

AGEISM ANALYZED AND REDEFINED: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

by

Mari LeBlanc, BSW, Ryerson University, 2016

An MRP

presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work
in the Program of
Social Work

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2017

© Mari LeBlanc 2017

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A MRP

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this MRP. This is a true copy of the MRP, including any required final revisions.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this MRP to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this MRP by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

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

ABSTRACT

AGEISM ANALYZED AND REDefined: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Master of Social Work, 2017

Mari LeBlanc

Program of Social Work,

Ryerson University

In this Major Research Paper, I conducted a critical discourse analysis of articles about ageism and age discrimination published in *The Globe and Mail* in 2015. The research aimed to locate and examine discourses about ageism and older adults. I located three discourses in these articles. First the articles centered a middle aged, white, and successful subject; secondly, older adults in these articles were both privileged and a burden, and finally, older adults were urged to take initiative to prevent aging. It is my hope that my work points to both the underlying discourses that social workers need to consider to do equitable work with older adults and new ways for them to understand ageism in order to center the needs, experiences, and beliefs of older adults with multiply marginalized identities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank Samantha Wehbi for being such an amazing teacher. Thank you, Sam.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK | 1 |
| Context and Positionality | 2 |
| Theoretical Framework | 3 |
| Critical Gerontology | 4 |
| Intersectionality | 6 |
| CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW | 10 |
| Ageism Defined | 11 |
| Discourses of Ageism/ Ageist Discourses | 14 |
| Ageism Experiences of Lesbian, Bisexual & Gay Older Adults and Older Adults | |
| Living with HIV | 18 |
| Race and Ageism: A Lack of Research | 19 |
| Gaps In the Literature | 22 |
| CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY | 23 |
| Data Collection | 26 |
| Data Analysis | 28 |
| Positionality in Research | 28 |
| CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION | 30 |
| Middle Aged, White, and Successful | 31 |
| Take Initiative | 37 |
| Privileged and a Burden | 42 |
| CHAPTER 5: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK & CONCLUSION | 47 |
| APPENDICES | 54 |
| REFERENCE LIST | 57 |

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A - Document Selection Guide Page 52

Appendix B - List of Selected Articles Page 53

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A critical component of anti-oppressive practice (AOP) in social work is the deconstruction of oppressive discourses and knowledge (Massaquoi, 2011; Mulally, 2010). Through research and analysis, AOP social work scholars aim to disrupt commonplace knowledge that is harmful or exclusionary to oppressed peoples (Massaquoi, 2011). Beginning from the perspective that in many ways and in many contexts, being an older adult is an oppressed subject position (Calasanti, Slevin, & King, 2006), in this MRP, I argue that it is critical that ageist discourses that affect negatively affect older adults be analyzed and challenged. At the same time, I also argue that the actual discourse of ageism is exclusionary in that it is centered around a white, middle class, heterosexual, older adult subject. As an anti-oppressive social work researcher, my aim is to deconstruct, disrupt and reconstruct both exclusionary discourses about ageism and ageist discourses that circulate today. While I have drawn from studies from Ireland, England, The United States and Canada, my aim is to situate my work in the Canadian context of our increasingly diverse population of older adults. Through doing this, I hope to contribute to AOP social work knowledge about how ageist oppression intersects with race, gender, disability and sexuality based oppressions to affect older adults, especially older adults with multiple marginalized identities.

In 2015, for the first time, there were more Canadians over the age of 65 than there were Canadians under the age of 14 (Statistics Canada, 2015). This population is diverse in terms of its cultural and racial background, sexual orientation, ability, gender identity and religious affiliation, among other elements of identity. For example, in 2006, 30% of Canadians 65 and over were from an immigrant background with 10.3% of that population being racialized (Ng,

Lai, & Rudner, 2012). Canada's older adult population will be even more diverse in the future. In Toronto alone, it is predicted that racialized people will make up 63% of the city's population by 2031 (Caron Malenfant, Lebel, & Martel, 2010).

Given this, the need to examine older adults' experiences of ageism from an intersectional perspective has become increasingly important. Although there is significant research on gendered ageism (Calasanti, Slevin, & King, 2006; Hurd Clarke & Korotchenko, 2016; Hurd Clarke & Griffin, 2008; Ray & Fine, 1999), there is very little other research that speaks to this reality by examining how ageism works with racism, ableism, cissexism and/or heterosexism to affect older adults with multiple marginalized identities.

An example of the intersection of ageism and other forms of discrimination can be seen if we examine the social problems of elder abuse and income inequality. Canadian researchers examining elder abuse in racialized immigrant populations have identified the interlocking factors of social exclusion, structural racism and a lack of respect for elders as causes of elder abuse (Tam & Neysmith, 2006; Tyyskä, Dinshaw, Redmond, & Gomes, 2012). Similarly, George and George (2013) point to the difficulties sponsored immigrants have in accessing old age security as possibly leading to abuse from their families. The intersection of ageism with other experiences of marginalization also affects older adults' incomes with older, racialized, immigrant women in Canada at risk of having low incomes and precarious employment (Lightman & Gingrich, 2013).

Context and Positionality

My interest in studying ageism and its effect on older adults with multiple marginalized identities developed out of my own experience working with this population. In my previous

work in an agency serving older adults, I read literature about isolation, elder abuse, and ageism and also organized a conference for older adults about elder abuse prevention. It was through this work that I first noticed discourses about ageism and older adults. Articles pointed to older adults from marginalized backgrounds being at risk for elder abuse, but did not explore how different systems of oppression were linked to these risks (Brozowski & Hall, 2010; Podnieks, 2006; Sinha et al., 2016). As well, the voices of older adults who were not white, able-bodied, heterosexual, or cisgendered were excluded. Ageism was understood through a homogeneous and homogenizing discourse and the idea that older adults might be affected by ageism in different ways depending on their own intersecting identities was not addressed (McCallion, 2016; Revera Report on Ageism, n.d.).

Here, I also want to address my own relationship to the topic I am studying. As a forty-year old white woman on the cusp of middle age, I benefit from a society that is built around my needs. Canadian society is structured around whiteness and the lives of younger people like me. Indigenous peoples experience ongoing colonization and people of colour are subjugated in many ways. As I am doing research about how ageism affects older adults and arguing that there is a gap in research into how it affects racialized older adults, it is imperative that I acknowledge the benefits I receive from my age and from being a white settler on colonized land. Reflecting on my own positionality, then, it is very important to me that I do “just research” (Potts & Brown, 2005). For me, this means research that illuminates and addresses both ageist discourses and discourses of ageism and more importantly, research that suggests ways that whiteness in the discourse of ageism can be decentered. In doing this MRP, it is my desire to do research which proposes ways that the multiple and diverse perspectives of Indigenous, racialized, and LGBTQ+

older adults can be centered in the conversations on ageism.

Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework is based on two bodies of theoretical scholarship: intersectionality and critical gerontology. Critical gerontology brings three insights of relevance to my study. These are: that being an older adult is an oppressed subject position; that discourses that shape how older adults are seen in society must be critiqued; and that older adults' perspectives on aging must be included in gerontology research.

Critical Gerontology

A key insight of critical gerontology is that ageism is formed by and through age relations. Calasanti et al. (2006) define age relations as “the system of inequality, based on age, which privileges the not-old at the expense of the old” (p. 13). Calasanti et al. argue that in mainstream Western cultures, age relations structure experiences of old age with younger people being accorded more power than older people, and different age groups existing in hierarchical relationships to each other. This hierarchical relationship is seen as the natural way of things and part of the life course (Bytheway, 2005; Calasanti et al., 2006). In cultures and places structured by ageism, being old leads to a loss of power for all those designated as old (Calasanti et al., 2006). Therefore, being old is an oppressed social location just like being a woman, being Black, or being disabled (Bytheway, 2005; Calasanti et al., 2006; Neville, 2008).

Here I want to point to what I see as a problem with critical gerontology's framework. Through arguing that age relations make being old an oppressed subject position, they ignore the reality of traditional Indigenous cultures. In traditional Indigenous cultures, both Elders and older adults are treated with esteem and respect (Baskin & Davey, 2015). In their article “Grannies,

Elders and Friends”, Baskin and Davey (2015) explain the difference between older adults and Elders in Indigenous cultures. Elders are older adults who are designated by community members to provide guidance, healing, and teachings from previous generations to members of their community (Baskin & Davey, 2015). According to Baskin and Davey, not all older adults take on this role, but older adults in general are accorded special status. This is something I have learned through my studies at Ryerson University and something I have thought about in writing this MRP. Currently, this role is vulnerable due to the effects of past and ongoing colonization (Baskin & Davey, 2015, Carson, 1995, Collings, 2001, Dumont-Smith, 2002). Examples of colonization include the ongoing effect of residential schools which severely damaged traditional Aboriginal families and communities (Baskin & Davey, 2015, Dumont-Smith, 2002), the current imposition of Western education systems on Indigenous young people which limits the role that elders can play in teaching them (Collings, 2001), and the fact that due to governmental restrictions and indifference, Indigenous communities and nations are not able to be self-governing (Carson, 1995). Here, I echo my earlier point about the need to examine ageism through an intersectional lens.

According to critical gerontology theorists, ageism is shaped by two prevailing discourses: the discourse of old age as a time of frailty, decline and ill health (Bytheway, 2005; Calasanti et al., 2006; Fealy, Mcnamara, Treacy, & Lyons, 2012; Hurd Clarke, Korotchenko, 2016; Katz, 2005) and the discourse of successful aging (Angus & Reeve, 2006; Katz & Calasanti, 2015; Rozanova, 2010). These two discourses form different sides of the same coin. In the first discourse, older adults are typically lumped together in the popular imagination as vulnerable people who need to be protected (Bytheway, 2005; Calasanti et al., 2006; Fealy,

Mcnamara, Treacy, & Lyons, 2012; Hurd Clarke, Korotchenko, 2016; Katz, 2005). The discourse of successful aging, on the other hand, describes the “positive” side of aging for older adults who have acted in “responsible” ways for their health. These older adults are happy, independent, healthy, and in good shape. In other words, they defy the stereotypes typically associated with being older (Angus & Reeve, 2006; Katz & Calasanti, 2015; Rozanova, 2010). While on the face of it there is nothing wrong with being active, critical gerontologists argue that under this discourse a moral value is placed on fitness, busyness and activity (Katz, 2005). This discourse also individualizes people’s responsibility for aging successfully. It is found in the media with the stories of older adults who aged successfully being highlighted (Rozanova, 2010). Critical gerontologists argue against this discourse because it individualizes structural problems that affect different groups of older people depending on their race, class, sexuality and gender. Not everyone is able to age successfully depending on the structural barriers they face (Katz & Calasanti, 2015; King & Calasanti, 2006). As well, in countries with neo-liberal economies where service providers have experienced funding cuts, the volunteerism of older people is a way to make up for a lack of funded services (Martinson & Minkler, 2006).

These discourses, critical gerontologists contend, need to be examined from the position of older adults themselves (Calasanti et al., 2006). How do older adults understand aging, health and ill health, activity and inclusion? What do they prioritize or identify with as older adults? Critical gerontologists point to a lack of theorizing about older adults’ lives in feminist scholarship, for example, and a lack of writing by older adults themselves (Calasanti et al., 2006; Freixas, Luque, & Reina, 2012; Ray & Fine, 1999).

Using a critical gerontology lens, then, we can see how age relations shape older adults

lives in mainstream Western society at individual, macro and structural levels through a loss of power and status. We can also see how ageist discourses frame the choices and possibilities for older adults' lives. While the effects of race, ability and sexual identity based discrimination on older adults were noted in the critical gerontology literature I read, I did not find any critical gerontology literature that focused specifically on any of these areas. Instead, critical gerontologists Calasanti and King (2015) argue for the use of intersectional theory to examine relations of social inequality as they affect older adults. I also think that to understand how power and privilege affect older adults who experience/ have experienced multiple forms of oppression, it is necessary to use an intersectional framework.

Intersectionality

The term intersectionality was first coined by Crenshaw (1991) in her seminal article, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour" but has antecedents in work by other Black feminists theorizing in the 1970s and 80s (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). Crenshaw utilized this theoretical framework to understand how the intersections of racism and sexism affected Black, Latina and Asian women who experienced male violence. Currently, intersectionality is a critical theoretical lens that researchers utilize both to understand the experiences of people who experience multiple layers of oppression and also to examine how structural forms of oppression interlock to affect groups of marginalized people (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). It is at once a lens used to analyze how power and oppression affect individuals, groups and populations of people, and also used to understand the multiplicity of social identities (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016; Hulko, 2009).

Hill Collins and Bilge (2016) outline five key themes arising from the use of

intersectionality as an analytical tool: social inequality, power, relationality, context and social justice. Intersectionality demonstrates that structural inequalities are rarely caused by only one factor. It sees power relations as being mutually constitutive and shaping people's lives in diverse ways. Instead of taking a binary either/or stance to examine people's identities, it takes a relational approach to show the interconnectedness of these identities, race, gender, and age, for example. It looks at people's lives within their social context, and finally, is social justice-oriented in its approach. Intersectionality, then, challenges paradigms that privilege any specific axis of inequality (Hankivsky, 2012) or examine axes of inequality separately (Bowleg, 2012).

Thinking through research on ageism from an intersectional perspective, I am struck by what's missing. Recently some scholars have pointed to a lack of focus on racialized older adults as well as research that studies older adults lives at the intersections of race, health, sexuality, immigration status and sexuality (Brotman, Ferrer, Sussman, Ryan, & Richard, 2015; Koehn, Neysmith, Kobayashi, & Khamisa, 2012; Van Sluytman & Torres, 2014). Combining this insight with my discussion above about how critical gerontology theorists exclude Indigenous older adults' experiences from their framework, I now understand how the literature on ageism is subtly informed by histories of settler colonialism, imperialism, and white supremacy in North America (Brotman et al., 2015).

Intersectionality will be used in this MRP as a framework to analyze how multiple forms of oppression including ageism interlock to affect older adults in different ways. It will also be used to highlight the perspectives of older adults who experience multiple forms of oppression, specifically at the axes of age, race, gender, and sexual identity. Intersectionality, through its focus on the relationality of people's multiple identities, presents new ways to understand how

ageism affects older adults at the intersections of their racialization, their gender, sexuality, class and ability (Hill Collins & Bilge, 2016). According to intersectionality theory, these multiple identities work together to structure older adults' lives and experiences. Intersectionality, then, brings a focus to the multiple facets of older adults' lives and experiences.

Intersectionality also describes how systems of structural oppression intersect to affect older adults. Subordination, then, is not necessarily caused by intentionally oppressive systems, structures or laws but is “frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden interacting with predisposing vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1249). Finally, while ageism has traditionally been studied as a single issue, or in terms of how it intersects with gender, intersectionality, due to its starting position of seeing how multiple identities intersect, does not allow for the study of ageism as a single issue.

In the next section of this MRP, I will analyze the available current literature on ageism from a critical gerontology and intersectional perspective and present my research question. Moving forward, I will describe the elements of my research methodology, critical discourse analysis and outline the data collection and data analysis methods I used to conduct my research. I will then present a summary of my findings based on my critical discourse analysis of my sample of articles from *The Globe and Mail*. The MRP will end with a discussion of implications for anti-oppressive social work practice.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The studies included in this literature review will be analyzed for their level of inclusion of older adults' diverse and differing experiences of ageism as well as their analysis or lack of analysis of ageism's interaction with other forms of oppression. Their examination of ageist discourses will also be discussed, and finally, these studies' own understanding of the discourse of ageism will be examined. I have separated my literature review into four sections. First, I will give a brief history of ageism as a concept and describe the areas where it is commonly understood to have a significant effect. Subsequently, I will highlight articles that examined ageism by itself or examined gendered ageism. Articles that looked at the experiences of gay, lesbian and bisexual (LGB) older adults and older adults living with HIV will be reviewed next. Finally, I will present articles that focused on the intersections between race, age and sexuality.

To locate the studies used in this literature review, I searched Google Scholar, J- Stor, Social Service Abstracts, Social Work Abstracts, and Sociological Abstracts. I searched for articles using the keywords: ageism, ageist, gendered ageism, ageism and intersectionality, racism and ageism, ageism and disability, ageism and elder abuse, ageism and African American or Black, ageism and South Asian or Indian, ageism and Asian. I limited the studies selected to those published after 2004 and those that discussed ageism or age based discrimination in some way. I chose to search for studies published after 2004 as I felt that studies published before this date would not adequately reflect recent or current research about ageism. Finally, the studies selected for this literature review were conducted in Canada, the United States or Great Britain with the exception of Siverskog's (2015) Swedish study "Ageing Bodies that Matter: Age, Gender and Embodiment in Older Transgender People's Life Stories". I included this study as it

was the only one I could find that looked at older transgender adults' experience of ageing and ageism.

Ageism Defined

The concept of ageism was first developed by Butler (1969) who described it as, “prejudice by one age group toward other age groups” (p. 243). He further described how ageism “reflects a deep seated uneasiness on the part of the young and the middle aged- a personal revulsion to and distaste for growing old” (Butler, 1969, p. 243). Bytheway (2005), described two current definitions of ageism. In the narrower of these two definitions, ageism is described as prejudice against older people because of their age. In the broader of the two definitions, ageism is a phenomenon that can be experienced by people of all ages and relates to a fear of aging. Bytheway also argued that discourses of ageism homogenize older adults by grouping everyone over 60 together. He called for older people of different ages to define their own experiences of growing older and being made to feel old.

Current mainstream research on ageism showed that it affects older adults' access to employment and healthcare, is a contributing factor to elder abuse, and is the cause of older adults self-stereotyping (Butler, 2009; Hurd-Clarke & Korotchenko, 2016). In terms of employment, older adults face challenges finding and maintaining suitable work and being promoted at their jobs (Posthuma & Campion, 2007; Roscigno, Mong, Byron, & Tester, 2007). As well, potential employers sometimes favour younger workers over older ones as they are seen as easier to train and cheaper to employ (Posthuma & Campion, 2009; Roscigno et al., 2008).

Compared to younger people, older adults are also less likely to receive adequate medical treatment (Allen, 2016; Burroughs et al., 2006; Kagan, 2008; Robb, Chen, & Haley,

2002). Their mental health issues are often treated as physical symptoms (Robb et al., 2002) or not treated at all (Burroughs et al., 2006). In turn, older adults' own internalization of ageist stereotypes affects their health outcomes (Allen, 2016; Levy & Leifheit-Limson, 2009).

Elder abuse has been linked to ageist attitudes, policies, practices and structures, and also to social exclusion based on age (Brozowski & Hall, 2010; Nahmiash, 2004; Podnieks, 2006; Tam & Neysmith, 2006; Tyyskä et al., 2012; Walsh et al., 2007; Walsh, Olson, Ploeg, Lohfeld, & Macmillan, 2011). In the only two studies found on elder abuse in specific ethno-racial communities, it was linked to a combination of disrespect for elders, isolation and structural racism (Tam & Neysmith, 2006; Tyyskä et al., 2012). Tam and Neysmith (2006) interviewed Chinese homecare workers in Toronto who described respect for elders as important in Chinese culture and defined elder abuse as having a lack of respect for them. Tam and Neysmith also connected elder abuse to the exclusion of Chinese Canadians in the job market, the isolation of older Chinese Canadians, and the structural factors of race, poverty, ageism and gender. Similarly, Tyyska et al. (2012) conducted a Toronto-based study comparing the differences between Punjabi and Tamil victims of elder abuse perceptions' of this issue and the perceptions of settlement workers. They found a disconnect between the two groups with settlement workers advocating for a cultural approach to solving elder abuse and the victims themselves advocating for an anti-racist approach.

A counterpart to these two studies was Matsuoka et al's (2012) study about policies that could prevent the abuse of older immigrant women in Canada. Starting with a feminist, intersectional, anti-oppressive framework, they analyzed how policies based on familism created a situation making immigrant women more vulnerable to abuse. According to them, familism is

the centering of the family unit as a norm and the expectation that families are responsible for the care of their most vulnerable members. They contended that the combined effect of Canada's family reunification policy, where families have to sponsor their immigrating parents for ten years, and a lack of relevant educational and settlement services put older immigrant women more at risk.

Walsh et al. (2011) studied how poverty, race, age, disability, gender, and sexuality affected elder abuse. They analyzed data from focus groups with older adults and quasi-professional caregivers from a previously conducted study (Walsh et al., 2007). This article added some relevant information about the intersection of elder abuse, ageism and other forms of oppression. For example, a lesbian participant discussed her fear of isolation in nursing homes if someone discovered her identity. Other participants discussed the impact of Canada's immigration laws on elders. Even so, Walsh et al. (2011), made a significant generalization in this study. Discussing Aboriginal Peoples and elder abuse they cited Dumont-Smith's (2002) study "Aboriginal Elder Abuse in Canada". They wrote, "Given that there is more violence among Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal people in Canada, it is assumed that [elder abuse] is also higher among Aboriginal seniors. However, accurate statistics on the incidence and prevalence of elder abuse are unavailable" (Walsh et al., 2011, p. 21). Although they did contextualize this with a note on the history of residential schools and intergenerational trauma among Aboriginal Peoples, these findings could reinforce problematically racist conceptions of violence in Aboriginal communities.

While articles included in this section did highlight the marginalization of Indigenous Peoples and different racialized groups as a factor that caused elder abuse, many linked this

problem more to culture or aculturation, and focused less on the intersections of racism, cultural practices, financial precarity and ageism (Brozowski & Hall, 2010; Nahmiash, 2004; Tam & Neysmith, 2006; Walsh et al., 2007, Walsh et al., 2011). Given this, the link between elder abuse, ageism and other forms of oppression emerged as a significant research gap.

Discourses of Ageism/ Ageist Discourses

Many of the studies read for this MRP centred a white, middle class, heterosexual viewpoint. Some studies did not report the racial or economic makeup of their demographic and also did not report their sample's sexual orientation or gender identity. Other studies similarly had a significantly white sample and did not report on any other demographic details (Allen, Cherry, & Palmore, 2009; Burroughs et al., 2006; Chonody, 2016; Hurd Clarke & Griffin, 2008; Levy & Leifheit-Limson, 2009; Narayan, 2008; Siverskog, 2015; Trentham, Sokoloff, Tsang, & Neysmith, 2015). Some of these studies also failed to report on older people's views of ageism (Allen, Cherry, & Palmore, 2009; Chonody & Wang, 2014; Narayan, 2008). For example, Allen, Cherry and Palmore (2009) studied the attitudes of American social work students and social workers about older people and found that study participants had significantly more positive ageist stereotypes than negative ones. They did not specify the racial, economic or gender makeup of their research sample of 150 people. Narayan (2008) examined whether psychology students at an American university held different attitudes towards older men and women. Her sample was 89.9% white. Participants rated both older women and men positively, but rated older women more positively. Narayan's findings contradicted the popular idea that older women are viewed more negatively than older men. If Narayan had measured students' expectations of as well as their attitudes towards older men and women, she may have arrived at

different results.

Allen et al.'s study (2009) and Narayan's (2008) study shared common themes. They both focused on ageist attitudes younger people had towards older adults and had a homogenous white or ethnically unspecified samples. As well, neither of the studies examined the actual experiences of older adults. Both of these authors, then, made the subjects of ageism invisible while highlighting the perspectives of younger people.

Studies that examined gendered ageism-the concept that sexism and ageism combine to negatively affect women, described how invisibility affected older women (Chonody, 2016; Hurd Clarke, L., Korotchenko, 2016; Hurd Clarke & Griffin, 2008). Hurd Clarke and Griffin (2008) studied the effects of societal beauty standards on older Canadian women. They aimed to understand how women used 'beauty work', for example, wearing makeup or dyeing their hair, to mitigate the effects of aging. They found that study participants engaged in beauty work to combat the invisibility they felt as older women, and also to find or maintain jobs and romantic partners. Hurd Clarke and Griffin identified one limitation of their study as being that their sample was comprised of mostly white, heterosexual, middle class women aged 50-60. Here the voices of older women, bisexual and lesbian women, poor or working women and racialized women, and most of all women living at those intersections, would have added new insights to the concept of older women's invisibility.

In a complementary study, Hurd Clarke and Korotchenko (2016) examined how 29 Canadian men, aged 65-89, understood, internalized, and experienced ageism. The authors found that one third of the participants had not heard of ageism. They also found their interviewees felt ageism did not affect them. These men attributed this to having youthful

attitudes and being active, and identified women, older workers, and frail, institutionalized older adults as being at risk for ageist prejudice. Study participants had also internalized sexist and ageist stereotypes including identifying older age as a time of physical decline, describing older adults as grumpy and stating that older women were unattractive. Similar to the previous study, a stated limitation of Hurd Clarke and Korotchenko's study was that the men they interviewed were all middle or upper class and heterosexual except for one gay identified participant.

The only study I found about transgender older adults, aging and their experiences of ageism serves as a contrast to these two studies. In her study "Ageing Bodies that Matter: Age, Gender and Embodiment in Older Transgender People's Life Stories" Siverskog (2015) surveyed 6 Swedish transgender people who were between the ages of 62 and 78. She found that ageism affected her study participants in a way that was specific to their experience. Doctors and therapists refused to give them permission to participate in gender confirmation surgery due to their age. Siverskog also discussed the connection between age and the performance of a linear gender. Aging both positively and negatively affected her participants' sense of their bodies depending on their gender identities. While one participant enjoyed developing a more androgynous body as she grew older, aging made it hard for another participant to walk in high heels and wear makeup.

Ageist stereotypes form parts of discourses that circulate in society about who older adults are and the limitations of what they can be. In separate studies, both Fealy et al. (2012) and Rozanova (2010) examined how these discourses were reproduced by newspapers in the context of media alarmism about the cost of assisting a growing population of older adults. Fealy et al. (2012) conducted a critical discourse analysis of Irish newspapers. The newspapers

grouped older adults into five categories: “‘victims’; ‘ frail, infirm and vulnerable ’; ‘ radicalized citizens ’; ‘deserving old’ and ‘undeserving old’” (Fealy et al., 2012, p. 85). Similarly, Rozanova (2010) conducted a critical discourse analysis of *Globe and Mail* articles about older adults and found that discourses of successful aging and conversely, warnings against aging unsuccessfully, shaped these articles.

Dobbs et al. (2008) looked at how ageist discourses played out in their study of stigma in American residential care and assisted living facilities. They found stigma was related to ageism, disease, illness, economic differences, gender and race. This was the only study that I found which, through its study of stigma related to illness, looked at the intersection between ableism and ageism. In this study, residents internalized stigma and, in turn, stigmatized other residents based on their cognitive abilities, their incomes, educational levels, and their gender. Staff also stigmatized residents; Dobbs et al. identified residential care and assisted living facilities in themselves as being stigmatizing. A limitation of this study was that its authors did not discuss their sample’s racial demographics. For example, the authors discussed an instance of racism where a woman related that she did not think her mother was prepared for Black people in her assisted living facility, but did not specify whether Black people were residents or staff.

In summary, these studies add to an understanding of ageist discourses in Western and settler colonial societies. Under ageist discourses, older adults are grouped together and a limited set of roles are open to them – the successful, independent retiree or the vulnerable, weak older adult (Fealy et al., 2012; Hurd Clarke, L., Korotchenko, 2016; Rozanova, 2010). Men and women are offered different subject positions under ageism. As Hurd Clarke and Korotchenko (2016) showed, men can chose to not identify as being old, whereas, women are made to feel

invisible due to ageist discourses.

As discussed above, many of these studies had homogenous samples or research designs. From an intersectional perspective this is a problem of study design. According to Hankivsky (2012), studies centered only at one axis of identity (and here I would argue studies that look at gendered ageism as well) tend to center white, middle class, able-bodied, heterosexual people's experiences while neglecting or ignoring the experiences of people with multiple marginalized identities. This then possibly points to the underlying whiteness and heterosexism of discourses about ageism reported by these articles.

Ageism Experiences of Lesbian, Bisexual & Gay Older Adults and Older Adults Living with HIV

Several articles included in this MRP focused on older lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB) adults and their experiences of ageism (Averett, Yoon, & Jenkins, 2013; Cronin, 2010; David & Knight, 2008; Genke, 2004; Walsh et al., 2011; Wight, Leblanc, Meyer, & Harig, 2015; Woody, 2014). A common theme shared by these studies was the isolation that older LGB adults faced due to heterosexism in mainstream seniors' communities and ageism in LGB communities. Wight et al. (2015) studied internalized gay ageism. They described this as the feeling of invisibility that older gay men experience due to the prizing of youth in gay culture. Sampling 312 gay identified men, they found higher rates of internalized gay ageism were linked to depressive symptoms among men in their sample. In contrast Averett et al. (2013) surveyed 456 older lesbians and found that homophobia was a much more salient issue for the women in their sample than ageism was. Like the articles discussed above, a limitation of these two articles was that their samples were predominantly composed of white older lesbians or gay men. Averett et

al. also noted that only 13.6% of women in their sample were over 70. This pointed to a lack of women who could be classified as “old-old” in their sample.

Emlet (2007) studied the intersection of ageism and HIV stigma in a qualitative study with 15 American older adults living with HIV. He found that 68% of his sample experienced combined HIV stigma and ageism and that the remaining members of his sample, except for one man, experienced only HIV stigma. Wallach and Brotman (2012) interviewed 9 Canadians living with HIV. They found that these people internalized negative feelings about their bodies that they associated with effects of early aging, as opposed to the side effects of living with HIV.

To summarize these studies, intersecting combinations of ageism, homophobia and HIV stigma affected older adults in very different ways depending on the context of their lives. These other identities mitigated or heightened their experiences of ageism.

Race and Ageism: A Lack of Research

I found very few studies that focused on the intersections of race and age (Reynolds, Hanson, Henderson, & Steinhauer, 2008; Sarkisian, Shunkwiler, Aguilar, & Moore, 2006) or race, age and sexual/ gender identity (David & Knight, 2008; Van Sluytman & Torres, 2014; Walsh et al., 2011; Woody, 2014). Reynolds et al. (2008) examined the intersection of age and race in end of life care treatment in 12 American nursing homes. Their sample was 76.7% white with the rest of their sample being African American except for 3 Latinos and 2 Native Americans¹. They found nursing home staff considered younger residents to experience stronger and more frequent pain than older residents. They also found that minority² residents were less

¹ I have kept the term Native American here as it was used in the study.

² I have used minority here instead of racialized people as it was used in the study.

likely to have living wills, do not resuscitate orders, or health care proxies than white residents. A limitation of this study was that authors grouped Black, Latino and Native Americans together as “minorities” as their sample did not have enough Latinos or Native Americans to be statistically valid. Also, the researchers attributed African Americans’ lower rates of living wills to reluctance to sign documents that could be interpreted as taking away health care, but did not consider how nursing home staff was implicated in this problem.

Sarkisian, Shunkwiler, Aguilar and Moore (2006) made efforts to survey a racially representative sample in their Los Angeles based study comparing Black, Latino and white senior citizens’ expectations of aging. Their sample was 16% African American, 45% non-Latino white and, 38% Latino. The median age of the participants in each group was 80 for Non-Latino whites, 76.1 for African Americans and 75.5 for Latinos. The researchers found that the age expectations for Latinos were significantly lower than whites or Blacks, but that when they adjusted for education level, Latinos, Blacks, and whites had similar age expectations. This study could have been improved if the aging expectations of women and men from each ethnic group were separately analyzed. Indeed, as shown above, discourses about gender and age differently affect the way women and men understand their aging identities.

David and Knight (2008) compared stress and coping in young, middle aged, and older white and Black gay men. They found that the older Black gay men surveyed had much higher experiences of homonegativity and much lower rates of disclosing their gay identities compared to all other groups. The older Black gay men also had much higher rates of perceived racism compared to the younger Black men and much higher rates of perceived ageism compared to white gay men. The authors of this study could be seen to partially be taking an intersectional

framework through their examination of how ageism, racism, and homonegativity affected different age groups of Black gay men in comparison to white men.

Only two articles focused directly on the experiences of racialized older adults as they related to ageism (Van Sluytman & Torres, 2014; Woody, 2014). Vans Sluytman and Torres (2014) conducted a content analysis of 64 articles and explored the extent to which the articles examined the issues of racialized LGBT older adults. They situated their literature review in the context of ageism in the LGBT community, homophobia in older adult communities, and ethnocentrism and racism in both of these communities. In their content analysis, they found only two articles that focused solely on LGBT adults of colour. This lack of inclusion was, according to them, due to essentialist conceptualizations of LGBT identities in research. As they put it, “LGBT seniors of color are perceived as guests in practice, policy, and research arenas who may be invited—as possible—but are generally uninvited to contribute to discussions” (Vans Sluytman & Torres, 2014, p. 149).

In her study “Aging Out: A Qualitative Exploration of Ageism and Heterosexism Among Aging African American Lesbians and Gay Men” Woody (2014) looked at the experiences 15 older Black gay men and lesbians who were between the ages of 58 and 72. Her main finding was that each of the people she interviewed knew what it was to be Black, gay or lesbian and aging, each of them was a “knower” of these communities. They had experienced or were experiencing isolation, alienation and sadness due to their multiple oppressed identities. Her findings about her respondents’ experiences of ageism are instructive for other gerontology researchers. Several of her respondents reported a perception that older adults were considered insignificant in the United States and felt that there was a lack of reverence for this group. While

this feeling was similar to the perceptions of older adults reported in other studies (Averett et al., 2013; Hurd Clarke & Griffin, 2008; Walsh et al., 2010), some of the experiences of ageism reported by the respondents in this study were particular to their identities as Black gay or lesbian older adults. Ageism for them was yet another form of discrimination or “ism” that they had to deal with. Also, they expressed that it was not the primary form of oppression that they faced. Furthermore, they felt less important in the communities where they used to belong. They self isolated and a majority of them stopped going to LGBTQ social venues because these venues were youth focused.

These studies, taken together, point to the need to further study how racialized older adults experience ageism and its intersection with racism, sexism and homophobia. They present a very beginning picture of the different and diverse experiences of racialized older adults vis a vis ageism. They also highlight one of this MRP’s main arguments- that the discourse of ageism is centered around discourses of whiteness and the experiences of white older adults. This then points to further gaps which I will highlight below.

Gaps In the Literature

Based on the literature reviewed for this MRP, several gaps were identified. As was described in the theoretical framework, the idea that being an older adult is an oppressed identity is rarely taken up in mainstream discourse. This may point to why there were no studies written by older adults themselves about their experiences of ageism. Another gap that was identified was that most of the articles included in this literature review had samples that were composed of younger older adults who were between the ages of 50-75. This points to a lack of research on how ageism affects people who are 75 or older, those who are considered to be old-old. Finally,

there were very few articles about ageism focusing on racialized older adults' experiences. This points to a significant gap in research on ageism given the current diversity of older adult populations in Canada and in a North American context (Karasik & Kishimoto, 2016; Koehn et al., 2012).

Based on my findings from the literature review and also the identified gaps, I have developed the following research question: Adopting a critical gerontology approach and an intersectional lens, what are discourses about ageism and how does ageism intersect with other forms of oppression to affect older adults?

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

In this MRP, I relied on an intersectional and critical gerontological perspective, and a critical discourse analysis research methodology. In studying ageism using this methodology, I want to contribute to anti-oppressive social work research about the effect of ageism on older adults. Specifically I want to both pinpoint underlying assumptions about ageism and point to ways that discourses of ageism could be analyzed and changed to be more inclusive of the current realities of older adults.

I chose critical discourse analysis because I am exploring both how ageism intersects with other forms of oppression to affect older adults and how discourses about ageism affect older adults. While other methodologies such as narrative inquiry or phenomenology would have enabled me to understand how individual older adults experience ageism, I was more interested in how the discourse of ageism was constructed, what was constituted to be ageism, and how ageism and other forms of oppression intersected to affect older adults with multiple marginalized identities.

Discourse analyst Locke (2004) defines discourse as a “coherent way of making sense of the world (or some aspect of it) as reflected in human sign systems” (p. 5). Fairclough (2003) further identifies the two ways this term is used. “Discourse” he writes, “is used abstractly (as an abstract noun) for the ‘domain of statements’ and concretely as a noun (‘a discourse’, ‘several discourses’) for groups of statements or for the ‘regulated practice’ (the rules) which govern such a group of statements” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124). Discourses are constructed by the world but also construct the world (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Indeed as Fairclough (2003) writes, “Discourses not only represent the world as it is... they are also projective imaginaries,

representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world” (p. 124). This insight guides my own understanding of the discourse of ageism as well as ageist discourses that affect older adults. I see these discourses as being fluid, changeable and specific to certain locations and contexts.

Wodak and Meyer (2009) outline two traditional strands of discourse analysis: discourse studies and critical discourse analysis. While both discourse studies and critical discourse analysis are interested in the phenomenon of “naturally” occurring language used by people, critical discourse analysis studies social phenomena using an approach that is constitutive, interdisciplinary and problem oriented. I chose critical discourse analysis, then, as opposed to utilizing a discourse analysis methodology, as I was specifically interested in studying the social phenomenon of ageism.

Critical discourse analysis sees discourses as being produced and influenced by power and ideology and understands prevailing social orders as being sustained and constituted through the effects of discourses (Locke, 2004; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It sees discourses of power and dominance as creating society and inversely also examines how discourses are challenged and resisted (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Critical discourse analysts take clear socio-political stances to analyze texts with the aim of uncovering the discourses that affect oppressed people (van Dijk, 1993).

Given its focus on ideology, critique and power, critical discourse analysis shows us how systems of inequality are naturalized. As van Dijk (1993) argues, “In many situations... power and even power abuse may seem jointly produced, e.g. when dominated groups are persuaded, by whatever means, that dominance is natural or otherwise legitimate” (p. 250). This insight

points to how systems of age relations that privilege younger people while disempowering older adults are seen as natural or commonplace in Western and settler colonial societies. This naturalization of dominance leads to older adults being grouped together. Thus, a person over 65, despite their own identity and difference, is named as old and ageist discourses are associated with this person (Locke, 2004).

Data Collection

There are no specific theoretical perspectives that are used consistently in critical discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2014). Likewise there is no one method of conducting data collection. In this MRP I will be using Poole's (2007) critical discourse analysis methodology, which takes its inspiration from Fairclough (1989, 1992) and Jaeger (2002). I chose Poole's methodology both because of the clarity of her methodology and also because of her focus on the 'social problem' of recovery. Just as Poole conducted a critical discourse analysis to understand discourses associated with this problem, I wanted to examine discourses associated with the problem of ageism.

In her summary of her methodology, Poole (2007) described her first step as being to look at a specific 'social' problem. Following her lead, I identified the topic of ageism, specifically discourses about ageism and discourses about ageist discrimination, as my topic of study. To begin my work, I conducted an extensive literature review of academic and grey literature about ageism identifying the dominant styles, genres and discourses I found in the literature.

I then chose my source for data collection articles on ageism and discrimination against older adults from *The Globe and Mail*. I chose articles published in *The Globe and Mail* because

it bills itself as Canada's national newspaper (The Globe and Mail, n.d.) and also because it has the largest daily circulation rate of all Canadian newspapers (Newspapers Canada, 2015). Please refer to Appendix A for my document selection guide.

The *Globe and Mail* is part of the Canadian mass media. Just like other newspapers and different forms of media, *The Globe and Mail* plays a specific role in creating, reproducing, and disseminating discourses about older adults. According to Mullaly (2002), the mass media is a mechanism for the reproduction and reconstitution of society's dominant cultural messages. News media companies create, distribute and reproduce images that represent dominant group members as the norm and also identify subjects and topics as newsworthy. This newsworthiness is based on the economic, political, cultural, and social ideologies upheld by these companies. *The Globe and Mail* then contributes to the circulation of certain discourses about ageism and older adults and also completely excludes older adults that do not fit within these discourses.

I used the following method for data selection. First, I limited my search to articles published between January 1st, 2015 and December 31st, 2015. I chose to limit my search to 2015, as this was the first year in Canadian history where there were more people over the age of 65 than there were people under the age of 14 (Statistics Canada, 2015). I used Proquest's Canadian Newsstream database to search for articles and used the keywords: ageism, ageist, and the keyword combinations age based discrimination, age and discrimination, elderly and discrimination, older adult and discrimination, and senior citizen and discrimination, and baby boomers and discrimination to locate articles that discuss ageism and other forms of discrimination against older adults.

Data Analysis

After selecting my articles, I followed Poole's (2007) method of data analysis. First I compiled my entire corpus of articles, read each one, and took preliminary notes on the shape the articles seemed to be taking as a whole. Next I read each article and took notes on the keywords and phrases that appeared important. I copied each article into a two-column table in its own Microsoft Word document. I pasted the entire text of an article I was coding into the left column of the table. On the right side, I wrote the keywords that I judged to be important. I then recorded all of the keywords and phrases that I collected in a separate file and divided these keywords into separate categories based on apparent similarities or differences between the words. Then I went back to the articles again to look for words, phrases, facts and statistics that fit into these categories. Through this procedure, a set of discourses about ageism began to emerge. To ensure the quality of my work, I followed Poole's method of keeping an audit trail and doing reflexive journaling. The audit trail was a record of all of the notes I took during my analysis. In doing reflexive journaling, I recorded each decision I made in regards to the articles I collected from *The Globe and Mail*.

Positionality in Research

In analyzing articles from *The Globe and Mail*, it was important for me to be aware of my own thoughts and feelings in regards to the discourses that are present in them. While I am aware of how I benefit as an able-bodied person from age privilege, white privilege and class privilege on a daily basis, it is work for me to spot discriminatory discourses as they play out in real life, or the case of *The Globe and Mail*, on the page. I have been trained during much of my life to take things at face value and not to question, to not upset the cart. Upsetting the cart means

unlearning ageist, racist and classist discourses; it means doing the constant work of being “in solidarity with those who need it the most” and of taking the “perspective of those who suffer most from dominance and inequality” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 252). In completing my analysis, then, I aimed to take a reflexive stance and to challenge myself to read against the grain.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

In total 16 articles and letters from *The Globe and Mail* met my search criteria. Because I used the search terms age discrimination and age based discrimination, many of the articles did not focus on older or middle aged adults. Even so, every article featured relevant information about middle aged and older adults (please see Appendix B for a list of the selected articles). Thematically, these articles and letters focused on working as an older adult (Soule, 2015; Cornell, 2015; Vermond, 2015); life after the age of 40 (Alex, 2015) gendered ageism faced by Hollywood movie stars and famous singers (Doyle, 2015; Taylor, 2015; Wheeler, 2015); the struggles that younger people face in the economy (McClaren, 2015; McKenna, 2015); workplace discrimination and human rights law (“Coaches Claim They Lost Jobs,” 2015; Fine, 2015; Lublin, 2015a; Lublin, 2015b; Serebrin, 2015) court cases about workplace discrimination (“Coaches claim they lost jobs for being female, gay, Canadian”, 2015; Fine, 2015; Lublin, 2015b); an article arguing for a varied minimum wage (Hirsch, 2015); and finally a letter to an advice columnist from a woman about a conflict she had with her son and daughter in law (Eddie, 2015).

Through the process of analyzing these articles, I identified three discourses. First a discourse that was found throughout the articles was the centering of white, economically successful, and middle-aged subject. I called this discourse “white, middle-aged, and successful”. Second, while old age was described as a time of decline, articles described how middle-aged adults could take initiative to avoid this. I have called this discourse “take initiative”. Finally, older adults were at once described as privileged in comparison to Canada’s younger generation and also described as an economic and social burden to taxpaying Canadians. I called this

discourse “privileged and a burden”. Below, I have outlined each of these discourses.

Middle Aged, White, and Successful

Many of the articles implicitly centred a middle aged, white, economically successful subject. This was apparent in relation to the topics that were covered in the articles. There were no feature stories about issues faced by older adults who were not white, middle aged, heterosexual, and economically successful. Everyone else was relegated to two news stories and one letter. The news stories detailed a former First Nation chief’s supreme court loss (Fine, 2015) and a court case by former basketball coaches who claimed they were fired because they were female, gay, and for one coach because she was older (Fine, 2015). The letter was from a disgruntled grandmother to an advice columnist (Eddie, 2015). Language in *The Globe and Mail* articles selected for this research could be read as implicitly about white, middle class, and economically successful subjects. Finally, articles discussed middle aged, white women’s experience of gendered ageism through the prism of famous singers and Hollywood movie stars.

A shared theme of three articles was gendered ageism experienced by singers and movie stars (Doyle, 2015; Taylor, 2015; Wheeler, 2015). The women discussed- Bette Middler, Madonna, Sandra Bullock, Amy Schummer, Samantha Bee, Maggie Gyllenhaal, and Patricia Arquette- were all white and everyone, except for Bette Midler who is 72, was between the ages of 40 and 60. At a language level, two of these articles presented ageism as something that was “unexpected”, “shocking”, or even “untrue”.

In the interview with Bette Middler (Wheeler, 2015), the interviewer asked her how she felt about the BBC’s decision to not play Madonna’s music. In reply, Middler said, “I’m surprised. I’m stunned - I’m just stunned. I mean, if the BBC won’t play Madonna’s music, what

hope is there for anybody else?” (Wheeler, 2015, para.16). Sandra Bullock, featured in an article by *The Globe and Mail*’s television critic, described how she was shocked and embarrassed by the ageism Hollywood actresses experienced (Doyle, 2015). Doyle dismissed Bullock’s complaints about women’s portrayal in the media. Her complaints “came as a bit of a shock” and were “ridiculous, utterly bogus” (Doyle, 2015, para. 3). In this context, ageism was subsumed under sexism and the white male dominance of the industry. As Doyle (2015) put it:

The issue, I think, is catch-all gender discrimination. In Hollywood, men make more money than women. Older white men run Hollywood. Fewer roles for women above the age of 40. A "media" that blathers on about actresses looking their age. (para. 5)

Similarly describing a skit called the “Last Fuckable Day” that starred Amy Schummer, Patricia Arquette, Julia-Louis Dreyfus, and Tina Fey, Taylor (2015) wrote that the ageism depicted in this skit was “simply a manifestation of its sexism” (para. 4).

All of these articles featured calls for female entertainment superstars to fight against sexism and ageism, either from the stars themselves or from the article author. Sandra Bullock described how she felt “like it's become open hunting season in how women are attacked and it's not because of who we are as people, it's because of how we look or our age” (Doyle, 2015, para. 5). Bette Middler felt that Madonna should have sued when the BBC pulled her song off the airwaves (Wheeler, 2015). In her article, on sexism in Hollywood and an American Civil Liberties Union investigation into female directors, Taylor (2015) described how women there are fed up and taking action against discrimination. She also specifically referenced how Amy Schummer seemed “to be mounting an all-out assault on sexism” (Taylor, 2015, para. 4).

The discussion of gendered ageism in Hollywood and the music industry in these articles

was clearly about a specific group of women- white middle-aged women- but this was not acknowledged in any of these articles. Indeed, in her article on Hollywood sexism, Taylor (2015) referenced previous investigations into discrimination faced by “minorities and women” in Hollywood- this could be read as describing racialized people and white women (para. 2). Without this acknowledgement, or even better, the inclusion of 75 plus and or racialized entertainment stars, articles like this reinforce a discourse that gendered ageism in the entertainment industry only affects middle aged white women.

Away from the glamor and glitz of Hollywood, many of the articles included in my sample focused on the experiences of white, middle class, economically successful middle-aged adults. Articles and a letter to the editor that featured information about Canada’s aging baby boomer population did not include information about the racial diversity of Canada’s growing aging population (McClaren, 2015; McKenna, 2015; Soule, 2015; Vermond, 2015). It could be argued as well, that in the context of these articles, the term baby boomer could be read as applying to white people. In Canadian national discourse, most racialized Canadians are understood to be immigrants or the children of immigrants (Razack, 1998). Given this, baby boomers, who are definitely not understood to be immigrants, could be imagined as white.

McClaren (2015) in her article “Thirtysomething Parents Face Housing Discrimination” also alluded to a certain kind of older adult. She first discussed what she termed generation rent- the thirty-somethings and young families that choose to rent an apartment in the downtown areas of cities. Then she wrote,

Without this critical mass of young, often creative, middleclass professionals willing to rent indefinitely, most Western cities would soon begin to resemble Daytona Beach at

spring break - playgrounds for the old and rich and young and unencumbered. Nothing but early-bird specials and Ed Hardy crop tops as far as the eye can see. (McClaren, 2015, para. 9-10).

In her mind, McClaren envisioned a certain kind of older adult living in Canada's major cities- old, rich, and white- the kind of person you would see walking along Daytona Beach.

Continuing this pattern, the article "More Work to Be Done on Workplace Discrimination" (Serebrin, 2015) prioritized some types of discrimination over others. This article reported on a survey conducted by human resource consulting firm Randstad. It began by describing how a significant number of Canadians said that they had experienced discrimination based on gender, age, sexual orientation, or religion but did not discuss different Canadians' stated experiences of racial discrimination. This was only briefly mentioned in the eighth paragraph.

There were two features on individual older adults who were white, economically successful, and middle aged as opposed to older (Connell, 2015; Vermond, 2015). Cornell (2015) told the story of Joanne Tumon who after searching for a job in a dismal job market opened her own online business selling exercise machines. In a similar article, Vermond (2015) interviewed Chris Farrell, the author of the book *Unretirement: How Baby Boomers are Changing the Way We Think About Work*. The interview was wholly about and directed at economically successful baby boomers. A successful senior himself, in the article, he gives advice to other successful middle-aged older adults, like relying on one's network to find a job. These articles will be discussed further in the "Take Initiative" section below. Here I only wanted to show the kind of older adult they center and at which they are directed--white, middle

aged, and economically successful.

As I mentioned above, there were no feature stories that profiled an individual racialized older adult or centered their experiences, as well, there were no features about the issues faced by people 75+. I think this is important because, features and news stories serve different functions in a newspaper; features highlight trends in society, provide an overview of a current issue, or profile important people, whereas news articles are only reports on an incident that took place. Therefore, it was relevant that only one article featured an older Indigenous person.

The article “Court Upholds First Nations Leadership Provision” (2015) looked at a specific court case involving the former chief of Kahkewistahaw First Nation. This news story discussed a Supreme Court ruling that people running for the positions of chief or band councilor need to have a minimum grade 12 education. Former Chief, Louis Taypotat, 76, had brought a claim against this requirement arguing that discrimination based on a person’s level of education was no different from discrimination based on their race or age. The Kahkewistawhaw First Nation band council argued against him. They contended that band members could get a grade 12 education on their own. Taypotat was not able to go to grade 12 because he had gone to residential school as a child.

While the Federal Court of Appeals had ruled in Taypotat’s favour because they found that this measure tended to discriminate against on reserve and older members of First Nations, the Supreme Court ruled against this because they found no statistical evidence to support his claim. They also called the court of appeals’ ruling troubling because it was not based on any provisions included in the human rights code. While seemingly only being a news story that reported the facts of what happened in this case, this article did reinforce some discourses at the

intersection of ageism and racism. According to the court ruling, older, on-reserve Indigenous people like Taypotat were expected to independently take complete responsibility for their education despite the structural discrimination and barriers they faced due to surviving residential school. This reinforces a discourse I discuss below- that the older adult is responsible for overcoming discrimination on their own and through their own actions. This also points to a problem of the discourse of ageism that I outlined in my literature review--ageism is described as a form of discrimination that affects older adults in the same or similar ways. This case shows the intersecting effects of structural racism, access, and being an older adult. The court decided that this more complicated experience of discrimination did not fit under Canada's human rights code.

Finally, only two texts highlighted the experiences of an older adult who was more than 70, one of these was an article about Bette Middler (Wheeler, 2015). The other was a letter written to an advice columnist entitled "Sorry Grandma- You're Smarter But You Have To Be Wiser" (David, 2015). This letter was from a woman who had an argument with her son and daughter in law because she had told her granddaughter she was just as smart as she was. The woman wanted to know how she could see her granddaughter again. This text was the only one to present traditional discourses about older adults, namely that growing older makes people wiser and we should respect our elders. But this was presented using humorous and not serious language. The advice columnist, David, (2015) called the letter writer "granny baby" and "granny dearest" and made a joke about taking her Metamucil. Then he wrote "sorry! Ageist joke! Really, just gentle teasing: I respect and revere all my elders" (David, 2015, para.16). As well, this article echoed the discourse outlined above that ageism or the experiences of the older

adults depicted in these texts was unreal, shocking, or in this article's case, "unbelievable" (David, 2015, para. 5). Using this word, the advice columnist David (2015) wrote

Hold on. So just because you said, "I'm just as smart as you are" (in whatever tone of voice) to your granddaughter, your son and daughter-in-law are not inviting you to their house any more? Unbelievable (para.5).

The type of language used in this article contributes to discourses of ageism in two ways. This language could be seen as perpetrating the idea that this woman's experiences are not experiences that should be taken seriously. This contributes to the discourse that ageism, although real, is not a really problem that should be taken seriously. As well, David is distancing himself from the letter writer by calling her potentially patronizing nicknames, thus contributing to the idea that older adults are "not like us".

Take Initiative

Not only did the articles analyzed center a white, economically successful, middle-aged subject, this subject was also expected to keep working. Twelve of the 16 articles included in this sample focused on work in some way with the word "work" being mentioned 27 times and the word "job" being mentioned 11 times. In many of these articles, the subject was expected to brush ageism or sexism aside and get on with being useful to the economy. The mostly middle aged older adults discussed in these articles could have a positive attitude, get over limitations, use their networks, and try new types of jobs. What was most important was that older adults keep contributing to the economy as useful citizens. This was highlighted in the articles "Unretirement Ask Yourself What You Can Do Next" (Vermond, 2015), "Unretired and Re-employed" (Cornell, 2015), "Court Upholds First Nation's Leadership Provision" (Fine, 2015),

“What Sandra Bullock Needs is a Job in Television” (Doyle, 2015), in a letter to the editor “Age is Like Weight” (Soule, 2015), and finally in a letter to a lawyer giving workplace advice “Can I be Forced into Retirement?” (Lublin, 2015a).

Central to the discourse around ageism that was projected by these articles was the idea that while ageism exists, through individual initiative, this roadblock can be overcome. The article “Unretired or Reemployed” (Connell, 2015) starts by detailing a “sad chapter” in entrepreneur Joanne Tumon’s life (para.1). She had to shut down her exercise equipment business at the age of 60 because it was not doing well. She went on a fruitless job search where she could only find jobs that paid \$12/ hour. She stated that her job search “was a bit of an eye opener because I always paid our staff very well” (Connell, 2015, para.13). She picked herself up and decided to stick to what she did best: selling exercise equipment, this time online. After the sad chapter in her life, the article presented her as a success once again.

Article author Connell (2015) contextualized Tumon’s experience with information on the challenges older job seekers experience and advice from management consultant Rick Richter. First, she cited statistics that 60% of people over the age of 55 find new jobs during the ten-year period after they retire from their long-term jobs. For many, this is because they need the money. Citing a report on workplace ageism by the Continuing Legal Education Society, Connell described the untrue stereotypes older workers face. But she then quoted management consultant Rick Richter to show that everything can be fixed. While Richter agreed that finding work can be “challenging” (Connell, 2015, para. 10) for older workers, they can find a job by being “realistic” (Connell, 2015, para. 14); “taking a job a few rungs lower on the ladder” (Connell, 2015, para. 15) taking a job with a smaller company, and finally networking with

contacts. As Richter stated in the article, older job seekers should stick with

The people who know you understand your talents and what you're capable of,” he says.

It's much better than being just another résumé on a desk, where the manager thinks, 'Oh my gosh, he has 30 years' experience. He's probably deader than a doornail.' (Connell, 2015, para.16)

The article “Unretirement- Ask Yourself What You Can Do Next” also endorsed the idea that middle-aged adults could overcome ageism by networking with their contacts. Here is what author, Chris Farrell, interviewed in the article had to say:

It's about jobs. Saving is important, but here's the real key: An aging person's most valuable asset is their network. These are the people who know you. The network allows you to avoid the whole age discrimination problem, which is real. If you're 58 years old and looking for a job, your network knows who you are. The fact that you're 58 is irrelevant. (Vermond, 2015, para. 8)

As discussed above- these articles were directed at a certain kind of older adult, middle aged, economically successful with a good network. Older adults could avoid ageism by relying on people that were similar to them to find a job, or by doing what they did previously in a new way. The older adults who were not addressed in these articles, namely adults who have worked poor paying, precarious jobs, and older adults who may have faced racism along with ageism in their workplaces, were left without a plan.

The discourse that older adults could avoid structural ageism, sexism, and racism by being responsible either through looking for another job or furthering their education was found in articles about subjects as disparate as Sandra Bullock (Doyle, 2015) and Louis Taypotat (Fine,

2015) the former chief of Kahkewistahaw First Nation. In Taypotat's case, the supreme court judges ruled in favor of the Kahkewistahaw band's contention that Tayapotat could have gotten a grade 12 education by himself as its "members are free to go out and get a grade 12 education" (Fine, 2015, para. 4). In Sandra Bullock's case, TV critic Doyle (2015) completely dismissed Bullock's claims of gendered ageism advising her to get a job in TV instead, where he felt the situation for older actresses was better. He made his case by calling the types of media where Bullock voiced her concerns --the E! channel and *People* magazine--"superficial" (Doyle, 2015, para. 8). He then compared Bullock, age 50, to Maggie Gyllenhall, age 37, who according to him, received global attention for this statement:

"I'm 37 and I was told recently I was too old to play the lover of a man who was 55. It was astonishing to me. It made me feel bad, and then it made me feel angry, and then it made me laugh" Laughter is the best response. (Doyle, 2015, para. 6)

He also compared Bullock's "bizarre" statements to a *Hollywood Reporter* feature on CBS president Nina Tassler noting that half of the senior executives and one third of the show runners at CBS are women (Doyle, 2015, para. 11). Doyle basically said that Bullock's claims were invalid and she should go out and get a job in TV- her experience of gendered ageism be damned!

Given that these articles featured a common discourse--older adults need to overcome ageism in work by relying on their individual initiative--it was no wonder that all the letters or the replies to the letters included in my sample of articles supported the discourse of personal responsibility. Soule (2015) wrote the letter "Age is Like Weight" in response to an article published in 2014 about baby boomers. She found this article's position, that aging baby

boomers would increase the number of dependent older adults “ageist and offensive” (Soule, 2015, para. 1). Many older adults, she wrote, will “go on to work past the stereotypical retirement age, reducing the societal burden more” (Soule, 2015, para. 2).

Two articles “Can I be forced into retirement?” (Lublin, 2015a) and “Fallout Spreading from Big Workplace Cases” (Lublin, 2015b) should be read together. Both of these articles were written by Lublin, an employment lawyer, and both dealt with the law around retirement. “Can I be Forced into Retirement?” was a letter to Lublin from a worker whose boss was trying to force him into retirement as he was over 65. In “Fallout Spreading from Big Workplace Cases” Lublin outlined an Ontario court case where a judge had ruled that a long-term employee could not receive severance when he was laid off at 65 because he was not planning on returning to his job. In the first article, Lublin answered that the letter writer’s boss could not force him into retirement. If this was the case, he could sue his boss for age discrimination. The letter writer could also state his openness to retirement if the company was willing to give him a severance package but only if it was at the company’s initiative and not the letter writer’s. These two articles showed that as the law stands now, some older workers may need to keep working after the age of 65 because they don’t have an adequate pension from their organizations. The individual older workers have to take responsibility and work because they cannot rely on other protections.

In “Sorry Grandma” (Eddie, 2015), written in response to a letter from a woman who was described as old enough to have depression era glassware, the discourse of hard work, responsibility, and individual fortitude was also central. This time, Eddie, the advice columnist, felt that the letter writer could use her knowledge of the depression to teach her granddaughter.

This was a “missed opportunity for the kid” who could learn more from her grandma about the depression than she could learn from a book (Eddie, 2015, para. 5). Eddie went on to describe how he interpreted the impact that the depression had on people:

Even to be born in the shadow of it, as my parents were, left a profound impact. Think it's a coincidence the so called “Greatest Generation” was born right after this cataclysmic failure of the markets? No way! They took one look at the sudden defenestration of broke businessmen, people selling apples in the streets, bread lines, hundreds of thousands living in “Hooverville” shanty towns and said: “I better pull up my socks and give 'er!” (Or whatever the 1930s slang equivalent was). (Eddie, 2015, para. 5)

Taken together these articles convey two main discourses. Firstly, older adults are valuable to society in terms of the economic contribution they can make. If possible, older adults should keep working past retirement so that they can continue to be useful. Even the letter writer in “Sorry Grandma” (Eddie, 2015) ostensibly old enough to have lived through or been impacted by the depression, was most valuable in that she could transmit the significance of thrift and hard work to her granddaughter. Secondly, the other discourse found in these articles was that while ageism is real, it does not have to affect older adults who have a positive attitude and use their networks to get a job. If they persevere, they will succeed--as long as they keep working, keep being active, and keep being useful to society.

Privileged and a Burden

The flip side of contributing to the economy is being a burden on society. A thread in some of the articles was the burden that younger people would have to carry in the future because there would be more older adults. Some articles and letters refuted this idea, taking the

position that older adults would continue working (Soule, 2015; Vermond, 2015) or being active (Allen, 2015) and one emphasized this (McKenna, 2015). In tandem with this discourse, was the idea that older adults were privileged because there were government social programs directed at them (Hirsch, 2015; McKenna, 2015). In the discourse about older adults featured in these articles, they were also seen as privileged because they had lived middle class lives in a stable economy and had been able to benefit from owning homes. This was unlike younger people who were unable to get into the housing market (McClaren, 2015).

As outlined in the articles in the “Take Initiative” section above, a central discourse was that older adults could avoid being a burden on society by continuing to work. While not about work, the article “Countdown to Better Health After 40” (Allan, 2015) echoed the central thesis of these articles – that ageist discrimination and the negative factors associated with aging could be avoided through personal responsibility, action, and initiative. This article described ageism as an individual experience not a structural problem or an experience that many older adults have. Allen began his article by urging his readers not to think of aging “as a process of physical decline” (Allen, 2015, para. 1). People over 40 should aim not to have negative feelings about being old because this leads them to internalize “self-limiting ageist stereotypes” (Allen, 2015, para. 2). Instead people over 40 should take care of themselves. They should have positive attitudes about growing older and exercise four to five times a week so that they do not lose muscle mass. As Allen writes “The outdated view of what a person should look, feel, and move like after 40 is now only a limitation if you buy into it” (Allen, 2015, para. 10).

Interestingly, according to both Allen (2015) and Soule (2015) who wrote the letter to the editor “Age is Like Weight”, the negative connotation associated with growing older was due

to outside information from researchers. This information did not have to affect people if they had a positive attitude. Soule wrote “Why is sociology so eager to remain ageist when boomers have shown - and very well - that getting older (an automatic fact of life) is different than aging (something that doesn't necessarily impact everyone)?” (Soule, 2015, para.3). In Soule’s mind, ageist sociologists had negatively associated getting older with decline, and this was an identity that she was not taking on.

Similarly Allen (2015) blamed researchers for negative societal perceptions of aging in western cultures. Allen (2015) wrote:

Most research on aging paints a bleak picture of functional decline, decreased muscle mass and aerobic capacity and lower self-esteem. This depressing view is combined with research findings that suggest feeling older is associated with greater negative mood in "youth-oriented" cultures such as Canada and the United States. This can lead to less favourable attitudes toward aging and the acceptance of self-limiting ageist stereotypes. (para. 3)

Here ageism was reduced to a self-limiting stereotype: something that older adults did not have to take on if they did not want to.

I found no articles in my search that directly focused on ageism as it affected older adults or even articles that focused on the experience of growing older. On the other hand, I did find articles that looked at benefits accrued to older Canadians. In the article, “Don’t Raise the Minimum Wage. Fine Tune it”, economist Hirsch (2015) argued for a minimum wage that was adjusted to a person’s age and the number of hours they worked. Hirsch dismissed arguments that varying the minimum wage according to a person’s age would constitute age discrimination.

According to him, this was because some of Canada's social programs were already based on age discrimination and gave the Old Age Pension as an example.

The central argument of McKenna's (2015) article "It's Time to Help Younger Canadians Bear the Burden of Higher Costs" was that too many government resources were directed at seniors- the people who needed it the least, according to McKenna. This worsened the generational divide as "young Canadians are falling further behind their parents and grandparents, in income and opportunity" (McKenna, 2015, para.1). This was especially important according to McKenna (2015) because "the generation of worker bees is in a long and unstoppable decline" (para. 4). Canadians did not want to pass their financial problems onto the next generations, according to McKenna, as they valued responsibility. The same high house prices that are a barrier to entry for young people are "are a boon for retirees" (McKenna, 2015, para. 22).

In her article "Thirtysomething Parents Face Housing Discrimination", McClaren (2015) echoed McKenna's (2015) argument that older adults are privileged. McClaren described "generation rent"-young middle class professionals who choose to rent in the city rather than buy a house in the suburbs. These people have met every middle-class goal except for buying a house, which remains unaffordable to them. She cited a CBC report which found examples of young families being discriminated against in the rental market because they had children. The subtext of her article was that thirty-something families were being discriminated against to the benefit of other people including older adults. Generation rent's choice to stay in the city, she wrote, is something "that would have been unthinkable to their middle-class, baby-boomer parents" (McLaren, 2015, para. 9). According to her, they are owed a huge debt for this

sacrifice. But that is not what is happening, she argued. Instead, she wrote, rental websites featured advertisements for apartments listed as being “‘suitable for a quiet couple’ or ‘adult only’ (and presumably not in a porny way either)” (McLaren, 2015, para. 13). Without generation rent, she contended, cities would resemble places for the privileged: “playgrounds for the old and rich and young and unencumbered” (McClaren, 2015, para. 15).

Both McKenna (2015) and McClaren (2015) position older adults as having more privilege than younger people. In McKenna’s contention, financially stressed younger people will have to bear the burden of their aging parents as they decline. In contrast, older adults will benefit from receiving much of the government’s resources and also from owning homes. In McClaren’s (2015) mind, older adults are homeowners or mature couples renting apartments preventing young families from accessing the market.

Taken together, these articles presented a binary that excluded most Canadian older adults. The middle-aged subjects of these articles were either privileged home-owners enjoying their pensions and working on the side or a future threat to Canada’s economy because many of them would get older, receive pensions, and need support as they declined. The possible identities available to older adults were also very limited. They could either continue to work or and be active, or they could be inactive, irresponsible, and on their way to decline. The people missing from these binaries- the people that were neither privileged or a burden, the people that were somewhere between active and inactive were, of course, most Canadians. Below I address the implications of this research for social work and look specifically at how social workers can rethink discourses about older adults and ageism so as not to center the discourses I found in my sample of *Globe and Mail* articles and letters.

CHAPTER 5: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK & CONCLUSION

The findings of this critical discourse analysis, guided by an intersectional and critical gerontology framework, have located three discourses in the *Globe and Mail* sample analyzed. These are: 1. That the subject centered in the selected *Globe and Mail* articles was white, middle aged, and successful. 2. That older adults in these articles were expected to take initiative to be productive members of society either through continuing to work past retirement or through keeping active 3. That older adults were either seen as privileged or a burden especially in comparison to millennials and thirty-somethings.

As anti-oppressive social workers, our focus should be to work with older adults and to address the ageism, racism, ableism, homophobia, transphobia and/or sexism they may experience in concrete ways. We aim to work with people who are excluded from programs, from accessing services, and older adults who live at the margins. Our focus is also to think critically about our work to ensure that we are including often excluded older adults in our programs and services. Given this, the need to employ an intersectional and critical gerontological perspective in our work is imperative.

Social work researchers, writers, and academics need to push the conversation around ageism to focus on people who are left out of this conversation-specifically racialized older adults and older adults who are older than 75. As I outlined in my literature review, I found only two articles that focused directly on racialized older adults' experience of ageism. In my analysis of *The Globe and Mail* articles selected for this analysis, I found that the articles centered a successful, middle-aged, white subject. I also found no articles about racialized older adults and only one news story about an Indigenous older adult. My findings point to the need for studies

using an intersectional framework to look at Indigenous and racialized older adults' experiences of racism, sexism, classism, colonialism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism and ageism.

Some of the articles I read for my literature review helped me envision what this kind of research could look like. Brotman and colleagues (2015) suggest that in order to conduct research about multiply marginalized LGBTQ older adults, researchers will need to use smaller samples and also take more time in developing a relationship with their research subjects. As well, Koehn et al. (2013) suggested utilizing a hybrid perspective in doing research about older adults from immigrant backgrounds so as not to essentialize the ethnic characteristics of the group participating in the research. Van sluytman and Torres (2014) also recommended that service providers and researchers avoid essentializing LGBT elders of color identities in their research. My call, then, is for social workers to invest time in doing research with and about Indigenous and racialized older adults to identify their various experiences of growing older and facing discrimination as they define it. Anti-oppressive social work researchers must aim to decenter the white, economically successful, middle-aged subject in order to make room for everyone else.

Much more work should also be done on ageism and the experiences of people who are older than 75. As I showed in my analysis of *Globe and Mail* articles and letters, ageism was discussed in terms of discrimination at work. It was also discussed as an identity that middle-aged people did not have to take on if they worked, took care of their health, and stayed active. These articles' discussions of people over 75 were, to say the least, minimal. This was also true in my literature review where I found very few articles that examined how ageism affected people who are considered to be part of the "old old" population.

Social work researchers then need to be involved in shifting the conversation on ageism from centering it on middle age to also looking at how ageism affects people over 75. Part of ageist prejudice as Bytheway (2005) pointed out, is invisibility, as the experiences of people who are considered to be “old old” remain understudied in literature. Indeed, Dickerson and Rousseau (2009) pointed to an “astounding gap in the literature” in terms of Black senior women’s sexuality (p. 308). Calasanti, King and Slevin (2006) pointed to how current discussions about ageism could be changed if feminist scholars centered old age along with middle age. For example, they contended, feminist arguments against the beauty industry would be changed if feminist theorists looked at old women as subjects. Old women, they argued, are more the objects of the youthful gaze than the male gaze. They also pointed to how discussions about women’s unpaid care labour are changed when we look at the care that older adults of either gender provide for their partners. As they wrote, “research on and interest in old care receivers or spousal caregivers is nonexistent” (Calasanti, King, & Slevin, 2006, p. 22).

I support Bytheway’s (2005) advice that researchers using open ended age categorization (for example a study with research participants 65 plus) remain aware of the age differences that exist decade by decade within that category. In other words, a 66 year old is very different from a 76 year old who is very different from a 96 year old. I also support his point that researchers focus their work on how older adults experience transition periods--for example, retirement, life after the death of a partner or after receiving a pension--as opposed to focusing on chronological age markers. Finally, researchers would do well with following Bytheway’s suggestion that they conduct studies where they do not pre-define an age group, but instead recruit participants who feel older however they define feeling older. In these ways, researchers could avoid centering

middle aged subjects and shift some of their focus to older adults who are older than 75.

Social workers also need to push the conversation around ageism at a policy level. This means first of all highlighting problematic policies that apparently benefit mainstream seniors but are actually harmful to marginalized older adults. As George and George (2013) wrote in their discussion of the Old Age Security Act's impact on newcomer older adults, social workers must dispel "the neo-liberal myth of the level-playing field" and "take into account the contextual realities that underlie difference" in order to create equitable environments for marginalized older adults (p. 75). As I discussed in my theoretical framework, taking our cue from critical gerontologists, social workers should challenge government policies that are built on a premise of active aging--the idea that older adults would continue to work, volunteer, or, more generally, contribute in their communities--as many older adults do not have the ability or resources to do this kind of work (Katz & Calasanti, 2015; Martinson & Minkler, 2006; Rozanova, 2010). As anti-oppressive social workers, our goal should be to support and advocate for older adults who have the means to age actively and to also support those who do not--the older adults who have to work to support themselves, the older adults who need tokens to volunteer, the older adults who need to take care of their family member, or even the older adults who have worked all their lives and just plain do not want to volunteer or work. Given this, we need to challenge policies that subtly privilege activity, work, and volunteerism and devalue those who are unable to participate as responsible, active citizens.

We should also be working to challenge Canadian family reunification policies that make immigrant older adults more vulnerable to elder abuse (George & George, 2013; Matsuoka, Guruge, Koehn, Beaulieu, & Ploeg, 2012). As discussed above and in my literature review,

currently, to qualify for old age security or the guaranteed income supplement, older adults who have been sponsored by their families have to have lived in Canada for ten years or more. As social workers, we need to advocate for a policy where family sponsored immigrants from all countries can receive old age security or guaranteed income supplements in a short period of time after immigrating to Canada.

In general, our focus should be to advocate for policy changes that will help older adults from racialized and immigrant backgrounds receive more equitable access to care, support, and services. For example, one of the barriers that the literature about elder abuse and newcomers identified was a lack of access to language training and education programs for older adults. Another barrier that was identified was that there was a lack of culturally and linguistically appropriate language services providers for older adults (Matsuoka et al., 2012; Tam & Neysmith, 2006; Tyyskä, Dinshaw, Redmond, & Gomes, 2012). I agree with Tyyska and colleagues (2012) that instead of using interpreters on a piecemeal basis, we should be advocating for a community based approach to work with newcomer seniors, families and communities to prevent elder abuse.

Further, as I showed both in my literature review and in my critical analysis of *Globe and Mail* articles, discussions around gendered ageism tend to be focused on discussions of societal and individual perceptions of white women as they age. Taking a completely different tack, Guruge and colleagues (2012) argued that a gendered ageism lens be used to examine how helpful policies are to older immigrant women who have suffered abuse. I want to extend their suggestion and argue that social workers advocate that a context specific, intersectional lens be applied to governmental and organizational policies for all older adults.

Finally, as individual social workers supporting older adults, it is crucial that we work to decenter our own understanding of ageism and also make efforts to deconstruct our understanding of older adults, who they are and can be. I feel that it is only through identifying ageist discourses and discourses about older adults as they operate in our own consciousness and in our work, that we can make changes to better support older adults. As a conclusion, I will examine how my own thinking changed through the process of this research.

Conclusion

I read Calasanti, King, and Slevin's (2006) article "Ageism and Feminism: From Et. Cetera to Center" at the beginning of this project. Their contention that age relations constituted a form of oppression and that Western societies were organized around age relations was a completely new concept for me. This framework helped me understand why and helped me also notice that *The Globe and Mail* centered a white, middle class, and middle-aged subject.

Examining how *The Globe and Mail* articles centered white, middle class subjects helped me understand the ways identification played out in news stories and features. As a white woman reading these articles against the grain, I realized that these articles implicitly privileged me and other white, middle class, and middle-aged readers who could identify with the subjects in the article. Combining an understanding of whiteness with an understanding of age relations helped me see why these articles urged older adults reading them not to identify as aging. Implicitly and explicitly these articles suggested taking on an old identity would mean a loss of power. I was also reminded that if I wanted to do anti-oppressive work with older adults, I needed to work to not identify with the discourses I found in these articles.

The second discourse that I identified in my analysis of *Globe and Mail* articles was the

discourse of privilege and decline. Examining this discourse from an intersectional and critical gerontological framework, I identified not only who was left out or included in this discourse, but also the capitalist ideologies it supported. These articles showed me that in the Canadian society depicted by *The Globe and Mail* what mattered most was that older adults worked or contributed to the economy in some way. Older adults who received government pensions and support were privileged because they were taking money away from younger people. Also through owning houses, they were blocking younger families from participating in the market. At the same time, they were not working anymore, so they were not contributing to the market. This discourse seemed to be saying that if you were not working, volunteering, or doing other things that were defined as contributing to society, you were seen to be in decline.

This leads me to reflect on the last discourse – take initiative. As was shown in both my literature review and in my discourse analysis, older adults do not want to take on the identity of being old. As well, they also face pressure to do everything possible not to be old. Given the little value we place on older adults in western society, it was no wonder that this discourse is so prominent.

In conclusion, it is my hope that this MRP makes its own small addition to current conversations about ageism. Throughout this MRP I have tried to point to ways that social work practitioners, researchers, and policymakers can begin to reconceptualize this term so that it addresses all Canadian older adults, from those at the center to those at the periphery. In my own work as an anti-oppressive social worker, I plan to use all of the learning and reflecting I have done through this major research paper to listen to and centre the perspectives of the older adults I support.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Document Selection Guide

Data Collection

Data was collected from articles published in *The Globe And Mail* in 2015

Keywords that were used in search of *The Globe And Mail*

Ageism, ageist, age-based discrimination, elderly and discrimination, older adult and discrimination and senior citizen and discrimination

Exclusion and Inclusion Criteria for articles from *The Globe And Mail*

Inclusion criteria: articles in *The Globe And Mail* published in 2015 with those keywords, articles that discuss ageism

Exclusion criteria: Articles published in previous years or in 2016, articles that don't discuss an aspect of ageism

APPENDIX B

Selected Articles

- Alex, Allan. (2015, March 9). Countdown to better health after 40. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1661291940/A0644C5363124078PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Coaches claim they lost jobs for being female, gay, Canadian. (2015, September 29). Coaches claim they lost jobs for being female, gay, Canadian. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1717111996/2F2C471B3FFC49D1PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Cornell, C. (2015, December 31). Unretired and re-employed. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1752544644/823548DEE3C84565PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- David, E. (2015, December 18). Sorry, grandma, you're smarter - but you have to be wiser. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1749891117/1944EEC5F4FE4983PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Doyle, J. (2015, July 8) What Sandra Bullock needs is a job in television. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1694603537/FDD32C4500624FD8PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Eddie, D. (2015, December 18). Sorry grandma, you're smarter- but you have to be wiser. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1749891117?pq-origsite=summon>
- Fine, S. (2015, May 29). Court upholds First Nation's leadership provision. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1683709785/DF342B6030214C83PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Hirsch, T. (2015, March 27). Don't raise the minimum wage. Fine-tune it. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1666919463/4DDA37F938A94D14PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Lublin, D. (2015a, June 26). Can I be forced into retirement? *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1691224652/BA1E7533B6B14CF9PQ/2?accountid=13631>
- Lublin, D. (2015b, January 28). Fallout spreading from big workplace cases. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1648469777/19E009B85FC24>

- [26FPQ/1?accountid=13631](http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1718249503/876F69CADB6F4C5DPQ/1?accountid=13631)
- McClaren, L. (2015, October 02). Thirtysomething parents face housing discrimination. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1718249503/876F69CADB6F4C5DPQ/1?accountid=13631>
- McKenna, B. (2015, February 16). It's time to help young Canadians bear the burden of higher costs. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1655217514/8D92F9BB9C5B49EEPQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Serebrin, J. (2015, October 18). More work to be done on workplace discrimination. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1727532139/9D0AFCCA9A564457PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Soule, A. (2015, January 01). Age is like weight. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1641160458/ABECCFC39F454178PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Taylor, Kate. (2015, May 16). Is Hollywood Sick of Sexism? *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1681070645/CC84ED1A41164DD1PQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Vermond, K. (2015, June 20). Unretirement - ask yourself what you can do next. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1689967911/76987A3354844D9DPQ/1?accountid=13631>
- Wheeler, Brad. (2015, June 20). That song has bothered me since I first heard it. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/1689967958/D028A6E424304C9CPQ/1?accountid=13631>

REFERENCE LIST

- Allen, J. O. (2016). Ageism as a risk factor for chronic disease. *Gerontologist*, 56(4), 610–614.
<http://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu158>
- Allen, P. D., Cherry, K. E., & Palmore, E. (2009). Self-reported ageism in social work practitioners and students. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 52(2), 124-134
<http://doi.org/10.1080/01634370802561927>
- Angus, J., & Reeve, P. (2006). Ageism: A threat to “aging well” in the 21st century. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 25(2), 137–152. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0733464805285745>
- Averett, P., Yoon, I., & Jenkins, C. L. (2013). Older lesbian experiences of homophobia and Ageism. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 39(1), 3–15.
<http://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2012.727671>
- Baskin, C., & Davey, C. J. (2015). Grannies, elders, and friends: Aging Aboriginal women in Toronto. *Journal of gerontological social work*, 58(1), 46-65.
- Bowleg, L. (2012). The problem with the phrase women and minorities: Intersectionality-an important theoretical framework for public health. *American Journal of Public Health*, 102(7), 1267–1273. <http://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2012.300750>
- Brotman, S., Ferrer, I., Sussman, T., Ryan, B., & Richard, B. (2015). Access and equity in the design and delivery of health and social care to LGBTQ older adults: A Canadian perspective. In N. A. Orel and C. A. Fruhauf (Eds) *The Lives of LGBT Older Adults: Understanding Challenges and Resilience*, 111–140. <http://doi.org/10.1037/14436-006>
- Brozowski, K., & Hall, D. R. (2010). Aging and risk: Physical and sexual abuse of elders in Canada. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25(7), 1183–99.

<http://doi.org/10.1177/0886260509340546>

Burroughs, H., Lovell, K., Morley, M., Baldwin, R., Burns, A., & Chew-Graham, C. (2006).

“Justifiable depression”: How primary care professionals and patients view late-life depression? A qualitative study. *Family Practice*, 23(3), 369–377.

<http://doi.org/10.1093/fampra/cmi115>

Butler, R. (1969). Age-Ism: Another form of bigotry. *The Gerontologist*, 9(4_part_1), 243–246.

http://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/9.4_Part_1.243

Bytheway, B. (2005). Ageism and age categorization. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(2), 361–374.

<http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00410.x>

Calasanti, T., King, N. (2015). Intersectionality and age. In J. Twig & W. Martin (eds.)

Routledge Handbook of Cultural Gerontology. New York: Routledge.

Calasanti, T., Slevin, K. F., & King, N. (2006). Ageism and feminism: From “et cetera” to

center. *NWSA Journal*, 18(August), 13–30. <http://doi.org/10.2979/NWS.2006.18.1.13>

Caron Malenfant, E., Lebel, A., & Martel, L. (2010). Projections of the diversity of the Canadian population, 2006-2031, (91), 1–67. <http://doi.org/Catalogue no. 91-551-X>

Carson, D. K. (1995). American indian elder abuse: Risk and protective factors among the oldest americans. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, 7(1), 17. Retrieved from

<http://ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ryerson.ca/docview/201698329?accountid=13631>

Chonody, Jill M, Wang, D. (2014). Ageism among social work faculty : Impact of personal factors and other “ isms .” *Gerontology & Geriatrics Education*, 35(3), 248–263.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/02701960.2013.854207>

- Chonody, J. M. (2016). Positive and negative ageism: The role of benevolent and hostile sexism. *Affilia*, 31(2), 207–218. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0886109915595839>
- Collings, P. (2001). "If you got everything, it's good enough": perspectives on successful aging in a Canadian Inuit community. *Journal of cross-cultural gerontology*, 16(2), 127-155.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins : Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- Cronin, A. (2010). Power, inequality and identification: Exploring diversity and intersectionality amongst older LGB Adults, *Sociology* 44(5), 876–892.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510375738>
- David, S., & Knight, B. G. (2008). Stress and coping among gay men: Age and ethnic differences. *Psychology and Aging*, 23(1), 62–69. <http://doi.org/10.1037/0882-7974.23.1.62>
- Dickerson, B. J., & Rousseau, N. (2009). Black senior women and sexuality. *Journal of African American Studies*. 13:307–324. DOI 10.1007/s12111-008-9084-z
- Dobbs, D., Eckert, J. K., Rubinstein, B., Keimig, L., Clark, L., Frankowski, A. C., & Zimmerman, S. (2008). An ethnographic study of stigma and ageism in residential care or assisted living. *Gerontologist*, 48(4), 517–526. <http://doi.org/48/4/517> [pii]
- Dumont-Smith, C. (2002). *Aboriginal Elder Abuse in Canada*, Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation. 1–19. <http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Emlet, C. A. (2007). Experiences of stigma in older adults living with HIV/AIDS: A mixed-methods analysis. *AIDS Patient Care and STDs*, 21(10), 740–752.
<http://doi.org/10.1089/apc.2007.0010>
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London:

Routledge.

Fealy, G., Mcnamara, M., Treacy, M. P., & Lyons, I. (2012). Constructing ageing and age identities: A case study of newspaper discourses. *Ageing & Society*, 32(1), 85–102.

<http://doi.org/10.1017/>

Freixas, A., Luque, B., & Reina, A. (2012). Critical feminist gerontology: In the back room of research. *Journal of Women & Aging*, 24, 44–58.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/08952841.2012.638891>

Genke, J. (2004). Resistance and Resilience: The Untold Story of Gay Men Aging with Chronic Illnesses. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services: Issues in Practice, Policy & Research*, 17(2), 81–95. http://doi.org/10.1300/J041v17n02_05

George, P., & George, J. (2013). Interrogating the neoliberal governmentality of the old age security act: The case of sponsored immigrant seniors. *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue Canadienne de Service Social*, 30(1), 65–81. Retrieved from http://ezproxy.lib.ucalgary.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1684422175?accountid=9838%0Ahttp://dc8qa4cy3n.search.serialssolutions.com/?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info:ofi/enc:UTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/ProQ%3Asocialservices&rft_val_fmt=info:of

Hankivsky, O. (2012). Women's health, men's health, and gender and health: Implications of intersectionality. *Social Science and Medicine*, 74(11), 1712–1720.

<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.11.029>

Hill Collins, P., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hulko, W. (2009). The time-and context-contingent nature of intersectionality and interlocking

- oppressions. *Affilia*, 24(1), 44-55.
- Hurd Clarke, L., Korotchenko, A. (2016). "I know it exists ... but I haven't experienced it personally": Older Canadian men's perceptions of ageism as a distant social problem. *Ageing and Society*, 36(8), 1757–1773. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X15000689>
- Hurd Clarke, L., & Griffin, M. (2008). Visible and invisible ageing: Beauty work as a response to ageism. *Ageing and Society*, 28(5), 653–674. <http://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X07007003>
- Kagan, S. H. (2008). Ageism in cancer care. *Seminars in Oncology Nursing*, 24(4), 246–253. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.soncn.2008.08.004>
- Karasik, R. J., & Kishimoto, K. (2016). Is gerontology ready for anti-racist pedagogy? A survey of educators' practices and perspectives. *Gerontology & Geriatrics Education*, 0(0), 1–18. <http://doi.org/10.1080/02701960.2015.1115984>
- Katz, S. (2005). *Cultural Aging: Life Course, Lifestyle and Senior Worlds*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Katz, S., & Calasanti, T. (2015). Critical perspectives on successful aging: Does it "appeal more than it illuminates"? *Gerontologist*, 55(1), 26–33. <http://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu027>
- King, N., & Calasanti, T. (2006). Empowering the old: Critical gerontology and anti-aging in a global context. *Aging Globalization and Inequality: The New Critical Gerontology*, (April), 139–157.
- Koehn, S., Neysmith, S., Kobayashi, K., & Khamisa, H. (2012). Revealing the shape of knowledge using an intersectionality lens: Results of a scoping review on the health and health care of ethnocultural minority older adults. *Ageing and Society*, 1–28.

<http://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X12000013>

- Levy, B. R., & Leifheit-Limson, E. (2009). The stereotype-matching effect: Greater influence on functioning when age stereotypes correspond to outcomes. *Psychology and Aging*, 24(1), 230–233. <http://doi.org/10.1037/a0014563>
- Lightman, N., & Gingrich, L. G. (2013). The intersecting dynamics of social exclusion: Age, gender, race and immigrant status in Canada's labour market. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 44(3), 121–145. <http://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2013.0010>
- Locke, T. (2004). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Martinson, M. & Minkler, M. (2006). Civic engagement and older adults: A critical perspective. *The Gerontologist*; Jun, 46(3), 318–324.
- Massaquoi, N. (2011). Crossing boundaries to radicalize social work practice and education. In D. Baines (ed.) *Doing Anti-Oppressive Social Work*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- Matsuoka, A., Guruge, S., Koehn, S., Beaulieu, M., & Ploeg, J. (2012). Prevention of abuse of older women in the post-migration context in Canada. *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, (68/69), 107.
- McCallion, H. (2016, Jun 6). Ageism is getting old. Let's end it. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/ageism-is-getting-old-lets-end-it/article30275231/>
- Mullaly, B. (2010). *Challenging Oppression and Confronting Privilege*. Toronto: Oxford University Press
- Nahmiash, D. (2004). Powerlessness and abuse and neglect of older adults. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, 14(1), 21–47. http://doi.org/10.1300/J084v14n01_02

- Narayan, C. (2008). Is there a double standard of aging?: Older men and women and ageism, 782–787. <http://doi.org/10.1080/03601270802042123>
- Neville, S. (2008). Older people with delirium: Worthless and childlike. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 14(6), 463–469. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1440-172X.2008.00721.x>
- Newspapers Canada. (2015). 2015 Daily newspaper report by title. [Data Set] Retrieved from <http://newspaperscanada.ca/about-newspapers/circulation/>
- Ng, E., Lai, D.W.L., Rudner, A. T., Orpana, H.T. (2012). What do we know about immigrant seniors aging in Canada ? *Ceris Working Papers*, 88–90, 1–77.
- Podnieks, E. (2006). Social inclusion: An interplay of the determinants of health– New insights into elder abuse. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 46(3/4), 57–79.
- Poole, J. (2007). *Beyond the Rhetoric of Hope: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Recovery Discourses in Ontario*. (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations Publishing (NR28075).
- Posthuma, R. A., & Campion, M. A. (2007). Age stereotypes in the workplace: Common stereotypes, moderators, and future research directions. *Journal of Management*, 35(1), 158–188. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0149206308318617>
- Potts, Karen, & Brown, Leslie (2005). Becoming an anti-oppressive researcher. In L. Brown & S. Strega (Eds.), *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches* (pp. 255–286). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press
- Ray, R. E., & Fine, M. (1999). Researching to transgress: The need for critical feminism in gerontology. *Journal of Women & Aging*, 11(2/3), 171–184. http://doi.org/10.1300/J074v11n02_12

- Razack, S. (1998). *Looking white people in the eye: Gender, race, and culture in courtrooms and classrooms*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Revera Report on Ageism (n.d.). retrieved from
<http://www.reveraliving.com/revera/files/b2/b20be7d4-4d3b-4442-9597-28473f13b061.pdf>
- Reynolds, K. S., Hanson, L. C., Henderson, M., & Steinhauser, K. E. (2008). End-of-life care in nursing home settings: Do race or age matter? *Palliative Support Care*, 6(1), 21–27.
<http://doi.org/10.1017/s1478951508000047>
- Robb, C., Chen, H., & Haley, W. E. (2002). Ageism in mental health and health care: A critical review. *Journal of Clinical Geropsychology*, 8(1), 1–12.
<http://doi.org/10.1023/A:1013013322947>
- Roscigno, V. J., Mong, S., Byron, R., & Tester, G. (2007). Age discrimination, social closure and employment. *Social Forces*, 86(1), 313–334. <http://doi.org/10.2307/4495038>
- Rozanova, J. (2010). Discourse of successful aging in The Globe & Mail: Insights from critical gerontology. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 24(4), 213–222.
<http://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2010.05.001>
- Sarkisian, C. A., Shunkwiler, S. M., Aguilar, I., & Moore, A. A. (2006). Ethnic differences in expectations for aging among older adults. *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society*, 54(8), 1277–1282. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-5415.2006.00834.x>
- Siverskog, A. (2015). Ageing bodies that matter: Age, gender and embodiment in older transgender people's life stories. *NORA-Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 23(1), 4-19.
- Statistics Canada. (2015). Canada's population estimates: Age and sex, July 1, 2015. Retrieved

from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/150929/dq150929b-eng.htm>

Tam, S., & Neysmith, S. (2006). Disrespect and isolation: Elder abuse in Chinese communities.

Canadian Journal on Aging, 25, 141–151. <http://doi.org/10.1353/cja.2006.0043>

The Globe and Mail Media Group (n.d.). The Globe and Mail: Canada's national newspaper.

Retrieved from: <http://globelink.ca/platforms/newspaper/?source=gamnewspaper>

Trentham, B., Sokoloff, S., Tsang, A., & Neysmith, S. (2015). Social media and senior citizen advocacy : An inclusive tool to resist ageism ?, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(3), 558-571. 3(3), 558–571.

Tyyskä, V., Dinshaw, F. M., Redmond, C., & Gomes, F. (2012). “Where we have come and are now trapped”: Views of victims and service providers on abuse of older adults in Tamil and Punjabi Families. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 44(3), 59–77.

<http://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2013.0004>

Sinha, S.K., Griffin, B., Ringer, T., Reppas-Rindlisbacher, C., Stewart, E., Wong, I.,...Anderson, G. (2016). *An evidence-informed national seniors strategy for Canada - 2nd edition*.

Toronto: Alliance for a National Seniors Strategy.

van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>

Van Sluytman, L. G., & Torres, D. (2014). Hidden or uninvited? A content analysis of elder LGBT of color literature in gerontology. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 57(March 2015), 130–60. <http://doi.org/10.1080/01634372.2013.877551>

Wallach, I., & Brotman, S. (2012). Ageing with HIV/AIDS: A scoping study among people aged 50 and over living in Quebec. *Ageing and Society*, 1–31.

<http://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X12000529>

Walsh, C. A., Olson, J. L., Ploeg, J., Lohfeld, L., & Macmillan, H. L. (2011). Elder abuse and oppression: Voices of marginalized elders. *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect*, 23, 17–42.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/08946566.2011.534705>

Walsh, C. A., Ploeg, J., Lohfeld, L., Horne, J., MacMillan, H., & Lai, D. (2007). Violence across the lifespan: Interconnections among forms of abuse as described by marginalized Canadian elders and their care-givers. *British Journal of Social Work*, 37(3), 491–514.

<http://doi.org/10.1093/bjsw/bcm022>

Wight, R. G., Leblanc, A. J., Meyer, I. H., & Harig, F. A. (2015). Internalized gay ageism, mattering, and depressive symptoms among midlife and older gay-identified men. *Social Science & Medicine*, 147, 200–208. <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2015.10.066>

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (20). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory, and methodology. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage

Woody, I. (2014). Aging out: A qualitative exploration of ageism and heterosexism among aging African American lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 61(1), 145–65.

<http://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2013.835603>