

The Social Construction of the Senile Dementia Based on the Self-Statement by an 80-year Aged

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Abstract-This research is a longitudinal study with an 80-year-old woman through participatory observation and informal interviews, focusing on the daily life of an elder with mental disabilities, trying to reveal her inner world. The observations show that although the elder is able to maintain a long-term interaction of quality with the researchers, as a member of the nursing home, she has a poor relationship with neighbors and staff. The analysis of the interview text demonstrates that the self-narrative of the elder mainly revolves around the three levels of self of Chinese people: individual, others and society, with the aim of generating a sense of satisfaction in life. Because of the big gap between the elder's unsatisfactory real life and her ideal story of self-construction, her self-narrative often demonstrates defensive forgetting, and she maintains self-esteem by demeaning others living together with her, which leads to a bad interpersonal interaction. Others in society use the concept of "senile dementia" to construct the story of demented old people, while the elders will explain their emotional behavior by internalizing this social construction in order to adapt to aging. It can be seen from the case investigated that Alzheimer's disease is not only a medical concept, but more of a concept constructed by society. Speaking of the intervention treatment of demented elders, it may be more valuable to focus on the improvement of the social environment.

Keywords-social construction, senile dementia, self-statement, participatory observation

I. INTRODUCTION

At present, the degree of aging is getting higher and higher. According to the report of the World Health Organization more than half the Chinese aged of 70 years and above suffer from various diseases. Even in seven high-income countries, more than half of the aged are affected by various diseases, and this rate is rising sharply (Marengoni & et al., 2011).

At present, the research by Chinese scholars on the aged of over 80 years is very limited (Zeng, et al., 2004), and they need broad social support (Zeng, et al., 2010). The risk of disability and loss of intelligence for the aged will go up sharply. Generally, people know little about their current situation and in particular their internal mentality. Loss of intelligence of the aged, also known as senile dementia, is usually clinically represented as Alzheimer's disease. In recent years, the number of cases

in China has increased with the deepening of aging, which is widely concerned by their family members and medical staff. So, what is the daily life of the aged with loss of intelligence? And how to understand their inner mentality through their words and deeds?

The researcher has stayed and made observations in an aged nursing house for more than three years and has chosen a typical case for long-term observation, interviews and psychological interaction. In this paper, the author will elaborate on research methods, research process, observation results to their behavior, text content analysis, psychological motivation and social construction analysis.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This article adopts the participatory observation method. In the first step to contact the aged in the research level the author did not follow the interview outline drawn in the previous researcher's documents. Instead, he went to the site through the introduction of the door man (the dead of the nursing home) as a member of the psychological volunteer team to carry out the work at least one working day a week. He spent quite a long time to let the aged know that the volunteers would provide some psychological consulting service and psychological research for them. It took about half a year for the aged to understand and accept the identity of the volunteers. One year later, they became accustomed to them. As one of the volunteers, the author was gradually able to "understand" their language and became one of the members of the nursing home to work and live with them. In this process, the academic assumption, daily stereotypes, personal prejudices and psychological complexes about the aged were gradually clarified and changed, while the behavior of the aged gradually changed from vigilance, deliberate performance and role playing to natural performance. In this process, the themes in the daily life of the aged were gradually sorted out and their emotions and feelings were able to be sensed from their words and deeds, in this way a cooperative relationship which was helpful in consultation and research works was established. Discussions even involved some more in-deep topics. The analysis coding about the aged's speech texts is R-201XXXXX (date)-X (name)-X (serial number).

China has enjoyed the traditional culture of filial piety. Under China's current policy, children have the responsibility and obligation to serve their parents in living and give their parents proper burial after death, so children's support for the aged is of both material and spiritual significance.

Sending parents to a good nursing house embodies their sufficient material support, while often going to visit parents embodies their mental support. Paying for cost and visiting by children were also a part of the research subjects. The staff of the nursing home plays an important role in the daily life of the aged. They provide the aged with the social support, which has the same the function of a traditional Chinese family. Therefore, the reports by the nursing staff during the observation period were also used as part of the research data. In addition, nursing staff was responsible for the daily caring, while researchers played the role of psychological consulting volunteers. The activities of researchers themselves also formed part of the research materials. These data are mainly included in the viewing logs, coded D-201XXXXX (date)-xx (name).

Participatory observation rate was a gradually deepening process, and mutual understanding with the aged followed a natural process and chance. For most of the aged, their hearing-loss is generally severe. If you want to say hello to them you need to stay close to their ears in order to attract their attention and get their response. About half a year later, the researcher was no longer an isolated presence in the nursing home. The aged had a general understanding of the researchers' intention and functions, and the researcher had a basic understanding of the whole nursing home.

Located at no. 23, Guangfu fang, minzhu road, Hubu community, the main building is a four-storey brown house. In the gate is a hallway on the ground floor, and the aged often sit, watch movie or do hand clapping exercise there. A small reception room was set at the end of the hall. At the left hand of the hall on the first floor an activity room was set where there are two tables for mahjong game. The aged often stay here in the afternoon, playing mahjong or paper cards. There, TV set and optical disc player are also set and the aged often watch Chu opera programs in the morning. On the left of the activity room, there are bedrooms. In most cases, two people share one bedroom, while people with better economic conditions live alone. The two rooms close to the activity room are used as the medical center, one as the doctor's office, the other the pharmacy.

On the right of the hall is the stair that leads to the laundry room and the balcony, where the aged can wash and dry clothes. But because the space is limited, most of the aged still prefer to do washing at the rooftop platforms on the 3rd floor and the 4th floor. The first room on the second floor is the massage treatment room, and the rest are dormitory of the aged, which are equipped with TVs, air conditioners, water heaters and other facilities. At the end of the first floor corridor, a large special warmth room

is set up, which is mainly used to gather up those who cannot take care of themselves in daily life so that the nurses can provide 24-hour service for them.

In addition to the aged dormitory on the third floor, there are the psychological consulting office, the dean's office, the calligraphy and painting room., next to which is a large laundry room. On one side, there are stairs leading to the 4th floor top platform, where the aged go and stay in the sun when there is good weather, or have their washed clothes dried. Although it is a four-storey building, an elevator was installed running between the first and the fourth floors, which provides convenience for the aged. Sometimes volunteer activities are held on the rooftop platform, where you can see the Yangtze River Bridge far away and the roofs of buildings at the same height in the old urban community. These divided areas remain basically unchanged, and in case of the needs of pension services some adjustment may be done.

Their daily life is very regular. At 7 o'clock in the morning they get up and eat breakfast. After breakfast some of the age would do hand clapping exercises on the pathway to the hall, some watch disc player on the first floor activity room, some stay in the first floor hall, and others write calligraphy in the third floor room. At about eleven o'clock at noon they have their lunch. After lunch break some aged play mahjong, some play paper cards, others watch TV. At five o'clock in the afternoon they have their dinner and then enjoy their rest time.

Since the researchers as natural observers and psychological consultants entered the site, at the beginning, they tried their best not to interfere with the daily life of the aged by way of investigation and interview, except that the aged had already become very familiar with researchers and showed their interests to positively accept the interview. Therefore, in the past two years, the participatory observation in the nursing home not only took into account the single interviews, but also broad interviews to all aged in a way of mutual understanding and familiarity, which means in-depth interviews and follow-up observation to the appropriate objects.

III. THE REPORT ABOUT THE PROCESS OF THE RESEARCH AND THE OBSERVATION TO THE BEHAVIOR OF MZR AN 80 YEARS AGED

Most of the aged in nursing homes took a careful and detached attitude towards the presence of a stranger, but MZR was a special case. She was the first of the aged known by researchers in nursing homes. On the first day when the researcher reached the nursing home and was wandering around idly, MZR stayed the first floor hall and was preparing to have a haircut and made slapstick with another aged woman. MZR's white hair appeared elegant and her clothes were tidy. When she found the researcher standing by her side she positively said hello to him. The researcher made a chat with her when the haircut was finished. She was talkative and spoke in understandable Mandarin. Through the chat the researcher knew that she

A. Self-Statement in the Personal Level^{was in her eighties.}
Her account mainly focused on happenings 40 years ago. Her main concern was the growth of her children and their future. She still had a clear memory of her dreams when she was young, such as hoping to be an engineer or a pilot, which she had no chance to realize. She regretted for it. (D-MZR-20160307).

In the second week, the researcher went to the nursing home and took part in the aged birthday celebration activities. He, as a member of the volunteer team was introduced by the host to all the aged at the site. This was a good chance to become familiar with them. The researcher as a representative made a speech on the three topics of volunteer's work (emotion regulation of the aged, recording and summarizing their life stories, and the cultural construction of nursing home). But according to the reaction of the aged he could judge that they did not understand his speech. The host and MZR repeated respectively what he said in a concise, easy-to-understand way. It was done out of kindness. All the old aged showed much concern to the host, listening to him carefully, but they were annoyed by MZR's interruption. On one hand, this indicated that the aged used their special "language" to communicate and express themselves. On the other hand the researcher realized that MZR could let the researcher stand in opposition to most of the nursing home's residents. Also for this reason, the aged maintained a very careful attitude to strangers approaching and contacting with them. In a short period of time they refused to tell people they just knew the relationship with and the privacy of their relatives and friends. They expressed their joys and sorrows in a careful way. So, the researchers basically had no way to do further communication with those who lived in the nursing home only for a short time. (D - 20160318 - MZR)

MZR was talkative. At the beginning of every conversation, she would say that her children didn't let her

down. Her son was admitted to Jiaotong University as a teenager from the countryside, and later her daughter moved to the United States. In the morning every now and then, MZR stood by the side and watched when other aged were watching disc programs. In the afternoon, MZR watched as the old ladies played paper cards. During conversations, she often said that the nursing home in Wuhan was not as good as that in Shanghai. She moved from Shanghai to Wuhan. However she had no way to go back to Shanghai. Once, she said she felt weak all over, and the food here tasted bad. When she complained for bad meal, the manager showed in ignition saying that since the payment was so limited, they couldn't meet the needs of all people here, which made her feel very injured. Then she went actively to the volunteer to complain, saying that manager was hurtful. If he had replied that he would consider making some improvements, she would have felt some comfort. MZR also knew there might be other reasons why she felt powerless, such as her poor stomach or her inability to get used to Wuhan's meals. Although she tried her best to apply to move the United States or return to Shanghai, there was little hope. And thus she often felt frustrated. (D - 20161112- MZR).

IV. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MZR'S SELF-STATEMENT TEXT.

Researchers conducted participatory observation and informal interview to MZR for three years. From 2016 to 2019, at least once a year researchers undertook an interview and transcribed it into texts. Some typical interview texts (R-20160311-MZR, R-20170610-MZR, R-20180209-MZR, R-20180328-MZR, R-20180701-MZR, R-20190217-MZR) were coded and analyzed. All the interview recordings were provided to her and received her consent. And she also agreed to transcribe the recordings. The results show that the content of the interview is mainly focused on the three levels of individuals, others and society

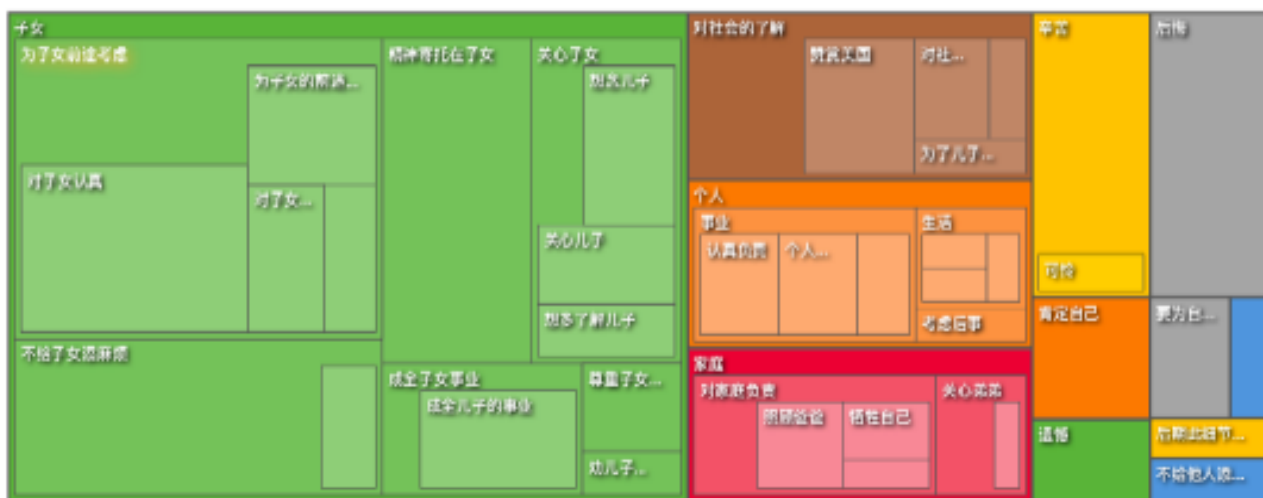


Figure 1 The topics of MZR's self-statement

B. Self-Statement at the Level of Others According to previous studies (Xu, 2001), among all the variables, health conditions have the biggest impact on the psychological feelings of the aged, while the main economic source also has an important impact. And in self-statement of MZR as an 80 old lady, health was not in a position of significance, and what she talked about more often was her career and life. In terms of her career, she felt disappointed due to her disillusioned dream of becoming Mi Qiulin when she was young. She sometimes talked about the arrangement of the chores. She had mixed feelings about the life today. Sometimes she felt satisfied.

"(Living in a nursing home) is enjoyable" (R-20170617-MZR&YLY-8)..

Sometimes she felt lonely:

"We all want to live at home for the remaining years, where my son is with me. It is too lonely to stay in a nursing home". (R - 20170617 - MZR&YLY - 09).

In the nursing home, if there were no special activities or visitors, it was quiet for most of the time. The aged usually did not talk when they sat together. They just sat there quietly and waited for something they did not know. In certain situations, MZR would say that people there were just waiting for death, and that people became a burden when they were over 80, especially those who could not take care of themselves (D-20170617-MZR).

Speaking of others dominated MZR's conversations. Her children were all abroad. She said that although she made little achievements, her son was admitted to Shanghai Jiaotong University due to her guidance and then went to UC Berkeley to study for a doctorate degree, so she felt very proud as the mother of a number-one-scholar (R-20180209-MZR-66).

Although MZR stayed in the nursing home, her mind was on her children:

"when we are here (at a nursing home), we make little trouble to them (our children) (R-20170617-MZR-04)."

MZR believed if her children lived well she would feel better than that she herself lived well:

"I said that as long as you were well there, your brother's entire family were well, and that your entire family was well, it is good. It is more important that my own well-being." (R-20170617-MZR-36).

Deep down, MZR believed her children were her last resort if she was in the most helpless situation:

"I also want to live with them. In the future, when I become demented and confused I would have to go live with them" (R-20180209-MZR-65)

MZR would sometimes proudly show visitors the photos of her husband, whose good-looks and good health became something she were proud of:

C. Self-Statement in Social Level. "An air-force man. He was tall and strong. I say it is strange that he had never been sick. He was tall and strong. He went to the hospital to see a doctor. The doctor called "Li zhiming, Li zhiming". He went up to the doctor. The doctor pulshed him aside. Again the doctor called "Li zhiming, Li zhiming". He went up again. The doctor pushed him aside again. I told the doctor that he was Li zhiming. The doctor did not believe a patient in the terminal stage of cancer would be someone like him" (R-20180209-MZR-17)."

But her husband's illness and death brought her guilt, pain and regret: "How could he be someone in the terminal stage of cancer with only three months to live? He lived three years plus three months. No way, no way. I think about it now. Wouldn't it be better if the doctor had not give him the injections? Think about the needles. It's just like injecting him with poison. It was done in order to kill the cancer. However, the patient was killed at the same time." (R -20180209-MZR-18)

Because life in the nursing home was not so good, she especially hoped to have volunteers to accompany her to talk and often expressed her welcome to volunteers.

"We are very glad that you have come. If you fail to come... we told them that if you do not come we feel monotonous. When you come the life here will become active" (R-20170617-MZR&YLY-7)

The aged have experienced many upheavals and major changes in Chinese society in the 20th century, which have had a great impact on their personal lives. Thus they often talk about these historical events in terms of their personal experience. She showed her concern to the interests of volunteers, and talked about her own stories in the past and her views about the current society in China and the United States in particular. When she was a child, MZR escaped to the countryside and spent a long time there in the Sino-Japanese War:

"Yes, we were in the countryside. Just in the countryside to escape from Japanese. At that time, we went to school not very frequently and didn't take it seriously. (R-20170610-MZR-08).

"We all went along the mountains, where it was very hard for people to travel. However we were thin, and were walked easily to a gully. It was strange the Japanese also reached the same gully. The Japanese noticed all of us to come out. We had never seen things like this. It was the first time for us." (R-20170610-MZR-09).

She thought these incidents deprived her of the opportunity to study. In order to take care of her brother, sister and step-mother, she accomplished nothing in her whole life. So she often charged young volunteers to take advantage of opportunities, study hard and make achievements. (D-20170608-IZR, D-20180209-MZR).

This is the old lady's self-statement on the social level. The self-statement on the social level is not only related to

D. The Aged Self-Construction Towards Different Objects.

her self on the individual level, but also related to her self on the level of others:

"I've been inquiring here and there for my son. Ha ha ha! Three visits to the United States. Passed by Japan. West Germany is OK, but East Germany is not as good." (R-20180209-MZR-31).

"He has good experience in America and gets a high salary. If he comes to China. can China pay such a high salary for him? Can China provide a good job for him? High salary in America."

In general, MZR's self-statement can basically be divided into three levels. The self-statement on the individual level refers mainly to the sufferings in her early years, growing up in poor rural area, working hard, lacking living necessities. The self-statement on the level of others refers to her excellent husband, her children's academic achievements and happiness due to living abroad. The self-statement on the social level refers mainly to the Chinese historical events in relation with her own experience growing up, and social conditions of different countries associated with her children's life.

Zhong & Wang (2017) analyzed the self-identity of Chinese people from the perspective of cultural psychology, and think that the realization of Chinese people's happiness may not only be a problem of individual feelings. When harmony exists between the self-identities on the individual level, the level of others and the social level,, Chinese people may feel fully happy. These three levels are organically connected as a whole by family, the country and other fields, which may have important implications for the study of the inner world of the aged in China. Speaking of MZR, the most important characteristic of her self-statement is that she basically talked about others, such as her parents, children and husband, and talked about the relationship between her and them. She herself had no chance to enjoy the happiness and good fate, but it is important that they can enjoy all of those.

In the statement of MZR, the self is constructed on the basis of others as subjects. Such kind of self is divided to the self-identity facing familiar people and the self-identity facing strangers. Children are naturally people she is familiar with. Children's achievements seem to be something she most often takes pride in. Because her children live and work in the United States, she keeps a critical attitude to the development of Chinese society and morals of Chinese people.

"Too many old people have gone to the United States. The United States closed the door to the outside. The United States pay much attention to the aged. When you come, if you have no salary, it gives you living expenses. When you get sick and stay in a hospital, you need not pay if you have no salary. So America can't afford it. It really takes good care of the aged. China makes good promises,

but when you go to a hospital with no money the doctor would say 'please go home'." (R20180209 MZR-53).

"Foreign countries are more advanced than China in most fields. Let's face it, China has been under-developed for thousands of years, how do you think we can surpass other? (R-20180209-MZR-57).

"You walk into Chinatown and you will find some yellow sputum. If you do not enter Chinatown you will not find any yellow sputum. Uh-huh, uh-huh (sound of people spitting). The last time when I sat there I saw it (people spitting on the ground)." (R -20180209-MZR-39).

"In America, boys and girls are treated equally, unlike China where you give birth to a girl, and you just want a boy. In US, as long as you give birth to a baby you love it whether it is a boy or a girl. People love both boys and girls. Both boys and girls are human-beings. "(R-20180209-MZR-44).

Through exaggerating the advantages of American society, she could exaggerate the happiness of her son and daughter living in America, and thus confirm her children's achievements. In fact, for both she and her children, life was not so good in the United States, which is why she got back.

"Why must I come back? At that time in the United States, they were very poor. They were unemployed, and I was an additional mouth to be fed. I got up at five o'clock in the morning to take care of the baby. The baby often wailed. After they got up and took over the baby, I started to prepare the breakfast. Then I took over the baby. I also felt tired. I was about fifty or sixty years old then. Now I am over 80. It was too tiring. I came back. My son-in-law had no time to rest for even one day. He once took a rest for one week, and said: 'Mom, have a rest and I'm going to take care of the baby.' However, he did little, little for the baby. I said I'd come back. They said: 'mom, if you are too tired, why didn't you tell us?' I asked: 'How could I bring up such matter to you?' " (R - 20180209-MZR-27)

In other words, her children were facing great pressure to survive in the United States, and they did not pay enough attention to her tiredness and other feelings, so she went back to China. This was the part of her story that she was not willing to face, and her helplessness towards her children's pressure to survive and the disappointment of her children's indifference towards her feelings were often suppressed. However, due to the requirements of structural integrity and logic of self-narration, such feelings, the realities she tried to isolate, forget or erase, were often expressed in profound and affectionate conversations.

The researchers (students) who came to the interview inspired the elders' themselves to the outsider. At this time, the elder would become rational and more likely to highlight the self-function at the social level. She would encourage others to work and learn diligently by the narrative of her own story. However, because the Chinese elders living in nursing homes used to mainly focus on

emotional interaction with their loved ones and construct and describe themselves in the family setting, they would meet great difficulties when they try to integrate into a nursing home, where outsiders carry out family functions. The great difficulty would make her intention to show her knowledge (personal level of self), her children's achievements (others' level of self) to distinguish herself from other people in the nursing home. This kind of superiority would inevitably lead to other people's resentment, and in turn would cause her to be isolated, resulting in a dysfunctional pattern of interpersonal interaction.

According to the staff of the nursing home, MZR was often isolated because of dementia and performance behaviors (D-20180209-GX). She suspected that others secretly used her cell-phone (D-20180307-WL). Because she made caring more difficult, the hospital administrator asked to examine the severity of her dementia in order to increase the fee of caring for her (D-20180307-HZC). Her neighbors wanted to stay away from her because she made things up and made trouble (D-20190217-YHZ), which put her in an increasingly dysfunctional interpersonal interaction.

V. ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE: A SELF-DEFENSE AND SELF-SOCIAL-CONSTRUCTION

According to Schaie (2005), health has the strongest influence on the adaptive ability of elders to life. Health includes physical health and mental health. Cognitive health is the basis of mental health, and memory is the key to the cognitive health of elders. In MZR's self-narration, although she didn't express much concern for her health, she mentioned many things related to mental health. She repeatedly took the initiative to find a researcher to do psychological counseling. During one of her counsels, she said that she had complex feelings towards her child's visit. She was very happy when her child came but became very sad when her child left (D-20170617-MZR). When her son came and stayed for four days, she felt that he only appeared very shortly in front of her eyes. After he left, she was sad for a month. She would have remained calm if he hadn't come. According to the staff of the nursing home, she would become extremely excited before her son's arrival, so that it would be difficult for her to fall asleep, and she would keep pacing up and down, and sweating (D-20180307-WL).

Therefore, MZR's mental health-related problems were first manifested in unbalanced emotions, which were mainly due to her unsatisfied needs for her children's visits and companionship:

"What matters is that mom wants to live with you, and I can also take care of you. You come to see me and then I become sadder when you are gone" (R-20170617-MZR-YLY-04)

The original cause was that living in a nursing home was actually a last resort for an 80-year-old woman like MZR:

"It is very contradictory. Very contradictory indeed. I really want to live with my son and daughter, but I think it will affect their careers (R-20170617-MZR-05)"

She wanted her children to come to see her, but she felt sad when her children were gone.

"(If my son doesn't come to visit, it's okay. If he comes,) it hurts even more" (R-20170617-MZR-YLY-03)

This pain was difficult to eliminate, so she tended to take reality for fantasy:

"I am sad for a month, thinking about him, thinking that my son probably hasn't left yet. Son, why do you leave your mother so soon?" (R-20170617-MZR-YLY-01)

According to the staff, on the afternoon of February 9, 2018, the day on which she had an interview with the new volunteers, MZR was very confused, saying that others took her things away and knocked her door at night, talking nonsense to the staff. This is probably because the 2-hour interview with young volunteers (two high school students preparing to study abroad) in the morning triggered her construction of a perfect life story, but her depressing life in the nursing home revealed the downsides of reality. The feeling of disillusionment promoted her to create a story that her "neighbors are thieves" and blame the imperfection of real life on the existence of bad objects around.

In the later interviews, MZR's self-report missed more and more details, and was wrong about the time of events more and more often, such as the order of the son's marriage and college (R-20180209-MZR-48), the district she lived in during her stay in Shanghai, the current season (D-20180307-MZR), the name of the university her daughter went to, and the time she visited her brother (D-20190217-MZR). As mentioned above, she herself took the initiative to mention the words dementia and confusion, but her statement was related to her dependence on her children. What she meant was that when she was demented, her children became the last people she can rely on.

On the one hand, MZR tried to be a good mother and a good senior citizen. On the other hand, she couldn't suppress her solitary and boring feelings so that she eventually showed irrational behaviors, which were considered by others to be signs of dementia: senile dementia. More than 70 years of longitudinal research conducted by the Harvard Medical School in 1940 showed that interpersonal relationships are the most important factor affecting people's health and happiness. The quality of relationships matters more than quantity. Marriage affects people's brain health. Whether a person gets Alzheimer's disease depends on the intimacy between husband and wife.

In China, the relationship between elders and their children is likely to affect the extent of the elders' Alzheimer's disease to a large extent, which is evident in the case of MZR. Zhu Zhixian found that social roles play an important role in self-concept of Chinese people (Zhu,

1989). Huang Xiting and colleagues found that social self-improvement has a significant impact on mental health (Huang et al., 1998). The identification and acceptance of the roles of individuals themselves are conducive to the subjective well-being of Chinese elders (Wu, 2010).

The role, consciousness, determines the self-positioning of elders and determines what they say, how they say it, and what they do. According to R.J. Shavelson, role consciousness is mostly based on how a person is characterized by others and that person's acceptance or rejection of such characterization (Shavelson, Hubner, & Stanton, 1976). Buehler (1968) and Rosow (1974) argue that because the roles of elders (gender roles, career roles, and even family roles) are gradually lost, the self-concept of elders will become negative. But elders can adopt a compliant strategy (Brandtstadter & Greve, 1994), adjusting goals and expectations (Brim, 1988), and transferring energy to inner life (Atchley, 1991).

According to McAdams, self-reporting can help people accept their identities. Creating a life story can bring out a sense of unity, let elders integrate different personalities and leave the world in satisfaction; it is a way of "existence". The development from childhood to adolescence is similar in different people, but the aging from middle age to old age is unique to each individual, especially the identification with culture and the creation and summary of life story. Old people with dementia will reject their existing stories but it is too late to create a new story. Power and love will hinder the development dementia. Self-narration includes unique narrative keynotes, personal imageries, subject lines, ideological backgrounds, key scenarios, conflicting roles, expectations of future endings, etc., where the role of agency can prevent dementia, and excessive emphasis on communicative roles may aggravate dementia.

MZR has always been working hard to construct her own life story. When she first talked with the researchers, she asked the researchers to write a biography about her life experiences, so the initial interviews were some stories that she was proud of. She often mentioned that her husband was assigned to work in a suburban town in Shanghai. She mainly talked about how she realized the value of her life through raising her children with great difficulties. She had a dream to become an expert like Michurin, but she did not realize it. Her children realized her dream (D-20170608-MZR). Sometimes she began with accounts of starvation following natural disasters. She went on to talk about how her family's difficulties prevented her from going to college and becoming an expert like Michurin. She talked about how she supported her brother and sister, followed her husband to the rural areas of Shanghai, and what is her desperation and struggle. Finally, she always talked about guiding her children to prepare for high school. Her son was eventually admitted to Shanghai Jiaotong University and went abroad after graduation. On the grounds of such keynote of the narrative, she then spoke of her hopes for the young volunteers and told them

to seize opportunities, work hard, and achieve their goals in the future. This type of self-reporting is always repeated. It is a kind of self-construction with deliberate performance. It is not only constructing herself to others, but also trying to construct a complete life story for herself.

However, in the self-narrative of MZR, she was disappointed with the herself at the individual level. "I have made no achievements and I have remained in obscurity." Because of the need for subjective role-playing, she has a strong incentive of self-expression when she sees new volunteers in the nursing home. She mainly tells the story of how she trained her children to be admitted to prestigious schools in the past, and that her children immigrated to the United States and achieved triumph in life. She also deprecates that she is only bragging. Her need is fulfilled through playing a communion role, so her self-reporting is centered on others. However, her interaction with others in reality was not perfect, so she suppressed her dissatisfaction with parent-child relationship in her family in the early years of her life, eventually leading her to return home to a nursing home. But after coming to the nursing home, she was reluctant to "condescend"; she didn't identify with the community in the nursing home, neither did she participate in leisure activities held there. She always wanted to leave, and faked friendly relations with others in the nursing home (D-20170513-WLQ-MZR, D-20190217-MZR-YHZ). Her inner dissatisfaction can only be expressed through the symptoms of dementia: becoming overly suspicious of others and making things up.

In other words, MZR was not well integrated into her life story, be it an agency role or a communion role. Therefore, whether she lives in the home of her children in the United States, in her home and nursing home in Shanghai, or in her sister's home and nursing home in Wuhan, she cannot get a satisfactory life. For these setbacks, she basically used external attribution to maintain a positive self-image. However, with the increase in the familiarity of volunteers, especially when faced with the volunteers who have been stationed for two years, she gradually began to talk about her painful past and her helplessness toward the unsatisfactory reality. In her own words: "I am going to spend the rest of my life alone, living in a nursing home. Life is boring. I spend my time idly. It is time to leave the world." Through a long-term companionship with psychological volunteers, she expressed these previously repressed feelings, and her confrontational interpersonal relationship was somewhat relieved recently. In recent observations, she imitated others in her style of clothing, and she demonstrated less incentive to engage in performance behaviors via the communication with researchers. She was no longer so anxious about whether she had disturbance in memory. (D-20190521-MZR)

From the perspective of social construction, MZR's symptoms of dementia are actually an adaptive behavior for elders. For example, she developed a pattern of

interpersonal interaction in order to obtain attention, acceptance and affirmation from others. Because she lacks the agency role, she does not accept the self on the personal level. Her over emphasis on the communion role also makes her fall into a dilemma in her interpersonal interaction. Since others always focus on her, affirm her and accept her, her self-narrative on the social level shows a derogatory and extreme attitude towards reality, and with such attitudes she finally forms an indifferent attitude of death rather than an accepting attitude. That is to say, elders with dementia have their own life stories, but their integration into their stories is hindered by a pathological defense mechanism. They do not realize the unity of other individuals, and society, and do not balance their agency roles and communion roles. Their self-narratives get more and more separated from reality. As a result, their self-constructed stories have serious conflicts with the stories constructed by others, and they are eventually constructed by the society as "patients with dementia."

In etymology, Alzheimer's disease is a concept, which originated in the English language system. In the history of the disease, in an extended period of time, people didn't understand it through scientific means, and even considered the demented patients morally reprehensible or discriminated against them. In modern times, although it was liberated from the conflict between madness and logos of the French philosopher Foucault's so-called 'classical period' (Foucault, 1965), it was classified into the medical system as a mental illness and named specifically as the Alzheimer's disease. However, it still carries a negative stereotype, and has been increasingly understood in the context of reductionism, that is, researchers have been focusing on genes and neurophysiology, while ignoring Alzheimer's disease as a concept that is constantly being constructed by society. Medical projects that have been invested heavily continue to fail. Helping medical projects are constantly being declared bankrupt (Xin & Zhang, 2018), while demented elders who can receive enough support from social environment show improved behavior patterns (Gao, 2016).

As a concept of age-related psychiatry that is constantly being constructed by society, Alzheimer's disease may be used by young people or medical staff as a tool to reduce the voice of the elderly. From a positive perspective, saying that an elder is demented means that he or she is engaging in self-deprecation or seeks forgiveness from others. From a negative aspect, however, a demented elder means a person who makes trouble. If the elder internalizes this negative label into self-construction, it will aggravate the symptoms of dementia.

According to previous studies, there is often a period of depression before the onset of Alzheimer's disease (Wilson, et al, 2014). Alzheimer's disease is related to multiple social and behavior factors such as sleep (Amen, 2014), quality of marriage (Waldinger, Cohen, Schulz & Crowell, 2014), traits of personality (Terracciano, et al., 2017) and the power of possibility (Langer, 2009), all of which

construe Alzheimer's disease rather a psych-social term than a medical problem. In terms of psychoanalysis, Alzheimer's disease may be a defensive, cognitive and emotional behavior pattern. In real life, the behavior of every demented elder is unique. Every elder is a comprehensive product of various traumas, compensation strategies, self-transcendence and unique environmental factors in the development process, and shows great individual characteristics. Although the emotional threshold and the extent of cognitive dementia are very different across individuals, we can see from the self-reported life story of the elder that the interaction between the self-construction of the elder and the social construction of others strongly demonstrates the important role of psychological counseling the social construction in treating Alzheimer's disease. This is especially worthy of attention given the failure of biomedical-based treatments.

Speaking of the case of MZR, in order to delay or prevent the occurrence of Alzheimer's disease, the elder needs to pay attention to the subjective role in early life, and to get rid of the self at the individual level and the level of close others. The elder needs to embrace the self at the level of unfamiliar others, social support, and the nourishment of culture, so as to achieve the integration of true, comprehensive expression and narrative construction.

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