

Development of a Life-care Community as a “Town” Enriched with Diverse Ethnic Cultures : Focusing on the Cooperation of People Having Chinese and Japanese Cultural Backgrounds

著者(英)	Nanami Suzuki, Tilda Hui
journal or publication title	Senri Ethnological Studies
volume	87
page range	129-147
year	2014-03-24
URL	http://doi.org/10.15021/00002390

Development of a Life-care Community as a “Town” Enriched with Diverse Ethnic Cultures: Focusing on the Cooperation of People Having Chinese and Japanese Cultural Backgrounds

Nanami Suzuki

*National Museum of Ethnology
The Graduate University for Advanced Studies*

Tilda Hui

*Former Executive Director
Yee Hong Centre for Geriatric Care*

In aging societies, the means by which older people can lead happy lives by maintaining their quality of life has become a matter of great concern. Instead of simply understanding the aging process as a physical and mental decline and having the younger generation extend one-way assistance to the aged, communities should be established where each generation can enjoy a better life through cooperation, considering the nature of each region and ethnic culture.

In this paper, we will explore how people having Chinese and Japanese cultural backgrounds have generated ideas and made efforts toward creating a “life-care community,” an organization with a continuum of care model composed of assisted living apartments and long-term care homes for older adults, as well as life lease condominiums for cross-generational clientele, as in the multicultural city of Toronto, Canada, based on our fieldwork research and interviews conducted since 2006. We will explore how elderly people have taken part in developing a new culture, and how staff members, volunteers from the organizations, and the population in the area have promoted such an attempt. We will also consider the meaning and function of “Chinese culture” and “Japanese culture” for the people who are weaving this new culture.

1. Introduction
2. Multiculturalism in Canada and the Development of Ethnic-Based Housing
Offering Assisted Living
 - 2.1 The Development of Ethnicity-based Assisted Living Facilities
 - 2.2 Facilities Trying to Create Channels Open to the Outside

3. Pursuing a Multifunctional Life-care Community for Elderly Chinese-Canadians
4. The Development of the Chinese Organization Yee Hong, with a Multicultural Environment
 - 4.1 The Development of the Japanese Wing
 - 4.2 The Search for the Well-being of the Elderly through the Collaborative Works of People with Various Cultural Backgrounds
5. Changing Aspects in the Chinese Long-term Care Home
 - 5.1 Elderly People's Encounters with the "Other Culture" Inside the Institution
 - 5.2 Active Movement and Flow of People Inside and Outside the Institution
6. Conclusion

1. Introduction

Old age is, in a sense, a time for older adults to experience new environments. The decline of physical function often makes the elderly think about moving to such new places as senior-citizen housing and care homes. On one hand, they might be held back by concerns over unfamiliar living environments to which they may have difficulties adjusting. On the other hand, they desire a living environment that facilitates continued social interaction with people of diverse backgrounds. Regarding this issue, we have explored over the past few years several residential retirement and life-care communities, mostly in Canada and the United States, that have developed facilities out of consideration for serving clients from multicultural backgrounds.

This paper looks at the lives of residents of lifestyle-support types of housing, primarily institutions where care is provided (sometimes called "assisted living facilities"), and long-term care homes, which have become more common in Canada and the United States in recent years¹⁾ (Foner 1994, Takahashi 2002, Stafford 2003, Mozley et al. 2004). In this paper²⁾, we will examine the well-being of older adults who choose to live in assisted living facilities and long-term care homes so as to maintain an autonomous and independent lifestyle, looking at how they pursue their well-being by enjoying cultural events, experiencing the atmosphere of the town, and so on, as well as how such facilities have expanded their mission and extended their services beyond their own culture to older adults of other cultures in the multicultural city of Toronto, Canada.

The ratio of senior citizens in the general population of Canada was 14.4 percent in 2011, a figure that trends even higher in the urban areas of Ontario and Quebec. A high proportion of households are composed of married couples without children and people who live alone, with around half of older women living in single-person households.

In this paper, we will also explore how people having Chinese and Japanese cultural backgrounds have developed ideas and made efforts toward creating a "life-care

community,” an organization with a continuum of care model composed of assisted living apartments and long-term care homes for older adults, as well as a life lease condominium for cross-generational clientele. If a life-care community serves residents based on a monoculture with which the majority of older adults are familiar, similar settings could be duplicated in populations from other ethnic cultural backgrounds in the area (Takei 2007; Suzuki 2012). On the other hand, a life-care community, although designed to serve a particular culture, allows participants from different cultures to retain some of their own cultural uniqueness and develop various ways to coexist with different cultures.

In this paper, we will additionally shed light on people’s efforts to find ways to share a life-care complex developed mainly for older adults having Chinese cultural backgrounds along with those having Japanese cultural background. We will explore how elderly people have taken part in developing a new culture, and how staff members, volunteers from the organization, and the population in the area have promoted such an attempt. We will also consider the meaning and function of “Chinese culture” and “Japanese culture” for the people who are weaving this new culture. This information would serve in developing the “town” as a place for people of various generations and different cultures. The source materials used in writing this paper include interviews with residents living in assisted-living apartments and long-term care homes, staff members, and volunteers, as well as data gathered from participant observations since 2006.

2. Multiculturalism in Canada and the Development of Ethnic-Based Housing Offering Assisted Living

2.1 The Development of Ethnicity-based Assisted Living Facilities

In Canada, many different types of living spaces are available to older adults, and most of them are planned by private organizations. Some of them guarantee various types of lifestyle support while letting their residents maintain a high level of independence. And there are others that serve as long-term care homes, ensuring that round-the-clock care is provided and offering a choice of private and basic accommodations. Meanwhile, there are other organizations that offer a combination of the two types of living.

Canada has adopted a policy of multiculturalism as a comprehensive framework for integrating immigrants into Canadian society (Ooka 2009: 135–137). Many types of assisted living facilities and long-term care homes have been designed for older adults of specific ethnic groups or religions. For example, “enriched” or “supportive” housing has recently drawn more attention as a lifestyle choice. Unlike facilities meant especially for senior citizens with severe physical or emotional disabilities, these institutions are gaining prominence as a new alternative because they invest resources and energy into activities that enhance their residents’ well-being. In recent years, we have witnessed a transition away from “senior homes,” toward housing that offers assisted-living services with a focus on creating a safe, convenient, and comfortable living environment (Nakamura and Ichibangase 2000: 446–449). Private-sector and volunteer groups have played important roles in this trend.

In Canada, the federal, provincial, and municipal governments share responsibility

for social security, each playing a distinct role while coordinating its actions with the others. Provincial governments have been primarily responsible for welfare services, having established a system of cooperation with private-sector social enterprises. In the past, charity and religious groups in Canada were deeply involved in providing welfare; however, services are now carried out by private organizations with economic guarantees from the government (Nakamura and Ichibangase 2000: 363–364).

The quality of life for senior citizens in Canada has been enhanced by income support programs such as public pension (the Canada Pension Plan of 1966) and home-based services. Thanks to the National Forum on Health in 1997, home-based care is clearly defined as a public service in Canada. While support has also been extended to include caregivers from within the family, it is not restricted to family members alone. Instead, it is widely believed that such support should be provided by various people (Nakamura and Ichibangase 2000: 436–438).

2.2 Facilities Trying to Create Channels Open to the Outside

Canada has quite a few senior citizens' facilities aimed at specific ethnicities and religions. One task facing the multicultural society of Canada is to precisely grasp the needs of people from various cultural backgrounds, meaning that there is an important role for private organizations centered on specific ethnic and religious backgrounds to play, as they offer services and plans with an awareness of people's differing languages, diets, and customs. It reflects the desire of the residents to live in a way that allows them to maintain their dietary and living customs even after they have grown old. However, such facilities tend to exclude people from other cultural backgrounds.

There are institutions that have explored ways to create a kind of place where the older adults could develop their sense of social inclusion both inside and outside their living spaces. One example that offers the feeling of social inclusion for older adults living in a facility is the development of an ethnic-based complex of long-term care homes, assisted living, and heritage centers having the role of a hub for the activities of the area, as in a life-care community in Vancouver. A Japanese restaurant there, for instance, is known to provide good Japanese-style meals for people living there as well as visitors from the outside. At lunchtime there are people of diverse cultural backgrounds, especially those of Korean and Japanese descent, who live nearby and enjoy the Japanese food. With the restaurant located on the first floor of the long-term care home, visitors feel welcomed to the home, and residents feel close to the community with the visitors joining them for meals there.

This facility also has a characteristic feature in its cultural heritage center, Nikkei Cultural Heritage Center, which is something like a museum of the history of Nikkei people, immigrants from Japan and those with Japanese ethnic backgrounds. Since this center not only exhibits the history of Nikkei people, but also provides space for activities for those living around the center, it serves as one of the meeting points for the community situated in the eastern part of Vancouver, with its dense population of Korean and Japanese descendants.

Other facilities, and not just those for people of Japanese backgrounds, are waking

up to this fact as well. The city of Toronto also has quite a few senior citizens’ facilities aimed at serving specific ethnicities and religions³). One can find places for Chinese, Jewish, Scandinavian, and Mennonite (a Protestant Anabaptist religious denomination) backgrounds, to give a few examples.

At a Mennonite facility in Toronto, a coffee shop called Ten Thousand Villages has been set up to promote fair trade, in coordination with a program for Mennonite support activities. People can drink coffee and eat cookies in the shop while striking up conversations. As the shop faces the road, it seems to provide a channel connecting the facility with the town, helping to correct the tendency of such facilities to be closed to the outside.

A Jewish home that does not intend to provide residential space to people of other religious and ethnic groups—mainly because of the difference in eating customs based on religion—managed to build a hospital next to the home to meet the needs of the general population of the city, especially those suffering from Alzheimer’s disease (Photos 1 and 2).

Although these facilities try to be open to the outside, people living inside the facility are in a rather closed community composed of the same ethnic or religious backgrounds, an environment with which they may not have been familiar when they were younger and traveled across cultural boundaries.

In the next section, we will explore the development of a facility that has tried to serve people of diverse cultural backgrounds.



Photo 1 A Jewish hospital serving many people suffering from Alzheimer’s disease
(Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)



Photo 2 A Jewish facility installed next to the hospital (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

3. Pursuing a Multifunctional Life-care Community for Elderly Chinese-Canadians

The life-care community Yee Hong, which aims to give older Chinese-Canadians a sense of security in their lives, was planned by a Chinese medical doctor, Dr. Joseph Wong, who was determined to create a good place to live for every older adult. Yee Hong was established using funds gained through donations from the mainstream and Chinese populations. The doctor himself came to Canada in his youth with his parents and has made efforts to serve the community at large, in particular the Chinese community.

The doctor who established Yee Hong believes that every ethnic group has the right to establish a place for older adults to live safely and enjoy the highest quality of life. When he began planning the facilities for Chinese-Canadians in the 1990s, most public facilities in Toronto were designed to serve the mainstream population in Canada, which were mostly Caucasians. The first Yee Hong long-term care home and community service program was set up in 1994; it grew from a single-site operation to a multi-site organization now consisting of 4 long-term care homes and a large social services division within 10 years. The name “Yee Hong” means “to live in a familiar environment with confidence and health.”

First and foremost, “Yee Hong” was designed to have several different programs to serve various needs of older adults. One of these Chinese-Canadian institutions, newly established in the northern outskirts of Toronto, has a center for geriatric care composed



Photo 3 Nursing home and Dialysis Center of Yee Hong
(Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

Table Long-Term Care Home Accommodation Rates in Ontario

	DAILY	MONTHLY
Basic Accommodation (BAF) In a ward	\$53.23	\$1,619.08
Preferred Accommodation		
Private	\$71.73	\$2,166.58
Semi-private	\$61.63	\$1,862.41
Yee Hong Scarborough Finch		
Private (One to a room)	\$71.73	\$2,166.58
Basic (2 to a room)	\$53.23	\$1,619.08

Prices in Canadian dollars, Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care, 2010/2011

of a long-term care home, medical and rehabilitation centers, a community center, and a special center for patients who require kidney dialysis as well (Photo 3).

The Yee Hong long-term care home is partially funded by the Ontario government, and the system of residential payment is the same as other facilities in Ontario run by the Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care (Table). The long-term care home



Photo 4 Condominium for both the elderly and the younger generation (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

receives a portion of its funding via co-payments from its residents, government subsidy, and community donations. Community Social Services are supported by participants' user fee payments, government subsidy and grants, and contributions from donors. Since donations and fundraising are important for building funds, many activities are held for that purpose and also provide memorable, fun experiences for residents, their families, and visitors alike.

Yee Hong maintains life lease condominiums in the same complex of the long-term care home, which are chosen by many family members of the elderly living there, as well as being available to anyone who would like to live there (Photo 4). Some choose to live in the condominium because of the support services offered by Yee Hong and its easy access to medical and rehabilitation services.

The Community Centre is located in the same building as the long-term care home. It organizes activities including the Active Senior Program and Community Outreach, while also serving as a place for volunteer development and education. Everyone who would like to attend classes for lifelong learning and participate at cultural events make use of this center. Community services such as caregiver support, friendly visiting, and transportation are offered on-site at the second Scarborough Yee Hong Home, which is 10 minutes away and smaller in size.

Moreover, there is a plan to construct recreational facilities and a theater as well, so that Yee Hong could function as the core of a new town. Because of the inclusion of people living in the long-term care home, in the condominium, and the people coming

from the outside community, the new town is expected to have an atmosphere that every generation can eventually enjoy.

4. The Development of the Chinese Organization Yee Hong, with a Multicultural Environment

4.1 The Development of a Japanese Wing

Although Yee Hong is situated near the new Chinese community in Toronto, the place is not very convenient for family members and volunteers to reach, especially for those who live in the old Chinese community developed in the center of the city, and it will take time for Yee Hong to become the core of a new town. Yee Hong organizers would like to see more traffic from a variety of people using Yee Hong’s services. They began to explore ways to attract more volunteers and other people willing to visit Yee Hong. At the same time, Yee Hong was approached by the leaders of some other ethnic groups requesting units for seniors from their respective cultures, including Japanese and Portuguese leaders.

Since the founder did not create a new place intended only for Chinese-Canadians, he was thinking about extending the services to seniors of other cultures. Whenever he established a long-term care home for Chinese-Canadians, he invited older adults from other ethnic groups that had not yet accumulated enough money and means to develop their own homes themselves. Thus, three long-term care homes were started offering beds to Chinese and non-Chinese seniors. First one opened being the Yee Hong Ho Lai Oi Wan Centre in Markham north of Toronto, followed by the Yee Hong Mississauga Centre in Mississauga and the Yee Hong Scarborough Finch Centre in Scarborough. These Chinese-Canadian institutions have so far provided beds for older adults of South Asian, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Portuguese descent.

Regarding this new organization, the founder and members of the organizing committee planned to have Japanese-Canadian and Nikkei people stay in the long-term care home. They were aware that Japanese-Canadians and Nikkei people have developed various ways to provide support for Nikkei elderly, including conducting “friendly visiting” by volunteers in the mainstream long-term care home in Toronto. They wanted to collaborate with an outreach coordinator with experience in serving older adults in Japanese long-term care homes and organizing volunteers.

At Yee Hong, a unit of 25 beds out of the total of 250 have been set aside for the use of Japanese-Canadians in the “Japanese wing.” Some of the rooms are singles, and others are doubles. In the rooms, there are individual cabinets and private toilets. Older adults are able to enjoy activities such as reading, watching television, and receiving visitors (Photo 5).

Though the rooms have less privacy than assisted living apartments, as they are in a long-term care home in order to allow for the provision of medical care, one nice touch is that each room has a showcase memory box outside the door in which residents can insert mementos from their lives (Photo 6). The showcase memory box works to display these mementos, as well as to show the older adults the way back to their rooms, like a



Photo 5 A single room in a Japanese wing for Japanese-Canadians (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)



Photo 6 A memory box in a wing for Japanese-Canadians (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

lighthouse, in times of memory loss.

There is also a dining room that provides both Chinese- and Japanese-style dishes. Ms. A, who is from Japan and turned 100 years old in 2006, said that she loved staying at Yee Hong, especially because she could eat rice twice a day, every day. Born in Japan into a family of rice farmers, she traveled throughout Japan, Europe, and the US, moved to Canada and married at 22, ran a dry-cleaning business, had two children and four grandchildren, and became a great-grandmother to a little girl adopted from China recently. Moving to Vancouver, Canada, more than eight decades ago meant that she had to abandon her goals of a higher formal education, but her passion for learning never ended. An appetite for knowledge remained strong for her to learn Chinese and English while staying in Yee Hong (Senjug 2006: 33).

4.2 The Search for the Well-being of the Elderly through the Collaborative Works of People with Various Cultural Backgrounds

At Yee Hong, staff members and volunteers organized activities to enhance communication between native-born Chinese, Chinese-Canadian, native-born Japanese, and Japanese-Canadian people (Photo 7).

We were surprised to see people in their nineties like Ms. B taking lessons in the



Photo 7 A schedule of activities (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

Chinese and Japanese languages so that they could play and enjoy mahjong and other activities together. Ms. B moved to Canada when she was seventy after her husband died to live near her daughter, who works in Toronto. Since Ms. B needed medical care, she moved into the Japanese wing of Yee Hong. She said she often longs for her favorite Japanese food such as kelp cooking that she was accustomed to eating. However, once she begins playing mahjong, she becomes active and lively, chatting with her new friends and almost seeming to forget her distress regarding food and ill health.

Before this wing for Japanese-Canadians was available in Yee Hong, they had to move into public long-term care homes⁴, either from an assisted living apartment that Japanese-Canadians developed in the 1980s (Dembo 2009; Suzuki 2008) or from their own houses or condos when they became weak or ill.

In order to enhance the well-being of those Japanese-Canadians living in public long-term care homes, various outreach activities have been developed among Japanese-Canadians, native-born Japanese, and people of other ethnic groups in Toronto. During “friendly visiting,” they make authentic Japanese food and share it with the older adults at least once a week. The residents of the assisted living apartment are also given the opportunity to take part in friendly visits to public long-term care homes whose residents wanted to try Japanese food, taking along samples with them as they go. With the outreach coordinator in charge, the assisted living apartment also serves as a base for distributing Japanese *bento* lunch boxes (from a menu with \$5.50–\$7.50 meals including soup, salad, a main dish, and dessert) via a program known as “Meals on Wheels” to the surrounding community in the greater Toronto area (Dembo 2010). This service became well-known and popular among people who are conscious of their diets and prefer healthy food.

Other activities conducted by volunteers include courses and workshops (e.g., crafts, sing-alongs, video viewing), family luncheons, and birthday parties. The latter two are forms of “friendly visitation.” Volunteers have even made efforts to develop a cozy sun parlor with a Japanese atmosphere for older adults to sit and enjoy various activities (Photo 8).

Ms. C, a second-generation Japanese-Canadian in her eighties who lives in the assisted living residence for people of Japanese ancestry in Toronto, moved there from Montreal after her husband died, having waited to make the move until the facility opened. The facility, which aims to give older Japanese-Canadians a sense of security in their lives, was established in part using funds gained through the redress movement of the 1980s (Takamura 2009: 144–146), which compensated Japanese-Canadians for the exclusion, confiscation of assets, and forced relocation they experienced during the Second World War. Ms. C’s parents were first-generation immigrants from Japan who worked in the fishing industry in the city of Vancouver, on the west coast. During the Second World War, the family was forced to relocate to the town of Slocan in British Columbia (which had a relocation camp for the Japanese), and from there they moved across the country to Montreal. There, Ms. C married, raised children, worked, and served on the staff of a center for Japanese-Canadians often used as a meeting place, participating in various events there. At the Toronto facility, Ms. C was reunited with an



Photo 8 Collaborative creation of common space that has a Japanese atmosphere in a public long-term care home (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

old acquaintance who had shared the experience of being forcibly relocated to Slocan and living in the camp there. The two women now often spend time together, enjoying activities at the facility (Suzuki 2008: 37–43, 2012: 147). Ms. C also often makes Japanese steamed bean jam-buns (*manjū*), which she learned to make from a Japanese cookbook, for her “friendly visiting,” or to help out at birthday parties.

Thus, the creation of a Japanese wing in a Chinese life-care community has developed many new activities conducted and enjoyed by people of various cultural backgrounds, and has attracted more traffic from volunteers and visitors to this facility.

5. Changing Aspects in the Chinese Long-term Care Home

5.1 Elderly People’s Encounters with the “Other Culture” Inside the Institution

Both Chinese-Canadian and Japanese-Canadian residents in the long-term care home have gotten a chance to learn about other ethnic foods they were not familiar with, and they are welcome to try those foods whenever they are interested. Since they use a common dining room (Photo 9), they can ask one another about the food they are served. Thus, they have more topics of conversation during meals.

Older adults and staff members often have discussions about the quality of food and the menu (Photo 10). Since Chinese-Canadian cooks make both Chinese- and Japanese-style food, staff members at Yee Hong have made efforts to listen to what residents with Japanese cultural backgrounds would especially prefer for their food, and the residents



Photo 9 Dining room at Yee Hong (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

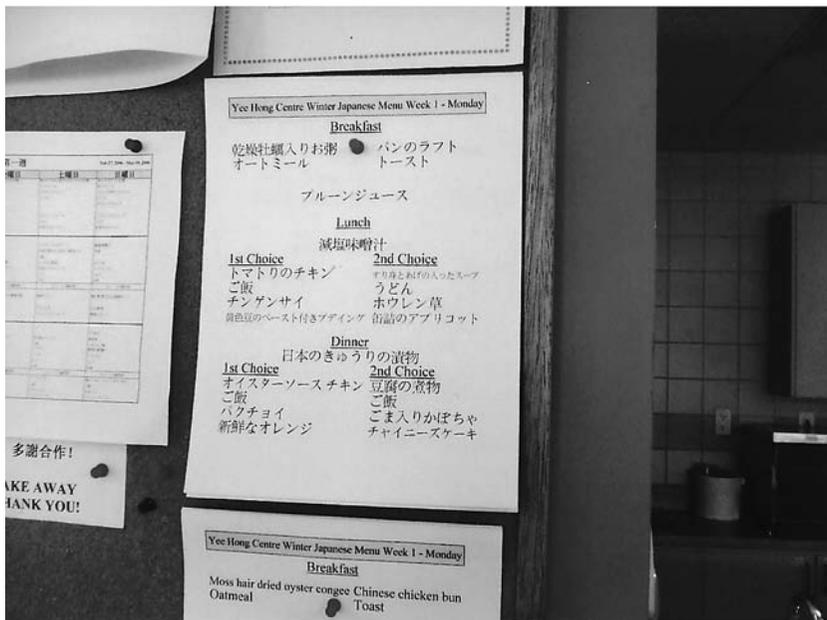


Photo 10 Chinese-style and Japanese-style menus (Photo taken by Nanami Suzuki, Toronto)

sometimes make suggestions to staff member to plan for a variety of Japanese-style dishes. Food Services staff at Yee Hong consult Japanese residents as to methods and special tips for preparing the dishes for optimal results.

Therefore, the more staff members and residents become aware of the “differences” in cultures, the more they make efforts to accumulate information about problems and talk to each other to solve them.

Residents also share experiences and memories related to food in their own lives and exchange information about cultural cooking practices and eating together at seasonal or personal special events, including New Year or birthday celebrations. They have more chances to see ways of life in the other cultures, which not everyone has the opportunity to see.

In the residence, there are more occasions to participate in a variety of events, such as games, cooking, and music from both Chinese and Japanese traditions. Since some events are open to people living outside of the facility, many people often visit for a chance to share the fun.

5.2 Active Movement and Flow of People Inside and Outside the Institution

More volunteers help staff members and residents plan or hold special events and provide companionship for a better quality of life in the residence by conducting friendly visiting for Japanese-Canadian and Nikkei elderly people. Japanese-Canadian volunteers continue their “friendly visiting,” bringing Japanese-style food to Japanese-Canadian and Nikkei elderly who live in public and private long-term care homes where Japanese-style dishes are not readily available.

At Yee Hong, Chinese-Canadian volunteers became so interested in the practice of “friendly visiting” and other activities that they began visiting the Japanese-Canadian elderly as well. Staff members, volunteers, and the outreach coordinator have had active and productive conversations and discussions that have resulted in a better environment for older adults with both Chinese and Japanese cultural backgrounds.

As there are more and more people who want to contribute their own efforts in serving the elderly and have fun for themselves as well while working with residents in the facility, there are both increased activities and increased traffic flow from people inside and outside the institution these days.

6. Conclusion

Due to the efforts of the volunteers, who visit often, and the efforts of staff, who coordinate activities such as outings and performances by outside volunteer groups, the Chinese-Canadian elderly people in the multifunctional organization Yee Hong do not have to live in isolated environments in the outskirts of the city, despite the fact that they are some distance away from Chinese ethnic communities situated in the central part of Toronto. The northern outskirts have grown into another new Chinatown in the last few decades due to the concentration of new immigrants from China.

Thanks to the opening of a Japanese wing at Yee Hong, the older adults with

Japanese cultural backgrounds are now living in a place where they are able to continue to live and to enjoy Japanese culture. It is a pleasant change, especially for the elderly living in an assisted living residence developed for Japanese-Canadians, because now they can move into a long term care home with familiar environments and cultural practices when they become frail.

Elderly residents can also have more opportunities to share thoughts with others from younger generations and provide insights into their cultural identity and history.

The change that the Japanese wing added to the Chinese home highlights the differences between people, and it sometimes leads to feelings of antagonism and opposition. People in the institution know that there are sometimes conflicts and inconveniences. Both Japanese- and Chinese-Canadian elderly people often have foods, events, and customs that might seem strange to other cultures. Sometimes, they experience difficulties in conducting activities such as gathering, conversation, and helping one another because of language and cultural barriers.

However, people also have an atmosphere of growing openness and chances to communicate inside the Chinese institution. They have more chances to voice their opinions in meetings held with management at the institution. Older adults' encounters with foreign cultures in a multicultural situation has led to opportunities for expressing opinions or communicating to work toward the improvement and normalization of the environment. At the same time, it also gives people the chance to look at their own identity more closely in a lively setting. People have found that reflecting on cultures and reconsidering one's identity gives them more time to think about their well-being and take advantage of fun opportunities both alone and with others.

In the meetings, people often discover new needs. Staff members and volunteers have found that the elderly would want, for example, the showcase memory boxes in front of their rooms that show the cultural backgrounds embedded in their experiences and memories. People have sometimes gotten new ideas not only to assist the elderly residents, but also to deal with the problems they face as they go through their own life stages. The elderly people's participation makes a new culture in the environment in which they live. Living in a place where Chinese and Japanese culture are always recognized as special and significant, the elderly people who have experienced adverse circumstances in a foreign land look back upon their lives, and have abundant opportunities to reflect upon their identities. By spinning the tale of one's life, one can participate in the mutual work of handing down knowledge and experience from generation to generation.

People learn many ways to network with staff members and volunteers as well as with the elderly living there. The Chinese-Canadians have had chances to see the people who come to conduct "friendly visiting," as well as outreach coordinators, and to discuss their living environment and other experiences. The elderly live as actors, not merely as recipients or clients. Elderly people participate in defining their own living environment, since the above-mentioned mutual work is performed with people from other generations. In the institution, which is a multicultural situation, the elderly people experience different cultures at work continuously toward forming a community. People having

different experiences can interchange and work together to demonstrate the concrete method of sharing the living space and securing well-being for the people living in it.

Notes

- 1) Several types of facilities have been developed in the United States in recent years, responding to the various needs of senior citizens. They include (a) multi-dwelling complexes for low-income senior citizens, (b) senior-citizen homes that vary in scale, (c) assisted living housing, (d) retirement communities, which are unique to the United States, and (e) life-care communities, where an assisted-living community and a nursing home share a site (Nakamura and Ichibangase 2000: 172–173; Golant and Hyde 2008: 3–45).
- 2) This paper is an extended version of a paper presented by Tilda Hui at the international workshop “Thoughts on Well-being and Citizens Working Together: Alternative Care Practices in Canada and Denmark” on February 27, 2009, at the National Museum of Ethnology (NME), and the international research forum “Anthropology of Life Design and Well-being” on February 28 and March 1, 2009, at Ritsumeikan University; and papers presented by Nanami Suzuki at the 110th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), Session 3–0930: Navigating the Stages of Life, on November 17, 2011, at the Montreal Convention Center, Montreal, Canada, and the 2012 Aging in America Conference (2012 Annual Conference of the American Society on Aging), Workshop: Rethinking the Meaning of Culture in a Multicultural Aging Society on March 31 at Marriott, Washington, DC, USA. We have conducted the research for this paper partly as members of the core research project of NME: Anthropology of Care and Education for Life, 2011–2013 (representative: Nanami Suzuki).

We wish to express our deep appreciation to Dr. Joseph Wong, the founder of Yee Hong Geriatric Center, and Kiyoshi Dembo, an outreach coordinator, who gave us valuable source materials through their lectures and interviews about their efforts to develop a place for living and communication for older adults in Canada. We would also like to thank older adults including Kimiko Aihoshi and Emiko Imajishi, who gave us important information about their wishes and living experiences in their older lives.

- 3) Refer to the following literature regarding support for people of various cultural backgrounds in Toronto: Takeda 2002: 142–147
- 4) In 1979, a public nursing home in Toronto allocated 40 beds to older adults with Japanese cultural backgrounds because it could expect organized “friendly visiting” by volunteers, as well as outreach activities from assisted living apartments developed for older adults with Japanese cultural backgrounds.

References

Dembo, Kiyoshi

- 2009 Tabunka toshi Toronto no *Nikkei* kōreisha jūkyo no kaihō teki tenkai to outreach (Open Deployment and Outreach at an Assisted Living Facility for Elderly *Nikkei* People in the Multicultural City of Toronto). In Nanami Suzuki (ed.) *Life-design to fukushi* (well-

- being*) no jinruigaku (*The Anthropology of Well-being and Life Design*), pp. 40–49. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology (in Japanese).
- 2010 Hirogeru: *Nikkei kōreisha shisetsu no outreach* (Reaching Out: Outreach at an Ethnic Japanese Senior Citizens' Facility). In Nanami Suzuki, Kuniko Fujiwara and Mitsuhiko Iwasa (eds.) *Kōreisha no well-being to life-design no kyōdō* (*The Well-being of Older Adults and Cooperation in Life-Design*), pp. 69–84. Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo (in Japanese).
- Foner, Nancy
 1994 *The Caregiving Dilemma: Work in an American Nursing Home*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Golant, Stephen M. and Joan Hyde
 2008 *The Assisted Living Residence: A Vision for the Future*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mozley, Godlove C., Caroline Sutcliffe, Lynn H. Bagley, Lis Cordingley, David Challis, Peter Huxley and Alistair Burns
 2004 *Toward Quality Care: Outcomes for Older People in Care Homes*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Nakamura, Yuichi and Yasuko Ichibangase (eds.)
 2000 *Sekai no shakai fukushi 9: America, Canada (Social Welfare in the World 9: America, Canada)*. Tokyo: Junposha (in Japanese).
- Ooka, Emi
 2009 Imin seisaku, tabunka shugi (An Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism). In the Japan Society of Canada (ed.) *Hajimete deau Canada (The First Encounter with Canada)*, pp. 130–138. Tokyo: Yuikaku Publishing (in Japanese).
- Senjug, Christina (ed.)
 2006 *Dragon Ball 2006*, Toronto: Yee Hong Centre for Geriatric Care.
- Stafford, Philip B. (ed.)
 2003 *Gray Areas: Ethnographic Encounters with Nursing Home Culture*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Suzuki, Nanami
 2008 Takinō Kūkan no sōshutsu to jizokuteki katsuyō (The Creation of Multifunctional Space and its Continuous Practical Use). In Nanami Suzuki (ed.), *Shōshika shakai ni okeru life-design no jissen to giron ni kansuru bunka hikaku no iryō rekishi jinruigaku kenkyū* (*Comparative Studies of Medical and Historical Anthropology on Life-design in Societies with Fewer Children*), pp. 37–45. Report made with a grant for scientific research (Kakenhi), 2005–2007, subsidized by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (in Japanese).
- 2012 A Reflection on Time and Space for Crossing Over in Life: Weaving A Story that Reverberates in the World and Outer Space. In Nanami Suzuki (ed.) *The Anthropology of Aging and Well-being: Searching for the Space and Time to Cultivate Life Together* (Senri Ethnological Studies 80), pp. 143–160. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Takahashi, Erika
 2002 Nursing home minzokushi no tenkai (Resesarch Trends in Ethnography of Nursing Homes). *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* (*The Japanese Journal of Cultural Anthropology*) 67(3):

328–339 (in Japanese).

Takamura, Hiroko

2009 Nikkei canadajin (*Nikkei Canadians*). In the Japan Society of Canada (ed.) *Hajimete deau Canada (The First Encounter with Canada)*, pp. 139–147. Tokyo: Yuikaku Publishing (in Japanese).

Takeda, Nobuko

2002 *Shakai de kodomo o sodateru: kosodate shien toshi Toronto no hassō (Bringing up Children in Society)*. Tokyo: Heibonsha (in Japanese).

Takei, Takahito

2007 Toshi (shūgō jūtaku) ni okeru hōsetsu to haijo: gated community to dispacial democracy o megutte (Inclusion and Exclusion in a City: A Thought on Collective Housing). In The Japan Society of Politics (ed.) *Haijo to hōsetsu no seijigaku: ekkyō, identity, soshite kibō (Politics of Exclusion and Inclusion)*, pp. 83–102. Tokyo: Bokutakusha (in Japanese).