adult children co-residing and non-residing contributed more than usual to the household (cf. section 5.3.4). Kampong Ayer shows how siblings can support each other. However, this differs remarkedly between older adult siblings.

Support between older adult siblings was not dependent on previous support. Women who were not married for a significant period or had never married, had acquired support in moments of crises (cf. section 6.3.3). Having said that, those who have spouses and adult children are not exempt from a risk of lack of support or unsatisfactory welfare (cf. chapter 5). Like literature of intergenerational support flows of Malays, there is a limitation of support in both situations (Schröder-Butterfill, 2004a, p. 137). Likewise, in Kampong Ayer, those who are married and widowed both likely to have no flows of support from older adult siblings. Widowed having provided significant sibling support in the past, did not receive support in return (cf. section 6.3.3). The limitations of support is also noted through the separation of married siblings, an influence of nuclear family system of "if married, eat separately" (cf. section 5.3.2).

My findings show that marital and parental status, influence sibling relationships. Signifying the relevance of siblingship literature following the life-course perspective, that life-course events encourage closeness or separateness. My findings add cultural context to siblingship literature of how Malay kinship influences the nature of sibling relationships, particularly within the setting of Kampong Ayer where there are social-class and SES differences with people living on-land. In

siblingship literature, marriage separated siblings from natal families, yet for some having children encouraged closeness again (Connidis, 1992). In the Kampong Ayer findings, for some older adult siblings, separateness was to an extent where sibling's families are relative strangers (section 5.3.1). Older adult men were more likely to have day-to-day activities with their wives' families (cf. section 5.3.1). This signifies women's role in nurturing relationships (discussed in section 6.3.3). Whereas for others, older adult sisters or sister-brother pairings developed continued contact, with intermittent support, such as gifts, contact, companionship (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.3, 5.3.4 and 5.3.8).

For married older adults, or widowed older adults, support from siblings was less available in crises. The Kampong Ayer findings echo siblingship literature that single older adults are more likely than married older adults to have instrumental support (Campbell, Connidis and Davies, 1999, p. 145). In Kampong Ayer never-married older adults can expect to rely on siblings or had relied on siblings in a crisis (cf. section 5.3.8). In comparison, married or widowed older adults have occasional contact or there are no flows (cf. section 5.3.1, and 5.3.5).

In the next section, I discuss how intragenerational support from a young age has influenced the later life of older adults in Kampong Ayer.

6.3.5 Sibling support contributions from a young age

In section 6.2.5 *mengasuh* was described in the context of older adults caring for many children as their own. In this section (6.3.3) the *mengasuh* context of sibling relationships applies to support siblings from a young age (discussed in section 6.3.1). *Mengasuh* as a way of investment, was not found here, as asking for support in later life was through having no choice, "I was forced to" not as a debt owed. This section on siblingship focuses on contributions of siblings throughout the life-course and how this differs, and how this evolves into the older adult stage. I discuss how current situations of older adults may differ for older adults in the future.

From the findings, sibling support from youth shows that older adults who grew up poor and provided support to younger siblings due to an ill or dead parent and/or an employed mother, were in a financially disadvantageous situation later in life if they were women. Such examples are case studies of Wardah, Maziah, and Wani (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.2, and 5.3.5). From the partial life histories, the reasons for this were lack of access to education, lack of involvement in adapting to new economic advantages, time spent in care-taking roles, and they were raised in families already stemming from financial difficulty (cf. chapter 5). This reflects the generational differences unique to Brunei, where older adults who were part of the pre-1973 generation had a life of hardship growing up. The findings show that such hardship had an impact on their life, particularly

to support their younger siblings who were starting to make most of Brunei's infrastructure expansion. By contrast, women who did not circumstantially provide sibling support from a young age, had continued or fully formed education, and financial stability in the family during their own marriage. Other women from the findings who did not provide support flows to their siblings or parents in their youth were more advantaged in later life, being Haryati and Farhana (cf. section 5.2.2).

Women who contributed sibling support in their youth were connected to their siblings in later years in companionship, with some in close geographic proximity, and with others at a distance (cf. sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.4). Though sibling relationships that help each other is situational and not guaranteed, for example with the case of Wani (cf. section 5.3.5). Neither did her siblings visit regularly once they left the parental household. Again, showing that connection and reciprocity are not guaranteed, despite having cared for her siblings. This shows a vulnerability of young children of poor families who are required to contribute support to their siblings or parents, particularly those who were of a generation where not much government assistance which could relieve financial pressures was available.

The findings for men who substituted their fathers as income earners for the household to support their siblings showed that they financially prospered in later life. Such is the case with Hilmi, Azwan, and Emran (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.4 and 5.3.6). Hilmi, Azwan and Emran participated in finding work from an early age. In return they gained skills, community participation, and opportunities to work in formal employment (cf. sections 5.3.2, 5.3.4 and 5.3.6). In contrast, even though Wardah, Maziah, and Wani did learn valuable skills, their lack of involvement in formal employment meant they could not earn as much as formally employed men (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.2, and 5.3.5). This is evidence of how earlier life circumstances affected later life conditions, Wardah, Maziah, and Wani's role as contributors to their family, limited their opportunities for either education or formal work (cf. section 5.3.1, 5.3.2, and 5.3.5). In contrast to current situations of women, women's increasing participation in formal work (cf. section 2.2.2), provides women with more opportunities to utilise saving benefits provided by the government (cf. section 2.2.5).

Generally older adults remembered that when they were younger they had no choice in working to contribute income to the household, doing household chores, or caring for ill or physically poor parents, uncles or aunts, and older adults such as their grandparents (cf. chapter 5). This situation reflects a certain hardship endured by older adults, who grew up in pre-1973 era of no extensive welfare (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.1). Preference for care was for the daughters of the household "[my father] didn't want it anyway, he just wanted me in the end… his food and drink, my siblings

wouldn't be the one" (cf. section 5.3.5). There was no expectation or obligation their sibling would reciprocate this support, as they needed to provide support because no one else in the family could, "who else can do it?" … "just me". The lack of choice and bluntness in how Wani described support to her older parents shows that in the past, support to older adults was also not obliged or cherished. This reinforces that older adults with increasing needs are vulnerable to a lack of sufficient care, even if they have many capable adult children.

This section showed that some older adult respondents had made significant contributions from a young age to their siblings. This is to the extent of helping their siblings gain independence and into adulthood, such as contributing practically and materially to the household necessities and to their sibling's schooling. Yet, as previously discussed, support from siblings was not guaranteed. The partial life histories of older adult's also illustrated vulnerabilities of unmarried and unemployed women, which aligns with concerns in chapter 2 (cf. section 2.2.2).

6.3.6 Conclusion of inter and intragenerational support flows from older adult's sibling networks

In conclusion to the siblingship section of this discussion chapter, the results of this study suggest that there are constraints on the supportive role of sibling relationships, despite the recognised rhetoric of sibling indivisibility and relatedness in Malay societies. Sibling support in Kampong Ayer illustrates the fragility, yet advantages for older adults to have expansive networks to mitigate gaps of support. The findings showed that widowed older adults had insecure ties with siblings, despite having provided support previously (section 5.3.5), signifying the inconsistent and unpredictable nature reciprocity of past support. One form of support in the past does not rightly equal another. Those who were never married, or not married for a significant portion of their adult life, had more consistent support from their siblings. This suggests that the nature of supportive sibling ties occurs repayment of past support, but a lifetime of nurturing ties (Campbell, Connidis and Davies, 1999, p. 144).

Factors that influence the extent of sibling support in later life are gender or marital and parental status. The literature findings showed that ties in the network are negotiated throughout the lifetime in different ways by different marital or parental status subgroups, for example, never married, divorced, widowed, and childlessness (Connidis and Davies, 1990, p. 148; Campbell, Connidis and Davies, 1999, p. 143-144). Negotiation throughout the life-course is also affected by life transitions, with factors such as emotional closeness of sibling relationships, geographic proximity, network composition, living arrangements, as well as structural factors (Connidis, 1992, p. 980-981; Connidis and Kemp, 2008, p. 237).

In the literature, types of intragenerational support of older adult siblings are reported to be support in a crisis, companionship, confiding with siblings, emotional support, and instrumental support including financial assistance (Connidis, 1994, p. 311; Campbell, Connidis and Davies, 1999, p. 123). These operate generally depending on gender of older adult, martial and parental status, sibling availability, geographic proximity (ibid).

Kampong Ayer findings concur that different marital or parental status subgroups negotiate ties over time in different ways, as seen with those never married, and those married or widowed. However, sibling relationships over time are also affected by those factors mentioned, geographic proximity, emotional closeness, continued contact, which are explored further below. This thesis on Kampong Ayer adds to these existing literatures by exploring how age-related transitions affect support flows in accordance to crises or circumstances. Contributing to these literatures is also how sibling relationships change over time, and what adding or losing members means for intragenerational support, also in light of lack of support from adult children or no children. An element also addressed here is the cultural differences that may affect sibling relationships over time, even though different societies have different norms or preferences.

My thesis added the cultural variable of living arrangements, and the siblingship relationship which were an important support for some older adults in a crisis despite living geographically far apart. Bonds between older adult sibling, and nieces and nephews of older adults are not dependent on living arrangement, distances were mitigated by visitations, contact, varied support given and received throughout the life-course. Telephones and mobile phones mitigated distances between older adult siblings (cf. section 5.3.1). However, it was found that co-residence and geographic proximity did play a role support namely it allowed for day-to-day interactions which was important to nurture sibling relations overtime.

Gap in the literature review of reciprocity and support exchange was noted as changes in family structures change over time, and whether current behaviours are investments or repayment, or how people feel about family ties (cf. section 3.2.3). Complexity in reciprocal nature of intergenerational support flows is addressed through discussing the heterogeneity of evolving relationships and support flows of siblingship networks. This study adds to this by analysing how relationships have changed, expectations and feelings around relationships. My findings on siblingship adds to the discussion of wider support networks by investigating the extent or availability of older adult siblings in compensating for gaps of support (cf. section 3.2.4).

Qualitative research methods such as participant observation, allowed me to observe and generate data on everyday activities and life histories, to show how sibling support evolved over time. The flexibility of participant observation methods ethnographic approach to my research,

allowed me to generate data on the heterogeneity of older adult's alternative support (cf. chapter 4). Furthermore, the nature of relationships and cultural context, such as differences between sibling support, support from adult children, and differences between different generations were explored. The Kampong Ayer findings corresponds to the key principles framing this study, which argues for qualitative and ethnographic approach to measuring intergenerational support (cf. section 3.4).

6.4 Conclusion to Discussion Chapter

In concluding the discussion, I reflect on the uniqueness of Kampong Ayer as a study site, and the implications of its selectiveness for the findings. I then address the outcomes from the discussion chapter.

The findings illustrate how the uniqueness of Kampong Ayer which influences the situations of older adults. Without an in-depth understanding of Brunei's economic history (cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.1), and Kampong Ayer population composition (cf. chapter 2, section 2.3.), the unique facets of older adults' life-histories and generational differences with their adult children would not be acquired. For example, older adults as unable to move on-land, older adults unable to benefit from expanded welfare provisions post-1973, the prolonging effects of pre-1973 hardships, the current middle class aspirations of living on-land, the acceptance and expectation of welfare, and the government's emphasis on youth self-reliance which differs from their parent's generation. The composition of Kampong Ayer's population are those who are unable to benefit fully from the post-1973 welfare provision expansion, including current young adult children and future generations of youth, though the findings indicate a heterogeneity of SES situations (cf. chapter 5, section 5.1.1). With the youth nowadays expected to be entrepreneurs, this echoes the "work for yourself" (*bekerja sendiri*) (cf. chapter 5, section 5.3.2) mentality of pre-1973 generations. The findings show the various ways intergenerational support and relationships endure, however, the future of Kampong Ayer may reflect a hardship of pre-1973 generations, where no such rentier state welfare privileges exist. Thus, the findings are a snapshot of a unique transitional period of Brunei's rentier state, with a focus on its effect on the generations in Kampong Ayer.

The selectiveness of the findings means that the findings are unable to represent the whole of Brunei. In comparing to wider literature in this discussion chapter (6), the findings can only represent the unique experiences of older adults and their families in Kampong Ayer. The findings and discussion show the importance of examining the cohort effects in older adults' life history, especially to have a wider contextual understanding of intergenerational relationships and

support. Additionally, examining the nature of intergenerational support flows occurring within the Kampong Ayer context, requires an understanding of Malay kinship.

The discussion and findings showed that support flows occurred mostly implicitly and indirectly, and with a lack of obligation. This occurred in the findings from past generations to now, and is reflected in literature, signifying a pattern within most Malay societies in SEA. The extent of support is in achieving the ideal of balanced support flows, a state of interdependency and for the older adult to maintain independence whilst having some form of contact or reciprocity with members in their kinship network. Contact and reciprocity enables older adults to have important relationships which may be utilised to negotiate for support when needed, although it is not guaranteed. This shows that the discussion agreed that a degree of long-term reciprocity is necessary to maintain relationships for older adults. Understanding the ways in which intergenerational support and relationships endure is particularly important in context to the changing circumstances of Kampong Ayer, and the generational effects of Brunei's welfare provisions.

In section 3.4. it was stated that investigating meanings is important to understand how support arrangements are made and negotiated, especially within social context of the research setting. The discussion showed the importance of social context in investigating inter and intragenerational support, because this was the foundation of understanding how support arrangements were made, which was through a bargaining or negotiation, ideally with those whose relationships were established earlier. The lack of obligation and voluntary nature in these relationships meant that if an older adult were in a crisis or needed support, the more resources an older adult had the more advantageous they would be in acquiring support. Resources being financial, material, practical, or in reputation or relationships built. Without these social contexts to measuring intergenerational support, important issues of vulnerability and disadvantages and gaps of support would not be examined.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter of my thesis will answer the research questions and state the limitations and contributions to existing knowledge. The first research question (R.1 What are the norms and ideals concerning family, kinship, and intergenerational support amongst Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer?) was answered through the review of existing literature on Malay families and societies in the SEA region (cf. section 3.2. and 3.3). The literature review (cf. chapter 3) and findings (cf. chapter 5) showed that Brunei Malays' kinship norms and ideals overlap closely with those of Malays in the wider region.

7.2 How has the family system of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer adapted to socio-demographic and economic changes?

Socio-demographic and economic changes experienced by Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer are not new, as changes have occurred throughout Brunei history was witnessed by existing ethnography and the life histories of older adult respondents. The findings showed that families and older adults are flexible to change and embrace economic opportunities and sustain deep familial ties. There is more heterogeneity in the circumstances and situations of families in Kampong Ayer than suggested in existing Kampong Ayer literature which showed Kampong Ayer as a symbol of poverty, predominantly populated by old people and children (cf. section 2.3). Although my thesis concentrates on three select villages in Kampong Ayer, the findings are evidence that generalisations of Kampong Ayer as wholly poor and with unsatisfactory familial situations betray the efforts, accomplishments and heterogeneity of Kampong Ayer residents and families.

My findings disagree with the argument from policymakers and researchers that families are breaking down due modernisation (cf. sections 2.2.2 and 3.2.2). The advance of technology has helped keep older adults in touch with their family members. The use of Whatsapp was important for communication, either sustaining bonds with family members or friends, or for adult children to communicate among themselves about support arrangements for their older parents. Technology has also helped families and older adults in their business. Having a successful business and independent income gave older adults agency, opportunities for giving, and protected older adults from outright dependency on others. Older adults and families unable to adapt to changes are negatively affected, this is especially so when needs increase. Low socio-

economic status older adults are unable to adapt due having less resources to invest in new technology or expand businesses.

Women's participation in formal work and hiring of domestic helper are part of broader changes which affected Brunei Malay families in Kampong Ayer. Life histories showed that women of the past were income earners and made significant contributions to their families. Women of the past had assistance for childcare from family members during their time as well. What has changed is how some adult children hired domestic helpers to help with childcare, while some families adapt by having older parents watch over both their grandchildren and domestic helper when needed. Hiring domestic help effectively results in a form of upward intergenerational support flows from adult children, as older parents have the domestic helper do the household chores or cooking. Hiring domestic help and upward intergenerational support flows was not the case for all families. Some families who were self-sufficient or required no support from older parents, provided no flows to older parents.

Prominent changes which affect Brunei Malay families in Kampong Ayer include increasing prices of goods due to broader rises in standard of living, changes in job availabilities and industries, and education expansion. As a result, prolonged multi-generational living occurred due to adult children being unable to afford housing. Prolonged multi-generational living is when older and younger generations co-resided for an extended period after the younger generation had married. This was not considered ideal but an outcome of higher standards of living and rising costs which prevented adult children from attaining independent living. Although similar multi-generational living did occur in the past and was often due to the same reason of saving to buy an own home, adult children now relied on the waiting list for government housing, and saving up their own money in economically stringent times. Multi-generational living can be fruitful for both older adults and adult children, but only if interdependence is maintained. The preferences or ideals of family systems of Brunei Malays are compromised for some families, as more money and income are required to achieve the ideal, which are independent homes and being self-sufficient.

7.3 What is the extent and nature of intergenerational and intragenerational support flows within kinship networks? How have they changed over time?

My evidence showed that downward intergenerational support flows from older adults to mature adult children continued, with a lack of obligation for adult children to reciprocate support. This negatively affected low SES older parents whose own resources and living arrangements are compromised (cf. chapters 5 and 6). Balanced support flows are represented by either

interdependence, or occasional support or gifts over time. Brunei's OAP (cf. section 2.2.5) is an important safety net which allows older adults to have independence and agency. This is particularly important in Malay kinship because lack of dependency, and having resources for gift giving and mutual assistance is ideal. The findings corroborated the value of independence and agency for older adults. However, older adults relying on OAP while providing intense support to adult children experienced their resources being depleted and constricted by their responsibility to adult children. Upward support flows to poor older adults in ill health was shown, on the other hand healthy or financially secure older adults would avoid outright dependency (cf. chapter 5).

Support within kinship networks changed throughout the life-course depending on needs, circumstances, changing relationships, available resources, and life events (cf. chapter 5). Socio-economic circumstances were a significant life-course factor because some older adults and their families were not able to utilise economic opportunities, such as adapting their businesses, or being employed in new job industries. Some older adults had been significant providers of support to their own siblings and parents earlier in life. This particularly affected women in later life as they continued to have low SES, yet these low SES women have often developed important bonds with their siblings to draw on in later life. Women sustained bonds and established relationships in their kinship network more so than men. Specifically, *mengasuh* (raising) of children (own children, informally adopted, nieces and nephews) and sharing of food and co-residing, as well as maintaining contact and transfers of support or gifts over time helped strengthen bonds (cf. chapter 6). These bonds to nieces, nephews, as well as siblings, were important sources of support.

Older adults often provided downward support to children throughout their life, with adult children in turn being important potential contributors of support for older adults when needed. Ideally, adult children's early years of marriage and time of raising their offspring occur whilst coresiding with older parents. This period of multi-generational living was expected, and faciltated interdependent support flows. Adult children eventually move out, resulting in occasional visits and intergenerational support transfers. However, low income adult children would often continue to require support from older adults, including housing support, as they were unable to acquire sufficient funds to establish independent living.

7.4 What are older people's needs unmet by current intergenerational support flows within the family? Which groups emerge as vulnerable to a lack of support and care?

The findings showed that the number of adult children an older adult has does not guarantee support when needed. The vulnerabilities of older adults were generally related to the lack of expectation for a return of support, which particularly affected older adults of low SES or in poor health and requiring ADL support. Although there were upward support flows to low SES and poor health older adults, this was often insufficient support to meet their needs. Low SES adult children were unable to contribute to household necessities. Since multi-generational living occurred more so between low SES older adults and adult children, the feeling of parental responsibility towards their children meant continued downward intergenerational support flows. As a result, poorer older adults did not have sufficient resources for their own needs.

Older adults' unmet needs were not only due to low SES adult children but were also due to no flows or inadequate support from adult children. The kinds of needs of older people that sometimes remained unmet were needs of adequate ADL support, financial contributions in multi-generational living, contact and visits. Some adult children who had left Kampong Ayer were self-sufficient and did not provide support, for example Maziah's adult children who rarely visit (cf. section 5.3.1). Others would keep in contact with their older parents, but no regular support or visits occurred. The importance of independence meant older adults did not explicitly request support from their adult children. Even in cases where explicit requests were made, such as in multi-generational living contexts, older adults did not expect adult children to comply. Generally, where the preferences of older adults are greatly compromised, there is a likelihood of insecure sources of support, such as from charity or welfare programs. Stability of support depended on the bond between the older adult and the person providing support. A bond can only be deepened through long-term contact, gifts, and visits. These deepened relationships can be sustained over time and distances, and can involve other members of older adults' kinship network, not necessarily adult children. This means that vulnerable older adults are also those who have limited deep relationships in their kinship network, for example Wani's lack of kin to turn to in a crisis (cf. section 5.3.5) .

7.5 Limitations of my research

The limitations of my research are around issues of sampling, data gathered and limited representation. My relationship with my host family and gatekeepers influenced my participation

in the field (cf. chapter 4), which I was unable to mitigate fully within the six months of fieldwork. Longer time in the field would have benefited the data gathering process by allowing me to recruit more older respondents and gathering more data from kinship network members of older adults (cf. section 4.5). Ideally, I would have achieved a larger, more varied sample to include widowed childless older adults, whose wider networks of support and extended kin links are likely to be important in crisis. The findings of my research can only depict support flows and relationships within the time-frame of the fieldwork, when of course situations may change for these older adults in the future. The data gathered is also limited to a small area of Kampong Ayer, Brunei Darussalam, and cannot be generalised to the whole of Kampong Ayer or Brunei Malays nationally. Having said that, my detailed discussion of the existing ethnographic literature on Brunei Malays and Southeast Asian Malays allows the wider resonances of my material with their situation to be seen.

7.6 Implications and contributions of my research: Recommendations for future research

This thesis has contributed to existing knowledge and methodological debates by demonstrating that qualitative research and ethnographic methods are important approaches to measuring intergenerational support. This thesis has contributed evidence for gerontological literature on the life-course perspective by illustrating how early life events and circumstances shape the support available for an older person in later years. Malay kinship played a significant role in how bonds are shaped throughout life, thus contributing evidence of the importance of considering socio-cultural factors in measuring intergenerational support. Understanding the local and cultural context allowed for rich interpretive data (cf. chapters 4 and 5). The local contexts observed included how local economy and job availability have changed, the significance of *mengasuh* and parental responsibility, negative connotations of dependency and the importance of inter-dependent support. These contexts emphasise respondents' perceptions and motivations of support. Providing rich locally contextualised data is evidently important for policymakers, as existing discourses and policies generalise the extended family system and see multi-generational living as wholly beneficial for older people (cf. section 2.2.5). The policy implications include a need to do further research where the boundaries of household and household members have a cultural context to Brunei, I recommend that Brunei's policymakers should no longer rely on multi-generational living as an indicator of older adults' wellbeing (Rahman, 2020)(cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.5). The findings suggest more complex and varied situations of Brunei Malay families, thereby adding important knowledge of intergenerational support and relationships of Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer. Other policy implications of continued support from older adults in

Brunei include the vulnerabilities of low SES families especially as youth unemployment continues, which illustrate gaps in Brunei's national strategy (Vision or *Wawasan* 2035) to achieve social security for all by the year 2035 (ibid). This thesis offers new ethnographic insights on a Malay society in Southeast Asia, within the unique socio-demographic and economic setting of Brunei. Further ethnographic efforts should be made to generate data on the wide-ranging situations and communities of older adults in Brunei Darussalam.

Appendix A

Panduan Temu Bual

1. General Background (personal background, and network)

   Latar Belakang Umum (latar belakang peribadi, dan rangkaian)

   a. Place of birth and year.

      Tempat lahir dan tahun.

   b. How long have they lived in Kg Ayer (and why?).

      Berapa lama mereka tinggal di Kg Ayer (dan kenapa?).

   c. Marital status & history (how many years married/divorced/widowed/etc).

      Status kelamin & sejarah (berapa tahun berkahwin / bercerai / balu / dll).

   d. No. of children (background into the children, where they are, what they do).

      Bilangan anak (latar belakang anak-anak, di mana mereka, apa mereka buat eg. penuntut, bekerja, menganggur.).

   e. Siblings? Parents?

      Adik beradik? Ibu bapa?

   f. “Who lives with you now?”

      "Siapa yang tinggal bersama anda sekarang?"

   g. Probe into getting family network / kin diagrams.

      Siasat untuk mendapatkan rangkaian keluarga/rajah keluarga.

   h. Current employment or source of income (probe previous employment, when did they retire, other forms of income or monetary gifts).

      Pekerjaan semasa atau sumber pendapatan (siasat pekerjaan terdahulu, bila mereka bersara, lain-lain bentuk pendapatan atau hadiah berupa kewangan).

   i. Where does their source of income usually go?

      Apakah biasanya mereka belanjakan dengan sumber kewangan mereka?

2. Current daily activities (network and support flows, definition of needs and activities).

   Kegiatan harian semasa (aliran rangkaian dan sokongan, definisi keperluan dan kegiatan).

   a. Typical day (activities, chores, ‘work’).

      Hari biasa (kegiatan, karja rumah, 'kerja').

   b. (Note down setting, facilities etc).

      (Ambil perhatian mengenai keadaan, kemudahan dan lain-lain).

   c. Basic needs, most important needs.

Keperluan asas, keperluan yang paling penting.

d. Would they be able to live without support? (And how?).

Adakah mereka dapat hidup tanpa sokongan? (Dan bagaimana?).

e. Challenges faced day-to-day.

Cabaran yang dihadapi setiap hari.

f. Who provides support? And to whom they provide support?

Siapa yang memberi sokongan? Dan kepada siapa mereka memberi sokongan?

g. Probe into crises and periods of needs (for self and others). How have they coped?

Siasat mengenai krisis dan tempoh-tempoh yang memerlukan (untuk diri sendiri dan orang lain). Bagaimana mereka mengendalikan nya?

3. Contact and purpose of contact (network and support flows):

Kenalan/Kontek dan tujuan hubungan (rangkaian dan aliran sokongan):

a. "Do you see your children often?" Current contact with children (probe how, why, what for, how they feel about it) Do they call?

"Adakah anda sering berjumpa anak-anak anda?" Hubungan semasa dengan anak-anak [Siasat bagaimana, mengapa, untuk apa, bagaimana perasaan mereka mengenainya) Adakah mereka memanggil (call)]?

b. "Who/who-else do you see often?" Contact with other people (probe)

"Siapa / siapa lagi yang anda sering jumpa?" Hubungan dengan orang lain (siasat).

c. Reasons for providing or receiving support, and how they feel about it and why (Support flows).

Sebab-sebab menyediakan atau menerima sokongan, dan bagaimana mereka merasakannya dan mengapa (aliran sokongan).

d. Challenges being in contact? Or providing/receiving support? (Migration, employment, poverty? How have arrangements been made?)

Cabaran sebagai kontek? Atau memberi / menerima sokongan? (Pemindahan/Migrasi, pekerjaan, kemiskinan? Bagaimana keadaan diselesaikan?)

4. Childhood and Family history.

Sejarah anak-anak dan keluarga.

a. "What was life like when you were a child?"

"Bagaimanakah kehidupan semasa anda masih kecil?"

b. "Who lived with you?"

"Siapa yang tinggal bersama anda?

c. Family members (Mother, Father, Grandparents, Siblings, Others) (Kinship diagram).

Ahli keluarga (Ibu, Bapa, Nenek, Adik-beradik, Lain-lain) (rajah kekerabatan/kekeluargaan).

d. Where did family members live? (together, separated, far? etc).

Di manakah ahli keluarga tinggal? (tinggal bersama, berasingan, jauh dan sebagainya).

e. Family members roles (and their opinion of their family members, and relationships).

Peranan ahli keluarga (dan pendapat mereka tentang ahli keluarga mereka, dan hubungan).

f. Family members employment, chores (who was in charge of what).

Pekerjaan ahli keluarga, kerja rumah (siapa yang bertanggungjawab terhadap apa).

g. Breakdown of chores/support (Food, money, transport, etc).

Pecahan tugas rumah / sokongan (Makanan, wang, pengangkutan, dll).

h. Who else outside of family members were involved in support arrangements?

Siapa lagi di luar ahli keluarga yang terlibat dalam pengaturan sokongan?

i. Activities as a child (role as a child).

Kegiatan sebagai kanak-kanak (peranan sebagai kanak-kanak).

j. Where are your family members now? (Parents, grandparents, siblings) Any contact?

Di manakah ahli keluarga anda sekarang? (Ibu bapa, datuk nenek, adik beradik) Ada hubungan?

k. Any period of crises, and how this was resolved?

Sebarang tempoh krisis, dan bagaimana ini diselesaikan?

5. Education and Employment (support arrangements as they got employed).

Pendidikan dan Pekerjaan (pengaturan sokongan ketika mereka bekerja).

a. “Where did you go to school?” (Education background, highest qualification, education opportunity at the time, who supported their education?)

"Di manakah anda bersekolah?" (latar belakang pendidikan, kelayakan tertinggi, peluang pendidikan pada masa itu, siapa yang menyokong pendidikan mereka?)

b. First job (What was income used for?)

Pekerjaan pertama (Apakah belanjakan untuk pendapatan?)

c. Job history (include job opportunity at the time).

Sejarah pekerjaan (termasuk peluang pekerjaan pada masa itu).

d. Living arrangement history with family/others (Married with children?)

Sejarah pengaturan hidup dengan keluarga /orang lain (Berkahwin dengan punya anak?)

e. Relationship with family while earning (support arrangements, probe how they felt about it, and why they did it etc)

Hubungan dengan keluarga semasa menyara kehidupan (pengaturan sokongan, siasat bagaimana mereka merasakannya, dan mengapa mereka melakukannya dan lain-lain)

6. Their own Role and Comparison.

Peranan dan Perbandingan mereka sendiri.

   a. How they feel their role is as a parent? (Hypothetical is no children).

      Bagaimana mereka merasakan peranan mereka sebagai ibu bapa? (Hipotesis jika tiada anak).

   b. What happened when their children got employed? (Hypothetical if no children).

      Apa yang berlaku apabila anak-anak mereka bekerja? (Hypothetical jika tiada anak).

   c. What happened when their children got employed and/or married? (Hypothetical if no children).

      Apa yang berlaku apabila anak-anak mereka bekerja dan / atau berkahwin? (Hypothetical jika tiada anak).

   d. Children's role to their parent, what should be done when their parent gets older.

      Peranan anak-anak kepada ibu bapa mereka, apa yang perlu dilakukan apabila ibu bapa mereka menjadi lebih tua.

   e. Role as grandparent? (Hypothetical if no grandchildren)

      Peranan sebagai datuk nenek? (Hypothetical jika tiada cucu)

   f. Differences in their role, as a grandparent/older-parent compared to previous generation?

      Perbezaan dalam peranan mereka, sebagai nenek atau ibu bapa yang lebih tua berbanding dengan generasi sebelumnya?

   g. Differences in how family relationships and support from then, their past, to now?

      Perbezaan bagaimana hubungan keluarga dan sokongan dari masa dulu, masa lalu mereka hingga sekarang?

7. Interview conclusion.

Kesimpulan temu bual.

   a. Any questions or important topics they would like to mention?

      Ada soalan? Atau topik penting yang ingin mereka sebutkan?

Appendix B

Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: **The Influence of Changing Family Dynamics on Intergenerational Support in Kampong Ayer, Brunei Darussalam**

Researcher: Kartini Rahman

ERGO number: 28201

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is Kartini Rahman, I am a PhD student from the University of Southampton. This research is about intergenerational relationships and support. My academic study is funded by the Centre for Strategic and Policy Studies (CSPS), of Brunei Darussalam. I am an Associate Researcher at the CSPS, and I am on study leave.

Why have I been asked to participate?

You are suitable to take part because you are connected to the community I am interested in for this research. You are not required to participate in this research, you have the right to refuse, and there is no penalty if you refuse.

What will happen to me if I take part?

There will be multiple conversations with me over the next 6 months. You can choose the number of conversations you wish you have, and it is up to you whether our conversations are audio-recorded. The first time we meet I might ask you lots of questions about your life, your family relationships and support. This will take one to two hours. After that I might visit you for shorter conversations. I will take notes on the surrounding environment and activities which may take place during my visit. I will ask you if I can take a photograph of anything that I think may be useful. Interviews will be at a time when it is suitable for you.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

This research will help me understand how families and older people support each other. This research helps the Kampong Ayer community voice out any issues. There are no direct benefits for anyone taking part, by you may benefit by sharing your experience and reflecting on your family life and community.

Are there any risks involved?

There may be questions I ask which can cause distress. You don't have to answer any questions you don't like. If you want to leave the research, you can leave any time during the 6 months of data collection.

Will my participation be confidential?

Yes. I will want to write about the experiences of Kampong Ayer people I talk to. I will do this in a way which does not identify the community or you. For this reason I will not use your real name or any information which can identify you. All the information which I collect will be password protected on my computer. We will follow strict confidentiality and data protection guidelines.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to leave the study at anytime during the 6 months of data collection. There will be no penalties if you leave. Any data collected from you will be destroyed.

What will happen to the results of the research?

Results will be written up as my PhD thesis. A final hard copy of the thesis will be kept at the University of Southampton's library. This will eventually be publically available. The results of the research will also be written up as a policy brief. You can be given a copy of the policy brief, when it is published.

Where can I get more information?

Please contact Kartini Rahman by phone (phone number), or email @soton.ac.uk if you have any questions.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If you have any concerns about the study, please contact the University of Southampton's Research Integrity and Governance Manager (+44, @soton.ac.uk).

Thank you.

Thank you for taking the time to read this and for thinking about taking part in the research.

Appendix C

CONSENT FORM

Study title: The Influence of Changing Family Dynamics on Intergenerational Support in Kampong Ayer, Brunei Darussalam

Researcher name: Kartini Rahman

ERGO number: 28201

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read (or been read) and understood the information sheet (27.07.2017/version no. 1) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time during the data collection period (6 months) for any reason without my rights being affected.	
I agree that my interview will be audio recorded.	
I agree that the researcher may revisit me for further interviews after the 6 month data collection is finished.	
I understand my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research.	

Name of participant (print name)……

Signature of participant……

Date……..……..

…….

In case of verbal consent, researcher will sign that verbal consent was given:

Signature of
researcher …….

Date……
…..

Appendix D

Observation Guide

- Describe the setting

- Participants and their characteristics
  Give detailed description of characteristics of the participant, such as age, gender, health and wealth

- Participant's roles
  Describe the participant's activities of behaviours, and what roles the participant portrays or exemplifies (e.g. head of household; describe behaviours which portray this in the context of the community, or roles such as driving family members to their destination, or taking care of children, or washing up/doing chores)

- How is support provided or given?
  Describe the order of events, the people involved, roles and relations

- What hierarchies are present?
  Describe relations among participants

- Nature of interactions
  Describe the nature of interactions, the mood and purpose

- Verbal communication
  Words used

- Non-verbal communication
  Body language, tone of voice, gestures, eye contact, etc

Appendix E

From: ERGO
Sent: 30 August 2017 00:47
To: Rahman K.
Subject: Your Ethics Submission (Ethics ID:28201) has been reviewed and approved

Submission Number: 28201
Submission Name: The Influence of Changing Family Dynamics on Intergenerational Support in Kampong Ayer, Brunei Darussalam
This is email is to let you know your submission was approved by the Ethics Committee.

You can begin your research unless you are still awaiting specific Health and Safety approval (e.g. for a Genetic or Biological Materials Risk Assessment)

Comments
1.Many thanks for your well prepared application. I apologize for the delay in approving it. Good luck with your research.

Click here to view your submission
Coordinator: Kartini Rahman

ERGO : Ethics and Research Governance Online
http://www.ergo.soton.ac.uk

DO NOT REPLY TO THIS EMAIL

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