

Uprooting and Rerooting: A Critical Race Informed Narrative Inquiry of LTC Home Culture
with Stories Told by Thamizh (Tamil) Elders

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

People of colour (POC) living in long-term care (LTC) homes are affected by systematized difference (including structural racism) every day. Due to differences between the predominant, largely Eurocentric provision of care culture in Canada and Eastern ways of caring, caring in multi-ethnic Canada requires strong leadership and cultural sensitivity for effective elder care. The first step to transform the culture of LTC is to hear stories of residents living in LTC homes, especially those who are marginalised by difference. According to residents' stories from this study, changes in practice and policy can be put in place for more equitable spaces and comfortable living in LTC homes. The purpose of this study was to hear stories told by Thamizh (commonly referred as 'Tamil') elders that speak to the culture of living in LTC homes in Southern Ontario, Canada. Specifically, this critical narrative study, uses considerations from Critical Race Theory (CRT) to expose subtle ways practices in LTC homes marginalise POC and individuals of difference. My hope is that this research moves beyond these pages to contribute to policy changes and informs Ontario's Ministry of Health & Long-Term Care (MOHLTC) about the ways POC living in Ontario's LTC homes encounter (systemic and individual) discrimination. I propose that the MOHLTC sharpen the resident bill of rights to guide LTC homes to meet the diverse needs of residents residing in LTC homes.

To resist the status-quo reproduction of Euro-dominant practices, LTC home living must be reshaped to include: (1) diverse programs such as cultural special events, (2) connections with local spiritual organizations, (3) partnerships with meal delivery services to offer traditional food, and (4) the facilitation of diverse social groups for residents to foster meaningful relationships with others in the home. Through changes in policy the normalized processes of racialization can be confronted and diversity can be honoured in LTC homes.

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Dedication

To my makers, அம்மா (mother) and அப்பா (father).

I hope you look at this and think your sacrifices were worth it.

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Chapter One: The Seeds

Similar to the seeds of flowers that sprout each year, the following chapter outlines the initial moments of how this thesis *grew* to be. As a woman of colour, my passion to stand up against racism grows stronger everyday. My response to racism was anger. It made me furious that individuals are treated differently because of where they come from and who they are. Every individual is a human being and our differences should not only be tolerated but also celebrated. As immigrants to Canada, my family was part of the mass migration of Thamizhs¹ who fled from Sri Lanka to different countries in the world due to the war and genocide.

I am a Thamizh woman who migrated to Canada with my family at the age of five. The move to Canada was abrupt, confusing, and frustrating for me. There was a dramatic change in lifestyle. From culture to language, everything was *foreign*. In elementary school, I was teased and called names for the colour of my skin and for my culture. The school I attended was in Toronto and the approximate racial composition of students in the school was majority white. My peers in school made it a point to identify me as a “brown girl” and it was the overt and blatant differentiation of skin colour that made me feel different from other students in my school. I did not have a problem with “brown girl”; I felt empowered to know that the colour of

¹Contrary to the most popular spelling of ‘Tamil’ in the English language, I spell ‘Thamizh’ in this thesis to represent the acoustic phonetics from the Thamizh language itself (Kothandaraman, 2018). According to Vallalar, the 19th century mystic Saint-Poet of South-India, the word ‘Thamizh’ is interconnected by: the hard consonant /th/ and primary vowel /A/, second to the soft consonant /m/ and primary vowel /I/, and the third to the medial consonant /zh/ (Kothandaraman, 2018).

my skin resembles dirt - the foundation of life, the earth's core, and a home for flowers (Kaur, 2015). What I did have a problem with were the negative connotation(s) (i.e., "dirty") brought upon by the label, "brown girl."

I was affected by racism throughout my life. I began to think the racism I experienced was natural since I was a newcomer to Canada. Canada is home to one of the most diverse populations in the world (Leininger & McFarland, 2006). As people from various ethnicities engage with each other, cultural shock, prejudice, discriminatory behaviours, and cultural tensions are common (Leininger & McFarland, 2006). My experiences over the past 10 years working as a recreation staff member in various long-term care (LTC) homes in the greater Toronto area (GTA) quickly made me realize that people of colour (POC) living in LTC homes are affected by racism everyday also. Due to the misunderstandings caused by differences in culture, caring in nursing and other health care professions needs strong leadership for effective and culturally sensitive health care to occur (Leininger & McFarland, 2006). When I look back on my experiences in my school and work environments, I see my experiences differently. As a 26-year-old Thamizh woman who now has the privilege of learning how to think critically, I realize there is a deeper harm occurring. Racism that residents in LTC confront every day is systemically embedded through language, practice, and policy, and cannot always be heard or seen. The type of racism I experience in these moments and on a daily basis is not only name-calling or stereotyping. It is much more structural and is embedded in social institutions. It was these realizations that led me to take a critical stance in this research. Through critical social theory, I was able to think of these moments as vestiges of accepted-as-natural oppressions, which, having been systemically embedded, gave rise to such moments of discrimination and marginalisation.

When I refer to systemic racism, I refer to institutional racism, which is the existing and practiced structures and systems of our social world that views racialisation as a natural and systematised process (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Fleras, 2014). I use the word racialisation to describe individuals who are constantly affected by systemic processes that work to categorize, delineate, and marginalize individuals everyday as a consequence of colonization (Silverstein, 2005). To explain, colonialism was recognized as a “natural hierarchy” of “lesser” races to “higher” ones (Mahmud, 1998). As a consequence of colonization, people around the world were categorized into racial and regional groupings that were hierarchal (Banton, 1978; Fanon, 1967). I believe that colonization is the act of a dominating group or groups dominating and imposing a counter-culture on Othered group(s). This is problematic because it creates hierarchies that impose divisions of power forcing Othered group(s) to be “reliant” and “irrelevant”. Consequently, Othered group(s) are silenced. It is important to note that differences are constructed and concretized by dominating groups who benefit from being “superior” to Othered group(s). I unpack institutional racism further in the following chapter.

Researchers, LTC organizations, staff working in LTC, and policy makers, may be informed of ways that LTC homes are oppressive to POC through this critique and influence changes towards inclusion. The first step to transform the culture of LTC is to shed light on the voices of residents and hear their stories. According to residents’ stories, changes in practice and policy can be put in place for a more equitable space. With stories of Thamizh elders, the purpose of this study was to hear stories by Thamizh elders that speak to the culture of LTC homes that systemically impose power and marginalize POC in these settings. Specifically, this narrative study, with considerations from Critical Race Theory (CRT), was guided by the following research questions:

1. What stories do Thamizh older adults tell about living in LTC homes? What do these stories tell us about how racialisation is experienced in LTC homes? What practices, languages, interactions, and symbols in LTC normalise processes of racialisation?
2. In what ways can policy makers, staff working in LTC homes, LTC organizations, and researchers, elicit change for POC living in LTC towards inclusion? According to residents, what needs to be put in place for more equitable spaces in LTC homes?

My hope is that this research moves beyond these pages and contributes to policy changes by informing Ontario's Ministry of Health & Long-Term Care (MOHLTC) about the ways POC living in Ontario's LTC homes encounter (systemic and individual) discrimination.

I chose Thamizh residents' stories to be the focus of this study as I am a Thamizh woman and am able to converse and relate with Thamizh residents. Thamizhs from Sri Lanka are an important group to study in Canada in relation to migration and integration post-migration (Fuglerud, 1999). There are approximately 700 000 Thamizhs worldwide, a third of Sri Lanka's Thamizh population before the war in 1983 (Fuglerud, 1999). Since the war, and due to the fallout of war, another third of this population was displaced (Fuglerud, 1999). The dispersed population of Sri Lankan Thamizhs around the globe is known as the Thamizh diaspora community (Amarasingam, 2013; Manogaran, 1987).

Canada is now home to the largest Sri Lankan Thamizh diaspora population in the world. The majority of this group lives in the GTA (Amarasingam, 2013; Amarasingam, Naganathan & Hyndman, 2016; McDowell, 1996; Wayland, 2004). According to Amarasingam (2013) and Fuglerud (1999), it is fair to assume that any group of individuals forced to migrate face a variety

of challenges associated with migration, and more so, as individuals of colour. With a population of 300,000 Thamizh Canadians residing in Canada, Canada should be more sensitive to the ways that Thamizhs are marginalised in Canada (Amarasingam, 2013). This is especially true for Thamizh older adults who face/have faced challenges with immigration and navigate their new aging bodies in a new culture (Amarasingam, 2013; Sriskandarajah, 2010). Thamizh older adults became accustomed to a certain way of life in Sri Lanka for a much larger part of their lives. They face additional challenges and cultural tensions in Canada when they are no longer able to care for themselves and face the move to a LTC home. For example, living in a country with predominantly Judeo-Christian ideals makes it difficult to practice and celebrate Hinduism, the dominant religion amongst Thamizh peoples. Hence, due to institutional racism, some POC living in LTC homes experience challenges when practicing their basic right to culture and ethnicity.

As a researcher and academic, it is important to note that my positionality is in the midst of a bigger social, cultural, and institutional world. I, therefore, acknowledge the relationship that participants have with each other, the world, and myself, as I began to hear their stories (Berbary & Boles 2014; Chase, 2005; McCormack, 2004; Riessman, 2008). I acknowledge this through discussion of literature and histories surrounding the culture and institutions participants are situated in. For example, in the following chapter I discuss Thamizh culture to contextualize historical events and roots that may have related to this group of participants. Qualitative inquirers need to be aware of life as a whole and their positionality in the space they are studying to recognize and acknowledge personal biases upfront. For this research it was essential that I stated my positionality as a researcher to include my own influences in the space and context that I worked in. It is more than the ontological, epistemological, theoretical, and methodological

stance I took on. It refers to the historical, political, and social context of this study and my personal experiences. As a first-generation Thamizh-Canadian woman who immigrated to Canada in 1999, I came with racialized experiences that may or may not relate to the stories of the participants. Although participants and I share the same ethnicity, my position of age and a non-LTC resident was different. The stories of participants spoke to the culture of LTC and exposed structures that maintain racism. It was these understandings and the combination of my personal, academic, and work experiences that led me to use research as a tool to critique the culture of LTC homes in Canada.

I positioned this research within constructionism, and specifically, social constructionism. (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2012). This means that knowing is constructed according to cultural, societal, and individual processes (Johnson & Parry, 2015). Specifically, I situated this research within social constructionism because I believe that groups of people construct ‘truths’ (Bryman et al., 2012). The process of knowledge construction in social constructionism connects to the underlying thread of this thesis because meaning is constructed with the interaction between groups of people and cultures. In this thesis, meaning was constructed with the interactions between Thamizh elders living in a LTC home for the purposes of critiquing the ethnic culture of LTC homes. I focused on challenging the dominant discourses of our society, culture, and power dynamics that shape the meaning of experiences for residents of colour living in LTC homes.

The theory that informed the design of this study is a type of CT that has the ability to challenge the status quo (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). Studies that draw on Critical Theory (CT) are committed to social justice (Honneth, 2009). Qualitative research that surrounds its main goal using CT exposes the type of knowledge that disrupts institutions to change their structure (Honneth, 2009; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002). By looking at power and structure of institutions,

critical theorists create a forced awareness with the research audience(s) by applying a critical lens to content and methodology (Honneth, 2009). I refer to a critical lens as the specific focus on issues of power and notions/practices of oppression which make space for critical theorists to open new ways of understanding and encourage ongoing critique of dominant discourses in society.

Under the umbrella of CT, Critical Race Theory (CRT) views race as a social construction and critically looks at racialization as a natural, systematised process (Crenshaw, 1995). Specifically, I considered three anti-racist CRT tenets (of many) to inform my work. I describe the selected tenets in greater detail in the following chapter. Critical race theorists put emphasis on racism efforts to be destroyed on a multidisciplinary level (Burchell, 2006). Thereby not only focusing on race in one field such as law and education but in health care and policy (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). I felt CRT was appropriate for this research because this research focused on hearing stories of Thamizh older adults living in LTC. I aimed to critique the underlying ethnic culture of LTC that is embedded in structuring of LTC home practices in areas such as leisure programming, spiritual care, dietary needs and so forth. This theory influenced my inquiry in the way I conducted, analysed, and presented this research.

My intention was to shed light on stories to re-present ways Thamizh elders construct meaning about their lived lives (Bryman et al., 2012). I see the utmost value in the stories of others. Narrative inquiry aligns with constructionism because through the stories of others, the many injustices of our world can be exposed. I believe one way to elicit positive change is through bringing the voices of underrepresented individuals to the forefront: their thoughts, experiences, and stories. As such, I employed narrative inquiry for this study. As a researcher who adopted narrative inquiry, I believe that there are multiple truths and that all are valid and worthy (Delgado, 1989). I used this methodology to illuminate the unique stories of participants

because participants' stories reveal the larger culture's story (Chase, 2005; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 2008). When narratives are brought to the fore, narratives contribute to the process of building knowledge to understand and critique culture (Chase, 2005; McCormack, 2004; Riessman, 2008). This means that the illumination of stories can help us understand and consequently, critique culture. Stories can be used to expose sociocultural aspects of groups and communities thought to bear significantly on individual and collective psychosocial health (Graham, Brown-Jeffy, Aronson, & Stephens, 2011). My hope when I began this project was that residents' narratives would portray the complexities of aging as an immigrant and/or POC living in LTC. To elicit positive social and systemic change, voices of marginalised residents must be brought to the fore.

Rooted in histories, literature, and my own understanding as a Thamizh woman, the following chapters outlines my approach to and findings of this research. I began Chapter 2 with a brief history of CRT and describe three specific tenets of CRT that informed this inquiry. After that, I shift the language from race to ethnicity and described this shift in relation to Thamizh elders and LTC. In Chapter 3, I discuss narrative inquiry and its relation to critical research and in particular, CRT. Following this, I provide an overview of the methods I used to gather, analyse, and represent narratives. For this research, I employed a method called life story interview to gather stories and use narrative analysis and the analysis of narratives to analyse gathered stories. Finally, I unpack creative analytic practice (CAP), which is the platform I used to represent narratives. In answering the research questions and representing stories in the form of CAP, I hope to create more dialogue surrounding ways we need to appreciate diversity to move towards inclusion for POC living in LTC homes.

Chapter Two: Roots of Race, Ethnicity, and Long Term Care

The roots of flowers keep the plant grounded. Similarly, the next chapter is a discussion of the surrounding literature on race, ethnicity, and LTC that *ground* this thesis.

Critical Race Theory

In order to critique and expose the dominant culture of LTC, it was essential to first understand the histories that inform the ethnic culture of LTC and its present relations. In this chapter I describe considerations of CRT that inform this study, the shift in language from race to ethnicity, and the limiting structures of LTC homes for Thamizh elders. These discussions contextualized what this research was informed by and why it was informed in this way.

A brief history on CRT.

To understand CRT, we must not only start at the history of CRT but understand the legacies of colonization that influenced racialisation of social structures in society. Such disparities within common structures of everyday life impose power and create divisions that oppress and privilege through race and ethnicity. According to Garner, to be racialized is to be dehumanized as a consequence of colonization (Garner, 2010). For this study, this meant that due to the dominant groups imposing culture on Othered group(s), racialized groups such as Thamizhs in LTC are silenced and are thus, marginalised.

It is important to recognize that colonization has much more depth than what I describe in this document. This is not to say disparities and differences between groups of people did not exist before and amongst the devastating processes of colonialism as we understand it in modern day. For example, the caste and class systems are over thousands of years old (Rogers, 1994). However, colonization had a global and totalizing impact on cultures who lived differently than life according to Eurocentric thought and ideologies. By reinforcing Euro-centric norms on

Others, Europeans concretized and legitimized racial disparities between groups of people in the world in hopes of creating a more “civilized world”; this act of domination - imposes power and is oppressive to non-dominant groups. Mahmud (1998) explains this further:

In the colonies, heterogeneity presented by the colonized was made manageable by assigning them racialized classifications. Imperatives of colonial rule combined with a grammar of racial difference to constitute racialized stereotypes of natives to facilitate legally sanctioned regimes of discipline and control. These stereotypes are remarkable for their contingent deployments, malleability, and resilience. Traces of racialized discursive structures and institutional practices forged in the context of Europe's colonial encounter remain visible in post-colonial terrains, where many a public policy and legal regime are animated by racialized categories and classifications. (pp. 1219).

The act of assigning racial groupings to people was the most “convenient” method of distribution of goods such as land and social resources. Additionally, public policy and legal systems echo racialized practices that continue through colonization. In the present day there are groups resistive to these racialized practices and CRT played a role in beginning this resistance in the 1970s (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

In the 1970s, a number of lawyers, activists, and legal scholars across North America recognized the exhilarating advances of the civil rights era of the 1960s had been stalled and, on many occasions, moved backwards (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Recognizing that new strategies and theories needed to be put in place to elicit positive change in the 1970s, early scholarly writing and scholars (many of whom were POC) brought focus to the role of race in American law. Some of these scholars were Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, Mari Matsuda, Richard Delgado, and they were highly influential in not only the field of law but in a variety of disciplines such as education and policy (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

During the Civil Rights Movement, foundations of Legal Realism (a movement that emphasized the social and political context of which judicial decisions were made in the 1920s and 1930s) re-emerged as a movement known as Critical Legal Studies (CLS) (Boyle, 1992;

Taylor, 2009). CLS stands behind the notion that reasoning and logic of law are not made in entirely good faith and cover injustices with a “mask of legitimacy” in society (Khalifa, Dunbar, & Douglasb, 2013; Taylor, 2009). The “mask of legitimacy” speaks to the way that systems like law enables further established power inequities in society. While living in a society that values law and lawmakers, racial injustices are concealed in a way that makes it impossible to discern and question systemic racism. For instance, Derrick Bell suggested in the landmark civil rights case, regarding the segregation of schools, *Brown v the Board of Education*, that the Supreme Court was supportive only because it served the United States (US) Cold War agenda in support of human rights (Khalifa et al., 2013). Motivated by the self-interest of the US government, ending segregation of schools was only a result of preserving the reputation of US at the time as “human rights advocates” (Khalifa et al., 2013, pp. 492).

In the Canadian context, Bell would also agree that despite Canada priding itself for its role in “helping” runaway slaves, black Canadians have been a target of racist laws since they arrived in Canada (Shepard, 1997). For example, Black Canadians were subject to legislation that imposed segregated schools and communities, and restrictions on property rights (Thomson, 1979). Many are unaware that Canada practiced slavery until early nineteenth century (Shepard, 1997). In 1939, Canada’s highest court declared that racial discrimination was legally enforceable (Walker, 1997). While Canada claims to be multicultural, this attribute often privileges the already powerful, while racism in Canada continues to be made invisible (through colourblindness), and even justified in some instances, through social systems like the legal system.

Some scholars argue that multiculturalism comes along with a ‘white settler state’ which “allows” a certain amount of room to be different and accepted by Canadian society, but not

enough to change institutional power or challenge patterns of privilege that comes from the state and its “whiteness” (Amarasingam et al., 2016; Razack, 1998; Thobani, 2007). A study conducted by Amarasingam et al. (2016) concluded that scholars must take more seriously how people are *living* multiculturalism. Amarasingam et al. (2016) do not suggest that Canada is a place of “racialized utopia” however they do state that multiculturalism as a law and practice is heavily flawed. Multiculturalism reinforces the dominance of the state because it fails to illuminate the racism currently existing in Canada (Amarasingam et al., 2016). This is due to the positive connotation of the word “multicultural” that fails to look critically at the oppressed cultural groups that are surrounded by social structures systemically embedded in Eurocentric ideologies.

Canada’s multicultural heritage is written into the Constitution of 1982. Section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which states that “this Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians” (Roberts & Doob, 1997, pp. 471). In reality, this is not the case and Canada is entrenched in a multi-layered system of racism (Roberts & Doob, 1997). To understand the nature of racism in Canada, Roberts and Doob (1997) set out three crucial historical moments of racial tension: between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people; between French and English; and between the original colonizing groups (French and English) and Other immigrant groups. During the mid-1900s, for example, Indigenous peoples were denied their spiritual heritage, use of their languages, and freedom to organize their societies in ways that were meaningful to them (Backhouse, 1999). Access to employment, education, residence, depended on race (Backhouse, 1999). Racist structures enabled teachers, employers, landholders to go about their day and to discriminate, and legal authorities refused to object (Backhouse, 1999).

CRT is a complex and deeply political theory. Many writers of CRT, such as Richard Delgado, Derrick Bell, and Alan Freeman, have contributed a body of knowledge to develop common understandings of how CRT interprets the structures and systems of our social world (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). There are a number of CRT tenets described in CRT literature, however, due to my intention to fully and critically consider the chosen tenets within the context of Thamizh older adults living in LTC homes, my thesis concentrated on three CRT tenets specifically: race as a social phenomenon; racialisation as a natural, systematised process; and the voice of colour thesis. In doing so, my aim was to weave my understandings of race as a social phenomenon, racialisation as a natural, systematised process, and the voice of colour thesis throughout data collection, analysis, and representation. I acknowledge my understanding of the other tenets of CRT such as the: the critique of liberalism, racial differentiation, and economic determinism and feel it is difficult to parse the influence of these tenets from ones mentioned prior. Though, at this time, my decision to be intentional about the ways race as a social phenomenon, racialisation as a natural, systematised process, and the voice of colour thesis inform my work was strategic: to strive for ethical and just usage of these understandings within my capacity as a graduate student for a Master's thesis. For these reasons, I proposed to approach this narrative study with these three CRT considerations. Before I outline the ways this study considered tenets of CRT, I describe the ways in which I use the terms whiteness and racism.

Contextualising whiteness and racism as an institution.

When I refer to whiteness, I refer to whiteness as an institution rather than whiteness as skin colour. Whiteness as an institution refers to the ways in which existing systems advance and privilege Euro-centric, colonial, individual-centred practices. Fleras (2014) reflects,

White settler societies such as Canada constitute historically specific and socially constructed conventions that are ideologically loaded and racialized along the lines of whiteness as privilege, superiority, and supremacy. The racism that flows from a racialized yet multicultural Canada prevails - with or without racists or race (pp. 267).

What Fleras describes is that whiteness as an institution prevails whether we see whiteness as skin colour or not. Canada's multiculturalism is anti-racist in principle, but in practice, it is not. Many Canadians, whether consciously or unknowingly, hide behind the inconvenient truths of building Canada through genocide and exploitation of our First Nations (Fleras, 2012, 2014) and Other minoritized groups. In this thesis, I use the word "minoritized" to describe the groups minoritized by dominant structures and "minoritizing" to describe the process of racialisation that is minoritizing.

Acknowledging whiteness as an institution broadens understandings of racism as participated in and perpetuated by systems and structures in society, not only by individuals. It is crucial to differentiate these conceptual differences because whiteness as skin colour refers to the power and privilege that comes with being white. Not only that, but whiteness as a skin colour can also refer to the ways individuals of colour have also internalized and perpetuated whiteness (Arai & Kivel, 2009; Roberts, 2009). POC experience internalised discrimination that exists where whitewashing is practiced and preserved. For example, due to the dominance of Eurocentric ideals, people from the East have traditionally idealized whiteness, including white skin. When individuals who are POC say derogatory comments about darker skinned POC (e.g., intragroup discrimination), expressions of shame internalized by persisting exposure to societal

privileges that accompany white skin perpetuate in-group discrimination. However, internalised discrimination is not only a problem of individuals, it is also structural (Bivens, 1995).

The systems in place in LTC homes make individuals vulnerable to policies, practices, and procedures that violate their cultural values. It is the situation that occurs in a racist system when group(s) oppressed by racism reinforce the supremacy and dominance of the dominant group (Bivens, 1995). This is through maintaining or participating in the set of attitudes, behaviours, social structures and ideologies that reinforce the dominating group's power and privilege and limits the oppressed group's own advantages (Bivens, 1995). Thus, organizational and institutional efforts are needed to create environments where racial disparities are acknowledged and addressed (Bivens, 1995). Institutions need to commit to creating a shared accountability and leadership for racial differences to not only be tolerated but celebrated.

Whiteness as an institution theorizes racism as ingrained, not only in individual minds but also, in social relationships, practices, and institutions (Taylor, 2009). Racism is not only individual (from microaggressions to overt acts of hate) but it is also collective, structural, and systemic. In Gillborn's (2005) discussion of Ladson-Billings (2004) paper on CRT in the field of education, he states that the system of educational learning incorporates a classed, gendered, and raced notion of what it means to behave appropriately as a human being. The transfer of knowledge and learning in itself privileges whiteness and is intergenerationally harmful. More specifically, children at a young age are taught multiculturalism and other ways of thinking that uncritically take up race and ignore the damaging acts of colonialism. Early socialization within structures (such as schools, hospitals, day cares) and relationships shape individual minds and identities from a young age which may be harmful to one's self-perception of difference. Thus, oppressive whiteness is made invisible by being entrenched in every-day systems such as

political, legal, and educational structures (Delgado, 1995; Taylor, 2009). To re-iterate, whiteness as an institution is not an issue of skin colour, but regards the way we think, believe, and act in ways each person contributes to the systemic marginalisation of POC.

Three CRT tenets informing this work.

The first tenet of CRT I discuss is race as a social phenomenon (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). I, and many critical scholars, believe that race is not determined by biology but by social relationships, cultural meanings, and institutions like law, politics, religion, and state (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Racial groups such as white, black, asian, etc. are not determined by biology but are developed through socially constructed differences and most often found in modern medicine, anthropology, and human biology. This tenet also aligns with the epistemology (social constructionism) of this study because race is socially constructed. Race is not inherent because individuals of the world create and give meaning to it.

The second tenet of CRT I draw on to inform my thesis is the normalization of racism, which is the notion that racialisation is a naturalized, systematised process (Crenshaw 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Broadly, this tenet means that discrimination is embedded in structures in such a way that oppressive practices and marginalisation –privileging some over Others – is taken-for-granted and widely accepted as normal. Due to CRT theorists’ belief that racism is normalised in society, a lack of access to resources, services, etc. and means for participating in social systems for POC is often left unacknowledged. Since it is so normalized, POC may be unaware of the ways they are confronted by racism every day. The persistence (or permanence) of the normalisation of racism privileges the majority group (another CRT tenet) therefore, it would not be in the interests of ‘the privileged’ for individuals to be aware of the ways they are disadvantaged. In addition to

persistence through of the normalisation of racism, two concepts related to the normalisation of racism are colourblindness and race consciousness.

Colourblindness (an ableist term in its literal meaning) efforts to not “see” and recognize race and skin colour of individuals with the aims to discount difference and claim equity (Graham et al., 2011). Colourblindness is problematic because it limits/erases power of individual identity and accompanying historical and structural challenges faced by POC and Others who identify with non-dominant groups. This is an issue, specifically, because colourblindness fails to consider the persistence and permanence of racism and the construction of POC as the “Other” (Adams, 2017; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). It is a passive form of addressing racism because it negates race all together. By actively considering race and ethnicity, and histories of injustice on the basis of race and ethnicity, discrimination of racist policies that perpetuate social inequity can assertively be illuminated (DeCuir & Dixson, 1999). By discussing race, a critical and forced awareness is required to create a more equitable society for and by POC.

Contrary to colourblindness, “race consciousness” refers to the idea that each individual’s socio-political history is intimately tied to race (and other aspects of one’s identity). Thus, race must be actively engaged and focused in efforts for racial justice (Graham et al., 2011; Peller, 1995). To broaden discussions of ethnic and racial inclusion in LTC homes, race must be considered intentionally if progress in racial justice is to be made (Graham et al., 2011). If structures in society, established through colonial practices that privilege some, play a role in distributing power, then race is too important to be negated in practices pertaining to daily living. To elicit systemic and social change, an aim of this research was to raise race and ethnic consciousness within LTC homes. One way to promote race consciousness, and the inclusion of

racial and ethnic diversity in discussions of LTC homes, was to hear voices of individuals living within this system who identify with diverse ethnicities. The voice of colour thesis aims to address a gap in the LTC literature devoid of Thamizh residents' voices.

The voice of colour thesis purports that “individuals of colour have something unique to add to discourses on race that are unique to experiences of being racialised” (Lopez, 2018, pp. 109). This CRT tenet supports racial positionality to be centralized (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). The voice of colour thesis prioritizes the way individuals represent or self-represent racial identities in stories (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Lopez, 2018). Thus, to align with this tenet, I use narrative inquiry in this study. Narrative inquiry brings underrepresented voices of POC to the fore by hearing and representing their stories (Graham et al., 2011). This methodology is a meaningful way to inquire knowledge because it is an in-depth, moving expression of the participants' life experience and feelings (Graham et al., 2011).

Privilege and power in the context of race and ethnicity.

Living stories are constantly being shaped by social structures such as schools, hospitals, and religious institutions. As humans, we are heavily influenced by our social, economic, and political positions and interactions. Within policies and practices, societal structures are oppressive in both visible and invisible ways; not only through institutional power but in the subsequent allocation of social privileges. We need to understand both privilege in power and structural power because they co-exist. For this study this means that in order to critique the ethnic culture of LTC homes, privilege and power must be looked at simultaneously in relation to structure (LTC homes).

Power in relation to structure (institutional power) refers to the domination and oppression of the masses under capitalism (Horkheimer, 1982). The “masses” refer to the state,

giant corporations and large organizations that control the economy and overpower individuals (Held, 1980; Horkheimer, 1982). Critical theorists such as Karl Marx also argue that the “hierarchical” class system is the root of all social issues (Horkheimer, 1982). “Dominant” classes control the means of economic production (for example, labour and land) and the culture of society (Held, 1980; Horkheimer, 1982), which shapes dominant culture. The ideology of society is the ideology of the “ruling” class. Ideologies are the beliefs that are present in a culture instilled by dominant groups and encourage non-dominant groups to act against their own interests (Held, 1980; Horkheimer, 1982). Thus, institutional power works through structures in society such as schools and LTC homes, to exert on what is valued culturally and economically.

Power in relation to privilege refers to the privilege one has with respect to his or her presumed race. The privilege is socially constructed from identities of race for racialized individuals privileging some and oppressing others. I refer to privilege as the social, economic, and political advantages that come with whiteness and Eurocentrism. Understandings of privilege and power are important to CRT because it simultaneously exists with structural power (economic and cultural power). The two are connected in such a way where “dominant” groups control “non-dominant” groups. Historically, the dominant groups in society were the ruling upper class (the Bourgeoise) (Horkheimer, 1982). In the modern day, the dominant groups are social institutions such as schools and LTC homes because they determine and exert what is valued culturally and economically, shaping the dominant culture. With regards to ethnicity, the shaping of dominant culture moves to impact intra-race relations and inter-race relations because it creates hierarchies and discrimination within and between ethnic groups to portray ideals closer to that of the dominating ethnic culture. In the context of LTC homes, this means that ethnic groups in LTC are inclined to adapt to the dominating Eurocentric, colonial ideals

perpetuating in-group discrimination towards those who are “less” adaptive and or “less” similar to the dominating culture.

Ethnicity in LTC.

Ontario’s LTC homes provide support to more than a hundred thousand people and their families each year (Ontario Long Term Care Association, 2018). Homes are intended to offer nursing care and supervision, support with recreation activities, and a safe, caring environment twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week (Ontario Long Term Care Association, 2018). Social institutions such as LTC homes function on sets of values, principles, and foundations that value multiculturalism, inclusion, and equality but are not often culturally diverse (Graham et al., 2011; Kubota, 2015). The topic of race and ethnicity is crucial to understanding social institutions in Canada because Canada prides itself for being a “multicultural” nation yet LTC homes in Canada are not multicultural in actuality. I believe systemic and structural processes that work to racialize, limit access to resources for POC in Canada. Specifically, universal and objective cultural norms in the West make it difficult for one living with non-dominant identities to feel supported in and by social institutions (Graham et al., 2011). Consequently, marginalised groups face difficulties and challenges entering and navigating institutions or acquiring social goods (Graham et al., 2011). This speaks to the nature of LTC, the diversity that exists within it, and the tendency to universalize what is ‘good’ for individuals within a specific context.

Anthias (1992) refers to ethnicity as a category of people who identify based on commonalities such as ancestry, language, culture, nation, and history. Additionally, Cohen even goes as far as saying that ethnicity is a way of interaction between culture groups in alike social contexts (Anthias, 1992; Cohen, 1974). Within a type of cultural group, there are complexities in views, beliefs, traditions and values. Within ethnic groups, there are differences in culture,

language, ancestry, nation, and history. Honouring diversity through ethnicity is one way of ensuring that racial differences are not reproduced within structures that benefit from the fragmentation of groups of colour. A focus on ethnicity, specifically working with the ethnic group I identify with (Thamizh), supported my agenda for change within a macrocosm of identity politics. I refer to identity politics here as the shared experiences of injustice that members of a certain social group (Thamizhs) face among other groups (Crenshaw, 1991). Towards this aim, Thamizh residents illuminated the way they feel expressions of their ethnicity as a part of their culture are made invisible through day-to-day practices in LTC homes. As a subscriber to the tenets of CRT, it was my duty to see oppressive practices and continually resist and expose them. I shifted the dialogue from race to ethnicity, with intention, to embrace ethnic differences and make connections in a structural and ideological way to make room for cultural inclusiveness (Anthias, 1992) in all spaces including LTC homes.

Ethnicity was a crucial factor for people to access public services such as theatres, pubs, hotels, etc. (Backhouse, 1999). In a deeply rooted, systemically racist Canadian society, there was also much resistance (Backhouse, 1999). Aboriginal spokespersons petitioned against government officials and representatives of the British Crown consistently to object to the use of criminal law to take away Aboriginal culture and spirituality (Backhouse, 1999). There were laws put in place to preserve the multicultural heritage in Canada as seen in the Charter, yet in reality, the culture and traditions of an entire race was destroyed (Backhouse, 1999). Reputable sectors in society such as law and education are contradictory because they want to be perceived as if they are looking out for public good, but instead they perpetuate systemic racism. Globally, social institutions in society still practice the privileging of settler ideologies. It was important to

acknowledge that as a Thamizh Canadian woman, I too am privileged with the settler beneficiaries that come with residing on this land.

From Race to Ethnicity: Migration and Culture

When many Thamizhs fled from Sri Lanka, some fled to Toronto, an area with diverse ethnic communities (Amarasingam et al., 2016) among other major Canadian cities. In the following section, I describe the literature that informs culture and ethnicity pertaining to Thamizh elders and their journey to settlement in Canada.

History of Sri Lanka.

As this study concerns individuals living in LTC homes who identify as Thamizh, it is important to acknowledge Sri Lankan culture and history. Sri Lanka, previously known as “Ceylon”, is a small tropical island located under the south of India (Manogaran, 1987). For over 400 years, the country was controlled by Europe: the Portuguese (1505-1658), the Dutch (1658-1796), and the British (1796-1948) (Amarasingam, 2013). The power was then transferred from the British with the Ceylon Independence Act of 1947 to the Sri Lankans (majority Sinhalese and Thamizh peoples) (Amarasingam, 2013). This country is home to several ethnic groups; the Sinhalese majority make up 74% of the total population of which 93% are Buddhist (Amarasingam, 2013). Sri Lankan Thamizhs (12.6%) and Indian Thamizhs (5.6%) are mostly Hindus with some Christians (majority Catholic) (Amarasingam, 2013). Muslims of Sri Lanka make up 7 percent of the population (Amarasingam, 2013). Burghers (0.4%) who are descendants of European settlers and Veddas (Sri Lanka’s indigenous peoples) make up Sri Lanka’s smaller cultural groups (Amarasingam, 2013). In the following pages I attempted to summarize some of the conflicts that led to the war of 30 years following Ceylon Independence.

Thamizh and Sinhalese cultures in Sri Lanka are strongly rooted in that of Indian culture. Over time, the geographical separation of Sri Lanka and India made space for both the Thamizhs and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka to prosper in their distinct ways: language, traditions, caste systems, etc. (Manogaran, 1987). In addition to practicing Buddhism, the Sinhalese speak the Sinhala language and considered themselves to have come from their ancestors who were fair skinned, “Aryan” people of North India (Manogaran, 1987). They considered the Sinhala language to be more refined and associated to the popularly spoken Indo-European languages (Manogaran, 1987). In comparison, the Thamizhs come from ancestors of “Dravidians”, which include the dark-skinned, largely Hindu people of South India (Manogaran, 1987). The influence of white settlers is imposed in this divide between the Thamizhs and Sinhalese because attributes such as fair skin and Indo-European associations are tied to Eurocentric ideals. To re-clarify, lighter skin is not idealized by individuals who are white, rather, due to the dominance of Eurocentric ideals, people from the East have traditionally idealized whiteness, including white skin. Superiority over Thamizhs was a predominant notion held by the Sinhalese that was due to their closer skin colour likeness to whites. Eurocentric, colonial ideals play a significant role in the way Thamizhs were discriminated against during the war, which I unpack later in this review. The ethnic divide between the Sinhalese and the Thamizhs was a consequence of colonization. Prior to colonization, Thamizhs and Sinhalese geographically had their distinct areas of land in Sri Lanka (Manogaran, 1987). After the transfer of power following British colonization, a thirty-year war erupted due to the relocation of power, land, and resources. In the following paragraphs, I summarize the events leading up to the war.

In 1948 after being colonized by the Europeans, Sri Lanka became its own independent state (Manogaran, 1987). Since there was a large population of Hindus inhabiting India and Sri

Lanka, Thamizhs were perceived to be the more privileged community by the Sinhalese (Manogaran, 1987). This was seen as a threat to the Sinhalese extremists who then used this perception and the rivalry between the Sinhalese and the Thamizhs to abuse the political situation at the time (Manogaran, 1987). Although the Sinhalese claim that they were the original residents of the island, Sri Lanka has had ancient history of settlement by Thamizhs (Manogaran, 1987). When both the Portuguese and Dutch took over Sri Lanka in the sixteenth and seventeenth century respectively, they acknowledged the north of Sri Lanka as the established homeland of the Thamizhs (Manogaran, 1987).

The island of Sri Lanka is separated into a “wet zone” - which reflects the quantities of large moisture and annual rainfall - and the “dry zone” - which reflects a decreased amount of moisture and the unreliable amount of rainfall each year (Manogaran, 1987). The dry zone kept the Sinhalese and Thamizhs apart until they had no choice but to come under one rule when Sri Lanka became a British colony in 1815 (Manogaran, 1987; Peebles, 2006). During this time Thamizh speaking people sustained a distinct majority in all the districts of Northern and Eastern provinces. After the independence of Sri Lanka in 1948, the Sinhalese politicians used their majority government to better the Sinhalese peoples’ economic and political situations (Manogaran, 1987). The language and religious differences between the Thamizhs and Sinhalese formed a vigorous separation between the two groups (Manogaran, 1987). At this time the Sinhalese dominated the parliament and passed the legislation in 1956 that made Sinhalese the official language of the country instead of English (Manogaran, 1987; Peebles, 2006). There was discrimination in policies of education, employment, colonization of Thamizh districts in Sri Lanka, and agricultural and industrial development which quickly made Thamizhs of Sri Lanka a marginalised group (Manogaran, 1987).

In the political realm, Thamizh leaders used their influence to secure from the government the economic, political, and language concessions the Thamizhs needed, however, they were unsuccessful (Manogaran, 1987). The Thamizh youth groups were disappointed that their Thamizh political leaders were unable to fight for the rights of the Thamizhs (Manogaran, 1987). Thamizh youth groups did not approve of the peaceful methods their elders took and wanted to take stronger action (Manogaran, 1987). As discrimination against Thamizhs grew, the Thamizhs called for the creation of an independent self-governing state in the country named, “Eelam” (Manogaran, 1987). Thamizhs used vigilant ways to display their disapproval of government policies against their people (Manogaran, 1987). The most dominant of these militant underground movements was the creation of the Liberation Tigers of Thamizh Eelam (LTTE) (Amarasingam, 2013; Manogaran, 1987).

In 1977, the Thamizhs received moral support from south India in the efforts to win elections in the Thamizh dominant districts of Sri Lanka. This led to riots between the Thamizh and Sinhalese in which Thamizhs were left homeless and killed (Amarasingam, 2013; Manogaran, 1987). The ethnic violence perpetuated to the burning and looting of Thamizh homes and influenced the Thamizh militants to attack government owned buildings in Thamizh dominant areas (Manogaran, 1987). Although there were many riots and conflicts between the Sinhalese and Thamizhs, the ‘Colombo riot’ of 1983 was the worst. This deadly riot was executed by employees of the government’s ministry in an effort to wipe out the Thamizh militant unit in the Thamizh dominated areas (Fuglerud, 1999). The Colombo riot resulted in the killing or homelessness of 2000 innocent Thamizh civilians (Fuglerud, 1999).

Even in the dominantly Thamizh city of Jaffna, there were concentration camps run by the LTTE where unspeakable events took place such as multiple displacements, injury, and

torture (Fuglerud, 1999; Somasundaram & Sivayokan, 2013). Growing up in Jaffna at the time, the Thamizhs knew what would happen to them if they objected to the LTTE (Fuglerud, 1999). In this situation, we see the ways that the oppressed under circumstances become the oppressors. What I mean by this is that within the Thamizh community that was facing discrimination, Thamizhs marginalised each other through coercing each other to participate in the militant underground movements in the fight for a separate homeland. Due to cultural tensions inside and outside the Thamizh community at the time, Thamizhs had to choose to fight or flee (Fuglerud, 1999). Many Thamizhs chose to leave the conflict and sought refuge in countries such as Australia, England, Norway, US, and Canada (Fuglerud, 1999).

Canada is now home to the largest of this diaspora group that mostly resides in the GTA (Amarasingam, 2013). Facing the culture shock -- the feeling of disorientation caused by an individual who is suddenly unfamiliar to a culture and ways of living (Leininger & McFarland, 2006) -- of a different nation has many challenges for Thamizhs especially Thamizh older adults (Amarasingam, 2013). To engage in meaningful critical conversations, it is imperative researchers understand where participants come from, their traditions, and practices (Gutiérrez-Jones, 2001). Thus, Thamizh culture was a relevant piece to this study in beginning to understand the complex ethnic relations and cultural background of participants in this study.

Thamizh culture.

As one of the longest standing classical languages of the world, Thamizh has the oldest existing literature among the Dravidian languages (Stein, 1977). The Dravidian languages are a family of languages that is made up of at least 23 languages spoken in South Asia by 220 million people (Steever, 2015). Outside of South Asia, Thamizh is also spoken in Fiji, Indonesia, Malaysia, Martinique, Mauritius, Myanmar, Singapore, South Africa, and Trinidad (Steever,

2015). The relationship between culture and language is significant here because the Dravidian languages provide a route for Dravidian culture (Steever, 2015). The Dravidian family of languages is what informs the Dravidian culture, which includes literature, religion, fine arts, and philosophy (Steever, 2015). For example, the ancient poems of love and war, medieval devotional poems, the twin epics, and the mystical story of Ramayana are all landmarks of Thamizh literature, which have been made known to wider audiences across the globe (Steever, 2015).

Leisure traditions and South Asian culture.

Religious institutions, such as the school of “Saiva Siddhanta” and “Virasaivism” are deeply rooted in South India, and therefore Dravidian culture (Steever, 2015). Carnatic music which is classical music, originated in South India also with its music verses that are composed in the Kannada, Telugu, Thamizh, and, Sanskrit languages. Forms of classical dance such as “Bharathanatyam” and “Kuchupuddi” are also preserved in India’s southern states (Steever, 2015). Hence people who speak Dravidian languages such as Thamizh have influenced this culture in numerous ways and this is evident in the ways language and culture are heavily intertwined within the Dravidian languages (Steever, 2015).

Besides living through war in Sri Lanka, many teenagers/young adults (now older adults) also had leisure pursuits to keep themselves busy and distracted from the war-torn country at the time. This included going to work, cooking meals for their families, doing chores, visiting the temple, helping their parents, going to the movies, engaging in various art forms such as Carnatic music and Bharathanatyam (Amarasingam, 2013). Through leisure lifestyles, aspects of culture are expressed, cultivated, and passed on. For this research, I aimed to unpack the current leisure lifestyle of Thamizh older adults in LTC and find connections to residents’ past leisure

experiences, when relevant. Through participants' narratives I purposed to critique the ways the Canadian LTC system accommodates (if all) leisure lifestyles of Thamizh older adult residents.

Caste, class, and gender politics.

As described in *Health Inequities in Canada* (Hankivsky, 2011), intersectionality is the study of various categories of identity and social relations that intersect with one another to produce systems of power, oppression, and privilege (McCall, 2005). Intersectionality is not only about bringing together identity markers and the way they are affected by that in society, but is the way we consider how each marker of identity supports the constitution of the others (Goodley, 2016). The term was first described by Crenshaw, a black feminist scholar, in the 1990s, while Patricia Hill Collins (1991) was writing about the “matrices of domination” to describe the multiple and intersecting inequalities, derived from race, gender, class, and ability, that shape the lives of women (Berman, Mulcahy, Forchuk, Edmunds, Haldenby, & Lopez, 2009; Crenshaw, 1990). Intersectionality grew out of the critical feminist concerns about the limits of privileging one category of analysis (gender) over others (race, class, sexual orientation, ability, and/or place), and seeks to comprehend the fluid and complex ways in which they intersect to systematically shape the reality of individuals' lives (Collins, 1991; Hankivsky, 2011). I believe thinking through intersectionality supports us in being mindful of the complexity of individuals and makes space for us to enter an uncomfortable space where we can honestly challenge assumptions, especially our own. I did this by describing to participants the significance of their stories for the purposes of this study. Here, I describe Thamizh culture with respect to intersectional identities and politics of caste, class, and gender in Thamizh culture.

Thamizh culture is heavily influenced by the caste system. The caste system, which originated in India, created socio-economic inequalities and deprived certain groups of people in

the Thamizh community of privileges (Balasooriya, 2012). The caste system dates back to the ancient history of Sri Lanka to the colonial era (Samaraweera, 1983). The specific occupations of ancient community groups such as fishermen, barbers, and farmers, is what moulded the development of the castes (Samaraweera, 1983). The caste system is hierarchical in nature and is structured around the notion of “pollution” (Mahroof, 2000). This means that the occupations that individuals undertook in the ancient times and the perceptions of “cleanliness” of that occupation determined how “high” their caste ranked compared to other castes in the caste system. For example, individuals who were traditionally “landlords” ranked higher in the caste system in comparison to individuals who were traditionally “servants” (low caste) because servants were deemed “dirty.” Thamizh caste systems are part of Hinduism in doctrine and castes that rank lower on the caste system have a low socio-economic status (Mahroof, 2000). Individuals from one class will naturally feel reluctant to visit a home of a family that belongs to another caste (Mahroof, 2000). Here, a connection can be tied to the ways that power is imposed within the caste system in the Thamizh culture. When power is imposed in this way, disparities are created and create oppressive and inequitable spaces for individuals who identify with the culture. Recognizing the ways power is distributed within the culture helps understand the ways culture may be perceived as oppressive through a Western lens. I also believe that in order to understand power and structure outside of the Thamizh community it is important to acknowledge it within.

To explain further, a study by Anandhi, Jeyaranjan, and Krishnan (2002) explored a Thamizh village in South India to explore the work force, caste and the notion of masculinity in Thamizh culture. It was concluded from this study that unlike the past, there is a declining economic power when it comes to the land-owning “upper” caste, who traditionally had higher

social and economic power in society than the “lower” castes. In the Thamizh village where this study took place, there was socio-economic transformation and various forms of employment for young men and women had opened up (Anandhi et al., 2002). This challenged the dominant gender roles and the caste-based institutionalized oppression (Anandhi et al., 2002). As a response to this, the “upper” caste men reasserted their masculine domination in the domestic realm through violence against women (Anandhi et al., 2002). Subsequently males of the “lower” caste also used violence against women and rebellion against the elders to define their masculinity (Anandhi et al., 2002). This means that since culture is heavily embedded in bolstering masculinity, as its utmost priority for men, it failed to truly be empowering at all (Anandhi et al., 2002; Hyman, Mason, Guruge, Berman, Kanagaratnam, & Manuel, 2011). Despite an incredible socio-economic transformation and empowerment for individuals of various castes, the use of violence against women was a way to “cope” with the way dominant gender roles and the caste system were challenged. It is crucial to note the patriarchal culture that Thamizh culture is engrained in (Hyman et al., 2011). This is relevant to this study, as I felt it is important to acknowledge the inequity of gender and gender roles embedded within the culture that shape life experiences in a new country.

Lastly, I felt it was imperative to highlight how health, especially mental health, is generally observed in Thamizh culture. In a thesis by Douglin (1998) that explored Thamizhs and Greeks in Toronto and their perception of mental health, researchers found that for Thamizhs, mental health is a part of an individual’s approach to life: the capacity for someone to navigate life and have a good family life. In the literature surrounding Thamizh culture, there is also a well-established link between the importance of family and the role it plays in achieving a “good” life for Thamizhs (Canagarajah, 2008; Douglin, 1998). Yet, in a culture that values

family relationships, Greeks and Thamizhs choose to seek mental health help outside their homes in fear of being stigmatized by their families (Douglin, 1998). It was also concluded in Douglin's (1998) thesis that for Thamizhs, the visibility of symptoms is used to define an illness (Douglin, 1998). Thus, mental health is a topic that is taboo and typically unspoken of for Thamizhs (Douglin, 1998). By creating dialogue around cultural taboos such as mental health, we bring them to the foreground and into a safe space where policy makers are aware and can actively engage with them. It is crucial that policy makers in health care acknowledge the ways individuals' ethnicity shape expressions of humanity to better support people of different ethnicities through health care. I believe it is an imperative to examine the ways Thamizhs settle into a new country and the challenges (such as confronting taboos) and opportunities that come with this negotiation. Following this, I discuss LTC home policies that speak to meeting residents' cultural needs.

Challenges of Post-migration

In the following section, I discuss challenges of post-migration presented in the literature for Thamizhs living in Canada. Specifically, I discuss challenges in relation to culture maintenance, journey to settlement, and refugee status. The literature presents the strong need Canadian Thamizhs have to sustain Thamizh heritage due to the fact that previous generations sacrificed much to offer current generations of the diaspora a sustainable livelihood (Amarasingam, 2013; Canagarajah, 2008). Alejandro Portes and Alejandro Rivas, sociologists who studied social integration and immigration also state in their work that there was a need to understand the past where they came from (Cuba) to transform the present where they are residing (US) (Bundesan, 2004; Portes & Rivas, 2011). Portes and Rivas mention that prospects of ethnic groups in the US will be defined more by the second generation of immigrants than by

the first (Bundesan, 2004; Portes & Rivas, 2011). Despite the fact that immigrant families face clear hurdles to upward mobility, their children can overcome these hurdles (Amarasingam, 2013; Bundesan, 2004; Portes & Rivas, 2011). Portes and Rivas suggest that children of immigrants can learn the language and culture of the country they immigrated to, while preserving the language, traditions, and values, of their homeland (Amarasingam, 2013; Bundesan, 2004; Portes & Rivas, 2011).

I have concerns with this idea. The journey to preserve cultural identity was and is difficult and complex. Individuals must take responsibility for seeking resources to express one's cultural identity in Canada (Bundesan, 2004). However, I believe that in a multicultural system, it is society's responsibility to support the expression of all cultures as described in the Constitution of 1982. The structuring of systems and policies through neoliberalism is damaging to the connection of culture post-migration because this approach encourages privatization of welfare, health, and educational services (Strier, Surkis, & Biran, 2008). Neoliberalism prioritizes individual responsibility, which is challenging because it advances the notion that all individuals have capacity and resources needed to resolve gaps in, what should be, a social disadvantage, but are instead, individually faulted. This approach positions minoritized individuals to find their own ways to meet their cultural needs. This critical study seeks to expose how and or whether various cultures are celebrated and preserved in LTC homes in Canada. In the following section I re-introduce the concept of multiculturalism and connected it to the maintenance of culture.

Culture maintenance.

In relation to culture maintenance, a 2010 study on preserving identities of second-generation peoples of the Thamizh diaspora was explored by Anuppiriya Sriskandarajah at the

University of Windsor. She found that the popular discourse on Canadian Thamizh identity was portrayed as one of terrorism and a lack of commitment to Canada and “Canadian values” (Sriskandarajah, 2010). She states that members of Thamizh communities must work with and against these popular discourses to form their identity (Sriskandarajah, 2010). Interviewees in her study (second generation Canadian Thamizhs) speak about Canadian multiculturalism and its failures (Sriskandarajah, 2010). She claims that viewing multiculturalism through a diasporic identity lens helps reduce this perception of “otherness” (Sriskandarajah, 2010). She illuminates the idea that there are “real Canadians” and then there are the “multiculture others” (Sriskandarajah, 2010). Although marginalised groups in Canadian societies are acknowledged, they are not actually given any “power” (Sriskandarajah, 2010).

Canadian Thamizhs were discriminated against for not being deemed “economically productive” (Sriskandarajah, 2010). This discrimination was seen during the 2009 Thamizh diaspora protests against the Canadian government to act towards the atrocities going on in Sri Lanka during this time. It was expected by Thamizh groups in Canada that the Canadian government act in any way possible to help Thamizhs who were displaced and lost families in their homeland (Sriskandarajah, 2010). Jeyapal (2014) states that resistance formed by racialized groups becomes ignored. This is seen during the course of the 2009 protests, where Thamizhs were portrayed on the media as being “inconvenient” and “economically unproductive” (Sriskandarajah, 2010). Instead of being portrayed as human beings who were practicing their right to freedom of speech, resistance, and protest (Sriskandarajah, 2010). The lack of governmental response towards these protests speaks to the ways Thamizhs were discriminated, as their voices were ignored (Jeyapal, 2014; Sriskandarajah, 2010).

Canadian multiculturalism shapes Canadian national identity (Sriskandarajah, 2010). In Sriskandarajah (2010)'s study, she uses the term *critical multiculturalism*, which acknowledges the structural reasons for inequality and requires that the government be open to question its inequalities. It lies in the belief that whiteness controls the systems of knowledge and representation, cultural and institutional practices, and social relations (Sriskandarajah, 2010). Critical multiculturalism highlights the right POC have to challenge current issues of multiculturalism that ignore the systems of power of the dominant culture (Henry & Tator, 1999; Sriskandarajah, 2010). As this is a critical study, I acknowledge Canadian multiculturalism during my interviews and the way participants are affected by it in LTC. By doing so, I expose the indirect and direct ways racism is embedded in the LTC system. My hope was that stories told by Thamizh elders expose the ways in which identities of Thamizh elders are negotiated in Canada and challenge Canadian multiculturalism.

Journey to settlement and refugee status.

Maintaining cultural identity is not the only challenge Thamizhs face. The results from a study conducted with 35 Sri Lankan Thamizhs who fled during the war showcases the trauma caused by the war and the journey to settlement (George, 2013). In her study, it was found that migration policies such as Refugee Board policies continued to lengthen the distress and emotional abuse for many Sri Lankan Thamizhs (George, 2013). Expanding and changing these policies to become more sensitive to the cultural, social, and political human experiences would improve the way people are served during their migration and post-migration journey (George, 2013). The literature substantiates the importance of culture in meeting individual psychosocial needs (George, 2013; Ng & Northcott, 2015). George (2013) brings attention to war trauma, multifaceted settlement challenges, and complex migration policies for people pre- and post-

migration. She mentions that addressing the historical, social, and political background of people is of critical importance today (George, 2013). Here, she refers to the fact that in order to efficiently incorporate meaningful policy, we must first understand the population we work with in a holistic manner. For this research, it implied that with respect to Thamizh older adults in Canada, we must understand their past to create a better future with them. We must understand the war, the genocide, the escape, the settlement, and current coping mechanisms to provide an environment that is inclusive and considerate of these experiences. To emancipate a culture of people that is marginalised in society, it is important to hear culturally relevant stories, past and present. By shedding light on Thamizh journeys to settlement and learning about Thamizh culture, we can elicit positive social and systemic change in Canada for Thamizh older adults.

In Fuglerud's book titled, *Life on the outside: The Thamizh Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism*, he attempts to place the interaction between the Thamizhs and Norway citizens in a larger context of social relations (Fuglerud, 1999). He mentions that as researchers we tend to look at "refugees" and group them into one category, however, we should look at refugees in a both universal and specific way (Fuglerud, 1999). For example, in the context of Thamizh refugees, they are refugees in the universal context but what they identify with and the stories that they lived through are significantly different from what other refugee groups might have experienced, and they vary even amongst the same group of refugees.

In the literature, migration not only refers to the movement of individuals but the power and relationship between "the West and the Rest" (Fuglerud, 1999, pp. 6). Fuglerud explores a crucial point when he emphasizes the power of discourse; that one must realize discourse is always changing (Fuglerud, 1999). He mentions that if it were not for politics, Thamizhs would not be considered refugees at all and that researchers must be mindful about the power of

language when using phrases such as the “Thamizh refugee community” because this phrase is quite problematic (Fuglerud, 1999, pp. 16). The word “refugee” adopts a negative connotation and identifying Thamizhs as “refugee Thamizhs” versus only “Thamizhs” defines Thamizhs by their war experiences rather than their culture. As a critical scholar, I would agree with Fuglerud when he makes this distinction with language and says that if it were not for politics, Thamizhs would not be considered “refugees”. He explains further that the biggest concern for Thamizhs in Canada is not how to integrate themselves but how to remain in touch with their Sri Lankan Thamizh culture (Fuglerud, 1999). What we can take from Fuglerud is to be mindful as members of society and as researchers because the way we use language conveys meaning in everything we do. It is important to refrain from using the word “refugee” when referring to the Thamizh community in this study and be mindful of stereotypes and negative connotations when referring to the Thamizh community (or any cultural group). It is also crucial to be sensitive to potential triggers incurred by experiences in war such as refraining from actual discussion or descriptions of violence and war. Furthermore, as Thamizh older adults were invited to participate in this research study, it was important to not only review literature in relation to Thamizh culture and migration but aging as an immigrant and as a POC in the Canadian LTC homes.

Aging as a POC in LTC.

The most common conceptualisation of ‘older adult’ in the literature is by age group – specifically comprised of individuals 65 years and older (Collins, Arch, Crenshaw, Bernhardt, Khosla, Amin, & Kaufman, 2018; Lee, Ercius, & Smith, 2009; Pruchno, 2012). More and more older adults who are POC are living in LTC homes yet the LTC culture of homes in Canada tends to negate race and ethnicity (Wallace, Levy-Stroms, Kington, & Andersen, 1998). An American study that explored the issue of race and ethnicity in LTC homes found that older

African Americans are less likely to use LTC homes than older whites (Wallace et al., 1998). Their research suggests that at the individual level, older African Americans feel unwelcome in predominantly white homes and at the structural level, segregation of different neighbourhoods may limit availability of LTC homes for older African Americans (Wallace et al., 1998). The continuous and consistent consequence of race and or ethnicity could be the result of culture, class, and/or discrimination that may hinder equitable access to service (Wallace et al., 1998). What needs to be put in place for a more equitable space for POC? How can LTC compensate for the ethnic differences of people? This is an important area of research not only in the U.S but in Canada, a country of growing diversity.

Ontario's Long-Term Care Homes Act (2007, LTCHA) and Ontario Regulation 79/10, which was a regulation created under the LTCHA came into force on July 1, 2010 (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011). The LTCHA and the Ontario Regulation replaced the *Nursing Homes Act*, *Homes for the Aged and Rest Homes Act* and the *Charitable Institutions Act*, and the regulations under those Acts (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011). Every LTC home in Ontario is governed by this piece of legislation, which outlines:

The fundamental principle to be applied in the interpretation of the LTCHA and the Regulation is that a Home is primarily the home of its residents and is to be operated so that it is a place where its residents may live with dignity and in security, safety and comfort and have their physical, psychological, social, spiritual and cultural needs adequately met (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011, pp. 1-1).

With this research, I aim to look at the basic right that a resident has with respect to their cultural needs as outlined in this document. Further, the Residents' Bill of Rights, is used in every home as if the home has a mutual agreement with their residents to comply with all of the residents'

rights that are outlined (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011). According to the Residents' Bill of Rights:

Every resident has the right to pursue social, cultural, religious, spiritual and other interests, to develop his or her potential and to be given reasonable assistance by the Home to pursue these interests and develop his or her potential (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011, pp. 2-1).

Moreover, according to Section 26 of the LTCHA, every resident's plan of care must use an interdisciplinary assessment of specified care domains including: "cultural, spiritual and religious preferences and age-related needs and preferences" (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011, pp. 2-18). Similarly, in Section 25 of the LTCHA, it outlines that every resident should be informed of activities in the community that may interest him or her and every resident should be assisted and supported to participate in activities that may be of interest if he or she is not able to do so independently (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011). LTC homes in Ontario make a lawful promise to residents of their home to meet their cultural needs. However, when diversity is not appreciated and culture is not inclusive in an LTC home, such a promise stated in legislation and policy is ignored (Wallace et al., 1998). Additionally, there are no specificities to these policies that describe the consequences if these regulations in LTC homes are deemed not to be met.

Luh (2004) completed a qualitative study to explore the perspectives of Chinese Canadian older adults residing in LTC homes. From her study it was found that Chinese older adults attached multiple meanings to what they preferred to be a "good life". Some factors that contributed to a good quality of life reflected the Western perceptions of quality of life: good health and functional well-being, characteristics of the facility, autonomy, and collective social relations (Luh, 2004). However, there were other factors such as family, opportunities for maintenance of Chinese culture, and philosophy of life, which reflected the significance of

culture and ethnicity to the meanings of quality of life (Luh, 2004). What is enlightening about this study is that it highlights the need for researchers and practitioners to be more sensitive, aware, and gain an understanding of what it means to live a “good life” or a good quality of life for every individual (Luh, 2004). Luh’s (2004) study also highlights how the current LTC home culture neglects the basic right of residents in LTC homes to have their cultural needs met. Neglecting to be culturally sensitive with the care provided to residents is ignoring residents’ fundamental rights and ignoring these fundamental rights is considered abuse (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011). Thus, LTC homes in Canada that may seem neutral can be abusive to POC who receive services that have been premised upon Western values and neglect to be culturally sensitive (Estes & Binney, 1989; Luh, 2004; Peregoy & Dieser, 1997). As a WOC working in LTC, I realized it was my calling to use research as a tool to advocate for residents. My hope is to fill in this important and missing piece in the literature to influence change in practice and policy.

A participatory action research study conducted in Toronto aimed to identify and describe barriers to mental health services encountered by Thamizh and Chinese communities (Sadavoy, Meier, & Yuk Mui Ong, 2004). One of the findings from this study was that there were limited awareness of cognitive disorders and limited understanding to negotiate the current health care structures for participants (Sadavoy et al., 2004). It was also found that there was a dependency on ethnically specific social agencies that are not designed or funded for formal mental health care and that there was an absence of services that include cultural, geriatric, and psychiatric care (Sadavoy et al., 2004). This is relevant because a move to LTC usually involves supporting an individual who is living with a cognitive, physical, and/or emotional disability. This study also suggests that there will be even less support for mental health in LTC homes. Hence, when there

is not enough education for individuals moving to LTC (and/or their care partners) on cognitive or physical health issues and there is an absence of cultural and or mental health services in health care, moving to an LTC home can seem overwhelming or undesirable.

Aging as an immigrant in LTC.

For immigrant communities, health care services such as the mental health services that tailor to specific cultural and linguistic needs are a necessity (Sadavoy et al., 2004). To live in a diverse community such as Toronto and not have these services readily available for diverse ethnic groups limits individuals in finding help and adequate support. The findings from Sadavoy et al.'s study illustrated the insufficiency of interpreter services, and the reluctance of seniors and families to acknowledge mental health problems for fear of not being accepted by society due to stigma (Douglin, 1998; Sadavoy et al., 2004).

The literature states that for older immigrant communities, insufficient health care services and policy specific to different cultural groups cause much suffering and harm and is an abuse issue (Tyyskä, Dinshaw, Redmond, & Gomes, 2013). We must reach past culturally and linguistically specific services toward full engagement with immigrant communities to eliminate the harm experienced by older immigrants to this country (Tyyskä et al., 2013). This speaks to the challenges that come with aging as a POC, linguistically, or culturally diverse elder because not only are these individuals faced with changes in structure of living and changes in their bodies and health, but they may also be faced with issues of abuse and neglect because of lack of access to needed services and resources (Tyyskä et al., 2013). The surrounding literature on LTC, health care, and culture substantiate the need for my critical study as there is a well-established link between aging and insufficient service provision and policy that caters to POC (Sadavoy et al., 2004; Tyyskä et al., 2013). Understandings from Luh (2004), Sadavoy et al.,

(2004), Tyyskä et al., (2013) and Douglin (1998) create a path to understanding how minoritized ethnic groups in Canada continue to be marginalised in supportive institutions, like LTC homes. Thamizh residents I hoped to work with through the present study made space to challenge the ethnic culture of LTC through intersections of race, gender, age, and citizenship status. My intention was that actively engaging with stories and asking how we as scholars, policy makers, staff, and LTC organizations can elicit positive change in their daily living and enable us to take steps toward creating that change.

Current culture of LTC

It was imperative to explore the literature surrounding the current culture of LTC homes and what the current culture looks like in order to critique underlying structures that maintain divisions between groups of people in LTC and normalize racialization in LTC homes. The present culture of LTC homes is shaped by the dominant medical model and has been criticized for its lack of focus on health promotion and prevention (Lopez & Dupuis, 2014; White-Chu, Graves, Godfrey, Bonner, & Sloane, 2009). The dominant medical model operates to centre bodily (dys)function and is rooted in biological understandings much like race (White-Chu et al., 2009). Such foci have a tremendous impact on the ways individuals move through social systems and place value on bodies. For instance, in the context of disability, the biomedical model views disability as a “problem” that must be “fixed” (Diedrich, 2007). The institutionalization of “disability” categorizes and isolates human “variation” different from the “norm,” as an “inconvenience” and a “tragedy” (Linton, 1998). On an individual and systemic level, the medical model assumes that the person must change not society (Mobily, Walter & Finley, 2015). However, there is no “disabled” or “abnormal” without the social construction of what defines “normal” and “able” (Davis, 2013). Similar to the social construction of race, the medical

model and its practices are the underlying structures that maintain divisions between groups of people in LTC, between LTC and the community, and various groups within community. The medical model ensures power is maintained by the institution, for the institution by problematizing disability, disease, and illness.

Additionally, staff in LTC homes face tensions between completing tasks in a timely manner and delivering quality care for residents (Gubrium, 1975). LTC homes perpetuate a fast paced, task-oriented culture which consequently preserves an institutional environment because efficiency and profit (time and resources) are prioritized (Gubrium, 1975; Henderson, 1995; Wiersma & Dupuis, 2010; Wiersma, 2012). The focus is on bodily care, not on life quality (Gubrium, 1975). LTC homes, in relation to the approach to care, are described in the literature as examples of a ‘total institutional culture’ (Gubrium, 1975; Henderson, 1995; Wiersma & Dupuis, 2010; Wiersma, 2012). The pressure of time and task result in the perception that “tasks are completed” when staff attend to the physical needs of residents (Wiersma & Dupuis, 2010). The task-oriented culture approach to care neglects the rights residents have to their emotional, psychosocial, and cultural needs. The social and cultural identities of residents are also diminished in this approach to care because residents are treated as “objects” and “tasks to be completed” instead of human beings.

Over the past few decades, individuals connected to LTC homes challenged the conditions in LTC homes through a movement called “culture change” to transform and elicit positive change to the quality of life for residents (Dupuis, McAiney, Fortune, Ploeg, & deWitt, 2016, pp. 324). Culture change in LTC homes is the shift in ways of thinking and practice from focus on safety and medical issues, to resident-centred, health promotion, and quality of life (Fortune & Dupuis, 2018). Culture change initiatives have tried to focus on shifting the notion of *living* in LTC

homes “away from illness and death to valuing wellness and the possibilities of ageing well across the lifespan” (Lopez & Dupuis, 2014, pp. 1). Fortune and Dupuis (2018) state that there are positive and progressive examples of change being made in the LTC culture change movement. However, Fortune and Dupuis (2018) explain that, to more fully understand the quality of life implications of the culture change movement, it is imperative to gather diverse perspectives from individuals who are most directly impacted by the various initiatives inspired by culture change principles (Fortune & Dupuis, 2018). This implied that there is a significant gap in the literature with respect to hearing from residents of diverse ethnic backgrounds about how culture change in LTC homes can be furthered by an inclusion of voices of difference. I aim to illuminate, address, and fill in this gap in the literature with narratives from diverse residents in this research study.

To my knowledge, there is no existing literature that includes a discussion of Thamizh culture in LTC homes and a lack of critical literature that exists and on ethnicity and LTC home culture. Currently, the literature pertaining to ethnicity and LTC homes showcases the role of race and ethnicity in relationship with LTC insurance ownership and LTC home admissions, much of which is research conducted in the United States, focuses on caregivers, and uses quantitative methods of inquiry (McGarry, Temkin-Greener & Li, 2014; Mui, Choi & Monk, 1998; Thomeer, Mudrazija & Angel, 2015; Wallace et al., 1998). The needed literature addressing ethnicity in LTC to elicit meaningful change requires resident stories currently absent from relevant literature. With this research, I aimed to highlight the Canadian context to inform and broaden the role of ethnicity in LTC homes.

Thus, this study was conducted in Canada – a country of growing diversity and use qualitative methods of inquiry to hear from residents living in LTC homes themselves. Since I

was interested in depth, rather than the breadth of stories, my hope was that the in-depth stories told by each participant contributed to the diverse ways in which policy makers, staff working in LTC homes, LTC organizations, and researchers can implement positive change for POC living in LTC towards inclusion. It was these fundamental differences that set this study apart from the current literature surrounding ethnicity and LTC home culture. In the following chapter, I describe the importance of story and my process of gathering narratives for this study.

Chapter Three: Rerooting Through Narrative Inquiry

The purpose of this research was to hear stories by Thamizh older adults about the ways they live in LTC homes. In addition, this research intended to illuminate the ways policy makers, staff, and researchers can elicit positive change to create spaces that honour ethnic cultural practices in LTC homes. The following chapter acts as a continuation from the previous chapter as it builds on the *roots* of race, ethnicity and LTC and *reroots* through narrative inquiry. More specifically, I describe the link between the theoretical framework of critical race theory (CRT) and the chosen methodology of critical narrative inquiry (CNI). Over this and the next three chapters, I provide a detailed description of the methodology and methods used to collect, analyse, and present data.

CRT and Narrative Inquiry

There is a well-established link between narrative inquiry and CRT (Briggs, 2018; Delgado, 1989; Macdonald, 2014; Taylor, 2009). Narrative inquiry complements CRT in storytelling because it is a source to uncover the social, cultural, and institutional narratives within which individuals' experiences are constituted, shaped, expressed, and enacted (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Macdonald, 2014). CRT highlights the need to amplify voices marginalised from dominant discourses (Taylor, 2009). For example, a recent study by Briggs (2018) that uses CRT and narrative inquiry to challenge the perspective that educational and career success is based on colourblindness, merit, and hard work. The narratives explored in Briggs' study provided new insights into dominant ideologies and practices that perpetuate racial biases, and present many valuable suggestions, explicit and implied, regarding how to improve the opportunities, inclusion, and well-being of Caribbean black male youth living in the greater Toronto Area (GTA) (Briggs, 2018). Participants in Briggs' study exposed multi-dimensional

perspectives of race, class and gender-based barriers that hinder their efforts to secure stable employment (Briggs, 2018). I believe that stories have the power to shape and reshape experiences of living in social institutions, and thus, stories are useful for understanding and exposing the problematic aspects of over-structured social institutions. Through storytelling, intersectional perspectives of how individuals were and are affected by these barriers can be heard and dominant ideologies are given space to be challenged.

Critical narrative inquiry.

The decision to use this methodology was theoretically, epistemologically, and ontologically relevant. Research that is objectivist and seeks to predict, discover, and generalise one truth may not be in a position to adopt narrative inquiry as a methodology. Scholars who use narrative methodology want to resist, unpack, or illuminate the stories of participants because they believe stories reveal larger cultures (Chase, 2005; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 2008). Adopting critical narrative inquiry, with considerations from CRT, as the methodology for this study meant that I interpreted stories of Thamizh older adults with active consciousness of the systemic racism that is embedded in LTC homes.

Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) say, “critical narrative inquiry moves from a need for reliability, objectivity, generalizability, and validity to shed light on the particularities of a context and an individual’s experience within this context” (as cited in Lopez, 2018, p. 124). This quote is a response to a need to “justify” research by necessitating reliable, objective, generalizable, and valid as judgement criteria in positivist research. This quote creates room for research, alternative to post-positivist inquiry, to exist. Researchers who adopt narrative inquiry prioritize multiple truths and multiple social realities because all are valid and worthy (Delgado, 1989). Researchers can shed light on the multiplicity of truths through narrative because each

individual narrative describes a unique experience that is uniquely situated and speaks for itself within the context being described. Any way one chooses to present personal story is significant in itself and contributes to knowledge (Berbary & Boles, 2014; Chase, 2005; McCormack, 2004; Riessman, 2008).

When narratives are told, they make space to understand and critique status quo culture (Chase, 2005; McCormack, 2004; Riessman, 2008). This study aimed to critique LTC culture and expose the experiences of Thamizh residents who are a part of this system and culture. Towards this purpose, CRT narratives are situated in opposition to dominant stories to critique structure and whitewashing of systems. It was these reasons that I chose to employ critical narrative inquiry for this research. In the following sections of this chapter, I explain how I recruited participants and the ways my positionality as researcher shaped the methodology and methods I chose.

Counter narratives and meta-narratives.

One tenet of CRT promotes the idea that institutional racism is accepted as natural and as such, oppressions remain invisible. Counter-stories are narratives that both expose and critique dominant discourses that preserve racial stereotypes through narratives that unfairly privilege and exclude (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado, 2000; Hiraldo, 2010). Counter-storytelling is a type of story that is different from the dominant narrative and illuminates the racial and oppressive experiences of marginalised groups (DeCuir and Dixson, 2004; Hiraldo, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Parker & Villalpando, 2007). Through counter-narratives, multiple truths expose the way racialised individuals are oppressed in every day through taken-for-granted practices in LTC. Counter-stories can portray the status quo as something that is self-serving or cruel (Delgado, 2000) or can break notions of homogeneity that both contest or preserve the

status quo (Bell, 2000). Narratives can also help us comprehend when it is time to relocate power (Delgado, 2000). According to the voice of colour thesis in CRT, hearing counter stories privileges the illumination of voices of colour and is a powerful means for revealing oppression – the bundle of assumptions, received knowledge, and shared understandings, against dominant legal and political discourses (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). The same situation can be retold differently, and “oppositional” storytelling also known as counter narratives can challenge our assumptions about social realities (Delgado, 2000).

Unlike counter narratives, meta-narratives are reflections of the dominant discourses in our social world (Bamberg & Andrews, 2004). Meta-narratives are a collection of stories that contribute and reproduce existing privileges and powers (Middleton, Anderson, & Banning, 2009). For instance, if I gathered stories from the administration in LTC and/or policy makers in the Ontario government, such as the MOHLTC, these narratives could be considered a form of meta-narratives. I approached this study with counter narratives in mind to challenge and resist meta-narratives using critical theory to shed light on dominant discourses of living in LTC homes in our Canadian society.

Study Design

The following section is an overview of how counter narratives were gathered for this study (see Table 1). First, I discuss ethical considerations of this research followed by participant recruitment, a description of life story interview method, and rigour. The following chapters will speak to findings, narrative analysis, and representation.

Ethical considerations.

Creswell (2009) puts emphasis on the importance of guarding participants of research from unnecessary risk and harm as well as protecting the integrity of research. Researchers must

be genuine to the aims of the study and forthcoming with participants of the study. Prior to beginning the recruitment of participants and LTC homes, I received the required ethics clearance (ORE#41234) through the Office of Research Ethics (ORE) at the University of Waterloo. Additionally, to protect the confidentiality of participants, all participant names used throughout this thesis were replaced with pseudonyms. Further, digital information was secured according to guidelines provided through the ORE at the University of Waterloo to maintain confidentiality when the study was completed.

I anticipated challenges such as openness in communication when recruiting participants for this study due to the stigma and taboo of living in LTC for this population. Spencer (2017) speaks to the connection between cultural taboos and storytelling in his narrative analysis that focuses on transracial indigenous adoption in Canada. Drawing on two individuals of their adoption and broader life histories, he probes how the violence of forced adoption is weaved into their past, present, and future (Spencer, 2017). Spencer's study draws connections between taboos and the sentiment of passing down stories (also known as Indigenous storytelling) (Spencer, 2017). In his analysis, he draws the connection that narratives are treated as living histories that must be conveyed to future generations so that movements towards decolonization and justice may be realized (Spencer, 2017). Spencer echoes the positive impact of passing down stories on future and current generations to appreciate diversity and move towards cultural inclusion.

I believe the stigma and taboo of living in a LTC home held by Thamizhs of earlier generations is why this conversation is so significant. Shedding light on this taboo and amplifying residents' stories can help break the stigma of living in LTC home for Thamizh residents and for other cultures who share the similar taboo. Though overcoming this taboo was

not the purpose of this study, I believed that simply talking about it could lead to a positive outcome. I discuss this further in the following chapters. Especially during the recruitment phase, it was ethically imperative to provide residents with all the necessary information to make an informed decision. I hoped to tackle the challenge of stigma and taboo by explicitly acknowledging it during the recruitment phase. However, due to the perceived stigma, I understood the risk disclosure during recruitment posed as potential participants could outright refuse to take part in this research. If that was the case, I respected their choice and expanded my search. If everyone I spoke to was not agreeable to participate in this study, I planned to revisit and alter my study design to accomplish the goals of this research.

In relation to the challenges described above, I ensured informed consent by clarifying with participants what was required of them if they chose to consent to the study. For example, before residents decided to participate, they were provided with all the necessary information (see Appendices A – E) to make an informed decision. Information forms included contact information for any questions potential participants may have. All participants were informed they had the right to completely withdraw from the study at any time.

Participant recruitment.

The GTA is home to the largest Thamizh diaspora in the entire world (Amarasingam, 2013). Since this study focused on Thamizh residents, LTC homes in the GTA were chosen as the site to collect stories. A set number of participants was not needed for this qualitative study (deMarrais, 2004; Patton, 2002). Qualitative studies are contextually based and the number of participants depends on the richness of the stories and the extent to which the participants can respond to the research purpose and questions (deMarrais, 2004). I initially proposed to interview four to six participants for this study, although this number was not limited and was

subject to my ability to expand my search to find participants who fit the appropriate criteria.

The number of participants was instead dependant on the depth of stories that were shared with me. As I began to collect stories, I did not put a ceiling on participant recruitment as I wanted as much diverse information as possible to inform the new narrative that I hoped to create. The number of participants also depended on whether participants who agree to participate felt comfortable and supported in the storytelling process (as guided by criterion discussed later).

Hearing resident narratives in LTC.

In Table 1, I outline the steps I took to recruit participants for this research. First, I called LTC homes in Toronto and spoke to the home's administrator. I introduced myself and the study and set up a time and day to meet in person if the administrator was agreeable to meet with me about this project (see Appendix A). During the scheduled meeting with the home's administrator, I went over the organization information letter (see Appendix B) and signed the organization permission form (see Appendix B).

I employed purposeful, criterion-based sampling for participant selection. Criterion-based sampling involves the researcher creating a list of attributes and choosing a predetermined set of criteria to invite individuals to participate (deMarrais, 2004). Purposeful sampling is used in qualitative inquiry to identify and select information-rich cases related to the topic of interest (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan, & Hoagwood, 2015). This spoke to my intent to achieve a depth of understanding and not a breadth of understanding. This means that within each story, I want to ascertain unique, detailed, and holistic stories instead of one that is generalizable. Thamizh elders were chosen to hear perspectives of LTC homes in Canada from their unique positionality. This group is not representative of all POC, the aging population, and

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immigrants -- rather each of their individual stories are unique, valid, and necessary for this research.

Table 1. Research timeline

Action	Anticipated Length of Time	Plan
1. Participant recruitment	2 weeks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Called LTC homes and provided information on study using phone script (Appendix A) - Set up meeting date with administrators of LTC and went over research project in detail
2. In person meeting with administrator at LTC home	1 day (1 hour)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Went through details of all forms, letters, guides (Appendix A, B, C, D, E) - Addressed any questions and concerns from the home's administrator and myself - Signed organization permission form (Appendix A) - Discussed potential participants who meet criteria and chatted with residents about study
3. Participant recruitment and interviews	1 month (required multiple visits to homes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Visited residents of home and discussed study - Provided residents with interview questions and consent letter with Thamizh translations, signed participant information letter and consent form (if residents are agreeable): if POA consent is not required, participants provided consent (Appendix C) or assent (Appendix E), addressed any questions or concerns - Set up interview dates and times with residents - Booked a space in LTC for privacy during interviews if participants do not wish to be interviewed in their rooms - Demographic profiles were completed with participants prior to beginning the interview (Appendix F) - Scheduled, audio-recorded interviews with residents using semi-structured interview guide (Appendix G) - Jot notes were taken before, during, and immediately after interviews - Thanked participants, the administrator of home for participating in study, gave them respective thank you letters (Appendix H)
4. Transcription	12 days: 1 hour of transcription/day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transcribed recordings and added jot notes such as non-verbal communication in brackets
5. Narrative analysis	1 month	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Removed interviewer questions and phrases to create uninterrupted narrative for each individual participant - Reflected on emerging themes, compare and contrast between narratives
6. Representation	1 month	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Created a new fictional, composite narrative using the woven themes that emerged during narrative analysis
7. Discussion and Conclusion	1 month	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reflected and discussed theoretical and methodological implications, limitations of study, implications and recommendations for practice and policy, and directions for future research

Although the majority of older adults living in LTC are 65 years and older, people younger than this also live in LTC homes (Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011). Being inclusive of the range of ages in this research makes space for more flexibility in participant recruitment and more inclusivity to all older adults who wish to participate. For example, I assume that an individual who is 55 has varying experiences from another individual 55 years of age, let alone someone who is 90 years of age. I hoped to reflect diverse experiences and thus, this research was inclusive to all older adults who wished to participate. Residents must have been able to speak English or Thamizh for mutual understanding between myself and participants. Additionally, residents must have lived at the home for at least six months to be able to speak to experiences and lifestyle in the home. Residents who lived in the home for less time may not have sufficient experience in the home for residents to speak tell stories about their daily living in the home. In summary, the participant selection criteria for this research was: Thamizh speaking resident who has lived in the LTC home for at least six months and can speak English or Thamizh to some degree including individuals living with dementia.

Aside from these criteria for inclusion, I collected additional demographic information of participants, specifically the age and gender of participants prior to beginning the interview (see Appendix F). This additional demographic information is collected to provide context for participants' stories during narrative analysis and discussion (see Appendix F). I believe that including the intersection of these identities (gender and age) is crucial in contextualising the findings of this study. Contextualising participants stories in this way makes space for comprehending and illuminating the fluid and complex ways in which these social identities intersect within culture and between cultures to systematically shape the reality of individuals' lives (Collins, 1991; Hankivsky, 2011). Thinking through intersectionality within the culture of

LTC supports us in being mindful of the complexity of individuals and makes space for us to enter an uncomfortable space where we can honestly challenge assumptions, especially our own.

After receiving permission from each home (see Appendix A), I recruited residents who fit the eligibility criteria by chatting with residents who were eligible to participate in the study. To do this, I spoke with the home's administrator to obtain a list of residents in the home who are Tamil, can speak English or Tamil to some degree, and have lived in the home for at least six months. I then determined which residents from this list required consent from their power of attorney (POA) to speak with me. I contacted POAs to arrange and obtain their consent prior to speaking with residents (see Appendix D for POA consent form). Using the list of residents and their corresponding room numbers, I located residents and entered residents' rooms by first knocking on the door three times and asking, "May I please come in?". If they were agreeable to speaking to me, I introduced myself and the research project. At this time, I went through the participant information letter and consent form (see Appendix C) and addressed any questions and or concerns residents had. If residents were agreeable to participate, I asked them for their consent (see Appendix C).

If residents were not able to provide a written consent due to cognitive barriers such as memory loss, qualitative researchers suggest an alternate method to obtain consent (Black, Rabins, Sugarman, Karlawish, 2010; Dewing, 2007). Dewing (2007) puts an emphasis on ongoing consent monitoring with participants. This means consent is not only initial but it is an ongoing process throughout research (during recruitment and throughout interviewing). Also known as assent, this method requires the ability to indicate a meaningful choice and at least a minimal level of understanding (Black et al., 2010). Obtaining assent from participants who lack consent capacity allows them to participate in an alternate way in the consent process (Black et

al., 2010). If residents are not able to provide consent, as the researcher I assessed if ongoing consent is provided consistently to the initial consent, and if the participant wishes to continue or their feelings about participation have changed (Dewing, 2007). For a detailed outline of the participant assent process for this study, see Appendix E. Following consent, I asked residents where they prefer to have the interview and schedule the space accordingly. For example, interviews were conducted in residents' rooms if they live in private rooms or inside a bookable space (a meeting room) in the LTC home. To ensure a comfortable, private, and safe space, I arranged with the home and residents to complete interviews in an area where interruptions were minimal.

Life story interview method.

The *way* researchers use the techniques (methods) of research and the way a researcher understands and interprets stories and other forms of information shared by participants to bring the purpose of research to life *is* our methodology. It helps guide the researcher in making decisions pertaining to the research design: methods, analysis, and representation of data. Some narrative methods include: life story, life history, oral history, and, testimonio (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This critical narrative inquiry exercised life stories as a specific method to collect stories. In the life story method, there is a specific focus on a period of time or event in someone's life or it focuses on a certain experience throughout the course of one's life (Riessman & Speedy, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). For example, if a researcher wanted to study the story of how an individual's sense of fashion developed over time, they may choose the life story method of narrative inquiry to understand as there is a specific focus on time period, event, and/or experience. For this study, life story centres on the racialized experiences of

Thamizh older adults at a specific period of time in their life: their move to LTC to time of interview.

Life story is both an interview method and a type of narrative inquiry because it aligns with the guiding theoretical framework (CRT) of this research. The life story method maintains participants as creators of his/ her/their own story. Agreeable with CRT's voice of colour thesis, life story narratives prioritize the ways individuals re-present their identities in stories (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Lopez, 2018). For this study, participants' stories were kept intact and the narrator's knowledge is privileged. As the researcher and interviewer of this study, I was a supportive, active listener. I did not "allow" participants to speak and vice versa. However, although there is no power to be "given" and "taken", in a critical study, power can never be truly equalized. I acknowledged my power and the tools and positions that are indicative of power imbalances such as my role as a student researcher, who is University educated, and bilingual.

Interviews were face-to-face, semi-structured, and conversational. Conversational interviews, also known as "flexible" interviews, are a deviation from the standard interview with closed ended questions (Currivan, 2008). Since it consists of open-ended questions, the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee is more fluid in structure (Currivan, 2008). Thus, interviewers have the ability to ask participants questions to clarify their understanding of questions before participants respond to interview questions (Currivan, 2008).

Table 2. Research questions and interview questions

Research Questions	Semi-structured Interview Questions
1. What stories do Thamizh older adults tell about living in LTC homes? What do these stories tell us about how racialisation is experienced in LTC homes? What practices, languages, interactions, and symbols in LTC normalise processes of racialisation? (15 minutes)	Tell me about yourself... What does your day look like? Tell me a story about how this home supports you as a Thamizh older adult....
2. What ways can policy makers, staff working in LTC homes, LTC organizations, and researchers elicit positive change for POC living in LTC towards inclusion? According to residents, what needs to be put in place for a more equitable space? (15 minutes)	Tell me a story about anything that you would change in this home if you could... What would you like people to know about being Thamizh living in Canada? Living here?

Conversational interviews work well with narrative methodology due to its ability to build a holistic story about a specific life circumstance. For example, researchers who conducted narrative research assumed that a narrative of chronic illness, such as diabetes, is not solely the story of an illness, but the in-depth story of a life that is changed by illness (Stuckey, 2013). The purpose of this critical research is not only to illuminate stories of Thamizh residents and perceptions on their lifestyle in LTC homes but to expose stories that may indicate the ways one’s story is impacted by difference and structural inequities like institutional racism. Therefore, this narrative inquiry adopts semi-structured, conversational, life story interviews as its method. To hear stories and move towards the purposes of this research, I used open-ended questions that are a direct reflection of the proposed research questions (see Table 2). I also list probing questions I used to facilitate each of the questions throughout the interview, if probes were needed.

Clandinin (2006) states that a life story interview involves three steps: (1) preparing for the interview (recruiting participants), (2) interviewing (guiding a participant through the telling of their life story), and finally, (3) transcribing. Interviews were audio recorded and throughout the interview, while I listened to residents' stories, I jotted down notes pertaining to non-verbal communication (eye contact, posture, bodily movements, etc.). I used the time on the recorder to identify when non-verbal cues were observed. I then added these notes in brackets to the transcription of the audio afterwards to paint a fuller picture of the interview; what was seen and what was heard. After preparing for the interview, Clandinin (2006) described for the second step (interviewing), it was essential to be adaptable to where participants took their story. Although I set up the interview with questions and probes, the interview guide served as only a guide to these conversations and not as a "script" to abide by. For example, I created probing questions to use, if needed, however, my role as a supportive and active listener was intentional. In my intention to prioritize the voices of residents and adjust to where they (residents) took their stories, I acknowledged that not every interview question or probe listed was utilized for each interview (see Appendix G).

In the first 15 minutes of the interview, I introduced myself, ensured I had verbal consent/assent of the participant, and addressed any remaining questions/concerns. I also at this time mentioned to participants that if they had questions before or throughout the interview, that they could ask their questions. I asked participants to complete a short demographics questionnaire before beginning the interview, which took approximately one minute to complete (see Appendix F). In the next 15 minutes of the interview, I aimed to address the first research question: What stories do Thamizh older adults tell about their living in LTC homes? What do these stories tell us about how racialisation is lived in LTC homes? To answer these questions

and elicit conversation through storying, I began to ask participants to tell me stories (in this order) about themselves, their move to LTC, their identity as a Thamizh, and how the LTC home supports them as a Thamizh older adult. Within each interview question, I dove deeper using probes during the conversation (see Appendix G). For example, for the first question “tell me about yourself,” I asked follow-up questions such as “what is your favourite childhood memory?” and “what makes you smile?” I began the life story interview in this way to build rapport and learn about the participant before learning about their experiences in living in LTC. In answering these questions and or probes, I began to understand what constitutes that participant’s life, who they are as a person before I understood their life as a resident.

My hope with the first 15 minutes of these stories was to learn who participants were and learn about their experience as a resident living in a LTC home. During the second half of the interview, which was 15 minutes in length, I focused on the second research question: How can policy makers, LTC organizations, staff working in LTC, and researchers elicit positive change for POC living in LTC? What needs to be put in place for a more equitable experiences in LTC for all? My plan for this section of the interview was to hear what Thamizh residents believed were possible steps toward inclusion. For the second half of the interview I dove deeper with participants and asked probing questions to elicit conversation about their stories (see Appendix G).

If residents felt tired or no longer wanted to participate after 15 or 30 minutes, I asked them if they would like for me to return at a later time that day or the following day. Since I worked with older adults who experienced memory loss, I did not leave a lot of time in between sessions. I bridged multiple sessions if this was desired by the participant by keeping a consistent schedule. I also allocated 30-minute breaks in between sessions to return to any residents if

needed. This ensured flexibility and availability to work around residents' schedules and bridge multiple sessions if that was what residents desired. I was also considerate of residents' desire to stop by looking for verbal and nonverbal signs such as slowed responses, fatigue, irritability, etc. If I observed these signs, I asked participants if they would like me to return at a later time or stop the interview.

Clandinin (2006) states, the final phase of life story interview is transcribing. Immediately following the interviews, I wrote down and drew out all my initial thoughts and observations in point form. For example, the time of day, special events that were happening inside in home, ways the staff had engaged with me, and any other observations that might be important to consider. Having these observational notes that cannot be heard through the audio recording was helpful in recalling parts of the interview and its context at a later time. Through careful and repeated listening of the audio, I transcribed word for word what was said on each recording (Reissman, 1993). While transcribing word for word from audio files, I wrote out questions and comments of the interviewer as well as the interviewee. I needed all what was heard from the audio in order to provide context on resident responses. After transcribing, I removed questions and comments of the interviewer so only words of the interviewee remained to be used later for findings and representation. Constructing the transcript in this manner upholds the entirety of the narrative (Reissman, 2008). Omitting the interviewer in the transcript privileges the narrator of the story; consistent with the voice of colour thesis of CRT. It is important to acknowledge that as a Thamizh woman myself, I also have a voice of colour. However, it was important to remove my voice when it supports the context for hearing participant responses because although participants and I shared the same ethnicity, my position of age and a non-LTC resident was different.

Method of narrative analysis.

Narrative analysis is the way we think through theory to look at the data of our study. There are many ways to approach narrative analysis such as creating profiles from interview transcripts and grouping texts and finding themes across participants (Pabon, 2016). Narrative analysis is an approach that acknowledges the extent to which stories shed light on individual experiences (Frost, 2009; Jones, 2014).

CRT provided me with the theoretical framework needed to examine racism as a naturalized and systematised process during narrative analysis (Clandinin, 2006). Narrative analysis considers social systems and contexts in the exploration of identity and culture and considers the context of narratives while keeping the text as whole (Frost, 2009; Jones, 2014). Agreeably, Clandinin (2006) describes the whole text as the key to the life story interview method:

The key to the life story is keeping the story in the words and voice of the one telling it. The life story narrative that results from the life story interview, after it is transcribed, with the interviewer's questions left out, and the storyteller's words put into sentence and paragraph form, becomes the essence of what has happened to a person. It presents an insider's perspective on and understanding of a life lived (p. 233).

I believe we can learn from not only the teller's words but by the *way* they tell their stories. I believe that keeping the life story narrative as one uninterrupted unit -- the way I heard it -- is more meaningful for the aims of the theoretical framework that this research is guided by. My intention was to preserve participants' voice in the final representation. I wanted to transcribe and represent stories, using direct quotations in the same plot sequences that participants tell them in. If texts were coded from participants' stories into themes (textual analysis), nuance is lost through categorization into researcher-interpreted themes. This is different from the approach I took because participants' narratives were kept as one uninterrupted unit, in the same

plot sequence they told them in. By coding the texts into themes, stories would be represented in a way that *I* perceived it rather than intended by participants.

In this study, life stories focus on a period of time in residents' lives that is specific to culture and time. I listened to participants' narratives by noting how I felt racialization operates through the narratives and how it was presented through the plots and context of the narrative. I believe that knowledge produced through research is contextual and shaped by researchers and participants. Narratives cannot be parsed from the context in which they are told. Analysing narrative structure can help readers to contextualise individual unique stories and amplify voices to underrepresented communities (Ahmed & Rogers, 2017).

It was crucial for me to not only showcase the unique meanings of each story but to showcase the order in which the story was told. The multiplicity of truths and what was constructed as truths were shaped by the cultural and historical context in which it occurs. My concern was not to bring out what is "true" but rather what was meaningful in showcasing the inconsistencies and contradictions that bring about racial oppression in our world.

For this research, I adopted a type of structural analysis in narrative inquiry which centralizes on plot -- a sequence of events (Ahmed, 2013). The plots in a narrative interview, although fragmented, align with the social and cultural context of their production (Ahmed, 2013). Plots in narratives are culturally and socially situated and echo, and reproduce these locations (Ahmed, 2013). Although plots were created from non-sequential events, the plot within itself is a "whole" (Riessman, 2000). The plot of a narrative can be described as the way story tellers impose order on their experiences (Riessman, 1993) and essentially for this analysis, as how analysts impose structure (Ahmed, 2013; Riessman, 2008). As plots are taken from a space that is culturally and temporally specific, Ahmed (2013) uses a structural narrative

approach centering on plot to facilitate understanding of migration and settlement. A structural narrative approach centering plots makes space to understand the complexity of decision-making processes, actions, and experiences of lived experiences to be understood and placed in context (Ahmed, 2013). This means that analysis through content and structure of narratives is useful in understanding participants, their voices, perspectives and how they make sense of their experiences.

Rigour.

It is important to consider rigour in designing qualitative inquiry (Dodge, Ospina & Foldy, 2005; Lindsay & Schwind, 2016). Dodge et al. (2005) describe rigour as the accurate application of theory and method. This implies that research must be agreeable to quality standards of the research community and is consistent to its theoretical and methodological framework (Dodge et al., 2005). As I privileged the voices of participants, one way I ensured rigour was to verify participants were narrating their story in the way they desire to narrate it. For this research, rigour was ensured through clarifying my understanding with participants of their stories and paraphrasing what was said to verify participants and I have mutual understanding. Not only that, but rigour was also ensured through audio recording interviews (Dodge et al., 2005). Transcribing the exact words said by participants from audio recordings ensured the ways participants chose to tell their stories were accurately reflected. In sum, I ensured rigour through audio recording interviews, paraphrasing, and clarifying with participants about their stories.

Chapter Four: Narrative Buds

In this chapter, I present stories told by the five residents who took part in this study. The narrative ‘buds’ are metaphoric of each resident’s story because similar to stories, no two buds of a flower are identical. Every resident’s story is diverse in their own, unique, way and each is valid and worthy.

To analyse residents’ narratives, I used the ‘Quest’ plot typology, taken from Christopher Booker’s (2004) classification of the ‘Seven Basic Plots’ from literature, film, the Bible, ancient myths and folk tales. He classifies the seven plots as: overcoming the monster; rags to riches, the quest, voyage and return; comedy; tragedy; and rebirth. Scholars use this type of narrative analysis in academic research to depict a type of journey that participants in their study face such as the journey of migration (Ahmed, 2013). I adopted this typology for this research to depict the various journeys Thamizh elders take in living in LTC as a part of being Thamizh and living in LTC.

There are five stages to the Quest beginning with ‘the call,’ which is the stage when participants feel compelled to leave an atmosphere of constriction (such as leaving a war-torn country). The second stage, the ‘journey’ describes the obstacles that the participant has overcome, and the third stage, ‘arrival and frustration’, describes the participant almost reaching their goal, but is faced with a set of further obstacles. The fourth stage is called, ‘the final ordeals’, which is the final challenges the participant must go through before reaching their goal (whatever that goal may be). The fifth stage is ‘the goal’, where the participants finds ‘the life-transforming treasure’ (Booker, 2004).

In Quest stories, participants’ narratives are analysed in relation to the stages identified above to accomplish the goals of the research and answer the purposed research questions

(Bakhtin, Emerson & Holquist, 1981). Bakhtin et al. (1981) outlines the purposes of the inquiry is apparent in especially the end point of the plot movement and shapes the telling of meaning and importance of the study (Bakhtin et al., 1981). The life-renewing goal also represents the end point of plot movement and outlines the purpose and meaning of the life story narrative.

To make participants' stories coherent and engaging for readers, I re-storied each narrative by organizing stories in a sequential order using the five stages of the Quest typology. I decided where to categorize stories based on when the story took place representative of each stage. For this narrative inquiry, this implied that plots within each narrative are structured together within each stage as a part of the "whole" story (Booker, 2004). For example, if a resident discussed their frustrations surrounding the lack of religious programming that is offered in the home, it would be structured in the "the goal" stage that described the obstacles that participants face currently living in the LTC home. Another example of using the Quest typology as a way of narrative analysis is if a resident describes a favourite childhood memory from the past, this specific plot in their narrative would be structured into the first stage, "the call". Although the memory itself may not be a direct representation of this stage that symbolizes "feeling compelled to leave an atmosphere of constriction", according to the chronology of events, this plot would be categorized into the first stage. Again, time and context were prioritized in the narrative analysis as I took each story at face value and re-storied each narrative by filling gaps between events and actions in chronological order.

In hearing stories, I acknowledged that not every stage of the Quest typology was represented by plots for every participant. My choice to use this methodologically was intentional - to organize the sequence of events and contextualize them in a way that was coherent to readers to be later used for the final representation. Theoretically, this approach

complemented the tenets of CRT that outline race as a social phenomenon, and racialisation as a systematised process because, similar to race and racialisation, the meaning of plots are socially constructed. Further, meaning and context is imposed by narrators in the *way* they tell their stories and engage with the social world. Every stage of the Quest typology was not represented with a story. In conjunction with the voice of colour thesis of CRT, I prioritized hearing participants stories, the *way* they are told rather than focusing on each stage of the Quest typology. The re-storied narratives were written in italics to depict participants' language. The text I added during the re-storying process were connecting words such as "and" and "within" to facilitate understanding for readers that was lost in translation from Thamizh to English. In re-storying the order of events, my purpose was to highlight raw conversations by adding context to, ultimately, illuminate the racialization embedded in them. I contextualized stories by providing background information. For example, if a participant describes a historical/political event, I added context such as the year, duration, and type of event the participant referred to. It is for these reasons I asked questions throughout the interview that spoke to context and positionality of the participant. For example, the life story interview began with "tell me about yourself". I asked this question with intent to learn about the participant, and who they are to help contextualize and order plots as a part of residents' larger narrative. All participants identified Sri Lanka as their country of origin. I include here demographic information of participants in a table (see Table 3, below) followed by transcriptions from each participant's interview, formatted, using the stages from the quest typology. After that, I describe in detail, the way in which I used the Quest typology to conduct a narrative analysis and the analysis of narratives.

Table 3. Demographics of Participants

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Length of Stay in LTC	Religion	Language
Vizhi	Female	94	2 years	Hindu	Thamizh
Kandasamy					
Thanga	Female	85	1 year	Christian	Thamizh
Machina					
Nila Raghavan	Female	87	7 years	Christian	Thamizh
Poovaneswary	Female	84	4 years	Roman	Thamizh
Pushpadevy				Catholic	
Aathiluxmy	Female	93	6 months	Christian	Thamizh
Sivashangaran					

In other words, in the process of re-storying, I kept each participants' narrative separately which served to inform each participants' unique narrative profiles that were later creatively represented through a method of Creative Analytic Practice (CAP). I discuss CAP in greater detail in Chapter 6. My analysis involved re-storying through context and plot under each distinct stage of the Quest typology and through a critical, structural analysis of narratives, my hope was that this study provided meaningful insight to research, theory, and practice. In following section, I present the narratives of five participants, Vizhi, Thanga, Nila, Poovaneswary, and Aathiluxmy. It is important to note that all interviews were conducted in Thamizh and transcribed in English. Additionally, during all interviews, residents communicated their stories vocally with the exception of Poovaneswary who wrote out her responses out using a digital device as she was unable to communicate through speech.

Vizhi's Narrative

The call.

My name is Vizhi, also known as Vizhiamma Kandasamy. I was born in Malaysia. I stayed in Malaysia for 10 years. In Malaysia we lived very well, we could go out and see different places. We can see new buildings, events just from sitting in one spot. When you travel by car, you can see so many things going on outside. There are clubs and games that go on that we can watch. I enjoyed going out and watching Thamizh movies. We would go almost every day. I watched a lot of movies, I have forgotten their names now. You can watch any movie in Malaysia! Every day they would play Thamizh movies at the cinema. I got married and within 10 months, I had my son. I had 4 kids after that. I would cook for my 4 kids, take care of them. We also had a servant boy in Malaysia and we would cook curries.

When I was in Sri Lanka, I loved going to the temple, playing with the kids our age. We would gather all the kids and play outside together. All the girls... we are young right. We go to shows in the evening. We go to evening shows that take place at the temple to watch religious dance and dramas. All of kids from our families and friends go together. They will come and call me by my name and then I get ready and go with them.

Usually in the mornings, I would wake up at about 5:00am to go and water the vegetable gardens. I went to the farm when I was little with my parents. We would look after the crops, and water the vegetable gardens. When we become "women" we can't go. So, I only went before I was 10 years old. I went to the farm early in the morning to water the vegetable gardens before going to school. A lot of kids like us will go together in the morning. They will come and call me to go also. We will play in the farm area. We would also help out at the farm and then come home before 7:00am and then eat breakfast. After that, the children would all play and then go

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together to school. At 8:00am, all the kids would go to school. Our lunch break at school will be at 1:00pm. We would all go to our own homes for lunch and then we would go back to school for classes until 3:00pm when school is finished. We would eat lunch if the cooking is finished at home, if not we would come home and eat then. After 3:00pm we would play outside with the other kids. We will play outdoor games such as tag and Ghilli. We go to the temple after school but usually before we become a “woman”. We can’t go to the temple after that.

Journey.

Arrival and frustration.

I came to Canada because my son called me here. He said, “you shouldn’t be alone, you can come here and live with your kids.” I have 4 kids. 2 girls, and 2 boys. 1 of the boys and 1 of the girls are in France. My daughter, she is in Colombo, Sri Lanka, working as a lawyer. Her son is a big chartered accountant in London, England. After my kids came to Canada and settled here, I came here. 19 years. There was not much difference from Sri Lanka, I felt mostly home here in Canada.

The final ordeals.

After I came to Canada, I stayed at his (her son’s) house. After I became sick, I came to LTC. My son is the one who prepared my move to this LTC home. It is nice for me to have my son with me in Canada.

The goal.

I like it here. The challenges of living here is that I don’t know their language since I speak in Thamizh and they only understand English. I usually wake up when the PSWs come and wake me up. I sometimes get up on my own, if I call them, they will come. They look after me

very well. If I press the call bell, they will come to me. There is no specific time that I get up, I am up when I am up and sleep at no specific time.

I also like Thamizh food but I don't eat spicy now. We have to eat the food that they provide for us... mostly carbs, it is doughy. There is no rice. I eat puree food here. We just have to eat it, and adjust ourselves to eat it. I ate Pittu (light pink in colour, a breakfast dish made of rice flour and coconut traditionally eaten in India and Sri Lanka) before but not now... I eat puree now, and it will not be the same as eating regular Pittu, even if it is pureed. They puree all the food for me here, similar to Kali (a type of South Asian food made of Finger millet flour and water served traditionally in puree form). I don't eat a lot, only a little bit. I only eat a portion of what they give me.

In regards to programming, there are no programs here, just the PSWs coming by, that is my pass time. They come by often. I am sometimes invited to programs, but I don't like listening to music anymore. I just go and sit there. They only will sing in English and I only understand a little bit. My eye sight has gone bad... I can't see with one of my eyes. I read but not so much anymore. I also attend exercise groups. We do a small exercise group here first and then the bigger one afterwards. We just have to move our arms and legs. Sometimes, I attend both groups on the same day. I like talking to people, I like when people come and talk to me. When my relatives come to visit me and talk to me... I love that. I always pray to god all the time, I sing religious hymns all the time. Although if I sing loudly, it will hurt. I say it in my mind, if I sing the hymns loudly, it is strenuous for my chest. I sing it in my mind. I am not able to go to any religious institutions to carry out spiritual needs because I am not able to go. Usually, I will sit up on the chair but always come back to my bed and I am usually in bed.

Mostly everyone speaks English here or in their own language. They don't really speak here, they look after me really well. If I press the call bell they will come and help me. I feel that my culture is supported here. We celebrated Diwali here. They brought us to the special event and there was dancing. It was only a half an hour but I was very happy to attend it. To be able to celebrate more of our traditions, I would like that. In Sri Lanka, during Thai poosam (a festival celebrated by Thamizhs annually on the full moon in the month of Thai - January), we light fire crackers and put lamps outside during Diwali. They won't do that here though. Diwali, new year, we celebrated all those things in Malaysia.

If there is anyone who visits me, I can talk to them. Other than that, everyone else speaks different languages. They mostly don't talk to me, they do their work. When my relatives come to visit me I really enjoy conversing with them. They take care of me well here, for example, if I ask them to put on the vibuthi (a sacred ash made of cow dung that Hindu devotees apply traditionally as 3 horizontal lines across the forehead) for me, they will. I don't watch Thamizh movies but I listen to Thamizh music with headphones. There is nothing else I need, they will come by 3-4 times in one night! Even if I told them that I just got my briefs checked, they won't listen and still check up on me. They will change my brief and then go.

I get up early in the morning to be in my wheelchair every day. I wake up, wash my face, and brush my teeth. I usually go to breakfast at 8:00am and exercise for 9:00am. After exercise, I go and sit and then. And then I eat again and go again for another exercise group and then come back to my room to sleep. After that, I sometimes they come to my room and help feed me my dinner and sometimes they porter me to the dining room. If they are very nice, they will just feed me my dinner in my room. I like to eat here. Honestly, everything is good here, I don't have much suggestions.

Thanga's Narrative

The call.

My name is Thanga Machina, I am a chemistry graduate. I studied in Uduvil, in Jaffna. I studied there and then I went to India and graduated in science. After I graduated in Science, I got a job attached to the same school which I studied in. After that I got married so I had to give up that job and followed my husband and he was in Peredania University so I was there for a while. I helped him with his work. For example, if there are older people and they need company, he will ask me to spend time with them. I would do those kinds of jobs there. I would also go and speak to people who are sick. They need company so he says, "Mani, go and visit them". So I came to know some people through that.

Journey.

Hm... why did I come here? Why did I come here? After I got married, I stayed there... And then...I got a job but my memory is not coming back to me. I have forgotten... I got a job...in Singapore! I was living in Singapore and when I was living there I had my children there also. They were just born and I was busy looking after them. I got involved in the church work. I would teach in the choir, you know? I did all those things...I was very busy with the family and the church. So after that, let me try to remember and tell you... from Singapore, where did I go? I wrote all of this but I have forgotten! my son is a doctor. He was in England, he finished his degree in England... my daughter... she finished her degree in um... she also did it in another subject, it was a really good one. They are both good I mean, they did well. My son always asked me to come and stay with him in England. But I was alone and my husband died so I thought it would be better to be on my own. Also, if I go to England, I would have to live like them and there may be some misunderstandings. I told him, "no I will live as I do here and you come and

see me”. They recently came here for a visit to Canada. They live in England, he is a doctor in England. And my daughter lives in Greece, she is a president of the city bank.

Arrival and frustration.

Moving to Canada... I had no other alternatives. You know? I didn't want to go back to Sri Lanka... Even in Colombo, I was not – I don't know why I came to this place... I think my daughter advised me to come here. She said, “mom if you go there, you will be happy. There are lots of Thamizh people there and you can use your talents” and so she was the one who spearheaded my move here. After living here, I am able to connect with the other Thamizh people living here, I will myself go up to them and talk to them if I see them. They like it!

The final ordeals.

The goal.

My children keep in touch with me. Every day, one of them will call me to find out how I am doing since I am alone here. I also get involved here with the church activities. There aren't any challenges for me associated with being Thamizh and living in LTC homes because I am fluent in English so I can adjust myself. Here... it is a normal life... they will call us for resident council meetings where I can express my views on what ways we can move forward and make changes in the home. Sometimes we have group discussions where they invite me to attend and participate. We meet and decide what to do for specific topics related to the home. For example, if your neighbour has experienced a fall, what can you do? Tell someone, help them, etc. Usually in the mornings I am up by 6, 6:30. Then I will read my devotion bible and I will go to the dining room to eat. If there are activities taking place after we eat, they would invite us to them. I usually talk to the residents who are unable to speak English. I spend time with them so they are also free to express their ideas. If I talk to them they will complain to me, older people you know

so I tried to talk to them and wait for my visit to them. I also attend exercise groups but I am not very healthy, my knee cap gets dislocated. It doesn't happen as often now but I always pray before I go anywhere. I also always take my walker, I never walk by myself. I also go to the church meetings, they take place in this building and there is another one that happens outside. I always take the walker with me. My son told me, "Amma whenever you go out, always take your walker with you" because I have the confidence to walk when I use my walker.

I feel that my spiritual needs are met here, I go to church. I don't sing in Thamizh, because it is English here. I studied Thamizh language in India, I had good results. I have that background, after I came here I have adjusted myself. If they ask me to sing something in English, I can lead the singing. This home does not support me as a Thamizh older adult, there is nothing like that. It caters to everyone, if you are Thamizh, you go to their programs. There is a Thamizh bible study program that takes place seldomly because there are Thamizh residents who don't understand English. To satisfy them, we have that. Sometimes during the bible study, if they need help they will help me because there are some people who don't understand English.

I converted religions a long time ago, when I got married, I came and I changed my religion. I married a Christian. He told me, I wouldn't ask you to follow me but if you are happy you don't have to switch religions. I told him I wanted our children to go in one direction. So where would they go? (If they are simultaneously guided by 2 religions). I was always studying in the Udivil girl's college and you could take English and Thamizh also. I was fluent in both. I was able to handle that. If they ask me why I was Hindu before and became Christian, I tell them that I became a Christian because I was marrying a Christian. If they ask me questions during our bible study group, I am able to explain to them. They have asked me, you were Hindu and

then you became a Christian? I tell them that I fell in love with a Christian and thought about the future generation if one of us is Hindu and the other is Christian.

If I could make any changes to this LTC home, I don't think I would. The thing is when you go to a place, you get used to it. It is difficult to say anything against it, I am satisfied here. The other day I experienced a fall by my bed. I didn't know what to do so I rang the alarm by the bed and I told them that I had a fall and that I needed help. I know they were not staff but they were trained to do these things. They told me to not move and I kept crying, and felt scared and alone. They came and called for more help and they told me not to move and gave me instructions. They came and helped me and put me on the bed. They take care of me good here. I am satisfied here. When I need extra help, for example that day when I fell, I rang the call bell and they came immediately and told me, "don't move!". When I fell, I got scared, perhaps something broke. I was crying and they told me, "don't cry aunty, we will help you". There was about 2, 3 people who came. I think they are students, I don't know. They told me, "don't move". They said lift your hand and lift your feet.

With respect to food, there is no particular type of food. In the mornings, just regular breakfast. I left Sri Lanka for a long time, I was living in California and in 2,3 places... My husband was working in different locations so I would adjust myself in the new places that I went to. I was not fussy. I like eating Thamizh food because I grew up eating Thamizh food. We have to adjust ourselves according to the circumstances. Being in Canada, in Sri Lanka, you know.... Food wise we can't be fussy. I will eat anything, I'm not fussy. As a Thamizh older adult, I must adjust myself to live here. That is not a problem for me because I have lived in many other places to learn how to adjust. I have been around the world so the differences in lifestyle from Sri Lanka was okay, adjustable. I think it depends on the individual... some people cannot adjust to

new circumstances. For me, I was able to adjust according to their culture so I had no problem in that.

I feel that there are many young people here who are not able to speak English. Their knowledge of English. Children who are brought up in Thamizh surroundings, they cannot adapt to the English culture. But they must be able to adjust, it depends on the background of the person. If I wanted to tell others about my experiences in LTC, I would tell people to obey your parents, make them happy. There are kids nowadays who speak to their parents so rudely.

There are also a calendar of activities. If there are groups being held, they will call us. They put programs but depending on the time and staffing they may not be able to facilitate all of them. I attend all the church services, and then usually watch some T.V. before going to bed. I can't watch Thamizh programs, since I would have to get the extra Thamizh channels.

I went to Madras University and then got another 2nd degree and then that is when I got married. My husband died and my kids told me don't stay alone and so I moved. I was living in Scarborough for 4 years before coming to LTC. I went out a lot when I lived at home, now it is more challenging. Now my friends will tell me ahead of time to plan to go out. They tell me, "be ready at this time" early because I have to be ready with my walker.

My father died when I was 3,4 years old. So my mother was a young widow, it was difficult for her to take care of me and my brothers. I still remember we were in a place called Chandilipai. It is like a village and we were there and once...I have an aunty and she is my mother's cousin. She is a very rich lady. One day, I think I had just finished my exam and she said why don't you do a higher degree. My mother asked her, "you know we don't have the money to do that". Then she said, "don't worry, I will, you know, pay the money and you go and study". She had 2 children and they were not interested in studies, they were not doing well. She

said if you feel obliged, “you can repay me later on if you would like” I thought this was my calling. I agreed and then she took me to Jaffna town to shop for sarees because those days we wear sarees all the time. I was fond of this chain and things like that and she bought all those things and said, “you go to India and study”. Another friend of mine, helped me to applied for university in Trichy, Holy Cross College. He helped me to study and I did my science degree. There you have to do 2 years and then again 2 more years. I did well and came back after my degree and my aunty, she encouraged me to continue study and supported me financially for me. Her and her husband were in Malaysia for a long time and they had a long time. I said, “how can I study aunty, it will be a lot of money”. She said, don’t worry about the finances, I will take care of that. She said if you feel obliged, then later on you can pay me, whatever you want. That’s how I studied. I enjoyed my schooling, it was a very different experience to study in India. There is a mountain there and it is called, “Malai pillayar”. I was a Hindu at that time. My aunty only helped me to study, she said I don’t want you to spend unnecessarily but when you are doing well, when you have a job, you can return the money in installments. Slowly I paid all the money back.

Nila’s Narrative

The call.

My name is Nila Raghavan. I was born in Kandy, Sri Lanka. My father was in Udivil, Sri Lanka. That is also where my sisters went to school. I have 2 sisters and 1 brother. My father sent all of us to Jaffna because we always speak in English in Udivil. My father said, “this is no good, I will send you to Jaffna”. So he sent us to Jaffna. But, my older sister, she is 8 years my senior. When she would leave early to go to work, I would be alone. My parents sent me to Colombo to Methodist College. For my university entrance I came to Colombo. I was alone there

so my father felt sorry and he got me to Colombo. Methodist College, Colombo. My mom didn't like that they were in Jaffna while I was in alone in Colombo. I was then sent to Kollupitiya in Colombo, Sri Lanka. After that I got married to a medical doctor in Sri Lanka. He worked there as a director general for the whole of Sri Lanka. However, because he was Thamizh, he wasn't admired by the Sinhalese peoples.

Journey.

After I came to retirement, we both came to Canada because of the Sinhalese peoples there. He didn't like it there because they could kill us any time. We would always have to live in fear. After I retired, my husband got a job in the Caribbean Islands. He was well known because he went to many different conferences. In the beginning we were in St. Vincent. We were there for 5 years, we were planning to stay there for 1 year but then we wanted to stay for longer after that. My husband's work also asked him to stay and extended his contract for 2 more years. I didn't like Grenada that much afterwards. It was lonely, being alone in a house. And... there were medical students in there. They weren't bothering us or anything.. but I was just scared. Yes, scared... and so after he leaves I would be alone in the afternoon. If I wanted to go out I could drive. I would have to drive on my own to town.

Then 2 years he worked and when the 2 years was over, again they asked "no, no, we can't let you go" and wanted him to stay and get another extension and wrote to the conference. They gave us another 2 years extension and they said we won't ask for more because they wouldn't be able to give it. Then after that we stayed it was a nice place but after that we left... to Australia. My husband applied to Australia and Australia accepted him. Australia, it was very nice. We went and lived there. We were looking for furniture there. We were looking for furniture there and went early in the morning and came back in the evening. When we got home,

we received a phone call. In the organization, my husband was very known. He was called at conferences all over the place. And then my husband asked me, “Nila, what should we do next?” I said, “it is not my decision. Wherever you go, I come. I’m okay wherever I go. You just have to adjust you know”

We went to Grenada for the second time. My husband’s employers asked my husband to take the work extension there but I said, “no more of these extensions.” At that time, we weren’t thinking of going back to Grenada. I asked my husband, “what should I do?” My sisters came to Canada. They asked me, “why don’t you stay in Canada?”. Then we said, “okay.” We moved to a home in Scarborough.

Arrival and frustration.

Why did I come here? Because people told me about it. They said Canada is a nice place so I came here. Everything here is like Sri Lanka, the house we lived in. It is like Sri Lanka here.

The final ordeals.

The goal.

I wake up very early, at 5:00am. I don’t go to any programs here. It’s not easy to do. If I go, I have to go there and kick exercise balls. Only if someone comes to get me they can take me to the activities. We can attend recreational programs such as bowling and special events but I don’t go because I just got my wheelchair recently. I watch T.V. here but I don’t like being in my room. It’s boring, I have to go and then come back here and we have to sleep early. There are about 10 people in this LTC home who are also Thamizh. When I go to church, I meet them there. However, it is challenging to meet other Thamizhs. I don’t have a car because of the bus service. There are people who speak English here. I speak in English a lot more here. I speak Thamizh too at times. Come here often to talk to me from time to time!

Poovaneswary's Narrative

The call.

My name is Poovaneswary Vijayanathan. I came to Canada in 2017. I cannot speak. I lost my voice in 2017. It is a big drawback to me. I have to communicate by writing. I was a teacher.

Journey.

Arrival and frustration.

My three children were in Canada. We were happy because of our children. I was living with my husband's family and then my daughter's family.

The final ordeals.

I moved out from their place because my daughter had three children. They were growing up and there was no room for me. I was living in an apartment by myself. One day, while...while crossing the road, I was hit by a car and I also had a lot of falls. I don't remember exactly what happened. Oh I also had a surgery.

The goal.

There are only two of us who are from Sri Lanka in this home... I attend physio, exercise and I go there singing, and I go for that. I also fall at times. I came here because I had a number of falls. I go for other activities like birthday parties. The staff member who arranges all those activities has retired, they have not got someone. Only on Sundays, my church comes and prays with me. If I go, I have to book the wheel trans and go. My son also has to go with me. I am a Roman Catholic. The others are Presbyterian... no practising Christian. The others are practising Christianity. Protestant.

I find that sometimes the PSW's here don't communicate with us politely. Some of them are very rude to us. They should be very kind to us. There is a Thamizh PSW who was very rude to me. She had washed my head in the wash basin. She washed my head and hair in the wash basin when it was actually my shower day.

There is no such thing as Thamizh culture being supported here. We can't say anything about the food. I was choking and the nurse said that I may have to be on a pureed diet.

Aathiluxmy's Narrative

The call.

My name is Aathiluxmy. I have three children, I was born in Colombo, Sri Lanka. I went to school in Bambalipitiya in Colombo. And then, I got married to a doctor. He transferred locations all over and then came to England for some schooling. I had two children in England. We moved back to Colombo and lived in a town. He worked in Colombo. During the genocide in Sri Lanka, my family and I with three children, fled the country and came to Canada. My son was in California at the time. 1 boy and two girls. He is a professor in the University of Sacramento. My two girls are here... I also have eight grandchildren. My son of course my son was in California and we were all in Colombo. My husband had passed in Sri Lanka and I was alone. Because of all the struggles of the war, my family and I left to California.

Journey.

There was always the conflicts going on back home however it had gotten worse and we couldn't live there any longer. We went to India, lived there for 6 months and then came back to Colombo and then went to California after that. After that we moved to Canada.

Arrival and frustration.

And then we came to Canada and applied for citizenship with my grandchildren also. We came to Montreal as refugees and then moved to Don Mills in Toronto.

The final ordeals.

What led me to move to this LTC home was that when my children went to work, I would be alone at home. I also had minor falls at home, nothing big. My children didn't like me going to the store alone so I went to a Thamizh group home which had only 10 people. Only 10 people lived in that home. I lived in that home for two years. I left living at that home because there was no proper nursing care, only 10 of us. The doctors came from time to time. After some time, I went to another LTC home and lived there for three years. After that, we applied to come here but were waiting for a long time. Once this LTC home was available, I came here. It's been six months.

Back home in Sri Lanka, we had servants, we hardly do anything. It was a very social life. After coming to Canada, our children started to go to work and we have to do the house work, do the cooking and that way life went on. In the past 10 years is when I couldn't do these things. I thought I should get into one of these LTC homes.

The goal.

I like it here, they treat me like the others here. Fair and equal. First, I eat breakfast, and then if there are any activities I take part in those. Exercise, games, I also do a lot of knitting. I never used to knit, the recreation person at the other home said I should try knitting. I said no at first and she encouraged me to keep trying. I eventually got involved in that, she was a very good teacher. It takes about 8-10 hours. I do a little bit at a time every day. I also go to hymn singing. We don't get "our" Sri Lankan Thamizh cuisine here. Sometimes my children bring me that food

occasionally. Otherwise whatever we have here, they give us options such as fish, chicken. They won't do it like a curry, the rice is also not boiled as well as I like it. My kids bring Sri Lankan cuisine sometimes when they come but they are also all working and busy to do that often. If there are large group programs like watching a Play, or playing games, they take us. Other than that, there is only the hymn sing that I attend. Once a week, I also read my bible now on my own, do word searches, and colour. I colour books of mandalas. My daughter was saying I can choose a few and colour it and give it to her so she can frame it and put it up. I have done a lot of these books. I also knit quite a lot, I must have knitted over a 100 hats! I give it to my grandkids, friends, relatives. Hats, scarves, headbands. I don't sleep in the afternoon. Before I used to sleep in the afternoon, but now at night I find it difficult to sleep. So I go on with these things, watch television, etc.

I don't think there is much that this home does in terms of supporting me as a Thamizh older adult. There is not a lot of us, just one or two of us Thamizhs here. It would be nice to have that group of Thamizh residents to talk to, converse with. But, there is only one or two people, what can they also do? If there are eight to 10 people, they can do something. I am one here, another floor they have one or two. In last LTC home I was living in, there were four to five Thamizh residents.

I have my children and grandchildren to talk to, and a few friends, they phone me. There are also a few people here, if I see them I talk to them in the lounge. That's where the hymn singing, and other activities happen. I'm happy here. They take care of me well here. Whatever I can do for myself, I do. If I need their help, they will help me. I can't do much so, I look after myself mainly. I pass my time colouring, doing the crosswords.

Chapter Five: Blooming Through the Analysis of Narratives

Similar to the way the bud of a flower opens as it blooms, the following chapter showcases the opening of each resident's story through the analysis of narratives.

Analysis of Narratives

For this study, I choose to engage in a second form of analysis - analysis of narratives – by using a paradigmatic process described by Polkinghorne (2003) to pull themes from participants' direct quotations. The paradigmatic process of analysis involves purposefully reflecting themes emerging from the data as interpreted by a researcher and/or applying theoretical frameworks to the data to support the emergence of themes (Polkinghorne, 2003). It is important to note that while Polkinghorne (2003) makes 'paradigmatic' analysis explicit in the analysis of narratives, all narrative analysis involves understanding data through an interpretive paradigm of a researcher's choosing. I used quotations to reflect emerging themes and applied the CRT framework to focus on issues of power and notions/practices of oppression to make space for new ways of understanding and ongoing critique of the status quo.

In the following section, I describe four themes that emerged throughout the interviews of all five participants: dietary needs, leisure programming, spiritual care, and social well-being. Under each theme, I provide examples of direct quotations by participants to reflect each theme and connect direct quotations back to literature on CRT and the MOHLTC legislation which governs LTC homes in Ontario. As the themes focus on issues of power and prioritize participants' voices in the connections I draw to literature, I feel this method complements the tenets of CRT I considered in this study (race as a social phenomenon, racialisation as a natural, systematised process, and the voice of colour thesis).

Dietary needs.

“I also like Thamizh food but I don’t eat spicy now. We have to eat the food that they provide for us... mostly carbs, it is doughy. There is no rice. I eat puree food here. We just have to eat it, and adjust ourselves to eat it. I ate Pittu before but not now...” (Vizhi)

“With respect to food, there is no particular type of food. In the mornings, just regular breakfast. I left Sri Lanka for a long time, I was living in California and in two, three places... My husband was working in different so I would adjust myself in the new places that I went to. I was not fussy. I like eating Thamizh food because I grew up eating Thamizh food. We have to adjust ourselves according to the circumstances. Being in Canada, in Sri Lanka, you know.... Food wise we can’t be fussy. I will eat anything, I’m not fussy. As a Thamizh older adult, I must adjust myself to live here.” (Thanga)

We don’t get “our” food here. Sometimes my children bring me that food occasionally (Sri Lankan Thamizh food). Otherwise whatever we have here, they give us options such as fish, chicken. They won’t do it like a curry, the rice is also not boiled as well as I like it. My kids bring Sri Lankan cuisine sometimes when they come but they are also all working and busy to do that often. (Aathiluxmy)

To re-iterate, every LTC home in Ontario is governed by the LTCHA, which outlines that residents must have all their physical needs adequately met (MOHLTC, 2011). Food is a physical need for all human beings. It is evident that Thamizh residents fall short of food choices in LTC homes. Refusal to eat food residents may be unfamiliar with could be due to grief, hunger or malnourishment (Wikby & Fägerskiöld, 2004). Thus, according to the LTCHA, neglecting one’s physical need such as food and their preferences for food may be a barrier to one’s full expression of well-being. The challenges of accessing culturally familiar food for

Thamizh residents reflects Eurocentrism embedded in LTC homes. Providing Western food options such as pasta, has been accepted-as-natural and status quo for POC, which illuminate the many ways one may “need” to exercise accommodation, flexibility, and adjustment more than Others. In the quotations above, participants state that everyone must adjust to living in a new country, including adjusting their food preferences and conform to the Eurocentric diet.

Historically, due to colonization, it has been advantageous for minoritized individuals to feel the need to blend in (Le Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Shamaï & Ilatov, 2001). For example, Indigenous peoples in Canada had no choice but to assimilate to European ways of living due to the racism, Euro-privileging, and discriminatory practices embedded within the social structures around them (Bohaker & Iacovetta, 2009). Similar to immigrant groups, Indigenous peoples were also constructed as the “other” who were rewarded for adopting Eurocentric ways of living. Similar to the CRT tenet that describes the social construction of race, the construction of “other” and “Others” is also a social construction created by dominant groups in society. For example, being educated in a Western system enabled Thanga to participate in resident council and engage with Thamizh and non-Thamizh residents quite easily.

Throughout the interviews, the idea of adjusting to the new ways of living post migration was stated by participants at multiple occasions. By adjusting to the Eurocentric ways of living, all individuals, including POC, perpetuate racialization by normalizing two CRT tenants: the simultaneous practices of racial differentiation and colourblindness, and, another CRT tenant, the normalization of racism. The normalization of racism is the notion that racialisation is a systematised process (Crenshaw 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998). This tenet means that discrimination is embedded in structures in such a way that oppressive practices and marginalisation (privileging some over Others) is taken-for-granted and widely accepted as

normal. Since racism is normalised in society, a lack of access to resources, services, etc. for POC, and Othered individuals of difference, living in LTC homes are often left unacknowledged. Since it is so normalized, POC may be unaware of the ways they are confronted by racism every day.

In “the call” stage of each of the participants’ narrative, Thamizh residents living in LTC homes grew up in a lifestyle where they ate primarily Sri Lankan, Thamizh food. Sri Lankan, Thamizh food, just as other ethnic foods, incorporates its own set of flavours and cuisine. For example, this type of food consists of Pittu and curries. After a move to an LTC home, residents require more support to care for themselves, including support with dining options. Thus, POC living in LTC homes require creative supports to ensure both the physical, spiritual, and emotional aspects of dining are met through diverse food options.

Leisure programming.

“If there are large group programs like watching a Play, or play games, they take us. Other than that, there is only the hymn sing that I attend. Once a week, I also read my bible now on my own, do word searches, and colour. I colour books of mandalas. My daughter was saying I can choose a few and colour it and give it to her so she can frame it and put it up. I have done a lot of these books. I also knit quite a lot, I must have knitted over a 100 hats! I give it to my grandkids, friends, relatives. Hats, scarves, headbands. I don’t sleep in the afternoon. Before I used to sleep in the afternoon, but now at night I find it difficult to sleep. So I go on with these things, watch television, etc.” – Aathiluxmy

“I don’t go to any programs here. It’s not easy to do. If I go, I have to go there and kick exercise balls. Only if someone comes to get me they can take me to the activities. - Nila

“There are no programs here, just the PSWs coming by for care, that is my pass time. They come by often. They sometimes ask me to come to programs, but I don’t like listening to music anymore. I just go and sit there. They only will sing in English, I understand a little bit.” – Vizhi

“There are a calendar of activities. If there are groups, they will call us. They put programs but depending on the time and staffing they may not be able to facilitate all of them. I attend all the church services, and then usually watch some T.V. before going to bed.”- Thanga

The resident bill of rights outlines that every licensee of a LTC home must ensure that there is a structured facilitation of recreational and social activities for the home to meet the interests of the residents (MOHLTC, 2011). In this study, participants voiced that there is a lack of leisure programming for them to engage in. For example, Aathiluxmy and Thanga stated that they do not attend many programs but engage in many self-directed leisure pursuits such as: reading the bible, colouring mandalas, watching T.V., and knitting. For some residents, language was a barrier to their participation in leisure, and for others, lack of staff for facilitation of programs, and lack of interest for programs offered by the LTC was a barrier to their leisure involvement.

When residents are not engaged in purposeful, and meaningful activities that match their interests, preferences, and abilities, they are unable to achieve a state of *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Coined by psychologist Csikszentmihalyi, the concept of *flow* refers to when an individual’s skill level sufficiently meets the challenges of a specific activity (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). When a state of flow is not achieved in recreational programming, individuals feel a sense of boredom, anxiousness, and a lack of purpose (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Consequently, the emotional needs and the mental health of residents are challenged (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). By

falling short of leisure programming that is actively engaging for residents, LTC homes in Ontario fail to adhere to the resident bill of rights.

Additionally, some residents such as Poovaneswary mentioned that Thamizh culture is not supported in LTC and could be better supported through programming such as socials and special events. For example, one of the largest celebrations in Thamizh culture traditionally celebrated by Thamizhs all over the globe is Thai Pongal (Chandrabose, 2014). Thai Pongal is a festival that takes place annually, on January 14 to thank nature, the sun, and farm animals for their support in providing a successful harvest throughout the year (Chandrabose, 2014). Through leisure, aspects of culture such as the celebration of Thai Pongal can be expressed, cultivated, and passed on. It is important that LTC homes provide sufficient leisure programming that match the interests of POC in order to meet their cultural and emotional needs and contribute to positive mental health and life enrichment.

Spiritual care.

“I feel that my spiritual needs are met here, I go to church. I don’t sing in Thamizh, because it is English here. I studied Thamizh language in India, I had good results. I have that background, after I came here I have adjusted myself.”- Thanga

“When I was in Sri Lanka, I loved going to the temple, playing with the kids our age. We would gather all the kids and play outside together. All the girls...we are young right. We go to shows in the evening. We go to evening shows that take place at the temple to watch religious dance and dramas. All of kids from our families and friends go together. They will come and call me by my name and then I get ready and go with them.” – Vizhi

“I always pray to god all the time, I sing religious hymns all the time. Although if I sing loudly, it will hurt. I say it in my mind, if I sing the hymns loudly, it is strenuous on my chest. So I

sing it in my mind. I am not able to go to any religious institutions to carry out spiritual needs because I am not able to go.” - Vizhi

Spiritual well-being can be considered the ability to experience and integrate meaning and purpose in life (Touhy, Jett, Boscart, McCleary & 2018). According to MOHLTC, it is a fundamental principle for residents of LTC homes to have their spiritual needs adequately met (MOHLTC, 2011). In the direct quotations above, residents voiced challenges to engaging in their spiritual needs such as physical barriers: the inability to walk independently to attend spiritual groups on their own, lack of spiritual programming offered in their home, and differences in religious practices and traditions from other residents. Physical barriers to spirituality, a form of leisure (Heintzman & Mannell, 2003), speaks to the way neoliberalism is entrenched within LTC. Neoliberalism prioritizes individual responsibility, which perpetuates the notion that all individuals have capacity and resources needed to resolve gaps in, what should be, a socially equitable system that is faulted. This approach positions minoritized individuals to find their own ways to overcome primary barriers (e.g., physical barriers) that may make meeting their cultural needs a challenge. For instance, residents who are unable to walk independently, or are unable to follow the calendar of activities to know when the spiritual groups take place, are denied their basic right to freedom of spiritual practice. Residents must be invited and portered to spiritual groups and LTC homes must incorporate religious programming for residents who subscribe to non-dominant, non-Euro-centric ways of religion and spiritual practice, such as Hinduism. In order to follow the resident’s bill of rights, POC require equitable access to spiritual care including the minimizing of primary barriers to meet this need.

It is clear that intersectionality plays a role because residents who are Thamizh speaking, Hindu, identify as an elderly woman, and are unable to walk are simultaneously left out in

various ways, through the numerous barriers they face in order to access their spiritual needs.

For example, Vizhi in her story stated that gender played a role in their spiritual care as she grew up in Sri Lanka. She stated that as girls become ‘women’ they can’t go to the temple on their own. This speaks to the lack of accessibility for spiritual care for women and the way that women are oppressed due to traditional gender roles and stereotypes that are traditionally engrained (Perera & Velummayilum, 2008). The consequences of this oppression lead residents to be faced with spiritual isolation and alienation. Spiritual isolation refers to when spiritual and or religious practices such as yoga differ from their own (Malone & Dadswell, 2018). Alienation refers to when individuals are not provided with the opportunity to practice familiar traditions or celebrations. For example, during the earlier stages of Vizhi’s narrative she stated that she would attend religious festivals and events daily. After a move to the LTC home in Canada, she spoke about her appreciation of attending the Diwali celebration that happens once a year. Vizhi did not voice the differences in lifestyle between her earlier stages of life and her move to LTC but it is clear there is a disconnect between these stages. Similar to falling short with food choices and leisure programming, participants articulated that despite their spiritual needs not being met, that they are content.

To re-iterate, due to colonization, it has been advantageous for minoritized individuals to feel the need to blend in and be “content” despite challenges (such as war trauma) that come with the negotiation of settling into a new country, and a new space in LTC (Le Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Shamai & Ilatov, 2001). The need to blend in and conform to Euro-centric norms by POC speak to the normalization of racism and consequents to colourblindness. Colourblindness in LTC homes is problematic because it erases the power of individual identity (such as Thamizh, Hindu) and the associated historical and structural marginalization faced by POC and Others

who identify with non-dominant groups. (Adams, 2017; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Graham et al., 2011). These ways of thinking that perpetuate the normalization of racism and colourblindness are the reasons why it is important to critique using the lens of CRT. Thus, it was important for me to hear narratives from participants' earlier stage of life through the Quest typology in order to critique the current LTC home structure and capture the normalization of racism, the notion that race socially constructed, and the voice of colour thesis. In the following section, I shift focus to another emergent theme from participant narratives: social well-being.

Social well-being.

“My children keep in touch with me. Everyday, one of them will call me to find out how I am doing since I am alone here.” – Thanga

“My three children were in Canada. We were happy because of our children. I was with my husband's family and then my daughter's family.” – Poovaneswary

“There are about 10 people in this LTC home who are also Thamizh. When I go to church, I meet them there. However, it is challenging to meet other Thamizhs. I don't have a car because of the bus service. There are people who speak English here. I speak in English a lot more here. I speak Thamizh too at times. Come here often to talk to me from time to time!” - Nila

Human beings have fundamental psychosocial needs which include family, friendship, intimacy, sense of connection, and safety (Maslow & Lewis, 1987). According to the Resident's Bill of Rights, every resident has the right to form friendships and relationships and to participate in the life of the LTC home (MOHLTC, 2011). Additionally, participants in this study such as Thanga and Nila consistently voiced their personal values of family and social ties throughout their narratives, especially during the earlier stages of their lives. Thanga and Nila also emphasized that after their move to LTC home, their social engagement decreased significantly.

The surrounding literature states that a decrease in social engagement results in social isolation, anxiety, frustration, depression, and loneliness for POC who cannot speak the language of individuals around them and or cannot relate to them (Cheng, 2005). Additionally, POC face barriers to fostering meaningful relationships with others in the home due to differences in social norms, values, and beliefs.

LTC homes are not considering the full extent of the social needs of POC living in LTC homes despite the legislation that outlines they do so (MOHLTC, 2011). This is problematic because POC are denied fundamental rights to spaces where positive social well-being can flourish and are further marginalised because of this. The significance of race consciousness and the voice of colour thesis is observed here because without actively engaging and focusing efforts for justice, discussions and progress of ethnic inclusion in LTC homes cannot be made.

Structures such as LTC homes are embedded by colonial practices that privilege some and play a role in distributing power (power in relation to structure and privilege). Hearing stories of underrepresented individuals living in LTC outlined the ways in which dietary/dining preferences, leisure programming, spiritual care, and social well-being of POC, specifically Thamizh older adults living in LTC homes, continue to be challenged. These new narratives can continue to challenge and resist the meta-narratives and the dominant discourses that shape and persist our world towards more equitable provision of essential LTC home services. In the next and final chapter, I provide a description of narrative analysis and the way I adopted CAP to represent narratives. After that I construct a fictional narrative and propose a revised statement for the MOHLTC to use when meeting diverse needs. I conclude this thesis by presenting theoretical and methodological implications, areas for future research, and a final reflexive note.

Chapter Six: The Concluding Seeds and Seedlings

The seeds and seedlings of flowers represent new growth. In the same way, this chapter outlines the new and continuous discussions that come from this research. The present study contributes to the body of knowledge related to honouring diversity in LTC homes by adding rich narratives of Thamizh elders. The findings of this study were discussed in a way that pulled on the diverse stories of participants through the analysis of narratives. In a third and final form of analysis and representation, I weaved emerging themes (dietary needs, leisure programming, spiritual care and social well-being) into a fictional, composite narrative. I describe the process for creating this representational composite narrative in this chapter. The purpose of this fictional narrative was to provide workable solutions based on the challenges presented by participants to the current LTC home structure. Additionally, this fictional narrative is used as a way to creatively represent this research and inspire policy changes in LTC homes.

Representation of Narratives: CAP

Narrative representation is the way we re-present findings and conclusions in relation to the purpose of our study. Clandinin (2006) notes, narrative inquiry must be differentiated from other types of research. To do so, we must capture the stories of our participants and bring them to the fore in distinct ways (Clandinin, 2006). To make this methodology richer, Clandinin asks researchers to use our research in different ways such as poetry, art, etc. to showcase narrative inquiry and how it stands on its own two feet as a methodology in social sciences. Narrative representation acts as a platform to pass down the living histories of Thamizh residents and, through the exposition of their stories, critique the culture of LTC in a purposeful and engaging manner.

Thus, to represent participants' stories, I looked to Creative Analytic Practice (CAP) as a representational strategy for this inquiry. CAP uses artistic forms of representation such as fiction, screenplay, and poetry to “do representation differently” (p. 1) as Berbary (2011) states. In creative ways of representing data, relaying stories need to be told in a way that is meaningful to participants (Berbary, 2011). I believe this to be true because of the way CAP is engaging with not only other researchers and scholars but the general public (Richardson, 1999). This means that by engaging in this form of qualitative inquiry we engage in something that can move individuals in the most inclusive way. I believe that art has the capability of interactively reaching individuals regardless of culture, language, age, and ability. For this research, I crafted a fictional narrative as a way to represent the diverse stories I heard during data collection. The composite narrative was amalgamated through the woven themes and direct quotations stated by participants of this study. In this fictional story, which was intentionally categorized using the stages of the Quest typology, I provide possible solutions to move towards a more culturally inclusive space for Thamizhs living in LTC homes based on the findings of this study. Then, I translated and presented the new narrative in Thamizh (see Appendix I) to embody inclusion and diversity throughout every stage of this research including representation. Hearing stories by Thamizh residents in Thamizh and presenting the research in only English is inconsistent to the voice of colour thesis. Representation in Thamizh serves the purpose to honour the counter-narratives in the way the stories are told, including the language they are told in. After that, I created a summary of the specific solutions highlighted through the narrative. Using the summary, I propose a revised legislation for the MOHLTC.

Parry and Johnson (2007) elaborate on the significance of CAP by stating that in social science research, fiction as representation, for example, has a way of conveying complexity and

expressing the inexpressible. In my understanding, Parry and Johnson (2007) refer to the way that artistic forms of representation can create a performance in your head that is not only engaging and attractive but also meaningful and true to the intent. Using fiction in leisure research makes space for readers to creatively engage with the writing while still being able to understand and perhaps connect with stories in a meaningful way (Glover, 2007). In Glover's (2007) work on an independent co-ed youth baseball league for African American, he sculpted a short story to expose the systemic racism in little league baseball. In his research project, he uses CAP as he seeks to display a narrative that examines race and racism in society, argue for the elimination of racial discrimination while concurrently acknowledging that race is a social construct and lastly, to draw important relationships between race and youth sport policies (Glover, 2007; Parry & Johnson, 2007). Through his research, Glover encourages scholars in leisure to critically challenge the status quo and the policies and procedures of our society.

Similar to Glover's short story, I crafted a fictional story for this research. The use of fiction complemented the tenets of CRT that I considered in this study (race as a social phenomenon, racialisation as a natural, systematised process, and the voice of colour thesis) because participants' voices were prioritized as I argued for the elimination of racial discrimination while acknowledging that race is merely a social construct.

Through fictional storytelling, my hope was to create a digital form of the representation that can be shared with students, researchers, policy makers, staff in LTC, and LTC organizations. I recorded an audio clip of a Thamizh older adult who read aloud the fictional narrative. Through the short audio clip of the composite narrative, I created a slideshow video (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zacWUjsMIFY&feature=youtu.be>) with visuals which was e-mailed and accessed electronically to the general public through various social media platforms

such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. In answering the research questions and representing stories in the form of CAP, I hoped to create more dialogue surrounding ways we need to appreciate diversity to move towards inclusion for POC living in LTC homes. Next, I present the fictional narrative of an 86 year old, Thamizh woman living at a hypothetical LTC home in Toronto, Ontario called *Shanganai LTC*.

The call.

My name is Yogambikai Saravanamuthu. I grew up in Jaffna, Sri Lanka for a majority of my life. My favourite childhood memory was going to temple with my family. I grew up in a household with three others, my father, Ilayathambi, my mother, Visalatchi, my younger brother, Balasingam. I also loved playing with the kids our age because we would gather all the kids and play outside together. All the girls... we are young right. We go to shows in the evening. We go to evening shows that take place at the temple to watch religious dance and dramas. All of kids from our families and friends go together. They will come and call me by my name and then I get ready and go with them.

Journey.

After I came to retirement, my husband and I both came to Canada because of the war. If we lived in Sri Lanka at that time, we would always have to live in fear.

Arrival and frustration.

Arriving to Canada in 1999 was interesting, everything was different from Jaffna...the language, the climate, ways of living. Nothing was relatable but my family was here. That was the one thing that wasn't foreign to me. Family. My husband had passed away a year after moving to Canada, I was supported by my daughter and son's family. We lived in Scarborough, Ontario along with the many other Thamizhs who migrated in the 90s. Scarborough quickly

grew to be like a mini Jaffna because of the number of Thamizhs who had migrated due to the war.

The final ordeals.

What led me to move to this LTC home was that when my children went to work, I would be alone at home. I also had minor falls at home, nothing big. My children didn't like me going to the store alone. They thought a move to LTC home was a safer option.

The goal.

I was nervous moving into this LTC home but I wish I had moved here sooner than I did! There is a wide variety of programs offered here and I feel I have a purpose here because of that. I hear daily announcements twice a day, staff invite me personally, and I have a calendar of activities written in Thamizh to remind me that there is programming. During groups, I get to meet other Thamizhs and foster meaningful relationships with them. I never got a chance to interact with other Thamizhs who are my age when I first moved to Canada because I had spent a lot of time with my own family, and just you know... familial obligations. Living in Canada is hard, especially not knowing how to speak English but, at this LTC home, I feel invincible. I feel like me again because there are others that I can connect to. We have mentorship groups where we can meet other Thamizhs from other floors and share stories and get to know each other. We even have special events and religious programs for Hindus in the home such as myself. The priest attends to do a small sing along and ritual every Fridays. For residents who are bedridden, there are online worship services such as live streams from religious institutions such as Trinity Unity Church or Sri Katpaga Vinayagar.

Also, we have other cultural programs such as Travelogue where we can learn about various ethnicities from around the world and teach others about our own culture. It makes me

feel alive knowing that even at this age, I am able to cultivate and pass on Thamizh culture to others especially non-Thamizhs. Did you know we celebrated Thai Pongal last week in the home and I showed my Portuguese friend, Alma how to make one of our famous traditional dishes for that celebration?! She absolutely loved it.

For our meal times, we have the option to order from an external meal service company. It's a service for people with diverse food preferences living in LTC homes that can choose food traditional to their culture and different from the menu offered at the LTC home. I don't order from it often but I love that I have the choice to eat Pittu from time to time! This external meal company is actually owned by Thamizhs in the community who cater home cooked meals. Reminds me of back home living in Jaffna where we would only eat home cooked meals. They support us in bringing in food and even ordering cultural food from affordable meal delivery services... Eating Pittu with other 89 year olds, reminiscing about our days in Jaffna as kids at the dinner table. This really is the good life.

In this story, Yogambikai had options to attend spiritual services catering to her religion and indulge in traditional foods due to the LTC home's partnerships with local community organizations, faith-based groups, and restaurants. Consequently, Yogambikai has her spiritual, social, and her physical needs for accessing cultural preferences, when desired, adequately met.

When LTC homes effort to work with community organizations that have access to cultural and spiritual resources, such as traditional food, it makes space for residents to autonomously choose what food they would like to have during mealtimes. Additionally, changes in the organizational level subsequently elicit change on an individual level. Thus, the MOHLTC must re-visit their policies and specifically state *how* LTC homes in Ontario need to honour diversity for the individuals who reside in them. This could include bringing in speakers,

cultural advisors, volunteer interpreters, members in the community to share cultural information about local community organizations, traditional practices and traditions to be celebrated in the home, etc. By doing so, management and front-line staff can become aware of the diverse cultural practices and traditions that are embodied by residents. For example, connecting with cultural community organizations such as external meal services for individuals who desire these alternatives will ensure every resident has an opportunity for equitable access to traditional food during mealtimes.

Yogambikai was ecstatic with the ability of her home to meet her social, emotional, and intellectual needs through recreational programming. For example, through mentorship programs, she fostered meaningful relationships with co-residents who also speak Thamizh. It is imperative that the MOHLTC sharpen policies for LTC homes regarding programming, specifically through a critical, multicultural lens. Creating policies and procedures surrounding the awareness of cultural inclusion in homes inhibits the facilitation of integrating culture through recreation. For example, in Yogambikai's story, recreational groups and special events where cultures of others are mutually learned and celebrated such as Thai Pongal made space for her to cultivate, express, and share her cultural traditions with Thamizhs and other non-Thamizhs.

Yogambikai's narrative depicts how clear it was that the residents who participated in this study felt they could not speak to the taboos and the inability for LTC structure to meet their important needs. As a Thamizh woman myself, my family and all the families I knew would never have the conversation of sending our grandparent or parents to a LTC home because we were raised to understand that the expectation of children is that we take care of our elders. It is the way in which we fulfil our duty as children and give back to those who were expected to

selflessly raise us (Berger, 2008). Within Yogambikai's idealistic narrative, there is an undertone that POC are less reluctant to ask for what they need because accommodations are made for them. This reluctance to ask is reflective of power in relation to privilege which simultaneously exists with structural power to elicit "dominant" groups to control "non-dominant" groups (Held, 1980; Horkheimer, 1982). For Thamizh elders, this means that being positioned outside of the dominant group as a minoritized individual makes it harder to vocalize as being a part of the non-dominant group. For example, if you asked a group of thirty students who had just completed an exam to put up their hand if they believed they failed the exam, students would be more inclined to not raise their hands due to the shame, guilt, or taboos associated with being separated from the "dominant" group of "passing" students. Similarly, Thamizh elders are inclined to adapt to the dominating Eurocentric, colonial ideals which additionally has the ability to wield one's power to extend and overextend. This is the problematic nature of the social construction of race and the normalization of racism. It is these reasons why systemic changes in LTC homes and other social institutions are required within the deeply rooted, multi-layered system of racism in Canada.

I believe that in Canada's multicultural society, it is society's responsibility to support the expression of all cultures as described in the Constitution of 1982. The structuring of systems and policies through neoliberal culture is damaging to the connection post-migration experiences because this approach encourages privatization of welfare, health, and educational services (Strier, et al., 2008). Instead of advantaging some individuals over others, neo-liberal care institutions need to be reframed to support minoritized individuals in meeting their cultural needs.

Table 4 reflects a summary of ideas and resources that arose from this study that could contribute to policy changes towards the MOHLTC to be more specific and state *how* LTC homes are required to meet the physical, cultural, spiritual, and social needs of residents in addition to the Resident's Bill of Rights. Following Table 4, I propose a revision for the MOHLTC to sharpen existing legislation to use as a directive for LTC homes to comply with in order to meet the diverse needs of the residents who reside in LTC homes. To work against systemic racism, the public policies of LTC homes, which reproduce Euro-dominant practices, must be reshaped. Thus, according to residents, the policy change which I propose through this study answers what is needed to be put in place for a more equitable space in LTC homes, answering the second research question of this research. Through changes in policy, the normalized processes of racialization can be confronted and diversity can be honoured.

Table 4. Summary of opportunities for greater inclusion of Thamizh elders in LTC

Emerging Themes	Type of Resources	Examples of Resources in the GTA
Dietary needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - external meal services - meal delivery services - outings to authentic restaurants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uber Eats - DoorDash - Nantha Catering - Rajah Raam Catering - Hopper Hut
Leisure programming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - cultural programs - cultural special events - integrative cultural education programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diwali - Thai Pongal - travelogue
Spiritual care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - visits from religious leaders - outings to religious institutions - access online worship services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sri Katpaga Vinayagar Hindu Temple - Trinity United Church (online worship services) - Gurdwara Sikh Sangat
Social well-being	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - volunteer interpreters - social recreational programs - mentorship programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Java mentorship - Friendly visits - outings to cultural gatherings and organized special events

Proposed revised legislation:

Every resident has the right to pursue social, cultural, religious, spiritual and other interests, to develop their potential and to be given reasonable assistance by the Home to pursue these interests and develop their potential **through:**

- **facilitating diverse programs such as cultural special events,**
- **connecting with local spiritual organizations,**
- **creating partnerships with meal delivery services to offer traditional food, and**
- **integrating diversity through the facilitation of social groups for residents to foster meaningful relationships with others in the home** (A proposed amendment to Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2011, pp. 2-1).

Methodological Implications

Methodologically, the narratives that were presented in this research highlighted the need to expose the ways residents in LTC homes are racialised and often asked to adjust their cultural standard of living to accommodate what is available and convenient in LTC homes. In order to shed light on the voices, stories, and experiences of residents, we need to see more qualitative and creative methods to research in the existing literature. To challenge marginalization of POC living in LTC homes, providing a platform for residents to share their own personal stories provided an outlet for voicing barriers towards transformational change. Through this and like research, new narratives can continue to be illuminated to challenge and resist the meta-narratives and the dominant discourses that shape our world. The three-tiered methodological approach that I used: narrative analysis, analysis of narratives, and the composite narrative made space for me to make connections between residents' narratives and speak to the normalization of racism. Narrative allowed me to *see* how racism is perpetuated and normalized in the stories I became a part of. I also observed colourblindness in the stories told by residents who themselves had also perpetuated the persistence and permanence of racism and the construction of POC as the "Other" (Adams, 2017; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). The analysis of narratives allowed me to *see* through a critical lens and create a new narrative representative of residents' stories. Consequently, through the creation of Yogambikai's narrative, I further problematized the LTC structure by making connections to actionable solutions. For example, it is through narrative analysis and the analysis of narratives that I drew connections to power in relation to structure and power in relation to privilege to propose a revised legislation for the MOHLTC.

Theoretical Implications

Theoretically, the ways institutional power is understood and distributed within a LTC home setting were discussed as I reflected on my analysis and significant moments within the narratives that emerged. This research shed light on the importance of using critical lens such as CRT to focus on issues of power and notions/practices of oppression which make space for opening new ways of understanding and encourage ongoing critique of the status quo (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). This area of research would benefit from hearing more stories of Thamilz older adults and other POC living in LTC to further critique the ethnic culture of LTC that is embedded in practices that privilege Euro-centric norms in areas such as dietary needs, leisure programming, spiritual care and social well-being. Through hearing more counter-narratives, the way power in relation to privilege and power in relation to structure are connected within LTC can be further understood and critiqued.

Practically, this research to must move beyond these pages and contribute to policy changes by informing MOHLTC about the ways POC and marginalised Others living in Ontario's LTC homes encounter discrimination. Researchers, LTC organizations, staff working in LTC, and policy makers, can be informed of ways that LTC homes are oppressive to POC through this critique and can influence changes towards inclusion.

Future Research

Within this area, future practice and policy can focus on the use of critical lens to challenge institutional racism. Consequently, through the stories of residents, we can further understand the ways residents in LTC homes can be culturally supported. Through research which actively considers race and ethnicity, and histories of injustice on the basis of race and ethnicity, discrimination of racist policies that perpetuate social inequity can assertively be

illuminated (DeCuir & Dixson, 1999). The stories presented in this thesis highlight the need to dissect policies by the MOHLTC in order for LTC homes which are neo-liberal in nature to be reframed to support minoritized individuals in meeting their cultural needs.

Future research could benefit from hearing more of the voices of individuals living within LTC homes who identify with diverse ethnicities such as Filipino, Punjabi, and Bangladeshi. For example, what stories do Punjabi older adults tell about living in LTC homes? What do stories of Filipino older adult residents tell us about how racialisation is experienced in LTC homes? A study can critique the ways policy makers, staff working in LTC homes, LTC organizations and researchers elicit positive change for immigrants living in LTC towards inclusion? Through hearing counter narratives, the meta-narratives that shape our world can be resisted. The voice of colour thesis aims to address a gap in the LTC literature devoid of residents from diverse ethnicities.

Lastly, creative narrative representations act as a platform to pass down the living histories of Thamizh residents and, through the exposition of their stories, critique the culture of LTC in a purposeful and engaging manner. In future research that honours diversity, it would be beneficial for that research to be accessible to all (Richardson, 1999). As we engage in something that can move individuals in an inclusive way, it is imperative that future research engages in this form of qualitative inquiry (Berbary, 2011). As we shift from the traditional representation of qualitative inquiry, and “do representation differently”, we also empower people to think differently and critically (Berbary, 2011, p.1).

A Final Reflexive Note

To the Thamizh elders who shared their stories with me, I am honoured that you let me into your space and allowed me to hear your personal stories. I recognize that it can feel

vulnerable to be open and speak about your journey. You have inspired me to stay rooted in Thamizh culture despite living in a white settler society that reinforces multiculturalism but fails to withhold it.

Professionally, my ways of thinking have shifted in my frontline practice as a recreation therapist. I question the current practice often and think critically through the decisions I make on a day to day basis. I challenge the status quo in my career and this makes space for me to *see* the way the individuals who I work with are oppressed. I enjoy hearing residents' stories and what makes them who they are. Stories help me to find innovative ways to best support residents living in LTC and think about ways I can bring inclusivity and diversity in my daily work. For example, modifying equipment in therapeutic programs, changing the programming times to suit residents' needs, and learning the common words in various languages to be able to communicate with residents who do not understand English.

Through the process of understanding and using critical theory, I learned and unlearned how power can be exerted through structures that embed racism through learning about CRT and new concepts such as institutional racism. I am considerate of the fact that I too am steeped in Western understandings and thus, I am considerate of that in the ways heard, analysed, and represented residents' stories. I realized that although my initial response to racism was anger, the recipe for change is similar to the blooming of flowers. Similar to the flowers I plant in அம்மா's (mother's) garden each year, the systems and structures of our social world can be rerooted through changes in policies and procedures, attitudes, and challenging stereotypes. As individuals, we have the ability to plant seedlings for change through critical thinking and narrative research. The stories of minoritized individuals need to be told, and through the illumination of them, institutional change in social structures of our world can *bloom*.

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Appendix A - Phone Script for Resident Recruitment in LTC home

Hello, My name is Arany and I am a Master's student at the University of Waterloo wanting to speak with Thamizh older adults who live in LTC homes. Would it be possible to speak with this home's administrator?

(If/when administrator is speaking)

Hello, my name is Arany and I hope to speak with Thamizh older adults who live in LTC homes in effort to better understand the experiences of Thamizh older adults living in LTC homes. Do you have two minutes to chat with me today about an opportunity for Thamizh older adults who live at your home?

(If no, ask:) Is there a better time for us to talk?

(If yes, proceed.) Thank you for your time. I am interested in interviewing Thamizh residents to learn more about how they can be better supported in LTC in general. The purpose of this project is to hear stories by Thamizh elders to better support all individuals living in LTC homes. My hope is that the knowledge and information generated from this study will be beneficial to the staff and residents at this home and to other individuals who work with older adults across Canada, as well as the broader research community.

This study will not be linked in any way to your home without your permission. The study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee.

Would you be willing to assist me in recruiting participants by allowing me to come and speak to your clients/participants and explain my study in person?

Answer: No thank you.

No problem, thank you for your time!

OR

Answer: Yes

Thank you very much for you time and assistance with recruiting participants for my study. Can we arrange a date and time for me to come and explain my study to your clients/participants? Once again, if you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me by email at asivasub@uwaterloo.ca

(End call)



Appendix B - Organization Recruitment Letter & Permission Form

Date: _____

Dear: _____

My name is Arany Sivasubramaniam and I am conducting a research project as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I am conducting my research under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Lopez. This letter and permission form provides detailed information about this research project and will help you make an informed decision regarding your participation. I believe that the residents of your home have unique understandings and stories relating to LTC lifestyle experiences and LTC culture. During the course of this study, I hope to conduct interviews with residents to gather their stories of their experiences living in a LTC home. At the end of this study the publication of this thesis will share recommendations for supporting diversity in LTC homes.

What is this study about?

- The purpose of this project is to hear stories by Thamizh elders.
- I am interested in hearing (according to residents) what needs to be put in place in LTC homes and other care settings to make positive change and better meet the needs of residents from various cultural groups.

What does participation in this study involve?

- Residents will be asked to participate in an interview with the researcher on-site at [LTC home name]. During the interview, they will first be asked for some demographic information such as age, gender and how long they have lived at the residence. Next, the interview will focus on their personal experiences living in this LTC home and they will be asked questions such as what does your day look like?, do you feel your culture is supported here?, and how can LTC change to better meet your needs?. The interview session is expected to take approximately 45 minutes of your time.

Who may participate in the study?

In order to participate in this study, participants must identify their ethnicity as being Thamizh and as living at [LTC home name] LTC. Further, all participants must:

- have lived at [LTC home name] LTC for a minimum of 6 months.
- be able to communicate verbally in English or Thamizh to some degree.

Is participation in the study voluntary?

- Participation in this research project is completely voluntary.
- Should residents choose to participate, the resident or their substitute decision maker will be asked to sign a formal letter of consent stating their consent to participate.
- Participants may decline to answer any of the questions asked during the interview and throughout this research project.
- Participants may decide to leave the session at any time without any consequence.



- It will be stated to participants' that their decision to participate in this research project, as well as their decision to withdraw should they choose to do so, will not affect their current or future living at [LTC home name]
- With your permission along with the consent and assent of participants and or their substitute decision makers, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis.
- Anonymized quotations and excerpts from interviews will be used to support study findings. Participant names or other identifying information will not appear in the thesis or reports resulting from this study. Participants will not be identifiable, and only described by gender and age.
- A pseudonym will be given to the organization, if desired. All paper field notes collected will be retained and locked in a secure cabinet in the Recreation and Leisure Studies Department at the University of Waterloo. All paper notes will be confidentially destroyed after three years. Further, all electronic data will be stored indefinitely on a USB with no personal identifiers. Finally, only myself and my advisor, Kimberly Lopez in the Recreation and Leisure Studies Department at the University of Waterloo will have access to these materials.

What are the potential benefits of the study?

- Participation in this study may not offer personal benefits however, it is my hope that this study will be enjoyable and a safe space for residents to express themselves.
- The results of this research will hopefully contribute towards creating change in the ethnic culture of LTC homes and other care settings, highlighting the importance of challenging racism in our social institutions.
- This research is beneficial for the academic community, as we work together to emphasize the value of narratives.

Has the study received ethics clearance?

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41234), as well as through [LTC home name]. If you have any questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca

Who should be contacted should you have any questions?

- If you have any questions regarding this study or would like any additional information, please contact me, Arany Sivasubramaniam, by email at asivasub@uwaterloo.ca You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Kimberly Lopez, by email at kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Thank you very much for your interest and for considering participating in this project!

Sincerely,

Arany Sivasubramaniam, MA Candidate

Recreation and Leisure Studies | Applied Health Sciences | University of Waterloo
asivasub@uwaterloo.ca



Organization Permission Form

We read the information presented in the study information letter provided by student researcher, Arany Sivasubramaniam under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Lopez, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies Department at the University of Waterloo. We had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study and discuss additional details.

We are aware that the name of our organization will only be used in the thesis or any publications resulting from research only with our permission. We were informed that study participants may withdraw from participation at any time without penalty by advising the student researcher.

We were informed this project has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee. Any questions we have about the study may be directed to Arany Sivasubramaniam by email asivasub@uwaterloo.ca and/or Kimberly Lopez by email kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca. Further, any comments or concerns may also be directed to the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca

We agree to support the student researcher in recruiting residents living at [LTC home name], site(s): _____
 YES NO

We agree to the use of the name of the [LTC home name] in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.
 YES NO

If NO, a pseudonym will be used to protect the identity of the organization.

Administrator's Name: _____ (Please print)

Administrator's Signature: _____

Date: _____



Appendix C - Participant Information Letter & Consent Form

Date:

Dear Potential Research Participant,

My name is Arany Sivasubramaniam and I am conducting a research project as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I am conducting my research under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Lopez. This information letter and consent form provides detailed information about this research project and will help you make an informed decision regarding your participation.

What is this study about?

- The purpose of this project is to hear stories by Thamizh elders.
- I am interested in hearing (according to residents) what needs to be put in place in LTC homes and other care settings to better meet the needs of residents from various cultural groups.

What does participation in this study involve?

- You will be asked to participate in an interview with the researcher on-site at [LTC home name]. During the interview, you will first be asked for some demographic information such as your age, gender and how long you have lived at the residence. Next, the interview will focus on your personal experiences living in this LTC home and you will be asked questions such as what does your day look like?, do you feel your culture is supported here?, and how can LTC change to better meet your needs?. The interview session is expected to take approximately 45 minutes of your time.

Who may participate in the study?

In order to participate in this study, participants must identify their ethnicity as being Thamizh and as living at [LTC home name] LTC. Further, all participants must:

- have lived at [LTC home name] LTC for a minimum of 6 months.
- be able to communicate verbally in English or Thamizh to some degree.

Is participation in the study voluntary?

- Participation in this research project is completely voluntary.
- You may decline to answer any of the questions asked during the interview and throughout this research project.
- You may also decide to end the interview at any time by simply letting me know of your decision
- Your decision to participate in this research project, as well as your decision to withdraw should you choose to do so, will not affect your current or future living at [LTC home name]



- With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis.

What are the potential benefits of the study?

- Participation in this study may not offer personal benefits to you. However, it is my hope that this study will be enjoyable and a safe space for you to express yourself.
- The results of this research will hopefully contribute towards creating change in the ethnic culture of LTC homes and other care settings, highlighting the importance of challenging racism in our social institutions.
- This research is beneficial for the academic community, as we work together to emphasize the value of narratives.

What are the possible risks or discomforts associated with this study?

- In discussing our personal experiences and stories, it is possible that the conversations will bring up negative feelings and emotions. Please remember that should you begin to feel upset, your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may decline to answer any questions you do not want to answer. If you begin to express emotional stress, I will pause the interview and offer the opportunity to withdraw, take a break, or reach out to supports as is appropriate. Your well-being will *always* be prioritized over data collection for this project.

How will your information be kept confidential?

- Any identifying information will be removed from all data that is collected and will be stored separately.
- Because the interviews will occur on-site, some limitations in confidentiality exist with staff and other residents in the home. Administrators in the home will also be aware of the research project and assist in scheduling the interviews.
- Your name will not appear in any paper or presentation resulting from this research, however with your permission quotations from this study may be used with a pseudonym in place of your real name.
- Any data collected will be securely stored for a minimum of 1 year in an encrypted folder on a password protected computer in a locked office. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to your information.
- You can withdraw your agreement to participate and request that your stories be removed from the study by contacting myself or my supervisor up until I submit my thesis (est. May 2020). Please note that it will not be possible to withdraw your stories once study results have been submitted for publication.

Has the study received ethics clearance?

- This study has been reviewed and permission has been provided from the [LTC home name].
- This study has also been reviewed and received ethics clearance from the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41234). If you have any questions for the



Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-
ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Who should be contacted should you have any questions?

- If you have any questions regarding this study or would like any additional information to assist you in your decision about participation, please contact me, Arany Sivasubramaniam, by email at asivasub@uwaterloo.ca You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Kimberly Lopez, by email at kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Thank you very much for your interest and for considering participating in this project!

Sincerely,

Arany Sivasubramaniam
MA Candidate, University of Waterloo
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
Faculty of Applied Health Sciences
asivasub@uwaterloo.ca



Consent Form (for those who can provide their own consent)

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Arany Sivasubramaniam under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Lopez of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that the stories I share during the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that quotations may be used with a pseudonym in place of my real name.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at without penalty by advising the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41234). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca

For all other questions contact Arany Sivasubramaniam, at asivasub@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I give permission for the use of quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research. I understand that a pseudonym will be used in place of my real name.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____





UNIVERSITY OF
WATERLOO

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____



Appendix D - Substitute Decision Maker for Potential Research Participant Consent Form

Date:

Dear Substitute Decision Maker for Potential Research Participant,

My name is Arany Sivasubramaniam and I am conducting a research project as part of my Master's degree in the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I am conducting my research under the supervision of Dr. Kimberly Lopez. This fact sheet provides detailed information about this research project and will help you make an informed decision regarding your relative's participation.

What is this study about?

- The purpose of this project is to hear stories by Thamizh elders and shed light on racism in LTC homes.
- I am interested in hearing (according to residents) what needs to be put in place to make change to better meet the needs of residents of different cultures and ethnicities living in LTC homes.

What does participation in this study involve?

- Your relative will be asked to participate in an interview with the researcher on-site at [LTC home name]. During the interview, they will first be asked for some demographic information such as their age, gender and how long they have lived at the residence. Next, the interview will focus on the personal experiences and they will be asked questions such as what does your day look like?, is your culture being supported here?, and how can LTC homes better meet your needs?. The interview session is expected to take approximately 45 minutes of their time.

Who may participate in the study?

In order to participate in this study, participants must identify as a Thamizh resident living at [LTC home name] LTC. Further, all participants must:

- have lived at [LTC home name] LTC for a minimum of 6 months.
- be able to communicate verbally in English or Thamizh to some degree.
- be able to indicate their ongoing agreement to participate throughout the study. For those who are unable to provide their own consent, I will require formal consent by the authorized 3rd party/substitute decision maker.

Is participation in the study voluntary?

- Your relative's participation in this study is completely voluntary. They may decline to answer any questions they do not wish to answer and may



choose to end the interview at any time by simply letting me know. With permission, the interview will be audio-recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis.

What are the potential benefits of the study?

- Participation in this study may not offer personal benefits to you or your relative. However, it is my hope that this study will be an enjoyable experience where they can express themselves in a safe space as they offer their stories about living in LTC.
- The results of this research will hopefully contribute towards showcasing the importance of challenging racism in our social institutions.
- This research will influence the academic community, as we work together to emphasize the value of narratives.

What are the possible risks or discomforts associated with this study?

- In discussing personal stories, it is possible that the conversations will bring up negative feelings and emotions. Please remember that should your relative begin to feel upset, their participation is entirely voluntary, and they may decline to answer any questions they do not want to answer. If participants begin to express emotional stress, I will pause the interview and offer the opportunity to withdraw, take a break, or reach out to supports as is appropriate.
The well-being of participants will *always* be prioritized over data collection for this project.

How will information be stored securely?

- Identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected and stored separately. Because the interviews will occur on-site, some limitations in confidentiality exist with staff and other residents in the home. Administrators in the home will also be aware of the research project and assist in scheduling the interviews. Your relative's name will not appear in any paper or presentation resulting from this research, however with permission quotations may be used with a pseudonym in place of their real name.
- Collected data will be securely stored for a minimum of 1 year in an encrypted folder on a password protected computer in a locked office. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to study records. Both you and your relative can withdraw agreement to participate and request that your relative's data be removed from the study by contacting myself or my supervisor up until I submit my thesis (est. May 2020). Please note that it will not be possible to withdraw the data once study results have been submitted for publication.



Has the study received ethics clearance?

- This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41234). If you have any questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Who should be contacted should you have any questions?

- If you have any questions regarding this study or would like any additional information to assist you in your decision about participation, please contact me, Arany Sivasubramaniam, by email at asivasub@uwaterloo.ca
- You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Kimberly Lopez, by email at kjlopez@uwaterloo.ca

Thank you very much for your interest and for considering having your relative participate in this project!

Sincerely,

Arany Sivasubramaniam
MA Candidate, University of Waterloo
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies
Faculty of Applied Health Sciences
asivasub@uwaterloo.ca



Consent Form (3rd Party)

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Arany Sivasubramaniam under the supervision of Kimberly Lopez of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my relative's interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of their responses.

I am also aware that the stories I share during the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that quotations may be used with a pseudonym in place of my real name.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent without penalty by advising the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41234). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca

For all other questions contact Arany Sivasubramaniam, at asivasub@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, for my relative to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have the interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I give permission for the use of quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research. I understand that a pseudonym will be used in place of my real name.

YES NO

Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)





Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____



Appendix E - Participant Assent Form

The following assent form will be completed for persons living in LTC participating in the study:

1. Initial assent will be performed by going through the participant information letter and consent form, then going through the following points verbally with the individual living in LTC:

- I have understood the information presented to me about participation in this study.
- I have had enough time to think about participating in the study.
- I have had enough time to ask questions and have understood the responses to my questions.
- I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I can stop any time.
- I understand that there is no guarantee that this study will provide any benefits to me.
- I agree to have my interview audio recorded.
- I agree to the use of quotations in any presentation or publication that comes of this research.
- I understand that a pseudonym will be used in place of my real name.

2. Researcher to complete the assent form demonstrating that assent was obtained and continually confirmed prior to and during the data collection. Verbal consent will be captured in audio recordings, and other forms of consent will be documented in the researcher's field notes.

Resident Assent to Participate Process – Documentation Form

Resident participant assent was gained from _____ (Name of Participant) on
_____ (date) by _____ (Researcher).

Assent was expressed in the following ways:

Printed Name of Researcher

Signature

Date



Appendix F - Demographic Profile for Participants

Participant Demographics/Background Information for Participants living in LTC homes:

உங்கள் வயது என்ன (What is your age?): _____

உங்கள் பாலினம் என்ன? (What is your gender?)

ஆண் (Male) பெண் (Female) மற்றவை (Other): _____

நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு வீட்டுப் பெயரில் நீங்கள் எவ்வளவு காலம் வாழ்கிறீர்கள்:

(How long have you lived at [LTC home name]): _____



Appendix G - Semi-structured Interview Guide

Introductory Script:

Hi [name of participant], my name is Arany Sivasubramaniam, and I am a Master's student in the department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview and for agreeing to share your insights, stories, and experiences with me. I am interested in hearing stories by Thamizh elders living in LTC homes. The focus of this conversation is to describe and reflect on the ways your lifestyle is supported in LTC. Before we begin, I would just like to remind you:

- Your participation in the interview is completely voluntary.
- During the interview, you may decline to answer any questions that you prefer not to answer.
- You may stop the interview at any time.
- Your name will not appear in any paper or publication resulting from this research, however with your permission quotations may be used with a pseudonym in place of your real name
- This study has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo (ORE#41234).

வணக்கம் பங்கேற்பாளரின் பெயர், எனது பெயர் ஆரணி சிவசுப்பிரமணியம், நான் வாட்டர்லூ பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் உடல் நலத்தை பேணுவதற்காக செயல்பாட்டு ஆய்வு துறையில் முதுகலை மாணவர். இந்த நேர்காணலில் பங்கேற்க ஒப்புக்கொண்டதற்கும், உங்கள் நுண்ணறிவு, கதைகள் மற்றும் அனுபவங்களை என்னுடன் பகிர்ந்து கொள்ள ஒப்புக்கொண்டமைக்கும் நன்றி. நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லங்களில் வசிக்கும் தமிழ் பெரியவர்களின் கதைகளைக் கேட்க நான் ஆர்வமாக உள்ளேன். இந்த உரையாடலின் கவனம் நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பில் உங்கள் வாழ்க்கை முறை ஆதரிக்கப்படும் வழிகளை விவரிப்பதும் பிரதிபலிப்பதும் ஆகும். நாங்கள் தொடங்குவதற்கு முன், நான் உங்களுக்கு நினைவூட்ட விரும்புகிறேன்:

- நேர்காணலில் உங்கள் பங்கேற்பு முற்றிலும் தன்னார்வமானது.
- நேர்காணலின் போது, நீங்கள் பதிலளிக்க விரும்பாத எந்த கேள்விகளுக்கும் பதிலளிக்க மறுக்கலாம்.
- நீங்கள் எந்த நேரத்திலும் நேர்காணலை நிறுத்தலாம்.
- இந்த ஆராய்ச்சியின் விளைவாக எந்தவொரு காகிதத்திலும் அல்லது வெளியீட்டிலும் உங்கள் பெயர் தோன்றாது, இருப்பினும் உங்கள் அனுமதியுடன் உங்கள் உண்மையான பெயருக்கு பதிலாக ஒரு புனைப்பெயருடன் பயன்படுத்தப்படலாம்.
- இந்த ஆய்வு வாட்டர்லூ பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் ஆராய்ச்சி நெறிமுறைகளை அலுவலகம் மூலம் மதிப்பாய்வு செய்யப்பட்டு அனுமதி பெறப்பட்டுள்ளது.



With your agreement, I would like to audiotape our interview to facilitate the discussion and to ensure the accuracy of the information you share with me. Do I have your permission to audio-record this interview?

உங்கள் உடன்படிக்கையுடன், கலந்துரையாடலை எளிதாக்குவதற்கும், நீங்கள் என்னுடன் பகிர்ந்து கொள்ளும் தகவல்களின் துல்லியத்தை உறுதி செய்வதற்கும் எங்கள் நேர்காணலை ஒலிப்பதிவு செய்ய விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த நேர்காணலை ஒலிப்பதிவு செய்ய உங்கள் அனுமதி உள்ளதா?

[If NO], that is fine; instead I will be taking notes throughout our conversation. சரி; அதற்கு பதிலாக நான் எங்கள் உரையாடல் முழுவதும் குறிப்புகளை எடுத்துக்கொள்வேன்.

[If YES], continue...

Before we begin, do you have any questions for me? Are you ready to begin? நாங்கள் தொடங்குவதற்கு முன், உங்களிடம் ஏதேனும் கேள்விகள் இருக்கிறதா? தொடங்கத் தயாரா?

Turn on the audio-recorder.

Start interview:

Research Question 1: What stories do Thamizh older adults tell about living in LTC homes? What do these stories tell us about how racialisation is experienced in LTC homes? What practices, languages, interactions, and symbols in LTC normalise processes of racialisation?

Lead Question 1A: Tell me about yourself....

உங்களைப் பற்றி சொல்லுங்கள்...

Follow-up questions:

- What makes you smile? What is your favourite childhood memory? உங்களை சிரிக்க வைப்பது எது? உங்களுக்கு பிடித்த குழந்தை பருவ சம்பவம் என்ன?
- What led you to moving here? நீங்கள் இங்கு வர வழிவகுத்தது எது?
- What was that experience like for you? உங்களுக்கு இங்கு வரும்போது இருந்த அனுபவம் என்ன?
- Tell me about how you came to move to Canada. Tell me about your move into LTC. நீங்கள் கனடாவுக்குச் செல்ல எப்படி வந்தீர்கள் என்று சொல்லுங்கள். இந்த நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்திற்கு நீங்கள் சென்றது பற்றி சொல்லுங்கள்.
- What taboos, if any, are associated with LTC among Thamizhs? தமிழர்களிடையே நீண்டகால பராமரிப்பு இல்லங்களுடன் ஏதேனும் சங்கடங்கள் உள்ளதா?/



- F. Why did you move to this LTC home as opposed to other options? பிற விருப்பங்களுக்கு மாறாக இந்த நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்திற்கு நீங்கள் ஏன் சென்றீர்கள்?

Lead Question 1B: What does your day look like? உங்கள் நாள் எப்படி இருக்கும்?

Follow-up questions:

- What kinds of things do you do here? நீங்கள் இங்கே என்ன செய்கிறீர்கள்?
- Tell me more about your experiences with the food here. இங்குள்ள உணவைப் பற்றிய உங்கள் அனுபவங்களைப் பற்றி மேலும் சொல்லுங்கள்.
- Tell me about the programs that are offered here... What programs/activities do you like? Which programs are missing in your opinion? இங்கே வழங்கப்படும் பொழுதுபோக்கு செயல்பாடுகள் பற்றி என்னிடம் சொல்லுங்கள்... நீங்கள் என்ன பொழுதுபோக்கு செயற்பாடுகளை விரும்புகிறீர்கள்? உங்கள் கருத்தில் எந்த பொழுதுபோக்கு செயற்பாடுகள் இல்லை?
- Are your spiritual needs being met here? If so, how? If not, why not? உங்கள் ஆன்மீக தேவைகள் இங்கே பூர்த்தி செய்யப்படுகின்றனவா? எப்படி?

Lead Question 1C: Tell me a story about how this home supports you as a Thamizh older adult... இந்த நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லம் ஒரு தமிழ் வயது முதிர்ந்தவராக உங்களை எவ்வாறு ஆதரிக்கிறது என்பது பற்றிய ஒரு கதையை என்னிடம் சொல்லுங்கள்...

Follow-up questions:

- What ways do you think being Thamizh played a role in your experiences living here? இங்கு வாழும் உங்கள் அனுபவங்களை தமிழாக இருப்பது எந்த வழிகளில் பாதித்தது என்று நினைக்கிறீர்கள்?
- Do you feel your culture supported here? If yes, how? உங்கள் தமிழ் கலாச்சாரம் இங்கே ஆதரிக்கப்படுகிறதா? ஆம் என்றால், எப்படி?
- What stands in the way of your culture not being supported here? What ways is your culture supported here? உங்கள் கலாச்சாரம் இங்கு ஆதரிக்கப்படாத நிலையில் என்ன இருக்கிறது? உங்கள் கலாச்சாரம் இங்கு எந்த வழிகளில் ஆதரிக்கப்படுகிறது?
- Who do you talk with about your life and your experiences here? உங்கள் வாழ்க்கை மற்றும் உங்கள் அனுபவங்களைப் பற்றி நீங்கள் யாருடன் பேசுகிறீர்கள்?

Research Question 2: What ways can policy makers, staff working in LTC homes, LTC organizations, and researchers elicit positive change for POC living in LTC towards inclusion? According to residents, what needs to be put in place for a more equitable space?

Lead Question 2A: Tell me a story about anything that you would change in this home if you could...



உங்களால் முடிந்தால் இந்த நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்தில் நீங்கள் மாற்றக்கூடிய எதையும் பற்றி ஒரு கதையைச் சொல்லுங்கள்...

Follow-up questions:

- How can LTC change to better meet your needs? உங்கள் தேவைகளை சிறப்பாக பூர்த்தி செய்ய நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லங்கள் எவ்வாறு மாறலாம்?
- What do you think has to happen to make these changes? இந்த மாற்றங்களைச் செய்ய என்ன நடக்க வேண்டும்?

Lead Question 2B: What would you like people to know about being Thamizh living in Canada? Living here? கனடாவில் வசிக்கும் தமிழர்கள் பற்றி என்ன மக்களுக்கு வெளிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறீர்கள்? நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பில் தமிழர்கள் வாழ்வதைப் பற்றி என்ன மக்களுக்கு வெளிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறீர்கள்?

Follow-up questions:

- Who should hear your recommendations? உங்கள் பரிந்துரைகளை யார் கேட்க வேண்டும்?
- What are the best ways to share your recommendations? (for example, poems, picture book, short film, short story) உங்கள் பரிந்துரைகளைப் பகிர்ந்து கொள்ள சிறந்த வழிகள் யாவை? (எடுத்துக்காட்டாக, கவிதைகள், பட புத்தகம், சிறுகதை)
- What did you like most about our discussion? Did you learn something new about yourself? If so, what? எங்கள் விவாதத்தைப் பற்றி நீங்கள் அதிகம் விரும்பியது எது? உங்களைப் பற்றி புதிதாக ஏதாவது கற்றுக்கொண்டீர்களா? அப்படியானால், என்ன?
- Is there anything else you would like to add about your experience before we end today? இன்று நாங்கள் முடிவடைவதற்கு முன்பு, உங்கள் அனுபவங்களைப் பற்றி மேலும் ஏதாவது சொல்ல விரும்புகிறீர்களா?

Closing Script:

Thank you for taking the time to share your story. Your participation is greatly appreciated. As previously mentioned, this study has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo (ORE#41234). I will be sending you a thank you note with contact information for the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation, I encourage you to please contact the Office of Research Ethics with your concerns. If you have any questions regarding the project itself, please contact my supervisor, Dr. Kimberly Lopez, or myself. Our contact information will also be included on the thank you note. Thank you again for your participation.

உங்கள் கதைகளைப் பகிர்ந்து கொள்ள நேரம் ஒதுக்கியதற்கு நன்றி. உங்கள் பங்கேற்பு பெரிதும் பாராட்டப்படுகிறது. முன்னர் குறிப்பிட்டபடி, இந்த ஆய்வு வாட்டர்லூ



பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் ஆராய்ச்சி நெறிமுறைகள் அலுவலகம். மூலம் மதிப்பாய்வு செய்யப்பட்டு நெறிமுறை அனுமதி பெற்றது. வாட்டர்லூ பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் ஆராய்ச்சி நெறிமுறைகள் அலுவலகத்திற்கான தொடர்புத் தகவலுடன் ஒரு நன்றி குறிப்பை உங்களுக்கு அனுப்புகிறேன். உங்கள் பங்கேற்பின் விளைவாக உங்களுக்கு ஏதேனும் கருத்துகள் அல்லது கவலைகள் இருந்தால், தயவுசெய்து உங்கள் கவலைகளுடன் ஆராய்ச்சி நெறிமுறைகள் அலுவலகத்தை தொடர்பு கொள்ளுமாறு நான் உங்களை ஊக்குவிக்கிறேன். திட்டம் குறித்து உங்களுக்கு ஏதேனும் கேள்விகள் இருந்தால், தயவுசெய்து எனது மேற்பார்வையாளர் டாக்டர் கிம்பர்லி லோபசை அல்லது என்னை தொடர்பு கொள்ளவும். எங்கள் தொடர்புத் தகவலும் நன்றி குறிப்பில் சேர்க்கப்படும். உங்கள் பங்கேற்புக்கு மீண்டும் நன்றி.



Appendix H - Thank You Letter for Participants and Home

Thank you letter for home:

Date:

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study that seeks to hear stories of LTC experiences told by Thamizh elders. As a reminder, the purpose of this project is to hear stories by Thamizh elders and illuminate the ways racialisation is lived in LTC homes and its associated consequences. I am interested in hearing (according to residents) what needs to be put in place to elicit positive change and honour diversity for a more equitable space in LTC homes.

My hope is that the knowledge and information generated from this study will be beneficial to your staff and residents at [LTC home name], to individuals who work with older adults across Canada, as well as the broader research community. The stories of Thamizh older adults will also shed light on the importance of illuminating and hearing stories by Thamizh older adults for research.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41234). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Please remember that any data pertaining to the home will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analysed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or would like a summary of the results, please provide your email address, and when the study is completed, anticipated by May 2020, I will send you the information. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email as noted below.

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Kimberly Lopez, PhD
Assistant Professor
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo
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Thank you letter for residents:

Date:

I would like to thank you for your participation in this study that seeks to hear stories of LTC experiences told by Thamizh elders. As a reminder, the purpose of this project is to hear stories by Thamizh elders to better support all individuals living in LTC homes. I am interested in hearing (according to residents) what needs to be put in place to elicit positive change and honour diversity for more equitable LTC homes.

My hope is that the knowledge and information generated from this study will be beneficial to your staff and residents at [LTC home name], to individuals who work with older adults across Canada, as well as the broader research community. The stories of Thamizh older adults will also shed light on the importance of illuminating and hearing stories by Thamizh older adults for research.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#41234). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analysed for this project, I plan on sharing this information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations, and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or would like a summary of the results, please feel free to contact me. When the study is completed, anticipated by May 2020, I will send you the information. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me by email as noted below.

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Appendix I - Yogambikai's Narrative Translated in Thamizh

என் பெயர் யோகாம்பிகை சரவணமுத்து. நான் என் வாழ்க்கையின் பெரும்பகுதி இலங்கையின் யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வளர்ந்தேன். எனக்கு பிடித்த குழந்தை பருவ நினைவு என் குடும்பத்துடன் கோவிலுக்கு செல்வது. எமது குடும்பத்தில் மூன்று பேர்: என் தந்தை, இளையதம்பி, என் அம்மா, விசலாச்சி, என் தம்பி, பாலசிங்கம். எங்கள் வயதினருடன் கூடி முற்றத்தில் விளையாடுவதை நான் மிகவும் விரும்பினேன். எமது இளமை காலத்தில் எல்லா பெண்களும் கூடி, இசை நடன நிகழ்ச்சிகளுக்கு செல்வோம். கோவிலில் நடக்கும் மாலை நிகழ்ச்சிகளுக்கும் செல்வோம். எங்கள் குடும்பங்கள் மற்றும் நண்பர்கள் குழந்தைகள் அனைவரும் ஒன்றாகச் செல்வோம். என் நண்பர்கள் எனது வீட்டுக்கு வந்து என் பெயரை கூப்பிட்டு அழைப்பார்கள். நானும் அவர்களுடன் செல்வேன்.

நான் ஓய்வு பெற்ற பிறகு, நானும் என் கணவரும் கனடாவுக்கு வந்தோம், ஏனெனில் நாங்கள் எப்போதும் இலங்கையில் பயந்து வாழ வேண்டியிருக்கும்.

நாங்கள் 1999 இல் கனடாவுக்கு வந்தோம். கனடாவுக்குச் செல்வது சுவாரஸ்யமானது...எல்லாம் யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலிருந்து வேறுபட்டது...மொழி, காலநிலை, வாழ்க்கை முறைகள். யாழ்ப்பாணம் போல எதுவும் இல்லை, ஆனால் என் குடும்பம் இங்கே இருந்தது. அது எனக்கு அந்நியமாக இல்லாத ஒன்று: குடும்பம். என் கணவர் கனடாவுக்கு வந்து ஒரு வருடம் கழித்து காலமானார், எனக்கு எனது மகள் மற்றும் மகனின் குடும்பத்தினர் ஆதரவு தந்தனர். ஒன்றாறியோவின் ஸ்கார்பாரோவில் 1990 களில் குடியேறிய பல தமிழர்களுடன் நாங்கள் வாழ்ந்தோம். ஸ்கார்பாரோ ஒரு சிறிய யாழ்ப்பாணம் போல இருந்தது, ஏனெனில் போரின் காரணமாக குடியேறிய தமிழர்களின் எண்ணிக்கை மிக அதிகம்.

என் பிள்ளைகள் வேலைக்குச் செல்லும்போது, நான் வீட்டில் தனியாக இருப்பேன். சில நேரங்களில் நான் வீட்டில் விழுவேன், பெரியது எதுவுமில்லை. நான் தனியாக கடைக்கு செல்வதை என் பிள்ளைகள் விரும்பவில்லை. நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்திற்கு செல்வது பாதுகாப்பான வழி என்று அவர்கள் நினைத்தார்கள்.

இந்த நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்திற்கு செல்ல நான் பதட்டமாக இருந்தேன், ஆனால் நான் அரம்பத்திலே இங்க வந்திருக்க வேண்டும்! இங்கு பலவிதமான நடவடிக்கைகள் வழங்கப்படுகின்றன, அதனால்தான் எனக்கு இங்கு ஒரு குறிக்கோள் நிறைந்த வாழ்க்கை இருக்கிறது. நான் தினசரி அறிவிப்புகளை ஒரு நாளைக்கு இரண்டு முறை கேட்கிறேன், ஊழியர்கள் என்னை தனிப்பட்ட முறையில் அழைக்கிறார்கள். இங்கே நடவடிக்கைகள் உள்ளன என்பதை எனக்கு நினைவூட்டுவதற்காக, தமிழில் எழுதப்பட்ட ஒரு காலண்டர் உள்ளது.

பொழுதுபோக்கு குழுக்களின் போது, நான் மற்ற தமிழர்களைச் சந்தித்து அவர்களுடன் அர்த்தமுள்ள உறவுகளை வளர்க்கிறேன். நான் முதன்முதலில் கனடாவுக்கு வந்தபோது எனது வயதில் இருந்த மற்ற தமிழர்களுடன் தொடர்பு கொள்ள எனக்கு ஒருபோதும் வாய்ப்பு கிடைக்கவில்லை, ஏனென்றால் நான் எனது சொந்த குடும்பத்தினருடன் நிறைய நேரம் செலவிட்டேன், உங்களுக்குத் தெரியும்... குடும்பக் கடமைகள். கனடாவில் வாழ்வது கடினம், குறிப்பாக ஆங்கிலம் பேசத் தெரியாது, ஆனால், இந்த நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்தில், நான் மகிழ்ச்சியாக உணர்கிறேன்.

நான் மீண்டும் என்னைப் போல் உணர்கிறேன், ஏனென்றால் நான் இணைக்கக்கூடிய மற்றவர்களும் உள்ளனர். எங்களிடம் வழிகாட்டல் குழுக்கள் உள்ளன, அங்கு மற்ற தளங்களில் இருந்து மற்ற தமிழர்களை சந்தித்து கதைகளைப் பகிர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம், ஒருவருக்கொருவர் தெரிந்து கொள்ளலாம். என்னைப் போன்ற வீட்டில் இந்துக்களுக்கான சிறப்பு நிகழ்வுகள் மற்றும் மத நிகழ்ச்சிகள் கூட எங்களிடம் உள்ளன. ஒவ்வொரு வெள்ளிக்கிழமையும் ஒரு சிறிய பாடல் மற்றும் சடங்கு செய்ய பூசாரி கலந்துகொள்வார். படுக்கையில் இருக்கும் குடியிருப்பாளர்களுக்கு, டிரினிட்டி யூனிட்டி சர்ச் அல்லது ஸ்ரீ கற்பக விநாயகர் போன்ற மத நிறுவனங்களின் நேரடி ஒளிபரப்பு போன்ற வழிபாட்டு சேவைகள் உள்ளன.

மேலும், "டிராவலாக்" போன்ற பிற கலாச்சார நிகழ்ச்சிகளும் எங்களிடம் உள்ளன, அங்கு உலகெங்கிலும் உள்ள பல்வேறு இனங்களைப் பற்றி அறிந்து கொள்ளலாம் மற்றும் நம் சொந்த கலாச்சாரத்தைப் பற்றி மற்றவர்களுக்குக் கற்பிக்கலாம். இந்த வயதில் கூட, தமிழ் கலாச்சாரத்தை மற்றவர்களுக்கு குறிப்பாக தமிழர் அல்லாதவர்களுக்கு வளர்க்கவும் பாதுகாக்கவும் முடிகிறது என்பதை அறிந்து அது என்னை உயிரோடு உணர்கிறது. கடந்த வாரம் நாங்கள் வீட்டில் டாய் பொங்கலைக் கொண்டாடினோம் என்பது உங்களுக்குத் தெரியுமா, எனது போர்த்துகீசிய நண்பரான அல்மாவுக்கு அந்த கொண்டாட்டத்திற்காக எங்கள் பிரபலமான பாரம்பரிய உணவுகளில் ஒன்றை எவ்வாறு தயாரிப்பது என்று கற்றுக் கொடுத்தேன் ?! அவள் அதை முற்றிலும் நேசித்தாள்.

எங்கள் உணவுக்காக, வெளிப்புற உணவு சேவை நிறுவனத்திடமிருந்து ஆர்டர் செய்ய எங்களுக்கு விருப்பம் உள்ளது. இது நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லங்களில் வாழும் பல்வேறு உணவு விருப்பங்களைக் கொண்டவர்களுக்கான சேவையாகும், இது அவர்களின் கலாச்சாரத்திற்கு பாரம்பரியமான உணவைத் தேர்வுசெய்யக்கூடியது மற்றும் நீண்ட கால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்தில் வழங்கப்படும் மெனுவிலிருந்து வேறுபட்டது. நான் அதிலிருந்து அடிக்கடி ஆர்டர் செய்யவில்லை, ஆனால் அவ்வப்போது பிட்டுவை சாப்பிடுவதற்கான விருப்பம் எனக்கு இருக்கிறது என்று நான் விரும்புகிறேன்! இந்த வெளிப்புற உணவு நிறுவனம் சமூகத்தில் உள்ள தமிழர்களுக்கு சொந்தமானது, அவர்கள் வீட்டில் சமைத்த உணவை

உருவாக்குகிறார்கள். இது நான் யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிப்பதைப் போல உணர்கிறது. அங்கு நாங்கள் வீட்டில் சமைத்த உணவை மட்டுமே சாப்பிடுவோம். அவர்கள் ஒரு மலிவு விநியோக சேவையைக் கொண்டுள்ளனர், மேலும் இது நீண்டகால பராமரிப்பு இல்லத்துடன் இணைந்திருப்பதால், இந்த நிறுவனத்திடமிருந்து உணவைக் கொண்டுவர அவை நம்மை அனுமதிக்கின்றன, மேலும் உணவு நேரங்களில் கலாச்சார உணவை ஆர்டர் செய்வதையும் அனுமதிக்கின்றன. என் நண்பருடன் பிட்டுவை சாப்பிடுவது, யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் எங்கள் நாட்களை இரவு உணவு மேஜையில் குழந்தைகளாக நினைவூட்டுகிறது. இது உண்மையில் நல்ல வாழ்க்கை.

Slideshow video of composite narrative translated in Thamizh:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zacWUjsMIFY&feature=youtu.be>