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THAT'S A WRAP: USING CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO EXPLICATE THE FILM PORTRAYAL OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ELDERLY PARENTS AND THEIR ADULT CHILD(REN) IN A CAREGIVING RELATIONSHIP

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DISSERTATION

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To the Three Amigos (Daddy, Mama, and Mikie), it was a pleasure and a joy.

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ABSTRACT

There are burgeoning numbers of elderly and a significant number of their adult children provide them with some level of care. To date, there has been little research on elderly parents' perspective as they communicate with their adult children about the care provided by their children. This dissertation addresses this gap by identifying the nature of the communication, as portrayed in film, which occurs between an elderly parent (EP) and their caregiving adult child (AC). In addition to identifying the nature of communication between an EP and their AC, I examine the similarities/differences of their communication among the films.

I use Communication frameworks that are both theoretical and methodological and focus first on the Ethnography of Communication (EOC) (Hymes, 1964, 1972, 1974). The EOC emphasizes the patterned ways of speaking, focuses on the situated context of the discourse, and highlights the culture of the speakers and the culture of the context where communication is constructed. Along with the EOC, I utilize the Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA) (Carbaugh, 2007, 2016, 2017) which has a strong foundation in the EOC and which

also places a strong emphasis on the contextual importance of discourse and recognizes that culture and communication are inextricable.

I make use of film to gather data for this study by acknowledging that film is a reflection of society (Anderson, 2010) and can also be used for self-reflection (Romano, 2003). The selected films span approximately 80 years and represent EPs and their AC from three countries (United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom). These movies were selected from extensive searches of Google, Google Scholar, IMDb, Amazon Prime, and Sundance. Key terms for the searches included movies/cinema/film; old age/elderly parent/caring for elderly parent and the movies needed to be of the English language or closed captioned for accuracy in transcription.

I first describe the actors' messages with the SPEAKING framework, inherent within the EOC (Hymes, 1964, 1972, 1974) and then used the construct of CuDA's hubs and radiants of meaning to identify what interlocutors found to be valuable.

While the hubs and radiants of meaning of each respective family varied from family-to-family, the EPs from all the movies placed a high value to their respective hub of dwelling and none of the EPs wanted caregivers in their home. This conflicted with three of the four AC's identity radiants of caregiver as the AC prioritize their parent's safety over their EP's desire to remain an independent person in their home. The communication norms (defined within the CuDA process of analysis) varied among film families as did the ways of speaking that each family uses among themselves are illustrative of their family culture.

The results of this study indicated that CuDA is useful to examine the communication and elucidate the messages of characters portrayed in film. In addition, these results suggest that CuDA can be used to discover the meanings of messages between actual EPs and their

AC as it pertains to their caregiving relationship. Moreover, with CuDA's emphasis upon culture's inextricability with communication, the CuDA process could be used in the future to determine if a culture of caregiving exists between EPs and their AC and could further identify how that caregiving culture is constructed. Finally, with regard to CuDA and research implications, a study could be developed to examine if the communication between EPs and their AC in a caregiving relationship, as portrayed in films in other countries; i.e., is there a cross-cultural filial caregiving culture?

This study offers implications for EP/AC caregiving relationships and provides insight into the strong desire of EP to live in their own home and without outside caregiver support. This further suggests that different messaging needs to be constructed to allow EPs to accept and explore living options when they are older, which may allow EPs to continue to live in their own homes. With the increases in EPs, this study has widespread implications for their AC's decision-making outcomes.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Problem

"It is not death that the very old tell me they fear. It is what happens short of death—losing their hearing, their memory, their best friends, their way of life" (Gawande, 2014, p. 55). This conceptualization by Gawande, from his work with aging adults, describes fears that can emerge when older adults consider a future filled with a potential inability to live within their former constructs of identity, dwelling, independence, routines, habits, mores, and culturally familiar ways of daily living.

This study examines the film portrayal of elderly parents (EP), whose movie characters are experiencing variations of the conditions noted by Gawande, and who are also receiving some aspect of care from their adult children (AC). The analysis that I present focuses on a range of film portrayals of the communication between EP and their AC. Using the framework of Cultural Discourse Analysis, or CuDA (Carbaugh, 2007, 2012, 2016), I describe, interpret, and compare the film portrayals of elderly parents' discourses as they communicate with their adult children aspects of their identity/personhood, action/doing, relating, emotions, and dwelling; within CuDA, these are identified as discursive hubs and radiants of meaning.

The real-world consequences of the losses noted by Gawande (2014) can be pervasive and physically and emotionally painful (Cohen-Mansfield et al., 2006; Talmage et al., 2020). These include loss of independence (Widera et al., 2011) and autonomy (Dickerson et al., 2006), loss of health, decreased finances (Iecovich & Lankri, 2002), facing mortality, and loss of bodily control, among others. This litany can continue if one chooses to consider

every physical and/or social/emotional state that can affect humans and their active participation in life (Alma et al., 2011; Emmins, 2004; Marottoli et al., 2000).

To be sure, there are some who fare well with aging. This is due to certain positive aspects of a person's life and environmental considerations (Jeste & Depp, 2009). The film portrayals of EPs in this study, correspondingly, include those of parents with varying degrees of memory, physical health, and desire to engage in life, mirroring the situations of actual Eps, who exhibit wide variation in how they deal with the challenges of aging (Coulter et al., 2019; Pearson et al., 2019). Further, regardless of how well one deals with the consequences of age-associated losses or how successfully implemented are the supporting variables that can contribute to healthy aging, the elderly are a cadre of people who must be listened to, if for no other reason than their burgeoning numbers (Mather et al., 2015).

The 65-and-older population in the United States grew by over one-third (34.2% or 13,787,044 individuals) during the past decade, and increased by 3.2% (1,688,924 individuals) from 2018 to 2019 alone (Roberts et al., 2018). Numbers such as these will have a proportionately greater societal impact as resources are required to address this population's specialized needs (Niehaves, 2011) given that, between 2012 and 2050 in the United States alone, we will experience substantial growth in our aging population, and it is projected that in 2050, the population of people aged 65 and over will be 83.7 million (Mather et al., 2015).

Physical changes can be apparent such as when an elderly person cannot negotiate stairs, whereas other aspects of aging, such as pain and depression, can be more difficult to identify and can also contribute to poor quality of life (Adebayo, 2020; Hung et al., 2017). Common and chronic physical conditions affect nearly 50% of the elderly population

(Barbour et al., 2017); moreover, such conditions are strongly related to both pain and depression, although they often respond well to the social support of a family (Brown et al., 1989; Cobb, 1976; Ferreira & Sherman, 2007; Roberts et al., 2015; Zyrianova et al., 2006). So, by simply considering the large population of EPs who do/will rely on family support of their AC, the numbers of caregiving children are considerable (Lai, 2020).

Indeed, at some point in their lives, approximately 17% of adult children will care for their parents, a likelihood that increases as their parents age (Graham, 2018). Considering that as of 2016 there were more than 49 million adults over the age of 65 in the United States, 17% of adult children is a large number to consider (Roberts et al., 2018). Not surprisingly, and likely because of this percentage, many publications speak to the effects on adult children who are giving parental care. Many of these effects are negative, relating to loss of income and to the emotional, physical, and social challenges that arise because of their filial caregiving, which can be overwhelming and challenging (Aires et al., 2017; Amirkhanyan & Wolf, 2006; Archer et al., 2021; Bainbridge & Broady, 2017; Feinberg et al., 2011; Lai, 2010).

As a student of Communication, I have long been interested in the dynamics of my own caregiving relationship with my parents and have been surprised by the lack of scholarly work on the topic of this proposed study. I am intimately aware of the fact that growing old and being elderly is often difficult and is not always welcomed (Fowler et al., 2015). Further, I am cognizant that there is at least one aspect that is under-explored when examining elderly parent and adult child(ren) caregiving relationships: the lack of investigation of the effects on parents while engaged in a relationship with their caregiving children. The following

observation by an elderly parent, featured in an *Atlantic Magazine* article on this topic, sheds light on how some EPs feel when their adult children visit them:

> Whenever Brenda drops by, I'm not sure whether she's come to visit or to check up on me: Does my home meet the clean test? Is the yogurt in my refrigerator long past its "use by" date? I feel like I'm constantly being assessed. (quoted in Berman, 2016)

This observation by Brenda's mother illustrates just one component of the ambivalence elderly parents feel regarding wanting or needing help from a child versus wanting or needing autonomy, a tension that has been shown to complicate matters in filial caregiving (Lendon et al., 2014; Spitze & Gallant, 2004; Yu et al., 2017). Yet, even if an elderly parent desires additional support from their adult child, there are few studies that investigate the emotional, physical, cognitive, and social needs/wants from the perspective of the elderly parent (Holroyd-Leduc et al., 2016; Sharp et al., 2013).

Given the numbers of elders in the U.S. population, as mentioned above, it is not clear why, to date, there has been less attention to elderly parents who are the recipients of care relative to other groups, especially in light of the frequently encountered "centered-ness" and "driven-ness" that are prevalent in other aspects of contemporary U.S. life (e.g., patient-centered care, child-centered education, customer-driven service). Investigating *why* there are limited studies on such elderly-driven care is not within the scope of this study. However, the present dissertation does include looking at the messages that are constructed by and used between elderly parents and their adult children in fictional/film portrayals. By examining these messages, we learn what elderly parents are saying and what they are trying to communicate to their AC about their care. Armed with these results, I hope that this investigation will yield insight into how caregiving of elderly parents has been portrayed and

how it can be improved, which could concomitantly lessen the negative effects of caregiving on adult children.[1]

Research Context

Films have long portrayed societal views toward elderly people and therefore can provide a mechanism for examining details about their daily lives via images and stories (Meneghel & Minayo, 2021). In the present study, movies' content, and particularly their dialogue, serves as the corpus of data that will be analyzed in order to understand how caregiving relationships between EPs and their AC are portrayed. Obviously, the segment of the population who watch such film portrayals will vary, as will their interpretation of the movies (Brylla, 2018; Eden et al., 2018; Oliver & Hartmann, 2010; Oliver et al., 2018). However, examining the discourse presented through popular film can offer the perspectives of their producers, directors, writers, and performers, who have demonstrated an interest in the topic of elder care, as well as insight into how moviegoers, as members of society, construe how elderly parents should be cared for by their adult children.

More specifically, as noted above, this dissertation examines four films' portrayals and discursive interactions between elderly parents and their adult children by drawing upon Cultural Discourse Analysis (Carbaugh, 2007). CuDA uses communication as its primary data, views communication as its essential theoretical concern, and concomitantly examines how communication is shaped as a cultural practice. As such, CuDA is an effective

[1] When this study was initially proposed, AC and their respective EP were to be interviewed face-to-face about their caregiving relationship with subsequently analyzed using the CuDA framework. The global COVID pandemic ended that possibility due to the issues of quarantine and the necessary blanket of protection for the elderly. Therefore, the medium of cinema was selected for study.

theoretical *and* methodological foundation for the study, which investigates of portrayals of various aspects of parent and child communicative practice. CuDA also offers an opportunity to examine these films' depictions of different contexts within filial caregiving from the perspective of an EP and their AC. In doing so, the study explores the varying ways that people involved in such relationships demonstrate their unique understandings of each other's shared meanings (Carbaugh, 2007). Additionally, there has been very little work on this relationship that builds on the theory and methods of Cultural Discourse Analysis, and virtually no examination of the parent's perspective rather than solely on that of the caregiving child.

Like the Ethnography of Communication (Hymes, 1970, 1972, 1976), the theoretical and methodological approach from which it draws much of its foundation, CuDA, too, analyzes the situated contexts of interactions. Within the situated and discursive film interactions between parent and child are patterns of meanings (Fiese et al., 2002; Geertz, 1973), which have been historically transmitted and maintained over the lifetimes of child and parent, making EOC and CuDA ideal frameworks through which to analyze the films under investigation

The intersection of communication and culture is another integral concept of CuDA. As Geertz (1973) argues, the perpetuation of symbolic meanings substantiates these aspects of culture. As demonstrated by these films' analyses, the meanings that parents give to their discourse with their children is reflective of culture, which itself is constituted via communication (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019).

Research Assumptions

To the above point, I begin this research "with the assumption that communication and culture are inseparably intertwined, somewhat like the layers of a holographic image" (Philipsen, 2014, p. 57). This is a salient aspect of the present study because of an additional assumption: Cultural implications accompanying familial relationships are fraught with naturally constitutive messages to which we each give our unique meaning. Further, like any variety of culture, a culture that is relational is constituted from "interpretive orientations" within relationships, which persons self-define and which are revised throughout the duration of the relationship (Wood, 1982, p. 75). It is the overlay and interplay of family communications that illustrate the holographic analogy offered by Philipsen (2014), an analogy that also applies to the various layers of interpretations within a caregiving relationship between elderly parents and their adult children.

An additional assumption guiding the present study is that caring for an elderly parent can be challenging (Carretero et al., 2009; Coe & Van Houtven, 2009; Lin et al., 2013). While the present study does not contribute directly to the literature on the difficulties faced by adult caregiving children in real life, it does offer a valuable perspective on popular media's messages about what parents are communicating/trying to communicate in the situated context of an EP and AC relationship.

Each of the movies selected for analysis features elderly parents who receive or are offered some aspect of care from their adult child. The analyses of the films focus on communicative acts of parent actors as they interact and express their desires, wants, and needs concerning their (desired) participation in their own lives and according to their own agendas. Portrayals of historical events, interactions, and subsequent interpretations by

elderly parents during their interactions with their children are analyzed from the parent's perspective in addition to that of the adult child (who often offers their own interpretation of what a parent says/wants/needs). This study's focus is on the communication between an EP and their AC, within their respective caregiving relationship, and spotlights who the focus of a caregiving relationship should be: the person needing care; i.e., the parent.

Rationale

To date, there is little research on the perspective of an elderly parent receiving care from an adult child. Addressing this gap, the present study identifies the nature of the communication, as portrayed in film, which occurs between a care-receiving, elderly parent, and their caregiving adult child. The selected films were identified after an extensive search of movie portrayals of filial caregiving approaches, chosen on the basis of the diversity of their dates of release, intended target audiences, settings, storylines, and portrayed parent/child situations. This diversity in movies provides insights into a range of similarities and differences in the ways that elderly parents, their adult children, and the parent/child caregiving relationship are communicated to mass audiences (Brylla, 2018).

The timeliness of identifying and interpreting the ways of speaking by elderly parents is particularly critical given that parent care is the primary caregiving situation for mid-life caregivers (Wagner & Takagi, 2010). The aforementioned 17% of adult American children provide some aspect of care for their elderly parent (Graham, 2018), and therefore the societal impact of the parent/child caregiving relationship is increasingly significant given the ever-increasing number of adult children caring for them. As elderly parent/adult child(ren) caregiving relationships increase, issues involving medical and sociological

concerns become more pressing and the ways in which they are portrayed in mass media, such as film, also take on greater importance (Karasik et al., 2014; Shary & McVittie, 2016).

Research Questions

In the present study, I will be asking and answering the following Research Questions (RQs):

RQ1: How do films portray elderly parents' communication with their adult child(ren) from whom they receive some aspect of care?

RQ2: In what ways do the selected films' portrayals of such communication differ from each other? In what ways are they similar?

I will review the foundational literature for this study in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 describes the methodological approach guiding this investigation. Chapter 4 provides the results of the four movie analyses while Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the study's findings and their important, a consideration of the study's limitations, and recommendations/implications for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Woven into the "most mundane and ubiquitous of verbal activities" (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 26) that contribute to the routine tapestry of filial care-giving-receiving relationships are the extant beliefs, values, and symbolic expressions that each communicator brings to their interactions with each other. Indeed, it is the everyday communication of care-needing elders and care-giving adult children that is the weft to the connective warp of their discursive activities. This discourse can be comprehensively described and interpreted through the analytical and theoretical lenses of Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA) (Carbaugh, 2007, 2016, 2017), which has its foundations in the ethnography of communication, with influence from cultural discourse theory (Philipsen, 1987) and speech codes theory (Philipsen et al., 2005).

This literature review explicates the reasoning and implications for asking and answering the present study's RQs,

RQ1: How do films portray elderly parents' communication with their adult child(ren) from whom they receive some aspect of care?

RQ2: In what ways do the selected films' portrayals of such communication differ from each other? In what ways are they similar?

This chapter also discusses the use of CuDA in an exploration of elderly parent (EP) and adult child (AC) relationships that are captured in film. In the sections below, I move through a discussion of culture and the EP and AC caregiver relationship, CuDA and its foundational underpinnings, contributions of the Ethnography of Communication (EOC) (Hymes, 1962, 1972/1986, 1974) to CuDA, cultural propositions and premises, and aspects of the elderly population germane to this study.

Culture and the Elderly Parent/Adult Child Caregiver Relationship

Culture is not the equivalent of ethnicity or nationality, although these two demographic indicators of a person can contribute to a person's culture. Neither does culture refer to a political tendency or to a geographic location. Rather, Philipsen argues, culture refers to a "system of meanings, an organized complex of symbols, definitions, premises, and rules" (1992, p. 14). Hall expands on this idea in his claim that culture is "a historically shared system of symbolic resources through which we make our world meaningful" (Hall et al., 2017, p. 4). The shared and social construction of culture crucially involves a patterned transmission of symbols, meanings, premises, and rules (Philipsen, 1992). When considering the symbiotic nature between culture and communication, Geertz's definition of culture as "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols" (1973, p.89) is also useful as it highlights that the communicative action between parent and child can convey the culture within that specific, caregiving relationship.

The various manifestations of culture that are illustrated via a person's worldviews, values, and norms (Hall et al., 2017) can differ between the people within a filial caregiving relationship and, as a result, an adult child may feel pressure to place a parent's needs ahead of his/her own (Lendon et al., 2014). Yet, there are other instances when an adult child (AC) is compelled to place their own quest for professional achievement over the time that a social, time-intensive, relationship with an elderly parent (EP) requires. These situations add to the ambivalence that is often experienced by ACs when giving care to their EP (Bengtson et al., 2009; Ferring et al., 2009; Lendon et al., 2014; Schulz et al., 2020; Spitze & Gallant, 2004; Yu et al., 2017). Personal values of both EP and AC are relevant when determining the type of support and care that an EP needs, which may align or conflict with the values and

desires of the AC who determines care for their EP. Providing or not providing care for an EP could reflect a familial culture or could be related to a parent's belief that the support they provided during their child's upbringing results in a *quid pro quo* when fortunes are reversed and the child now has the resources to support a parent (Lowenstein et al., 2007; Stuifbergen & Van Delden, 2011). Discrepancies between adult and child values regarding things like time and money can affect the quality of a relationship as what "should be" may be pitted against "what is." Because of such discrepancies in expectations concerning social rules and norms between child and parent, additional stress and pressure on a relationship (Hall et al., 2017).

Cultural Discourse Analysis and its Application to the Analysis of the EP/AC Relationship

As an offshoot from the Ethnography of Communication, Cultural Discourse Analysis, or CuDA (Carbaugh, 2007, 2016, 2017), is built on the belief that communication, "in all of its media and meanings, is understood in the cultural contexts where it is lived, and according to the forms, styles, premises, and rules that are locally active" (Carbaugh et al., 1997, p. 2). Thus, it is within the situated contexts of actual discourse where communication is constituted.

CuDA is also a process of analysis of cultural interactions, social interactions, and cultural dynamics within said interactions. From a theoretical standpoint, CuDA is founded upon the principle that communication involves localized and unique avenues of expression that contain rich processing of meaning. Verbal and non-verbal communications are CuDA's foci and are used as primary data to study the symbiotic relationship between culture and communication; indeed, CuDA views communication as shaped from cultural practice,

making an inextricable linkage between communication and culture. With communication as its primary data, CuDA's theoretical concerns unite various insights into the cultural shaping of communication practices (Carbaugh, 2007).

A theoretical hallmark of CuDA is that the medium of communication is used to systematically categorize an understanding of the manner in which culture is integrally a component of communication (Carbaugh, 2007). With this in mind, cultural discourse is defined as "a historically transmitted expressive system of communication practices, of acts, events, and styles, which are composed of specific symbols, symbolic forms, norms, and their meanings" (Carbaugh, 2007, p. 169; also see Carbaugh et al., 1997).

Another key component of CuDA is its focus on what are called "hubs of meaning," which are illustrative of what is meaningful to the participants and which are portrayed within a discourse. The discursive hubs are being/identity/personhood, action/acting/doing, emotions/feeling, relating/relationship, dwelling/place, and temporality. Temporality is a hub of meaning that was not included in the original development of CuDA but has since been added (D. Carbaugh, personal communication, June 13, 2021). In addition to definitions of each hub, I provide examples of how each hub of meaning is related to and affected by other hubs, which can point to a non-linear analysis of discursive events.

Hubs of meanings of being, personhood, and identity refer to discourse about how people are identified. A person can have more than one identity and can be identified by themselves or by others; further, there can be nuances of identity, and these can vary within a person. There is also a temporality to this hub with regard to the present study as parents' perspectives of identity have evolved over time with a temporal continuity that "point to a view in the world of objects in space and time" (Goffman, 1963, as cited in Sabat & Harre,

1992, p. 445). During the time of adjusting to aging, parents can encounter experiences that equate to a loss of self, and is likely what aging parents describe when they can no longer care for themselves, whether it involves personal finance management, hygiene, toileting, meal preparation, shopping, or other matters (Charmaz, 1983; Wilhelmson & Eklund, 2013). Meanings that are derived from some aspect of having a purpose within the identity of an elder have been shown to contribute to an enhanced quality of living. By contrast, developing an identity of being a burden is a detriment to positive quality of life and is depicted to some degree in all of the films in the present study (Harrefors et al., 2009; Sarvima & Stenbock-Hult, 2000).

How people relate to one another within discourse is another hub of meaning within CuDA; this hub can be constructed by people within and outside of a relationship. This discursive hub pertains to meanings that are interwoven into relations and relationships and have obvious implications for understanding EP-AC portrayals in media. Regardless of the quality or quantity of the relationship between a parent and child, the fact remains that within their shared caregiving situation, there is a relationship. Parents' meanings that are interpreted in film conversations during caregiving interactions will point to how EPs, within their caregiving relationship, interpret and define the meanings regarding "relationship terms, personal idioms, and uses of relative address terms" (Carbaugh, 2007, p. 175) by their children. Implications emerging from parental favoritism toward a particular child, previous emotional closeness to a parent, gender of a child, and other factors play some role within a filial relationship, and talk regarding these issues that occurs within the caregiving relationship may thus emerge in film portrayals (Grigoryeva, 2014; Mancini & Blieszner, 1989; Morais & Fernandes, 2019; Suitor et al., 2014).

Another CuDA hub of meaning focuses on discourses regarding action/acting/doing. This hub can also intersect with the discursive hub of identity and emoting, which can also spill into a discursive hub of dwelling and temporality (see below). Being an active contributor to one's own life and/or contributing to the lives of others gives meaning and contributes to providing purpose to one's life (Glass, 2013; Lazar, 2000; O'Leary & Were, 2017). Further, being actively engaged in decision-making, daily living, and being able to accomplish self-directed activities is desired by the elderly and has implications for parents who wish to maintain their independence in the dwelling of their choice (Sano & Kyougoku, 2016; Zecevic et al., 2010).

CuDA also contains a discursive hub of meaning that encompasses feeling/emotion/ affect. Certainly, feelings can vary with time and can evolve within a relationship over the life of a child. It also seems reasonable to expect that communication between children and parents will contain some aspect of emotion. Further, there can be a continuum of emotions from gratitude and love to resentment and hatred (Baldassar, 2015; Lendon et al., 2014; Novak, 2014). These emotions can be about the relationship itself or can intersect with the emotional loss of a previous lifestyle or identity, which can occur with longevity and its accompanying deterioration of health (Wilhelmson & Eklund, 2013). Also, emotions can erupt when participants (children or parents) face a respective/prospective loss of health and freedom (Cohen et al., 2015). There are also the emotions experienced by adult children who, as they experience the deterioration of their parent, relate to the deterioration as a portent of their parent's eventual demise (Sanders, 2008), which seems reasonable to assume can spill over into their relationship.

A hub of meaning that can arise from discourse is that of dwelling/place/environment. As with other hubs of meaning, dwelling can be related to the identity of a parent, which can be fraught with the emotions of lifelong relationships. The discussions between elderly parents and their adult children about parental living conditions and their strong desire to remain in their own homes occur frequently (Lewin, 2001; Mynatt et al., 2000). Dwelling can also pertain to the geography of "thinking, gathering our thoughts, holding our attentiveness" (Carbaugh & Cerulli, 2017, p. 6).

Lastly, the most recent addition to CuDA's discursive hubs of meaning is temporality (D. Carbaugh, personal communication, June 13, 2021). This hub utilizes the meanings of discourse along the continuum of past, present, and future. The temporality of discursive action can be considered as a "necessary counterpart to dwelling-in-place in the theorization of context" (Katriel & Liveo, 2018, p. 58). As EPs reflect on what they have done in the past, consider what they are currently capable of doing, and anticipate what their future may bring, they could plan for a future for which they have some agency.

Cultural Propositions

To further interpret the messages and fully utilize the hubs of meaning noted above, CuDA provides a process that uses the actual words of the interlocutors, "which captures participants' definitions, concepts, premises, beliefs or values" (Carbaugh, 2002, p. 177). This process develops cultural propositions and exemplifies an individual's hubs of meaning (Carbaugh, 2007, 2016). As such, cultural propositions communicate aspects of a person's cultural beliefs and are derived from the terms and words that participants use within a communication act.

Cultural Premises

After formulating cultural propositions, CuDA contains an additional process that extricates the meaningfulness of speakers' words and supports the construction of cultural premises. Cultural premises emphasize and reflect the value that interlocutors place on their words and interpret the value of the words highlighted within a cultural proposition (Carbaugh, 2007, 2016). Cultural premises can encompass multiple cultural premises and contain an interpretation of the cultural propositions (D. Carbaugh, personal communication, June 13, 2021).

Norms

Following the formulization of the premises and propositions, an additional aspect of CuDA is presented: norms. Norms within CuDA identify the patterns of behavior that speakers expect to hear. In addition, norms include what speakers expect of themselves during interactions. Norms also contain explicit standard behaviors, although attempts at negotiating and/or disputing them can be attempted by the participants within a discursive act. Carbaugh describes norms as "an analyst's formulation of a moral message that may be stated by participants themselves, but can also be implicit in the structuring of discourse" (2007, p. 178). He goes on to say that, by understanding hubs and radiants of meaning, cultural propositions, cultural premises, and norms, interlocutors, a CuDA analyst and/or a Communication scholar can utilize the information to construct solutions for situations in which communication is problematic.

Ethnography of Communication and CuDA

Ethnography is a methodology based on direct observation (Gobo & Marciniak, 2011). The Ethnography of Communication (EOC), specifically, builds on and adapts the

ethnographic tradition, offering a theoretical and methodological approach that directly investigates “the use of language in contexts of situation, so as to discern patterns proper to speech activity” (Hymes, 1974, p. 3). Largely attributed to sociolinguist Hymes (1962) by, among others, Johnstone and Marcellino (2010), EOC recognizes the importance of examining language in contextual situations where communication “exists as an historically positioned communal resource” (Locmele & Sotirova, 2018, p. 274). One prominent aspect of the EOC is the SPEAKING framework (Hymes, 1964, 1972), which offers a categorical method to conceptualize the various aspects of a communicative situation (Locmele & Sotirova, 2018). The SPEAKING framework helps an ethnographer to identify the setting and scene (S) of the communicative act, identifies who the participants (P) are within the act; and highlights the ends goals (E) within a discursive act. (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992). The Act Sequence (A) identifies the sequences of participants within the communication, and the Key (K) indicates the tone that is transmitted within the message while the Instrumentality (I) represents the channel of communication. Finally, Norms (N) that the interlocutors use within the interaction are conceptualized and the Genre of speech is categorized (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992).

EOC is a foundational aspect of CuDA and, as such, offers support for CuDA, which also points to the inextricability of communication and culture and emphasizes an aspect of EOC as “a way to analyze communication as a cultural resource” (Carbaugh, 1995, p. 269). This is exemplified in the current study by describing, interpreting, and analyzing film portrayals of parent and child caregiving discourse. Influences from EOC on CuDA reinforce their shared foundational position: that communication is socially and culturally variable and

is constitutive of socio-cultural life**,** at least in some part (Carbaugh & Boromisza-Habashi**,** 2015; Philipsen, 1992).

Aging

A topic that naturally permeates the present study is aging, or senescence. Senescence is the "process of growing old, which occurs in all species and is typified by a gradual slowing down of metabolism and breakdown of tissues, often accompanied by endocrinal changes" (*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 2011). Anyone who is alive has aged. Most of us have acknowledged that we shall all die and many of us have experienced the biological and physical effects of senescence. For most elderly people, one's "Golden Years," an idiomatic—indeed, euphemistic—term for the leisure years that occur after retirement, are hoped to be the time of life when one flourishes. The term "Golden Years" brings with it visions of relaxation, freedom to travel, garden, play golf, etc.; indeed, this is the life that has been glamorized in many television commercials and envisioned by many long-working adults. Of course, when envisioning one's Golden Years, most of us do not focus on the challenges that aging can bring. Physical pain, emotional suffering, poor health, loss of financial security, and the fact that all of these can result in a loss of independence can move the elderly into a harsh reality and can insidiously creep into a filial relationship with their adult child (Ferring et al., 2009; Funk, 2009; Olson, 2003a, 2003b, 2016; Myerhoff, 1980).

As one enters old age, participation in lively conversations and discussions can become misunderstood or missed due to poor hearing (Bainbridge & Wallhagen, 2014; Heine & Browning, 2009). Limited participation in past ways of life can lead to isolation, embarrassment, and decreased self-confidence (Caplan & Schooler, 2003), not to mention

self-limiting previous levels of social support, leading to isolation and, in some cases, to lower cognitive functioning (Gow et al., 2007). Slower processing of incoming information into well-used brains occurs in the elderly and will delay the understanding of information, which can give the appearance of being cognitively impaired (Presacco, et al., 2016; Wingfield & Peele, 2012). But it is poor memory that is a particularly prominent foe of the elderly. While most of us, at any age, have tales of misplacing car keys, cellular phones, etc. in our homes, we eventually locate these items. Occurrences such as forgetting the day or the year, forgetting the directions for using a microwave, and forgetting the names of children produce a different level of embarrassment, angst, and fear in the elderly (Lorenz Imhof et al., 2006; Mastrian, 2001).

This type of forgetting also leads to major changes in what was always been an independent way of life. Now, poor memory compromises safety, efficiency, and independence, especially when friends and family notice the effects of diminished memory. With a history of forgetting to turn off the stove, an older adult can no longer independently and safely cook. No longer can an older adult drive to a store for food or personal items if she gets lost in the parking lot or in the store itself, which is a further assault on independence as well as one's dignity and self-esteem (Berman, 2016). Forgetfulness takes on new value when it leads to compromised safety, and, as a result, the elderly often also withdraw from social participation due to embarrassment (Dolan & Taylor-Piliae, 2020; Lorenz Imhof et al., 2006).

Withdrawal from social situations leads to social isolation. Although it is different from loneliness (Garcia Diaz et al., 2019), social isolation has also been found to be a risk factor for depression in elderly adults (Cacioppo et al., 2006; Nicholson, 2012). These risk

factors accompany increased morbidity and mortality (Cacioppo et al., 2006, 2011) and this can affect the demands upon an adult child, as increased contact with children may decrease the symptoms of depression in older parents (Buber & Engelhardt, 2008). The effects of such social withdrawal are seen to snowball and further complicate living situations.

Although an elderly parent's emotional state might not be visible to an adult child, a parent's decline can often be observable and measurable, such as when a parent's vehicle becomes increasingly dented or when their clothing is dirty and takes on the scent of urine (Dannenburg & Black, 2019). Yet there is an additional toll that older adults must assume but which is not frequently talked about: the death of friends. Learning of the death of a friend can be a sobering aspect of life as it marks the end of a meaningful relationship; this can be devastating to an elderly adult (Fitzpatrick, 1998; Myerhoff, 2007). In addition, the death of a friend does not carry with it the support that the death of a family member does, and so the survivor is left to deal with grief on his own (d'Epinay et al., 2010). Depression, isolation, and loss of independence all take a toll on the elderly and the so-called Golden Years can turn into more of the "Rusty Years," as aptly reflected in the present document's opening quote from Gawande's *Being Mortal* (2014).

Housing

Housing is a major concern of the elderly. By 2029, there will be a projected 14.4 million middle-income senior citizens, 60% of whom will have mobility limitations, and 20% of whom will have substantial health care and functional needs (Pearson et al., 2019).

These high percentages suggest that older adults will need levels of care that senior housing can provide. Senior housing varies from gated communities for those who are 55 years and older, to assisted living with communal dining rooms, to memory-care facilities

that provide 24-hour care for those with dementia/Alzheimer's; additionally, there are variations and combinations of all of these housing options. Compounding these issues for the elderly, there is a further projection that 54 percent of middle-income seniors will not have adequate financial resources to pay for this housing. This gap indicates a potential role for societal support and implications for public policy to meet future long-term care and housing needs for middle-income seniors (Pearson et al., 2019).

These statistics regarding housing and senior citizens are particularly poignant given the great desire of the elderly to remain in their own homes (Jachan et al., 2020) and/or wish to remain independent in a home setting that is safe (Fonad et al., 2006). Accordingly, CuDA's dwelling hub of meaning may be prominently displayed in films and the discourse surrounding movies about dwelling for elderly parents.

Caregiving

There are various definitions of *caregiving* that offer inconsistent definitional features (Hermanns & Mastel-Smith, 2012). For these reasons, following a thorough review and analysis of the various aspects of giving care to people, the following working definition will be used for the present study: "Caregiving is the process of helping another person who is unable to do for themselves in a 'holistic' (physically, mentally, emotionally, and socially) manner" (Hermanns & Mastel-Smith, 2002, p. 15).

In addition, "[c]aregiving is facilitated by certain character traits, emotions, skills, knowledge, time, and an emotional connection with the care recipient" (Hermanns & Mastel-Smith, 2012, p. 15). This latter definition captures a more encompassing role that extends to all aspects of caring for an elderly parent due to their various and often multi-faceted needs. While concrete aspects of caring for an elderly parent are well studied and appear to be

simple, such as providing medicine dispensers for daily prescriptions or installing grab bars in a parent's bathroom (Funk, 2006), these tasks still increase the complexity of the life of the AC (Bastawrous et al., 2015; Miller et al., 2008). This complexity of a new device or solution also extends to the lives of the EP, which can cause anxiety for them when they must learn something new (Johansson-Pajala & Gustafsson, 2022). Because of their loss of independence, EPs must alter their previous way of living; they now wait for rides for shopping, they need help with money management, and they experience challenges with medical management (Metze et al., 2015).

As an additional clarification, for the purposes of the present study, *filial caregiving* will be identified as specialized care related to the responsibility of assisting older parents (Cicirelli, 1988, 1990; Morais, et al., 2019; Parrott & Bengtson, 1999). This term will be used in a similar manner to caregiving relationship between an EP and their AC.

As caregivers quickly realize, it is not always easy to coordinate the moment when a parent needs/wants something with the moment when assistance is available. For example, an EP's routine is not always convenient or possible for their AC to accommodate; this can lead to anxiety and/or additional isolation (Bergua et al., 2013). Timing of an EP's shower, meals, etc., can also be dependent upon the schedule of an AC, which also causes dissatisfaction and angst in an EP. With these different needs and considerations, there are various configurations of parental support that are possible, depending on finances, the willingness of the EP to accept assistance, and the ability of someone to arrange for such services (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003; Myers, 1989).

Further, ways of determining when a parent requires support and anticipating the types and amounts of parental care needed are likely as varied as the number of living elderly

parents (Cicirelli, 2000). Myriad causes result in the need for parental caregiving and myriad results occur at the juncture of giving care and receiving care. In addition, the physical and mental health histories of EPs can affect their unique coping experiences in later life (Cicirelli, 2000; Kahana et al., 2004); these histories will also affect a parent's acceptance of a paid caregiver provided by their caregiving children. During this time of adjusting to aging, parents can experience something like a "loss of self," which is identified in people who experience chronic illness (Charmaz, 1983) and is similar to what aging parents describe when they can no longer care for themselves in the areas of personal finance management, hygiene, toileting, meal preparation, shopping, and so on.

Irrespective of a parent's diagnosis or level of functioning, parental autonomy plays a major role in the type and amount of care that an EP will accept from their AC; this is borne out in the present study. During these times when an EP needs autonomy, the family of a parent can also feel the need to exert control of their parent (Cicirelli, 1992; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Whitlatch, 2006; Whitlatch & Feinberg, 2003, 2007). This means that the previous roles of identity, independence, and dynamics within family relationships can change a locus of control and which can understandably cause distress for ACs as well as for EPs (Dean, et al., 2014; Silverstein et al., 1996).

When an EP requires additional support, on the surface it appears that help from family members is a positive contribution. However, especially with multiple AC offering support, there are times when approaches and goals of an AC conflict with the goals of their EP; this can cause additional stress for both the parent and the caregiving children (Ford, 1994). When AC can amicably work together and can also work with their parents to facilitate coordination of care, positive outcomes happen (Roquebert et al., 2018).

However, all caregiving within a filial caregiving relationship becomes more difficult when the AC lives away from their EP. As a professor addressing health policy issues, Laura Katz Olson (2016) chronicled her long-distance care of her aging mother; she noted that even when working as an experienced professional in health-related matters, she was challenged in caring for and arranging for the care of her mother, who lived 1,000 miles away. When siblings do not live in the same town as their EP, or if one of the siblings appears to be more available than the other siblings, conflict can arise (Joseph & Hallman, 1998; Mazanec, 2012; Roff et al., 2007). And, of course, when siblings experience parental favoritism, whether contrived or actual, additional challenges can arise between the siblings during caregiving (Silverstein et al., 2006; Shapiro, 2004; Suitor & Pillemer, 2000; Suitor et al., 2014). This aspect of EP/AC care may also be demonstrated in films depicting the AC-EP relationship where ACs serve as a caregiver to their EPs.

Film

The research on representations of older people in motion pictures is sparse and typically overlooked (Cordischi, 2012). In addition, age and disability/functionality are frequently linked together, which reinforces the notion that older people are disabled and suggests that caring for an elderly parent is always overwhelming (Chivers, 2011). However, stories that are constructed in films offer opportunities that can explicate means for approaching and treating the elderly and also visually communicate aspects of caregiving (Pink, 2007).

Given that films about elderly caregiving are not usually considered entertaining *per se*, audience members who do choose to such movies often do so in order to obtain greater insight about the topic or to reflect on a situation that is familiar to them (Eden et al., 2018;

Oliver & Hartmann, 2010). Certain cinematographic aspects of film, including actors' portrayals and status and the topic of the movie, can be effectively used to develop empathy and sensitivity in medical personnel when they care for the elderly (Meneghel & Minayo, 2021). There has also been an increase in the number of films over the past decade that have emphasized meaningful and societally pertinent aspects of entertainment and, for this reason, scholarship increasingly explores ways that film can advance social virtues and societal well-being (Brylla, 2018; Karasik et al., 2014; Oliver et al., 2018). Indeed, this is one of the goals of the present study.

The next chapter presents the methodological approach to this dissertation, including the design of the study and how I analyzed the data.

Chapter 3: Methods

The methodological approach for this study is qualitative. The choice of a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach is fueled by the desire to explore human and social practices, especially as they portray social realities (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019). As reviewed in Chapter Two, the ethnography of communication (EOC) (Hymes, 1964, 1972, 1974) is foundational to Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA) (Carbaugh, 2007) and, like the EOC (Philipsen & Coutu, 2005), CuDA is useful for description even as it can be used to also develop theory. Moreover, the SPEAKING framework, detailed below, is often the springboard for research queries (Philipsen & Coutu, 2005).

The EOC focuses on the importance of "interactional analysis and role identity" (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 1) which can be identified within the patterns and systems of a culture. In addition, because the EOC emphasizes that performance is of great import when analyzing an interlocutor's message (Hymes, 1972), utilizing the CuDA process, which is

strongly influenced by the EOC, fits well to analyze the performance of actors portraying a filial EP/AC relationship.

Identifying and analyzing the culture of the families portrayed in the films for this study will help to answer these Research Questions:

RQ1: How do films portray elderly parents' communication with their adult child(ren) from whom they receive some aspect of care?

RQ2: In what ways do the selected films' portrayals of such communication differ from each other? In what ways are they similar?

Specifically, for this study I analyzed films that work to bring viewers into a situated context of communication between elderly parents (EP) and their adult children (AC). I excluded documentary films for this study to avoid political influences that are often highlighted in the documentary genre (LaMarre & Landreville, 2009; Sayre & King, 2020). Popular films, even if based upon real occurrences, show scripted and enacted performances and, as Anderson (2010) writes in her article about *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner,* movies can either be a reflection of society or they can be used by the public to reflect on their own prejudices (Romano, 2003). Therefore, by observing films' portrayals of relationships within the communicative lives of elderly parent and adult child, it will become apparent how film captures their relationships. This gives clarity as to how films publicly portray the ways of relating that EP and AC use with one another. The selected methods for this study analyze four selected films, specifically, and at the same time, deepen our understanding about how films, generally, can reflect the ways of speaking and the intent of the messages between EP and AC who are in a mutual filial relationship.

Selection of Films

To select films for this study, I utilized various search engines and websites including Google, Google Scholar, IMDb, Amazon Prime Videos, and Sundance Film Festival. I placed no restrictions on production dates. The keywords that I used in the search included "best movies about old age," "films [and] adult children caring for elderly parents," and "cinema [and] caring for elderly parent."

To be selected for the study, films needed to meet the following criteria: (1) a primary focus on adult child(ren) involved in the lives of their parent(s) in some form of caregiving; (2) English language films with closed captioning and/or with available scripts if possible; (3) films that were not documentaries; and (4) my subjective opinion that the movie was one of high quality: i.e., good script, competent acting, no loss of interest while watching the movie.

To ensure that accurate and valid use of CuDA processes were followed for analyses, it was important to include movies with English scripts, or at the very least, available English-language closed captioning. This provided accuracy of the dialogue and accompanied the visual communicative intent of the actors.

I screened a variety of films with subject matter pertaining to EP and their relationships with their AC: e.g., *Gran Torino* (Eastwood, 2014), *Fallen (*Mortenson, 2020, *Tokyo* Story (Ozu, 1953), *Driving Miss Daisy* (Beresford, 1989), and *The Savages* (Jenkins, 2007). While all of these films' stories included adult children offering and/or opining about their elderly parent's state of affairs to some degree, the selected films feature plot and discursive activity explicitly focused – to varying degrees - on parental needs, commitment to parental care, and emotional connectedness between parents and children. Two of the films

are about American families, one concerns a British family, and one focuses on a Canadian family. Three were produced for theatrical viewing and one was a made-for-television movie.

The four films ultimately chosen for analysis had release dates span from 1937 to 2020. With regard to when the movies were released, I did omit films that were silent although since 1935 was the final produced and released silent movie in Hollywood, *Make Way for Tomorrow* is in an effort to compare portrayals of filial relationships across time.

Make Way for Tomorrow (McCrarey, 1937) is the oldest of the movies selected for this study. It portrays an American elderly married couple, Barkley "Bark" Cooper and Lucy Cooper, whose home enters foreclosure. Despite having had six months to arrange for another living situation, they inform their AC that they only have a few days before they are evicted. Their pronouncement does not offer solutions, apologies, or requests. Lucy only makes one statement that she and Bark had hoped that they could remain together in their new domicile. Because none of their children can/will take both parents, their children decide to separate Bark and Lucy and send them each to live with a different child.

Fire in the Dark (Jones, 1991) takes place in the United States, begins with Emily wakening from a nap to discover that her kitchen is on fire. The meal in the oven—the cause of the fire—was for her adult son, who subsequently cancels his dinner date with his mother. The remaining 90 minutes are spent showing adult sibling relationships, the camaraderie of elderly friends, and the obstinacy, fear, and bravery of the people who are in a three-generation family. While I could not locate a script for this made-for-television movie, I did utilize English closed captioning and transcribed the dialogue.

Still Mine (McGowan, 2012) features Craig and Irene Miller and as a long-married couple in New Brunswick, Canada, with seven adult children. Craig, in his 80s, is a hard-

working farmer who lives independently with Irene. We learn early on that Irene suffers from dementia/Alzheimer's and that Craig is fiercely protective and private about her worsening disease. We are introduced to two of the children, John and Ruthie, who offer opinions and support for their parents as Irene battles worsening dementia and becomes increasingly unsafe. As a means to honor Irene's wishes to avoid living in a facility, Craig stubbornly continues to single-handedly build a house that will help him care for Irene as her physical needs increase and her functioning declines. Since Craig is building the home on his own property and is an expert craftsman and builder, he refuses to obtain governmental building permits. Eventually he appears in court and faces potential jail time, fines, and the razing of his finely-built home. This film offers a unique look at the EP/AC caregiving relationship in that no dialogue between Irene and her children is ever portrayed; the movie features dialogue only between Craig and his children.

The Father, released in 2020 and based in England, is directed by Florian Zeller. Anthony is cared for by his daughter Anne. This movie opens with the after-effects of Anthony insulting the caregiver that Anne has hired for Anthony's in-home care. As a result of his insults, this latest in a long line of caregivers has quit. While Anne struggles to hire an acceptable and willing replacement caregiver, she informs Anthony that she will be leaving England for Paris, where she will live with a gentleman whom she loves. The movie shows Anthony's perspective during varying stages of his dementia. As a result, the viewer must carefully observe the variability in the scenes in order to notice that Anthony is re-living the same scene multiple times but inserting into that scene different people who have played a role at different times in his life. Anthony's interactions with Anne are likely the most

vitriolic of all of the EPs in this study and her responses are always respectful as she strives to keep him safe.

Method of Analysis

The analysis that CuDA affords this research is simply yet profoundly described by Philipsen (2018, page xix): “Find and report a discourse that has not been reported before and use the heuristic approach provided by CuDA.” The options for investigating the communication that transpires within a film portrayal of an adult child and an elderly parent who share a caregiving relationship is well-suited for CuDA, not least because of its use of discursive hubs of meaning, CuDA’s cultural propositions and premises, and CuDA’s norms. By using CuDA, I explored the meaningful systems that show the “basic beliefs and values about persons, social relations, communication itself, and nature” that inform expressions within a caregiving relationship (Carbaugh, 1996, p. 206).

The CuDA Process

CuDA is a process of analyses of cultural interactions, social interactions, and cultural dynamics within said interactions. Theoretically, CuDA is founded upon the principle that communication involves localized and unique avenues of expression that contain rich processing of meaningfulness. Verbal and non-verbal communications are CuDA’s foci and are used as primary data to study the symbiotic relationship between culture and communication; CuDA views communication as shaped from cultural practice, making an inextricable linkage between communication and culture. With communication as its primary data, CuDA’s theoretical concerns unite various insights into the cultural shaping of communication practices (Carbaugh, 2007).

The five investigative modes within CuDA are theoretical, descriptive, interpretive, comparative, and critical analyses. When a corpus of data is described, interpreted, compared, and critiqued in terms of who is disadvantaged, there is the potential for theoretical contributions (Carbaugh, 2007; Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992). In his seminal piece on CuDA, Carbaugh (2007) notes that by using a cyclical progression through the investigative modes, more vigorous reflections within one mode can lead to more robust realizations about the other modes, which adds to the overall thoroughness of an analysis. For example, by first describing the communication practices by film characters, and then interpreting their discourse, a comparative analysis between the films can occur. This can identify those who are disadvantaged in their interactions (critical analysis) and can offer possible theory development as it pertains to communication practices by elderly parents and their adult children.

After having watched each movie to determine if they meet the selection criteria described above, I first watched each movie without taking notes. This was to gain a simple and general awareness of characters and their roles. Following this, I re-watched each movie with its accompanying script, making notations on the script each time I observe an instance of an EP and their AC. In order to fully meet the descriptive aspect necessary for CuDA's interpretive mode, I used the SPEAKING framework from the EOC to capture all aspects of the portrayed discourse. With the use of SPEAKING, the description of discourse within the scenes of each movie yielded intricate detail, thereby adding more rigor to the interpretive and comparative investigative modes. Further, with the additional device of the SPEAKING framework, data about pertinent the hubs of meaning of both EPs and AC was gained and utilized to develop cultural propositions, cultural premises, and norms.

The SPEAKING Framework. The SPEAKING framework consists of the following eight elements:

The *Setting* and *Scene* (S) describes the physical setting, including the time and place of a speech act, and the scene, which is the cultural uniqueness of the "psychological setting" (Hymes, 1974, p. 55). Each of the four films might have some similarities within the psychological setting scene, such as family dinners during a holiday season. But, the physical setting of each film is quite different (England, rural Canada, metropolitan United States).

Participants (P) are the persons involved in the communicative event. In each film, participants included at least one parent and at least one adult child; additional participants are noted if they contributed some aspect of value to the interpretation of a scene as it pertained to the EP/AC filial relationship.

Ends (E) refer to the goals and outcomes of the participants. These outcomes/goals do not have to be identical for each person within the relationship. In addition, when comparing children within each movie family, the children may have commonalities with other children/parents of the characters in other films. For example, one child might have a goal of institutionalizing a parent in order to keep a parent safe, while another child might want institutionalization to himself of caregiving burdens.

The *Act sequence* (A) identifies the sequential arrangement of the communicative/speech event. The *Act sequence* also recognizes the form, the substance, and the content of the message (Hall et al., 2018) and has varying degrees of importance based upon the *Participants* and the *Ends.* For example, when meeting with a child about the parent's home health aide, the parent might immediately begin by accusing the aide of stealing a piece of jewelry, before mentioning that he fired the aide.

The emotional tenor, the feeling, and the spirit of the communication are all part of its *Key* (K), while the *Instruments/Instrumentalities* (I) are the channels pertaining to the mode of communication (e.g., hand gestures, movements) and are based upon the appropriateness of the communication event. Emotions as represented by the *Key* can have unique contributions to each character's *Ends*, and *Act sequences* within the different films and their different *Settings.*

Norms (N) pertain to the standards and habits used within a speech community and within each communicative act. For example, movie parents all place a high value/standard on independence.

G*enre* (G) describes the type of communication unit. Genre can range from a private tête-à-tête, to a narrative, to a meeting such as when an assisted living placement is being considered.

By using the SPEAKING framework, I am able to "discern the patterns of speech activity" (Hymes, 1974, p. 3), and with "careful listening" (Covarrubias, 2002, p. 31), I noted the situated patterns of messages within the dialogue. This, along with auditory and visual information from each film ensures that both a parent's and child's perspective will be "heard." Ultimately, support for parents and children in caregiving relationships will be elucidated because, by "attending closely to speakers' particular collection of words, listeners can discern some of the key ways [of] changing situations, and changing people" (Covarrubias, p. 31, 2002)**.**

The results of this study have the potential to identify how parents are portrayed in film, which can offer insight into how moviegoers will perceive what elderly parents are searching for in their caregiving relationship with their adult children.

The following is an example of how CuDA was implemented for this study, using a short scene from *The Father* (Zeller, 2020). Aspects of the SPEAKING Framework from the EOC are utilized to begin the descriptive portion of CuDA process.

The *Scene* is during the day on a London street. Anthony's daughter, Anne, is exiting a Tube station. She has a worried look on her face and is nearly run over as she hurries across the street to the flat of her father, Anthony.

The *Participants* for this movie scene are Anthony, Anne's 80-year old father. Anthony is a retired engineer with mild-to-moderate dementia. Anne is an interpreter who lives in London and cares for her father.

The *Act Sequence* involves Anne climbing the stairs in her father's building, arriving at Anthony's door, and ringing the doorbell. Without a response from the bell, Anne shows impatience and pulls a key from her purse and opens the door.

The *Setting*/*Scene* has changed to Anthony's flat and this scene begins with her in front of Anthony's door. Anne speaks, "Dad?" This *Key* indicates that "Dad" is spoken as a question and Anne's tone captures the worry that she is feeling about her father.

Inside Anthony's flat, Anne moves from one room to another with heightened tone in her voice (*Key*) as becomes increasingly anxious when not finding her father in a room.

The *Ends/Goal* of her question follows her identification of herself. "Dad? It's me…Are you there? Dad?" Anne meets her goal of finding Anthony sitting in his office (change of *Scene*) and he is listening to Mozart on headphones. "Ah, there you are." With Anne's relief heard in her voice *Key* and seen in her face when she finds her father.

Anthony shows surprise and indignation (*Key)* in seeing Anne and immediately removes his headphones. "What are you doing here?" is what Anthony asks Anne as she

responds with, “What do you think?” is Anne’s response with some frustration, which is a change in *Key* from anxiety to frustration.

After opening the curtains Anne turns to her father she pauses to indicate that she would like to have a conversation with her father (*Genre*). She asks Anthony, “So? What happened?” Anthony turns off music and responds with, “Nothing.” Anne then responds with, “Tell me.” Anthony’s response is, “I just did. Nothing happened.” “Nothing happened?” is Anne’s non-believing response and Anthony gives her a silent visual message (*Instrumentality*) of “Nothing at all.” This is part of an Act Sequence, which is a typical manner of “yes you did” and “no I didn’t” repartee in which Anne and Anthony often engage.

By using the SPEAKING framework from the EOC (above), along with the actual discourse from a movie, we are able to develop the hubs and radiants of meaning that each speaker constructs with their words and their meanings behind their words. In this manner, I used the verbal and nonverbal discourse between each EP/AC and formulated their respective hubs of meaning, along with the implied meanings that they attached to their discourse, which formulated radiants of meaning. It is within the implied meaning that radiants offer that we can provide a more in-depth analyses, which leads to the answering of this study’s RQs. The following is a visual diagram of a generic hub of meaning and its radiants of a father. Based upon the information from the SPEAKING framework above, a possible hub of meaning for Anthony and his respective radiants of meaning are constructed. (Figure 1 and 2)

Figure 1

Figure 2

For this study, constructing hubs and radiants are not accomplished with merely one scene of discursive activity. Respective and meaningful hubs/radiants are constructed by analyzing multiple movie scenes in order to determine if the context of each interaction affects a relationship's hubs and radiants. In this manner, the portrayed EPs and their AC "speak for themselves" which holds to the heuristic aspect of CuDA (Philipsen, 2018).

To continue with the interpretive process of CuDA, and to answer the second RQ, I will proceed to mine the actual discourse between EPs and their AC to determine if their actual words that illustrate the importance of their discourse, again, discourse related to their filial relationship; these result in Cultural Propositions. If I continue with the example of Anthony and Anne, "nothing at all" and "what did you do" might have particular and familiar meanings for the two of them. Based on these excerpts, Cultural Premises can be developed.

Between Anthony and Anne, a Cultural Premise within CuDA could be developed as, "Adult children do not trust their elderly parent to tell them the truth." Finally, with the interpretive process demonstrated above, the Norms within the discursive activity are constructed, which sheds additional light on the cultural influence of the conversation. The following process for Norms construction are detailed below.

(1) C: Define the *context*. This includes setting, scene, participants, and the pertinent topics.

(2) G: *Goal* setting. What do the participants want to accomplish and do they want to accomplish it via acting, relating, emoting, or doing something?

(3) F: The *force* of a speaker refers to knowing when to stay quiet/speak, allow/deny speech from another person or what one ought/not say. That is, it is "prescribed, preferred, permissible, or prohibited" (Carbaugh, 2007, p. 175), and

(4) A: *Act*. To do something/nothing.

For example, with Anthony and Anne, the context is the flat and Anne's goals are to determine what has transpired between Anthony and his latest caregiver. They decide to act with the permissible force of querying each other, which leads to this possible Norm: A daughter should question her father about situations involving his caregivers who quit.

These hubs, radiants, cultural propositions, cultural premises, in a brief attempt to illustrate the methodological process that I used to answer this study's first RQ is answered in Chapter Four. By using the Norms from each movie, the second RQ will be answered and discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

To share how this chapter unfolds with the analysis of each movie (and sometimes each movie scene), I start the CuDA process by using the SPEAKING framework (Hymes, 1972, 1974), which I do to flesh out additional meanings beyond the spoken word and to provide the situational contexts of interactions within the speech community of each family. Further, I use SPEAKING to offer additional information within particular movie scenes if additional data are necessary for interpretation. As no single component of the SPEAKING

framework stands alone, each of the SPEAKING components influences the others, which adds to the formulation of hubs, radiants, etc. The use of actual dialogue as data is necessary to develop the CuDA process within the situated context of discourse. Below is a review of SPEAKING (Hymes, 1972, 1974; Zand-Vakili & Tabandeh, 2012).

The first of the analyzed movies is chronologically the oldest. It offers a glimpse into a family with five children whose parents have limited financial resources to support their current living situation.

Make Way for Tomorrow

Make Way for Tomorrow (McCrarey, 1937), filmed during the Depression, reflects the effects of the Depression on a couple in their 70s, before Social Security benefits were awarded to older adults in United States. Barkley (Bark) and Lucy Cooper have lived in their home for over 50 years and they have summoned four of their five adult children to join them there for a family meeting. These four children, Nellie, Cora, George, and Robert, live on the East coast, as do Lucy and Bark, while their fifth child, Addie, lives in California. Bark has not worked as a bookkeeper for over four years and has subsequently their home has entered foreclosure.

Opening Scene: The Family Meeting

SPEAKING Framework of the Family Meeting

SPEAKING Framework for Cooper Family Meeting

Component	
Setting & Scene	Physical setting: Cooper family home. Psychological scene: Comfort/familiarity of family home for the adult children.
Participants	Lucy, Bark, Nellie, Cora, George, and Robert
Ends/Goal(s)	Lucy and Bark's goals: (1) To inform children of their eviction and (2) to find a place where they can live together. Children's goals: Find their parents a place to live.
Act Sequence	The act sequence of the entire family: (1) At first Bark initiates the dialogue with his children. (2) After Lucy and Bark disclose their living situation, George directs the subsequent discussions. The act sequence between siblings: Nellie comments followed by Robert's insults.
Key/Tone	The emotional tone of the family meeting begins with lighthearted reminiscing but includes childhood tensions that contribute to snide and sarcastic remarks among the adult children. George emotes frustration when siblings do not readily offer support. Lucy and Bark are disappointed they are not living together with Lucy trying to remain hopeful and Bark complaining.
Instrumentalities	Verbal discourse.
Norm(s)	The norms of adult Cooper children reflect the rude, sarcastic, mocking ways of speaking they used as children. Lucy's norm of speaking to her children is positive. Bark's ways of speaking with their children is initially cheerful, entertaining, and juvenile. He then becomes silent and negative.
Genre	The genres are (1) a family meeting and, (2) a toast.

Table 1: Framework for Cooper Family Meeting

When George arrives, Lucy greets him at the door and comments that he is looking better than he did five or six months ago, when she last saw him. George moves into the parlor and remarks in a fond tone, "Well, there's a familiar sight, Pa in the same old chair. Gee, it's good to see you, Pa." This loving key/tone of voice toward his father changes as this scene progresses.

Bark: "Gosh, I haven't seen you since..."

George moves to his two sisters and brother and greets the fashionably dressed Nellie with a kiss. "Hello, Nellie." After kissing Nellie, George moves to plainly dressed Cora and

comments that it has been quite a while since seeing her. Stopping himself from kissing her he says, “Oh, I forgot. I can't kiss you, Cora. I got a nasty little cold. I shouldn't have kissed you either,” nodding toward Nellie, who angrily and quickly wipes her mouth while Cora and Robert laugh. The historical sibling interactions have resurrected within minutes of being together and do not bode well for building collaborative plan for their parents’ living situation.

After the initial greetings, Robert, the youngest Cooper child, makes a happy toast that unbeknownst to him, acts as the entree for the meeting’s purpose, “Here's to our house, through sunshine or showers, be it ever so humble, by golly, it's ours. Good, huh, Pop?”

Bark responds with, “Yeah. Uh, it's all right. Only the last line don't [*sic*] make sense. Does it, Ma?” Bark overrides Lucy’s request to postpone their eviction news until after dinner and Lucy disappointedly but readily acquiesces to Bark’s directive. Bark authoritatively states, “Why not now? That's why we got 'em down here. You see, the house isn't ours any more. The bank is taking it over.” The children are understandably shocked.

Bark reminds the children that he has not worked for four years and simplistically describes the consequence of not paying their mortgage by adding, “So long as I never sent them anything, they sent for me. The head of the bank, Randy Dunlap, asked me to drop in to his house for a little chat. You remember him? He used to keep company with your mother before I cut him out.” Bark continues to recount the meeting by describing the banker’s attire, as Bark is amazed that Randy is wearing a kimono during their visit.

Bark’s segue from discussing their eviction to a juvenile description of Dunlap’s kimono does not jibe with being a responsible spouse to Lucy, especially during this era

when husbands' societal roles were to provide security for their wives (Bernard, 1981). Bark's inertia is even more dramatically illustrated by the following exchange, when George asks, "How much time did he give you, Father?" Bark answers with, "Six months." George's relief is palpable when he responds, "Oh! Oh, well, then, there's no immediate rush. When are the six months up?"

Bark responds with, "Next Tuesday."

George decides on a plan for their parents' living situation and states, "Mother, there's an extra bed in Rhoda's room, and she'd love to have you. If Father doesn't mind going to Cora's."

Bark, still silently seated, offers no comment to a seemingly rhetorical question, but Lucy slowly and disappointedly says, "Well, that's awfully nice of you, George, but, well, your father and I thought that no matter what happened, we'd always be t... Oh, well, never mind what we thought."

George acknowledges Lucy's tone of sad acquiescence when his mother gently shares her hope to continue living with her husband of 50-plus years and asks Nellie, their most affluent sibling, who has room for both of their parents and has no children. "Nellie, can't you and Harvey...?" Nellie responds in a manner that touts her apparent need to show her superiority over her siblings, "Yes, I can. I plan to do *more* than you and Cora. I can practically promise that within three months they'll be together again. Of course, I'll have to speak to Harvey about it."

Robert sarcastically responds, "Oh, we wouldn't want to ask Harvey…Oh, *no*, we wouldn't ask Harvey. No, we asked Harvey to marry Nellie. We can't expect the guy to do

more than that." Robert continues his show of dislike for Nellie when he asks her to "put that in writing" after Nellie agrees to take both Lucy and Bark in three months.

George's determination of Lucy and Bark's future, based upon his siblings' willingness and abilities, happens without input from Lucy or Bark. As this scene ends, a defeated and downcast Bark remains seated. George summarizes the meeting's outcome/ends by saying, "Well, I... I guess everything's settled. Mother comes for a visit to us and Father goes to Cora's for a while, hmm?"

Lucy: "Well, Bark? Sure. It'll be very nice living with the children for a while."

Bark: "Of course. Yeah, except..."

George: "Except what?"

Bark: "Except it never has worked out for anybody else."

Lucy: "Now, Bark, you ought not to say that." This is as close to a reprimand that Lucy makes during the entire movie.

With Bark's portentous end to their family meeting, we have a basic understanding of the Cooper family and their current and historical communicative relationships with each other. We also learn that the Cooper parents' *modus operandi* for communicating with their children has kept them from informing their children in a timely fashion about their financial predicament and has subsequently thrust the onus of their housing upon their children. Finally, the ways of speaking that the Coopers use with each other is demonstrative of their family culture, which allows us to begin construction of their hubs and radiants of meaning.

The following is the only movie scene showing Bark living with Cora and it is clear from the setting and scene, tones of voice, and the act sequence that he is not a welcome guest.

The SPEAKING framework provides information about this movie scene by detailing the discourse among the participants at Cora and Bill's.

SPEAKING Framework for Cora's Home

Component	
Setting & Scene	Physical setting: Cora and Bill's family home. Psychological scene: Tension-filled with no physical room for Bark.
Participants	Bark, Cora, Physician, Mr. Rubens (Bark's friend), and Bill (Cora's husband)
Ends/Goal(s)	Cora's Goals: Primary goal is for Bark to get well. Her serendipitous/secondary goal is for Bark to move out. Bark's goal: Presumptive goal is to feel better. It is unclear if he has a secondary goal of intimating to Cora that her caregiving is not as good as Lucy's healing abilities.
Act Sequence	Cora is the primary initiator of the act sequence of the scene, which she begins when she pulls Bark into Bill's and her bedroom. Even when Cora maliciously speaks to Bark and Mr. Rubens, Bark offers no responses to her comments.
Key/Tone	The key/tones between Cora and Bark scene are filled with discontent, judgment, manipulation, sarcasm, and, in short, unhappiness. The tones between Cora and the physician are markedly different compared with the tone/key that she uses with Mr. Rubens and Bark, which are disrespectful.
Instrumentalities	Verbal discourse. The soup that Mr. Rubens brings to Bark could be interpreted as a symbolic instrumentality of friendship.
Norm(s)	The tones that the Coopers use with each other appear to be an acceptable norm for their discourse; thus, sarcasm, sniping, and unpleasantness are typical. The norm for Cora treating the physician with deference is consistent during her interactions with him and is in stark contrast with her interactions with her father and Mr. Rubens. Cora's disrespectful behavior toward Mr. Rubens suggests that Cora's interactions could indicate a tendency to be rude with those whom she believes to be an interference in her life, in spite of the pleasure that a friend brings to her ill father.
Genre	Home-based physician visit and a home visit by a friend.

Table 2: SPEAKING Framework for Cora's House

As the scene opens in Cora and Bill's home, Bark is lying on the living room (now his bedroom) couch in his nightshirt. Bark's hand is on his forehead and he is lamenting a cold.

Bark: "I wish your mother was here. She'd get me on my feet so quick, it'd make your head swim."

Cora: "You've only got a little cold. What's the good of worrying Mother?"

When the doorbell rings, announcing the doctor whom Cora has called for Bark, she yells at Bill to delay opening the door until she can drag a befuddled Bark off the couch and into Cora and Bill's bedroom. Cora realizes that if the physician examines Bark who does not have a righteous bed, she will be cast in a poor light as a caregiving daughter.

Once the doctor is at Bark's bedside, without looking at Cora or the doctor, Bark speaks in a gruff tone, "Your mother knows more about medicine than all these young doctors put together."

To Cora's relief, she leaves the tension in the bedroom when the doorbell again rings. Cora answers the door, where she finds Mr. Rubens, who is a friend of Bark; Cora hesitantly allows Mr. Rubens into the house. Mr. Rubens is familiar with Bark's overall situation as well as Bark's specific living situation with Cora and Bill. He has learned of Bark's illness and has brought some chicken soup that his wife, Sarah, has made.

Cora returns to the bedroom, clearly inconvenienced by preparing a doctor-ordered mustard plaster for Bark's chest. She finds Bark eating soup brought by Mr. Rubens and irately and accusingly asks Bark, "What are you eating?"

Without looking up while devouring the soup, Bark responds, "Some soup Mrs. Rubens made for me. Wasn't that nice?" Bark's gratitude for the soup is the only appreciative comment he makes in the entire movie; indeed, he never offers appreciation for what his children are doing to keep him and Lucy with roofs overhead.

Cora accusingly says, "The neighbors think I don't feed you properly, I guess. Don't eat it. How do I know what's in it? Don't put any more of that in your stomach." The possible concern about Bark's health for eating unfamiliar soup is dwarfed by Cora's concern about the neighbors' perception about the care she gives Bark. Cora increases her level of nastiness

when she tells Mr. Rubens, “Your Sarah can mind her own business. I cook for my father.” She then raises her voice to Bark,

Earlier, while Mr. Rubens was visiting with Bark, the physician met Cora at the front door and reported that Bark bit his finger while he was trying to examine Bark’s throat. At this point, Cora has contrived a scheme and manipulates the doctor into saying that Bark should move to a warmer climate for his health. Since Cora’s sister Addie lives in California, she contacts Addie to arrange for a transfer of her father without consulting anyone in her family. Although the duration of Bark’s stay at Cora and Bill’s one-bedroom home is not clear, what is evident is that any possibility of Cora’s credible kindness (which we have never seen other than in her original willingness to take in Bark) has become contemptuous.

However, Lucy’s living arrangement with George, Anita (George’s wife), and their young adult daughter, Rhoda, is only slightly better. There has been mounting tension between Anita and Lucy and increasing dissention between Anita and George about the effects of Lucy’s presence on Rhoda. Because of these tensions, Anita has given George a pronouncement that if Lucy remains in their home, their daughter will face negative, life-long consequences.

The following and final analyzed scene of this movie takes place in George and Anita’s apartment where Lucy has been living since the eviction. There has been no action on Nellie’s part to bring their parents to live with her and Harvey and, unbeknownst to others, Harvey has informed Nellie that her parents are not welcome to live in their home. This leads to Nellie telling her family that her doctor has recommended a trip to Europe, to relieve the stress that she is suffering. Nellie’s lack of filial contribution is a reminder of Robert’s earlier statement when he asked Nellie to put her housing offer for Bark and Lucy

"in writing." Clearly, Robert correctly anticipated that Nellie's promise was empty and the number of viable caregivers within the Cooper siblings has further dwindled.

After Anita's determined that Lucy needs to leave their home, George contacted the Idylwild Home, a residence for aged women who have limited funds. Earlier in the movie, Lucy had written to Bark about Nellie taking her to visit a home for older women. Lucy gave reports of this visit to Bark and commented on what a dreary and dismal place it was. Lucy made it clear to Bark that she would not want to live in such a place and he is aware of Lucy's feelings about living in such a residence. Anita has now assigned George the task of informing Lucy that she must move to Idylwild.

SPEAKING Framework for George's House

Component	
Setting & Scene	Physical setting: George and Anita's apartment. Psychological scene: A loving, mother-son interaction.
Participants	Lucy and George.
Ends/Goal(s)	Lucy's goals: First, to avoid having George deliver the difficult task of telling her that she must move to the Idylwild Home. Second, to ensure that she is in control of the plan to prevent Bark from knowing about her move to Idylwild. George's goals: First, to deliver the news about the Lucy's impending move to Idylwild. Second, to inform Lucy about Bark moving to California.
Act Sequence	Lucy is the primary initiator of the act sequences of the scene.
Key/Tone	The tone used by both Lucy and George is loving and caring. In an uncharacteristic manner at the end of their conversation, Lucy becomes authoritative.
Instrumentalities	Lucy and George use a spoken conversation in normal volumes.
Norm(s)	During other scenes between Lucy and George in their new living situation, they have historically used affectionate exchanges. This scene continues with their typical way of speaking with each other.
Genre	The genre is a mother/son conversation.

Table 3: SPEAKING Framework for George's House.

One afternoon while at George's home, Lucy shuffles through the daily mail looking for a letter from Bark and sees an envelope with the return address of the Idylwild Home. Immediately she realizes that her time as a guest of George, Anita, and Rhoda is ending. Additionally, George's siblings have apparently tasked him with informing Lucy that Bark

will be moving to California to live with Addie, who does not have room for both Lucy and Bark.

Lucy: “I spoke to your father today. He told me that he's perfectly well again.”

George: “Yes. We've got to keep him well, Mother. The trouble is, that can't be done in this climate. Cora's doctor says that Father positively has to go where there are no hard winters, and we thought, on account of Addie living in California...” (This is a distortion of what the physician told Cora).

Lucy: “He's going out there to live?”

George: “Just for a little while, for his health, dear.”

Lucy: “Oh, of course. I want him to be well. There isn't anything I ... I want as much, unless it's that you children should be healthy and happy.”

George: “Cora thought that Addie would take you both. Addie says she can't.”

Lucy: “As long as she takes Father, that's enough.”

George: “Well...”

In spite of the realization that she and Bark will never be together again, as with other times in this movie, Lucy shows her determination to continue in her radiant of protector and one who sacrifices for Bark so that he can maintain good health.

Lucy: “He'll be leaving soon?”

George: “I guess so.”

Lucy: “Maybe I'll be able to see him to say goodbye?”

George: “Oh. Of course. Mother. There's something else I've got to tell you.”

Knowing what George is about to say, Lucy quickly begins to speak to keep him from feeling selfish about his decision to send her to live at Idylwild.

Lucy: “Well, there's something I'd like to say to you first. Let me do it while I can. Well, it's only this. I don't want to hurt your feelings, but I haven't been too happy here. It's lonesome in this apartment with everybody gone all day. Uh... would you mind terribly if I decided to leave you to go to the Idylwild Home? Well, it's a fine place. I'd meet friends my own age, and...”

George: “But, Mother, I didn't...”

Lucy: “No, now, let me finish, dear. Once I thought that your father and I might get together again, but, well, I . . . I see that it'll never turn out that way. So I want to go to the home. Well, I'm glad that's over. I hated to tell you as much as you would have hated to tell me anything like that. Oh, there's just one more thing, dear. I'd like to stay here until your father’s on his way to California. He's funny about things, you know. He'd never believe that the home was a grand place. He's a little old-fashioned, Father is. Those places seem terrible to him. He must never know that I'm going. And you tell Cora and Nellie and the others that he must never know. This is one thing that has to be handled my way.”

George: “Yes, Mother.”

Lucy: “Just let him go on thinking that I'm living with you and Anita. You can always forward my letters. It'll be the first secret I've ever had from him. It'll ... it'll seem mighty funny. Oh, well. Here's another little secret, just between us two. You were always my favorite child.”

The look on George’s face while he hugs his mother is one of shame as he recognizes that Lucy will be living in a place she has previously said she dislikes, and is due to the evolution of her stay at his home. For this exchange, Lucy speaks with agency and is clearly in control of this conversation about where she will be living. Moreover, Lucy’s resolve to

have her upcoming living situation managed according to her wishes shows a certain authority that she has not shown before.

The following section includes the primary hubs and radiants of meaning that the Coopers have constructed with their discursive activity. This movie has one more scene and more dialogue displayed than the other movies because of the evolution of some of the characters' hubs and radiants, not seen in the other movies.

Hubs and Radiants of Identity

Bark. Bark's identity hubs are father and spouse. He demonstrates radiants via his passivity by not addressing his and Lucy's financial situation to his children in a timely fashion. His passive identity radiant casts a negative light on his radiant of provider and family leader. Additionally, the family meeting showed an identity radiant of immaturity when he regaled his children with the story of the banker, whom he vows was wearing a kimono that was childishly paradoxical while in the throes of the serious threat of impending homelessness.

Bark's identity hub of a father initially seemed to have a radiant of a patriarch, as symbolized while seated venerably and symbolically in his velvet smoking jacket, in an oversized armchair. However, a patriarch is more than an article of clothing or a piece of furniture. A patriarch is a leader of a family and Bark's lack of leadership is clear as he does not have a plan for him and Lucy other than to tell their children that they will not have a home beginning the following Tuesday.

Bark's grumpiness at the family meeting continues at Cora's and we witness an identity radiant of a grouchy ingrate. Finally, Bark sullies his identity of friend to Mr. Rubens when he ignores Cora's rude, disrespectful, and demeaning remarks to Mr. Rubens.

Lucy. Lucy has identity hubs of mother and wife. Her hub as a wife initially appears to have a subservient radiant given that she is standing while Bark is sitting in an overstuffed chair (family meeting) and because she allows Bark to supersede her request to inform their children about their foreclosure before they can have a family meal that she has prepared. Lucy's passivity in accepting not living with Bark could also be viewed as being subservient to her children. However, when she gently scolds Bark with "Now, Bark, you ought not to say that," she is taking on an identity radiant of peacekeeper to her identity hubs of wife and mother. Lucy also begins to show her identity radiant of "sacrificer" as a wife and a mother as she realizes that this is currently the best that her children seem to be able to do to address their predicament. She tries to place a positive spin on their plight when she reframes their situation.

Lucy transforms her radiant of subservient into a protector. Moreover, it can be argued that due to her situation and the culture of her family, she expands this identity radiant with the potential for this to expand into an identity hub. Lucy also maintains the radiants of sacrificer and peacekeeper, which are also present in her identity hub of wife to Bark. Figure 3 illustrates Lucy's identity hubs and radiants and indicates by the varying width of the spokes, the shift in the magnitude of her radiants as represented by her discourse with her family. It is through her continued discursive activity with her family that Lucy's identity is conceptualized to expand the number of radiants of her identities of mother and spouse as she evolves into her radiant of "family leader" (Figure 4).

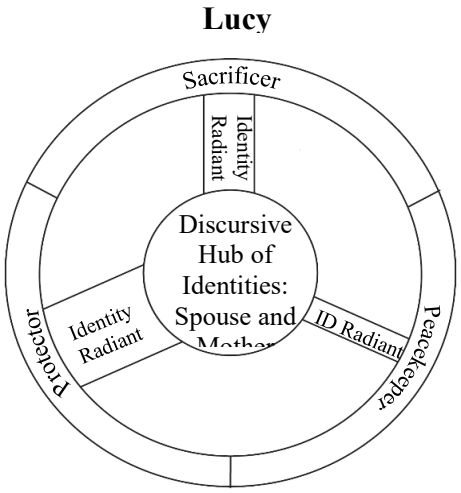


Figure 3

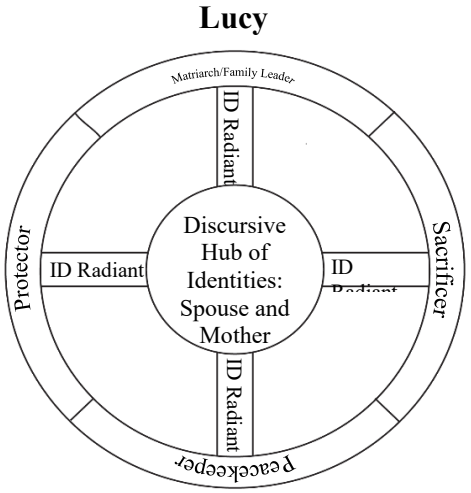


Figure 4

If Lucy did not act upon her desire to protect Bark and George, she might have continued in her radiant of a subservient self. Lucy's agency to follow her decisions grows, now underlying her ability to become the family leader. The strength of wanting her family and Bark to be healthy and happy has also given Lucy the ability to reframe her future living arrangement at Idylwild into something positive so that George is not hurt by his decision to re-home his mother in that facility. In addition, by protecting Bark by not letting him know

where she will be living, her new dwelling is re-categorized to George as a place where she will find camaraderie with women her own age.

Lucy's identities of mother and spouse remain strong and her radiants of protector and sacrificer for her husband and children seem to fuel the radiant of matriarch and leader of the family.

George. With his identity hubs of son and sibling, George initially shows radiants of family leader and a protector of his mother. During the family meeting George showed a sensitivity radiant to his hub of son identity when he recognized that it was important to Lucy that she and Bark continue to live together.

However, as the movie evolves, George adopts a subservient radiant to his hub of spouse when he prepares to inform Lucy that she must move to Idylwild, which subsequently tarnishes his protector radiant that he has earlier shown.

Cora. Cora's identity hub of daughter does not have a radiant of gracious-daughter-as-a-caregiver. In fact, her resentment at her father's presence/needs shows us an additional radiant of manipulator when she takes the physician's statement that Bark would be better off anywhere else (likely anywhere else that the doctor will never have to see Bark again) and subsequently morphs it into a statement of need for a warm climate for his new home. With an identity hub of daughter, during the family meeting Cora also assumed a radiant of caregiver to her father. As she is a loving and conscientious daughter and caregiver, it would be reasonable to assume that Cora would welcome a friend of her father, a contemporary who takes the time to bring a special soup, made by that friend's wife. Her words would not support her identity hub/ radiant of a loving daughter or compassionate caregiver. In fact, Cora's solution to rid herself of her father by contriving a narrative about the physician's

recommendation for Bark to move to a warmer climate further illustrates her manipulative tendencies to meet her desire to be free of the responsibility of caring for Bark.

Hub of Dwelling

The hub of dwelling retains a primary meaning for all of the Coopers. With the nature of the relating that the Coopers utilize with each other, though, Cora's dwelling becomes an unwelcoming home for Bark, and George's home follows suit for Lucy.

While dwelling can refer simply to a physical structure, for Lucy and Bark dwelling relates to something bigger. For them, unless they are living together, a dwelling is truly only a physical structure. But a home is a physical structure where they can live together, as they have for over 50 years, and plays a large role in their identities as each other's spouse. The dwelling hub gathers strength in the lives of the Cooper children as they realize that their homes without their parents is much preferred over when their parents live with them. Like any of the other hubs and radiants, the linkage between dwelling and relating can be established.

Sadly for them, none of their children can provide a home where they can remain with each other for the rest of their lives.

Hub of Relating

Bark. The manner of relating that Bark uses with Lucy is primarily directive; Lucy's acquiescent response to Bark suggests that this is a typical manner of relating between them. During the family meeting, Bark's manner of relating with his children is initially light-hearted. But, with the George's determination of a where he and Lucy will live, Bark relates his one fatalistic comment that living with children has not ended well for others and did not reflect the positive outlook that Lucy shared.

Moreover, instead of sharing apologies or regrets for the situation in which Bark finds himself and Lucy, Bark tells their eviction tale with a certain elan, even adding the details of their banker wearing a kimono, as if his meeting goal is to entertain rather than come up with a solution for finding a dwelling for him and Lucy.

While at Cora's, Bark is gruff and unappreciative; he relates to Cora as one might rudely relate to a poorly performing employee. Just as he did at the family meeting, Bark does not relate any appreciativeness or apologies and only complains. While at Cora's, Bark passively mentions that Lucy's care would have been more quickly cured his cold, which intimates that Cora's caregiving is poor.

Lucy. In her slight scolding of Bark at the end of the family meeting, as well as in her effort to place a positive spin on their future living situation, Lucy's identity radiant of peacekeeper melds with her easygoing and complacent ways of relating to her children.

*Siblin*gs. The relating that the siblings show with each other in the family meeting is illustrative of historical tensions, with the majority of them disliking Nellie. The warmth that George shows toward Cora is the antithesis of how he relates to Nellie when he seemed to intentionally expose Nellie to his cold and consciously protect Cora from his germs. Robert's comments are the most telling about the siblings' past relationship with Nellie when he states that Harvey has done the family a service by marrying Nellie. However, if Nellie's bombastic outburst of "I'll do more than all of you" is any indication of how she has related to her siblings in the past, then Robert's mean-spirited remarks seemed well-matched to Nellie's bravado.

Cora. Cora's relationship with Bark is just as disrespectful as is her manner of relating with Mr. Rubens. Her manner of relating with the physician demonstrates that she is

capable of interacting with respect but this deference is apparently given to people with a professional status and not to a friend of her father, who provided an act of service to Bark.

Cultural Propositions

As noted earlier, Cultural Propositions (Carbaugh, 2007, 2016) are derived from quotes spoken by participants within their discursive activity with one another. These quotations have been selected because they contributed to the determination of the Coopers' discursive hubs and radiants. The Cooper family members make and perceive meaning from their contextually based discourse. Cultural Propositions are used to formulate Cultural Premises and Norms within CuDA; here, they pertain to the caregiving situation between Lucy and Bark and their adult children. The following Cultural Propositions are followed by the quotes of the Coopers that have contributed to the construction of the Proposition.

Cultural Proposition One: Inertia and not making decisions results in others making decisions for you.

- "I haven't worked for four years."
- If "you don't send them any money the bank will send for you."
- "Next Tuesday."
- "It never has worked out for anybody else."

Cultural Proposition Two: Historical sibling relationships affect the planning for finding a home for your elderly parents.

- "Yes, I can. I plan to do *more* than you and Cora. I can practically promise that within three months they'll be together again.
- "Put that in writing."

Cultural Proposition Three: Some parents do not want to burden their children.

- “Oh well, never mind what we thought.”
- “Well, that's awfully nice of you, but, well, your father and I thought that no matter what happened, we'd always be t...”

Cultural Proposition Four: When you are unappreciative and uncaring toward a daughter who is letting you live with her, you can complain about her care.

- “I wish your mother was here. She'd get me on my feet so quick, it'd make your head swim.”

Cultural Proposition Five: If others provide comfort to your parent for whom you are caring, others will think that your care is substandard.

- “The neighbors think I don't feed you properly, I guess.”
- “Your Sarah can mind her own business. I cook for my father.”

Cultural Proposition Six: A devoted wife and mother will sacrifice everything for her husband and children.

- “There isn't anything I ... I want as much, unless it's that you children should be healthy and happy.”

Cultural Proposition Seven: In order to protect a husband, a wife will keep a secret from her husband.

- “Just let him go on thinking that I'm living with you and Anita.”
- “It'll be the first secret I've ever had from him. It'll ... it'll seem mighty funny.”

Cultural Premises

The cultural premises evolve from the Cultural Propositions and the actual Cooper family discourse and include the following:

- The needs of elderly parents are an inconvenience to their adult children.
- Adult children compromise their parents' happiness when they place their own needs and desires over those of their parents.
- When elderly parents are passive about their long-term needs, their adult children may help them on an emergent basis, although doing so is not always to the liking of the parents or the children.
- When limited visiting/contact with elderly parents happens, adult children are not able to take a proactive approach to caring for their parents and become reactive to their needs.
- Within the system of siblings, past relationships carry into adulthood and can affect the way that the children care for their elderly parents.
- The love between a mother and son can contribute to a once passive person becoming agentic in order to love and protect her husband and children.

Given the hubs, radiants, propositions, and premises, the Norms for the Cooper family are formulated below.

Norms

As noted above, to generate Norms within CuDA (Carbaugh, 1996, 2007, 2016) the following is necessary: (1) define the context (C) of the discourse; (2) identify the goals (G) that the interlocutors wish to accomplish; (3) identify the type of force (F) each participant uses to accomplish their respective goal; e.g., staying quiet/speaking, allowing/denying

speech from another person, and knowing what one ought/not say; and, (4) determine the discursive actions (A) of the participants use to accomplish the goals of the interlocutors.

For the Coopers, the challenges that the children face while their respective parent lives with them (context) become too unmanageable for them. The contexts used to develop Norms are not simply the settings and scenes. Rather, the context includes all aspects of the SPEAKING components as well as the interaction that each of the components has throughout the movie.

However, while finding a dwelling for Lucy and Bark to live together is Lucy and Bark's goal, it is not a high priority for their children. The manner in which all of the Coopers relate with each other, except for Lucy, has no prescriptions (force); rather, the children prefer to do what is simplest for each of them. This eventually leads to placing their mother in a facility on one coast while their father living on the opposite coast.

The Norms that I derive from the above movie scenes first include the contextual settings of the Cooper family meeting and then those when Lucy and Bark live with their children. Second, the original goal of Lucy and Bark is to continue their 50-plus-year marriage living together. Third, the evolved goal of Lucy is to protect Bark and her children. The initial goal of the Cooper children is to keep their parents from living on the streets and develops into their goal of not having their parents live with them.

Third, except for Lucy, there are no proscriptions and the children choose to do what is simplest and most beneficial for them. While Lucy's initial preference is to passively accept the decisions of her AC, in the end she proscribes what the children will/will not do with regard to informing Bark about living in a facility.

Therefore, with the above information, the Norms of discursive action for the Cooper family, and within the framework of CuDA are:

1) Children do not communicate with each other or their parents about their determination of living arrangements for their parents.
2) Children do not consult or listen to their parents about their choices for living arrangements.
3) A previously passive person (Lucy) can evolve into the family matriarch and decision maker within a family.

Therefore, in summary, *Make Way for Tomorrow* gives us our first movie portrayal of elderly parents who receive some aspect of care from their adult children. Lucy and Bark Cooper have no appreciable maladies or infirmities that require special care or attention. This is not often the situation with elderly parents (Stuifbergen et al., 2010; Stuifbergen & Van Delden, 2011); indeed, Lucy and Bark simply have not kept up with their mortgage payments. Viewers are not privy to why Lucy and Bark did not inform their children of their predicament before they faced eviction or even soon after they received their foreclosure notice, even though they had seen George around the time that the banker told Bark about the foreclosure. However, what is obvious is that their procrastination has led them to rely on their children to find them a place to live and that none of their progeny want them living with them.

The Cultural Propositions and Premises for this movie illustrate what the Coopers are trying to accomplish with their words. They show how the sibling relationships, constructed in childhood and firmly present in adulthood, have made collaborative caregiving of Lucy and Bark impossible. In the end, Lucy's favorite son, George, prepares to deliver what would

be the ultimate in humiliation for Bark if he were to learn of Lucy's move to the Idylwild home. George is also ashamed of sending his mother to a facility for which she has already expressed disdain rather than protecting her and providing a loving home for her and Bark. Other than Lucy, the Coopers all seem to have succumbed to their typical behaviors as members of their family.

Still Mine

The next movie concerns an elderly spouse and a father who takes the opposite approach to that taken by Bark in *Make Way for Tomorrow*. In addition, the children in the following movie try to take an active role in the care of their mother, but their father refuses their assistance.

Still Mine (McGowan, 2012, Canada), based upon a true event, tells the story of Craig and Irene, who have farmed their land for decades, have maintained their independence, and require no assistance from their seven adult children. As Irene's Alzheimer's Disease worsens, Craig arrives at a plan that he believes will keep Irene out of a facility until absolutely necessary. Two of their children, John and Ruth, frequently represent their five siblings and offer their ideas and support to their parents. However, Craig typically ignores his children's input as he honors Irene's wishes to avoid moving into a care facility. The movie also involves Craig's legal battle to build a smaller home that will make it easier to care for Irene. Craig has built this house without obtaining governmental permitting and his actions have placed him in a situation of facing jail time, fines, and razing of the newly built home.

The SPEAKING framework offers a foundation for the full analysis of the pertinent movie scenes as only the physical locations change; these locations are noted in the analysis.

SPEAKING Framework for *Still Mine*

Component	
Setting & Scene	Physical setting: Craig and Irene's home, on a farm, in rural Canada. Their new home that Craig is building is also on their land and is smaller and single story. Psychological scene: The land, the farm, and the house are meaningful to Craig and Irene as this is where they have shared a lifetime of marriage and the raising of their seven children. Their home is particularly meaningful for Irene and Craig as Irene repeatedly reminds Craig not to move her anywhere until Craig can no longer care for Irene in their original home. The psychological scene of their new home indicates that Irene's dementia has progressed to the point of Craig needing additional physical affordances to care for Irene, i.e. a smaller home.
Participants	Craig is an 87-year-old, common sense, fiercely independent, and resolute man. Irene is Craig's wife with whom she shares seven children. Her dementia is progressing and beginning to interfere with her own and Craig's safe living in their home. John: One of Craig and Irene's sons and often his siblings' spokesperson. Ruthie: One of Craig and Irene's daughters, who is more outspoken with her opinions about her parents' living situation than John.
Ends/Goal(s)	Craig's goals: (1) To always take care of Irene which includes honoring her wishes to not be placed in a facility. (2) To keep private the aspects of his and Irene's lives, particularly those pertaining to her dementia. (3) To build a smaller, single-story home on their land to more safely and efficiently provide long-term care for Irene. (4) To single-handedly build their new home because he finds meaning in building their new home. 5) To avoid paying for building permits for the new home that he does not feel requires permitting because of his excellent and conscientious building skills John and Ruthie's Goal(s): While often counter to Craig's goal of privacy, John and Ruthie have goals of contributing and opining on ways to take care of their mother and support her and Craig as much as possible.
Act Sequence	The act sequence between Craig and his children, regardless of who initiates the interactions (and it is typically Craig who begins the conversations), always has prolonged pauses. Often Craig is engaged in another activity while speaking to his children. Even before the spoken word, Craig often begins a spoken act sequence by using silence/pause.
Key/Tone	Craig's verbal tone with his children is typically sarcastic, sardonic, matter-of-fact, and only shows acquiescence once, when Irene's physician informs him that Irene will need care for the rest of her life. Other than the first scene in this analysis, John's tone with Craig tends to be cautious and soft-spoken and his attempts at levity are rare. Ruth tends to speak to Craig with a greater determination to offer her opinion about her parents' state of affairs and questions some of Craig's decision-making judgment as it pertains to caring for Irene.
Instrumentalities	The instrumentalities are typically the spoken word. However, the home that Craig is building for Irene could also be considered a symbol of his love and protectiveness of Irene.
Norm(s)	The norms of the conversations that Craig has with Ruth and John include silence, sarcasm, lecturing, and limited visual exchanges. None of the characters express surprise about the tones or act sequences, which suggests that their interactions are typical for them.
Genre	The genre is a father/children conversation.

Table 4: SPEAKING Framework for Still Mine.

The analysis of this movie begins after a kitchen fire that Irene started by leaving a hot pad on the stove. John discovered the fire as neither Craig nor Irene were present in the farmhouse. Following the kitchen fire scene is the movie's quintessential father-son discursive activity between Craig and John. Craig's no-nonsense, independent, and private demeanor are prominent during the following scene as Craig acknowledges Irene's dementia and attempts to quantify its effects on their life as a couple.

Pictured with their backs to the camera, John walks toward Craig and stops approximately six feet from Craig's side. Craig and John are looking out at Craig's land and not at each other as the scene begins with silence. After a very brief side-look at Craig, John starts with, "Well... we've been talking about it."

Craig looks at John with a scowl and asks with an accusatory tone, "Who's 'we'?"

John: "Well, your first mistake was having seven children, so..."

Defensively, and without asking John what his visit is about, Craig responds with, "She has her good days and her bad days, that's all. She's fine." John responds by pursing his lips, nodding his head, and looking away. They speak no more words, ending this act sequence.

This exchange not only gives insight into the norms of conversation between Craig and John, but it also suggests to John that Craig might be denying the severity of Irene's dementia, which was highlighted by the kitchen fire. If this is correct, it gives the children additional concern about Craig's ability to address Irene's safety needs. And, if Craig had been denying the extent of Irene's dementia, the recent fire has shown him that there are now threats to Irene's safety when she is left unsupervised. Moreover, the act sequence that follows the silence shows that John does not have to tell Craig what he and his six siblings

have been discussing. This indicates that Craig is familiar with the topic and the content of his children's discussions regarding the status of Irene's dementia.

In order to keep Irene safer as her dementia progresses, Craig unilaterally decides to build a smaller, single-level home for them as he believes that such a dwelling will make it easier for him to care for her. Craig begins this process without discussing it with his children and without applying for the permits that he does not believe he needs because he is building on his own land and also because he is an expert builder. Additionally, Craig agrees with Irene's declaration that they cannot take out a mortgage for a new home, so he commits to building the house himself. Craig's determination to build without assistance is strong, and is illustrative of his enjoyment in engaging in meaningful tasks. In addition, just as when John was the spokesperson for his siblings when he briefly spoke to Craig about Irene after the kitchen fire, he is sent to speak with Craig about him building a house. John meets Craig in his shop, where Craig is hewing planks from a log, presumably for the new house.

John: "Well, it looks like you got another project in mind."

Craig, "Are you the official spokesman for all your brothers and sisters, or just here by yourself?"

John, "A bit of both."

Craig, "Well, that's nice."

John, "No, we just felt awful if it wasn't mentioned that you could get someone else to build it for you."

Craig: "No. Don't have the money."

John, "Dad, you're sitting on 2,000 acres. Sell off a piece."

Craig, “You know as well as I do, if you're going to live here you need a big land base.”

John: “Big land base, yeah.”

The above discussion is one that many adult children have had with their parents, between parents wishing to save their assets for future use and their children who, although raised in the family system of frugality, encourage their parents to tap into their assets rather than skimp on their present needs.

Craig, “Besides, nothing's stopping me from doing the work.”

John, “Except that you're in your eighties.”

Craig: “Well, Son, way I look at it, age is just an abstraction, not a straitjacket. The truth is...I'm sort of looking forward to it. I haven't had a big project like this in quite a while,” with a chuckle.

John, “Fair enough. Is there anything any of us can do to help here?”

John’s response of “fair enough” is the same one that Craig used with Irene earlier in the movie, suggesting that they utter some of the same phrases. This phrase likely contributes to their culture of communication within their family and suggests that parity and compromise are important to them. In addition, Craig indicates that the sizeable project of building a new home from the ground up is something that would not be new for him.

Craig, “Sure. Need a bit of work with the backhoe if you've got the time.”

John: “Yeah, no problem.”

John begins to leave the workshop when he turns back to speak to Craig one more time. With a bit of a smirk he says to Craig, “Um...Can you at least promise me that you'll be careful?”

Craig, “What?

John, “You know, if you... cut your hand off with the circular saw in a fit of geriatric stupidity, my sisters, my wife, they're not going to let me forget about that, so, uh...”

Craig, smiling and teasingly says: “Wow! Must be tough waking up every morning afraid of tripping over your own shadow.” John walks away smiling.

The impressive and seemingly dangerous decision of an 87-year old man to single-handedly build a house is significant. Craig has determined that he will undergo this activity, and while his children offer physical support, Craig declines. John does not argue with Craig about his decision, and Craig makes it clear that he is looking forward to building a home for himself and Irene. Both aspects of caring for Irene and engaging in the building of their home are meaningful activities for Craig.

Craig’s words indicate that his current endeavor harkens back to his earlier days, when he could accomplish the demanding activity of building a home. Craig’s steadfastness in refusing help is not just because of his ego. Given Craig’s promise to Irene that they will not move until she requires additional care, taking his time in building is also a major reason for not completing the house more quickly.

Later in the movie, Irene falls down the stairs of their (current) two-story home and is admitted to the hospital for observation, but Craig does not inform his children of her health situation. Ruthie visits her parents after learning from a nurse friend that Irene was hospitalized due to her fall. She finds Craig in the kitchen uncharacteristically making dinner with nearly every imaginable cooking ingredient and utensil on the table, counters, and stove in a kitchen that is typically immaculate and uncluttered.

Ruthie: “Hey, Dad.”

Craig: “Hi, Ruthie.”

Ruthie: “Where's Mom?”

Craig: “She's taking a nap.”

Ruthie: “Is that the, uh... porta-potty from Linda's wedding?”

Craig: “Yeah.”

Ruthie: “It sets the porch off nicely. It, uh... goes well with the freezers.” This reference to freezers is regarding the old freezers in their front yard that serve as elevated garden beds. In the past, Ruthie has referred to the freezers/elevated garden beds as looking like “trailer trash.”

Craig: “Well, that's one of the advantages of growing old. You don't care so much about keeping up appearances.”

Craig has changed his and Irene’s physical living conditions by placing a porta-potty on the porch so that Irene no longer needs to go upstairs. He has also moved their bedroom furniture from the second floor to the first floor living room. Craig has posted signs in the house that direct Irene to the bathroom, on the porch.

Ruthie begins the conversation about her mother with Craig, “Dad, I know what happened. My friend Jeannie is a nurse at the hospital. You should have called.”

Craig: “You know, I never did like Jeannie. As I remember, she was always sticking her nose in other people's business.”

Ruthie: “Would you have told us?”

Craig: “No.”

Ruthie: “Why not?!”

Craig, in a slow and calm manner, says, “Well now, Ruthie, don't take this personally, but I imagine that you and your brothers and your sisters would have come to a different conclusion about what to do next.”

Ruthie: “Well, it's been obvious for a while now that Mom is getting worse.”

Craig’s volume slightly increases: “You think I'm not aware of that? That's why I'm building the house.”

Ruthie: “But a house isn't going to fix it.” Ruthie’s volume also increases and she matches Craig’s intensity.

Craig: “No, but it will make everything a lot more manageable.”

Ruthie: “I've been looking into some programs that I think would be good for her.”

Craig: “No! It's not what your mother would want.”

Ruthie, bordering on an accusatory tone, “You haven't even heard what I have to say! Besides, I'm not so sure she even knows what she wants anymore.”

Craig: “Yes, she does.”

Ruthie: “Okay, then, if you're good here, I'll go up and see Mom.”

Craig: “Bed’s been moved to the living room.” As Craig gives Ruthie this additional bit of information, he smirks as if to emphasize to Ruthie that he has Irene’s care under control.

The above conversation continues to highlight Craig’s intention to keep issues regarding Irene’s health private, primarily because he knows that his children will not approve of his decisions. And, despite Ruthie knowing her father and his preferences regarding Irene, she not only confronts her father about his need for secrecy but also inserts her opinion by sharing that she has resources for care support for Irene. In addition, Craig

remains stalwart in his belief that Irene is still able to communicate what she wants for herself and he will continue to honor her wishes even when his children challenge and disagree with him.

However, Irene falls again. She breaks her hip and must remain in the hospital for what the physician estimates will be four to six weeks. After the surgeon has delivered this news to Craig, John, and Ruth, Ruth asks, “You comfortable with that, Dad?” Ruthie’s question to Craig, while knowing that there is not really anything that the family can do to change Irene’s rehabilitation trajectory, shows her respect of his role as Irene’s husband, caregiver, and protector despite their earlier conversations and disagreements about the level of care needed by Irene.

The previous exchanges have shown the effects of Irene’s progressing Alzheimer’s on her family; this has placed pressure on Craig to complete their new house quickly. In addition, Craig has faced additional stress as he is trying to stay out of jail because of his refusal to follow permitting rules. Craig’s insistence about caring for Irene without support from others caused tension between him and his seven children but his strong patriarchal presence had never allowed his children an opportunity to usurp his authority.

However, since the completion of the new house, the judge has ruled in Craig’s favor, and it is clear that the new house will not be razed. Ruthie visits Craig. Although she does not agree that Craig has completely solved the issue of Irene’s caregiving, she does show a supportive side as a daughter and acknowledges that Craig is doing what he believes to be best for Irene and him.

Ruth: “Hey, Dad.”

Craig sighs, as if he anticipates that Ruth will begin to nag him about his and Irene's situation, "Ruthie." Craig's sigh is one of resignation as if to say, "What *now*, Ruthie?" It shows that Craig is weary of Ruthie's suggestions about how he should care for Irene.

Ruthie: "I, uh... stopped by the new house last night. You and Mom are going to like it there."

Craig: "You think?" Craig is surprised by Ruthie's opinion.

Ruthie: "Yeah. Definitely."

Craig: "Hmm."

Ruthie: You planned it out well."

Craig: "Thanks. I sure hope so."

Craig's intense commitment to honor Irene's wishes, although pitting his own methods of caring for Irene against his children's wishes, has not resulted in any damage to their current relationship. In fact, it might have given his children an opportunity to trust that Craig is still able to care for their mother, at least for a bit longer. And, perhaps Craig recognizes that his children are willing to support and acknowledge his caregiving choices for their mother, as seen when Ruthie visits to congratulate Craig on his home construction.

Hubs and Radiants of Identity

Craig's identity hubs of spouse and father are never in doubt; indeed, his radiants of protector and caregiver for Irene are unwavering and evident throughout the movie (see Figure 5).

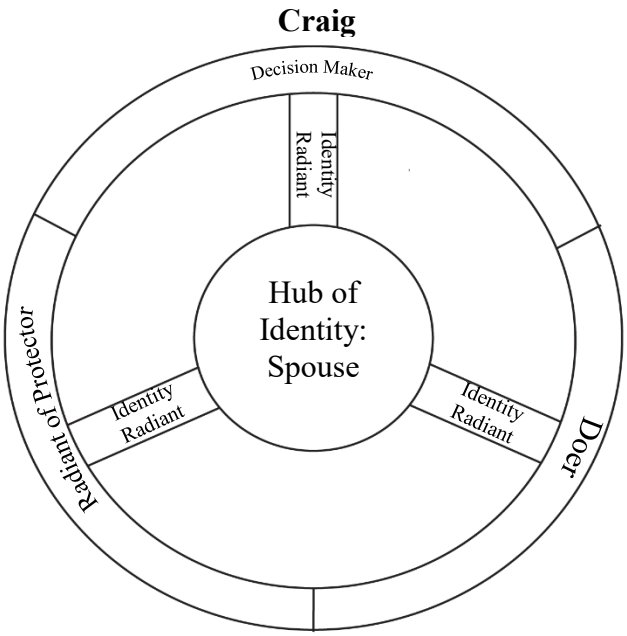


Figure 5

John's identities of son and brother are developed by his radiants of spokesperson for his siblings, and his manner of speaking with Craig shows that he does not cause tension by questioning Craig's choices in caring for Irene. Ruthie's hub of daughter has a radiant of interested caregiver that places her in situations of conflict with Craig.

Hubs and Radiants of Dwelling

The importance of this hub is not due to the nostalgic memories for their old home. Rather, Craig's insistence on building a new home serves to continue his protector and caregiving radiants of caring for Irene and has a twofold purpose. First, keeping Irene in the familiar setting of her old home for as long as possible might sustain some of her memories. Second, Craig hopes that the new house being smaller and on a single level (to prevent falling down stairs) will serve as an additional reason to delay placing Irene in a nursing home. The importance of their new home is also directly related to Craig's identity radiant of

husband and protector of Irene as he believes that a smaller home would help him protect Irene.

Hub of Action/Doing

This discursive hub is frequently expressed by Craig and is a driving force in his life. Being actively engaged in vital activities such as caring for Irene and building a home appear to be a core aspect of his identities of husband, provider, farmer, and protector.

Cultural Propositions

The cultural propositions for this movie are first stated and then supported by the dialogue from the movie.

Cultural Proposition One: Craig and Irene are at risk for remaining safe because Irene is not constantly watched/monitored.

- “What if I was ten minutes later?”

Cultural Proposition Two: Craig and Irene’s seven children utilize spokespeople, typically John, to communicate with Craig and Irene.

- “Are you the official spokesman for all your brothers and sisters, or just here by yourself?”

Cultural Proposition Three: Age equals infirmity.

- “Except that you're in your eighties.”

Cultural Proposition Four: Activity equals enjoyment.

- “(chuckles) The truth is...I'm sort of looking forward to it. I haven't had a big project like this in quite a while.”
- “What else do you want me to do, sit around all day? Time enough for that when I'm dead.”

Cultural Proposition Five: Age does not equal infirmity

- “Well, Son, way I look at it, age is just an abstraction, not a straitjacket.”

Cultural Proposition Six: Fairness conveys a compromise, which offers a speaker some degree of getting at least part of what they would like when speaking with each other

- “Fair enough. Is there anything any of us can do to help here?”
- “Fair enough.”

Cultural Proposition Seven: Teasing is one way of expressing superiority over your children.

- “I sure am. Say, how's that chest cold of yours? Sure you don't need me to work the backhoe?”
- “Where I come from, if you can walk, it's not pneumonia.”
- Wow! “Must be tough waking up every morning afraid of tripping over your own shadow.”

Cultural Proposition Eight: Teasing is one way of expressing affection and care for your parents.

- “Um...Can you at least promise me that you'll be careful? You know, if you... cut your hand off with the circular saw in a fit of geriatric stupidity, my sisters, my wife, they're not going to let me forget about that, so, uh...”
- “You're absolutely certain you want to do this, old man?”
- “If the rest of us could rely on strength of character instead of universal healthcare, the world would be a better place.”

Cultural Proposition Nine: Work and caring for your family are high priorities for Craig.

- “Oh, yeah, I'm fine. Should have braced it better.”
- “No. I can manage. Your husband has enough to keep him busy on the farm. He doesn't need to be out here with me.”

Cultural Proposition Ten: Meaningful activity is very important for Craig.

- “I'm enjoying myself. I wasn't sure when I started I still had it in me.”

Cultural Proposition Eleven: Functionality takes priority over physical appearances.

- “Is that the, uh... porta-potty from Linda's wedding? It sets the porch off nicely. It, uh... goes well with the freezers.”
- “Well, that's one of the advantages of growing old. You don't care so much about keeping up appearances.”

Cultural Proposition Twelve: Parent privacy is very important for Craig.

- “Dad, I know what happened. You should have called.”
- “You know, I never did like Jeannie. As I remember, she was always sticking her nose in other people's business.”
- “Well now, Ruthie, don't take this personally, but I imagine that you and your brothers and your sisters would have come to a different conclusion about what to do next.”

Cultural Proposition Thirteen: Protecting your spouse and honoring your commitments are paramount to Craig.

- “You think I'm not aware of that? That's why I'm building the house.”
- “No! It's not what your mother would want.”
- “No, but it will make everything a lot more manageable.”
- “Yes, she does.”

Cultural Proposition Fourteen: Children often play different roles within their relationships with each other and with their parents

- “Well, it's been obvious for a while now that Mom is getting worse.”
- “But a house isn't going to fix it.”
- “I've been looking into some programs that I think would be good for her.”
- “You haven't even heard what I have to say! Besides, I'm not so sure she even knows what she wants anymore.”

Cultural Premises

The cultural premises of Craig and Irene’s family are as follows:

- Promises are to be kept at any cost.
- Protection of your loved one also encompasses respecting your loved one’s wishes.
- Meaningful work is paramount to fulfillment and contributes to longevity.
- When the patriarch in the family makes a decision, there is no discussion.

Norms

Within the context of this movie, the goals of John and Ruth are to keep Irene safe. To that end, they offer Craig as much help as possible, but Craig rarely accepts their offers of assistance. Craig’s goals are to keep Irene safe, to provide for her without help from his children, and to continue to engage in meaningful activity. Craig insists that his children are to remain out of his and Irene’s business. The children are permitted (forced) entry into their parents’ lives only as determined by Craig. Sarcasm, teasing, and joking are frequent means of conversational styles permitted in this family. Craig’s ethos of working and being active is meaningful and gives him a purpose in life, especially when it means that he is acting to

protect and provide for Irene. John's historical action is to represent his siblings and not to challenge or question Craig, and Ruthie's acts are to persist in trying to care for Irene, even when Craig does not welcome her opinions or offers of help.

Within the framework of CuDA and noting that it is the cultural discourse that leads to the expected patterns of conduct (D. Carbaugh, personal communication, June 13, 2021), the communication norms for *Still Mine* are:

1) As her spouse, Craig is the decision-maker for all things related to Irene.
2) As Craig's son, John approaches conversations with Craig in a hesitant manner.
3) As Craig's daughter, Ruthie approaches Craig directly about her ideas for caring for Irene.

With regard to the portrayal of caregiving relationships involving parents and children, *Still Mine* offers a unique perspective, as Craig is a competent husband willing to care for his wife and adamant about doing so without support from their children. While Craig and Irene have seven children who apparently are concerned about the care of their mother, Craig insists on directing all aspects of care of Irene.

The following movie proffers an additional variation of child/parent caregiving relationships and this time involves a widow and her two adult children.

Fire in the Dark

This movie is about a family of two adult children and their relationship with their elderly mother. It takes a different perspective from that of *Still Mine*, but still shows the effects of adult children's relationships with a physically failing parent.

Fire in the Dark (Jones, 1992) features Emily, a 75-year-old widow who struggles with navigating the uncharted waters of aging and the implications of her physical decline. Emily's flashbacks throughout the movie offer glimpses of family interactions as far back as when her daughter Janet and son Robert were children. These flashbacks provide information about the family histories that have laid the foundation for the sibling conflicts that Janet and Robert experience (and which Emily mediates) in the present and provide the basis for the communication within their family's culture.

SPEAKING Framework *Fire in the Dark* Easter Dinner

Component	
Setting & Scene	Physical setting: The physical setting of the first scene to be analyzed is the family home of Emily, Janet, and Robert. Psychological scene: The annual family Easter dinner at Emily's (Rob and Janet's childhood home). The table setting has nostalgic and meaningful artifacts from the decades that Emily has spent in this house.
Participants	Emily is a retired teacher, widowed for many years, fiercely independent and active with her widowed friends. She is mother to Janet and Robert and grandmother to Eric. Janet is a college instructor and married to Richard, a college professor up for a promotion to the chair of his department. They have a teenaged son, Eric, who is active in high school track and is an only child. Robert is also a teacher and teaches at a private school in the same town as Emily. Robert still asks his mother for financial support and is typically at odds with Janet about Emily's needs for safety and care.
Ends/Goal(s)	Emily's goal for the Easter meal is to have a family event that is peaceful while enjoying her family. Her long-term goal is to remain in her own home without caregiver support. Janet's goals are to keep Emily safe while not jeopardizing the happiness of Emily or her family. Robert's goals for Easter dinner appear to be washing his extensive loads of laundry, participating in a traditional family dinner, and obtaining $500 from his mother for car repairs. His later goals are to avoid taking care of Emily.
Act Sequence	Robert and Janet: Their comments often initiate a sequence of back-and-forth arguing, usually resulting in Robert implying that Janet was the favored child while they were growing up. It typically ends with Janet telling Robert that he needs to "grow up." Emily-initiated with Janet: Often asks about Eric and Richard then frequently tells Janet her concern for Robert, to which Janet usually responds with some version of "Robert just needs to grow up." Typically followed by Emily telling Janet that Robert is her only sibling; Robert and Janet should just get along with each other; Janet has a family and Robert has no one; Janet should be less confrontational with Robert.
Key/Tone	Between Robert and Janet during Easter dinner tends to be accusatory even when they are joking. The accusatory tone heightens when recalling their childhood upbringing and extends to the rest of the movie. Between Emily and Robert: Emily's tone is typically supportive and loving. Between Emily and Janet: Emily's tone with Janet is loving, she often includes a gentle admonishment about Janet's comments to and about Robert.
Instrumentalities	The instrumentalities are spoken words.
Norm(s)	Emily frequently acts as a peacekeeper between Robert and Janet. Robert's recap of his less-than-satisfying childhood Easter present from his father suggests that he frequently complains that Janet typically received preferential treatment from him. Janet frequently complains about Robert
Genre	The genre is first annual holiday family dinner and mother/daughter conversations focused on safety (Janet) versus independence (Emily).

Table 5: Framework Fire in the Dark Easter Dinner

Prior to the annual Easter dinner, Emily has spent hours cooking and cleaning. Janet and her family have arrived after Robert, who is in Emily's laundry room, deciding if he should remove the socks that he is wearing and place them in the washing machine.

Emily calls out to Robert, "Rob, your sister is here!"

Robert rolls his eyes upward in a manner of annoyance, "Okay! Coming!"

Janet rolls her eyes when speaking to Emily, "Couldn't he wait till after dinner to run the washer?" The respective eye rolling that Janet and Robert use in response to each other begins to tell the story of their relationship, which will affect their future discussions about caring for their mother when she needs assistance.

Emily whispers so that Rob doesn't hear her, "I never saw so much laundry!" This shows that Robert does not come over regularly to visit with Emily; otherwise, the amount of his laundry would be smaller.

At the dinner table, and despite their prior and respective eye rolling toward each other (and not in each other's presence), Janet and Robert recount to Eric some stories of their childhood Easter baskets. Robert reminisces about how Janet received more favorable presents than he did from their father, beginning what will become a recurring topic throughout the.

Robert directly speaks to Eric: "I remember one Easter Sunday when your mother's Easter basket was full of Easter treats and mine had a calculator in it."

Emily: "Now, Dad made a special trip to Marshall Field's in Chicago to get you that calculator. You were flunking math and Dad was pulling his hair out."

Robert: "I still flunked math and now I teach math in high school. Anyway, after she went to sleep I snuck into her room…."

Janet corrects Robert's grammar, "…sneaked…"

Robert: "…crept silently into her room and I ate every goodie in the basket."

Emily: "He was so sick, I didn't have the heart to punish him."

Janet: "And I was so angry the next day at school that I let all of the air out of his bicycle tires."

Robert [smiling]: "You did that? You little brat! I gave Buster Thompson a bloody nose for that."

As Robert spots his father's watch on Eric's wrist, he pauses with his fork over his plate and says, "Is that dad's watch?"

Eric responds in the affirmative, completely unaware of the tension that wearing his grandfather's watch has wrought on the dinner conversation.

Janet: "Yeah. It looks nice, doesn't it? I had it cleaned."

Robert: "Yeah, it really does. It's very valuable. Take good care of it"

Emily pauses eating and looks concerned when Janet tells Robert, "It's really the only thing that he has of Dad's."

Robert pauses and speaks, clearly offended, "I wasn't asking for it."

There is an uncomfortable silence at the table. Robert excuses himself to check on his clothes in the laundry room.

Eric seems befuddled. He tells his mother that he will give the watch to his Uncle Robert, to which Janet says, "Robert just needs to grow up."

Emily is looking distressed and concerned now that Robert has left the dinner table. She responds to Janet, "Something else is bothering him."

Janet: "Mom. Robert has always been a little jealous of Eric. You know that."

Disapprovingly, Emily responds, to Janet, “What a thing to say.”

Janet: “You know how dad adored Eric.”

Pleadingly and with sadness in her face, Emily tells Janet, “We all adore Eric, but Robert is your one and only brother. Janet, please stop this.”

After dinner, in the family room, Emily is snoring in her chair, exhausted from the day’s events, including her preparations for their family dinner. Janet enters the room and awakens Emily to inform her that it is time for them to leave. Emily expresses sadness at not seeing Janet for longer periods of time and says with a loving smile, “I hate to see you go.”

After Emily and Rob have waved good-bye to Janet and her family, Emily immediately turns to him and says, “You avoided your sister the whole time they were here.”

Robert: “She’s got her family.”

Emily: “I want you to have each other!”

Robert: “We have each other. Ma. Mom, my car needs an overhaul. Could you let me have $500?”

Emily: “Yes, of course, dear. But, uh, this will have to be the last time.”

Robert: “I don’t want to strain you.”

Emily: “No. No, there’s no strain. You must learn to be more careful with your money.”

Robert: “Yeah, I will, mom.”

Emily: “Want to take some food home?”

Robert: “No, no. No, I’m fine.”

While entering his ragged car, loaded down with clean laundry, and now with money in his hard for car repairs, Robert yells to his mother, “I’ll call you this week!”

Emily laughingly says, “No, you won’t! Bye! Oh, Rob!! You forgot the cake! It’s your favorite…”

As her sentence dwindles, Robert drives off without looking back and gives a wave from his open car window. Emily remains on the front porch, holding a cake and looking wistful as Robert’s vehicle fades away. Emily’s Easter dinner has ended and the dissent between her children adds to her sadness about not seeing them as much as she would like.

Living in her home is of paramount importance to Emily, so her way of life dramatically changes when she breaks her hip and cannot live alone. Her recuperation plan suddenly ends when the friend with whom she is living during her healing suddenly dies. Emily insists that she is able to return to her own home and vehemently refuses home care, a housekeeper, or moving in with Janet.

One of the turning points that shows the extent of Emily’s physical deterioration after she has broken her hip occurs when Robert calls Emily to invite himself to dinner. While Emily is resting after completing the dinner preparation, the main dish catches on fire. Robert calls to cancel his dinner visit, thus waking Emily. She is beside herself when she assesses the level of damage to her blackened cabinets. As a reversal to the saying “adding insult to injury,” Emily burns her hand to add to the insult to her very personhood when she is unable to cook and clean for her family as she used to.

Emily has told no one about the oven fire. However, the blackened cabinets from the flaming London Broil are impossible to miss when one of her friends, Gladys, visits her. After the visit, Gladys calls Janet, who is busily preparing for Richard’s department party, which they will be hosting later that evening. Gladys tells Janet about Emily’s unkempt home, her disheveled appearance, and the evidence of the kitchen fire. In spite of the

protestations of Richard over the prospect of driving two hours to care for Janet's mother, the next scene shows Janet washing Emily's hair at the kitchen sink. While doing so, Janet questions her mother in a somewhat frustrated tone. Emily's responses are illustrative of her firm conviction that she needs no help from anyone to remain safe in her beloved home and offer some explanation as to why she did not contact Janet and Robert about the fire.

Janet: "Mom, so why didn't you call that home care agency?"

Emily intensely states, "You just don't understand."

Janet firmly responds, "You're coming home with me, Mom."

Emily defiantly and forcefully replies, "I am not helpless!"

Janet: "Well, if you let yourself go much longer, you're gonna be. What have you had to eat today?"

Emily: "None of your business."

Janet: "I want you to come home with me until your hip is better."

Emily: "You don't have any room."

Janet: "Mother, it's a four-hour round trip. I cannot check in on you every day. Let's pack a bag."

Emily: "I'm staying here. Everything I have is here. Everything I love. And you're not taking me away from it." Emily stomps her cane twice, gets up from her chair, and moves to another room, in effect dismissing Janet. Emily has not shown this behavior previously in the movie and Janet's expression confirms that Emily is acting out of character.

For a while, Emily begins to fare better while living by herself. However, after a short time, someone breaks into her home and robs her at knifepoint. Janet, Robert, and Richard arrive at Emily's home while the police are questioning Emily. As they argue about Emily's

status and begin to blame each other for Emily being robbed, the three of them begin making personal remarks about each other. The attacker is the yard man that Robert has hired without checking his background; this realization contributes to the fighting among the three adults. As the arguing continues, Emily begins to climb the stairs to her room and stumbles. Janet runs to pick her up and Emily cries out, filled with angst, “Stop this! Janet, I don’t want any fighting, do you hear me?!” It is of interest that Emily is not distressed about the robbery as much as she is about her children fighting with each other.

Emily then moves in with Janet, Richard, and Eric, who has given up his first-floor bedroom to his grandmother. With tension increasing among all of them, and pressure from Richard to change their living situation, Janet begins looking for a place for Emily to live. She believes such a move will also benefit Emily, who is becoming more and more bitter, dependent, and merely existing rather than living. In this next scene, Janet is pushing Emily in a wheelchair as they head to a nearby park.

Janet: “Why don’t we sit and talk for a bit?”

Emily: “Maybe I’ll hear from Gladys today. I’ve written her twice.”

Janet: “Mom, I think it’s time we make some plans.”

Emily: “Plans?”

Janet: “Yeah, for you.”

Emily: “I’m way ahead of you, dear. I invited Gladys to come and live with me. I’m sure she’s just miserable living in that home. I will sell your father’s car and use the money to paint the house.”

Janet: “I don’t think that’s very realistic”

Emily is even-tempered but firm despite trying to regain control of her living situation, saying, “That’s for me to decide.”

Janet: “You need more help than Gladys can give you.”

Emily: “I’ll be the judge of what I need.”

Janet: “Mother, you are never going home to live.”

Emily: “I know *exactly* where this is leading and the answer is - no.”

Emily’s verbalizations are becoming lower in volume and anger is creeping into her responses, “I am not living in some dingy room…. death house with some sweet-sounding name.”

Janet: “I know that you are upset. This is difficult, but we need to face the facts.”

Emily: “You’re taking the rest of my life away from me.”

Janet: “We’re trying to help you!”

Emily: “*Help* me?! Right into the next world!?”

Janet rises from the bench on which she is sitting and nearly yells, “That’s not true!”

Emily: “Then take me home. And I don’t mean your house, where it is perfectly clear that I am not welcomed.”

Janet blinks back tears. Her face shows that Emily has wounded her with that statement.

Emily: “I’m sorry. Oh, Janet, I don’t want to hurt you. I still see what you are trying to do but, oh my God, my God, I want the rest of my life, I want to go home.”

Emily moves her chin down so that it is nearly touching her chest. She is crying and emoting despair. “I want the rest of my life. *Please*. Let me go home.” Emily is no longer looking at Janet and is simply imploring her daughter to allow her to return to her home.

Janet: “I just can’t do that.”

In desperation, Emily looks around and moves her head as if writhing in pain. “Forty years ago, … I could have children. Twenty years ago, I could read all night and get up and teach the next day. Five years ago, I could drive a car. Last Easter I made dinner as usual. And now…. Look at me… I’m… you can’t understand. And why should you? It’s like… stars….. going out…. and I’m in the dark…. reaching… my God, it’s all unraveling. Oh my God! I can’t stop! *Oh my God*!” With these words, Emily willingly shows her reflection about her end-of-life apprehension. She emotes the depth of her fear of her diminishing physical capacity and eloquently tells Janet that she is losing her previous identity as a vital woman.

Janet tearfully and compassionately squats down to take her mother’s shoulders as Emily takes Janet’s shoulders. She does not refute her mother’s emotions. Rather, she assures her that she will not abandon her and will, in fact, accompany her through the coming, unfamiliar aspects of her life, saying “Mom, I’m going to be right here with you. I’m going to be right here.” They kiss with care and tenderness, and Emily sighs in relief. The intensity of their relating during this conversation, expressing emotion that was raw and deep, appeared to be necessary for Emily to acquiesce and to trust Janet to determine the next steps in her life.

Hubs and Radiants of Identity

Emily. As a former teacher with a full social life, Emily enjoys her friends and their regular involvement with church activities, card playing, etc. She regularly lectures her friends that homes for the elderly are waystations for death. Indeed, Emily believes that living in her own home is the only way that she can remain independent, vital, and happy.

Emily's identity of her personhood has a strong radiant of independence that she carries over into her hub of identity of mother. As a mother, Emily consistently shows identity radiants of peacekeeper between Robert and Janet and caregiver to Robert. As one might expect, Emily's identity hubs and radiants intertwine with how she relates to others. The following is a representation of Emily's identity hubs and radiants.

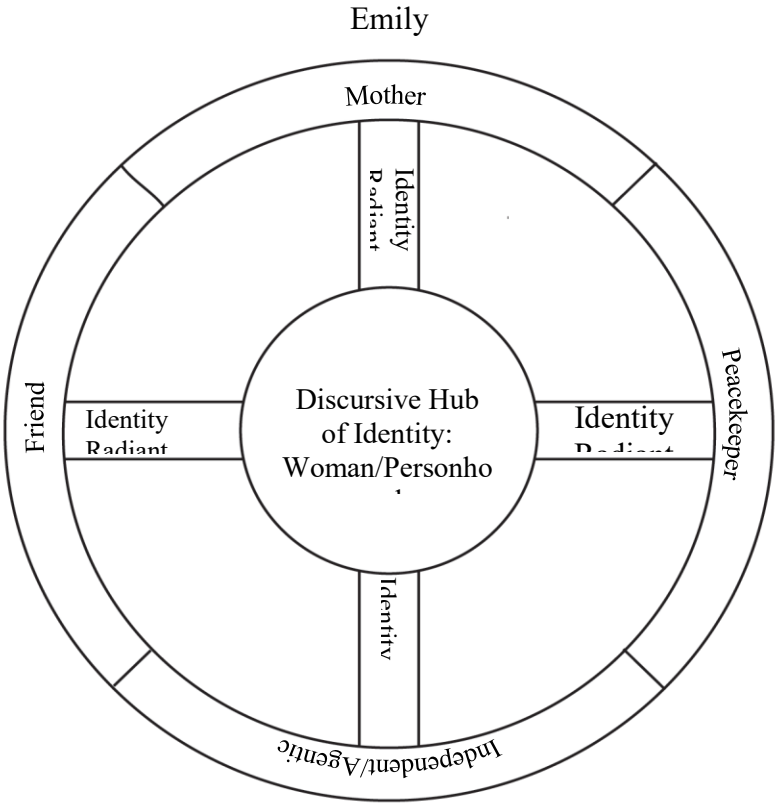


Figure 6

Hubs and Radiants of Relating and Emotion

With Emily's strong identity hubs and radiants, it is no surprise that her manner of relating to her children is equally strong. She relates her love and caring by providing holiday meals for her family and preparing individual meals for her son even when doing so means causing herself pain and eventual harm.

When she demonstrates unyielding behavior by stomping her cane and responding with answers such as "None of your business," Emily clearly states to Janet that she will not

relent in her refusal to leave her home; she is strong-willed enough to share her anger with her verbal and physical demonstrations. Emily's emotional closeness to with Janet allows her to verbalize her sadness, despair, and hopelessness that she experiences because of the effects of her physical challenges.

Emily speaks about the precious memories of her younger years that she experienced in her home. She equates her physical home as the vessel for her memories and not her mind, which holds those memories for her. Thinking and talking about these happy memories as being dependent upon a physical structure (her home) makes it difficult for Emily to accept the possibility that she might be able to be happy in a setting other than her current home.

Emily's Hub of Temporality

Emily frequently speaks about her past and frequently uses temporality as a "dwelling-in-place" (Katriel & Livio, 2018, p. 58) context.

Emily's Hub of Dwelling

The entire movie is illustrative of Emily's preference for staying in her own home as she ages. When it becomes clear that it would be unwise to remain in her home, the scenes chronicle her efforts at convincing her family that she must do so anyway. The importance of Emily's home is well captured when she tells Janet that everything that she loves is there. Of course, the hub of dwelling is not just an issue for Emily. It becomes a challenge for Janet and, to a lesser extent, to Robert, as Emily's physical and safety needs increase.

Janet's Hubs and Radiants of Identity

Janet's hub of identity as daughter is apparent throughout the movie with radiants of caregiver and protector of her mother (see Figure 7). Janet also has an identity hub of sister, which frequently causes angst for, and division between, her brother and her mother. Because

of the amount of care that Janet provides Emily, Janet's identity of mother has suffered when Emily's presence in her home causes havoc in her family. As Janet works to juggle her roles within her identities of daughter and mother, her husband, Richard, expresses his dissatisfaction, placing additional stress on Janet.

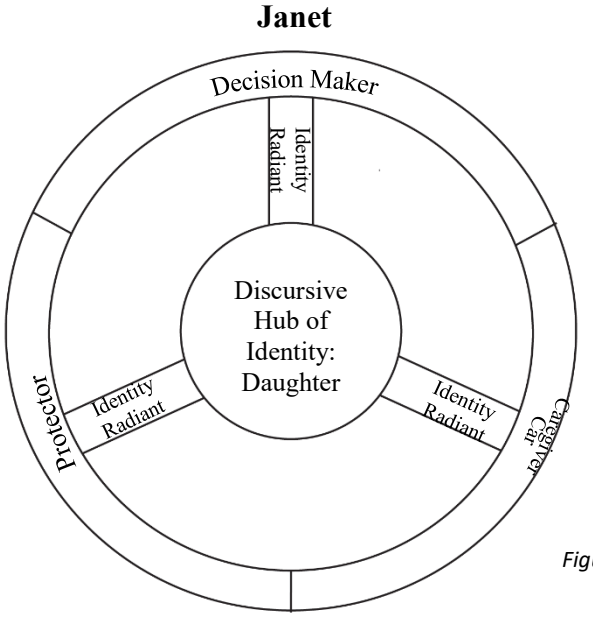


Figure 7

Cultural Propositions

The cultural propositions for *Fire in the Dark* are as follows.

Cultural Proposition One: Robert's relationship with Emily often seems based upon his physical needs:

- "Mom, my car needs an overhaul. Could you let me have $500?"
- "I never saw so much laundry!"
- Emily: "Yes, of course, dear. But, uh, this will have to be the last time." (Here we see mother as caregiver and Robert's financier.)
- "How about I drop by for dinner?"

Cultural Proposition Two: Emily continues to act as caregiver to Robert:

- “Oh, Rob!! You forgot the cake! It’s your favorite…….”
- “Oh, that would be lovely. I’ll make London Broil.” (This refers to the dinner that caught fire when Robert invited himself over for dinner.)

Cultural Proposition Three: Emily’s despair at not living in her home is related to the loss of her youth.

- “Oh my God, my God, I want the rest of my life, I want to go home.”
- “I am not helpless!”
- “I’m staying here. Everything I have is here. Everything I love. And you’re not taking me away from it.”
- “I know *exactly* where this is leading and the answer is - no.”
- “You’re taking the rest of my life away from me.”
- “*Help* me? Right into the next world!?”
- “I want the rest of my life. *Please*. Let me go home.”

Cultural Proposition Four: Janet as caregiver and protector in her radiants of daughter.

- “Mom, so why didn’t you call that home care agency?”
- “You’re coming home with me, Mom.”
- “You gotta let us help you, Mom, and I don’t know how to do this if you don’t come and live with me.”
- “We’re trying to help you!”
- “Mom, I’m going to be right here with you. I’m going to be right here.
- “I know that you are upset. This is difficult, but we need to face the facts.”
- “Mother, you are never going home to live.”

Cultural Premises

- Emily will lose her identity as an independent woman if she if she lives in a setting that offers care.
- Emily equates moving away from her home with losing her precious memories.
- Janet's focus on her mother is to ensure that Emily is safe and well cared for.
- Rob's focus on his mother is to obtain resources from Emily.
- The sibling relationship of Janet and Rob does not support mutual caregiving of Emily.

Norms

The context of this movie with two adult children and their elderly mother and portrays children with different goals within their filial relationship with their mother. Janet's primary goal is to keep Emily safe, while Emily's primary goal is to remain in her home; these two goals are mutually exclusive. Janet cannot permit Emily to live alone in her own home and Emily is not allowing herself to accept that her physical abilities do not allow herself to safely do so. Emily will not allow anyone to live with her in her home; at the same time, her presence in Janet's home is not positive for any one. No amount of pleading by Emily will result in her living in her own home.

Within the framework of CuDA, the communication norms for *Fire in the Dark* are*:*

(1) A decrease in physical abilities causes elderly parents to lose their perception of their independence because they cannot safely live where they wish.

(2) An adult child must make decisions that place safety priorities over a parent's desire for living where they prefer.

In summary, what we see in this movie is the portrayal of a caregiving relationship between a well-educated and cognitively intact (albeit with limited judgement about her

safety) mother whose physical frailties diminish her capacity to safely and independently stay in her home. Although her children love her, there is a stark difference in the manner in which they face and address Emily's increasing physical needs. Robert and Janet's manner of relating to each other over the years causes Emily additional angst and places the burden of caregiving upon Janet. This movie also demonstrates sequences that often occur in the lives of elderly parents – an otherwise healthy and independently functioning adult suffers a traumatic event such as a fractured hip and then a family's lives are upended (Parker & Thorslund, 2007).

The Father

The final movie analyzed in the present study has an additional focus on the importance of an elderly parent's wishes to remain in his own home. However, this movie includes the added complication of that parent's dementia. His daughter, like Janet in *Fire in the Dark*, has tried to support him living by himself in his own flat, by arranging for a home care aide.

In *The Father* (Zeller, 2020, U.K.), Anthony is an 80-year-old retired engineer living in London. He is the father to two daughters, Anne and Lucy. As the story unfolds, we learn that Lucy has died in a motor vehicle accident and that Anthony no longer remembers this sad fact. Due to Anthony's dementia, Anne is, reluctantly, his primary caregiver as he can no longer safely live alone. As such, Anne spends considerable time trying to hire professional caregivers whom Anthony does not want. This movie intersperses the present with a variety of Anthony's past memories. The viewer must pay constant attention in order to understand the disarray within Anthony's mind. Different scenes show subtle changes in furniture, characters, timing, and events, which offers the viewer an awareness that Anthony is not able

to consistently view his life through a reality-based (or, at least, a present-based) lens. The analysis of this movie is first conceptualized with the SPEAKING framework table.

SPEAKING Framework for *The Father*

Component	
Setting & Scene	Physical settings: Anne's and Anthony's flats in London. Psychological scenes: The very few comforting memories of Anthony's own flat, contrasting with those scenes in which Anthony has inserted people from different times of his life into his current living arrangement.
Participants	Anthony: Father to Anne and Lucy, who has died; Anthony does not remember that Lucy is dead. Anne: Daughter and caregiver to Anthony Paul: Anne's partner Laura: A caregiver interviewing for a position with Anthony.
Ends/Goal(s)	Anthony's goals: The entire movie reflects Anthony's goals prior to his final living situation: (1) remain in his own flat and (2) live without caregivers. Anne's goals: The movie depicts Anne's goals prior to Anthony's final living situation as: (1) keep Anthony safe in his flat, which is only possible with the help of caregivers, (2) move to Paris to live with Paul, (3) have a life that is not fully consumed with caring for her father.
Act Sequence	The movie highlights the act sequences between Anthony and Anne prior to his final living situation. Their discussions typically begin with Anne telling Anthony that he needs to accept some form of caregiver support and he responds that he does not need any support. Sometimes Anthony's responses to Anne are simple indignant responses. Sometimes his retorts are hateful and mean and Anne's responses to Anthony's latter tone/key is not in-kind, although the look on her face reflects hurt, sadness, and some teary eyes.
Key/Tone	Anthony's tone is typically defensive, argumentative, angry, and at times mean and hurtful. Often Anthony is confused but he works to disguise his confusion, which results in the aforementioned tones. Anne's tone with Anthony can be frustration-filled, pleading.
Instrumentalities	Anthony and Anne use verbal discourse to communicate with each other.
Norm(s)	Anthony's norms: It is acceptable for him to belittle Anne. There is only one brief scene when he speaks lovingly toward Anne, thanking her for her help, possibly suggesting there are also other (if unseen) instances when Anthony uses kindness in his interactions with Anne. Anne's norms: Respectful and compassionate when speaking with Anthony. Even when he is mean-spirited and hurtful, Anne does not reciprocate in kind. There are frequent moments of frustration as Anne and Anthony repeat conversations about Anthony requiring assistance.
Genre	Flashbacks of Anthony's scrambled memories are the primary genre for this movie's story.

Table 6: SPEAKING Framework for The Father.

The movie opens with Anne scurrying to her flat (which Anthony believes is still his). She is frazzled, having had to unexpectedly leave work and quickly get to Anthony to learn what has just transpired between him and his latest caregiver, whom Anne had recently hired. Anthony does not answer the doorbell that Anne has repeatedly rung as he is listening to music with a headset. Consequently, Anne lets herself in with her set of keys, which results in Anthony looking surprised, removes his headphones and says, "What are you doing here?"

Anne: "What do you think? So, what happened?"

Anthony is irritated by Anne's unexpected arrival and is also trying to remember to what Anne is referring. "Nothing."

Anne: "Tell me."

Anthony: "I just did. Nothing happened."

Anne: "Nothing happened? I've just had her on the phone."

Anthony: "So? What does that prove?"

Anne: "You can't go on behaving like this."

Anthony: "It's my flat, isn't it? I mean, this is incredible. You burst in on me as if... I've no idea who she is, this woman. I never asked her for anything."

Anne: "She's here to help you."

Anthony: "To help me do what? I don't need her. I don't need anyone." Anthony turns and abruptly leaves the room.

Anne: "She told me you'd called her a little bitch. And I don't know what else."

Anthony: "Me?" He shrugs his shoulders. "Could be. I don't remember." This is an interesting comment, suggesting that Anthony might sometimes use his well-known poor

memory when it suits his needs, especially with regard to his perception that he does not need a caregiver.

Anne is now crying. The stress of making sure that her father is safe is mounting in intensity as they both begin to raise the volume of their voices.

Anthony: “What, just because I called her a...”

Anne: “No. She told me you threatened her. Physically.”

Anthony: “Physically? Me? Obviously, she has no idea what she’s talking about. This woman is raving mad, Anne. Best if she does leave, believe me. Especially as...”

Anne: “As what?”

Anthony: “Listen... I didn’t want to tell you... but if you must know, I suspect she was...”

Anne: “She was what?”

Anthony: “She was stealing from me.”

Anne: “Isn’t it more likely you just lost it?

Anthony sees Anne’s frustration and questions her, “What’s the matter?”

Anne: “I don’t know what to do. We have to talk, Dad.”

Anthony: “That’s what we’re doing, isn’t it?”

Anne: “I mean, seriously. This is the third one you’ve...”

Anthony: “I said, I don’t need her! I don’t need her or anyone else! I can manage very well on my own!”

Anne: “She wasn’t easy to find, you know. It’s not that easy. I thought she was really good. A lot of good qualities. She... and now she doesn’t want to work here anymore.”

Anthony: “You’re not listening to what I’m telling you. This girl stole my watch! I’m not going to live with a thief.”

Anthony goes to his bathroom to look in his hiding place for his watch and closes the door behind him to ensure that no one is watching him. After Anthony finds his watch, he moves into the television room and becomes engrossed in a Fred Astaire movie. He has completely forgotten that he had accused Angela, his caregiver, of stealing his watch. This is a frequent behavior of the elderly and caregivers are frequently accused of thefts (Seeman, 2018). Sadly, there are also reports that paid caregivers do often steal from their clients (Jackson & Hafemeister, 2012).

Anne enters the room and states, “You found it.”

Anthony: “What?”

Anne: “Your watch.”

Anthony: “Oh. Yes.”

Anne: “You realize Angela had nothing to do with it.”

Anthony: “Only because I hid it. Luckily. Just in time! Otherwise, I’d be sitting here talking to you with no means of knowing what time it was. It’s five o’clock, if you’re interested. Myself, I am interested. Pardon me for breathing.”

Anne: “Have you taken your pills?”

Anthony: “Yes. But why are you...? You keep looking at me as if there was something wrong. Everything’s fine, Anne. The world is turning. You’ve always been that way. A worrier. Like your mother. Your mother was always scared. Always looking for reasons to be scared. Whereas your sister has always been much more...At least she doesn't keep badgering me. Where is she, by the way? Have you heard from her?”

Anthony's remarks are doubly hurtful to Anne. First, when Anthony compares his ex-wife to Anne it is not with a flattering tone. Second, because Anne does not wish to emotionally hurt her father and works to protect him, she glosses over his question about Lucy's death.

When Anne does not answer, Anthony again asks, "I'm asking you a question..."

Anne: "I'm going to have to move, Dad."

Not understanding, Anthony looks at Anne.

Anne: "I'm going to have to leave London."

Anthony: "Really? Why?"

Anne: "We talked about this. Do you remember?"

Anthony does not seem to know what Anne is talking about. "Is that why you're so keen on this nurse living with me? Well, obviously it is. The rats are leaving the ship."

Anne: "I won't be here, Dad. I won't be able to come here every day. You need to understand that."

Anthony's demeanor changes and he suddenly looks fragile and frightened. "You're leaving? When? I mean...why?"

Anne: "I've met someone."

Anthony, sounding a bit incredulous: "You?"

Anne, hearing the surprise in her father's voice, has a hurt look on her face: "Yes."

Anne: "He lives in Paris. I'm going to go and live there."

Anthony: "What, you? In Paris? You're not going to do that, are you, Anne? I mean, wake up... They don't even speak English. Do I know him?"

Anne: "Yes. You've met him."

Anthony pauses before he speaks as he is trying to remember. “So, if I understand correctly, you’re leaving me. Is that it? You’re abandoning me...”

Anne: “Dad...”

Anthony suddenly looks very anxious. “What’s going to become of me?”

Anne approaches him, her expression tender. “You know, it’s important to me. Otherwise, I wouldn’t be going. I... I really love him.”

Anthony says nothing.

Anne: “I’ll come back and see you often. At weekends. But I can’t leave you here all on your own. It’s not possible. That’s why. If you refuse to have a carer, I’m going to have to...”

Anthony: “To what?”

Anne does not answer.

Anthony: “To what?”

Anne: “You have to understand, Dad.”

Anthony: “You’re going to have to what?”

Anne lowers her eyes and pauses as Anthony comes to the realization that the options are either living in his or Anne’s home with the support of a caregiver or living in an institution.

There are more conversations between Anne and Anthony that revolve around his need for care, which typically end with Anthony’s refusal of help and denial of his need for it. What makes the earlier scene unique in the movie discourse between Anne and Anthony is that Anthony shows a vulnerability when he has insight that he will be alone and without Anne to care for him.

However, Anthony's ability to conceptualize and internalize that he is unable to stay by himself has vanished during the following scene, which includes an interview with Laura, a potential replacement for Anthony's current caregiver. This scene is illustrative of the impact that parental preference for one of their children can have upon a parent/child caregiving relationship. Anthony has already alluded to his preference for his other daughter, Lucy, in the earlier conversation. But in this scent, the meanness that Anthony directs toward Anne causes the viewer to wince at his cold words to and about his only living daughter who has provided care for him over the years. Although some dialogue between Laura and Anne is presented in this scene description, it helps to understand how Anne (diplomatically) describes her father to others, which is the antithesis of Anthony's description of Anne to Laura.

Anthony appears from his room, still in his pajamas and robe: "Did I hear the bell?"

Anne: "You did... Dad, I'd like you to meet Laura."

Laura: "How do you do, sir?"

Anne: "I explained to you that Laura was going to come by today so you could meet. Laura's come by to see us to get a bit of an idea of how you live and to see to what extent she might be able to help you."

Anthony (sarcastically): "I know, dear, I know that. You've already told me a hundred times." He turns to Laura, saying, "My daughter has a tendency to repeat herself. You know what it's like... it's an age thing..." Anthony's sarcasm has an additional tone of unpleasantness toward Anne, which Laura misinterprets as Anthony making a joke.

Anthony: "Would you like something to drink?"

Laura: "You're very kind, but no thanks."

Anthony: “Sure? An aperitif? Must be about time for an aperitif, isn’t it? What time is it? It’s...” When he realizes he doesn’t have his watch he goes toward his hiding place in his bathroom. “Hang on, I’ll be right back.”

Laura: “I must say, he’s charming.”

Anne, nervously smiling: “Yes. Not always.”

Anthony returns to Laura and Anne, smiling widely and seemingly trying to charm Laura. “Now, would you like something, young lady?”

Anne begins to scold Anthony, “Dad...”

Anthony, clearly irritated that Anne has interrupted him, responds with, “What? I’m allowed to offer our guest something, aren’t I?” He turns back to Laura, smiling again. “What would you like?”

Laura: “What are you going to have?”

Anthony: “A small whiskey.”

Laura: “Then I’ll have the same.”

Anthony speaks to Anne as if she’s a waitress, “So, two whiskeys. Two! I’m not offering you one, Anne.”

Anthony turns his attention back to Laura, “She never drinks alcohol. Never. Never. Not a drop. That’s why she seems so...”

Anne: “So what?”

Anthony: “Sober. Her mother was the same. Her mother was the... soberest woman I’ve ever met. Whereas her little sister... That was quite another story.”

Laura: “You have two daughters?”

Anthony: “That’s right. Even though I hardly ever hear from the other one. Lucy. All the same, she was always my favorite.”

Anthony’s hurtful comment to Anne, delivered in a harsh tone, has caused an uncomfortable tension. “You see, the situation’s very simple. I’ve been living in this flat ... oh, for a long time now. I’m extremely attached to it. I bought it more than thirty years ago. Can you imagine? You weren’t even born. It’s a big flat. And my daughter is very interested in it.”

Anne: “What are you talking about?”

Anthony: “Let me explain. My daughter is of the opinion that I can’t manage on my own. So, she’s moved in with me. Ostensibly to help me. With this man she met not long ago, just after her divorce, who has a very bad influence on her, I have to tell you.”

Anne: “Look, what are you talking about, Dad?”

Anthony: “And now she’d like to convince me that I can’t manage on my own. The next stage will be to send me away I don’t know where...Obviously, it’ll be a much more efficient way of getting hold of my flat.”

Anne is wounded by these remarks; all that she can say is “Dad...”

Anthony: “But it’s not going to happen that way. I may as well tell you. I have no intention of leaving any time soon. No, you heard me. I intend to outlive you. Both of you. Yes. Well, I don’t know about you... But my daughter, yes. I shall make a point of it. I’m going to inherit from her. Not the other way round. The day of her funeral, I shall give a little speech to remind everyone how heartless and manipulative she was.”

Anne turns to Laura, “I’m very sorry about this.”

Anthony: “Why? She understands completely. You’re the one who doesn’t understand.” (turning to Laura) “I’ve been trying to explain to her for months that I can manage very

well on my own. But she refuses to listen. I don’t need any help from anyone and I will not leave my flat. All I want is for everyone to bugger off!” Anthony empties his glass, takes money from his pocket and throws it down on the table, as if he’s paying his bar tab and states, “Having said that, it was a great pleasure, I’ll be leaving you.”

Anthony’s quick exit, following his cruel comments to Anne about preferring her sister and comparing Anne to his ex-wife, of whom he speaks poorly, leaves Laura and Anne in an awkward situation. This leads us to the last scene of the movie, which informs the viewer that Anthony is in a facility and that the scenes we have witnessed are an amalgamation of Anthony’s memories.

With this information we are able to complete construction of Anthony and Anne’s hubs and radiants of meaning.

Hubs and Radiants of Identity

Anne’s hub of identities are daughter and woman. Her radiants of “daughterhood” are readily identifiable as a caregiver, protector of Anthony, and also becomes a decision-maker as she has to resolve Anthony’s living situation. Anne’s radiants are shown to be all-consuming in this movie and a case could be considered that she has an identity of “caregiver.”

With her hub of identity that is a woman, Anne is able to excise herself from her radiant of caregiver in order to find happiness with Paul in Paris.

If using the obvious hub of identity of father, as this relates to the relationship that Anthony has with Anne, his dementia does not allow for much positive description and/or portrayal. However, since the viewer is not privy to whether Anthony's current identity is similar to his pre-dementia identity, we only use Anthony's communication with Anne as seen in the movie.

Figure 9

Figure 8

Cultural Propositions

Following each Cultural Proposition are the quotes from which the Propositions are derived.

Cultural Proposition One: Anthony does not want help for living in his flat.

- "I said, I don't need her! I don't need her or anyone else! I can manage very well on my own!"

Cultural Proposition Two: Anthony believes that he does not need support to live alone.

- "It's my flat, isn't it? I mean, this is incredible. You burst in on me as if..." I don't need anyone."

- “I said, I don’t need her! I don’t need her or anyone else! I can manage very well on my own!” “I’ve been trying to explain to her for months that I can manage very well on my own. But she refuses to listen. I don’t need any help from anyone and I will not leave my flat. All I want is for everyone to bugger off!”

Cultural Proposition Three: Caregivers are hard to find for people with dementia.

- “She wasn’t easy to find, you know. It’s not that easy. I thought she was really good. A lot of good qualities. She... and now she doesn’t want to work here anymore.”

Cultural Proposition Four: A caregiving daughter can put her personal needs first although this will feel like abandonment to the parent.

- “If you refuse to have a carer, I’m going to have to...” and “I won’t be here, Dad. I won’t be able to come here every day. You need to understand that.” “I’ll come back and see you often. At weekends. But I can’t leave you here all on your own. It’s not possible.”
- “What’s going to become of me?”
- “the rats are abandoning ship”
- “Is that why you’re so keen on this nurse living with me? Well, obviously it is. The rats are leaving the ship.” “So, if I understand correctly, you’re leaving me. Is that it? You’re abandoning me...”

Cultural Proposition Five: An elderly parent does not accept that his caregiving daughter has no ulterior motive to trying to keep her father safe.

- “My daughter is of the opinion that I can’t manage on my own. So she’s moved in with me. Ostensibly to help me. And now she’d like to convince me that I

can’t manage on my own. The next stage will be to send me away I don’t know where...Obviously, it’ll be a much more efficient way of getting hold of my flat.”

- Anne is “a worrier” and not like “favorite” daughter.
- Anne is “heartless and manipulative” and is trying to “getting hold of my flat.”

Cultural Premises

This movie tells the story of Anthony’s living situation through flashbacks of scenes from his discombobulated memory. Anthony’s dementia is significantly impairing his judgment, making it difficult for him to see that Anne’s discourse with him is only kind and compassionate. From the cultural propositions, the following cultural premises are presented.

Cultural Premise One: Adult children who tell their parents that they are unable to independently remain in their own home are heartless and manipulative and are simply worriers.

Cultural Premise Two: Elderly parents have a favorite child.

Cultural Premise Three: An elderly parent who will not accept a caregiver feels abandoned when their adult child must place them in a facility.

Cultural Premise Four: If an adult child moves on with her life and places her parent in a facility, it can be interpreted as being heartless and manipulative.

Norms

In the context of this movie, Anthony’s goals are to remain in his flat and not have a caregiver. Anne’s goals are to keep Anthony safe and move to Paris to live a life of happiness. Anthony’s words have no filters (proscription) and he says whatever he is feeling; Anthony is often cruel to Anne and she never scolds him or expresses anger toward him.

Anne does not permit herself to say anything in retribution to her father but she must take action to place Anthony in a facility when he refuses carers.

The Norms for this movie that are formulated with the process afforded by the CuDA framework, and based upon the above, are:

1) A father with dementia can speak to his child in any manner and it is acceptable to his daughter.
2) An adult daughter is justified in following her own desires in life after exhausting all solutions for keeping her father in his home.

In summary, this movie portrays a caregiving relationship with a daughter who has provided various levels of involvement that allowed her father with dementia to first remain in his own home, then in his daughter's home, and finally in an institutional residence with 24-hour care. The numerous efforts that Anne has made to keep her father out of a facility are impressive. But when we see Anthony, his dementia has reframed her acts of self-sacrifice into Machiavellian attempts to take his flat from him. The messages that Anthony and Anne use to communicate their concerns about their individual situations are clear. However, like many parents, Anthony does not believe Anne's assessment of his capacities is accurate, as his dementia is severe and he lacks self-reflection. Anne, on the other hand, has decided to prioritize her own happiness over being able to constantly visit and care for her father. This is another age-old conundrum for adult children who sacrifice their way of living in order to care for a parent (Funk, 2010; Wenzel & Poynter, 2014).

Chapter Summary

CuDA focuses on the contextual aspects of communication and highlights the cultural implications of each participant within a communication scene/speech act. Within a filial relationship, aspects of family cultures drive many aspects of the decision-making and the manner in which care is delivered and accepted. The four movies offer a wide range of time, financial stability, and family constellation as factors affecting approaches to parent/child caregiving.

Make Way for Tomorrow shows what can happen to elderly parents who have no ability to pay for housing and whose adult children show an unwillingness to develop long-term solutions for their parents, whose only goal is to live together for the end of their lives. Childhood animosities are quick to be seen in this movie. As a result, a cohesive plan is never achieved other than in a manner that is unsuitable for Lucy and Bark.

Still Mine is illustrative of the physical strength and emotional character of a husband committed to protecting his wife who suffers from dementia. Craig and Irene's seven children are not in agreement with Craig's insistence on keeping his and Irene's situation private, but he is not swayed from his secretiveness.

Fire in the Dark tells the story of a cognitively intact widow who agonizes about her lost life that age has taken from her. Emily's identity appears to have been largely composed of remaining independent and living in her home, which is filled with beloved objects and memories. Although Emily treasures her home and independence, she also wants her children to have a relationship with each other based on love and acceptance, something that is not likely to be achievable due to their perceptions of how they were treated by their parents during childhood.

Finally, *The Father* is a heart-wrenching depiction of a gentleman who is shown in various stages of, and through the lens of, his evolving dementia. His devoted daughter has provided various degrees of support; still, Anthony requires 24-hour care in an institution. The manner in which Anthony speaks to Anne could reflect his building fear, anxiety, anger, and other emotions. However, most of the time, the tone/key of Anthony's voice and the sequence of his actions with Anne act as a metaphorical knife in her heart as Anthony seems expert in emotionally wounding her.

Through the movies' dialogues and the contextual settings illuminated by the SPEAKING framework, CuDA processes allow us to identify applicable discursive hubs that are illustrative of actors' salient words, which allow us to uncover the Norms operating in each of the movies.

Chapter 5 will explore the differences and similarities among these movies and the insights they provide into the complexities of elderly parental caregiving; summarize and contextualize the findings presented in the present chapter, identify the study's limitations, and offer implications for future research.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Problem, Purpose, and Recap

The increasing numbers of the 65-and-older population in the United States (Roberts et al., 2018) have implications for their elderly caregiving needs. Elderly parents (EP) are often cared for by their adult children (AC) (Graham, 2018; Lai, 2020; Roberts et al., 2018); correspondingly, studies have documented the various challenges experienced by AC while they offer/provide aspects of parental support (Aires et al., 2017; Amirkhanyan & Wolf, 2006; Archer et al., 2021; Bainbridge & Broady, 2017; Feinberg et al., 2011; Lai, 2010). However, EP/AC caregiving relationships have neither been widely studied in general nor specifically within the discipline of Communication. Even more specifically, to my knowledge, Cultural Discourse Analysis (Carbaugh, 2007, 2017) has not been utilized to study the effects of a caregiving relationship from both the perspective of the AC and their respective EP until now.

Chapters One, Two, and Three introduced the topic of study, identified the supporting literature, and detailed the research methods for this dissertation. Chapter Four provided the analyses of the corpus of data and, in doing so, answered the first RQ: *How do films portray elderly parents' communication with their adult child(ren) from whom they receive some aspect of care and/or support?* Chapter Five considers answers to the second RQ: *In what ways do the selected films' portrayals of such communication differ from each other? In what ways are they similar?* In addition, Chapter Five discusses the limitations of this study, implications for possible future research, and considerations of recommendations for how caregiving relationships between EP and AC could be positively affected, as revealed through the lens of CuDA and as reflected by film portrayals of EPs and AC.

To recap, the CuDA Norms operating in each movie were constructed directly from movie characters' actual discourse and were subsequently used to identify the relevant Cultural Propositions and Cultural Premises of EPs and their AC. A value of the Propositions, Premises, and Norms is that they are derived from the situated context of the actual discourse that the EP and AC use in the films and demonstrate how their cultural practices as parent and child shape their constitutive communication, which is a hallmark of CuDA (Carbaugh, 2007).

The importance of recognizing the constitutive nature of communication (Lindlof & Taylor, 2019) cannot be overstated and certainly plays a role within decades-long relationships of EPs and their AC. The constitutive aspect of familial communication forms the cultural influences within discourse and plays a major role in how interlocutors select their words, modulate their tone of voice, determine the goals of their message, effect an interpretation, and maintain a cultural norm, all of which are components of the SPEAKING framework. These components formulate the hubs of meaning for each speaker and were identified and analyzed in Chapter Four.

Comparisons

This section compares the film depictions of EP/AC relationships and looks at the construction of hubs of meaning that are pertinent to answering this study's RQs, especially RQ2. The framing of this section follows the four necessary steps needed to develop CuDA Norms: Context, Goals, Force, and Act(s).

Contexts. In *Make Way for Tomorrow*, we begin to learn about the impact of different contexts upon EP/AC caregiving relationships. George's leader identity radiant in the context of the family meeting vanishes when he no longer interacts with all of his siblings

simultaneously. When, without the influence of George, and after the context of living with Bark, Cora is permitted to send Bark to live with Addie without consulting any of her siblings or parents. It is also the situated context of Lucy's tenure with George's family that leads him to acquiesce to the preference of his wife to send Lucy to the Idylwild home. Having an EP live with their AC has been documented to have negative implications for families who share homes, although there is also some literature that notes a positive influence of EPs living with their AC's family (Stuifbergen & Van Delden, 2011). One of the factors that makes for a successful co-residing experience (that is, EPs with AC) seems to be when EPs willingly provide some contribution to their co-residence (Stuifbergen et al., 2010). In all of the movies except for *Still Mine,* there was no evidence of a positive parental contribution to their AC's home, even if it was something as minimal as a cheery morning greeting.

Contexts continue to be very important for Craig and Irene as they relate to Craig's actions to keep Irene in their original home for as long as possible, while also keeping her as safe as possible. Craig prevents his children from knowing the status of Irene's dementia and also chooses not to tell them that Irene's goal is to avoid a nursing home for as long as possible. Had their children been aware of Irene's goal, it would likely have made interactions between Craig and his children less adversarial because they would have comprehended Craig's apparent unreasonableness for building a smaller home for himself and Irene. However, disclosing information to his children, as depicted in the movie, was not Craig's historical manner of relating with his children; i.e., was not a component of the culture of their family.

The influence and importance of context on the development of Norms are also seen in the movie *Fire in the Dark.* Emily's identity as an independent woman is largely constructed upon being able to live by herself in her own home (context). While the hub of meaning of dwelling is strong in this movie, the context of Emily's living in her home is also tied into her former identity of youth. When she is not permitted to live in her home, Emily is forced to face the specifics of her physical decline that she details to Janet in the final analyzed scene. This serves as a cathartic realization that she is afraid of how she might end up at the end of her life and speaks to the importance of temporality for an elder parent. If Emily could have re-framed her memories as being a "dwelling in place" (Katriel & Livio, 2018, p. 58), perhaps she would have been able to accept being moved to a new residence without so much angst. In *Make Way for Tomorrow,* Lucy executes a re-framing when she moves to George's house as well as when she prepares to move to Idlywild and communicates to her family that these moves provide new opportunities for her. This comparison between Lucy and Emily is only made to suggest that Lucy's adaptation to her change in circumstance might allow her to not be overwhelmed with negativity given her familial situation.

Finally, with regard to *The Father,* the context of this movie demonstrates how the temporal effects of Anthony's dementia cause him to re-live occasions, such as dinners, while inserting people whom he has known at different times of his life. But, regardless of the accuracy of Anthony's memory, the hub of meaning that Anthony holds in high importance is his home/dwelling as that gives him some anchor to his past realities and likely affords him the ability to maintain his (former) self-image as an independent person. By saying and doing things that he can remember, Anthony can continue to build his identity,

which is a communication practice reflected in CuDA (Carbaugh, 2016). Sadly, the mixing of his past memories seems to give Anthony more than one context from which to construct his current reality. This likely fuels his anxiety and does not support him in relating to Anne as she works to keep him in his home by hiring in-home caregiving aides.

Goals. The goals expressed by every parent in this study include being able to either remain in their own home or, in the case of Lucy and Bark (*Make Way for Tomorrow*), continue living with each other. Lucy and Bark are also unique relative to the other three movies' parents in that they have approached their children and appealed to them for help. One can conjecture that they have summoned their children and can more easily admit that they need simple financial assistance rather than needing help because of physical frailties indicating that their identities are physically and cognitively intact. Or, one could argue that, since they will be homeless in approximately one week, time is finally of the essence for Bark and Lucy. So, while Lucy and Bark's ultimate goal is to live together, a more pressing goal is to have a roof over their heads; even Bark acknowledges that this is a time for action. Of course, while the initial goal of their children is to keep their parents from homelessness, after they experience living with them, their subsequent goal is to send them away to live anywhere but with themselves.

Craig (*Still Mine*) is clear when he communicates his goals to his children, John and Ruthie. Short of saying "it's none of your business," he maintains his radiant of protector of Irene's privacy and does not even inform his children when Irene was admitted for observation after her first fall down their stairs. In addition to verbally communicating his goals of protecting Irene, Craig also demonstrates his goals of remaining independent by self-

sufficiently building a house. His acts of "doing" are also illustrative of his goal of remaining productive, which is inextricable from his commitment to single-handedly caring for Irene.

Emily (*Fire in the Dark)* might be the most eloquent of the elderly parents in this study when it comes to clearly communicating her goal and speaking about why remaining in her home is so important to her. She also states an additional goal of not having a caregiver or even a housekeeper to help her. Her daughter, Janet, eventually becomes equally clear in communicating her goal to place Emily in a residence for elderly women because Emily is not safe living alone; living with Janet's family has become an unhappy burden for everyone. Emily's strength in her identity of mother is demonstrated when she becomes weary of Janet's lecturing her and continues in her quest to live by herself when she tells Janet, "It's none of your business," along with a stomping of her cane.

Finally, Anthony (in *The Father*) shares his goals with Anne about wanting to remain in his own flat and to live without caregivers; however, the style of his communication with Anne is hurtful to her. Anthony's perception of his reality does not allow for Anne to reason with him resulting in Anne's pleading for him to accept caregivers falling on deaf ears. Before he is hospitalized, Anne tells Anthony that she will visit him on weekends but we learn later that she does not achieve her goals of visiting her father.

So, of the parents in this study, only Craig (*Still Mine*) achieves his goals of remaining in his home and managing his spouse's care without input or support from his children. Being cognitively and physically able to care for Irene, as well as having adequate resources to do so, affords Craig the ability to accomplish his goals by meeting his promises to Irene, despite being the oldest of all parents.

The compromise of living with caregivers in order to avoid having to live in an institution/facility is a choice that would seem to be an easy one for EPs to accept. However, Emily and Anthony refuse in-home caregivers and Craig does not want to learn about community support programs for Irene. Because of Bark and Lucy's inability to live with their AC, their situation becomes similar to those in the other movies in that they get moved further away from their goal of living together. Perhaps for everyone but Craig, discussing a compromise with their AC might have allowed them to at least meet their goal of not being sent to a facility.

The Force Necessary to Accomplish a Discursive Action. Analyzing and comparing the specifics of the discursive activity around the question of what family members should or should not do within their family culture reveals the prescriptions, proscriptions, preferences, and permissions that are observed and acted upon by each person in order to accomplish their desired goal.

In the case of the characters in *Make Way for Tomorrow*, Bark and Lucy just want to live together. However, there was not a way for their children to accommodate this desire. The strongest "force" that Lucy used regarding her goal was to state a preference in the family meeting for Bark and her to live together. Toward the end of the movie, Lucy has gained the agency to prohibit her children from divulging to Bark what her future living situation will be. Lucy's agency seemed to develop through the process of her eviction and separation from Bark. Given her transformation into an agentic woman, it is an interesting consideration that, had Lucy possessed as much agency in the beginning of the movie as she showed at the end, she and Bark might not have entered foreclosure and subsequently not lived on opposite coasts of the United States.

In *Fire in the Dark,* Janet tried to convince Emily to accept assistance so that Emily could remain in her own home, Emily's refusal/proscription of homecare, resulted in Emily having to move into Janet's home. Their co-residing turned into an untenable situation for everyone, including Emily as her presence caused considerable disruption and unhappiness for all of them (including Emily herself). Perhaps Emily's refusal to follow Janet's prescription of a home aide might have prevented Janet from moving Emily out of her home.

In *The Father,* a story told in large part through the lens of Anthony's garbled memories, his daughter, Anne, was faced with the choice of remaining in London with Anthony or pursuing her chance for relational happiness with a partner. Although Anne's attempts were valiant, especially given the callous words and mean tones/keys that Anthony used with Anne, she eventually opted to move to Paris and to place Anthony in an institution. Even without his acceptance, Anthony's placement appeared to be necessary due to the extent of his dementia.

Act(s). Acts are what interlocutors say to accomplish a goal. For the Coopers (*Make Way for Tomorrow*), their children made decisions about Lucy and Bark's living situations in ways that ranged from planning their living arrangements in front of them (not with them) to manipulation and deception. While Lucy's proscriptive discourse kept Bark from learning about Lucy living in Idylwild, her stated preference for living with Bark did not accomplish their goal of remaining together.

In *Still Mine*, Ruthie used discourse to act upon/challenge Craig's decisions about his caregiving choices for Irene in an effort to encourage him to act upon her recommendations. However, Ruthie's forceful challenges did not result in Craig changing his behaviors. Her challenges to Craig's care of Irene did not seep into the situation when Irene broke her hip.

Rather, Ruthie's goal of supporting her father during this difficult time did not result in an "I told you so" statement to Craig. Indeed, Ruthie communicated support for Craig by asking him "are you comfortable with that, Dad?" when Irene's physician recommended a four-to-six-week rehabilitation stay. This showed an act of compassion toward rather than judgment of Craig as he felt like a failed protector when Irene's second fall caused her to break a hip.

Comparison of Movie Norms. The three Norms that were extricated from *Make Way for Tomorrow* following the CuDA process are listed below. Two of the three Norms indicate the influence that their AC have over Lucy and Bark's lives.

1) Children do not communicate with each other or their parents about their determination of living arrangements for their parents.
2) Children do not consult or listen to their parents about their choices for living arrangements.

The Norms from *Still Mine* (below) vary significantly from those in *Make Way for Tomorrow* as these Norms show the strength of Craig's identity as a patriarch. Craig's fortitude as the family leader is unique among the other three movies.

1) As her spouse, Craig is the decision-maker for all things related to Irene.
2) As Craig's son, John approaches conversations with Craig in a hesitant manner.
3) As Craig's daughter, Ruthie approaches Craig directly about her ideas for caring for Irene.

One of the Norms from *Fire in the Dark* (below) illuminates Emily's ability to articulate her loss of identity as a youthful and independent woman, highlighted for her because she is not allowed to remain in her own home.

1) A decrease in physical abilities causes elderly parents to lose their perception of their independence because they cannot safely live where they wish.
2) An adult child must make decisions that place safety priorities over a parent's desire for living where they prefer.

Finally, *The Father* (below) shows evidence that when there is a solitary child caring for a father with dementia, the familial Norms are quite different from other families as they reflect a child being the recipient of less-than-pleasant comments.

1) A father with dementia can speak to his child in any manner and it is acceptable to his daughter.
2) An adult daughter is justified in following her own desires in life after exhausting all solutions for keeping her father in his home.

There are minimal similarities among the family Norms of these movies, which supports the suggestion that each family possesses its own culture of communication. However, what is present is the commonality of film EPs wishing to remain in their own home, and if married, to remain with their spouse. Lucy and Bark only care about living together and the physical structure that they share is irrelevant. Craig's goal of remaining in their original home with Irene reflects the value he places on Irene's request to remain in her home for as long as possible and also fits with his identity of being independent. Emily wishes to stay in her physical home because of the implications that independent living has for her identity as a woman. And, Anthony's goal of living in his home is related to his recollection of being a cognitively intact gentleman who answered to no one. In addition, the depth of their desire and commitment to living in their home that each film parent showed and communicated to their AC surpassed their judgment regarding their own safety, in spite

of broken hips, fires, etc. The consistent nature of the discourse of EPs, as they tell their ACs that they want to live in their own home and have no concerns for their own safety, is consistent with the literature on this topic (Jachan et al., 2020; Lewin, 2001; Mynatt et al., 2000; Wagnild, 2001). There is also consistency between the literature (Bökberg & Sandberg, 2021; Kaplan et al., 2015) and the demonstrated film discourse of AC that reflects AC placing their EPs into a care facility because of safety concerns for their EPs. The following figures show the different emphasis and priority from this study that AC place on the safety of their EPs, which is in contrast to EP's concern for their safety while living independently in their own home.

Figure 10

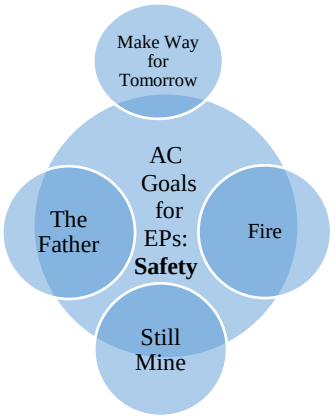
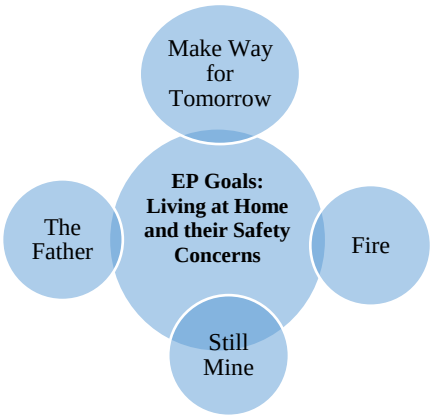


Figure 11



It is noteworthy that, other than Anne and Anthony (*The Father*), the remaining AC are not often a physical presence in the lives of their parents. George (*Make Way for Tomorrow*) has not seen his parents in five-six months and he has also not recently seen his siblings. We never witness Irene (*Still Mine*) with her children and Craig is always present when his children visit Irene, although he does appraise John of his mother's function by

reporting that Irene "has her good days." Moreover, neither Janet nor Rob (*Fire in the Dark*) visit Emily in her home so they did not observe how her situation had deteriorated despite Rob living in the same town as Emily. Because of the films' AC's limited visiting, they were in a reactive mode when they learned of their EPs' situations rather than participating in a collaborative manner as a way to keep their parents in their homes.

There is another poignant movie reflection that mirrors what is noted in research (Wenzel Egan & Hesse, 2008) and is mentioned in the Chapter One quote taken from the Atlantic magazine (Berman, 2016). This is the refusal of EP to inform their AC that they have suffered some sort of mishap for fear that they will face reprisals from their AC. In *Fire in the Dark*, Emily does not report the fire in her kitchen, which is clearly evidenced by the blackened cabinets and could never be disguised as having been caused by anything but a fire. In *Still Mine*, Craig does not inform his children about Irene's first fall down their stairs. He reports to Ruthie that he does not think they will agree with his management of Irene's safety, so he avoids their opinions altogether, with regard to how he should take care of Irene. Of course, the other side of the coin is for an AC to insert themselves into the daily life of a parent. If this happens, EPs can feel like they are being micro-manage, judged, and tested on their ability to take care of themselves (Peters et al., 2006; Spitze & Gallant, 2004).

Summary

This study has provided an analysis of movie portrayals of elderly parents and their adult children communicating about their respective filial relationship. CuDA has provided a theoretical framework that emphasizes the impact of culture, including family culture, upon communication. In addition, the methodological function of CuDA has supported a systematic approach for identifying pertinent data that answers this study's RQs. First, by

explicating the actors' hubs and radiants of meaning, we have learned that an EP's identity can be intertwined with being active, living in their own home, and focusing upon different times in their life such as when they were young.

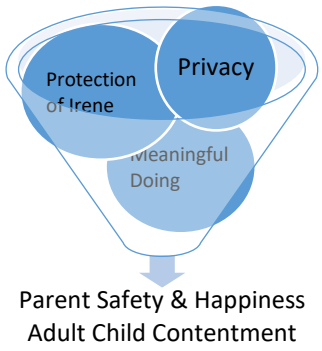
Second, CuDA also showed the similarities within films' EP/AC caregiving relationships as EPs consistently voiced their desire and adjusted their behaviors in order to remain in their own homes, regardless of how safe/unsafe they were in this setting. Further, EPs also refused caregivers in their respective homes even when having a caregiver might have prevented them from needing a transfer to a more control setting e.g. a facility or senior living residence.

Other than the Cooper children (*Make Way for Tomorrow*), all of the AC requested and/or arranged for their EPs to accept an in-home care provider. While an AC could interpret a caregiver as a person/means to ensure some aspect of EP independence (due to the avoidance of accidents, etc.) all EPs rejected a paid caregiver.

By remembering that discursive actions of participants accomplish the interlocutors' goals (D. Carbaugh, personal communication, June 13, 2021), the respective goals of EPs and AC can be met. To this end, the following diagram can be a guide for EP end-of-life fulfillment and AC satisfaction; specifically, satisfaction that their parents are well, happy, and not spending their time and energy on trips for medical care due to accidents or worrying about their parents' daily activities and diets. Although not always possible, perhaps the goal shown in the following diagram, using Irene from *Still Mine* as an example, can be more easily achieved once one can identify the family culture of communication

.

Figure 12



Limitations of the Present Study

This study answered the RQs by analyzing four movies, from three different countries, and all were produced in English. This is a small number. Future studies comparing and contrasting portrayals of EP/AC relationships would be advised to analyze a larger and more diverse sample of films.

Next, as with any qualitative study, the issue of author bias should be examined. I have had considerable experience caring for elderly parents. However, rather than analyzing the interactions within these films with a bias, I feel that I was able to understand the messages of the characters with a deeper understanding. I believe this allowed me to gain an enhanced comprehension of the messages that the actors provided. At the same time, research on the communication/culture of EP/AC relationships that is conducted by scholars who are not themselves involved such relationships will be valuable.

Implications for Future Research

In this study, I demonstrated how to use CuDA to explicate movie portrayals of EPs who are in a caregiving relationship with their AC. Illustrating CuDA's theoretical and methodological usefulness is beneficial for discovering why and how communication is

enacted in film relationships and can serve as an example to use with other demographics of research interest.

As a study that purposely utilizes research that can translate into societal use, this dissertation elucidates the utility of CuDA as a tool for identifying the manners of speaking (in film) and shows how discursive action (in film) occurs in general and, specifically, the manner in which elderly parents communicate their wishes and values as they age. The value that elderly parents put upon their place of living (dwelling), and how it relates to their identity (of being), is consistent among these movie characters. This also reflects the value EP place on being able to make choices to have agency over their lives, even if their choices involve sacrificing their own safety.

Once an EP has decided to forgo safety for the sake of remaining in their own home, the onus can be placed upon the AC, who must navigate and contribute to their parents' lives by collaborating with their parents because EPs are leery of requesting assistance (Wenzel Egan & Hesse, 2018). In the instance of Anthony (*The Father)*, and like the many real-life parents whose dementia obviates their desire to live without assistance, their AC faces a burden of caring for them (Ehrlich et al., 2015). But, even if a parent cannot articulate what is most important to them in their elderly stage of life, an adult child's ability to reflect upon their family culture to identify what their parent has said and done can offer guidance about what is important for them as they age. Is an EP's priority, like Emily (*Fire in the Dark*) to continue to prepare meals for an AC? Or, like Craig (*Still Mine*) is it being able to actively provide and protect your spouse? The four movies I analyzed here using the CuDA framework demonstrate that this framework can be valuable in future studies of EP/AC filial relationships.

Identifying how film portrayed the caregiving relationships between EPs and AC of four families I did not find an overlapping of Norms. But the hubs and radiants of meaning of all EPs and their AC were consistently constructed within their respective discursive activity and it seems plausible that among the community of EPs and their AC, there might be a culture of caregiving, constructed by elderly parents and their adult children caregivers. Although this paper examined only four movie families, those films spanned eight decades, three countries, and a range of socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, continuing this study using non-English speaking productions, especially of cultures with variations in filial caregiving practices, might offer a glimpse of the universality of the culture of EP caregiving.

Further, it would be beneficial to undertake this study as it was originally proposed before the COVID-19 pandemic occurred: with in-person interviews of actual elderly parents and their adult children caregivers. This would capture the ways of speaking that EP and their AC use. Such a study could be complete on its own, or it could be part of a larger investigation which would explore the culture of caregiving shown in movie families as compared with the relationship reported by actual families.

Additional study with the new addition of the CuDA temporality hub of meaning also has great potential. By more fully investigating the discursive activity of the elderly there are inherent implications for their care, given their reflection on their past and their discourse about their future.

Once an EP has decided to forgo safety for the sake of remaining in their own home, the onus is then placed upon the AC, who must navigate and contribute to their parents' lives by collaborating with their parents because EPs are leery of requesting assistance (Wenzel Egan & Hesse, 2018). While in the instance of Anthony in *The Father*, and like the many

real-life parents whose dementia obviates their desire to live without assistance, allowing parents to independently live in their own home constitutes neglect. But even if a parent cannot articulate what is most important to them in their elderly stage of life, an adult child's ability to reflect upon their family culture to identify what their parent has said and done can offer guidance about what is important for them as they age. Is an EP's priority, like Emily (*Fire in the Dark*) to continue to prepare meals for an AC? Or, like Craig (*Still Mine*) is it being able to actively provide and protect your spouse? The four movies I analyzed here using the CuDA framework demonstrate that this framework could be valuable in future studies of EP/AC filial relationships.

Contributions to the Literature

By identifying the specifics of these films' discourses and comparing their discursive specificities, I identified something general about the phenomena of film portrayals that answers this study's RQs (Carbaugh, 1989), and have possibly expanded communication theory.

As noted above, it is important to translate research into practice. To that end, the utility of this study is widespread, largely because of the aforementioned numbers of people involved in EP/AC filial relationships. Specifically, through the use of CuDA, this study has shown the discursive activity of EPs to confirm the importance that EPs place upon living in their own home. This study has also demonstrated that even when faced with the choice of having a caregiver or faced with a potential safety incident in their own home (e.g., fire from cooking, a fall resulting in a hospitalization), EPs in these films still choose to live without a caregiver.

The loss of control over their lives caused significant assaults to the film EP's identities and their abilities to do and act certain ways. This which caused them sadness and anxiety, affected their manner of relating with their AC and kept them from living in their own homes, and placed additional focus on their future while they long for their past. In reality, the CuDA hubs of meaning capture ways of investigating these issues and also provide possible solutions for supporting EPs and their ACs in their caregiving relationships.

This study has also used the latest hub of meaning from CuDA, the hub of temporality, first proposed by Katriel and Livio (2018). This hub of meaning has not yet been widely explored in the literature. This hub will undoubtedly see greater use within CuDA-focused research due to its importance to the study of communicative practices across all stages of life.

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