

CONCEPTUALIZING AGE-FRIENDLY COMMUNITIES FOR
SASKATOON'S CHINESE-CANADIAN OLDER ADULTS

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By

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Abstract

With the demographic composition of Canadian cities in constant motion in terms of both the age and ethnicity of their residents, urban geographers must create frameworks of inclusion that recognize the intersecting needs of these postmodern landscapes. While the social and environmental necessities of older adults in urban centres are increasingly met through the production and maintenance of age-friendly communities, urban geographers must question whether these models are accessible and beneficial to older adult members of the visible-minority population. The Chinese-Canadian community, which has faced extensive discrimination and racism across history and within current social and institutional platforms, hosts an older adult cohort at particular risk of exclusion from health and social services, housing, economic stability and social inclusion. The intent of this research is to determine whether age-friendly community initiatives are indeed accessible to Chinese-Canadian older adults, while helping to re-conceptualize more ethnically-inclusive age-friendly paradigms.

Through a series of semi-structured interviews within Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, this work highlights sources of spatial, social and generational exclusion, recognizes the positive attributes of culturally homogenous housing and recreational organizations, and identifies barriers to the effectiveness of existing age-friendly community models surrounding both transportation and healthcare needs. Following a thorough examination of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, this research theorizes new frameworks that enable more inclusive and equitable approaches, highlighting the importance of cultural and linguistic inclusivity in existing age-related programs, the benefits of institutional recognition and support of culturally-catered organizations, and the need for broader social and historic inclusion of Chinese-Canadian older adults within the Saskatoon community. In doing so, this research not only informs the manner whereby age-friendly communities are conceptualized, but helps to bring the needs of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian demographic to the forefront of community development practice and application.

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Dedication

For Sam and Jane Yuen.

Table of Contents

Permission to use	i
Disclaimer	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Permission to reproduce	iv
Dedications	v
Table of contents	vi
List of figures	xii
List of tables	xiii
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Informing a focus on Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adult community.....	1
1.2 Research purpose, objectives and central argument	4
1.3 Thesis chapters outline	6
2. Literature Review: Informing the need for culturally pluralistic age-friendly development	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Social exclusion theory	9
2.3 Age-friendly community initiatives.....	13
2.3.1 Understanding age-friendly communities	13
2.3.2 Balancing individual and structural considerations.....	15
2.3.3 Intersectional age-friendly considerations.....	18
2.3.3.1 Age and ethnicity in service accessibility.....	18
2.3.3.2 Social disadvantage and age-friendly initiative potential.....	20
2.3.3.3 The importance of intersectional approaches.....	21

2.4	The exclusion of the Chinese in Canada	22
2.4.1	A legacy of racism towards Chinese-Canadians	22
2.4.2	Manifestations of exclusion in the older adult population.	25
	2.4.2.1 Spatial exclusion.	25
	2.4.2.2 Health and social service exclusion.	30
	2.4.2.3 Social isolation.	31
2.5	The research gap: Age-friendly communities for Chinese-Canadian older adults.	33
3.	Research design	36
3.1	Research methodology.	36
3.1.1	Ontology	36
3.1.2	Epistemology.	36
3.1.3	Axiology	37
3.1.4	Positionality.	38
3.1.5	Methodological approach	38
3.2	Study population	39
3.3	Data collection methods.	41
3.3.1	Document analysis.	41
3.3.2	Semi-structured interviews	41
3.3.3	Participant recruitment strategies	42
3.3.4	Prolonged engagement and observation	43
3.3.5	Guided documentary photography.	44
3.3.6	Trustworthiness	45
3.3.7	Transferability	46
3.4	Challenges and lessons learned.	46
3.5	Data analysis	48
3.6	Conclusion.	48

4.	Findings: Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adult community	50
4.1	Introduction	50
4.2	Confirming exclusion: Social, spatial and generational isolation of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adults.	51
4.2.1	Spatial enclaves and a fading ‘Chinatown’	52
4.2.1.1	The varying perceptions of spatial enclaves	53
4.2.1.2	Spatial enclave development and erosion	55
4.2.1.3	Spatial enclaves and group racialization	56
4.2.1.4	Riversdale: Consequence and choice.	57
4.2.2	The strength of Saskatoon’s social enclave.	58
4.2.2.1	Interpreting Riversdale as a social enclave.	60
4.2.2.2	Theoretical significance of social enclaves	61
4.2.2.3	Social enclaves and well-being in old age.	64
4.2.3	Generational paradigms and exclusion	65
4.2.3.1	Questioning the permanence of current Chinese-Canadian older adult experiences.	65
4.2.4	Dynamic exclusion sources and age-related service accessibility	67
4.3	Saskatoon’s sites of isolation and insularity	68
4.3.1	Cultural homogeneity and old-age housing.	69
4.3.1.1	The Juniper House: An overview	70
4.3.1.2	Culturally homogenous housing as an age-friendly resource.	71

4.3.1.3	Housing models as a generator of social capital	74
4.3.2	Cultural belonging and recreation - the Heritage Wellness Society	75
4.3.2.1	The Heritage Wellness Society: An overview.	76
4.3.2.2	Social enclave development and the Heritage Wellness Society.	77
4.3.3	Cultural homogeneity and dual meanings.	80
4.4	Institutional barriers: Cultural and linguistic roadblocks.	81
4.4.1	Health and support services.	82
4.4.1.1	Linguistic barriers in health and social service provision	83
4.4.1.2	Chinese-Canadian older adult cultural preference and the Western medical system	84
4.4.1.3	Health services and an awareness of existing age-friendly supports.	86
4.4.2	Transportation	87
4.4.2.1	Transportation accessibility for Chinese-Canadian older adults	89
4.4.2.2	The social enclave as a means of age-friendly transportation.	90
4.5	Conclusion.	91
5.	Findings: New paradigms for intersectional age-friendly development.	93
5.1	Introduction.	93
5.2	Age-friendly cultural and linguistic pluralism.	94
5.2.1	Linguistic and cultural resources as a means of accessibility and equity	95

	5.2.1.1 Housing	96
	5.2.1.2 Transportation	96
	5.2.1.3 Health and social services	97
	5.2.1.4 Information and communication	98
5.2.2	Chinese-Canadian group agency and the value of culturally-catered support systems.	99
	5.2.2.1 Age-friendly development and culturally homogenous spaces.	100
	5.2.2.2 Empowering self-sufficiency in old age . .	101
5.2.3	Beyond traditional categories of ‘age-friendly’ and the relevance of community	103
5.3	A balancing act: Chinese-Canadian older adults and the broader community.	104
	5.3.1 Fostering social inclusion	105
	5.3.2 Cultural exchanges - dual learning in old age.	106
	5.3.2.1 Sites for cultural exchange	107
	5.3.2.2 Overcoming inter-group racism.	109
	5.3.2.3 “We’re all one”	109
	5.3.3 Heritage and memorialization.	110
	5.3.3.1 Historical recognition in the Saskatoon core	111
	5.3.3.2 A desire for continued memorialization . .	112
	5.3.3.3 Chinese-Canadian history as a validation for service provision	113
5.4	Conclusion - new notions of age-friendly development	114
6.	Research opportunities and conclusions	116
6.1	Limitations and considerations for future research	116
	6.1.1 Research limitations.	117
	6.1.2 Regional transferability.	118

6.1.3	Cultural transferability.....	120
6.1.4	Generational transferability.....	120
6.2	Conclusion.....	121
References.....		123
Appendix A: Participant interview guide.....		128
Appendix B: Participant consent form.....		133

List of Figures

4.1	An Asian grocery-store window within Saskatoon’s Riversdale neighbourhood.	53
4.2	Historic Chinese signage in the Riversdale commercial area	55
4.3	Signage of an abandoned Chinese restaurant in Riversdale’s commercial area.	57
4.4	Older adult members of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community.	59
4.5	Member of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adult community.	66
4.6	Older adult Chinese-Canadian men visiting at summer barbecue.	67
4.7	Older adult member of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community.	68
4.8	Front entrance of Saskatoon’s Juniper House.	71
4.9	Saskatoon’s Juniper Housing Corporation, in the core of the Riversdale neighbourhood.	73
4.10	Heritage Wellness Society 2017 board members	77
4.11	Heritage Wellness Society members performing Chinese songs and tai chi at a summer barbecue.	78
4.12	Heritage Wellness Society members performing Chinese songs and tai chi at a summer barbecue.	78
4.13	Members of the Heritage Wellness Society at a summer barbecue.	80
5.1	Saskatoon’s Zhongshan Ting in Victoria Park.	111
5.2	Reminders of Chinese-Canadian business along Riversdale’s key commercial corridor, where some participants wish to see an increased emphasis on the area’s historic ‘Chinatown’	113

List of Tables

3.1	Participant demographic information	40
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, shifts in the demographic composition of urban centres in terms of both age and ethnicity are challenging the social and physical infrastructure of cities, and the ways in which effective community development is conceptualized (Hodge, 2008; Moore & Rosenberg, 2001; Rosenberg & Everitt, 2001). As the Canadian population continues to age, this phenomenon intersects with various notions of diversity, wherein the experiences of older adults in urban centres differ due to socioeconomic status, ethnicity and a sense of group belonging. Of growing relevance in the fields of social and urban geography are the experiences of visible minority and newcomer older adults, whose realities of aging in metropolitan areas are dictated by both their racially- and age-based marginalization. Whether foreign- or Canadian-born, older adults whose realities are influenced by indicators of cultural and linguistic diversity introduce important considerations in the conceptualization of cities that are inclusive and functional for all.

1.1 Informing a focus on Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community

In both academic and pragmatic applications of urban geography, manifestations of ageism in the built and social environment are combatted through the production and maintenance of what are known as *age-friendly communities* (Greenfield, Oberlink, Scharlack, Neil, & Stafford, 2015). As popularized by the World Health Organization's 2007 Age-Friendly Cities Guide, age-friendly community development emphasizes a number of physical and social considerations at neighbourhood, municipal and regional scales, wherein the needs and preferences of older adults

are incorporated into the design of public and private spaces. Older adults are not only accommodated through physical and social infrastructure, but seen as integral to the physical, social, economic and political fabrics of their communities (Fitzgerald & Caro, 2016). With a focus on facilitating active aging (Annear, Keeling, Wilkinson, Cushman, Gidlow & Hopkins, 2014; Fitzgerald & Caro, 2016; Michael, Green & Farquhar, 2006; Skyes & Robinson, 2016) age-friendly community development initiatives seek to improve the well-being of older adults throughout multiple stages and phases of later life. Though localized demography and social landscapes may infer unique characteristics to various age-friendly initiatives, there remains a tendency among many programs and approaches to view the older adult community as a monolith, wherein top-down frameworks run the risk of overlooking remarkable diversity within aging populations (Greenfield et al., 2015).

The study of how one's status as an immigrant or visible minority impacts their livelihood in old age — termed ethno-gerontology (Chappell, McDonald, & Stones, 2008) — is acknowledged briefly in theoretical urban geography. This area of study remains largely absent from many applied manifestations of age-friendly community development (Moore & Rosenberg, 2001; Rosenberg & Everett, 2001). While applied public policy and age-friendly community development tend to prioritize the needs of the collective older adult population, groups at the fringe of society run the risk of having their needs and well-being overlooked. In the Canadian context, one group at particular risk — due to both population size and a longstanding history of racial discrimination — is the Chinese-Canadian community. Older adult Chinese-Canadians have experienced marginalization from physical, economic, social and political landscapes, as the

ramification of both past and present racialization, discrimination and exclusion from social opportunity (Anderson, 1991; Bolaria & Li, 1985; Chau & Lai, 2010; Li, 1998a; Li, 1998b; Wang, Zong, & Li, 2012; Zong & Perry, 2011).

Existing research evaluating the experiences of Chinese-Canadian communities tends to correlate with the presence of dense and visible ethnic enclaves (Anderson, 1991; Hwang, 2008; Qadeer & Lovell, 2010). This research largely emphasizes the implications of significant spatial enclaves characteristic of Canada's larger metropolitan areas on the well-being of Chinese-Canadian older adults (Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987). By contrast, the experiences of Chinese-Canadian communities in small- to mid-sized urban areas, where ethnic communities remain smaller and more dispersed, are largely excluded from existing age-based research. Saskatoon, with a growing population of nearly 300,000 and a Chinese-Canadian population of nearly 8,000 is also home to an aging demographic, where 24.8% of the population exceeds the age of 55 (Statistics Canada, 2017). Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon pose an important study focus, wherein continued discrimination and social exclusion is paired with a reduced community visibility and policy-focus. Where localized social and spatial dynamics stand to differ from those of Canada's larger urban metropolitan areas, a focus on the experience of the Chinese-Canadian older adult community introduces important notions of cultural pluralism and inclusivity in modern age-friendly development.

1.2 Research purpose, objectives and central argument

The *purpose* of this research is to assess whether age-friendly development initiatives are inclusive of Chinese-Canadian older adults in small- to mid-sized Canadian cities, and how unique experiences with community aging may influence new notions of age-friendly practice.

With a focus on the experience of older adult Chinese-Canadians in Saskatoon, this research asks:

Where do areas in need of improvement exist, and how may age-friendly community initiatives be re-conceptualized to ensure a more ethnically-inclusive approach? Using the analytic lens of social exclusion theory — whereby both the Chinese-Canadian community and their surrounding environments are examined as contributors to the experiences faced by this group in old age — this thesis provides a nuanced perspective of age-friendly development influenced by multiple factors, groups and dynamics. Collectively, this work both acknowledges the outstanding needs of Saskatoon’s older adult Chinese-Canadian community, whilst contributing to broader theoretical perspectives on intersectional age-friendly initiatives.

This research is informed through an extensive period of semi-structured interviewing within Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adult community, supplemented further by community observation and engagement, document analysis and guided-documentary photography. These methods were selected for their ability to elicit nuanced, inductive and elaborate notions of the aging experience among Chinese-Canadian older adults. As the product of these methods, a number of key themes were highlighted that drive an analysis of both the lived reality and sources of exclusion faced by this Saskatoon community, as well as a broader appreciation of

culturally pluralistic age-friendly development theory. This research accomplishes the following *objectives*:

- I. To examine the current state of age-friendly approaches in Saskatoon and additional prairie-based urban centres;
- II. To identify whether sources of spatial, social and institutional exclusion exist toward Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon;
- III. Where they exist, to discover whether these sources of exclusion hinder the effectiveness of existing and potential age-friendly community initiatives in Saskatoon; and
- IV. To provide recommendations for action to current age-friendly communities that foster the inclusion of Chinese-Canadian older adults.

The results of this research support a *central argument* that the experiences of Chinese-Canadian older adults are characterized by social, spatial and institutional exclusion, as well as inter-group support and empowerment. Together, these negative and positive realities highlight the importance of new notions of age-friendly development that provide cultural and linguistic inclusivity, support existing social networks, and encourage future inter-group relationship building.

1.3 Thesis chapters outline

Chapter Two provides an in-depth examination into the importance of research surrounding Chinese-Canadian older adults and a conceptual framework for the subsequent chapters. Here, literature is incorporated to provide reference to the effectiveness of social exclusion theory as an analytical tool, to the main themes and applications of age-friendly development, and to a discussion of the social and spatial isolation of the Chinese-Canadian population — particularly as it applies to their older adult demographic. Chapter Three examines the study population, data collection methods, research methodology and approach to analysis. Selected methods are highlighted for their effectiveness in painting a compassionate portrait of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community in a manner that is both reflective and empowering.

Chapter Four reveals the expressions, sites and implications of exclusion faced by Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community in old age. Throughout this discussion, spatial exclusion — in the form of visible ethnic enclaves — is shown to have lost considerable significance in the quality of life and service accessibility of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adults. Instead, physical separation is replaced with social segregation, identified throughout this work using the notion of a *social enclave*. The social enclave is effectively examined for its relevance in providing age-friendly services and supports for Chinese-Canadian older adults, often where public institutional provisions have failed and isolated this community. This knowledge, informing the significance of culturally and linguistically homogenous housing and social organizations in Saskatoon, is further applied to a broader understanding of the development of culturally pluralistic age-friendly theory.

Chapter Five expands beyond the call for linguistic and cultural resources in more traditional age-friendly service realms to promote the importance of social enclave recognition and empowerment. Where this knowledge intersects with the desire for improved inter-group relations and spatial memorialization of the Chinese-Canadian community, a new understanding of the needs and priorities of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult population are revealed. Finally, Chapter Six discusses the transferability of this work regionally, culturally and generationally, before highlighting the academic and applied significance of this research to the fields of sociology, geography and gerontology. Fundamentally, this research represents the experience of a localized Saskatoon Chinese-Canadian community, while postulating new age-friendly approaches that recognize and accommodate diversity in multiple forms, applicable to other cities.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: INFORMING THE NEED FOR CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC AGE-FRIENDLY DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

Postmodern Canadian cities are characterized by many important social, spatial and economic changes. Among these shifting dynamics is the presence of dramatic population aging and immigration from non-Euro-ethnic nations, heightening both ethnic- and age-based urban diversity (Kobayashi, Preston & Murnaghan, 2011; Rosenberg & Everitt, 2001). Individually, each influence upon Canada's demographic composition carries important social and physical ramifications, and hosts an affiliated body of geographic and sociological literature. Once the intersection of age and ethnicity is recognized, urban geographers find themselves without an adequate understanding of how these identity factors overlap to influence an individual's experience in the built and social environment.

Age-friendly community initiatives have grown in popularity across Canada, whereby a collaborative effort between individuals, governments and community stakeholders seeks to enable older adults to age in place, maintain physical and psychological health, and foster meaningful relationships within their community (Greenfield et al., 2015). This response to the physical and social manifestations of ageism in the urban environment is growing in popularity and application across Canada. However, an analysis of the capacity of more marginalized groups to benefit from these initiatives is lacking. The following literature review will explore the necessity of such research, with an emphasis on the vulnerability of older adult Chinese-

Canadians in the built and social environment. This review begins with an analysis of social exclusion theory as an effective conceptual lens through which to evaluate the experiences of aging and ethnicity in urban environments. Next, the concept of age-friendly communities is explored, highlighting the function of this approach in reconciling social manifestations of ageism. A reflection on past and present Canadian race and ethnic relations highlights opportunity for Chinese-Canadian older adult exclusion is then examined. Finally, with the intersection of ageism and racism in the urban environment, the need for a more inclusive and intersectional age-friendly paradigm is made clear. The outcomes of this literature review validate the experiences of exclusion faced by Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, and the means whereby this dynamic fosters a call for more inclusive and pluralistic notions of age-friendly development.

2.2 Social exclusion theory

The barriers faced by both older adults and Chinese-Canadians in the urban environment may be effectively examined through an application of social exclusion theory. Social exclusion theory has gained considerable popularity surrounding studies of social disadvantage and poverty (Church, Frost, & Sullivan, 2000; Fangen, 2010; Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd, & Patsios, 2007; Lucas, 2012; Wang et al., 2012), therefore suggesting its effectiveness at interpreting the implications of both ageism and racism in urban environments. Unlike traditional interpretations of exclusion within which responsibility for one's isolation from social opportunities, urban amenities and health services is placed upon an individual or group itself, social exclusion theory highlights the presence of 'two sets of actors' (Wang et al., 2012)

whereby the influence of the broader whole of society within these exclusion processes is recognized (Fangen, 2010; Walks, 2006). Both the individual group and the environment or society within which they reside are examined as contributing factors to an instance of exclusion.

As Levitas et al. (2007) note, social exclusion itself is defined as:

“...the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political terms. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.” (p. 9)

Further, Church et al. (2000) have recognized that exclusion can manifest itself physically, geographically, economically, spatially and temporally. This perspective enables a critical analysis of how the dynamics of exclusion are perpetuated among individuals and groups within both physical and social environments, and their impact on the quality of life of marginalized older adults.

The strength of this theoretical perspective has been demonstrated by several past studies that analyze systems of exclusion, many of which stand to impact the accessibility of amenities and services to both immigrant and older adult groups (Body-Gendrot, 2002; Fangen, 2010; Hernandez & Titherage, 2016; Lucas, 2012; Miller, 2016; Wang et al., 2012). First, the process of transportation exclusion and inaccessibility has been shown to be a product of overlapping experiences with spatial transport and social disadvantage; subsequently, social exclusion and

segregation are noted as determinants of urban accessibility (Hernandez & Titherage, 2016; Lucas, 2012). This lens may be applied to a consideration of age-friendly community development, whereby the intersection of physical infrastructure and social inclusion appear to influence one's quality of and access to necessary age-related services.

Second, social power and inclusion are identified as important factors in an individual or group's ability to enact influence in urban planning and design decision-making processes (Miller, 2016). Miller's examination of the inclusion and exclusion of particular groups surrounding an urban canal clean-up planning process highlights the influence of length of time living in one's neighbourhood, home-ownership status and a sense of social belonging in one's willingness to participate in the shaping of their environment. Age-friendly initiatives that empower older adults to participate in their respective social environments, ensuring their perspectives are valued and deemed legitimate, appears fundamental to ensuring their continual involvement in political- and planning-based decision making. Where marginalized voices of older adults risk removal from age-related policy discussions due to a sense of otherness or exclusion, shaping spaces of inclusion and opportunity is fundamental to equitable outcomes.

Finally, discussions of spatial, social, political and economic exclusion have expanded to include the significance of race and ethnicity on one's experience in public space and in day-to-day social and economic opportunities (Body-Gendrot, 2002; Fangen, 2010; Wang et al., 2012). First, Body-Gendrot (2002) has noted the means whereby institutional racism and the criminalization of visible minority communities in France has influenced, among other things, access to physical

space and political opportunity. Fangen (2010) highlights social exclusion theory as a means of acknowledging intersectional experiences of diversity (e.g., gender, ethnicity, socio-economic class) in an individual's relationship with the broader society, particularly as they influence the social inclusion of young adult immigrants. In their Canadian-based research, Wang et al. (2012) have effectively used social exclusion theory in an interpretation of exclusion faced by Chinese-Canadians that extends beyond individual characteristics such as language and culture, to instead evaluate the impacts of institutional and systemic racisms as barriers to immigrant integration. This research notes the means whereby institutional barriers and systemic discrimination lead to the downward occupational mobility of Chinese-Canadian participants in the labour-market, limiting individuals to reduced income brackets and ethnic-based business opportunities (ibid). In effect, the use of social exclusion theory stands to bear relevance to an application of the institutional and social barriers towards Chinese-Canadian older adults that may persist among existing and future age-friendly initiatives.

While using social exclusion theory as a conceptual framework highlights the manifestations of systemic and institutional racism on the social, spatial and economic amenities of the urban environment, it also provides a tool for interpreting the capacity of existing age-friendly initiatives to either perpetuate or overcome these barriers. Opportunity to find meaning in physical space, engage in political decision-making processes, gain economic opportunity and achieve a sense of community-belonging are all important factors in the conceptualization of age-friendly community initiatives. Social exclusion theory offers a framework through which to analyze urban social and physical environments as a whole, of older adults' experience in these

environments, and of Chinese-Canadian older adults' experiences within the broader aging community. As this research examines the characteristics of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, it becomes clear that it is an intersection of individual and societal characteristics that dictate the common-place exclusion of this community from a number of age-friendly platforms. Likewise, notions of age-friendly cultural pluralism postulated throughout this research move beyond uni-directional goals of cultural- and age-related service assimilation, with a preference instead towards the reality of Chinese-Canadian aging as the product of multiple social, political and economic systems.

2.3 Age-friendly community initiatives

2.3.1 Understanding age-friendly communities

Age-friendly community initiatives have grown dramatically in popularity at varying governmental and organizational scales since the turn of the 21st-century. A dramatic catalyst in their applied popularity was the World Health Organization's 2007 Age-Friendly Cities Guide that effectively outlined a series of points for age-friendly consideration within the urban realm, including: outdoor spaces and buildings; transportation; housing; social participation; respect and social inclusion; civic participation and employment; communication and information; and community support and health services. Meanwhile, the conceptualization of age-friendly communities, and a discussion of the exclusion of older adults within physical and social environments (sometimes termed environmental gerontology) has grown dramatically within the fields of urban geography, sociology and gerontological-health research (Annear et al., 2014). Regardless of their theoretical or applied scopes, age-friendly community initiatives are generally

agreed upon as intersectoral approaches to improving the effectiveness and accessibility of the built and social environment to enhance older adults' ability to maintain a high quality of life — socially, physically and psychologically (Buffel & Phillipson, 2016; Greenfield et al., 2015; Rosenberg & Everitt, 2001).

Prior to a focus on age-friendly development initiatives, programs and policies directed towards improving the quality of life of older adults in North America more traditionally emphasized individual benefit systems, where long-term services and supports are catered to older adults based on sets of outstanding physical and health needs (Greenfield et al., 2015). In addition to health and social services supports, a popular manifestation of this model is retirement or gated housing developments (Walks, 2006). This individually-based model emphasizes the physical, social and economic short-comings of older adults and seeks remedial approaches to their resolution (ibid). In contrast, recent paradigm shifts have demonstrated a push towards more structural solutions (Greenfield et al., 2015).

In line with an application of social exclusion theory, age-friendly initiatives demonstrate a shift in focus surrounding the needs of older adults, recognizing the impacts of structurally and ideologically-based physical, social, political and economic environments on the quality of life of urban older adults. Here, the presence of ageism — the discrimination towards individuals by academics, advocates, health professionals, policy-makers and the public based on one's age (Angus & Reeve, 2006) — is recognized as a structural barrier to a healthy and meaningful aging process within cities. Systemic ageism may present itself in the physical design of urban spaces

and the ways in which they may limit those with reduced mobility or health constraints, the presence of institutional barriers to health and transportation services, the means whereby older adult economic contributions are devalued, and in the narratives surrounding older adult social and political value within the broader community. Through a growing age-friendly paradigm that enables the recognition and remediation of urban environments not designed or programmed to include and value older adults, inflexible and exclusive environments are understood for their contribution to the physical and social isolation of individuals in old age (Antoninetti & Garrett, 2012). However, while large-scale and structural age-friendly discussions (e.g., the Age-Friendly Saskatoon Initiative) seek to include the older adult community in a broader notion of spatial and social belonging, they must also be evaluated for their potential to acknowledge diversity of experience and preference among older adult communities. Broader discussions of the needs of older adults, often rooted in physical design considerations and the production of common social activity spaces, stand to overlook inter-group diversity and marginalization that may impact the accessibility and desirability of these goals.

2.3.2 Balancing individual and structural considerations

While age-friendly community development emphasizes the importance of recognizing the role of the social and physical environment in ensuring older adults' quality of life, these initiatives must also acknowledge the potential for nuanced realities among various older adult individuals and communities across urban landscapes. As Wang et al. (2012) recognize, exclusion processes are characterized by two sets of actors — both of which must be understood to effectively conceptualize a given site of exclusion. In their extensive review of environmental gerontology

literature, Annear et al. (2014) noted the distinction between personal influences — such as ethnicity and culture, personal motivation, gender, age, self-efficacy and economic stability — and environmental influences — such as accessibility and appropriateness of services, community dynamics, pedestrian infrastructure, social network participation, urban design characteristics, and the physical environment — that may characterize an older adult’s experience in the urban realm.

The manner through which these influences are taken into consideration in the production of age-friendly initiatives may vary, as different styles of initiatives reflect differing focal points for exclusion factors. Community planning approaches utilize broad-scale needs assessments which emphasize domains of action such as transportation, housing, social participation and access to services (Greenfield et al., 2015). This style of initiative design is evident within the WHO guidelines, and a number of other government-level programs. In Canada, the Age-Friendly Manitoba Initiative, introduced in 2008 and adopted by over 80% of the province’s communities, demonstrates a similar high-level strategic approach (Menec, Novek, & Veselyuk, 2016). Characteristic of such initiatives is the official adoption by municipal councils or other jurisdictional bodies of an ‘age-friendly paradigm’, and the introduction of physical modifications to the built environment such as improved public seating, public transportation opportunities for those with limited mobility, and the encouragement of older adult-friendly housing design (ibid). While more holistic in nature, the Age-Friendly Manitoba Initiative and the Age-Friendly Saskatoon Initiative (Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2012, 2014, 2016) tend to focus

on broader goals of positive aging more generally, with the expectation of specific action across various sectors and organizations on their own accord.

By contrast, support-focused age-friendly approaches emphasize facilitating assistance for older adults with existing or predicted sets of outstanding needs (Greenfield et al., 2015). A popular example of this approach is the development of retirement villages that produce environments catered to the specific care, social and physical needs of particular groups of older adults (Grant, 2007; Rosenberg & Everitt, 2001). While older adult housing communities tend to vary in terms of structure, such developments often focus around a central identity (i.e., religion, socio-economic status), while providing varying degrees of physically- and health-related assistance in daily life. In Saskatoon, these communities are characterized by housing environments where residents may accomplish many of their daily tasks, remain engaged with neighbours in common social spaces, and receive assistance with daily household tasks where needed. Whether symbolically or physically gated, these establishments are also known as ‘common interest developments’, and can provide a sense of common identity, values, and residential characteristics (McKenzie, 1994; Townshend, 2006). This latter approach to age-friendly community development often requires more targeted initiatives, as these programs recognize that the diversity within older adult populations may change the preferences and sets of physical and social considerations necessary for successful aging outcomes. The scale of these approaches are often smaller, but may be characterized by a more ‘bottom up’ perspective than larger federal, provincial or municipal initiatives (Greenfield et al., 2015).

2.3.3 Intersectional age-friendly considerations

When social exclusion theory is applied to the older adult community as a whole, it becomes evident that there are several overlapping forms of oppression and isolation experienced by diverse members of the aging population. While variations in physical ability and age among the older adult population are increasingly recognized in theoretical and applied broad-scale age-friendly literature, the implications of other identity factors, such as gender, sexual orientation and ethnicity remain at the fringe of much of this work. There is increasing evidence to suggest that these characteristics within the older adult community are indeed impacting the quality of life and access to opportunity of many individuals. It is here that civil risk — a lack of human rights established through long-term institutional processes which create and perpetuate disadvantage for marginalized groups (Kobayashi & Ray, 2000) — is experienced at varying levels by members of the older adult community, whose identity characteristics impede their equitable access to health care, social services and spatial belonging. The manner through which this risk fosters ‘landscapes of oppression’ (ibid, pg. 405) — emphasizing the likelihood of reduced access to social and health services, economic resources, political engagement and a sense of social worth — requires critical evaluation within popular age-friendly initiatives.

2.3.3.1 Age and ethnicity in service accessibility

Internationally, a number of studies are beginning to demonstrate the intersection of ethnic marginalization and old age as factors to one’s physical health, social well-being and quality of life. In a study of physical activity levels among older adults in Australia, Bird et al. (2009) found that while some barriers impacted all members of the older adult community, such as health,

energy and motivation, there were a unique set of barriers faced by members of ethnic minority groups that limited the activity levels within particular cultural communities. Vietnamese older adults were dramatically more likely to avoid physical activity due to feelings of self-consciousness than the broader aging population in general (ibid). While some barriers to activity can be addressed through broader population-wide initiatives such as providing easy-to-access and safe exercise environments, Vietnamese older adults may be less likely to use these facilities without specific attention provided to their concerns of embarrassment and self-image. Blanco and Subirats (2008) have further noted that the characteristics of one's neighbourhood have differing levels of impact on the well-being of different social groups across a number of Spanish cities. Environmental factors such as isolation, or a lack of public transit and services, have shown to compound negative influence on those experiencing existing personal deprivities due to age, immigration-status and socio-economic status. Furthermore, American-wide research regarding racial differences among older adults has noted ethnic marginalization as a determinant of one's capacity for residential mobility (i.e., leaving undesirable neighbourhoods), therefore increasing the likelihood of the compounding effects upon people of colour residing within or nearby disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Riley, Hawkley & Cagney, 2016). Similar to these findings, the following research suggests unique experiences and preferences among the Chinese-Canadian community, wherein cultural narratives surrounding health care, independence and social network support seek to overcome existing failures for inclusion within current age-related services.

2.3.3.2 Social disadvantage and age-friendly initiative potential

Marginalization in old age has further demonstrated a compounding effect on one's ability to access potential age-friendly services and to benefit from neighbourhood development initiatives. Firstly, older adults living in more disadvantaged and inaccessible neighbourhoods have been shown to achieve decreased social connection within their communities — an important component to well-being in later life (Walker & Hiller, 2007). When such neighbourhoods do receive re-investment through the process of gentrification, older adults can face increased social exclusion as they experience social disconnection and a loss of political influence (Burns, Lavoie & Rose, 2012). Secondly, Young, Russel and Powers (2004) have noted how one's sense of belonging in their neighbourhood is influenced by personal health, financial security and social support systems. Research has also demonstrated that economic and social status among older adults holds strong ties to health status (Moore & Rosenberg, 2001; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2008). While Moore and Rosenberg (2001) introduce important questions regarding the geographies of Canadian health and social services as they pertain to an equally changing older adult ethnic composition, Pickett and Wilkinson (2008) further acknowledge correlations between ethnic-group residential density and poor health status. Collectively, the relationship between social disadvantage, health and community belonging highlight narratives of civil risk underlying discussions of age-friendly services as they pertain to health services, political empowerment and meaningful social participation.

2.3.3.3 The importance of intersectional approaches

This discussion recognizes that the social and physical environments of a neighbourhood exert considerable impact on the well-being of its older adult residents. Those in various minority groups or who experience increased civil risk are at a disadvantage both between and within communities, as their marginalization impacts housing, lifestyle opportunities, health and well-being (Kobayashi & Ray, 2000; Rosenberg & Everitt, 2001). Where access to desirable physical and social spaces with improved infrastructure, public services and social cohesion is hindered by individual identity attributes and socio-economic opportunity, effective public policy and community development initiatives must recognize these compounding barriers to access. Broad-scale age-friendly initiatives that fail to acknowledge the physical and social barriers faced by those of differing circumstances will carry unequal benefits to the older adult population while perpetuating existing systems of social and institutional oppression. This inequity is evident within a number of ethnocultural minority groups, as is made clear through an analysis of the Chinese-Canadian community.

As is demonstrated throughout this research, an intersectional lens is of the utmost importance when evaluating the experiences of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community. Systemic discrimination and the subsequent cultural and linguistic homogeneity of this community has influenced notions of accessible health and social services, transportation, housing and social belonging that differ from broad-scale perspectives of age-friendly development. An appreciation of this circumstance is informed by an examination of the past and

present exclusion of the Chinese-Canadian population, particularly as these experiences stand to influence the realities of the group's older adults.

2.4 The exclusion of the Chinese in Canada

Chinese-Canadian older adults are a significant and growing group within Canada's demographic landscape (Statistics Canada, 2016; 2006). A critical analysis of the effectiveness of age-friendly initiatives for older adult Chinese-Canadians requires an in-depth understanding of the group's current social, economic and spatial circumstances. The social and economic consequences of a series of individual, institutional and systemic racisms faced by the Chinese-Canadian community stand to hinder the benefits and applicability of existing and future age-friendly initiatives.

2.4.1 A legacy of racism towards Chinese-Canadians

Despite the group's long history within Canada, immigration policies and social attitudes of the last 150 years have contributed significantly to the numerical and political exclusion of Chinese-Canadians within the broader older adult population (Li, 1998a). Soon after the arrival of the Chinese in Canada in the mid-1800s as a source of affordable labour in canneries, mines and in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, anti-Chinese legislation began to emerge (Anderson, 1991). At this time, anti-Chinese legislation surfaced in response to growing social fears regarding the potential employment and political capacity of this group. This early legislation restricted Chinese-Canadian civil rights, limited their capacity to work in profitable industries, and introduced a swiftly increasing head-tax that discouraged immigration and left

many successful immigrants financially debilitated (Bolari & Li, 1985; Li, 1998a). An imbalanced sex-ratio among Chinese-Canadians during this period curbed population growth, with wives and children of male Chinese immigrants permitted only after 1947 (ibid). The exclusion of Chinese-Canadians within federal and provincial legislation during the pre-war era reflected dominant society's overt and institutional racism that would continue to impact the status of the Chinese-Canadian population for decades to follow (Bolaria & Li, 1985; Zong & Perry, 2011).

Despite the 1947 repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act that had effectively banned incoming Chinese immigrants for over 20 years, it was not until the introduction of the 1967 Universal Points System that the Chinese-Canadian population began to flourish (Bolaria & Li, 1985). While the economic and political characteristics of this new wave of immigrants were notably different from earlier 19th-century labourers, this group continues to navigate a legacy of decades-old and modern racisms expressed towards those of Chinese heritage in Canada (Li, 1998a; Zong & Perry, 2011; Wang et al., 2012). Particularly among the older adult community, many of whom would have arrived in Canada during periods of more overt social, political and economic discrimination, the implications of this exclusion continues to dictate the lived experience of Chinese-Canadian communities well into the 21st-century.

Though more overt and government-initiated forms of racism towards the Chinese in Canada began to pass, the ramifications of these attitudes have produced a series of day-to-day conditions for modern Chinese-Canadians that remain at their detriment. Chinese-Canadians continue to

face economic discrimination, a reduced social status and visible segregation through spatial ethnic enclaves (Anderson, 1991; Wang et al., 2012; Zong & Perry, 2011). While many have come to interpret the spatial and social segregation of Chinese-Canadians into ethnic enclaves or the economic reliance on Chinese-oriented markets as characteristics of the group itself, the application of social exclusion theory allows an evaluation of the aforementioned exclusionary legislation on the social and economic success of Chinese-Canadians decades afterward (Anderson, 1991). ‘Racialization’— the process whereby society attributes social significance to a group based on a superficial physical basis (Li, 1998b, pg. 115) — has been used against the Chinese in Canada to produce the appearance of particular social characteristics as inherent imports of this group (ibid). In contrast, the spatial and economic insularity of many Chinese-Canadians is recognized by race and ethnic relations scholars as a response to the economic and social hostility of the surrounding community (Zong & Perry, 2011). The retention of Chinese languages, cultural attributes and lifestyles have come to characterize this group, often with the spatial and economic manifestations of Chinese ethnic enclaves as the only opportunity for a sense of community and belonging (Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987; Li 1998a, Li, 2005). While the retention of these cultural characteristics was initially a defence mechanism in response to overt societal racism, this behaviour has contributed to the continual exclusion of Chinese-Canadians in the modern age. This exclusion process may be characterized on one side by insular characteristics, particularly by the group’s older adults, and on the other by the continued racialization of Chinese-Canadians that portrays these individuals as socially and economically inferior, and introduces a series of structural barriers that prevent their integration into the broader whole of society (Lee, 1987; Wang et al., 2012).

2.4.2 Manifestations of exclusion in the older adult population

2.4.2.1 Spatial exclusion

Within Canada, the majority of visible-minority individuals, and 94% of recently-immigrated older adults, live in Census Metropolitan Areas (Chapell et al., 2008; Statistics Canada, 2006).

For the Chinese-Canadian population, residential and business units have, in both historic and modern contexts, often condensed into urban ethnic enclaves. One of Canada's oldest and most iconic examples of such a phenomenon is the 'Chinatown' of Vancouver, British Columbia.

Reviewed extensively by Kay Anderson in her 1991 publication of 'Vancouver's Chinatown', the city's downtown ethnic enclave remains as a reminder of racial discrimination on the Canadian coast, and the considerable spatial, social and economic defence mechanisms produced in response to these dynamics. The strength of an ethnic enclave, and the subsequent separation of its members from outside social networks and opportunities may be determined by the community's degree of institutional completeness (Breton, 1964). An enclave's institutional completeness is determined by the presence of accessible and ethnically-oriented support services, economic opportunities, residential opportunities and institutional opportunities (ibid).

Unlike many enclaves that are slowly disappearing in Canada's smaller urban centres, the enclaves of Vancouver have largely maintained a degree of institutional completeness, and are characterized in the 21st-century by considerable linguistic and cultural insularity, residential development, health and social services and the ability to live one's life largely within the confines of this community (Anderson, 1991).

The formation of these enclaves are shown to be the product of extensive social and economic hostility towards Chinese-Canadians, yet have in turn offered their residents ethnic solidarity, access to cultural foods, shops and employment, and have fostered the retention of Chinese languages (Anderson, 1991; Chau & Lai, 2010; Li, 2005). In this manner, ethnic enclaves are better understood using social exclusion theory, as these neighbourhoods have been shown to highlight exclusion in a distinct manner (Fangen, 2010). In an examination of Vancouver's Chinese ethnic enclave, the overt and violent social and economic discrimination of their surrounding environment was evident (Anderson, 1991). In the late 19th- and early 20th-century, Chinese labourers faced remarkable exclusion from not only neighbours and competing entrepreneurs, but local politicians and law-makers as well. The necessity of spatial entrepreneurial proximity, often limited to a small number of business types (i.e., restaurants, laundries and hotels) created the early conditions for a continued poverty and an economic enclave environment. Social and political opportunities for those of Chinese descent were also heavily limited, largely until the end of the second World War. Together, these conditions fuelled social, economic and political insularity within Vancouver's downtown ethnic enclave, considerably limiting the capacity for the outward integration of Chinese immigrants into the quickly adapting Canadian population of the time (ibid).

Though several authors have argued a distinction between early Canadian enclaves — as the product of extensive racism and exclusion — and modern enclaves — as neighbourhoods of choice and voluntary behaviour (Qadeer, et al., 2010) — social exclusion theory employs important reminders regarding the continued impacts of systemic and covert discrimination. In

large-scale enclaves such as Vancouver's, the discriminatory basis of ethnic enclave development was further fuelled by the appeal of cultural and linguistic homogeneity to both early Chinese immigrants and later arriving cohorts (Anderson, 1991). The modern existence of these enclaves within Canadian urban areas, regardless of varying degrees of associated affluence and economic integration, are the product of both Chinese-Canadian group behaviour — including a desire for eased cultural transition, language retention and residential proximity — as well as dominant society exclusion — in the form of past institutional racism, economic limitations and continued societal prejudice. Without critical evaluation, the seeming willingness and preference of immigrant groups to cluster into enclave communities may aid in the oversight of potential setbacks and exclusions characteristic of these communities. For example, several studies indicate that the presence of enclaves and their associated residential segregation may stand to negatively impact the relevance and accessibility of older adult-catered programming and initiatives for members of the Chinese-Canadian population (Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987).

In some ways, Chinese ethnic enclaves are considered beneficial to Chinese-Canadian older adults, as they appear to provide access to linguistically and culturally significant resources, community institutions and health services (Chappell et al., 2008; Chau & Lai, 2010). For many, the presence of linguistic barriers tend to increase a reliance on social and institutional resources, as well as their subsequent insularity (Breton, 1964). Furthermore, it is notably uncommon for older adult immigrants, particularly those of Chinese descent, to live alone (Chappell et al., 2008; Statistics Canada, 2006). While Chinese-Canadian older adults often reside with their children or

extended family, seniors' housing projects in cities such as Vancouver have aimed to foster ethno-specific co-residency within existing Chinese-Canadian neighbourhoods (Hwang, 2008).

Research with older adult members of a Winnipeg Chinese-Canadian housing development displayed a preference towards cultural and linguistic residential homogeneity in the fostering of social capital and a sense of belonging (Luo, 2016). Despite the reduced size and capacity of ethnic enclaves within such cities, the importance of cultural and linguistic homogeneity in a quality of life for older adults has remained. In these developments, social capital is indicative of one's ability to benefit from individual, community or neighbourhood-based social relationships (Lager, Hoven, & Huigen, 2015; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995), often through the homogenous social networks characteristic of 'bonding capital' (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004). Despite Chinese ethnic enclaves having originated in an atmosphere of hostility and exclusion, they appear to improve the lifestyles and service accessibility of their members, particularly through the social capital utilization of older adults. However, recent studies surrounding these claims have produced debate as to whether, despite the cultural and social value of ethnic enclaves, this phenomenon may in fact encourage higher rates of social isolation, health disparities and racial stigmatization (Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987; Osypuk, Diez, Roux, Hadley & Kandula, 2009; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2008).

Several authors have highlighted the dangers associated with the assumed benefits of spatial and social ethnic enclaves for older adult Chinese-Canadians. First, Lee (1987) notes that a common characteristic of North American-Chinese communities has been their seemingly passive

resignation from instances of discrimination and hostility — a trend particularly evident within the group's older adults. This withdrawal, despite its origin in discrimination, is often misinterpreted by public officials, health-care workers and service providers as a sign of self-sufficiency among Chinese-Canadian older adults. False assumptions regarding the capacity of the Chinese-Canadian community and family-members to care for their older adults overlook a lack of organizational and economic structures required to provide for the housing, health, social and financial needs of these individuals (ibid). Additionally, Chau and Lai (2010) have noted that higher density ethnic enclaves, such as those of Vancouver and Toronto, correlate with lower levels of physical and mental health among their older adults than the smaller-scale enclaves of mid-size cities such as Winnipeg and Victoria. Their findings attribute increased levels of segregation and social, political and economic exclusion to the expansion of ethnic enclaves, arguing that more positive health results are apparent in centres where relationships with outside communities and institutions are required. Similarly, Pickett and Wilkinson (2008) have confirmed that members of Chinese ethnic enclaves experience highlighted status differences between themselves and outside community members, wherein their residence or employment in these enclaves tends to increase their experiences of stigmatization and discrimination. Ethnic enclaves may in fact stand to increase the exclusion of Chinese-Canadians from the remainder of society, and in turn hinder their inclusion or consideration in mainstream age-friendly initiatives and health-care provision. As this research reveals, the Saskatoon Chinese-Canadian older adult community has largely overcome the constraints of physical ethnic enclaves, only to replace these occurrences with a reliance on social enclaves. Examined throughout the results and discussion of this work, the spatial and social exclusion of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian

community challenges traditional notions of family-support networks and reprioritizes the effectiveness of bonding capital among older adults in the provision of age-friendly services.

2.4.2.2 Health and social service exclusion

The 2007 WHO Age-Friendly Cities Guide notes the importance of accessible and appropriate health and social services as a primary age-friendly consideration. An examination of the health status of Chinese-Canadian older adults confirms the significance of such services, as health concerns among this group remain evident on several platforms. Recent older adult immigrants are considerably less likely to report positive health status compared to longer-term or non-immigrants in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). Recent-immigrant older adults are also more likely to seek medical attention, yet less likely to possess adequate health insurance than their longer-term or non-immigrant counter-parts (ibid). These individuals instead appear more likely to receive required long-term care through the informal aid of family and friends (ibid). These disparities also extend beyond older adults of recent immigration. For example, Chinese-Canadian older adults who express increased identification with traditional and cultural values, while also facing cultural barriers, express a higher probability of depression (Lai, 2004). To this effect, female Chinese-American older adults experience a suicide rate ten times that of older adult Caucasian women (Butler, Lewis & Sutherland, 1998; Chappell et al., 2008).

Chinese-Canadian older adult exclusion from health and social services may be understood from a variety of perspectives. Research suggests that membership within a visible-minority group increases one's experience with cultural barriers that may lead to health disparities or foregone

physical and psychological care (Chau & Lai, 2010). While these barriers include characteristics of the individual, such as language, cultural values, and a skepticism of the Western medical system, they may also represent dominant-group qualities such as residual effects of historic discrimination, culturally inappropriate services that stand to humiliate or mistreat patients, limited transportation availability to required services, or a lack of relevant information for potential patients (Chappell et al., 2008; Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987). Though individual cultural characteristics of Chinese-Canadian older adults may hinder their willingness to take advantage of available health and social services, discrimination in policy and program implementation may also be responsible for the lack of resource utilization by Chinese-Canadian older adults (Lee, 1987). Again, a lack of service use by such older adults is often mis-interpreted by service providers as an indication of self-sufficiency where in fact, the refusal of Chinese-Canadian older adults to participate in mainstream medical programs may instead indicate the group's alienation from dominant society (ibid). Age-friendly initiatives that fail to address these potential disparities do so at the risk of Chinese-Canadian geriatric health. As this research highlights, Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community expresses a number of health and social service concerns in line with previously postulated research, recognizing a failed inclusion of this group in existing age-friendly health programming.

2.4.2.3 Social isolation

Finally, social isolation is a fundamental concern among age-friendly policy makers, as social and community ties have shown significant implications for the health and well-being of older adults (Chau & Lai, 2010; WHO, 2007). A number of factors stand to impact the level of community

inclusion experienced by Chinese-Canadian older adults, expressed both as individual characteristics, and as indicators of broader group exclusion from society. Perhaps the most dominant source of isolation among Chinese-Canadian older adults occurs in the form of social alienation (Lee, 1987). This process often occurs as the lifestyles, cultural characteristics, appearances and languages of Chinese-Canadian older adults differ significantly from those of dominant society, in turn reducing the social status of the group (ibid). The potential for considerable language barriers further aids in this process. Even amongst those Chinese-Canadian older adults who have spent most or all of their lives in Canada, the presence of ethnic insularity has hindered the adoption and use of non-Chinese languages. Feelings of social isolation among Canadian immigrant older adults have shown correlations with low levels of community involvement and volunteering (Statistics Canada, 2006).

An additional important source of respect and social inclusion for Canadian older adults originates from within their own family networks (Statistics Canada, 2006). Particularly among Chinese-Canadian older adults, close family connections have provided social, residential and medical support to these individuals (Chappell et al., 2008; Hwang, 2008; Lee, 1987). As a result of the perceived strength of the Chinese-Canadian family support network, the group's older adults are often believed to be reliant on these resources in times of need (Lee, 1987). Similar to assumptions regarding the support systems of ethnic enclaves, health and service providers are inclined to overlook the needs of Chinese-Canadian older adults under the assumption that family support networks will ensure their well-being. This belief stands to harm older adults, as the traditional family model under which such support may exist is diminishing within modern

Chinese-Canadian families (ibid). This changing role of older adults amongst Chinese-Canadian communities, in addition to a critical evaluation of the true capacity of family-members to support geriatric care, highlights important considerations surrounding existing age-friendly community initiatives. As the Saskatoon case-study will examine, a new framework wherein older adults support each other and provide for foregone age-related services within the Chinese-Canadian community stands to largely replace traditional notions of family reliance and care.

2.5 The research gap: Age-friendly communities for Chinese-Canadian older adults

Statistics Canada (2015) has shown that as of 2015, the number of individuals nation-wide over the age of 65 has exceeded the number of those under the age of 14. This shift in Canadian demography will instigate fundamental changes to society, placing new demands on health and social services, transportation and housing infrastructure. Equally significant is the increasing cultural plurality within postmodern Canadian cities, pushing planners to acknowledge that a singular 'public interest' likely no longer exists, and that politics of difference may very well become the dominant narrative of institutional, social and spatial planning (Sandercock, 2003). Age-friendly community initiatives are becoming increasingly significant components to current planning and community development practices, yet one may question whether these models that seek to provide an inclusive urban framework for older adults are equally inclusive for those of ethnic-minority groups.

The Chinese-Canadian community, comprised of over thirty-percent of Canada's older adult visible-minority immigrant population (Statistics Canada, 2006), has faced such longstanding and systemic prejudice that their ability to achieve spatial integration while accessing health services and social opportunities may be permanently hindered. While existing literature suggests an entrenched exclusion of the Chinese-Canadian population, particularly within its older adult members (Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987; Li, 1998a), the field of age-friendly community development largely lacks such detailed analysis. Further, while research has explored the impacts of dense ethnic enclaves in large urban centres like Vancouver and Toronto, small- to mid-sized cities like Saskatoon — where ethnic group concentrations are less sizeable — remain on the fringe of multicultural research (Anderson, 1991; Qadeer, Agrawal, & Lovell, 2010). Intermediate-sized city research is required to understand the experiences of the Chinese-Canadian community outside of dense ethnic enclaves in order to identify sources of exclusion that may deviate from those previously theorized. Though recent Winnipeg-based research has begun to examine the impacts of culturally homogenous housing on the social capital of its older adult residents (Luo, 2016), this work requires both elaboration and geographical comparison to further interpret the broader implications of ethnically-inclusive age-friendly development. Research is needed to determine whether the prejudices experienced by the older adult members of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community do in fact limit their access to existing and potential municipal or provincial age-friendly initiatives. If so, governments, community organizations and service providers must ask how current age-friendly models may be improved upon to provide more inclusive and diverse benefits. Doing so will not only advance the conceptualization of age-friendly community initiatives, but help to ensure that the cities of tomorrow offer an improved

standard of living for ethnically-diverse older adult members of society, therefore creating a more equitable and livable city for all.

The following chapters of this thesis highlight the importance of the Saskatoon context in an understanding of positive and inclusive aging among the Chinese-Canadian older adult population. This work acknowledges both the exclusion of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community in light of reduced physical indicators of isolation, as well as the means whereby this dynamic fosters notions of inter-group reliance and support in age-related service accessibility. In its entirety, this research makes operational a knowledge of the geographically unique experience of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community towards a notion of age-friendly development that is inclusive of both localized realities, and a broader acknowledgement of cultural pluralism. As an important step towards connecting the relationships between aging and ethnicity in urban environments, this work contributes to a broader literature of both age-friendly development and Canadian race and ethnic relations, recognizing that these two fields are likely much closer in concept and application than was once thought.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Research methodology

3.1.1 Ontology

My ontology as an academic, and subsequent perspective on the nature of reality is primarily that of subjectivity and multiple truths. Particularly in the context of social interactions, power relations (between both age and ethnic groups) and individual experiences, my work is guided by an interpretation of the world that is void of a singular universal truth. This perspective is fundamental in recognizing that the experiences of older adult Chinese-Canadians may differ considerably from their non-Chinese-Canadian counterparts, particularly due to the manner through which a legacy of social prejudice stands to influence experiences in accessing services, sharing public spaces or experiencing inclusion within the broader community. This ontological perspective further enables me to recognize and respect that what characterizes an age-friendly community may differ between both individuals and groups. An acknowledgement of this potential is highlighted in the methods chosen for this research (*further examined below*), whereby semi-structured interviewing, documentary photography and community engagement enable the reflection of multiple participant realities and perspectives.

3.1.2 Epistemology

Founded in the belief that knowledge and one's understanding of reality are the result of social construction as well as individual and collective paradigms, I appreciate that the knowledge obtained both in general and through my research process is gained in a specific context. Within

my research, knowledge was formed and acquired through interaction and reflection, and inside of existing values and belief systems. This epistemology lends itself to the research paradigm of social constructivism (Hays & Singh, 2012), which is utilized in the design and analysis of this research. The belief that knowledge acquisition is unlimited has informed the decision to include diverse data collection strategies. Whilst semi-structured interviews carry the potential to elicit unique perspectives and experiences, I recognize that the setting of a traditional interview and the required immediacy of responses may impact the information provided by participants.

Community observation and immersion, as well as guided documentary photography helped to remove the presence of the researcher from the social setting in which the data were produced, allowing additional perspectives to be brought forward.

3.1.3 Axiology

As I am in many ways an ‘outsider’ to the Chinese-Canadian older adult community in question, an inductive approach is beneficial to this research. Both the grounded theory tradition, and the methods of semi-structured interviews, guided photography and community observation and immersion emphasize the value of allowing the data to speak for themselves. As my lived social experiences differ in many ways from the nature of the data being collected, allowing for new themes and concepts to emerge while minimizing a deductive theoretical influence has produced research that is attentive to the phenomenon of aging in Saskatoon, as experienced by the participants themselves. The selected methods encourage reflexivity in their application, allowing the development of collaborative relationships between myself and the participants. This dual-learning was particularly apparent as interview questions changed and adapted in response to the

emergence of new themes, allowing a deeper understanding of theories and perspectives that may have differed from what was originally anticipated.

3.1.4 Positionality

My engagement in this research is informed by an interest in the effects and applications of age-friendly development, paired with an intrigue towards the inclusion of older adults in Chinese culture, as witnessed through past travel to cities including Beijing and Hong Kong. Having observed first-hand the manner through which older adults in these centres utilize public space for daily social activities and recreation, I am inclined to question how older adult Chinese immigrants experience day to day life, now living in a city like Saskatoon where a utilization of public space and sense of community is less apparent. A close relationship with two such individuals also encourages this research. Finally, this work is motivated by a personal interest in developing Mandarin-language skills, and fostering a continued knowledge of Chinese culture.

3.1.5 Methodological approach

A grounded theory methodological approach is used to inform this research. Grounded theory, developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, incorporates simultaneous data collection and analysis, the pursuit of emerging themes within early data analysis, and the inductive construction of codes and categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). When applied in the tradition of Anselm Strauss's constructivist approach, this perspective aligns with the aforementioned epistemological and ontological perspectives, recognizing the presence of multiple truths that are shaped through subjective interactions and social experiences (Charmaz, 2002; Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Hays &

Singh, 2012). Strauss emphasizes that data produced within grounded theory research are the result of participants' individual subjective knowledge as well as their relationship with the researcher (Charmaz, 2002). Motivated by the foundations of the grounded theory tradition, this research aims to produce age-friendly communities theory that is 'grounded' in the experience of Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon. While outside of a 'true' grounded theory approach (i.e., research and analysis conducted with no deductive influence), this work values the role of inductive theory generation, and avoids where possible influencing interpretations of the Chinese-Canadian aging experience in Saskatoon by outside theoretical expectations or judgements.

3.2 Study population

This research was completed in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Participants were targeted based on an indication of conscious belonging within the Chinese-Canadian cultural community. For the purposes of this study, this belonging was determined by membership or involvement within Chinese cultural, social and religious organizations. This membership stands to demonstrate (to varying degrees) a segregation in linguistic, cultural and spatial belonging from non-Chinese-Canadian activities and spaces. While spatial segregation of the Chinese-Canadian community in Saskatoon may be less concentrated than in larger metropolitan centres (City of Saskatoon, 2016), indications of social segregation were instead used to highlight participants whose social and service isolation stood to impact their access to existing or potential age-friendly initiatives, and subsequently their relevance to this research. A demographic profile of study participants is outlined in *Table 3.1*.

Table 3.1: Participant demographic information

Gender	% of sample
Male	50.0
Female	50.0
Age	% of sample
55-69 years old	45.0
70-84 years old	55.0
> 85 years old	0.0
Country of origin	% of sample
People's Republic of China	35.0
Hong Kong	35.0
Vietnam	15.0
Singapore	5.0
Laos	5.0
Canada	5.0
Time in Canada	% of sample
< 5 years	0.0
5-15 years	25.0
16-25 years	10.0
> 25 years	65.0
Neighbourhood of residence	% of sample
West-side core	70.0
East-side core	10.0
North-end suburban	5.0
East-side suburban	10.0
Not specified	5.0

3.3 Data collection methods

3.3.1 Document analysis

To inform the context and importance of this research, document analysis was utilized to better understand the current state of age-friendly community development in Saskatoon and similar jurisdictions in terms of their current best practices and capacity for the inclusion of more marginalized older adult groups (Hays & Singh, 2012). Doing so revealed differences in the scale of initiatives, and their ability to recognize differing group realities and needs. A key set of documents in this review were the Age-Friendly Saskatoon Initiative reports that most immediately influence the age-friendly discourse with the highest potential to affect policy and implementation locally in Saskatoon, and for its Chinese-Canadian residents (Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2016, 2014, 2012). To provide a broader context of prairie-based age-friendly discourse and best practice, this review also included strategies from City of Calgary, City of Edmonton, City of Winnipeg, City of Lethbridge, Province of Alberta, Province of Saskatchewan, and Province of Manitoba. This documentary review was foundational in addressing the first research objective, namely examining the current state of age-friendly approaches in Saskatoon and similar prairie centres.

3.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Participants in Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community were engaged in an individual semi-structured interview, where questions were asked to evoke thoughtful, subject-related responses within an open and flexible framework (Charmaz, 2002; Dunn, 2000; Hays & Singh, 2012)(*See Appendix A*). Twenty individual interviews, and one organizational interview were completed in

order to achieve thematic and content saturation (Hays & Singh, 2012). Interview times ranged between 30 minutes and two hours, and were done in many cases with the assistance of a Mandarin or Cantonese speaking translator. A translator was present for all individual interviews, but used only at the request of participants. Prior to beginning their interview, participants reviewed and signed a prepared consent form (*See Appendix B*).

3.3.3 Participant recruitment strategies

Interview participants were recruited through network and opportunistic sampling strategies (Hays & Singh, 2012). This approach involved utilizing existing connections with members of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, primarily through the Juniper Housing Corporation, the Heritage Wellness Society — a Saskatoon-based social organization catering to the social and recreational needs of Chinese-Canadian older adults — and the University of Saskatchewan's Confucius Institute. While residents of the Juniper House itself may disproportionately represent a lower income group within the older adult Chinese-Canadian population, social events hosted by the Heritage Wellness Society at the Juniper House have demonstrated the group's effectiveness at attracting a broader range of Chinese-Canadian older adults from across Saskatoon. Gaining entrance and trust within this community included taking Mandarin language and Chinese water-colour classes from the Confucius Institute, in addition to attending Heritage Wellness Society social events.

Throughout the recruitment process, a small group of 'champions' and key informants were fundamental to the successful recruitment of the interview sample (Hays & Singh, 2012). Board

members of the Heritage Wellness Society, one of whom was an early participant, were helpful in communicating the intent of this research to the remainder of their group. Nearly half of the interviews completed were done with direct assistance from the Heritage Wellness Society board, allowing myself and a translator to attend their weekly gatherings at the Juniper House, and to approach new members with each visit to inform them of the study and inquire about their willingness to participate. The International Women of Saskatoon's 'Active Gray' program proved another key source of research participants. Here, five additional participants were recruited, with enabling support from the program's coordinator. Throughout this process, only one participant appeared to be completely separate from the Heritage Wellness Society and Juniper House network. This social network is returned to throughout the research findings.

3.3.4 Prolonged engagement and observation

In addition to directly interacting with members of the Chinese-Canadian community through semi-structured interviews, important perspectives and insights were gained through prolonged community engagement and observation (Hays & Singh, 2012). Over the period of approximately one year, becoming acquainted with Saskatoon's older adult Chinese-Canadian community by attending or volunteering at a number of community events, and through participation in a group-chat on the social media app 'WeChat' became an important means of data collection. Observing naturally occurring social network dynamics in this manner enabled nuanced perspectives on the existing data collected through semi-structured interviewing. Attending social events such as a summer barbecue, a Christmas dinner, and a spring barbecue allowed for the collection of important perspectives regarding the demographic composition of

social-group members, the social and recreational activities undertaken by Chinese-Canadian older adults, and the importance of these events for the older adult community. Membership in the Heritage Wellness Society's WeChat group provided additional insight into the concerns, accomplishments and activities of the group's participants.

3.3.5 Guided documentary photography

As a means of supplementing the insights gained through semi-structured interviews and community engagement, guided documentary photography was undertaken. Photography was chosen for its ability to help overcome potential language and cultural barriers in the accessibility of this research, and to further ensure an iterative definition of 'age-friendliness' that may have fallen outside of pre-conceived Euro-centric notions held by myself as the researcher (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). Further, this photographic method helped to capture the experiences of Chinese-Canadian older adults, without placing demands on participant-driven consent and ethics processes (i.e., acquiring signed consent forms of any individuals captured within participant-taken photographs), which would have proven difficult due to linguistic barriers. Instead, documentary photography enabled a researcher-led consent process that ensured the willing participation of all individuals photographed.

Guided documentary photography provided an effective means through which to highlight the social networks and activities of Chinese-Canadian older adult participants, in addition to collecting visual materials to help communicate these themes throughout the written and oral presentations of this research. The incorporation of photography in presentations of social

research has a long history of adding a dimension of ‘humanness’ to research outcomes — particularly when exploring experiences of marginalized communities (Russell & Diaz, 2013; Szto, 2008). Allowing participants to decide which photographic-content best describes their group experience further drew from a grounded theory methodological approach (Russel & Diaz, 2013). Feedback on appropriate subject matter that reflects the life of Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon was gained through consultation with board members of the Heritage Wellness Society. Board members indicated that, for example, an upcoming community barbecue provided unique visual insight into the social network and activities of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community. Additional documentary photography captured key physical spaces highlighted throughout this research, including an important housing development and the remaining signifiers of Saskatoon’s ‘Chinatown’. All individuals captured within photographs provided explicit consent for the use of these images in current and future productions of this research. In addition to their incorporation within presentations (Canadian Association of Gerontology, Winnipeg 2017; International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas, Nagasaki 2017), copies of these photographs were returned to the community as a gesture of appreciation for their assistance throughout this study.

3.3.6 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness of the research results was established using a series of strategies that aimed to ensure credibility, dependability and confirmability (Hays & Singh, 2012). Primarily, this was achieved through method triangulation, whereby semi-structured interviews, prolonged community engagement and observation were utilized to both elicit various pieces of experiential

information and to strengthen arising themes. Motivated by the iterative quality of the grounded theory tradition, trustworthiness was also established through simultaneous data collection and analysis, with a continual feedback loop between data collection and preliminary coding (ibid). Finally, trustworthiness was enhanced using reflexive field notes that dictated important considerations within the conceptualizing, sampling, interviewing and analysis periods.

3.3.7 Transferability

To ensure the transferability of this research and its findings to other ethnic-minority communities in Canada, or more broadly to older adult groups experiencing marginalization, thick description is utilized throughout (Robson, 1993; Hays & Singh, 2012). Doing so provides readers with thorough details of the study process and analysis insofar as they can determine whether similar findings would be produced with new study groups, were these conditions held constant. Establishing a detailed conceptual framework throughout the research methods was an important step in ensuring this transferability (Robson, 1993). Theoretical (Chapter Two) and methodological (Chapter Three) elaboration support the application of this research in discussions of older adult exclusion within a number of settings and as experienced by a range of communities, therefore enabling its contribution to the broader field of age-friendly community development.

3.4 Challenges and lessons learned

Throughout the completion of this research, several modifications were made to the data collection process in accordance to insight gained from time spent with the Chinese-Canadian

community. Firstly, the initial proposal for this research included no intention for an honorarium for interview participants. As recruitment proved increasingly difficult, consultation with an official from the Saskatoon Open Door Society (a local settlement agency) suggested the importance of offering an honorarium for willing interview participants. Following this consultation, research participants were awarded a \$25.00 honorarium at the beginning of their interview. Though this decision was made as a means of showing respect and thanks to those willing to participate, it notably improved the efficiency and content of the interviews that followed. Participants appeared to view the interview more formally, and were demonstrably less likely to wander off-topic during interviews. Several individuals also appeared more eager to participate in the research once learning of the available honorarium. Of particular interest was the manner through which the majority of honorarium payments were donated back to the Heritage Wellness Society, which was identified throughout a number of interviews as in need of financial assistance.

Second, the proposed research had sought to ensure diverse income- and religious-representation from across the Chinese-Canadian community. As participant recruitment began to prove increasingly difficult, it became apparent that, were these filters to be applied to the willing participant pool, reaching content saturation within the scope of this research would have proven exceptionally challenging. As previously discussed, the assistance of Heritage Wellness Society-based ‘community champions’, while fundamental to participant recruitment, largely contained the experiences highlighted within this research to those from within a particular social group (i.e., the Heritage Wellness Society). While income and religious backgrounds did tend to vary

within the group of participants, this was not the result of intentional sampling methods. Were future research to continue in this field, sampling to account for groups under-represented in this research could be a focus.

3.5 Data analysis

The analysis process of this research employed the software program NVivo, valued for its effective data management capacity and flexibility to modify coding schemes as analysis evolved. As grounded theory analysis is characterized by an inductive and iterative approach (Hays & Singh, 2012) the data collection period occurred simultaneously with continual open and axial coding, whereby overarching domains and relationships were identified and refined (Corbin & Strauss, 2015; Hays & Singh, 2012). Only once saturation was achieved did selective coding — the most complex level of grounded theory coding within which processes, patterns and sequences are identified — and theory generation begin (ibid).

3.6 Conclusion

The aforementioned methods and methodology of this research are foundational in the development of a deeper understanding of both Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community as a whole, and the means whereby their experiences in physical, social and generational space dictate and operationalize the notion of culturally-relevant age-friendly development. Building relationships with the Saskatoon Chinese-Canadian older adult community through engagement, interviewing and guided photography enables an appreciation of the individual and group experiences that contribute to an age-friendly communities theory

grounded in current and historic social context, cultural narrative and a sense of multiple truths. A research methodology inspired by grounded theory, complemented by method triangulation and a social constructivist research paradigm, fosters a research process and outcomes that empower participant experiences and work to overcome pre-existing Euro-centric notions of age-friendly development. As demonstrated in the following chapters, these research methods were successful in enabling a nuanced reproduction of the social and spatial dynamics that influence the experience of older adult Chinese-Canadians, and the means whereby Saskatoon's age-friendly landscape may be re-conceptualized in order to maintain inclusivity and diversity. This examination begins with an exploration of the current exclusion faced by Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian population, the means whereby this insularity is manifested in housing and recreational organizations, and the presence of age-related institutional barriers. From this knowledge grows a subsequent chapter, wherein an understanding of the experiences of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community inform notions of culturally pluralistic and accessible age-friendly development. Collectively, the following chapters incorporate both scholarly work and participant-driven data to represent the experiences of Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon, and the means whereby their realities influence broader age-friendly development theory.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS: SASKATOON'S CHINESE-CANADIAN OLDER ADULT COMMUNITY

4.1 Introduction

An analysis of age-friendly initiatives' capacity in small- to mid-sized Canadian cities to meet the needs of their Chinese-Canadian older adult communities begins with an understanding of these spatially unique communities themselves. Though research in sociology, geography and ethno-gerontology has demonstrated the increased likelihood of exclusion and service isolation among Chinese-Canadian older adults, the spatial implications of social and economic exclusion are of utmost consideration in a complete analysis. The history, size, political atmosphere and social paradigms of Saskatoon create a unique environment within which the daily lives of its Chinese-Canadian older adults are shaped. While consistent in several ways with indicators of exclusion postulated by Canadian and American researchers (Chau & Lai, 2010; Chappell et al., 2008; Lee, 1987; Osypuk et al., 2009; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2008), Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community has demonstrated nuanced experiences shaped by spatial, social and temporal characteristics that highlight changing representations of exclusion, isolation and community-kinship. This chapter examines the characteristics of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults, and the manner through which this community experiences isolation physically, socially and generationally. Sites of exclusion are identified with examples of housing developments, social organizations and institutional service barriers portraying the lives of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community. As it becomes clear that Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults remain isolated from the broader public in many ways, readers are encouraged to consider

the manner through which age-friendly initiatives designed without specific considerations for this community will inherently fail its aging members.

4.2 Confirming exclusion: Social, spatial and generational isolation of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults

The exclusion of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community occurs on several planes: physically and institutionally from the broader public, socially from other older adults, and generationally from within the Chinese-Canadian community itself. A traditional indicator of visible-minority exclusion is the development of ethnic enclaves — or here, 'Chinatowns' — that are noted for their complicated influence on the lives of their residents (Anderson, 1991; Chau & Lai, 2010; Li, 2005). Though reminders of Saskatoon's original 'Chinatown' are increasingly seen as relics of the past, residential concentration among older generations and the clustering of a small number of Chinese-Canadian businesses pay homage to a past of more overt social and economic separation. Unlike Canada's larger metropolitan centres that have maintained physical ethnic enclaves, Saskatoon's spatial Chinese-Canadian enclave has been replaced by an equally significant though unique *social* enclave. Whilst physical reminders of exclusion may have faded within Saskatoon, Chinese-Canadian older adults continue to satisfy the majority of their social relationships, support networks and daily needs through a system of culturally and linguistically homogeneous individuals and organizations. Services and supports fundamental to a quality of life in old age are sourced from within a relatively isolated social network as apposed to through more publicly available age-related channels. This chapter suggests that the isolation of Chinese-Canadian older adults exists as well within their own cultural community. While younger

generations of Chinese-Canadians demonstrate more notable forms of cultural and linguistic integration within the Saskatoon community, many of the group's older adults remain excluded from these opportunities. Collectively, these sources of isolation dictate the lived experiences of Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon and, as further examined in Chapter Five, the sets of needs and structures pertinent to the successful and healthy aging of this community. Social exclusion theory enables a critical evaluation of the changing faces of isolation experienced by the Chinese-Canadian community at various levels, and the means whereby these conditions contribute to a broader landscape of service marginalization.

4.2.1 Spatial enclaves and a fading 'Chinatown'

Across the country, the lives of Chinese-Canadian communities are dramatically influenced by the presence of visible ethnic enclaves. While large metropolitan centres like Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal maintain well-established spatial enclaves characterized by both residential and economic density, smaller centres like Saskatoon have witnessed a decline in the spatial implications of ethnic segregation. Though like many Canadian cities, Saskatoon was home to a spatial ethnic enclave established largely as the result of dramatic and overt anti-Chinese discrimination, this community reached its peak during the first half of the 20th-century (Lu & Zong, 2017). Saskatoon's community of Riversdale — an historic neighbourhood characterized in modern times by high rental ratios and generalized indicators of poverty (City of Saskatoon, 2016) has been noted as an important physical core to this original Chinese-Canadian community. Participants recall the development of several Chinese-owned businesses, including restaurants

and grocery stores. While several of these establishments remain, the institutional completeness that characterizes more established ethnic enclaves (Breton, 1964) appears absent.



Figure 4.1: An Asian grocery-store window within Saskatoon's Riversdale neighbourhood (William Kaufhold, 2017)

4.2.1.1 The varying perceptions of spatial enclaves

Social exclusion theory enables an evaluation of spatial ethnic enclaves to capture both the means through which their very existence is an indicator of discrimination from the broader Euro-ethnic community, as well as an understanding of the linguistic and cultural support systems for Chinese-Canadian residents within them. An understanding of spatial isolation amongst Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon is fundamental to an understanding of their broader experience in old age, and social status within the broader whole of society. Participant

perceptions of the continuation of Saskatoon's 'Chinatown' tended to vary widely. In comparison to the more dramatic and established enclave communities of cities like Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver, several participants noted a minimized spatial isolation amongst Chinese-Canadian residents. Though citing the Riversdale area for its history, and in some cases more dense communities of Chinese-Canadian older adult residents, the area was noted for lacking the institutional and organizational support characteristic of larger enclave communities. Despite this, more recent immigrants to Saskatoon — often with reduced English language skills — noted having sought out the Riversdale area for its perceived proximity to fellow Chinese-Canadian residents. Longer term or native-born older adult participants expressed less emphasis on the importance of this area. This experience is consistent with existing research suggesting the importance of enclave communities in promoting ease of newcomer integration and settlement within their host community (Chau & Lai, 2010). For those older adults who place increased importance upon proximity to the Riversdale area, this preference may indicate a reduced degree of cultural and linguistic integration, and the continued implications of past and present systemic discrimination.

While a reduced reliance on spatial enclave communities among longer-term Chinese-Canadian residents may suggest an increased degree of social, economic and political integration, it also alludes to distinctions between older and newer Chinese-Canadian generations.

“...I think [Saskatoon is] pushing at the Chinatown concept, it's been deteriorating. It's simply that younger people move in and they move over. They don't concentrate in one area like in the old days when the immigrants gathered in one place for communication purposes...they would gather in one place so that they can get along and help each other. But now that they're settled, the young people learn to fly.” (Participant 18: Male, 70-84 years old).

Though linguistic and cultural integration characteristic of younger generations of Chinese-Canadian residents and immigrant communities may indicate reduced experience with exclusion and community isolation, this phenomenon overlooks the increased rates of Chinese-Canadian older adults remaining in traditional enclave neighbourhoods such as Riversdale. As further examined below, Saskatoon hosts two older adult and Chinese-Canadian friendly housing developments, both of which are located within the Riversdale neighbourhood. Given the lower income of several of these residents, those left behind in ‘Chinatown’ exemplify lower linguistic and cultural adaptation, and continued experiences with social exclusion. The correlation between linguistic barriers and poverty among these individuals is also evident.



Figure 4.2: Historic Chinese signage in the Riversdale commercial area (William Kaufhold, 2017)

4.2.1.2 Spatial enclave development and erosion

The patterns of Chinese-Canadian ethnic enclave development and erosion are significant to the well-being of the older adult community in several ways. Firstly, the initial establishment of a well-defined enclave community — though outside the history of many later-arriving Chinese immigrants — continues to influence the experiences of its original residents who remain as

elderly members of today's society. These older adults, arriving to Saskatoon as children and teens, tended to recall more dramatic instances of discrimination and racism faced by both themselves and their parents. Though the overt indicators of discrimination that motivated this spatial segregation may have dissipated over time, extensive research has recognized the continued influence of these experiences on the social, economic and political well-being of Chinese-Canadian community members (Bolaria & Li, 1985; Li, 1998a; Wang et al., 2012; Zong & Perry, 2011). Secondly, while later arriving immigrants to Saskatoon may have faced reduced levels of overt discrimination, Riversdale and adjacent core neighbourhoods have remained important sites of residential development for several Chinese-Canadian families, particularly older adults. While immigrants with reduced English-language skills and cultural integration may seek the proximity of culturally homogeneous individuals, this neighbourhood further represents continued experiences with poverty and economic discrimination. Thirdly, those older adults continuing to seek spatial proximity to fellow Chinese-Canadian residents — despite the institutional incompleteness of this area — indicate a reliance on social and spatial networks for immigration and language support not found through institutional or government oriented programming.

4.2.1.3 Spatial enclaves and group racialization

Finally, while the residential, political and business significance of the Riversdale area may have declined amongst several members of the older adult community, the perception of its continuity among non-Chinese members of society stands to increase experiences of isolation for Chinese-Canadian elderly. As recognized by Lee (1987) and Chau and Lai (2010), the perceived existence

of ethnic enclaves may increase the racialization of its (real or perceived) members, and their exclusion from social and health services. Assumptions of community support inherent to enclaves may encourage service providers to view the absence of Chinese-Canadian older adults from existing programming and assistance as natural, as apposed to an indicator of exclusion or isolation (ibid). The challenges of enclave communities are widely recognized; in effect, an appropriate evaluation of age-friendly community development for Chinese-Canadian older adults must recognize the manner through which these areas remain disproportionately populated by older adults, and the symbolism of this phenomenon to their past and continued social and service discrimination.



Figure 4.3: Signage of an abandoned Chinese restaurant in Riversdale's commercial area (William Kaufhold, 2017)

4.2.1.4 Riversdale: Consequence and choice

Though the spatial significance of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian enclave may be dissipating, those remaining within and outside of its boundaries do so as victims of residual experiences with more dramatic social and economic exclusion. While participants with more substantial incomes and stronger evidence of cultural integration may leave Riversdale, those who remain demonstrate a continued sense of

separation among older adults with reduced language and cultural adaptation, and living within lower income brackets. The demographic imbalance of older adult Chinese-Canadians in the area is indicative of their continued isolation, from both outside and within the cultural community. Despite the apparent ‘flight’ of those with increased financial and linguistic abilities to outside neighbourhoods, Riversdale has remained a unique core for the older adult Chinese-Canadian social network. As explored in the following section, whilst the economic and residential barriers of Riversdale may have lifted for many community members, the social significance of this neighbourhood remains an important component of daily life for several Chinese-Canadian older adults.

4.2.2 The strength of Saskatoon’s social enclave

While physical reminders of the social, economic and political exclusion of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community may have faded over time, visible indicators have been largely replaced by tight-knit social networks symbolic of larger and remaining systems of isolation. As was broadly evident throughout the participants surveyed, Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community itself remains the key source of social connection, entertainment and general age-related support among the group’s elderly. Though the institutional completeness characteristic of physical ethnic enclaves (Breton, 1964) may be lacking within clearly defined Chinese-Canadian spatial cores, several of these components are instead established through social networks within the community that replace an absence of formal services and supports. For those remaining within the Riversdale neighbourhood, it appears that social proximity is the driving benefit behind this phenomenon. Likewise, for those residing outside of Riversdale or adjacent inner-city

neighbourhoods, the social connectivity and social capital development among the older adult Chinese-Canadian community remains a primary force of well-being within day-to-day life. Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian *social enclave* is exemplified through faith communities, social organizations, recreational activities and age-related support networks that collectively represent a continued and significant experience with isolation from the broader Saskatoon community. Social exclusion theory enables an evaluation of this phenomenon as the product of both a cultural and linguistic preference among older adult residents, as well as the means through which this preference is representative of extensive social and institutional exclusion from the remainder of Saskatoon's community. This phenomenon is significant to the way in which Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community is conceptualized, and the means through



Figure 4.4: Older adult members of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community (William Kaufhold, 2017)

which age-related support frameworks may be effectively catered to meet a unique set of systems and needs.

Indicators of Saskatoon's older adult Chinese-Canadian social enclave are apparent within several realms of daily life. As examined in following sections, this phenomenon holds true for several key age-friendly focuses (WHO, 2017), including experiences with housing, recreation, communication, health and transportation. Of further significance is the influence of social enclave development surrounding the social capital, self worth and community inclusion of Chinese-Canadian older adults. For many, the linguistic and cultural homogeneity provided within the Chinese-Canadian community is fundamental to regular communication, social participation and the enjoyment of both passive and structured activities. While this social enclave introduces internal support systems and solidarity among many of its older adults, it simultaneously provides evidence of widespread social and institutional exclusion characteristic to traditional physical enclaves, no longer oriented or restricted exclusively by space. While several of the concerns present for older adults residing within spatial ethnic enclaves remain key components to daily life in Saskatoon, their invisibility introduces new notions of insidious exclusion more difficult to both acknowledge and target.

4.2.2.1 Interpreting Riversdale as a social enclave

Despite the seemingly reduced importance of Riversdale as a *spatial* enclave within the Chinese-Canadian community, the area uniquely remains a core of the Chinese-Canadian *social* enclave. Though participants residing both within and outside of the area attached marginal significance to

Riversdale's Chinese grocery stores, and a clear lack of institutional programming for Chinese-Canadian older adults within the area, the significance of the once spatial enclave now remains largely in its capacity to host social and recreational activities for older adults from across the city. Home to both the Juniper Housing Corporation and the Heritage Wellness Society (examined below), Riversdale and its surrounding core neighbourhoods sustain importance to the livelihood of older adult Chinese-Canadians, not for their physical attributes or economic opportunity, but for their continued ability to bring together and connect the community's elderly.

4.2.2.2 Theoretical significance of social enclaves

Saskatoon's social enclave is of theoretical significance to both an experience of social exclusion faced by Chinese-Canadian older adults, and the conceptualization of their age-friendly development in several ways. Firstly, the unique size and history of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community appears to influence the support and capacity of its social enclave. Several participants compared the Chinese-Canadian community in Saskatoon to that of Vancouver or Toronto, noting a strong preference towards the relationships and sense of belonging experienced in their current city.

The difference between the Chinese community here and [in Toronto] is that people there are not very close to each other. And the people here are really very warm-hearted and respect each other. (Through translator; Participant 6: Female, 70-84 years old)

Seemingly, a smaller and less visible community of Chinese-Canadian residents is not directly indicative of a weakened community support network, nor a reduced reliance on a culturally homogeneous community. The lack of formalized support systems and services characteristic of

larger enclave communities are instead replaced in the Saskatoon context by informal social networks offering both a sense of place and assistance with daily tasks.

Secondly, a sense of commonality and belonging within the Chinese-Canadian social enclave appears largely predicated by language and cultural commonalities as apposed to homogenous ethnic lineage. Several participants who identified openly as members of the Chinese-Canadian community later revealed lineage from Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and Singapore — in addition to those from Hong Kong and Mainland China. Regardless of their country of origin, these participants shared common linguistic characteristics (i.e., the ability to communicate in either Mandarin or Cantonese), serving as a key gateway to further social and support networks.

I'm always with the Chinese group, you know. Even though I'm from a different country.
(Participant 12: Female, 55-69 years old)

The strong sense of social establishments and organizations within Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community appear to appeal to those of varying ethnic diversity, a phenomenon likely attributed to a longer history of Chinese-Canadian development and isolation within the Saskatoon region (Zong, 2005). Though the faces of Chinese-Canadian organizations and associations in Saskatoon have changed (Lu & Zong, 2017), both their initial and continued prevalence to members of the Chinese-Canadian community remain indicative of social, institutional and economic exclusion. Experiences with cultural and linguistic isolation from the broader whole of society bring together a range of ethnic communities and further highlight that despite a lack of visible isolation, social and institutional exclusion remains prominent for many of Saskatoon's older adults.

Finally, Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave challenges traditional notions of family support systems among Canada's immigrant communities. Though the aforementioned assumptions regarding strong family support within enclave communities (Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987) may hold true for some participants, an alternative narrative within which failures among health and social services are instead compensated for through non-family social networks was exemplified as a key function of wellness for many older adult participants. While some participants continued to rely on the support of younger-generation relatives who demonstrated fewer cultural and linguistic barriers in the access of services, daily needs, and appointments, further participant interviews revealed a larger network of support from within the older adult community itself. Particularly among residents of co-habitated Chinese-Canadian oriented housing developments, support from other residents as apposed to family members appeared a key benefit.

He mentions the difference between living here [the Juniper House] and living with his children, or other family members, because their life tempo is different. Even if you live with your children or some other family members, they may be busy and cannot take you out to buy you things. But the convenience to live here [is that] if you wanted to go out and buy something, somebody else will come, and you can go with them. And you could help others to buy something. He drives, so sometimes he will ask someone who wants to go buy things together [and he] gives them a ride. (Through translator; Participant 14: Male, 55-69 years old)

In effect, the strength of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave largely impacts the perceived benefits of culturally homogeneous housing arrangements and recreational activities, as examined below. As generational gaps between older adult and younger Chinese-Canadian communities continue to widen, the significance of social enclaves in the support of daily quality of life considerations grows, changing with it traditional notions of family support in old age.

4.2.2.3 Social enclaves and well-being in old age

The presence of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave is significant to the well-being of its members in a number of ways. Of prominent concern is the means whereby a social enclave fosters social isolation from the broader Saskatoon aging community, and encourages social alienation. The means through which Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community differs in culture, lifestyle and language from other older adult groups stands to reduce the social status of this community (Lee, 1987) and their ability to benefit from generalized age-friendly programming and social offerings. Further, the emergence of Saskatoon's social enclave is representative in and of itself of the continuation of social exclusion amongst the Chinese-Canadian older adult community. Its key role in the lives of nearly all research participants demonstrates the changing faces of both isolation and support for visible minority communities within small- to mid-sized Canadian cities. Where systemic and covert racism continue to push members of minority communities to the fringes of main-stream social and service landscapes, an 'out of sight, out of mind' narrative places increased and nuanced experiences with civil risk (Kobayashi & Ray, 2000) upon older adults facing both ethnic- and age-based discrimination. In turn, systems of support and strength are instead sourced from within the Chinese-Canadian older adult community itself. Finally, an understanding of the presence of the Chinese-Canadian social enclave is fundamental to a proper allocation of resources and attention. Whereby the social enclave has grown responsible for maintaining the social participation, health, transportation and housing accommodation of many older adults, both recognizing and servicing the main organizations within this enclave becomes a fundamental consideration in fostering well-being amongst aging community members.

4.2.3 Generational paradigms and exclusion

A third component in the evaluation of the social exclusion experienced by Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community is the influence of generational isolation. Unlike spatial and social enclaves located in physical and social interactions largely as the product of racism and discrimination, generational exclusion experienced by older adults remains the outcome of dynamics fostered both within and outside of the Chinese-Canadian community. The aforementioned experiences of early immigrants to Saskatoon highlight the means through which these now-older adults may live realities impacted more directly by overt and widespread discrimination. Older adult members of the Chinese-Canadian community are more likely to have experienced direct and lasting forms of racially-fuelled prejudice than their later arriving counterparts (Li, 1998a). Older adults arriving to Canada later in life or during retirement are also less likely to experience cultural and linguistic integration (Statistics Canada, 2016). It is more likely that the 'double jeopardy' experienced through both old age and ethnic-minority status stands to further isolate Chinese-Canadian older adults from available social and support services (Rosenberg & Everett, 2001). It becomes apparent that the experiences of older adult Chinese-Canadians are nuanced through both racism and ageism, and may reflect entirely different realities than many of the community's younger generations.

4.2.3.1 Questioning the permanence of current Chinese-Canadian older adult experiences

Of interest is whether the current experience of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community is a unique temporal phenomenon, or one that will continue to persist in further aging generations.

While a sense of belonging within the Chinese-Canadian community appeared important for all

participants, the degree to which this support was not available elsewhere was heightened among older generations, more recent immigrants to Canada, and those demonstrating lower levels of cultural assimilation. Particularly for those with limited English-language skills and a heightened reliance upon the Chinese-Canadian social enclave, the ability to connect with fellow members of the Chinese-Canadian community was noted as fundamental to a good quality of life. Of these individuals, several noted how lonely their lives in Saskatoon would be without this culturally-related support. One



Figure 4.5: Member of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adult community (William Kaufhold, 2017)

participant noted the unique experiences between herself (showing high indicators of cultural and linguistic assimilation) and her mothers generation.

For my mother...who is a generation older than me, I would think that the community has a much more important role to her...the family of course are important to her, but I think the [Chinese-Canadian] community is a much bigger thing for her. (Participant 4: Female, 55-69 years old)



Figure 4.6: Older adult Chinese-Canadian men visiting at spring barbecue (William Kaufhold, 2017)

In effect, the importance of the social enclave in the general well-being of Chinese-Canadian older adults — remaining largely as an indicator of social exclusion — brings to question the degree to which cultural assimilation and cultural pluralism will proceed within small- to mid-sized Canadian centres (Li, 1999).

4.2.4 Dynamic exclusion sources and age-related service accessibility

Collectively, the manner through which spatial, social and generational isolation interact and overlap within Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community stands to dramatically influence the experience of the group's older adults, whilst informing a nuanced notion of culturally-specific age-friendliness. As explored throughout the remainder of this chapter, the unique experiences with exclusion faced by Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community have manifested an age-



Figure 4.7: Older adult member of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community (William Kaufhold, 2017)

related landscape of culturally homogenous housing and recreational activities, in addition to service isolation in the forms of communicative barriers, healthcare shortfalls and unconventional transportation networks. Though consistent in many ways with existing literature postulating the isolation of Chinese-Canadian and -American older adults, Saskatoon's unique cultural landscape has produced both theoretical and applied considerations that influence a local and national conception of appropriate age-friendly development.

4.3 Saskatoon's sites of isolation and insularity

The experiences of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community are most clearly exemplified through an examination of two key age-related organizations. Firstly, the Juniper Housing Corporation provides insight into the significance of culturally and linguistically

homogeneous housing for the community's elderly. As both a home for several older adults, in addition to a programming space for cultural organizations including the Heritage Wellness Society, this site functions as a key centre to both the spatial and social enclaves of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community. An examination of the Heritage Wellness Society identifies not only experiences with social insularity among the Chinese-Canadian community, but highlights the importance of age-related activities and information sourced internally from within the cultural community. While both examples highlight isolation among the Chinese-Canadian community, they also demonstrate components noted as key to a positive aging experience, whilst recognizing the importance of community connections and resourcefulness within the group's older adult members. Together, these core organizations serve as key age-friendly service providers for the Chinese-Canadian older adult community, helping to examine the importance of culturally-catered support within Saskatoon.

4.3.1 Cultural homogeneity and old-age housing

The availability, accessibility and appropriateness of housing for older adults remains a central focus of age-friendly initiatives, both in the Canadian prairies and around the world. The increasing cost of home-ownership, concerns surrounding the appropriateness of given housing to meet the changing needs of older adults, and the opportunity to access these desired housing models remain central age-friendly concerns (City of Calgary, 2015; City of Lethbridge, 2010; City of Winnipeg, 2014; Edmonton Seniors Coordinating Council, 2011; Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2016, 2014, 2012). Social exclusion theory enables geographers to appreciate the manner through which the quantity, accessibility and design of older adult appropriate housing stands to

impact the quality of life, social opportunities, mobility and safety of aging communities. Despite these more generalized age-based housing needs, unique identity characteristics and group membership have shown to present barriers to obtaining appropriate housing, in addition to introducing entirely new notions of desirable age-friendly living arrangements (Bradford, Putney, Shepard, Sass, Ladd & Cahill, 2016; Curtis & Lightman, 2017). As was demonstrated through extensive consultation with Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community, in addition to traditional concerns of age-related housing, the importance of culturally homogeneous residential developments — as is exemplified in Saskatoon through the Juniper Housing Corporation — remain fundamental to the daily quality of life of many of these individuals.

4.3.1.1 The Juniper House: An overview

The Juniper House — a community owned non-profit — provides a unique housing opportunity for Chinese-Canadian residents of Saskatoon (Juniper Housing Corporation, 2016). With construction funded jointly between the three tiers of government (through the Centenary Affordable Housing Program) and with the help of a series of community-based donations, this housing project offers residential opportunities directly intended for those noted on their website as being of “similar cultural backgrounds” (Juniper Housing Corporation, 2016; Saskatoon Housing Initiatives Partnership, 2016). Prolonged engagement with residents and guests of the Juniper House has demonstrated that for many, a sense of belonging within this housing development is predicated by linguistic and cultural similarities, highlighting the Juniper House as a physical embodiment of the Chinese-Canadian social enclave. The significance of cultural and linguistic homogeneity amongst residents of the Juniper House highlights the importance of a

sense of cultural and social belonging within age-related housing developments. Here, residents have access to a community kitchen area, small outdoor garden and a sizeable activities space. Though lacking built-in means of medical and daily care support, the social and recreational spaces available in the Juniper House provide an important resource for both residents and general members of the Chinese-Canadian community. The Juniper House functions as a key establishment in maintaining relationships, access to information and recreational enjoyment for both residents and non-residents alike.



Figure 4.8: Front entrance of Saskatoon's Juniper House (William Kaufhold, 2017)

4.3.1.2 Culturally homogenous housing as an age-friendly resource

While similar in many ways to common retirement community models that accommodate both residential units and social-activity spaces, the Juniper House is unique to Saskatoon in its appeal

directly to a linguistic and cultural group. The Chinese-Canadian cultural and language attributes common to residents of this development were noted by many participants as fundamental to the daily quality of life of its older adult residents. The Juniper House is noted as an important resource to older adults seeking support in old age, yet wanting to avoid traditional retirement and assisted-living communities in Saskatoon. An important theme amongst the Chinese-Canadian older adult community was a desire to live independently for as long as possible, avoiding the need to move into nursing or care-home facilities. In part, this fear was expressed surrounding the availability of Chinese cuisines and a lack of social networks — particularly among those with limited English-language skills. As one participant explained, a fear of residing in older adult care facilities and retirement communities is heightened among members of an older generation.

Now, when it comes to my time to go [into an assisted care home], I won't have that as an issue... because you know, I'm pretty Westernized...so it doesn't matter to me what kind of food I have. But for my mother's generation, you know, people in their seventies or eighties...it's a huge big thing for them - the language and the food. (Participant 4: Female, 55-69 years old)

Further, the ability of the Juniper House to provide supportive aging environments for its residents helps provide these individuals with alternatives to traditional family-related residency models. In its ability to bring together older adults of similar cultural backgrounds, the Juniper House overcomes several concerns associated with retirement and assisted-care communities of the broader public by providing residents the ability to maintain social capital (Luo, 2016), to celebrate cultural similarities and to provide easily accessible social and recreational opportunities.



Figure 4.9: Saskatoon's Juniper Housing Corporation, in the core of the Riversdale neighbourhood (William Kaufhold, 2017)

Beyond its importance for improving a sense of social belonging and participation among older adult residents, the Juniper House is unique in its ability to empower individuals to assist each other in a number of daily tasks. Replacing in many ways the support presumed to be provided through direct kin of older adults, the Juniper House offers Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave the physical proximity whereby its members may assist each other in daily activities such as attending medical appointments, getting groceries and visiting their respective faith-centres.

The convenience to live here [is that] if you wanted to go out and buy something, somebody else will come [and] you can go with them. And you could help others to buy something...sometimes he will ask someone...who wants to go buy things together, and [he] gives them a ride. (Through translator; Participant 14: Male, 55-69 years old)

Some elderly, they live [at the Juniper House] and they always can get help because they are surrounded by Chinese. So if they want help, always neighbours or friends who live around here can help them. (Participant 19: Female, 55-69 years old)

The Juniper House enables residents to utilize individual strengths to assist those within their community who may struggle in similar age-related areas. Whether providing transportation, translation or mere social companionship, the proximity of older adults within the Juniper House enables residents to overcome barriers faced during their access of traditional service provisions.

4.3.1.3 Housing models as a generator of social capital

The importance of culturally and linguistically homogenous housing in the maintenance of social capital and well-being among Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community is similar in many ways to the experiences noted by Luo (2016) of Winnipeg's Chinese-Canadian community. The trend to establish Chinese-oriented older adult housing developments is witnessed in additional prairie cities, including both Edmonton and Calgary. However, while several participants noted the presence of Chinese-Canadian support and service centres in these larger cities, the Saskatoon landscape is unique in that the Juniper House (and its hosting of the Heritage Wellness Society) compensates in several ways for a lack of formalized age-related support by instead providing a physical core conducive to the dynamics of the group's social enclave.

Especially a lot of the older people downstairs [those involved in the social programming at the Juniper House]...you take a look at the elderly...they speak very little English. So they still gather around [here], and they feel more comfortable too I believe, more at home...in the company of their own people. (Participant 18: Male, 70-84 years old).

The Juniper House remains a key resource to older adult members of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community. Several participants applauded the development's presence in the city, hoping to see further examples — with more formal age-related support systems — in the future. Despite the clear benefits provided through the development of the Juniper House, it is difficult in many ways to separate these attributes from the services and social network established through the Heritage Wellness Society — a social organization hosted at, though not directly associated with, the Juniper House itself.

4.3.2 Cultural belonging and recreation - the Heritage Wellness Society

In the production and maintenance of age-friendly communities, the social environment of older adults remains a fundamental consideration (Greenfield et al., 2015; Luo, 2016; WHO, 2017). Though intrinsically connected to all major themes of age-friendly development, the ability of older adults to interact with fellow members of their community in ways that are respectful, rewarding and inclusive remains crucial in enabling supportive services and spaces. As outlined by the World Health Organization, the degree to which older adults experience social inclusion largely dictates their institutional, economic and social engagement (2007). Key considerations that support or hinder an older adult's ability to access recreational programming may include accessibility, affordability, the range of opportunities, an awareness of existing opportunities and the ability to address social isolation (ibid). Through communication with Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, several of these factors have proven of heightened concern due to linguistic and cultural barriers, often emphasized among the group's elderly. However, the establishment of the Heritage Wellness Society — a group designed to foster the health, well-

being and recreation of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian residents — has been largely successful in providing a foundation for social interaction, community belonging and several age-related resources among older adult members. The following section examines the key functions of the Heritage Wellness Society, its ability to enhance the quality of life for many Chinese-Canadian older adults, and its role in reconceptualizing the significance of social enclaves as key components to a positive aging experience.

4.3.2.1 The Heritage Wellness Society: An overview

The Heritage Wellness Society is an Saskatoon-based organization run through a nine-person board with the goal of promoting health and exercise among members of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community. Despite no age-limit on potential participants, the group has become a fundamental resource in old-age among many of the community's elderly. With over 85 members, most of whom are over the age of 55, the Heritage Wellness Society meets on a weekly basis in the programming space of the Juniper House, where they offer regular tai chi, in addition to dancing, singing and periodic presentations catered to the well-being of older adult participants. Presentations made to members of the Heritage Wellness Society target health and well-being considerations deemed important to a quality of life in old age. Utilizing the aid of translators where necessary, these presentations seek to provide health and age-related advice to older adult members, and have included age-specific subjects such as health, nutrition and fall prevention, in addition to broader discussions of Saskatoon culture and values. Organizers of the Heritage Wellness Society also work to incorporate a number of field-trips throughout the year, exposing participants to cultural activities around the province and within their city.



Figure 4.10: Heritage Wellness Society 2017 board members (William Kaufhold, 2017)

4.3.2.2 Social enclave development and the Heritage Wellness Society

The Heritage Wellness Society provides a strong example of the importance of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave in the well-being of its older adult members. Though commonly hosted at the Juniper House, much of the social capacity associated with the housing organization itself is demonstrated through the Heritage Wellness Society and its affiliated activities. Non-residents are brought into close contact with residents, whereby all participants are engaged through cultural activities and the opportunity to socialize. Several participants noted the importance of the Heritage Wellness Society in their regular social and recreational activities. Further, Heritage Wellness Society members often used the weekly outing as a catalyst for



Figures 4.11 and 4.12: Heritage Wellness Society members performing Chinese songs and tai chi at a summer barbecue (William Kaufhold, 2017)



grocery shopping, dining out with friends, and in warmer months, exploring the area's public spaces by foot. Utilizing cultural and linguistic homogeneity as a means to unite members of the Heritage Wellness Society, participants achieve not only a sense of social belonging and the availability of regular culturally-relevant recreational activities, but the opportunity to seek age-related information, travel outside of the city and further enhance the age-friendly support networks inherent to this community. Members of the Heritage Wellness Society may experience different stages of life and differing abilities to provide all of the necessary age-related services foundational to daily life; however, their connection, as fostered through the regular scheduling of events and a common location through which to meet, has empowered several members with the ability to both provide and receive support, find a sense of community and maintain wellness as they move through old age.

Similar to the benefits provided through the development of the Juniper House, the Heritage Wellness Society contributes important opportunities for the well-being of older adult Chinese-Canadian participants. A sense of community belonging is established, not only through weekly programming, but through extensive communication continued between group members via the social media application WeChat. Through this app, participants share several pieces of information that stand to benefit older adult members, ranging from community events to affordable sources of groceries. The incorporation of regular physical activity into the programming of the Heritage Wellness Society promotes health and well-being among older adults, whilst other cultural activities such as singing and dancing offer both recreation and a sense of cultural appreciation. As with the Juniper House, members of the Heritage Wellness

Society demonstrated an internal support network wherein participants offered transportation assistance, medical advice and translation aid to fellow members. As all but one of the participants interviewed throughout this research indicated, the Heritage Wellness Society remains a key component to healthy and happy aging within Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community.



Figure 4.13: Members of the Heritage Wellness Society at a summer barbecue

4.3.3 Cultural homogeneity and dual meanings

The success of both the Juniper House and the Heritage Wellness Society in bringing together the Chinese-Canadian older adult community introduces complicated dynamics between social and service exclusion, and community-sourced networks of support. While members of the Chinese-

Canadian community demonstrate physical, social and institutional isolation, the ability of the social enclave to foster support for those members who may struggle to receive more age-related services elsewhere highlights service areas in need of improvement, and aids in a reconceptualization of quality of life in old age. As examined in the following chapter, the experiences of the Chinese-Canadian community both confirm fears of social and service exclusion, while providing strong evidence for the importance of close-knit social and support communities.

4.4 Institutional barriers: Cultural and linguistic roadblocks

Despite the success of the Heritage Wellness Society and the Juniper Housing Corporation in uniting and supporting Chinese-Canadian older adults in Saskatoon, the presence of these organizations is largely predicated by a broader system of exclusion faced within traditional age-related service organizations. Social exclusion theory enables a critical evaluation of the service isolation experienced by Chinese-Canadian older adults, evident in both healthcare access and transportation utilization, as well as more broadly across information and communication opportunities. The difficulty with which Chinese-Canadian older adults achieve equal access to these services informs both the development of and need for the aforementioned culturally-catered organizations. As the final piece in understanding the experience of older adult Chinese-Canadians in Saskatoon, this section examines key examples in the preferences, concerns and barriers that influence the city's age-friendly landscape.

4.4.1 Health and support services

Among existing age-friendly programs and documents, the availability of accessible, appropriate and affordable health and support services remains a key priority (City of Calgary, 2015; City of Lethbridge, 2010; City of Winnipeg, 2014; Edmonton Seniors Coordinating Council, 2011; Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2016, 2014, 2012; WHO, 2007). In the Saskatoon context, age-friendly reports have noted the importance of a wide range of health services, while noting a lack of geriatric support and a difficulty in locating available physicians (Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2016, 2014, 2012). Though Saskatoon's age-friendly projects have begun to explore the marginalized experiences of Aboriginal and LGBTQ older adults (ibid), the realities captured in the Age-Friendly Saskatoon Initiative primarily represent a generalized older adult community that by and large overlooks the lived realities of Chinese-Canadian elderly. The experiences shared throughout this research introduce unique sets of health and support service needs faced by Chinese-Canadian older adults that, due to both the physical and social isolation of these individuals, have gone largely overlooked in both theoretical and applied age-friendly practices. As the following section examines, the exclusion of Chinese-Canadian older adults from institutional and social realms has led to the persistence of several health-related concerns, including engrained language barriers in service accessibility, a preference towards internal support networks and Eastern medicinal practices, and a lack of information surrounding available geriatric care opportunities in the Saskatoon service environment. While these linguistic and cultural barriers may be on one hand evaluated in terms of the individually-based capacities of older adult Chinese-Canadian community itself, the ability of healthcare institutions to acknowledge and overcome these difficulties informs a systemic evaluation.

4.4.1.1 Linguistic barriers in health and social service provision

A primary barrier faced by Chinese-Canadian older adults in the utilization of Saskatoon's healthcare services is language. While nearly all participants noted the high quality of Canadian health services in general, many noted concerns in their ability to communicate effectively in the scheduling, attendance and follow-up associated with professional health maintenance. Among older adults with limited English-language skills, participants noted a strong preference towards Mandarin and Cantonese speaking physicians. Several noted a lack of available Chinese-Canadian physicians, despite extensive efforts among many to locate and become the patients of these professionals. Those without Mandarin or Cantonese speaking physicians often rely on family or friends to accompany them to important medical appointments.

If you go to see a doctor, you face the problems of transportation, healthcare service, someone who can speak Mandarin to translate...that kind of problem. (Through translator; Participant 14: Male, 55-69 years old)

Again, those living in the Juniper House, or with strong social ties to the Chinese-Canadian social enclave noted the benefits of having nearby support in the attendance of such appointments.

Recognizing the convenience of living in the Juniper House in his access of medical appointments, this participant continued:

Because he lives [in the Juniper House] it is easy for him to find someone to do the translation work. He cannot imagine someone who lives alone — probably life would be harder for them without someone do to the translation work...without that social network. (Through translator; Participant 14: Male, 55-69 years old).

For others, finding such translation assistance during emergency situations remains difficult.

The Chinese, they want a translator for the doctor, family doctor, [or] for an emergency at a hospital — [but] they don't know how to find the translator. It's very difficult for them. (Participant 19: Female, 55-69 years old)

Beyond the attendance of medical appointments themselves, one participant explained the difficulty faced by many Chinese-Canadian older adults in obtaining medical care supplies.

In Vancouver and Toronto, everybody can speak Mandarin...so if you need a walking stick or something, usually you can get it. But here, if [Chinese-Canadian older adults] need anything, usually even though they can loan things from the Sask. Abilities Council, they don't know the procedure. So they're more likely to buy it themselves — they get everything for themselves. Unless people are English-educated, and then they'll know how to get all these things. (Participant 1: Male, 55-69 years old)

Collectively, linguistic barriers present themselves throughout the utilization of Saskatoon's medical services. For Chinese-Canadian older adults whose English-language abilities remain partial or incomplete, the failure of healthcare institutions to provide translation services and information in multiple languages, and a lack of available outreach services catered to the Chinese-Canadian community leaves several older adults hesitant to schedule regular medical appointments or to follow up with physician concerns. As is examined below, language limitations contribute to a medical paradigm that often leaves formal health services as a last choice for many of the community's older adult members.

4.4.1.2 Chinese-Canadian older adult cultural preferences and the Western medical system

Linguistic barriers faced by many Chinese-Canadian older adults are further paired with an inherent preference towards Eastern medicinal practices and a tendency towards inter-group

support mechanisms. Limiting their utilization of available mainstream medical services, several participants noted a medical paradigm through which traditional medicine and herbal supplements were prioritized as pre-cursors to seeking professional support in the Saskatoon community.

We are the older people, and we prefer...herbal soup, this and that...self treatment, before we see a doctor. We prefer our own treatment....[Chinese-Canadian older adults] always try to take their own Chinese medicines first, and when it comes to the very end, they will try Western medicine. (Participant 1: Male, 55-69 years old)

Preventative techniques, including physical activity and general wellness practices are encouraged through a belonging to the Heritage Wellness Society. The aforementioned age-related lectures and activities provided by the Heritage Wellness Society further identify the health-support components inherent to Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social network. In one case, a retired doctor and member of the social enclave was noted for providing medical advice to residents of the Juniper House and participants of the Heritage Wellness Society. It appears that several members of the Chinese-Canadian community are more likely to discuss their health with him prior to seeking professional services in Saskatoon. In some cases, this aid includes contacting practicing physicians in China, and shipping herbal supplements and treatments overseas. Despite the ability of the Chinese-Canadian community to encourage preventive care and general wellness among its members, a hesitation towards utilizing the formalized health services — motivated by both individually- and structurally-oriented barriers — provided by the Saskatoon Health Region further denotes institutional isolation among this group. In addition to linguistic barriers and a preference towards Eastern traditions, many of these older adults

demonstrate continued hesitation towards Saskatoon's medical services largely due to a lack of available information or systems of institutional support.

4.4.1.3 Health services and an awareness of existing age-friendly supports

A final consideration in an understanding of the age-related health and support services provided to Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community involves the group's interest in and awareness of broader geriatric-support initiatives. Many participants highlighted their desire to see integrated care models within Saskatoon's old-age housing opportunities. While older adult care facilities that provide assisted living and in-house medical staff are widely available within Saskatoon, many participants are either unaware of these opportunities in general, or feel they are not inclusive of or accessible to the Chinese-Canadian community.

Home-care for Chinese seniors...I don't think so. [It is] only for the rich people, right? Not like in Toronto, where all the Chinese are together in the same [integrated care home]. (Participant 15: Female, 70-84 years old)

Though in some ways an extension of a preference among Chinese-Canadian older adults to reside in culturally-homogeneous housing, the consistent sense of exclusion from assisted living opportunities is indicative of both a group preference among Chinese-Canadian elderly, as well as an embodiment of institutional exclusion from within the broader Health Region and Housing Authority. This lack of available information extends beyond supported-living arrangements, and includes a general void of social-work support available for Chinese-Canadian older adults. Unlike the institutional support services available for Chinese-Canadian elderly in the larger enclave communities of Vancouver and Toronto, many participants noted the lack of formal

health and community support workers in the Saskatoon area. Again, while the institutional completeness that may characterize the enclaves of Canada's larger centres foster health and community support services catered directly to the linguistic and cultural preferences of Chinese-Canadian older adults, the size and capacity of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community fails to provide these services for its members.

Where the institutional support is lacking for older adults, and experiences with service isolation remain, Chinese-Canadian elderly stand to face increased health concerns as they continue into old age. The social and institutional isolation of Chinese-Canadian older adults demonstrates the physical risks associated with this experience. Despite the strengths of the Chinese-Canadian social enclave, failures in health and support service accessibility continue to impact the daily lives of the community's older adult members.

4.4.2 Transportation

Like health and support services, transportation remains a key age-friendly consideration for Chinese-Canadian older adults (WHO, 2007). Existing age-friendly literature tends to emphasize the physical components of transportation options, including age-friendly design accommodations, safety measures, frequency of transit stops and the willingness of drivers to ensure the well-being of older adult passengers (City of Calgary, 2015; City of Lethbridge, 2010; City of Winnipeg, 2014; Edmonton Seniors Coordinating Council, 2011; Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2016, 2014, 2012; WHO, 2007). Also common to these initiatives is the means whereby age-friendly policy approaches are examined through the community planning perspective,

capturing the experiences of the older adult community as a whole (Greenfield, et al., 2015), and less often in terms of the realities faced by more marginalized members of this age-cohort. Social exclusion theory maintains the ability to interpret the experiences of marginalized communities in their access of daily transportation, as is evident through the theory's capacity to recognize nuanced experiences of both individual and group exclusion. As Church et al. (2000, pg. 197) note, social exclusion implies a dynamic set of disconnections between individuals and a variety of services and facilities required to participate fully in society. One's access to daily transportation needs are inherently connected to one's ability to participate in such activities. In effect, transportation disadvantage is noted as a predominate component to overall social exclusion (Priya & Uteng, 2009). For Chinese-Canadian older adults, many of whom have retired their driver's licenses, access to safe and effective public transportation is of heightened importance. Environmental factors such as a lack of transportation services have also shown to compound the exclusion experiences of those facing existing marginalization, due to factors including both age and immigration status (Blanco & Subirats, 2008). As the following section examines, the experiences of Chinese-Canadian older adults in their access of public transit heightens indications of generalized exclusion, as is made evident through communicative barriers surrounding public transit and an underlying reliance on the social enclave for regular transportation. Like healthcare, access to transportation by Chinese-Canadian older adults is informed by both the personal preferences and linguistic abilities of individuals themselves, as well as the broader structures of inclusion and exclusion inherent to Saskatoon's transportation services.

4.4.2.1 Transportation accessibility for Chinese-Canadian older adults

For several participants interviewed — particularly those without a driver’s licenses — public transportation remains a primary consideration in daily mobility. Experiences with public transportation appear to intersect with a number of other individual characteristics, including age, physical ability and English-language fluency. For those with limited English-language skills, Saskatoon’s public transportation system was noted as intimidating and overwhelming. The English-centric environment of Saskatoon’s public transit underlies concerns of being on the wrong bus, or being unaware of route changes. Participants of older age or who are more frail in nature also noted an increased resistance towards the use of public transportation. These hesitations are consistent with Church et al.’s (2008) notions of ‘physical exclusion’ and ‘fear-based exclusion’ as influences upon transport inclusivity. While physical concerns surrounding transit use may remain universal among more frail older adults, the inability to communicate needs with drivers or fellow passengers, or to confirm route locations stand to further heighten isolation and fear among Chinese-Canadian older adults — particularly those with limited linguistic fluency.

Of further significance was a lack of information within the Chinese-Canadian community surrounding Saskatoon’s existing age-related alternatives to traditional bus service. Through a service titled ‘Access Transit’, passengers are provided with door to door transportation, assistance boarding and exiting the vehicle, and the availability of vehicles that accommodate mobility assistance devices (Saskatoon Transit, 2017). While several of the concerns noted by

Chinese-Canadian transit users may be partially or fully remediated through the utilization of Access Transit, several participants appeared unaware of its availability.

If your English is not very good...you cannot get that information and that knowledge of how to use those [transit] facilities. He mentioned an example, like someone in a wheelchair...you cannot walk around easily and you cannot drive. So he mentioned someone in his building who just calls some place, and there will be a bus that will take them... but for the [Chinese-Canadian] elder people in his building, they do not know how to do that part. (Through translator; Participant 7: Male, 70-84 years old).

Access Transit, like several other existing age-friendly initiatives, operates through an Euro-centric lens that effectively excludes non-English speaking users from gaining information and utilizing resources. The importance of multi-language information surrounding both generalized and specialized Saskatoon Transit services is fundamental to the mobility and freedom of Chinese-Canadian older adults.

It's going to be a big thing, transportation. So I don't think Saskatoon is that age-friendly for the Chinese folks, or any ethnic groups. (Participant 4: Female, 55-69 years old)

4.4.2.2 The social enclave as a means of age-friendly transportation

As an alternative to utilizing public transportation, many older adults without personal driver's licenses demonstrated a reliance on family and friends for daily transportation needs. A reliance on social enclave members was common among those in older generations, with heightened physical mobility limitations and reduced English-language skills. While some participants utilize direct family members for transportation assistance, these occasions often involve scheduled appointments and events. More commonly, and seemingly more functionally, is a reliance of

those without licenses upon members of their social network. Where age-related provisions of public transportation fail or are entirely absent, Chinese-Canadian older adults appear to compensate for these barriers by once again utilizing internal networks of support and assistance.

Usually the Chinese people, they try to get rides from friends...those who don't use [the bus] will get help from friends. Friends are really helpful, whether you need transport or not they will always help each other. (Participant 1: Male, 55-69 years old).

As transportation remains central to a number of other age-related considerations including access to medical appointments, grocery shopping, recreational opportunities and faith-based ceremonies, the transportation support inherent to Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave is fundamental to the well-being of many of its members.

Similar to experiences with healthcare, Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave is largely rooted in its ability to compensate for age-related services which many members currently struggle to access. Though the Chinese-Canadian social enclave may reduce isolation experienced as a result of these barriers, a comprehensive age-friendly analysis of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community requires an understanding of the means through which both the strength and insularity of this network may be traced back to indicators of service and institutional isolation.

4.5 Conclusion

The experiences of Chinese-Canadian older adults as a result of physical, social and temporal enclaves, in their membership of housing organizations and social communities, and in their

access of health, support and transportation services highlights the complex relationships within which social exclusion theory operates. By evaluating ‘two sets of actors’ (Wang et al., 2012) — the individual or group experiencing exclusion, and the community or society within which they reside — this theoretical approach recognizes the means whereby both the Chinese-Canadian community itself prioritizes culturally and linguistically homogeneous service and social environments, in addition to the manner whereby these preferences are the product of broader frameworks of isolation and systemic racism. A closer examination of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community has revealed a complicated dynamic wherein a minimal utilization of formalized age-related service provisions is both a preference and an oppression. As may be the reality of many of Canada’s communities that have faced extensive periods of social and institutional isolation, the cultural and linguistic homogeneity of Chinese-Canadian older adults exists to both their benefit and detriment. As the following chapter examines, though the challenging histories of this community may place its members at a disadvantage in the reception of formalized age-related services, the inherent strength and social network development that has manifested as a result of these experiences has grown to become one of its older adult community’s greatest assets. In conceptualizing the realities of culturally pluralistic and postmodern cities, it may be that Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian community embodies a new notion of age-friendly development not previously recognized. As the following chapter examines, the complex dynamics between broader community isolation and Chinese-Canadian inclusion, and between forced exclusion and willing removal, questions the existence of a uniform ‘public interest’ (Sandercock, 2003), and challenges whether such a notion truly benefits the older adults of tomorrow.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: NEW PARADIGMS FOR INTERSECTIONAL AGE-FRIENDLY DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction

Following an in-depth examination into the experiences of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community highlighting the theoretical means of isolation and cultural insularity faced by the group's elderly, and interpreting the manner whereby these experiences foster exclusion from several generalized age-related services, this chapter applies these lessons to the larger realms of age-friendly development theory. Chapter Four resolved initial questions of whether or not this group faces similar instances of exclusion to those postulated across Canadian and American literature, and where these instances of isolation occur. With a more nuanced understanding of the regionally, socially and temporally unique experiences of exclusion faced by Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, this chapter interprets the implications of this knowledge in the development of a culturally-inclusive age-friendly paradigm. This process begins with a recognition of the importance of age-friendly cultural pluralism, wherein linguistically- and culturally-inclusive considerations surrounding existing age-friendly plans and initiatives gain new significance, and are followed by broader considerations surrounding the nature of age-friendly development in and of itself. Group agency and the strength of community are identified as foundational components to a high quality of life in old age. Following a discussion of age-friendly cultural and linguistic pluralism, this chapter continues on to note the importance of Chinese-Canadian inclusion in broader social realms, highlighting the value of dual learning, cultural exchanges and inclusive heritage landscapes. In its entirety, this discussion acknowledges

the significance of social exclusion theory in respecting a duality in service relationships between Chinese-Canadian older adults and the broader Saskatoon region, in addition to recognizing the means whereby these experiences introduce important lessons regarding intersectionality, self-efficacy and mutual respect.

5.2 Age-friendly cultural and linguistic pluralism

In contrast to theoretical standpoints that prioritize cultural assimilation, pluralist theory emphasizes and legitimizes Canada's multicultural landscape, recognizing the inherent validity of cultural distinction without an attempt at erasure (Li, 1999). Having acknowledged the means through which Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community finds strength and a quality of life through cultural and linguistic homogeneity, the following discussion emphasizes the value of pluralistic notions of age-friendly development. Though reduced degrees of cultural and language assimilation experienced by several of Canada's visible-minority communities may be largely the result of extensive social, political and economic exclusion, the significance of these characteristics in a modern context must be recognized for their importance to older adult well-being. In the production of culturally pluralistic age-friendly communities, geographers must recognize the significance of cultural and linguistic accommodation in generalized service provision, in addition to acknowledging the value of diverse representations of well-being in old age. Finally, a recognition of cultural pluralism underlies the importance of supporting community networks in age-friendly development, sharing lessons applicable both within and outside of the Chinese-Canadian community.

5.2.1 Linguistic and cultural resources as a means of accessibility and equity

As Greenfield et al. (2015) examine, modern age-friendly initiatives often prioritize a community planning approach wherein a generalized needs assessment is meant to represent the experiences of the older adult community as a whole. Existing age-friendly initiatives, including those of Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg and Lethbridge by and large adopt this approach (City of Calgary, 2009, 2015; City of Lethbridge, 2010; City of Winnipeg, 2014; Edmonton Seniors Coordinating Council, 2011; Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2016, 2014, 2012). In contrast, support-focused age-related programming may more appropriately acknowledge groups with unique or outstanding sets of needs and priorities (Greenfield et al., 2015). The increased experience of civil risk (Kobayashi & Ray, 2000) expressed by Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, illustrated through several instances of old-age service isolation, highlights the need for existing and future age-friendly initiatives to recognize the importance of culturally-catered support systems.

While Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community is consistent with the broader aging population in their physical experiences with old age, cultural and linguistic barriers limit the group's ability to seek support for these needs through traditional institutional networks. Chinese-Canadian older adults may share several physical experiences with Euro-ethnic members of their community, yet linguistic and cultural accommodation is needed to enable equal benefits from age-friendly initiatives. In Saskatoon, several examples demonstrate the importance of providing additional or unique resources to the Chinese-Canadian community to ensure accessible and

equitable age-friendly landscapes. These examples are evident in the realms of housing, transportation, medical and social services, and within information and communicative strategies.

5.2.1.1 Housing

Linguistically accessible resources are a fundamental consideration surrounding age-friendly housing opportunities for Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults. As previously discussed, there exists a widespread distrust of old-age care facilities among many participants, despite a preference towards congregate and integrative support models that encourage continued social and recreational engagement. The notable lack of information made available to Chinese-Canadian older adults regarding existing housing opportunities highlights the importance of linguistically available information and advertising — from both private and public retirement-community ventures. Were existing care-home communities to employ Mandarin and Cantonese speaking staff, an improved environment of inclusion for these individuals may increase a sense of belonging among Chinese-Canadian older adults. While the functions of culturally homogenous housing developments such as Saskatoon's Juniper House have provided important support to the Chinese-Canadian social enclave, individuals in need of advanced or full-time care require a service environment inclusive of their linguistic abilities.

5.2.1.2 Transportation

Linguistic inclusivity surrounding public transportation is another key age-friendly consideration for Chinese-Canadian older adults. The aforementioned fear of public transportation, largely fuelled by communication barriers, could be remedied through bus schedules and transit websites

made available in multiple languages. Important service announcements distributed in Chinese-Canadian languages such as Cantonese and Mandarin stand to widely improve a sense of safety and belonging during use of public transit. Further, information surrounding age-friendly transit alternatives (i.e., Access Transit) in multiple languages would improve daily mobility for several of the Chinese-Canadian community's more vulnerable older adults.

5.2.1.3 Health and social services

Consistent with previous considerations, linguistic and cultural plurality among health and social service practitioners within Saskatoon would dramatically improve the experiences of several Chinese-Canadian older adults. As several participants noted, the resource centres available to Chinese-Canadian residents within larger urban areas are a significant benefit in old age.

In Toronto, they will usually have a consulting department for the Chinese. And all the matters in your life, you can go there and have a consultant who will help you figure out how to deal with those issues. And it's just like [for] finding a house for the older people, and also finding a doctor. And maybe some tiny issues during your daily life — like [if] you quarrel with your husband — there is some support. (Through translator; Participant 6: Female, 70-84 years old).

While Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community may not possess the size or capacity to warrant large-scale culturally-exclusive service centres, the provision of staff with linguistic abilities that correlate with diverse clientele remains a key service consideration of age-friendly cultural pluralism. Further, the preference among many Chinese-Canadian older adults to utilize resources within their social enclave in daily wellness and health maintenance informs unique considerations surrounding health and social service allocation. The formal presence of medical and social service professionals in environments such as the Heritage Wellness Society meetings

would aid in ensuring that adequate age-related information is communicated to members of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, in addition to helping overcome trepidation among members toward the Western medical system.

5.2.1.4 Information and communication

As a whole, the experiences of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community highlight the importance of language resources across various age-friendly service spectrums. Beyond categories of health, social services, transportation and housing, the availability of age-related community information is fundamental to a sense of inclusion, and the capacity to participate in political and social networks (WHO, 2007). In Saskatoon, municipal information — including political events, recreational opportunities and servicing information — is limited in its reception by many Chinese-Canadian older adults due to linguistic barriers. As one participant noted:

I'm sure like if you pick up a Leisure Guide there's a lot of activities you can do that are free... but you don't know how to read it (Participant 18: Male, 70-84 years old).

Another explained:

He mentioned the difference between someone whose English is very good and someone whose English is really bad...basically speaking, it should be no different for the Chinese elder people here and other [non-Chinese older adults] here to pursue that kind of life. But if your English is not very good, it will be different (Through translator; Participant 7: Male, 70-84 years old)

Linguistic equity is of further importance in relation to age-related organizations such as the Saskatoon Council on Aging. As the core of a large majority of existing age-related research and initiatives within Saskatoon (Saskatoon Council on Aging, 2016, 2014, 2012), the exclusion of

Chinese-Canadian residents from these discussions due to language difficulties risks removing their narratives from the broader age-friendly framework. Collectively, linguistic inclusivity in the information and communication surrounding all realms of traditional age-friendly service is key to an intentional acknowledgement of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community, and the recognition that their unique experiences with aging are an equal part of the Saskatoon narrative.

5.2.2 Chinese-Canadian group agency and the value of culturally-catered support systems

Beyond the cultural and linguistic accommodation of Chinese-Canadian older adults within existing age-friendly service areas, a more thorough acknowledgment of culturally pluralistic age-friendly development calls for the recognition and empowerment of the unique systems of social support inherent to this community. As was demonstrated through the strength and significance of cultural organizations such as the Heritage Wellness Society and the Juniper Housing Corporation, culturally-homogeneous organizations empower older adult members through their provision of tightly knit networks of support, companionship and a sense of belonging. Following a recognition of the importance of these organizations, cultural pluralism in age-friendly development extends beyond linguistic modifications, to include a broader paradigm shift within which culturally and linguistically unique organizations are recognized and supported as fundamental age-friendly support services. In doing so, the social enclave characteristic of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community provides a model for self sufficiency, cultural capacity and social capital development within older adult circles. Though this discussion seeks to avoid common-place assumptions of the inherent strength of enclave communities that may lead to an

ignorance surrounding their exclusion from institutional support services (Chau & Lai, 2010; Lee, 1987), this framework instead recognizes the validity of small-scale social support networks as important companions to traditional age-related service provision.

5.2.2.1 Age-friendly development and culturally homogenous spaces

As discussed throughout Chapter Four, the importance of culturally and linguistically homogeneous organizations has proved fundamental to the well-being of several of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults. In addition to serving their initial purpose of providing housing and recreational opportunities, these organizations have demonstrated a dynamic capacity to unite older adults and aid in their access to health services and transportation, in addition to developing an important sense of community belonging. The significance of these organizations to the age-friendly landscape of Saskatoon is evident. From this knowledge, it becomes clear that effective age-friendly initiatives must recognize and empower culturally-catered community meeting points. The importance of these organizations and institutions are heavily acknowledged across many participants, where several individuals included that further culturally-oriented physical and social community resources are key to Saskatoon's age-friendly development.

This small community [the Juniper House] is really better for the Chinese elderly people. So if we can have more...that would be good. (Through translator; Participant 14: Male, 55-69 years old)

He talks about...the Chinese community's role, to have a better life for the elderly people...he mentioned that they build up a system, it's really very important. Especially a good one. He says that here in Canada, if you have this kind of system just like the Juniper House, and everyone has access to this system, it's equal. It's not because of your status or class, that kind of thing. So it's

better. He proposed the government build up that kind of system here. (Through translator; Participant 14: Male, 55-69 years old)

The institutional support of culturally-oriented organizations appears to be a fundamental consideration for pluralistic age-friendly development. Wherein linguistic resources may be accommodated through more traditional and existing age-friendly streams, new paradigms must be conceptualized that recognize the validity of organizations like the Juniper House and the Heritage Wellness Society in re-creating internal networks of support and empowerment. It becomes evident that well-being in old age is grounded heavily in social networks enabling connection and support outside of traditional frameworks. Initiatives that fund and provide physical and organizational resources for these communities may be an important addition to pragmatic age-friendly development.

5.2.2.2 Empowering self-sufficiency in old age

Of further significance to the importance of social enclaves in age-friendly development is the means through which such networks stand to remove a degree of pressure from existing service providers and empower self-sufficiency. When regarding marginalized communities that may avoid mainstream service providers due to fears of discrimination or an inherent inter-group preference, age-friendly modifications must expand outside of traditional public service considerations.

We don't really use a lot of facilities, because we know they are out there but we don't, you know... we just refrain from using them (Participant 1: Male, 55-69 years old)

While linguistic pluralism in service provision is an important component to inclusive age-friendly paradigms, it is crucial to recognize that many age-related supports associated with isolated communities may continue to reside outside of existing social and service spaces. Additionally, in a political atmosphere continually prioritizing privatization and a reduced breadth of social services, providing older adults with the inherent networks and skills through which to enable internal support further adapts current frameworks of age-friendly initiative development for the modern age. For cultural communities such as Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults, several participants noted a general preference towards self-sufficiency and an avoidance of government 'hand-outs'.

I don't think there are too many seniors, Chinese people, who will ask for help (Participant 16: Male, 70-84 years old).

Instead of requiring older adult members of the Chinese-Canadian community to seek formalized service assistance, enabling social support networks within this community both alleviates fiscal pressures and caters to the inherent cultural preferences of these older adults.

For the...age-friendly community services, it's not like you want to help someone...you should make use of their ability to do things themselves, to help them to do things...that is the most important purpose to this program (Through translator; Participant 14: Male, 55-69 years old).

It appears that for many Chinese-Canadian older adults, the age-friendly communities of tomorrow reside in a balance between linguistically and culturally pluralistic service provision, in addition to the empowerment of older adult communities through small-scale social community networks and supports.

5.2.3 Beyond traditional categories of ‘age-friendly’ and the relevance of community

In a discussion of the characteristics of inclusive age-friendly communities, it appears that while linguistic and cultural service plurality in a number of municipal and institutional service landscapes will play an important role in overcoming experiences with exclusion faced by the Chinese-Canadian community, equally important remains the support of existing cultural organizations that foster self-sufficiency and cater to the daily well-being of their members.

Though the social enclave characteristics of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian older adult community may be the product of both past and present racism and exclusion, the relationships these communities have established through their culturally-oriented insularity foster supportive networks that play an important role in the daily lives of their members. Beyond noting merely the experiences with discrimination faced by Chinese-Canadian older adults, and the service manifestations of this isolation, this thesis has found an inherent strength among members of this community that is deserving of recognition and support.

The resourcefulness of older adult Chinese-Canadians in sourcing internal social networks surrounding daily old-age support not only improves the lives of several of the group’s members, but begins to re-conceptualize age-friendly communities for postmodern cities wherein identity politics and group membership characterize the experiences of several older adult communities (Sandercock, 2003). Despite the Chinese-Canadian social enclave growing from experiences of discrimination and exclusion, the benefits inherent to a structure that brings together like-individuals in a supportive network may stand to benefit older adults without the same history of cultural discrimination, or those who are bound by entirely differing sets of identity

characteristics. As social exclusion theory highlights ‘two sets of actors’, so too does a culturally pluralistic notion of age-friendly development, wherein existing age-friendly initiatives are made to be more culturally and linguistically inclusive, and exist alongside frameworks of support for closely-knit and powerful social enclave communities of older adults. As this research suggests, it is at this intersection where the future of inclusive age-friendly development exists.

5.3 A balancing act: Chinese-Canadian older adults and the broader community

Characteristic of Saskatoon’s Chinese-Canadian social enclave is an increased degree of communication and relationships with members of the outside community. Unlike the Chinese-Canadian enclaves of Vancouver and Toronto that several participants have explained involve little to no communication with non-Chinese-Canadian residents, Saskatoon’s size and history has limited the physical capacity for an institutionally complete spatial enclave. Instead, social, economic and political integration of Chinese-Canadian residents, though in many instances not complete, supports an environment in which personal and service relationships with the broader community remain an integral component to daily life. These findings are consistent with those postulated by Chau and Lai (2010) surrounding broader-group interaction and health benefits. While Chinese-Canadian older adults may seek old-age support through several mainstream services shared with the broader community, a distinct divide exists surrounding social and recreational opportunities, and congregate housing preferences. Passive relationships are maintained on several levels with members of the broader Saskatoon community, while intimate social proximity remains largely culturally homogenous, particularly among those older adults

with reduced English-language skills. Regardless of this dynamic, several participants praised their ability to communicate with and learn from Saskatoon's broader public, noting this opportunity as a key benefit to life in Saskatoon. Despite the support-networks established through social enclave communities, Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults value being part of the city's larger social and identity landscape. A final age-friendly consideration for Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community involves facilitating a sense of belonging through opportunities for social inclusion, cultural exchanges and dual learning, as well as heritage and memorialization.

5.3.1 Fostering social inclusion

Social participation and community involvement are recognized as key pillars of one's ability to age with dignity and well-being (WHO, 2007). While the importance of relationships and a sense of belonging within the culturally homogeneous social and housing organizations of the Saskatoon Chinese-Canadian community have been shown to improve social capital and a sense of place (Hwang, 2008; Luo, 2016), the significance of social inclusion within broader community circles cannot be underestimated. Many participants noted a high degree of respect and kindness received by outside members of the Saskatoon community — an important distinction in comparison to life in larger metropolitan centres with dense ethnic enclaves. Where racialization, and subsequent discrimination, are heightened surrounding physical indicators of difference and segregation (Lee, 1987; Li, 1998b; Pickett and Wilkinson, 2008; Osypuk et al., 2009), it is perhaps not surprising that the Saskatoon community was noted for fewer overt expressions of prejudice. However, this research does not seek to commend a reduction of

prejudice, posited merely on reduced linguistic and cultural difference characteristic of smaller metropolitan centres with fewer new-immigrant communities. Instead, an age-friendly Saskatoon must utilize the existing relationships between the Chinese-Canadian community and the broader public, wherein mutual respect and inclusion may exist not based upon assessed similarities, but on broader common narratives of community and belonging. While close-knit Chinese-Canadian social networks have been shown to enhance age-related quality of life in several ways, broader scale notions of inclusion are of additional importance to well-being in old age.

We should not have any difference between the Chinese age-friendly community and the general society age-friendly community. We only need to set up one, for the whole group of Saskatoon older people. (Through translator; Participant 7: Male, 70-84 years old)

Though cultural and linguistic distinctions are important considerations in a culturally pluralistic notion of age-friendly development, over-arching frameworks of interest and appreciation are fundamental to a broader paradigm of inclusion. Opportunities for communication and learning between Chinese-Canadian older adults and their surrounding community are therefore of importance to an age-friendly program.

5.3.2 Cultural exchanges - dual learning in old age

Opportunities for engagement that value dual learning experiences between Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community and the broader society stand to enhance values of equity and inclusion, whilst helping to overcome prejudice and negative associations with difference. Several participants recognized the value placed upon positive interactions with the general Saskatoon community.

Even though here you do not have much contact with the Chinese people like in Toronto, here you can learn some English, and learn other cultural parts. So she really cherishes that part of this experience. (Through translator; Participant 6: Female, 70-84 years old)

Through positive inter-group interactions age-friendly cultural pluralism may be established, wherein intersectional notions of positive aging acknowledge and respect difference, inside of a shared paradigm that values older adult quality of life. Dual learning opportunities stand to not only improve the broader public's understanding and appreciation of Chinese-Canadian culture, but enable the inclusion of Chinese-Canadian older adults in social and service environments where they may have previously experienced exclusion or fear.

5.3.2.1 Sites for cultural exchange

There are a number of means through which positive inter-group relationships may be fostered in daily life. Of primary concern are linguistic opportunities where Chinese-Canadian older adults may expand their knowledge and use of the English-language and non-Chinese older adults may gain an appreciation for Mandarin and Cantonese dialects and cultural attributes. While several participants noted their appreciation of the Saskatoon environment for enabling English-language development, others further emphasized an interest in sharing Chinese-dialects with outside members. Not only does language sharing stand to improve service accessibility, but linguistic commonality may also be seen as a means through which to develop respect and mutual understanding.

Further, dual cultural exchanges enhance the capacity of Chinese-Canadian residents to engage more fully in political systems. As one participant explained:

I think a lot of young educated Chinese should get more involved with the political system and be part of the political system. That's the only way they're going to start making big change. (Participant 18: Male, 70-84 years old)

In addition to helping overcome existing systems of discrimination, Chinese-Canadian political involvement may prove an important resource in ensuring that the needs of the group's more vulnerable members are being adequately met in generalized service provision.

Finally, dual learning may occur through the sharing of social and recreational spaces. Home to many of the Chinese-Canadian community's older adult residents, the neighbourhood of Riversdale has remained an important site of cultural exchange. The Riversdale Community Association has come to include a number of Chinese-Canadian older adult members, who have in turn opened important connections between programs such as the Heritage Wellness Society, and external community resources. Uniquely, one participant — a Caucasian resident of Riversdale — noted his sense of belonging and place within the Chinese-Canadian community and Heritage Wellness Society. Collectively, these positive interactions foster new learning opportunities and enhance the capacity for inclusive large-scale age-friendly paradigms.

After so many years, [Canadians] accept acupuncture; they accept some traditional medicine. It's getting more and more. I think it's a good thing that we can understand each other. Yep, that's my way of thinking. (Participant 3: Male, 55-69 years)

There remain indications that relationships between Chinese-Canadian older adults and their broader community are not limited to uni-directional notions of cultural assimilation. In contrast, cultural pluralism underlines the importance of inclusiveness within a respect for diversity. Such

frameworks are fundamental to effective age-friendly communities for Chinese-Canadian older adults.

5.3.2.2 Overcoming inter-group racism

Of further consideration is the existing dynamic between Chinese-Canadian older adults and Saskatoon's Indigenous community. Evidence of prejudice was apparent among many older adults surveyed, where systemic discrimination within the broader Saskatoon community appears to have influenced notions of fear and judgement passed by participants towards Indigenous community members. Dual learning remains a key function in overcoming existing cultural prejudice. A positive example includes the involvement of Chinese-Canadian older adults of the Heritage Wellness Society in Indigenous crafts and sewing projects at a local community school. Participants were given a chance to both learn and enjoy cultural components of Canada's First Nations, in addition to sharing culinary and linguistic lessons of their own. As the inclusion of one group must not come at the cost of another, cultural learning opportunities are fundamental between and within all marginalized communities of Saskatoon's older adult landscape. While intersectional age-friendly development may acknowledge nuanced needs and uniqueness within each community, broader paradigms of inclusivity are fundamental to productive programs moving forward.

5.3.2.3 "We're all one"

A broader framework of cultural inclusion and dual learning that fosters intersectional respect and diversity will likely predicate meaningful advancements in culturally pluralistic service provision,

and the support of Chinese-Canadian social enclave organizations. Whether developed through broader systems of multiculturalism and respect, or through small-scale learning opportunities, such dynamics are of fundamental importance to the progression of inclusive age-friendly communities. As one participant eloquently explained:

[Age-friendly development is] okay for a small group, but [in] the big picture you've got to be one. We're all one. That's the Buddhist thing: All of us are one. (Participant 3: Male, 55-69 years old)

5.3.3 Heritage and memorialization

A sense of belonging and inclusion among Chinese-Canadian older adults extends beyond social interactions and includes notions of place-making within public and semi-public areas of Saskatoon. Developing an inclusive sense of place, fostered in public spaces through urban design, architecture and heritage memorialization, is an important component to maintaining intersectional landscapes and broader paradigms of common membership (Cresswell 2004; Hayden, 1997). Where inclusion in a physical landscape indicates a shared history and sense of belonging, notions of common heritage may assist in the inclusion of marginalized older adults within a broader aging narrative, and the subsequent accessibility of existing and future age-friendly development. In Saskatoon, this process of inclusive place-making is highlighted through culturally pluralistic heritage recognition.

5.3.3.1 Historical recognition in the Saskatoon core

Within Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community, a number of participants demonstrated the importance of the physical indicators of cultural belonging across Saskatoon, both within and outside of the Riversdale neighbourhood. Several felt that the history of Chinese-Canadian residents in Saskatoon was overlooked and under-represented.

It used to be that there were lots of Chinese in the River Landing and the downtown area. I'd like to have an area that is more dedicated to remember the Chinatown as an historical area. It's historical! When they developed the River Landing, I thought they would name a Chinese name in it or something. But anyways, that's politics. (Participant 3: Male, 55-69 years old)



Figure 5.1: Saskatoon's Zhongshan Ting in Victoria Park (William Kaufhold, 2017)

Spaces of important Chinese-Canadian history, such as Riversdale, Saskatoon's downtown, and the River Landing outdoor area all introduce viable locations for physical recognition and reminders of diverse histories. An important example of such consideration is the construction of Saskatoon's Zhongshan Ting in Victoria Park — a popular walking area adjacent to the Riversdale neighbourhood. Participants recognized the Ting as an important indicator of their cultural presence in the community, and often enjoy frequenting the space to practice tai chi.

5.3.3.2 A desire for continued memorialization

Though the Zhongshan Ting has proved an important memorial to several members of the older adult Chinese-Canadian community, there are a number of opportunities for improvement within the Saskatoon area. Of those who emphasized the importance of physical indicators of Chinese-Canadian heritage in Saskatoon, the significance of Riversdale itself was a key focus. There remained a general emphasis among participants on highlighting Riversdale as a 'Chinatown' community, as both a means of communicating its significance to outside members of the neighbourhood, and to encourage potential tourism into the area. Opportunities for this recognition included memorial arches, gates and signs. This research has demonstrated that there is potential to include the importance of Chinese-Canadian history in the tourism and place-making of the Riversdale neighbourhood. Meanwhile, another participant highlighted opportunities for recognizing relationships between Chinese and European settlers through the memorialization of 'Two Gun' Cohen¹. In effect, memorializing the past and present significance

¹ 'Two Gun' Cohen was famed with improving relations between Canada and China during the earlier half of the 20th century. Raised in Saskatchewan, he joined the Chinese National League where he worked to reverse a growing anti-Chinese sentiment. Cohen eventually relocated to China, where he worked as a body guard of Sun Yat-sen, a significant figure of the Chinese Revolution (Drage, 1954). To some participants, Cohen is seen as an important figure of inter-group relations and Chinese-Canadian history.



Figure 5.2: Reminders of Chinese-Canadian businesses along Riversdale’s key commercial corridor, where some participants wish to see an increased emphasis on the area’s historic ‘Chinatown’ (William Kaufhold, 2017)

of the Chinese-Canadian community in Saskatoon is important in both fostering a continued sense of place and belonging for those within the community, as well as signalling the history and importance of this group to those outside of it.

5.3.3.3 Chinese-Canadian history as a validation for service provision

As a final consideration surrounding social inclusion and cultural exchanges, recognizing the presence of the Chinese-Canadian community in Saskatoon stands to influence the narratives through which access and equity surrounding age-related service provision are framed.

We Chinese don’t have too much to show publicly. But the Ukrainians have museums, and they have nice seniors homes, because the Ukrainians are of higher - of more population here. (Participant 3: Male, 55-69 years old).

The discrimination faced by the Chinese-Canadian community, and an erasure of their extensive history in the Saskatoon region is felt to influence the availability of age-related services. Where culturally-homogeneous organizations and services are deemed important to a quality of life among Chinese-Canadian older adults, an accepted history that acknowledges the group's situated past and present in the Saskatoon community may be an important factor in the appropriate allocation of such resources. A service framework that utilizes public resources and financing is likely to be inclusive of multiple sets of needs and preferences only when those individuals requiring of unique services are seen as equally deserving of such resources, and as common members of a broader public.

5.4 Conclusion - new notions of age-friendly development

With an understanding of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community, and the means through which these individuals interact with the broader society socially, spatially and institutionally, it is evident that new notions of age-friendly development are necessary to ensure the inclusive aging of all. Intersectional age-friendly development involves applied cultural and linguistic service modifications, recognition and support of culturally-oriented organizations, and broader paradigm shifts that foster the social and historical inclusion of Chinese-Canadian residents. While ranging from applied and pragmatic considerations to broader notions of society's beliefs and values, the inclusion of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community within an age-friendly narrative is multi-layered and complex. Social exclusion theory highlights the characteristics of the Chinese-Canadian community itself, in addition to the dynamics and behaviour of outside communities, effectively engaging with a complex system wherein the

experiences of this group's older adults reside. As age-friendly development itself is broad and encompassing, so too are the societal and institutional modifications necessary to ensure the full consideration of Chinese-Canadian older adults. While complex and extensive, paradigm shifts and institutional modifications that foster an openness towards Chinese-Canadian older adults, and that value cultural pluralism in service delivery, are inherently more likely to benefit a broad range of older adult communities. While the size and capacity of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community has fostered a unique age-friendly narrative, lessons gained here may prove widely applicable to a diverse range of older adult communities. The following chapter reflects on the significance of this research in the lives of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adults and lays the foundation for expansive paradigm shifts involving both the conceptualization and delivery of age-friendly initiatives across a variety of marginalized communities. This research embodies a local narrative, while fostering new frameworks for inclusive and equitable age-friendly development.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Limitations and considerations for future research

The closure of this thesis calls upon a number of important considerations. While several of the findings postulated throughout Chapters Four and Five support claims made within existing literature examining the experiences of Chinese-Canadian residents, the ability to focus exclusively on Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community has enabled a nuanced social and cultural perspective. The formation, modification and erosion of Chinese-Canadian spatial, social and generational enclaves has informed unique considerations surrounding age-related service provision and age-friendly community development that are both unique to this cultural community, and provide opportunity for further marginalized older adult groups. While there are limitations present to the extent and context of this research, outlining these shortfalls not only informs the applicability of this work for different communities, but also supports key considerations for future studies. In examining the applicability of this research for geographically varied Chinese-Canadian communities, culturally varied ethnic-minority communities, and generationally varied older adult communities, future research opportunities are noted and explored. Though this research focuses closely upon a small community of older adults within Saskatoon, its academic and pragmatic ramifications stand to influence notions of age-friendly development across far-broader scopes.

6.1.1 Research limitations

Throughout this research, there remained a number of factors that, despite careful research design and participant sampling, present limitations to the nature of the findings. Firstly, as a researcher without Cantonese- or Mandarin-language skills, there remained an inherent reliance on the assistance of translators during participant interviews. While such translation services enabled a more thorough dialogue and promoted the participation of many participants with limited or no English-language skills, they also supported a significant trust of the translators themselves to adequately interpret participant reflections for their use by myself as the researcher. Particularly during conversations that may have involved terminology or themes that do not translate directly between English and Mandarin or Cantonese, a degree of trust and responsibility was placed upon the translators to ensure the appropriate communication of information. This limitation was approached by ensuring that translators were well versed in the key research themes, having spent time one-on-one with myself reviewing this information prior to their entrance into the field.

Secondly, this research was limited by the lens through which myself, as a non-member of the Chinese-Canadian community, interpreted the findings and conclusions of the data. While a number of methods were utilized in order to help overcome my personal influence on the data, and a grounded theory tradition helped to inform the data collection and analysis, there remains the inevitable degree to which the positionality of myself as the researcher and author may have skewed information according to my own interpretations, academic background and experiences. Careful considerations were made to eliminate my personal influence over the data, though true

to the nature of qualitative research, some aspects of myself will remain in the findings and presentation of this work.

Finally, a close research focus on the Heritage Wellness Society and its membership was both a strength and a limitation of this work. Though attempts were made to sample outside of this community, it remained a key institution for all but one participant. While a focus on the Heritage Wellness Society informs the characteristics and function of the Chinese-Canadian social enclave, it also stands to overlook the experiences of Chinese-Canadian older adults whose lived realities are not represented by this group. As is examined in a discussion of future research opportunities, intentional sampling and the extrapolation of this research to other communities will help to inform the degree to which individuals outside of the Heritage Wellness Society community share the experiences reflected within this research.

6.1.2 Regional transferability

Of initial consideration is the applicability of this research to broader geographically and socially located Chinese cultural communities within both Saskatoon and Canada. Saskatoon's geographically specific Chinese-Canadian population, heritage and broader social environment all contribute important influences upon the lived realities of the group's older adult population. The means whereby Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave is conceptualized may differ dramatically based on incoming immigrant demographics, surrounding community inclusivity, and the population of the host city as a whole. Future research emphasizing Chinese-Canadian social enclaves would benefit from a both comparison between experiences of Saskatoon

Chinese-Canadian older adults within and outside of the Heritage Wellness Society network, as well as a research focus examining the results of the Saskatoon community and those of differing urban areas and population densities.

Upcoming research may also aim to foster an examination of differences between rural and urban communities in the experiences of marginalized older adults. If the size and concentration of a Chinese-Canadian cultural community does in fact influence its members' access to generalized age-related services, then what of rural regions with lower numbers of non-Euro-ethnic families and older adults? Correlations between identity-community concentration and experiences with service isolation may provide important insights into future age-related research.

Additional studies may also choose to highlight the degree to which physical location and host-community size remain significant with the increasing presence of social media and online communities. The rise of interest and identity-based online support networks introduce new frontiers surrounding notions of age-related social inclusion and support. Collectively, additional inquiries surrounding marginalized Canadian older adult experiences may appear endless; what remains important at this stage is an emphasis on physical group-concentration and subsequent social and service ramifications. Despite a variety of regional and space-based considerations, the above research contributes important insight into a slowly growing body of literature surrounding Chinese-Canadian experiences within the Canadian prairies and throughout old age (Luo, 2016).

6.1.3 Cultural transferability

Of further significance is the ability of this research to extend to additional cultural communities, both within and outside of Chinese-Canadian lineage. A unique focus on cultural housing and social organizations in the development of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian social enclave — though contributing unique theoretical data — may have overlooked Chinese-Canadian residents outside of this social network. Further research in the Saskatoon community could focus on purposive sampling that targets Chinese-Canadian older adults who exist instead at the fringe of this network. Additionally, further research may benefit from an examination of the influence of financial affluence on both broader community inclusion, and one's experience in old age. Within Saskatoon, researchers may also prioritize an examination into the experiences of older adults from different cultural communities. Likewise, similarly themed research outside of Saskatoon would benefit from a comparison of diverse cultural communities, at different concentrations and scales. Where a research focus remains in the field of race and ethnic relations, comparative ethno-gerontological studies may improve both localized and national notions of culturally pluralistic age-friendly development.

6.1.4 Generational transferability

Finally, scholars in the field of age-friendly cultural pluralism may question the generational relevance of these findings. While immigrant groups such as those of Chinese-Canadian heritage appear to demonstrate large generational differences surrounding indicators of linguistic and cultural assimilation, it is entirely possible that age-friendly programs inclusive of future generations of Chinese-Canadian older adults may differ from those postulated here. However,

for as long as marginalization and social exclusion remain characteristics of Canadian society, it is likely that the significance of social enclaves, broader community relationships and service pluralism will continue to benefit those in urban areas who struggle in their access of age-related resources. Future research that intentionally samples to examine the influence of generational duration in Canada may reveal insights regarding the temporal continuation of cultural assimilation and pluralism across a variety of ethnic communities.

6.2 Conclusion

As Canada's population continues into the 21st century, in the face of both dramatic population aging and a future of globalization that is paired with increasing ethnic diversity, the implications of culturally pluralistic age-friendly development continue to expand. Through an examination of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community, this research has highlighted sources of spatial, social and generational exclusion that have informed a series of unique age-related considerations. This thesis has argued that while the experiences of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian older adult community remain influenced by multiple sources of exclusion, there remains an equally influential social network wherein group members find strength and support. It is with an understanding of both the forces of broader-community exclusion and inter-group inclusion that aging as a member of Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community may be characterized. Culturally pluralistic age-friendly development incorporates linguistic and cultural inclusivity, the empowerment of cultural social networks, and the encouragement of city-wide social and spatial place-making.

In maintaining the well-being of Chinese-Canadian older adults, age-friendly policy makers and planners must acknowledge the importance of systems of difference and diversity within service provision, resource allocation and institutional paradigms. Social exclusion theory helps to inform a duality of consideration between individual cultural and linguistic characteristics, and the relevance of the broader whole of society in fostering inclusion and working towards more pluralistic notions of community belonging. Saskatoon's Chinese-Canadian community has demonstrated a notable degree of self-reliance, resourcefulness and compassion in supporting its older adult community members. However, where age-friendly initiatives enable the weight of this task to fall instead upon the broader whole of society, it is through the design of our cities, and the provision of age-related services that an inclusive notion of age-friendly development stands to benefit both the Chinese-Canadian community itself, and a breadth of individuals moving into old age from a variety of backgrounds. In a society characterized increasingly through difference, it is likely that common membership may no longer be the requirement upon which access to services are determined. Instead, age-friendly cultural pluralism recognizes the significance of differing aging experiences that occur within the older adult community, and the importance of validating these dynamics in physical, social and institutional spaces. In its totality, a paradigm of inclusive age-friendliness leads toward landscapes of belonging and inclusion for individuals of all ages, ethnicities and identity characteristics. As this research indicates, the greatest and most rewarding task facing geographers of the 21st century may reside in their ability to foster physical and social environments in which difference no longer dictates access to services or a greater quality of life.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. We have recently reviewed your consent form, and given you a chance to read over the letter of information. Do you have any additional questions about the purpose of this interview, or how we plan to proceed? Now that you've gone through this information, I'll ask that you please sign the consent form. I will keep one copy, and we will prepare a second for you to keep for your records. Thank you, let's begin.

We will start by allowing me to get to know you a little bit better, with the hope of gaining some insight into your current life here in Saskatoon.

1. How did you come to live in Saskatoon?

Prompts: Were you born in Canada? How long have you lived in Canada? What brought you to Saskatoon? How long have you lived here?

2. How long have you lived at your current address?

3. As an older person living in Saskatoon, how would you describe yourself?

Prompts: Age, stage of life, marital status, living arrangements (independent, living with children, caring for grandchildren, etc.), ethnicity/member of an ethnic community, native speaking/preferred language, independence (e.g. your ability to look after your own household, get around the community), health and overall quality of life/level of satisfaction

I would now like to ask a bit more about your day to day life in Saskatoon, and how you make decisions about the places and people that you see and visit.

4. Do you practice any religions? If yes, which church or temple do you attend? Are there other ways that you practice your spirituality?

Prompts: How far from your home is your church/temple? Do you go to the church/temple with your family or friends? Is attending the church/temple an important part of your social life?

5. In what kinds of activities or organizations do you participate on a regular basis? (e.g. exercise, recreational activities, games, education, volunteering, etc.)

Prompts: Do you participate in these activities with any family or friends? How do you get to and from these activities? Are you happy with your level of participating in these activities?

6. In your day to day life, are there outdoor or public spaces in Saskatoon that you enjoy visiting (e.g. parks, shopping centres, libraries, etc.)?

Prompts: What do you like these places? Are there certain characteristics that make you feel safe or comfortable in these places? Are there physical features (seating, landscaping, artwork, signage) that help you better enjoy these public places? How do you get to these places?

7. In your day to day life, are there outdoor or public spaces in Saskatoon that you intentionally avoid?

Prompts: What makes you avoid these places? Do they make you feel unsafe or unwelcome? Are there certain physical features (seating, signage, etc.) that prevent you from feeling comfortable?

8. When doing daily errands (e.g. shopping, going to the doctor, going out for lunch), do you intentionally visit stores or businesses that offer Chinese products, sell Chinese cuisine, or offer services in Mandarin/Cantonese?

Prompts: Do you choose these locations because of their proximity to your home, or because of the products/services they offer? Does accessibility of these services dictate your daily choices?

Now, I would like to ask you about the presence of the Chinese-Canadian community in Saskatoon. In many cities across Canada, such as Vancouver, Toronto and Edmonton, there are well established areas that are home to several Chinese-Canadian families, shops and services.

These communities also exist in smaller cities across Canada, though perhaps at different scales.

9. Have you ever lived in a neighbourhood that you felt was similar to what I described above?

What were the characteristics of that community?

Prompts: If yes: Did you enjoy living there? Did living in this community improve your access to daily needs? *If no:* Was that by choice, or because such an opportunity was not present?

10. Does a neighbourhood like what I described above exist here in Saskatoon?

Prompts: Can you describe the location and characteristics of this area to me? Where are its boundaries? How do you know when you are inside or outside of this area?

11. Do you think well-established Chinese-Canadian communities are important to the well-being of Chinese-Canadian older adults?

Prompts: Benefits? Disadvantages?

12. Do you identify as an active member of the Chinese-Canadian community in Saskatoon?

What would life be like for you without other Chinese-Canadian individuals in your life?

Prompts: If yes: What are the characteristics of this community? What parts of your daily life help you know that you are a part of it? *If no:* Do you know others who are? What are the characteristics of that community?

Finally, I would like to discuss with you whether you see Saskatoon as an 'age-friendly' city. By this, I hope to understand whether Saskatoon's older adults are able to live happy, connected and fulfilling lives as they age in their communities.

14. Do you think Saskatoon provides a good quality of life for its older adult Chinese-Canadian residents? What about the older adult population of the entire city in general?

15. Do you think that services (e.g. housing, transportation, health care and recreational facilities) are sufficient for older adult Chinese-Canadian residents to live a good life? Are these services sufficient for the older adult community as a whole to live a good life?

Prompts: Which services work well? Which services need improvement? How would you improve them?

16. As an older adult person living in Saskatoon, have you ever felt that you were treated disrespectfully or discriminated against? If yes, can you give me a recent example of this discrimination?

Prompts: What do you believe prompted this discrimination (age, ethnicity, other)?. How did you respond to this situation (e.g. ignore the person, tell your family/friends, lodge and official complaint)?

17. Do you believe that happily growing old and accessing daily services in Saskatoon is more challenging for members of the older adult Chinese-Canadian community, as apposed to the non-Chinese-Canadian community?

Prompt: What factors define this difference? (language, sense of belonging, treatment by others, etc.)

18. If you were asked by a politician or a government representative how to make Saskatoon more age-friendly for its Chinese-Canadian older adult residents, what would you tell them?

Prompts: How might your response change if you were speaking with a local, provincial or federal politician?

19. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about Saskatoon as an age-friendly community for its Chinese-Canadian residents?

That's all I have for today! I'd like to thank you for your time and interest in my research - your opinions and experiences have been very valuable to me. After today, I will listen to the

recording we made and transcribe it into a typed document, following which I will delete the recording. As we mentioned earlier, if you have any questions or concerns about the study, or about topics we discussed today, do not hesitate to phone or email me to discuss things further. Thanks!

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Age-Friendly Communities – Friendly for Whom?

Researchers:

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Purpose and Goals of the Research:

- The purpose of this research is to determine whether everyone in Saskatoon shares the same views on whether the community is age-friendly to all older adults. As part of this project, we are conducting interviews with older people, executive members of organizations representing older adults, visible minority older populations, older adults from newer immigrant groups, the older LGBT population, older adults with independent living challenges, and local government officials in Saskatoon. Our research is taking place in Saskatoon, Toronto, and Kingston.
- The goals of the project are: to analyze how the combination of the changing geography, socio-demographics and social and public policies of Canada have created an older population which has much different needs than is currently understood within the age-friendly community literature and plans of communities; and to develop a new more inclusive theory of age-friendly communities.

Procedures:

- You will be asked a series of open-ended questions to get your perspectives on how age-friendly your community is. Thirty interviews of this type will be conducted in Saskatoon. We are doing the same thing in Toronto and Kingston.
- With your permission I would like to use an audio recorder to record our interview, which will then be transcribed and used as data in the study. You may request that the recording device be turned off at any time.

- The interview normally takes approximately 30 minutes, and is carried out in a location of your choice.
- Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.
- Before beginning the interview, you will be given a \$25 honorarium for your participation.

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Potential Risks: There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. That being said, if during the interview or afterward, an issue arises where you would like to contact someone who can provide expert advice or refer you to appropriate counselling, please call the Saskatoon Council on Aging (306-652-2255).

Potential Benefits:

- We hope that this research will help to improve the extent to which our cities are age-friendly for all older adults.

Confidentiality:

- Your name, and the fact that you are participating in this study, is known to Lindsay Herman, Drs. Walker, Rosenberg, Wilson, and their ‘university research assistants’. Digital audio files will be saved to encrypted memory devices in the field. When the interviewers return to the project office, the original digital audio files will be copied to anonymous files with only a record number to identify each copied file. The anonymous files will then be transcribed into a MS Word file with only the record number at the top of the file. Lindsay Herman, Drs. Walker, Rosenberg, Wilson and their ‘university research assistants’ are the only people that have access to the audio recording and transcript from this interview.
- The data from this research project will be published in reports, scientific papers, and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although we will report direct quotations from the interview, they will be attributed as follows: Male/Female; Identifying as [e.g., Chinese-Canadian]; Saskatoon. Your name will not be listed in any publications or presentations.

Storage of Data:

- The original encrypted audio file will be stored in a locked cabinet and only used again should the anonymous file be damaged or destroyed to create a new anonymous file. Five years after the completion of the project, the original encrypted files will be destroyed.
- The transcript files, and associated data analysis files, will be stored on the password protected computer drives at the Universities of Saskatchewan and Toronto, and Queen’s University while the data analysis is underway.

- Once the data analysis and publication of results is complete, raw data files will be stored by Drs. Walker, Rosenberg, and Wilson on their password protected institutional servers for a period of 5 years, after which time it will be deleted.
- Completed consent forms will be stored in Dr. Walker's locked filing cabinet in his office at the University of Saskatchewan for a period of 5-10 years, after which time they will be shredded and disposed of.

Limitations to Confidentiality:

- Since recruitment of participants such as yourself occurred in an organization's office at our information table, or in a meeting sponsored by the organization where we gave a recruitment presentation, anyone who saw you take a contact form for this study may be able to deduce that you are a participant, or that you have considered participating.

Right to Withdraw:

- Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort. Acceptance of the participant honorarium does not impact your right or ability to withdraw from this study.
- Should you wish to withdraw, data from your interview will be deleted, provided that it has not already been incorporated into a publication (under preparation, review, or in final form) or into a presentation.

Follow up:

- Please keep your eye on the Age-Friendly Communities project website (<http://geog.queensu.ca/AFC-Project/>) housed at the Department of Geography and Planning, Queen's University, where we will load reports from the study as our work progresses.

Questions or Concerns:

- Contact one of the researchers using the information at the top of page 1;
- This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Office. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca; 306-966-2975. Participants outside of Saskatoon may call toll free at 1-888-966-2975

Consent:

Do you give your permission to have our interview audio-recorded? Yes: ___ No: ___

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; you have had an opportunity to ask questions and your questions have been answered. You consent to

participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to you for your records.

Name of participant _____
Signature _____
Date

Researcher's Signature _____
Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.