Imagining Ageing Futures: LGBTQ+ Multicultural People in Australia

By

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ABSTRACT

Queer geographical gerontology is a nascent field that examines the spatial needs, preferences, and experiences of older people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or other minoritised gender and sexual identities (LGBTQ+). Emerging alongside the burgeoning research on LGBTQ+ ageing, it challenges the cisgender and heteronormative bias in geographical gerontological research by foregrounding the experiences of older LGBTQ+ people. Despite these developments, geographical work on LGBTQ+ ageing has several gaps and opportunities. Given the recency of this field, an intersectional perspective discussing how race, ethnicity, and/or culture relates to age, gender, and sexual identity is missing. Related to this is the conceptualisation of 'old age' as a demographic category rather than a socio-cultural, spatio-temporal, and relational construct to be interrogated. While space and place (particularly ageing in place) have been at the forefront of geographical analyses on LGBTQ+ ageing, time, intergenerationality, and plurality in spaces/places of ageing have not. More crucially, as with the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, current research emphasises the illuminating the needs and preferences of older LGBTQ+ people, paying less attention to how heteronormative, racialised, and ageist norms may be queered and expanded.

My thesis intervenes at this juncture, contributing to queer geographical gerontology by augmenting its 'queer' focus. I draw on key interdisciplinary developments in and around queer studies—primarily queer gerontology and queer diaspora, but also the queer subjectless critique—which are anti-essentialist, post-structural, and intersectional in dismantling norms and discourses around ageing, gender, sexuality, and race. Deviating from the preoccupation with ageing needs and experiences, my thesis centres on ageing futures and imaginations. Using online photovoice and semi-structured interviews with 14 LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above across Australia, I tease out their conceptions of (un)liveable and (un)desirable ageing futures. I ask how these conceptions reflect or disrupt normative notions of ageing. I critically read and analyse them using queer theories on time, kinship, and belonging(s) which map on to geographical concepts of time, age relationality, and space/place.

I demonstrate that LGBTQ+ multicultural people harbour both normative and non-normative imaginations of ageing. Following heteronormative and chrononormative scripts and having access to (hetero-)kinship resources enable some to envision ageing

successfully and with agency. These routes are nonetheless unavailable to those who are single, poorer, and without (supportive) children. Relatedly, fearing how heteronormative, racist, and/or ageist norms may push them out of place and time, participants articulate alternative renderings of time, kinship, and place/belonging. These articulations queer normative notions of ageing, highlighting the possibilities of ageing in time, ageing across/between places, and ageing with plural kinship ties beyond the monogamous couple or nuclear family unit. Bringing these findings back into queer gerontological geography illuminates the value of a critical, intersectional, and relational approach to LGBTQ+ ageing. It calls for scholars to look beyond the singular to the plural, beyond the non-heterosexual to the non-heteronormative, exploring how ageing can be queered and expanded for those at its margins and intersections.

Keywords: queer geography, queer gerontology, LGBTQ ageing, ageing in place, queer diaspora, queer futurity, online photovoice

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis:

1. does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university
2. and the research within will not be submitted for any other future degree or diploma without the permission of Flinders University; and
3. to the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Jinwen Chen

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My friends forged in Adelaide—you made moving to a new place and country liveable.

My friends and (biological) family back in Singapore—you are the reason why I still belong there, too.

My partner—with whom this journey started, with whom it continues.

I am not sure what my ageing future will be, but I take heart from all that I’ve learned and found that it can be made more liveable for mine and other (queer) generations to come.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

This thesis includes two journal articles which have been accepted and published in peer-reviewed journals. Where appropriate, sections of these articles have been replicated and incorporated in the thesis. The details are noted below.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chen, J., McLaren, H., Jones, M., & Shams, L. (2022). The aging experiences of LGBTQ ethnic minority older adults: A systematic review. *The Gerontologist, 62*(3), e162-e177. https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnaa134

Chapter 3: Methodology

Chen, J. (2022). Digitally dispersed, remotely engaged: Interrogating participation in virtual photovoice. *Qualitative Research*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941221110175

1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, research on ageing for older people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or other minoritised gender and sexual identities (LGBTQ+) has grown. Marking this trend has been the increasing social acceptance and recognition of gender and sexual differences in industrialised countries such as USA, Australia, and parts of Europe alongside the demographic transition of their 'Pride' generations of LGBTQ+ people into older age (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019). Responding to the overwhelming assumption in gerontological, health, and social work research that older people are cisgender and heterosexual, other scholars have sought to illuminate the needs, experiences, and differences of older LGBTQ+ people (Fabbre et al., 2019; Fredriksen-Goldsen & Muraco, 2010). Shedding light on how homophobia and transphobia negatively impact older LGBTQ+ people in various facets of society, these scholars advocate for greater attention to the unique circumstances of older LGBTQ+ people in healthcare, social, and aged care policies and practices.

This growth in LGBTQ+ ageing research has developed largely outside the field of geography. Within geography, research on LGBTQ+ ageing is scant. Highlighted in a recent review by Gorman-Murray and colleagues, only a few studies covered the spatialities of LGBTQ+ ageing despite the possible synergies between the geographies of ageing and geographies of sexualities (2022). Terming this nascent field "queer geographical gerontology", Gorman-Murray et al. outlined its importance to geography alongside several areas for research. Queer geographical gerontology, they argued, critiques the heteronormative bias in geographies of ageing. Concurrently, researching older bodies and identities broadens geographies of sexualities' preoccupation with younger people and youth. Straddling both sub-fields, queer geographical gerontology has the potential to push the frontiers of geographical research.

With this dearth of research in queer geographical gerontology, much more is needed to expand its theorisation and scope. Current studies focus primarily on the home space, theorising the changing and conflicting relationships between older LGBTQ+ people and their homes, environments, and neighbourhoods (Grant & Walker, 2021; Hoekstra-Pijpers, 2022). Scholars demonstrate the importance of ageing at home and ageing in place for older LGBTQ+ people. The home serves as a refuge for queer homemaking, a relatively

safe place from the heteronormative pressures of society. Looking to the adjacent (non-geographical) LGBTQ+ ageing literature, spatial perspectives are not foregrounded but can be derived and expanded upon. Ageing in place and ageing in LGBTQ-friendly residential care homes are key themes (Boggs et al., 2017; Villar et al., 2022). So too is the discussion of heteronormative discrimination and exclusion experienced by older LGBTQ+ people in healthcare and social institutions (Coleman 2018a; Haile et al., 2011). Ageism in gay and LGBTQ+ spaces add to this layered exclusion (Genke, 2004; Reygan et al., 2022). Without discussing spatiality, the literature's location of older LGBTQ+ people's experiences within various spaces and places provides ample material for queer geographical gerontological investigation.

Crucial to this potential for expansion is incorporating a critical lens within queer geographical gerontology. In the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, scholars have increasingly criticised its predominant focus on the negative aspects, such as articulating the needs, challenges, and vulnerabilities of older LGBTQ+ people. This maps on to queer geographical gerontology's current direction of illuminating the spatial preferences of older LGBTQ+ people (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022). While this attention to needs and preferences is relevant, its over-emphasis in the literature may position older LGBTQ+ people as a marginal and deficit group (see Chazan & Baldwin, 2021; Ramirez-Valles 2016). Besides, by comparing older LGBTQ+ people against the heteronormative norm, scholars risk taking for granted the presence and requirement of heteronormativity in ageing. Critiquing heteronormativity in ageing is an endeavour that some geographers and LGBTQ+ ageing scholars have harnessed (e.g., Fabbre, 2014, 2016; Grant & Walker, 2021). They highlighted how heteronormative space can be 'queered' or disrupted through the homemaking practices of older LGBTQ+ people (Pilkey, 2014). They demonstrated how older lives need not follow the heteronormative timeline of reproduction but can be charted to their own timeline(s) (Fabbre, 2014). These studies exemplify the need for queer geographical gerontology to critique and disrupt compulsory heteronormativity in ageing.

As well, largely overlooked in the extant literature is a deeper analysis on difference in LGBTQ+ ageing. First, difference within the category of 'older LGBTQ+ people' needs unpacking. Gorman-Murray et al.'s review described the current dearth of intersectional perspectives as an impetus for future research (2022). A discussion on how the social axes of age, gender, and sexuality interact with race, ethnicity, and/or culture is also missing in the broader LGBTQ+ ageing literature (Chen et al., 2022). This absence is particularly

crucial given the ageing of immigrants in industrialised countries where the majority of LGBTQ+ ageing research is situated. Attention to racial and cultural differences and inequalities complicate the conclusions from the LGBTQ+ ageing literature as racism colours the experiences of older racialised LGBTQ+ people (Johnson Shen et al, 2019; Jones et al., 2018). Second, difference within understandings of 'ageing' and 'older' needs interrogation. Common across studies on LGBTQ+ ageing and queer geographical gerontology has been the consideration of 'older LGBTQ+ people' as a demographic category. This is consistent with gerontological research which conceptualises 'old age' as a number and age variable. Where the latter counts 'older people' as those typically 65 years of age and older, LGBTQ+ ageing scholars lower that number to 50 for 'older LGBTQ+ people' because of difficulties in recruitment (see Chen et al., 2022; Cronin & King, 2010). This practice of determining 'ageing' and 'older age' by chronological age misses an opportunity to examine how age(ing) is constructed. Unlike the critical (de)construction of other social categories such as race, gender, sexuality, and (dis)ability, age(ing) remains unchallenged and fixed in chronological and biological time.

1.1 Foregrounding the Queer in Queer Geographical Gerontology

It is at this juncture that my thesis intervenes to build on and contribute to this field of queer geographical gerontology. Taking as central the inclusion of a critical and intersectional lens on ageing, I augment queer geographical gerontology with a 'queerer' focus. To integrate queer theories and perspectives more cohesively into this field, I first draw on the pioneering work of queer gerontologists. Situated in critical gerontology rather than geography, queer gerontologists deploy queer theories and methodologies to analyse ageing. Using theories such as queer time, queer failure, and queer futurity, they challenge the dominance of heteronormativity, hetero-kinship, and hetero-happiness in discourses of successful and liveable ageing (Jones et al., 2022a, 2022b; Sandberg & King, 2019; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). Concurrently, they argue for a futurity and a desirable ageing future that is firmly present and possible for older LGBTQ+ people (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan & Whetung, 2022; Fabbre, 2016). Complementing the insights from queer gerontology is work on queer diaspora, which explores the intersection between cultural/diasporic and queer identities. Responding to the whiteness and racial elision in queer studies alongside migration studies' heteronormative basis, queer diasporic scholars elucidate how minoritarian/minoritised diasporic and queer subjects negotiate and navigate (dis)attachments across places, countries, and communities (Gopinath, 2003, 2005). Bringing in perspectives from queer diaspora and queer gerontology strengthens the 'queer'

in queer geographical gerontology: the former by critiquing and reframing heteronormativity alongside ageism in ageing; the latter by foregrounding race, culture, and diaspora in this discussion.

Augmenting the queer in queer geographical gerontology extends its geographical contribution. In the geographies of ageing literature, besides attention to the spatiality of ageing and the relationships older people have to spaces and places, scholars have increasingly advocated for a relational approach on age(ing). Echoing the earlier criticism on the treatment of older age as a number or age variable, they call attention to how age identities are constructed through interactions across ages (Hopkins & Pain, 2007). This emphasis on intergenerationality and age relationality in geographies of ageing is at present limited to heteronormative conceptions of grandparenthood (Tarrant, 2010, 2013, 2016; Vanderbeck, 2007). They can be queered and expanded through queer considerations of intergenerational kinship relations (see for example Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan, 2020; Jones et al., 2023). Time and temporality, in addition to age, is a productive thread for queer geographical gerontology. Despite geography being a spatio-temporal discipline, temporality has been overlooked in both geographies of ageing and queer geographical gerontology in favour of spatial analyses. Seeing space as intricately intertwined with time reframes and refocuses existing attention to the spatial aspects of LGBTQ+ ageing. Queer concepts of time, developed in queer studies and applied in queer gerontology, can be usefully deployed to rethink and ‘queer’ time together with space, expanding how geographies of ageing understand time in old(er) age.

1.2 Exploring Ageing Futures of LGBTQ+ Multicultural People in Australia

In light of these areas for development, my thesis contributes to queer geographical gerontology through an exploration of ageing futures. This turn to futures rather than current experiences is a deliberate move away from the spatial preferences, needs, and challenges of older LGBTQ+ people. In the spirit of queer futurity (Muñoz, 2009), investigating ageing futures allow a glimpse and grasp at the not-yet-present, at another way of ageing that is not grounded in the (hetero)normative present. Similarly, the “queering [of] ageing futures” advocated by queer gerontologists (Sandberg & King, 2019; Sanberg & Marshall, 2017) is an interrogation of heteronormativity in ageing alongside the uncovering of queer potentiality. It is a critical examination of the forms of ageing that are deemed (un)liveable and

(un)desirable. This is supported with queer diasporic perspectives which challenge the racial singularity within LGBTQ+ subjects. Bringing ageing futures into queer geographical gerontology therefore allows one to think differently about how ageing is framed and constructed. Attention to futurity provides the tools for this endeavour, going beyond understanding LGBTQ+ older people to rethinking ageing in queer geographical gerontology.

Specifically, my thesis explores imaginations of ageing futures for LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia. I ask what the liveable and desirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia are. Within these visions of ageing futures, I reflect on how they connect to normative notions of ageing, particularly heteronormative, racialised, and ageist norms. I examine how they 'queer', disrupt, and deviate from these norms. These questions are answered using queer theories alongside geographical attention to relationality in age, time, and space—my queer geographical gerontological perspective. My overall project is thus to unpack, critique, and reimagine how (desirable) ageing is constructed, experienced, and defined. It is not just to illuminate the challenges and practices of LGBTQ+ multicultural people but to harness their multifaceted identities and imaginations, their "multiple epistemologies" and ontologies of old age (Port, 2012, p. 5), to rethink and queer representations of liveable and desirable ageing.

A focus on the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people requires three important definitions. The first is about age. As mentioned earlier, a gap in the current LGBTQ+ ageing literature and queer geographical gerontology is in taking old age as a demographic category (i.e., LGBTQ+ people aged 50 years and above are considered 'older'). This approach misses an opportunity to unpack the relational and spatio-temporal constructions of age advocated in the geographies of ageing (Hopkins & Pain, 2007). Cognisant of this critique alongside the methodological challenge of recruiting LGBTQ+ older people (Cronin & King, 2010; Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019), I follow the literature's inclusion of participants aged 50 and above but use it to unpack how ageing is understood. Put differently, the threshold of 50 does not necessarily denote old age for the participants but serves to examine how old age and ageing is perceived by them. This examination aligns with anti-essentialist and post-structural perspectives of queer theory and critical gerontology. In critical and queer gerontology, scholars direct their attention to interrogating the construction of old age. The gerontological age range of 50-64 years, termed the "young-old", is a nebulous category that separates old age and mid-life. It is seen as key to exploring

and critiquing the norms and power structures around old age (Küpper 2016; van Dyk, 2014, 2016). As van Dyk argued, studies that leave the old age/midlife boundary unchallenged "makes only old age into age—therefore unwillingly reinforcing old age as 'the other', deviating from the ageless norm" (2014, p. 99). Responding to this call, my inclusion of participants aged 50 and above allows for a critical examination of this invisible boundary between 'young' and 'old' to unpack conceptions of ageing.

Race and culture, in addition to age, are additional concepts to distil. Within the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, the limited studies that foreground race, culture, or ethnic difference are based in the US and on older black LGB people (Chen et al., 2022). Race issues and racism are pertinent for them given the US socio-historical context. In contrast, the queer diaspora literature centres on diaspora and diasporic communities: migrants who share cultural, ethnic, and regional particularities (Gopinath, 2003; Pino, 2017). While this focus can overlap with race, whereby diasporic communities become racialised in their destination countries, they are two separate concepts and constructs. For instance, the Italian diaspora in the US is not racialised the same way as the Korean diaspora. Race includes the social classification and construction of ethnic and cultural groups within society. Diaspora relates more to ethnicity, a general term about "cultural differentiation", identity, and shared meaning (Jenkins, 1997, p. 165). What the queer diaspora discusses that the LGBTQ+ ageing literature does not is the (dis)connect queer diasporic subjects have to their cultural, ethnic, and diasporic communities in both their 'destination' country and their countries of 'origin' (Gopinath, 2003, 2005). What both literatures have in common is the marginalisation that cultural, racialised, and diasporic LGBTQ+ people experience.

Situating these concepts in Australia presents a different consideration around race, culture, and ethnicity. Notably, no Australian study has investigated LGBTQ+ ageing through the lens of race and culture. In official parlance, the term 'culturally and linguistically diverse' (CALD) refers to people from minority cultural and linguistic backgrounds. One's country of birth, spoken language at home (besides English), and proficiency in English are commonly used to determine their CALD status (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2022c). CALD essentially translates to diaspora: Australian residents of migrant heritage. Those from Anglo-Saxon or Celtic backgrounds or Indigenous Australians who comprise about 3.8% of the population (ABS, 2022b) are excluded from this term. CALD mirrors the term 'people of colour' (i.e., non-white) in USA and UK in its representation of minority races and ethnicities, but differs in its inclusion of non-Anglo European ethnicities such as Greek and Italian and its

exclusion of Indigenous Australians. Solely investigating CALD LGBTQ+ ageing identities is insufficient because racism and cultural elision is also experienced by Indigenous Australians who have been systematically excluded for generations. Further, aged care policy and practice target 'special needs' groups, three of which are CALD communities, Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander people, and LGBTIQ people. Cognisant of this diversity and different emphases in policy and practice, I took a broader approach to exploring race and culture in Australia. I chose the term 'multicultural', used sometimes in community programmes to mean 'CALD' to recruit more CALD participants, but extended participation to those who self-identified as Anglo-Celtic or Indigenous. This allowed me to investigate CALD/diasporic identities alongside those from Indigenous and Anglo-Celtic backgrounds.

The third and final consideration is on minority gender and sexual identities. Within the LGBTQ+ ageing and queer geographical gerontology literature, most research has been with cisgender gay men and lesbian women (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022). Following the call to expand this focus, more of the literature now attends to transgender and bisexual people (Fredriksen-Goldsen & Muraco, 2010). Following this shift, I chose the acronym 'LGBTQ+' which encapsulates the main identities of 'lesbian', 'gay', 'bisexual' and 'transgender' in 'LGBT'. Adding the 'queer' and '+' broadens this to the myriad terms that people with non-normative gender identities and sexual orientations use. These include non-binary, asexual, gender diverse and genderqueer identities that may be more common in younger generations of LGBTQ+ people but nonetheless possible amongst those aged 50 and above. In Australian policy and research, some researchers include 'I' for intersex within their acronyms (e.g., Gorman-Murray et al., 2022) to form the acronym LGBTIQ or LGBTIQ+. I omitted it from mine as my focus is on non-normative gender identity and/or sexual orientation. Intersex is not about either identity but sex characteristics (Department of Health Victoria, 2023; Intersex Human Rights Australia, 2012). My resultant 'LGBTQ+' acronym encapsulates gender and sexual identity across and beyond the commonly researched populations.

Putting these concepts together, my thesis explores the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above in Australia. I deploy a queer geographical approach that interweaves geographical attention to time, space, and age with queer theories grounded in post-structural and anti-essentialist epistemologies. Consistent with this theoretical approach, I adopt qualitative and photovoice methodologies to explore my research questions. Photovoice, with its feminist and participatory underpinnings (Carlson et

al., 2006; Catalani & Minkler, 2010), fits particularly well with a queer approach. Its emphasis on creativity and imagination through photo-taking and photo-making (Carlson et al., 2006; Nash, 2014) aligns with my research aims of elucidating ageing futures. Given the context of COVID-19 lockdowns during my data collection stages, I took photovoice online and broadened participation to include online semi-structured interviews. Taking photovoice, a primarily face-to-face methodology pre-COVID-19 online was a methodological contribution my thesis made (see Chen, 2022). It had the effect of encouraging participation across Australia, resulting in 14 participants from metropolitan and regional locations across the country. Eight of them did semi-structured interviews, three did individual recurring photo-interviews, and the remaining three were part of recurring group photovoice discussions. These diverse forms of participation produced a variety of photographs, captions, and quotes that addressed the topic of liveability and desirability in ageing in Australia.

My queer geographical theoretical framework guided my analysis of the data through three themes: time, kinship, and place/belonging. These three themes are central to the LGBTQ+ ageing literature and queer geographical gerontology and can be usefully theorised using queer geographical attention to time, age, and space. In my analysis, I pay attention to the power relations, norms, and structures that underpin participants' imaginations, hopes, and fears of ageing. Concurrently, I articulate disruptions to these norms and illuminate possibilities and alternative renderings of ageing. My analysis centres on how heteronormativity and racism impact imaginations of ageing. Taking inspiration from the queer of colour and subjectless critiques and their application in geography (Cohen, 1997; Oswin, 2008, 2010), I attend to other social dimensions such as class and disability that were foregrounded in the data. In line with these queer scholars' focus on *heteronormativity* rather than *non-heterosexuality*, I examine how the ageing imaginations of LGBTQ+ multicultural people overlap with other subjects who have non-normative heterosexualities. This way, heteronormative norms and structures in ageing are unpacked alongside racist and ableist norms.

1.3 (Re)imagining Ageing Futures and Queer Geographical Gerontology

Deploying this theoretical framework in the reading of participant photographs and narratives, I argue how the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people can reflect normative understandings of ageing. They ascribe to temporal practices of keeping decline

away and maintaining able-bodiedness and able-mindedness, practices that see ageing as primarily a loss of capacity and self-identity (e.g., Gullette, 2004; King, 2022). They consider hetero-kinship—through having biological children and maintaining couplehood—as crucial resources that enable them to be cared for and supported in older age. These practices allow them to follow the chrononormative and heteronormative scripts of successful ageing, to possibly attain hetero-happiness (Marshall, 2018; Sandberg, 2015). These perceptions of liveable ageing echo those of the 'mainstream' (non-LGBTQ+ or non-multicultural) populations (Jones, 2022). They reflect a desire to live and age more 'ordinarily' or 'normally' in an ageist, heteronormative, and ableist world (see also Heaphy et al., 2013; Mizielińska, 2022). In other words, LGBTQ+ people from minoritarian cultures can aspire to the same hopes and fears of ageing as cisgender, heterosexual, and Anglo-Celtic people as doing so allows them to imagine a better ageing future.

At the same time, the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people harbour non-normative visions of ageing. The above imaginations of 'successful' ageing are not equally accessible across participants. They are out of reach for those who are single, without (supportive) children, and poorer (see also Porter et al., 2004; Robinson, 2016). More importantly, fearing how heteronormativity, racism, or cultural elision may render them out of place and time as they age and are perceived as older (e.g., Chen et al., 2022), participants construct alternative visions and practices of time, kinship, and place that enable them to see their lives in terms of futurity and potentiality. Thinking through time, participants' understandings and practices of time 'queer' the life course, rejecting chronological decline to embrace their evolving, ever-becoming, and expanding identities with age. In kinship, participants construct and imagine biological and non-biological relations of support and care that go beyond heteronormativity and the nuclear family ideal. Thinking through place, LGBTQ+ diasporic and Indigenous people navigate their multiple (un)belongings to places, countries, and cultural communities. Recuperating belonging as in-betweenness while ageing across places and communities, they queer and expand singular notions of ageing in place. Put together, the queer ageing futures articulated in my thesis are not a complete disruption of normativity within ageing but an expansion of ageing possibilities. They are an acknowledgement of the multiple pathways, life courses, and trajectories that make ageing liveable and desirable for LGBTQ+ multicultural people.

These findings contribute to queer geographical gerontology in three ways. First, my introduction of relational analyses of time and age adds to the literature's focus on space

and spatiality. Time and temporality are useful geographical concepts that foreground the changeability of spaces alongside queer temporal (re)constructions. Second, my revealing of both heteronormative and non-normative kinship forms harnessed and desired by LGBTQ+ multicultural people highlights the importance of plurality within kinship analyses. Demonstrating the mirroring of hetero-kinship and hetero-happiness for certain LGBTQ+ multicultural people aided by marriage equality laws pushes the literature to go beyond just examining *non-heterosexual* kinship to *non-heteronormative* kinship. Third, the navigation of belonging for LGBTQ+ multicultural people across multiple places and communities underscores the significance of examining race, culture, and/or diaspora alongside gender and sexual identity. By showing how heteronormativity intertwines with racism, I challenge the literature's emphasis on place-based ageing or ageing in LGBTQ-friendly environments (see Boggs et al., 2017; Gorman-Murray et al., 2022) and argue for a broader discussion of ageing across places. These three contributions demonstrate the value of moving away from the spatial needs, challenges, and vulnerabilities of LGBTQ+ people to their queering, disruption, and re-imagination. In strengthening the 'queer' in queer geographical gerontology, I emphasise its usefulness in interrogating heteronormativity alongside racism in (geographies of) ageing. This aligns queer geographical gerontology with the project of queer geographers and theorists in building solidarities across non-normative gender, sexual, and racial subjects (Oswin, 2008). By turning from the non-heterosexual to the non-(hetero)normative, queer geographical gerontology can contribute to re-articulating and re-mapping time, kinship, and place in ageing.

1.4 Chapter Overview

The remainder of my thesis is structured into eight chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant fields within three bodies of work: geographies of ageing; LGBTQ+ ageing and queer geographical gerontology; and queer studies. Noting their synergistic areas and gaps, I detail the queer geographical theoretical approach that guides my analysis. Chapter 3 delves into my methodology, explaining my overarching virtual photovoice methodology, my research process and methods, and their challenges and implications for my research. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 are my empirical chapters that respond to my research question of liveable ageing futures for LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia. In each of the empirical chapters, I apply my theoretical perspective, blending research data—quotes, photographs, and captions—with my interpretation and analysis. In each chapter, I relate the findings to the literature and conclude with a brief discussion on its implications.

Each empirical chapter has its thematic focus. Chapter 4 sets the stage by fleshing out the unliveable and undesirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Using a spatio-temporal perspective, I argue how participants depict ageing as being increasingly rendered out of time and place. Chapter 5 resists this to articulate their liveable and desirable ageing futures. Continuing the focus on time, I delineate how participants grasp, live, experience, and anticipate time in ways that enable their agency, dignity, and meaning. I relate the multiple temporalities charted by participants to and against heteronormative and chrononormative norms in ageing. Chapter 6 turns to kinship, teasing out how LGBTQ+ multicultural people construct and imagine relationships of support and care. Chapter 7 closes with a discussion on place and belonging, mediating on where and how LGBTQ+ multicultural people locate belonging while ageing across places, cultures, and communities. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 thus illuminate ways of being, ageing, and living that may reflect or deviate from (hetero)normative scripts. Tying the findings together in chapter 8, I revisit my research questions, discussing what LGBTQ+ multicultural people's ageing futures represent and closing with my contributions to queer geographical gerontology.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

In this literature review, I weave together three broad fields to augment the nascent field of queer geographical gerontology. In each of these fields, I map the key themes and gaps, highlighting their blind spots and potential synergies. Briefly, geographies of ageing and geographical gerontology examine the spatial and temporal dimensions and experiences of ageing or older age (Andrews et al., 2009; Skinner et al., 2017) albeit with a heteronormative bias. LGBTQ+ ageing is a burgeoning field—largely emerging from the disciplines of social work, sociology, and health—that foregrounds the experiences, needs, and challenges of older LGBTQ+ people (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019). Geographical studies on LGBTQ+ ageing are emerging, adding a crucial spatial dimension missing in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022). Nonetheless, LGBTQ+ ageing research has been criticised for centring on the vulnerabilities and particularities of older LGBTQ+ people rather than unpacking heteronormativity within ageing (Ramirez-Valles, 2016). In contrast, queer studies draw on post-structural theories to explicitly interrogate and 'queer' (i.e., disrupt) heteronormativity in various segments of society. While queer geographers have incorporated queer theories to interrogate and 'queer' space (e.g., Nash & Bain, 2007), they have largely focused on youth and younger people. To this end, the interdisciplinary fields of queer gerontology and queer diaspora bring queer theoretical approaches that are useful for queer geographical gerontology. Bringing these altogether, I sketch an outline of a queer(er) geographical gerontology that will guide my approach and research questions for this thesis. It is a queer geographical gerontology that incorporates queer theory more cohesively into geographical approaches to LGBTQ+ ageing.

Before delving into the different strands of literature, it is important to foreground Gorman-Murray et al.'s article (2022) where my term 'queer geographical gerontology' derives from. Published last year, it was the first article that reviewed the intersection between the sub-disciplines of geographies of ageing and geographies of sexualities. The authors found this intersection productive but severely lacking, with only six studies explicitly taking a spatial approach to LGBTQ+ ageing. They consequently drew on other articles on LGBTQ+ ageing that were not grounded in geography but had a spatial focus. Most articles were on the home space and underscored the spatial uses, needs, and preferences of older LGBTQ+ people. The authors concluded with several future areas of research for queer geographical gerontology such as ageing in place and intersectionality. The review article established the need for a queer geographical gerontology, one that was attentive to the spatialities and life worlds of LGBTQ+ older people. Geography, they argued, is instrumental

in understanding how LGBTQ+ people aged. Agreeing with and augmenting their focus, I include a closer rapprochement with queer studies—not limited to queer geographies—to strengthen the 'queer' critical lens in queer geographical gerontology. As I will demonstrate in the segment on queer studies, the literature on queer gerontology and queer diaspora harnesses concepts like queer time, futurity, and diaspora to critique temporal and spatial norms grounded in heteronormativity (e.g., Gopinath, 2005; Port, 2012; Sandberg 2008) and are particularly useful to the geographical examination of LGBTQ+ ageing. This inclusion aligns queer geographical gerontology with queer theory not just in subject matter but also in epistemology and ontology.

2.1 Geographies of Ageing / Geographical Gerontology

Geographies of ageing and geographical gerontology study the spatialities and temporalities of old(er) age. While the former denotes ageing research situated in geography and the latter a geographical approach in gerontology, both fields can be considered synonymous and overlapping (Skinner et al., 2015). In essence, they assert the importance of place-based and spatial perspectives on ageing. Earlier work concentrated on the mapping of spatial patterns like retirement migration and older people's relationship with their environment (Rowles, 1986; Warnes, 1990). The role of space and place in shaping older people's lived experiences continues to be a priority in geographical gerontology, represented in key topics like ageing in place, experiences in residential care, retirement migration, kinship and care relationships, and the shifting meanings of home for older people (Skinner et al., 2017). In this review I highlight two key threads in the literature—relational thinking and ageing in place.

2.1.1 Relationality, spatiality, and intergenerationality

A paradigm shift in the geographies of ageing was towards a relational understanding of place, space, and age. Introduced by Harper and Laws (1995) but developed by Hopkins and Pain (2007), this relational turn brought the geographies of ageing in closer alignment with other advances in human geography. Harper and Laws critiqued the literature's positivistic approach to age, admonishing its failure "to recogni[s]e the contested nature of ageing, for this is not a static concept, and the 'meaning' of old age changes both over time and space" (1995, p. 201). Fundamental to their assertion was the literature's uncritical acceptance of the category 'old' and adoption of the national retirement age (e.g., 60 or 65) as 'old age'. While this reflected the wider gerontological literature's classification of old age,

it was in contrast with the theoretical approaches emerging in feminist and postmodern geographies. Those critical studies challenged essentialised and taken for granted categories such as gender and race, illuminating how they were socially and spatially constructed to render certain categories (e.g., femininity and blackness) marginal and inferior to others (e.g., masculinity and whiteness). Echoing this critique over a decade later, Hopkins and Pain introduced the perspective of intergenerationality to bring geographical studies on age, then theorised in either children's geographies or geographies of ageing, in dialogue across ages (2007). They conceptualised "age as being produced in the interactions between different people" of different ages rather than in isolation (p. 288). Tarrant's intergenerational research is a notable example outlining how grandparents understand and construct their age identities vis-à-vis interactions with their grandchildren (2010, 2013, 2016). This relational approach to age meant investigating *how* age and ageing is constructed in spaces, not just *where* they are constructed.

As well, the relational turn in geographies of ageing involved seeing spaces and places not as static but co-constituted by people and always in the process of becoming. Scholars championing this approach drew on broader theoretical developments in human geography that conceived of spaces and places as interrelated, linking across scales, and changing across times (Darling, 2009). Geographical work on ageing has for example theorised how older people's experiences of home extend beyond the 'home space' to the neighbourhood and city or change with seasonality (Andrews et al., 2013; Wiles et al., 2009, 2012). Others highlighted how the notion of home becomes contested and often contradictory due to changes between one's interactions with their "material, social and relational environment" as one ages (Webber et al., 2022, p. 2). This perspective foregrounds the social and structural forces that result in exclusionary spaces and render older people out of place. It also includes the agencies of older people in claiming and creating spaces for themselves. It asserts the centrality of place for the experiences of older people while attending to its fluid, complex, and multiple configurations.

2.1.2 Ageing in place

Besides relationality, a key thematic in the geographies of ageing literature is around the concept of ageing in place. Place and being 'in place' are fundamentally geographical concepts of attachment and belonging to places. 'Ageing in place' firmly locates belonging for older people in the geographically proximate spaces of their home, neighbourhood, and environment (Forsyth & Molinsky, 2021). A normative policy in industrialised countries with

ageing populations such as Australia, it encourages older people to stay in their homes and communities rather than in residential aged care. Geographical gerontology constructs ageing in place as beneficial to the quality of life and wellbeing of older people (Ahn, 2017; Bigonnesse & Chaudhury, 2020). As Rowles wrote, “being in place is characteristically associated with well-being. In contrast, being out of place is generally accompanied by distress and low levels of well-being” (2017, p. 208). Ageing in the physical locality of one’s home and neighbourhood contributes to the wellbeing of older people because of the social connections, memories, and feelings of safety and familiarity (van Hees et al., 2017; Wiles et al., 2009, 2012). In contrast, ageing ‘out of place’, out of one’s home in residential aged care or in an unfamiliar environment is seen as undesirable (Boldy et al., 2011). Belonging in the geographical gerontology research is located in the home and its surrounding environment.

While belonging at home and ‘ageing in place’ have been theorised as contested and negotiated through various scales and social relations, the ‘home’ and ‘place’ have rarely been conceptualised in plural and diverse terms. Scholars increasingly acknowledge that seeing the home as *the* place for ageing is not always desirable, as being ‘in place’ can result in fixity and rigidity rather than rootedness (Gilleard et al., 2007). Golant thus suggested reframing “ageing in place” to “ageing in the ‘right’ place”, underscoring the supportive environment needed for ageing (2015). This re-conceptualisation affirms the intimate intertwining of place, location, and belonging. Still, taken for granted in the literature is ‘place’ in the singular, the presence of a home and not multiple homes or places of belonging. Missing then is a discussion of belonging and attachment that extends beyond the ‘home’ and its surrounds to include multiple homes and attachments across spaces and scales.

2.1.3 Belonging in the ageing and migration literature

One divergent thread of thinking on ageing in place and belonging has been in the subfield of ageing and migration. This field pays explicit attention to ageing across multiple homes, borders, and communities through the perspectives of older migrants. Scholars in this interdisciplinary area explore the gap in studies on migration and geographical gerontology, where the former overlooks older people in favour of younger migrants and the latter assumes the singularity of place and culture for older people. On the latter, Johansson et al. wrote, “the concept of place attachment particularly fails to embrace how older people with experiences of migration continuously negotiate relationships to multiple places” (2013, p. 112). The older diasporic migrant, a subject moving and ageing across places and cultural

communities, is foregrounded in the “ageing—migration nexus” which investigates “the spaces and places of ageing and migration”, “their multi-scalar nature”, “their (im)mobilities”, “their boundaries”, and “their emotional geographies” (Sampaio et al., 2018, p. 442). What surfaces in these perspectives are the older migrants’ transnational connections to their diasporic countries of origin (Näre et al., 2017), their diasporic community making (Buffel, 2017), their transnational habitus or sense of place (Zechner, 2017), and their multi-local or transnational practices of shuttling back and forth between multiple homes and connections in the country and world (Iossifova, 2020). In short, the literature incorporates plurality in discussions of belonging and ‘ageing in place’. It broadens discussions on belonging to include attachments to multiple places, cultures, and communities.

A key problematic in the ageing and migration literature therefore lies in how older migrants negotiate and navigate belonging to multiple places and different cultural communities. Ageing in their destination country instead of country of origin, they are seen as “displaced” or “ageing out of place” (Lewis, 2009; Sadarangani & Jun, 2015). Scholars highlight the challenges older migrants face while ageing in a different country, particularly from the clash in cultures, reduced social networks, racial discrimination, limited access to health services, and the longing to return to their countries of origin (Becker, 2003; Sadarangani & Jun, 2015). Returning to their countries of origin—termed the ‘salmon bias’—allows them to access services and reconnect with kin and culture, subsequently feeling more ‘in place’ (Wallace & Kulu, 2014). Caught between places, cultures, and communities, older people navigate and negotiate this ‘in-betweenness’ in various ways. They may identify with cultural aspects of both their country of origin and destination (Palladino, 2019), maintain connections to both places by taking annual trips to reconnect with kin and land (Näre, 2017), or form firm connections with their diasporic community (Buffel, 2017). Shifting from diasporic migration to local migration, Iossifova’s study foregrounded older Bulgarians’ simultaneous rural-urban belonging as they oscillated between homes and social connections in the city and village (2020). These examples of navigating belonging to multiple places and communities are often possible only through travel and its classed and able-bodied requirements. Zechner’s study is an exception, as retirees who led transnational lives in their younger years continued to inhabit a transnational habitus and mobility without physical movement but through photographs, memories, and international social ties (2017). Together, these studies illuminate older migrants’ active acts of creating belonging, of making a ‘place’ while being attached to different places, cultures, and communities. They augment the theoretical discussion on ageing in place in the geographies of ageing literature by considering and examining ageing and belonging in and across places.

2.1.4 Heteronormativity within geographies of ageing

Despite the valuable theoretical perspectives in the geographies of ageing literature, scholars have taken a largely heteronormative approach. The lack of an intersectional perspective was raised in 2007 by Hopkins and Pain but was re-articulated one decade later (Peace, 2017). This lacuna, seen in the absence of discussion on LGBTQ+ older people (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022), can be traced to the assumed heteronormativity and cisnormativity in the literature. This is symptomatic of the wider gerontological literature and policies where older people are assumed to be cisgendered, heterosexual, and only embedded in heteronormative kinship relations (Hughes, 2006). As Vanderbeck argued, gerontological research tended to "put forward a relatively limited vision of what extrafamilial intergenerational relationships are or can be" (2007, p. 213). For instance, while Tarrant's work is notable for outlining how age identities are forged across generations, it is grounded in heteronormative conceptions of biological kinship and (grand)parenthood (2010, 2013, 2016). An intersectional critique and recognition of other non-normative family and kinship ties is lacking.

Similarly, despite foregrounding belongings to multiple places and communities, the ageing and migration literature assumes heteronormativity alongside idealised imaginations of the home. The social and kinship ties that connect older migrants across countries and borders often constitute children, grandchildren, and biological family who are with them in the destination country or whom have been left behind in their country of origin (Sadarangani & Jun, 2015; Sepulveda et al., 2016). Older migrants outside this hetero-kinship structure or without positive ties to biological family are not considered. Studies emphasising the connections older migrants have to diasporic communities (Buffel, 2017; Lewis, 2009) ignore the heteronormativity within such communities, for diasporic communities may shun those of non-normative genders and sexualities (Chen et al., 2022; Walcott, 2005). Further, the country of origin of older migrants is often framed in nostalgic terms, as a "backward glance … evoking an imaginary homeland frozen in an idyllic moment outside history" (Gopinath, 2005, p. 4). Assumed in the older migrant's desire to return to their 'homeland' is a positive connection with their 'original' culture and (hetero-)kinship, a belonging not afforded to older LGBTQ+ people who may have left due to this estrangement. For them, a non-heteronormative lens is needed to theorise their experiences of belonging and ageing in and across place(s). With this gap, I review the LGBTQ+ ageing literature which focuses on the ageing experiences of older LGBTQ+ people.

2.2 LGBTQ+ ageing and Queer Geographical Gerontology

The LGBTQ+ ageing literature investigates the experiences and life worlds of older LGBTQ+ people. Because of the dearth of queer geographical gerontological studies (i.e., LGBTQ+ ageing studies with an explicit spatial perspective) (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022), in this section I include other non-geographical studies on LGBTQ+ ageing and underline the cross-cutting themes and gaps. LGBTQ+ ageing is a growing research field. In recent years, a flurry of articles reviewing this field have been published (Caceres et al., 2020; Chen et al., 2022; Fabbre et al., 2019; Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019). Fredriksen-Goldsen and Muraco (2010) distilled four waves of LGBTQ+ ageing empirical research between 1984 and 2008. Beginning with debunking negative representations of gay and lesbian older people as lonely and isolated, the literature subsequently examined LGB older people's negotiation of ageing and constructions of identity. More recently, empirical studies analysed their needs and support networks, expanding the focus to include bisexual and transgender participants. A few themes recur in the literature: stigma and discrimination; mental health and wellbeing; social isolation and support; and self-acceptance and resilience (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019). These different research areas map the lived experiences of older LGBTQ+ people.

In the next few sub-sections, I illuminate key themes in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, amplifying where relevant the intersections between race/culture, gender and/or sexual identity, and age. My emphasis responds to the lack of intersectional diversity within the literature which centres on specific sub-populations within older LGBTQ+ people. Citing the overrepresentation of older gay men in the geographical LGBTQ+ ageing literature, Gorman-Murray et al. (2022) highlighted research on lesbian and queer women, trans* adults, Indigenous people, and other intersectional identities as a growth area. Similarly, older LGBTQ+ people of minority races or ethnicities continue to be underrepresented in the literature (Caceres et al., 2020; Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019; Kum, 2017; Laganá et al., 2020). Cognisant of this gap, my colleagues and I undertook a systematic review on the ageing experiences of older LGBTQ ethnic minority people (Chen et al., 2022). We only identified 30 peer-reviewed articles from 21 studies. They were primarily USA-based with mainly 'young-old' LGB and black participants (defined as 50-64 years of age; for more insight on this age category, see Cronin & King, 2010). While our review's six themes (stigma and discrimination; isolation, support and belonging; interactions with services and institutions; self-acceptance, resilience, and agency; mental health and wellbeing; and uncertain futures) echoed those found in the general LGBTQ+ ageing literature, race and culture had varying influences in shaping participant experiences. Where relevant, I thus

weave in some segments from this paper (Chen et al., 2022) and relate them to the major themes in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature.

2.2.1 Discrimination, marginalisation, and resilience

An ongoing focus in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature is older LGBTQ+ people's experiences of discrimination and marginalisation. Many studies centre on the challenges faced by older LGBTQ+ people in various facets of their lives (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019). Older LGBTQ+ people feel vulnerable in their neighbourhoods and communities as they feared becoming targets of homophobic acts if others 'read' or identified them as LGBTQ (Coleman, 2018a; Haile et al., 2011; Stein et al., 2010; Woody, 2014, 2015). This fear is particularly salient in encounters with healthcare and social services (Coleman 2018a; Haile et al., 2011; Martos et al., 2018). Older LGBTQ+ people fear being discriminated against or rejected (Johnson Shen et al., 2019; Maschi et al., 2016), choosing thus to selectively disclose their gender and sexual identities to protect themselves (Martos et al., 2018; Woody, 2014). Cutting across older LGBTQ+ people regardless of race and cultural identity, these experiences of discrimination and marginalisation underscore the heteronormativity embedded within social and institutional spaces.

Beyond gender and sexual identity, age, race, and/or culture contribute to the marginalisation and isolation of older LGBTQ+ people. Studies highlight the ageism experienced particularly by gay and bisexual older men, who feel judged and unwelcome in the youth-dominated gay culture and spaces (Genke, 2004). This is layered on in the racism felt in these spaces by non-white older gay and bisexual men (Coleman, 2017; Haile et al., 2011; Johnson Shen et al, 2019; Jones et al., 2018). Lacking safe LGBTQ+ places to meet others like them (Jen & Jones, 2019; Seelman et al., 2017; Tobin et al., 2018), ethnic minority LGBTQ+ older people withdrew from community participation (Coleman, 2017; Woody, 2014). Their alienation from religious community and church further aggravates this isolation (Haile et al., 2011; Johnson Shen et al., 2019). Social isolation can thus become a key issue for older LGBTQ+ people, particularly for single gay, bisexual, and queer men (Coleman 2017, 2018a; Porter et al., 2004; Robinson, 2016). These findings underline the diversity within older LGBTQ+ people and the marginalisations experienced by different segments of this population.

Besides foregrounding the multiple marginalisations and vulnerabilities of older

LGBTQ+ people, studies increasingly shed light on their resilience and wellbeing. This shift to “complementary areas such as resistance, resilience and community engagement” has been in response to the “overproblemati[s]ing and overmedicali[s]ing [of] LGBTQ older adults” (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019, p. 271) in the LGBTQ+ ageing and health literature. To this end, studies highlight how older LGBTQ+ people may age “successfully”, building resilience and tapping on diverse social networks while navigating challenges (Caceres & Frank, 2016; Heaphy et al., 2004). Adding in the dimension of race and culture, building resilience and wellbeing is key in the studies on older LGBTQ+ ethnic and racial minorities. Participants draw on spiritual resources, self-acceptance, and social connections to forge other ways and spaces of belonging (Hall & Fine, 2005; Reygen & Henderson, 2019; Woody, 2015). They shared being prepared to defend their rights and make themselves heard, choosing to be unabashedly ‘out and proud’ (Hall & Fine, 2005; Maschi et al., 2016). These findings contest the conceptualisation of older LGBTQ+ ethnic minority people as a multiply marginalised group vis-à-vis their white, young(er), heterosexual and/or cisgender counterparts (Chen et al., 2022). Further, the recognition of resilience and wellbeing in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature demonstrates the continued need to attend to the possibilities and potentialities within older LGBTQ+ lives.

2.2.2 Kinship and care

Connecting to and underlying this discussion on marginality and resilience is the kinship and care relations of older LGBTQ+ people. Studies explore the experiences, challenges, and opportunities of LGBTQ+ people in maintaining and securing networks and relationships of care in older age. Prominent in the literature are the vulnerabilities and lack of support for LGBTQ+ people because of their ‘weaker’ biological kinship ties vis-à-vis heterosexual cisgender older people (Brennan-Ing et al., 2014; Gabrielson, 2011; Green, 2016). Older LGB black people experienced strained relationships with family members who disapproved of their sexual identities (Coleman, 2017, 2018b; Jones et al., 2018; Woody, 2015). Being often child-less and with tenuous ties with biological family, LGBTQ+ older people are not able to rely on these ‘typical’ and heteronormative sources of support for care in older age, thus becoming more vulnerable to isolation. On the other hand, studies report on the positive biological kinship relationships that older LGBTQ+ people had. Ethnic minority older LGBTQ+ people can have family acceptance and support due to their family-oriented cultures (Czaja et al., 2016; Henderson & Khan, 2020). Certain cohorts of older LGBTQ+ people who had biological children and maintained positive relationships with them were able to rely on their children for support in older age (Croghan et al., 2014; Green,

2016; Lottman & King, 2022; Westwood, 2016b). The literature thus presents mixed findings on the role of biological kinship networks for the care and support of older LGBTQ+ people.

Alongside biological family, the potential of queer and 'chosen family' networks has been explored in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature. Made popular since Weston's ground-breaking research (1997), chosen family refers to non-biological family that LGBTQ+ people choose for themselves as opposed to the 'unchosen' biological families of origin they were 'born into'. By focusing on chosen family, the LGBTQ+ ageing literature deviates from the heteronormative emphasis of biological family in the geographies of ageing literature. Scholars are cautiously optimistic of families of choice becoming key sources of support in older age. Some demonstrate how older LGBTQ+ people drew on extended networks of friends and chosen kin for informal care and social support (Almack et al., 2010; Croghan et al., 2014; Gabrielson, 2011). Black LGB older people estranged from family members described finding 'chosen family' and forming new bonds (Coleman, 2018b; Seelman et al., 2017). Friendship, particularly with friends with similar identities, is an important resource and connection for others (Hall & Fine, 2005; Reygan & Henderson, 2019). Conversely, scholars highlight how older LGBTQ+ people may not rely on chosen family for more intimate or intensive forms of care (de Vries et al., 2022; Heaphy & Yip, 2003). In a survey with 175 older lesbian and gay people in the UK, Lottman and King found that most respondents "indicated they would turn to a spouse or partner (if they had one) or indicated that they had no-one to turn to". Many "did not envisage family of choice members providing support when they needed intensive forms of care" (2022, p. 19). These mixed findings suggest that chosen family support is not a given for older LGBTQ+ people, but rather requires greater examination.

Adjacent to biological and chosen family is the couple. While some studies include the couple/partner within definitions of chosen family (Caceres & Frank, 2016), the couple is often described as a kinship relation in itself. Here, the literature is consistent on the primacy of the partner in the care and support of older LGBTQ+ people. Lottman and King's study above (2022) highlighted how the spouse/partner was perceived as the only one whom older LGBTQ+ people could rely upon for intensive forms of care. This is echoed in Westwood's study, which "confirmed the entrenchment of the conjugal couple as a primary and prioritised relationship form in modern LGBNL [lesbian, gay, bisexual, and non-labelling] kinship discourse" (2016b, p. 89). Older LGBTQ+ people who are partnered see their partners as their primary source of support (Heaphy & Yip, 2003). Being coupled—or having biological

children—allows older LGBTQ+ people to plan and execute important legal documents such as wills and enduring power of attorney (de Vries et al., 2022; Westwood, 2016b). In contrast, as mentioned in the previous section on marginalisation, being single and uncoupled is associated with social isolation and vulnerability. Compared to the variability of relationships with biological and chosen family, the partner is positioned as a stable and important source of support in older age in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature.

2.2.3 Space, place, and belonging

Turning to geographical studies on LGBTQ+ ageing, the home space is foregrounded as a site for belonging. In their review of the geographical LGBTQ+ ageing literature, Gorman-Murray et al. highlighted ageing in place and in-home care as a key area for further research. They elaborated, “older adults ascribe an increased importance to the home, which is even more pronounced among older LGBTIQ+ adults (2022, p. 8). Questions of belonging and feeling ‘in place’ in the LGBTQ ageing literature have likewise coalesced around the home space. Studies consistently articulate ageing at home—or ageing in place—as the preferred choice of LGBTQ+ older people (Boggs et al., 2017; Hoekstra-Pijpers, 2022). The reason for this preference is two-fold. For one, LGBTQ+ people fear homophobic and transphobic discrimination and are wary that residential care spaces may push them back into the closet (Villar et al., 2022). Further, being in the comfort and control of one’s home and environment allows LGBTQ+ older people to forge a sense of belonging and create a safe space for themselves. Queer homemaking practices are important for LGBTQ+ older people to ‘queer’ the entrenched heteronormativity in society and affirm their identities in the relative sanctuary of their homes (Gorman-Murray, 2013; Grant & Walker, 2021; Pilkey, 2014). Threading through these studies are the efforts of LGBTQ+ older people to forge a sense of belonging particularly in their home spaces in resistance to the ageism experienced in gay spaces and the heteronormativity in social and aged care spaces. The home space functions as a crucial place of belonging for them.

Extending beyond the home space, belonging for LGBTQ+ older people is contested and negotiated through relations and connections to their neighbourhood and environment. Waitt and Gorman-Murray demonstrated how belonging for mature age gay men in an Australia regional town was paradoxical, contested, and multi-scalar, constituting both the town and home but continually challenged by heteronormativity and shifting social encounters (2007). Similarly, belonging for older lesbians in Grant and Walker’s Tasmanian study expanded beyond their home space to include their connections with the more-than-

human environment and rural landscape (2021). These scholars illuminate a place-based belonging that involves relations to the neighbourhood, town, city, including neighbourly connections but also social connections further away. Place-based belonging can therefore be made and unmade (Webber et al., 2022), contested through homophobic encounters with neighbours (Hoekstra-Pijpers, 2022) and the lack of service provision and social spaces for older LGBTQ+ people (Grant & Walker, 2021; Waitt & Gorman-Murray, 2007). These examples call to attention how heteronormativity undermines place-based belonging for older LGBTQ+ people. Conversely, older LGBTQ+ adults' consistent preference for LGBTQ+ (and sometimes gender specific) residential or home-care services in the literature (Boggs et al., 2017) show how affirming services can allow them to belong both at home and in their neighbourhood and environment. Seen this way, the geographical LGBTQ+ ageing research mirrors geographical gerontology in its emphasis on ageing in place and belonging in the home space, albeit with a non-heteronormative focus.

While the LGBTQ+ ageing literature does not take an explicit spatial perspective, similar findings relating to place and belonging can be gleaned. First, the home space continues to be a contested space for older LGBTQ+ people. Ageing at home and ageing in place remain the overwhelming preference for older LGBTQ+ people fearful of discrimination in residential care (Czaja et al., 2016; Henderson & Khan, 2020; Westwood, 2016a). As with the geographical literature, the sanctuary of the home is disrupted by the intrusion of potentially homophobic or transphobic home care providers and neighbours (Lottman & King, 2022). The ability of older LGBTQ+ people to age independently at home is further undermined by their weaker biological kinship networks, notably by not having children to support them (Brennan-Ing et al., 2014; Green, 2016). Conversely, LGBTQ older people can forge connections, belonging, and rootedness in place by contributing to their neighborhoods (Henderson & Khan, 2020; Reygen & Henderson, 2019) or mentoring younger LGBTQ people (Jen & Jones, 2019; Seelman et al., 2017). Beyond the home and community, social and LGBTQ+ spaces are a focus of the literature. Ageism in youth-dominated LGBTQ+ spaces (Reygan et al., 2022) and racism in white-dominated LGBTQ+ spaces (Johnson Shen et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2018) contribute to the exclusion of older LGBTQ+ people. These challenges underscore the precarity of older LGBTQ+ people and the increasing risk of being rendered out of place with age. At the same time, they shed light on the agency and determination of older LGBTQ+ people to forge belonging in place.

2.2.4 Gaps in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature

While the LGBTQ+ ageing literature provides crucial insights into the experiences and life worlds of older LGBTQ+ people, it can benefit from a more critical approach. In a systematic review completed in 2017, Fabbre et al. highlighted the dearth of theoretical approaches in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, with fewer than 10% of the 102 reviewed articles adopting critical perspectives (2019). While newer studies have begun to take on more critical approaches (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019), many continue to lean towards description. For instance, in discussions on kinship, the literature has predominantly focused on illuminating the kinship relations necessary (and lacking) for ageing. Its central question has been: "who will/will not care for older LGBTQ+ people?" rather than unpacking how and why kinship relations matter in older age. Similarly, despite the turn towards resilience and wellbeing in the literature, many studies continue to elucidate the needs, challenges, preferences, and adaptations of older LGBTQ+ people (Chen et al., 2022; Gorman-Murray et al., 2022). This emphasis on describing LGBTQ+ ageing experiences risks reframing LGBTQ+ older people as deficit and marginalised (Chazan & Baldwin, 2021; Ramirez-Valles 2016). Importantly, these studies leave uncritiqued the validity of heteronormative norms in ageing. Echoing the feminist critique of studies that 'add women and stir', adding LGBTQ+ older people's perspectives to gerontology or geographies of ageing alone is insufficient. Doing so misses an opportunity to unpack the heteronormative categorisation of policies and structures for older people (Hughes, 2006; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). Instead, by comparing older LGBTQ+ people to heteronormative norms, it reifies the exclusion of non-heteronormative bodies and identities in ageing.

Concurrently, the LGBTQ+ ageing literature can benefit from a greater engagement with the relational theories and approaches in geographies of ageing. First, foregrounding the spatiality of LGBTQ+ ageing experiences is valuable and needs to be taken beyond the handful of studies in Gorman-Murray et al.'s review (2022). Having a spatial perspective sheds light on the dialectical relationship of older LGBTQ+ people in spaces: feeling out of place in particular spaces but actively working to negotiate this experience and foster belonging in place. Next, as my systematic review and inclusion of studies on older ethnic minority LGBTQ+ people demonstrated, race, ethnicity, and culture colour and shape their experiences, marginalisations, and adaptations (Chen et al., 2022). Still, the studies in that review were largely limited to the US. With research on LGBTQ+ ageing lacking an intersectional perspective of identities beyond gender and sexual non-normativities (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022; Seelman et al., 2017), more of such research needs to be done in other contexts and countries. Finally, the age relationality advocated by Hopkins and

Pain (2007) can be usefully applied in explorations of LGBTQ+ ageing. While LGBTQ+ ageing studies have foregrounded non-biological 'chosen' kinship relations, these have not been explored through an intergenerational lens (see Ross, 2012 as one exception). Further, the literature's emphasis on biological children for support in old age reflects how intergenerationality for LGBTQ+ people is still marked by biological kinship. Harnessing relational perspectives on age and space can thus add a critical geographical perspective to LGBTQ+ ageing research.

Relatedly, age(ing) as a category in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature is often uninterrogated. It is treated as a demographic characteristic and biological process rather than one that is also socially and spatially constructed. Inclusion in LGBTQ+ ageing studies usually denotes a minimum age of 50 years and above, lower than the general gerontological reference of 65. While this is justified as a methodological difficulty in recruiting participants above the age of 65 (Caceres et al., 2020; Cronin & King, 2010; Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019), it risks casting LGBTQ+ people as marginal or 'ageing' earlier than cisgendered heterosexual people. More importantly, the ontological status of age(ing) and its relational construction vis-à-vis midlife and other ages remain untouched (van Dyk, 2014). This undertheorising is unlike other social categories such as gender, disability, race, and sexuality which have been critiqued and deconstructed as an assemblage of practices, norms, and structures through feminist, crip, critical race, and queer theories respectively. Closely and critically interrogating age alongside heteronormativity is therefore a needed endeavour for the LGBTQ+ ageing literature. Geographical theories can help here in critically considering the construction of (old) age in space and time (Enßle-Reinhardt & Helbrecht, 2022). Queer theories, with its attention to de-centring and disrupting heteronormativity, is also well-suited to the task. I review the queer studies literature in this next section.

2.3 Queer Studies, Queer Perspectives

Queer theory offers a critical lens needed to interrogate the heteronormativity and ageism in the geographical gerontology and LGBTQ+ ageing literature. It takes a poststructuralist approach that analyses and disrupts normative ways of thinking and being in, but not limited to, sexuality, sex, and gender. Like other critical theories (e.g., critical race, crip, and post-colonial theories), queer theory is suspicious of binaries and the essentialising of identity categories. Stemming from early work by theorists like Michel Foucault, Judith

Butler, and Eve Sedgwick, queer theory deconstructs binary categorisations like heterosexual/homosexual and male/female, seeing them as actively produced and constituted through power structures, performance, and repetition. This act to 'queer' or disrupt norms and categories of sexuality and gender is fundamental to queer theory, as with its quest to illuminate alternative, non-normative ways of being. Queer studies then represent a diffused field where scholars draw primarily on cultural texts to queer and critique heteronormative logics in society while shedding light on possible radical re-renderings. It is a double movement that disrupts heteronormative norms and foregrounds alternative ways of living and being.

Given the breath of queer studies, in this review I focus on the sub-fields and interdisciplinary perspectives that are relevant for the questions and gaps raised in the LGBTQ+ ageing and geographies of ageing literature. I first outline queer geography and recent developments to broaden the critical intersectional focus within queer studies and geography before delving into queer gerontology and queer diaspora. Queer gerontology applies and extends pivotal queer concepts like queer time and failure (Freeman, 2010; Halberstam, 2005, 2011), queer futurity (Edelman, 2004; Muñoz, 2007, 2009), and queer kinship to ageing. Queer diaspora discusses the complex intersection between race/culture/diaspora and gender and/or sexual non-normativity, queering notions of place and belonging. Both offer theoretical insights that are useful to augment queer geographical gerontology.

2.3.1 Mapping and expanding queer geography

Queer geography incorporates queer theories into spatial and temporal analyses. Early work on the geographies of sexualities sought to understand how heterosexual and gendered norms were socially constructed and negotiated by homosexual bodies in certain spaces like the home, street, and neighbourhood (Bell & Valentine, 1995; Valentine, 1993). They unpacked the experiences of lesbian and gay people in these spaces and their efforts to reclaim or queer space for themselves. This reclaiming can be temporary through pride parades and kiss-ins (Browne, 2007) or temporally 'fixed' through the creation of gaybourhoods and LGBTQ+ spaces (Bain et al., 2015). As the focus increasingly became how sexual dissidents negotiated and disrupted heteronormative spaces, geographers began to map the intersectionalities and inequalities within 'queer' spaces and communities (Waitt, 2003). Nash and Bain (2007), writing on queer women bathhouses in Toronto, argued that these supposedly welcoming spaces still expected bodies to be normatively

coded to fit the butch-femme binary, rendering transgender bodies out of place. Besides being gendered, queer spaces were also raced and classed, privileging white, middle-class bodies (Caluya, 2008; Holmes, 2009; Raimondo, 2005). Aged bodies have been considerably missing from queer geographical studies (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022), further reinforcing the bias towards young people in queer spaces and culture. These absences and exclusions highlight how a geographical analysis on sexuality alone is insufficient. Rather, sexuality works in concert with other axes of power like race, class, and gender in space.

Parallel to this gap in the queer geographical literature has been the centring of queer studies on particular identities. The omission of bodies and subject identities is demonstrated in the overemphasis of Anglo-American voices (Mizielińska, 2022) and in the whiteness of the literature. Commenting on the US, Lisa Duggan critiqued homonormative assimilationist strategies that normalised some forms of sexual dissidence. These politics sought to legitimise sexual dissidents (white, middle-class, gay, cisgender, young) who embraced neoliberal heteronormative norms like marriage and capitalist consumption while excluding others who did not (2002). In a similar vein, the queer of colour critique emerged to challenge the whiteness of queer studies. Scholars argued against queer studies' presumption of a white (cisgender, gay) subject (Ferguson, 2004; Gutierrez-Perez & Andrade, 2018). Writing on US politics post-9/11, Puar argued that their imagination of the 'terrorist' as queer and Muslim resulted in the inclusion and perceived patriotism of (white) queer Americans but the affliction of racist and homophobic violence especially on Muslim bodies (2006). Sexuality has been shown to be inextricably bound up with racialised and gendered discourses (Gopinath, 2005; Puar, 2006). Similarly on age, the absence of queer discussions of older sexualities and bodies is stark. Invoking Freeman's (2005) and Halberstam's (2005) conceptualisations of queer time as life trajectories outside of the heteronormative script, Brown critiqued how these "ignore[d] the reality that with the passage of time, individuals also age" (2009, p. 72). Referencing Halberstam, she called for alternative temporalities to be understood not solely as the transient and fleeting figments of youth but also as the "physical, social, and material realities of ageing" (p. 71). This return to embodiment and to the multiple ways queer identities experience life has been crucial in broadening queer studies' horizon.

These critiques have shifted queer studies towards an analytical approach cutting across multiple social axes. One key development moves beyond a singular focus on sexuality, beyond using queer theory to only investigate the lives of sexual dissidents. A

‘subjectless critique’ examines how discourses of sexuality, alongside other discourses such as race and age render certain subjects and social identities normative but others out of place (Cohen, 1997; Oswin, 2008). Scholars like Puar (2017), Gopinath (2005), and Eng (2010) used queer theory to investigate how discourses of nationhood, diaspora, and kinship respectively produced and regulated constructions of sexuality, race, and gender. Applying this in geography, Oswin (2010) demonstrated how the Singapore state’s home and family policies legitimised heteronormative families and rendered out of place both LGBTQ+ people and non-normative heterosexualities (e.g., heterosexual single parents and migrant workers). As Seitz summarised, “discourses of sexuality can powerfully render raciali[s]ed and classed bodies, populations and spaces abnormal, deviant, queer and vulnerable to exploitation and displacement, regardless of the sexual identities or politics of the targets of such violence” (2015, p. 254). A queer subjectless critique is intersectional in attending to the multiplicity of identities that are rendered ‘queer’ or deviant by social discourses and structures. It uncovers the simultaneous workings of power structures like racism, heteronormativity, and patriarchy and their effects on bodies and identities, allowing solidarity and shared identification across multiple social identities.

These developments in the broader queer studies literature provide a valuable theoretical and intersectional frame for queer geography. As Oswin wrote, “once we dismiss the presumption that queer theory offers only a focus on ‘queer’ lives and an abstract critique of the heterosexuali[s]ation of space, we can utili[s]e it to deconstruct the hetero/homo binary and examine sexuality’s deployments in concert with racialised, classed and gendered processes” (2008, p. 100). In other words, a queer geographical approach can move beyond just examining notions of ‘straight’ versus ‘queer’, ‘heterosexuality’ versus ‘homosexuality’. It can interrogate sexuality alongside other axes of power such as race, age, class, and disability, thereby understanding how these are mutually constituted in space and time. This approach allows queer geographers to address the racial or age-related exclusions levelled at the literature, examining them in concert with gender and sexual norms. With this, I turn to the queer gerontology, which brings queer theory into critical analyses of age(ing).

2.3.2 Queer gerontology, queering ageing

In recent years, a handful of scholars have applied queer theory to gerontology, resulting in productive intersections of the two disciplines. This scholarship is situated in the critical gerontological literature rather than in geography, emerging alongside work interrogating the constructions of (old) age and its intersections with race, sexuality, and

gender (see Calasanti, 2004; Torres, 2015; Twigg, 2004; van Dyk, 2014). Broadly, critical gerontology challenges the overarching biomedical framing of ageing as physical, mental, and social decline, developing theories on the sociocultural and socioeconomic construction of age. Queer gerontology in particular uses queer theory to unpack constructions of ageing and sexuality. Applying queer theory's deployment of 'queer' as disruption, scholars 'queer' age and 'successful' notions of ageing by interrogating the assumed and explicit heteronormativity in ageing policies, practices, and research (Sandberg & King, 2019; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). This pushes work on LGBTQ+ ageing beyond "the characteristics and needs of LGBTQ older adults", towards "resisting norms around gender and sexuality to promote individual and social change" (Fabbre, 2016, p. 74). Concurrently, it responds to queer studies and queer geography's neglect of older queer bodies by asserting how ageism and heteronormativity are inextricably intertwined. Here, I highlight three important developments in queer gerontology around the concepts of time, successful ageing, and kinship.

A major thread in queer gerontology is bringing queer theories on time and temporalities into ageing. This incorporation fits well as age is inherently temporal: one is continuously ageing in chronological time. While everyone is ageing regardless of their age, only 'old age' is constructed into age, and 'ageing' is always construed as old age (van Dyk, 2014). Ageing is then both a temporal process and a marker of difference (Enßle-Reinhardt & Helbrecht, 2022). Queer theories that interrogate taken-for-granted temporal norms and discourses are particularly suited to deconstruct ageing. Port, one of the earliest scholars to explore this connection, used Edelman's *No Future* (2004) to draw parallels between queer and older people. She wrote:

> No longer employed, not reproducing, perhaps technologically illiterate, and frequently without disposable income, the old are often, like queers, figured by the cultural imagination as being outside mainstream temporalities and standing in the way of, rather than contributing to, the promise of the future (2012, p. 3).

Like the childless queer standing in the way of reproductive futurity and the promise of a better tomorrow in Edelman's *No Future*, older people are often portrayed as limiting the progress of younger generations by being a drain on economic resources and failing to keep up with the times. Retired or no longer employed but needing healthcare and social services, older people are figured as a burden or threat to society, hindering its future and potential. They are literally and figuratively constructed as being out of time. Moreover, the gerontological concept of ageing is tied to a person's physical and mental development over

the life course: nascent and growing in early life, peaking in adulthood, and declining in old age. Ageing as the time of old age is marked by a decline in one's capabilities, mobility, and function (Gullette, 2004). This dominance of biomedical perspectives on ageing constructs older people as continuously declining and approaching death, having no future.

Relatedly, queer gerontological scholars have critically analysed (old) age as a heteronormative and chrononormative construct. Queer theories like Freeman's chrononormativity (2005, 2010), Boellstorff's straight time (2007) and Halberstam's repro-time (2005) map onto the popular gerontological concept of the life course (Elder, 1994). These temporal concepts expose and critique the heteronormative normalcy and linearity of life course trajectories from marriage, reproduction, retirement, and death (Sandberg & King, 2019). Chrononormativity, the "use of time to organi[s]e individual human bodies toward maximum productivity", produces "forms of temporal experience that seem natural to those whom they privilege" (Freeman, 2005, p. 3). The organisation of adulthood as time for 'productive' work and reproduction to provide for retirement and healthcare expenses in old age is one example. Likewise, repro-time and straight time make the scheduling of time around having and rearing children seemingly normal and natural, required for the passing of "wealth, goods and morals … from one generation to the next" (Halberstam, 2005, p. 18). Extending this to old age, Sandberg and Marshall argue that the "depictions of older people with children and grandchildren suggest more than their reproductive success in the present – they are a frequent trope in establishing generativity and the extension of life into the future" (2017, p. 4). Chrononormativity, straight, and repro-time thus work to confer certain life courses as the norm and certain subjects as legitimate, 'successful', and worthy. Queer gerontological perspectives expose and critique the heteronormativity and neoliberal capitalism behind these taken-for-granted norms and temporalities.

Alongside these disruptions, queer gerontology offers other ways of understanding and structuring time in ageing. Halberstam's work on queer time, in opposition to 'straight time', described "the potentiality of a life unscripted by the conventions of family, inheritance, and child rearing" (2005, p. 2). While Halberstam referred to younger queer people whose lives and life trajectories were shortened and changed with HIV/AIDS, queer gerontologists extend this concept to old age. Fabbre, investigating transgender people who transitioned in later life, found that her participants deployed notions of "time served" and "time left" to validate their unique and queer life trajectories (2014). Thinking through queer time and Freeman's concept of 'temporal drag' (2010), Farrier showed how an intergenerational

theatre allowed LGBTQ+ past histories to be embodied and understood in the present (2005). This unhinging of intergenerational relationships or generativity (making one's mark on future generations) from heteronormativity or repro-time is echoed by others (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan, 2020; Chazan & Whetung, 2022). Investigating young and old LGBTQ2IA+ people's stories and lessons of queer ageing, Chazan and Baldwin identified shared experiences of growing and overcoming internalised oppressions across generations (2021). Together, this harnessing of queer time queers the life course and rewrites the possibilities of ageing (Gallop, 2019; Sandberg, 2008). They allow for the uncovering and validation of alternative life courses and temporalities for LGBTQ+ older people.

In a similar movement to queering age temporalities, queer gerontologists have taken aim at another influential gerontological concept: successful ageing. Synonymous with active ageing, healthy ageing, and positive ageing, the successful ageing thesis describes how older people can 'age well' by maintaining activity, independence, and a healthy lifestyle into old age (Rowe & Kahn, 1987, 1997). Successful ageing allows older people to prevent or delay the bodily and biological decline associated with age. In the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, scholars extend the notion of successful ageing to older LGBTQ+ people by demonstrating how they can also age 'successfully' in different ways (Caceres & Frank, 2016; Heaphy et al., 2004). In contrast, queer gerontologists dismantle the very foundation of successful ageing itself (Jones et al., 2022a, 2022b). Drawing links between queer, crip, and age theory, Sandberg noted how successful ageing is premised on the ability to perform able-bodiedness and desirability (2008). Like the binaries of heterosexuality/homosexuality and able-bodied/disabled, successful ageing relies on a binary distinction between success and failure, between age-related decline and youthful exuberance. She suggested how the queer 'failure' to perform age and gender in 'successful' ways reveals alternative possibilities of understanding and embodying age. Bringing theory into an empirical context, Fabbre's work with older transgender adults demonstrated how they embraced failure and "negativity through liberation from society's expectations", thereby defining success on their own terms (2015, p. 151). Queer critique of successful ageing continues to uncover how heteronormativity and ageism are co-constituted (Jones et al., 2023; Sandberg, 2015), decoupling 'success' from "enactments of normative, gendered heterosexuality" (Marshall, 2018, p. 363). They break away from the binary notions of success versus failure, valorising the pluralities of ageing.

A third and emerging theme in the queer gerontological literature centres on kinship.

Compared to the illumination of kinship and care relations in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, queer gerontologists go beyond studying older LGBTQ+ people alone to interrogating how heteronormativity renders certain forms of kinship desirable or liveable in older age (Sandberg & King, 2019). They critically uncover the myths of hetero-happiness and hetero-kinship within notions of successful ageing (Marshall, 2018; Sandberg, 2015). Analysing cultural imaginations in lifestyle magazines and health promotion materials, Marshall argued that notions of successful ageing relied on the myth of hetero-happiness: "the naturali[s]ation of heterosexuality, the binding together of gender and heterosexuality, [and] the importance of an industrial/commercial complex which supports it" (2018, p. 376). Ageing well and successfully is associated with one's adherence to hetero-kinship norms: being happily coupled and having children for support and care in older age. This critical examination of hetero-kinship and hetero-happiness in older age is useful for the LGBTQ+ ageing literature as it goes beyond articulating what kinship and care relations exist for older LGBTQ+ people to understanding how and why they are constructed and construed as desirable. Further, queer perspectives on kinship can contribute to geographies of ageing by elucidating intergenerational relations beyond heteronormative notions of grantparenthood or familial inheritance (see for example Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan 2020; Chazan & Baldwin, 2021). In short, they offer a lens to (re)examine kinship and care relations in ageing.

Overall, queer gerontology is a dual project to deconstruct heteronormativity and ageism while constructing other possibilities renderings of age, gender, and sexuality. It extends queer discussions of futurity into ageing by pointing to ageing futures that are not antithetical to older or queer people (Edelman, 2004), but are what Muñoz describes as 'queer futurity': a potentiality beyond the normativity and "impasse of the present" (2007, p. 461). In their article, Sandberg and Marshall wrote, "queering aging futures thus entails thinking differently about life courses—asking what lives are understood as desirable to live and thrive well into old age—but also interrogating how desirable old age is problematically framed by the exclusionary discourses of successful aging" (2017, p. 8). This is echoed in Gallop's call to "star[t] thinking about identity longitudinally … by finding people telling stories of how their identities changed as they aged, alternative to timeless identities but also alternative to age-spoiling identities, to irrevocable decline" (2019, p. 110). Required in these scholars' proposals to illuminate different life courses, alternative temporalities, and changing identities in older age is an articulation of older people's experiences. This calls for theorising from empirical data, much like Fabbre's studies with transgender older adults (2014, 2015), not just from the cultural and discursive texts that queer gerontology relies on (see for example Marshall, 2018; King, 2022). With the relatively recency of queer

gerontology, more work can be done to broaden this field and incorporate its lenses into LGBTQ+ ageing. Likewise, a spatial perspective can extend queer gerontology's focus on temporalities to include spatialities. Lastly, while scholars have examined how heteronormativity, ageism, and ableism work together, race and racism have been largely missing this discussion. Newer queer gerontological work foregrounding Indigenous and queer ageing perspectives have emerged, adding insights on queering time and kinship in ageing (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan 2020; Grande, 2018). This work is crucial to the expansion of queer gerontology and is complemented by the sub-field of queer diaspora, which brings race, culture, and diaspora to interrogate queer notions of space, place, and belonging.

2.3.3 Queer diaspora, belonging, and place

Emerging alongside the queer of colour and queer subjectless critique, the burgeoning sub-field of queer diaspora incorporates questions on race, culture, and diaspora to trouble conventional understandings of belonging and place for queer subjects. Scholars tackle "narratives that imagine diaspora and nation through the tropes of home, family, and community ... invariably organi[s]ed around heteronormative, patriarchal authority" (Gopinath, 2005, p. 68). Foregrounding the queer diasporic and racialised subject, they directly challenge the (ageing and) migration literature's assumption of migrant longing for the 'homeland'. Rather than a place where return is possible and desirable, the 'homeland' and diasporic community for non-normative gender and sexual subjects are "that which we cannot and could never have" (Gopinath, 2003, p. 145). Concurrently, scholars argue that claims of sexual citizenship in queer studies are afforded to homonormative and not racialised diasporic queer subjects. Racialisation and elision in their destination countries (Sugg, 2003), alongside heteronormativity within diasporic and cultural communities (Walcott, 2005) render them outside and out of place. Diasporic queers become "impossible subjects" (Gopinath, 2005) existing outside hetero-patriarchal discourses of their country of origin and racialised discourses in the destination country, not belonging to either place or imagined community. Through the queer diasporic subject, queer diaspora scholars thus reveal and demand attention to the racial elision of queer studies.

Alongside troubling belonging for queer diasporic subjects, scholars articulate how they may then rework and resituate belonging. Contrary to the geographies of ageing literature's emphasis on maintaining mobility and kinship ties across multiple places and communities, the queer diaspora literature discusses how belonging can be a reclamation of

these spaces while staying put. Gopinath theorised how “[n]ostalgia as deployed by queer diasporic subjects is a means by which to imagine oneself within those spaces from which one is perpetually excluded or denied existence” (2003, p. 152). Analysing cultural texts and practices, she uncovered how queer diasporic subjects wrote themselves into narratives of home, family, community, and nation, creatively claiming space for their queer desires and subjectivities (2003, 2005, 2018). Also using cultural texts, Fortier demonstrated how queer migrants reprocessed the familial home, dismantling its heteronormative associations and opening it up to queer belongings (2003). These examples challenge the very roots of belonging and place. They show how belonging need not constitute attachment to places and affinity with communities but can be instead about reworking their heteronormative and racialised logics and resituating oneself within it.

Within this emergent queer diaspora literature, unexplored areas remain. As with queer studies, cultural texts are the main analytical material in the literature. Likewise, a focus on young(er) queer subjects continue to predominate. The few empirical studies on older queer diasporic subjects highlighted how ageing sensibilities impact queer migrants’ navigation of belonging. Suen’s study demonstrated the in-betweenness felt by a 60-year-old gay partnered white man weighing ageing in Hong Kong with his partner against his desire for better same-sex legal recognition back in the UK (2022). In a similar vein, Pino’s study on older Filipino gay men in Canada revealed the increasing precarity of balancing their transnational intimacies in the Philippines with ageing in Canada (2017). Christou (2016) took a different empirical approach, showing how ageing second-generation Greek-Americans situated their identities in their ancestral homeland amidst conflicting discourses of culture, sexuality, and masculinity. Within these examples are tensions in queer belonging across places and communities that are accentuated and not necessarily reconcilable in older age. More empirical research in this regard is needed to unpack queer belongings for older racialised and diasporic queer subjects.

These insights on race, place, and belonging in the queer diaspora literature are valuable to the project of queer geographical gerontology. Queer diasporic scholars’ attention to space and place complements the temporal insights harnessed in queer gerontology. Further, positioning the queer diaspora literature next to the earlier literatures on geographies of ageing and LGBTQ+ ageing critiques the singularity of place in the former and the racial elision of the latter. Belonging for older LGBTQ+ and racialised/diasporic subjects is multifaceted, complex, and often contradictory. Considering the interrelated

elements of culture, gender, and sexual identity renders the preoccupation on 'home' and ageing in place insufficient for older LGBTQ+ people for they leave out attachments and dis-attachments to multiple places and communities across borders. Queer diaspora's value to queer geographical gerontology is in providing the conceptual tools for re-thinking belonging and place for older LGBTQ+ subjects through multiplicity, complexity, and contradiction. In the next and final section, I summarise the synergies and gaps across the different literatures reviewed to arrive at a queer(er) geographical approach to ageing.

2.4 Towards a Queer(er) Geographical Gerontology

At the beginning of this chapter, I highlighted Gorman-Murray et al.'s (2022) significant literature review which established the need for a queer geographical gerontology. They brought together the geographies of ageing and the geographies of sexualities, arguing that a geographical perspective was crucial to the understanding of older LGBTQ+ lives. In this chapter, I concur with but expand their focus. Reviewing the broader LGBTQ+ ageing literature alongside geographical LGBTQ+ ageing studies, I fleshed out key themes relating to the marginalisation of older LGBTQ+ people alongside their resilience, kinship, and place-related preferences. While rich in empirical examples, the LGBTQ+ ageing literature lacks intersectional perspectives such as from older LGBTQ+ people of minoritised race, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds (Chen et al., 2022). Relatedly and more crucially, attending to the needs, preferences, and particularities of older LGBTQ+ people misses an opportunity to critically engage with heteronormativity within ageing (Ramirez-Valles, 2016). To this end, I reviewed key developments from the queer geography, queer gerontology, and queer diaspora which deploy queer theoretical perspectives to understand and unpack heteronormativity in concert with racism and ageism. Including these critical insights from queer studies and theories is useful to augment the nascent field of queer geographical gerontology.

The field of queer geographical gerontology can benefit from a critical theorising of three key thematic and conceptual areas: time, kinship, and place. These three areas coalesce around the productive intersections between the literatures of LGBTQ+ ageing, geographies of ageing, and queer studies. Time and temporalities are fundamental concepts in geographies of ageing and queer studies/gerontology but are unexamined within the (geographical) LGBTQ+ ageing literature. A temporal perspective complements the existing spatial focus in queer geographical gerontology. Geographical attention to time, through

intergenerationality, non-linear pathways, and space-times of ageing can unpack spatio-temporal constructions of age(ing) (Hopkins & Pain, 2007; Schwanen et al., 2012; Skinner et al., 2015). Adding in queer temporality—through concepts like straight time and chrononormativity—opens up possibilities for alternative conceptualisations of ageing in time. Queer gerontological deployments of time to disrupt the linear course (see for example Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan & Whetung, 2022; Fabbre, 2014) are useful in reimagining how time in ageing may be perceived, experienced, and re-imagined.

Kinship and place are the two other areas that can be developed through a queer geographical approach to ageing. For kinship, the heteronormative bias in the geographies of ageing literature is challenged in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature. Adding in perspectives from queer gerontology takes this disruption further by interrogating how kinship is constructed, particularly through assumptions of hetero-kinship and hetero-happiness (Marshall, 2018), re-configuring kinship beyond heteronormativity (Chazan, 2020; Chazan et al., 2022). With the dearth of empirical studies in queer gerontology, queer geographical gerontology's value is in examining how these assumptions relate to older LGBTQ+ people and to foreground possible alternative constructions of kinship. For place, an emphasis on ageing and belonging in place—at home or within a welcoming (LGBTQ+) environment—exists in both the geographies of ageing and LGBTQ+ ageing literatures. Missing within these theorisations is a discussion on culture, race, and diaspora alongside gender and sexual identity which transforms the singularity of 'place' to plural and often contradictory ones. Troubling the racial silence in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, the ageing and migration and queer diaspora literatures provide a diasporic view on ageing. Scholars on ageing and migration centre their discussion on racialised and diasporic subjects, conceptualising a belonging that transcends locality, space, and scale. Queer diaspora goes further by troubling both the heteronormativity within geographies of ageing and the racial silence in LGBTQ+ ageing, conceptualising belonging and unbelonging for (younger) queer diasporic subjects across places and cultures. Bringing these theorisations on the multiplicity and complexity of place and belonging into queer geographical gerontology can thus broaden and queer understandings of ageing in place.

These three identified areas of time, kinship, and place/belonging thread through my thesis, thereby contributing to a queer(er) geographical gerontology. I connect these threads through two overarching research questions: what are the liveable and desirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia? How do they reflect and queer/disrupt

heteronormative notions of ageing in terms of time, kinship, and place/belonging? By “ageing futures”, I respond directly to Sandberg and Marshall’s call to “thin[k] differently about life courses” through the dual task of interrogating and reimagining normative/desirable notions of ageing (2017, p. 8). It continues the work of queer gerontologists to illuminate alternative temporalities, identities, and representations of old age (Jones et al., 2022a, 2022b; Sandberg & King, 2019) through an empirical exploration. As queer futurity is a deliberate project to reveal potentialities pointing away from the heteronormative present (Muñoz, 2009), an imagination of ageing futures provides a space for LGBTQ+ multicultural people to articulate ageing not just through their current experiences but also from their hopes, fears, and desired futures. In other words, these research questions help move away from a preoccupation with older LGBTQ+ people’s experiences and needs towards a critical investigation and possible queering of ageing. Besides ageing futures, my focus on the ‘multicultural’ responds to the dearth of intersectional research on race, age, sexuality, and gender identity highlighted in the geographical LGBTQ+ ageing literatures (Chen et al., 2022; Gorman-Murray et al., 2022). Shifting away from the US, my thesis explores this intersection in the context of Australia. Although I primarily examine the intersections of race/culture, sexuality, gender, and age, I take inspiration from the queer subjectless critique and attend to other social axes like class and disability that are relevant in the data and other identities that may be ‘queered’ in the process. Put together, my research questions interrogate not just (hetero)normative notions of desirable/liveable ageing but also, and more importantly, reflect on possible queer (re)renderings of ageing through time, kinship, and place. To answer these questions, I combine both geographical and queer perspectives into a queer geographical gerontological approach that is post-structural, spatial, and temporal. The next chapter turns to the methodological tools and processes for this task.

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the methodology and methods used for my thesis. In the preceding chapter, I stated my overarching research question, which is to understand the liveable and desirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above in Australia, analysing how they reflect and queer normative notions of ageing. I utilise a queer geographical approach to ageing: a critical anti-essentialist lens attentive to spatiality, temporality, and age-relationality. Articulated in theory and on paper, this approach needs to be translated into practice through my research methodology. This chapter therefore describes key aspects of my methodology and methods, drawing out the stages, choices, and limitations involved. I begin with my methodology which grounds the research approach and philosophical principles behind it—the 'how' and 'why' of doing research. I then turn to my methods of online photovoice and semi-structured interviews, the specific research tools and procedures used for data collection. I structure this in the four photovoice stages, interspersing my actions and decisions with reflections on participation, ethics, and positionality. Throughout the chapter, I weave in sections from my recently published methodological paper (Chen, 2022) which situated my online photovoice methodology and methods within the burgeoning literature on online photovoice and/or OPV. To this end, my methodology and subsequent methods were "doings" of my research questions, where my choices and interpretations indelibly shaped the data collected as well as my analysis and interpretation for the subsequent empirical chapters.

3.1 Photovoice as Overarching Methodology

Following my theoretical framework and research questions, my research methodology drew from feminist, queer, critical, and intersectional methodologies. This meant eschewing singular notions of truth and instead recognising the plurality, diffused, and situated nature of knowledge(s) (Haraway, 1988). At the same time, feminist methodologies in geography aim to break down traditional hierarchies between researcher and the 'researched', making space for participants to contribute to the research and attending critically to the negotiation of power and knowledge in the process (England, 1994; Rose, 1997; Sharp, 2005). Aligning with these methodologies, I chose a qualitative approach over a quantitative one. Qualitative approaches emphasis depth over breadth, understanding over generalisability. This is suitable given my research's aim of elucidating participants' imaginations and futures of ageing. Qualitative methods allow participants to articulate and define their own sense of reality and identities. This contrasts with positivist and quantitative

approaches that have specific and pre-defined identity categories and questions. Crucially, it is from these participant-generated narratives that dominant conceptualisations of age(ing) may be reinterpreted and reconfigured, offering possibilities to ‘queer’ and disrupt age(ing).

Of the many possible methodologies, I settled on photovoice. Conceptualised by Wang and Burris (1994, 1997) three decades ago, photovoice combines documentary photography with Freirian critical pedagogy and feminist principles. Grounded in principles of participation and inclusion, photovoice diverges from the researcher-as-expert framework and espouses a participatory and participant-led methodology. Across photovoice’s typical stages of participant recruitment, group introductions, participant photo-taking, discussions, and public exhibition, the researcher acts as a facilitator and co-producer of knowledge instead of an expert, making space for participants’ perspectives and knowledges to emerge (Carlson et al., 2006; Catalani & Minkler, 2010; Foster-Fishman et al., 2005). Participants take their own photographs, identify themes through dialogue with other participants and/or the researcher, and select their own photographs and audiences for public engagement. Photovoice aligns well with queer and critical perspectives where participants surface their own key themes and generate collective or individual consciousness through dialogue. Its ideals of involving participants as co-creators, sparking reflection and critical consciousness aligned with my personal philosophy and drew me to this methodology.

Besides its participatory potential, photovoice’s emphasis on futures and imaginations made it an appropriate methodology for my research. Centring on participant-produced photographs, photovoice gives participants the reflective space and time to photograph and present issues that matter to them (Carlson et al., 2006; Nash, 2014). This is unlike interviews or focus group discussions which go straight into dialogue between participants and researchers. Instead of being guided by questions from the researcher, participants' photographs guide the discussions, potentially shifting the discussions beyond the prepared interview guide. Most importantly, as an arts-based and creative methodology, photovoice is oriented towards futures, towards potentiality, towards the change that participants want to see. It is aligned with the other arts-based methods in recent queer gerontological studies (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan et al., 2022). Just like how Munõz’s examples of queer art and performances rejected the impasse of the here and now and provided a glimpse of utopia and queer futurity (2009), the act of taking and producing photographs in photovoice may allow participants to imagine other worlds and ways of ageing beyond the present reality. With futurity as a thread running through it, photovoice is

well-suited for my research questions. Photographs and the accompanying discussions provide a window for participants to explore and articulate their ageing futures and imaginations.

3.2 Research Conceptualisation and Design

Moving from methodology to conceptualisation and research design, I made several choices shaping the photovoice research. First, I chose to adopt a “mediated” form of photovoice instead of a “co-engaged” project where participants are involved at all stages (see Figure 3.1) from conceptualisation, discussions, to exhibition (Milne & Muir, 2020, p. 290). In “mediated” photovoice, participant engagement and involvement occur mainly through photo-taking and discussions. A common approach particularly when photovoice is undertaken by researchers rather than community organisations (Call-Cummings & Hauber-Özer, 2021; Dare et al., 2021; Rania et al., 2021), it was my preferred option due to the academic milestone-focused and time-bound setting. This meant that I conceptualised the broad topic—following my literature review—and involved participants only from the recruitment stage. The trade-off for this expediency was reduced participant involvement which had implications that I discuss in the later sections. Another important choice was the medium photovoice would take. Conceptualising the photovoice study in 2020 amid COVID-19 uncertainties and lockdowns across Australia, I decided to conduct the research online. This decision was practical and necessary given the context. Nonetheless, online photovoice is a relatively unchartered territory. Photovoice has been a primarily face-to-face method with online photovoice burgeoning only in the recent 5-10 years alongside my research. Taking photovoice online meant moving its four main stages from a face-to-face to digital setting.

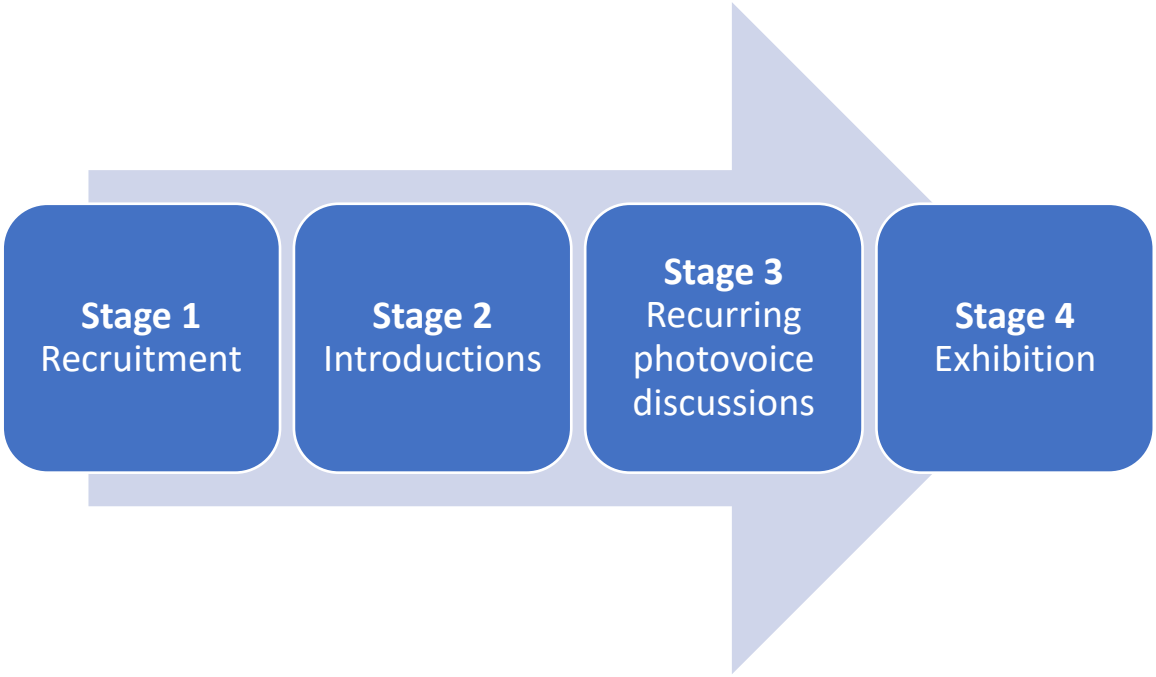

Figure 3.1: Photovoice's four main stages

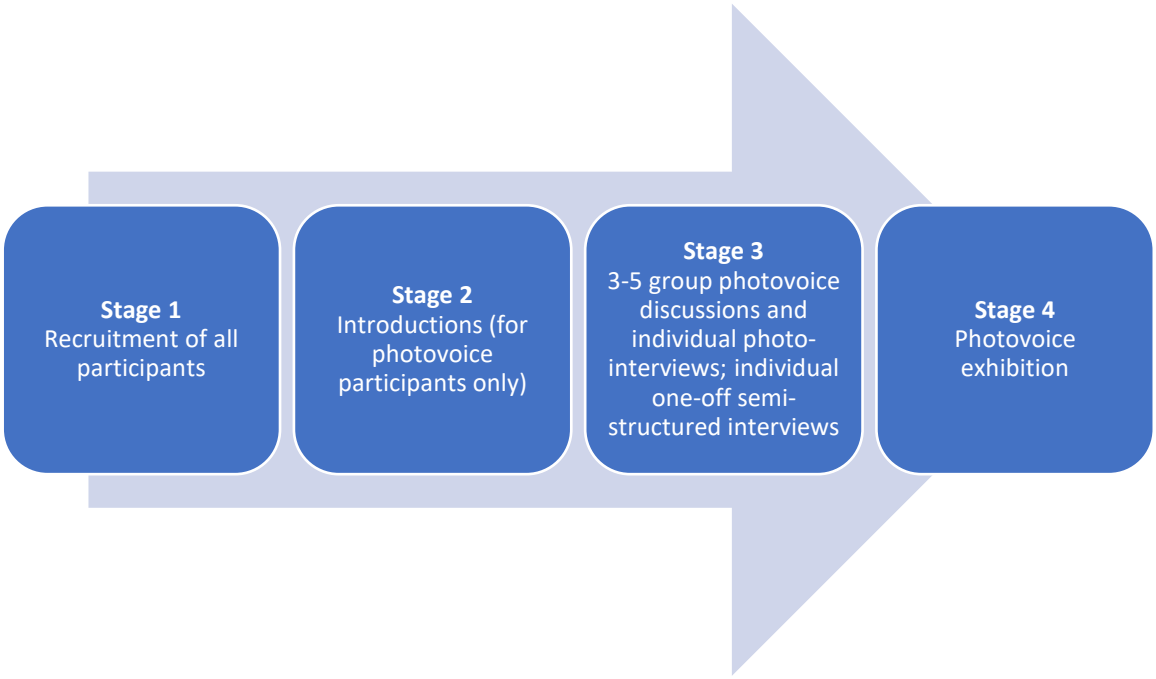

Figure 3.2: The four stages of my research process

I obtained ethical approval for the research via the Flinders University Human Research Ethics Committee (project number 2665). Consistent with the ethical underpinnings of photovoice, participation in my study was voluntary with the requirements and commitment clearly outlined in the participant information sheet and consent form (see

appendices). Participants could join group photo-discussions or individual photo-interviews spanning three to five sessions. While I initially envisioned using only photovoice, the heavier participant commitment and recruitment challenges (articulated in the next section) necessitated offering a more flexible and traditional alternative: individual one-off semi-structured interviews. Adopting these two methods gave me the opportunity to compare them and reflect on how they shaped and influenced the data and knowledges produced. Figure 3.2 illustrates my four eventual research stages, indicating the stages (1 and 3) where the semi-structured interview participants were involved. Regardless of method, all participants' right to privacy and confidentiality was prioritised. Those wanting to remain anonymous could take part in individual photo-interviews or semi-structured interviews. For group photovoice which required interaction amongst participants, anonymity could not be guaranteed but group norms of respecting privacy and confidentiality were emphasised. With the consent of participants, interviews/discussions were audio and/or video recorded and then transcribed. Except for participants who wanted to be named, the transcripts were de-identified. Participants could also conduct member checking and editing of transcripts if they wanted to. These ethical guidelines guided my conduct of the research, which I will elaborate over the four stages of my research process.

3.3 Stage 1: Recruitment and (Non)participation

Wanting to understand the ageing imaginations of LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above in Australia, I needed to recruit participants who self-identified as 'LGBTQ+'. As mentioned in the introduction, I chose the acronym 'LGBTQ+', which encapsulated the most common identities of 'lesbian', 'gay', 'bisexual' and 'transgender' in 'LGBT'. Adding 'queer' and '+' broadened this to the various terms used by people with non-normative gender identities and sexual orientations. My conceptualisations of 'multicultural' and 'ageing' have been mentioned in my introduction chapter. Briefly, my use of 'multicultural' encompasses mainly Australian residents who are from minority cultural and linguistic (diasporic) backgrounds but could include those who are Anglo-Celtic or Indigenous. This inclusion was a move to explore culture and race more broadly in the context of LGBTQ+ ageing. I followed participants' self-identification with and naming of their cultural identities. For age, following the LGBTQ+ ageing literature (Chen et al., 2022; Cronin & King, 2010), I specified a minimum age of 50 without naming this category as 'older adults' or 'older people'. This allowed participants to reflect on their ageing futures based on how they situated themselves along the temporal spectrum of chronological, biological, and social age. In short, my interviews and discussions with participants were an opportunity to tease

out participants' understandings of age(ing). By specifying race/culture, gender, and sexual identity, I anticipated that these identity categories would be pertinent to their discussion of ageing futures. How these played out in the actual research process will be detailed in stage 3. Having identified the participant inclusion criteria, I moved to recruitment.

Recruiting LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above was a challenge. Not only were they geographically dispersed, they were also a hard-to-reach and possibly marginalised group. Mirroring the approach taken by other studies targeting older LGBTQ+ people (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019), I did purposive and snowball sampling, contacting community groups and organisations and initially posting targeted Facebook advertisements. This was more strategic than casting my net across the entire country. I reached out to organisations and groups that catered to LGBTQ+, multicultural, and/or older people to disseminate my study information through their networks. I prioritised those catering to LGBTQ+ multicultural people (e.g., Australian GLBTIQ Multicultural Council) and LGBTQ+ older people (e.g., Rainbow Hub SA). No organisation or group targeted older adults who were both LGBTQ+ and from diverse cultural backgrounds. LGBTQ+ multicultural groups mainly comprised of younger adults, whereas LGBTQ+ older groups had predominantly Anglo-Celtic members. This underrepresentation amongst the myriad LGBTQ+ groups and organisations indicated that LGBTQ+ multicultural older people were a minority within minorities. It demonstrated the difficulty of research at the intersections of multiple minoritised identities.

Even after identifying select communities and groups, getting their interest and buy-in proved difficult in a digital setting. With the groups being dispersed across Australia, I relied on cold emails and social media messages instead of connecting with community organisers in person or at events. This paralleled Kim et al.'s (2021) experience of digital recruitment during COVID-19. Building relationships with community leaders was easier face-to-face than online. Attending a few events in my city and connecting with representatives from local LGBTQ+ groups helped them put a face to my name. They shared my project with their networks and connected me to other organisations. I bolstered these efforts with a dedicated website and digital posters. Because recruitment through community groups and organisations created a degree of separation between potential participants and me, these digital tools helped me communicate 'directly' with them. The website included a study FAQ section and a contact form. These were alternatives to the in-person outreach by photovoice researchers. Participant interest then mainly came via this form rather than through social

media messages or emails. Potential participants shared snippets of their personal background, giving me some context for my follow-up emails. This helped me bypass the organisation gatekeepers and close the virtual gap and distance between potential participants and me.

Converting potential to actual participants in the digital space was the next challenge. My contact with them was limited to follow-up emails or calls/messages for the handful who provided their mobile numbers. Compared to the face-to-face interactions in in-person qualitative methods, connecting digitally hindered trust and rapport building (Kim et al., 2021). These potential participants neither knew me nor had met me. The distance and time-delay of emails, text messages, and phone calls made them easier to ignore or miss. This contrasted with face-to-face interactions, where the immediacy required both parties to be present and focused in that moment. For every person who eventually participated, I had others who never replied, dropped out, delayed, or changed their form of participation. Relational and work commitments appeared significant for those who responded. In their emails, phone calls, and text messages, participants and nonparticipants who were slow to respond pointed to their busy schedules. One eventually withdrew from the study, lamenting how they were too busy "doing life"—working and caring for parent(s) and children—to have the "luxury" of imagining the future. Another dropped out due to relationship issues. The first photovoice group I planned then dropped from three to two and finally to just one participant, effectively becoming individual photovoice. Like Rodenbiker's (2022) in-person photovoice study, nonparticipants' "moments of refusal" and delayed/suspended participation may be attributed to work and relational commitments. The Australia-wide COVID-19 restrictions and work-from-home arrangements during my recruitment period possibly aggravated the stressors faced by nonparticipants, leading to their withdrawal. Rather than flaws in research recruitment, nonparticipation reveals absences and exclusions in photovoice research (Milne, 2012; Rodenbiker, 2022). The time and commitment needed for the photovoice meetings and photography precluded those with multiple responsibilities or without the privilege of time.

Consequently, my eventual participant pool reflected a particular sample of LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above across Australia. Despite online photovoice enabling participation to be scaled up across the country (Lichty et al., 2019; Tanhan & Strack, 2020), the uneven geography of community groups and organisations—more present in metropolitan than regional areas, in bigger cities compared to smaller ones—meant that

participants mostly lived in the city and/or were well-connected to LGBTQ+ groups or social media. My access to participants depended on which organisations or groups I could reach, and which responded favourably. The digital nature of recruitment and online photovoice required participants to be adept at using videoconferencing tools and have reliable internet connection. Adding the time commitment for photovoice further limited access to participants who could afford this extra activity. To reduce access barriers, I adjusted the study from photovoice to include one-off individual semi-structured interviews. A total of 14 participants eventually took part: three doing group photovoice, three through recurring individual photo-interviews, and eight through individual semi-structured interviews (Table 3.1). With group discussions and reflections being the cornerstone of photovoice (Foster-Fishman et al., 2005), allowing individual participation inevitably reduced the participatory element of the research. This trade-off was one that I made, knowing that participants had commitments, scheduling conflicts, and concerns about privacy and anonymity (see also Call-Cummings & Hauber-Özer, 2021). In providing an alternative avenue for participant voices to emerge, I nonetheless broadened my participant sample to a hopefully more diverse one.

Table 1: List of participants

Name	Gender and sexual identity	Cultural background	Participated in
Daniel	Gay cisgender man	Chinese (Eurasian)	Photovoice (Group)
John	Gay cisgender man	European Australian	Photovoice (Group)
Tony	Queer cisgender man	Italian/English	Photovoice (Group)
Alan	Gay cisgender man	Indian	Photovoice (Individual)
Peter^	Gay cisgender man	Brazilian	Photovoice (Individual)
Stephanie	Female-attracted transgender woman	English Australian	Photovoice (Individual)
Barbara^	Lesbian cisgender woman	Eastern European	Semi-structured Interview
Clara	Heterosexual transgender woman	Chinese	Semi-structured Interview
Dion	Gay cisgender man	Aboriginal and Australian South Sea Islander	Semi-structured Interview
George^	Gay cisgender man	Greek Australian	Semi-structured Interview
Masaru^	Gay cisgender man	Japanese	Semi-structured Interview
mopoke	Queer non-binary person	Eastern European	Semi-structured Interview
Ninu	Pansexual trans* person	Maltese Australian	Semi-structured Interview
Sharifah	Lesbian cisgender woman	Southeast Asian	Semi-structured Interview

^Denotes use of pseudonym

3.4 Stage 2: Photovoice Introductions and Context Setting

Following recruitment was the introductory session for photovoice participants. Not required for the one-off semi-structured interviews, the introductory session was an opportunity for photovoice participants to know each other (for group sessions), understand the project, and discuss ethical considerations and themes for the photography component (Milne & Muir, 2020). Usually done in-person, this meeting is shifted online in virtual photovoice (Liegghio & Caragata, 2020) or replaced by a combination of videos and emails (Tanhan & Strack, 2020). Following Dare et al.'s recommendation of an online information session (2021), I set up online introductory meetings using videoconferencing software such as Zoom and Microsoft Teams. Like other virtual photovoice studies (Call-Cummings & Hauber-Özer, 2021; Rania et al., 2021), I helped troubleshoot technological issues participants faced, providing detailed steps and screenshots of the software. The technological barrier proved frustrating for one participant whose computer had neither microphone nor webcam. Unlike researchers who could meet and assist participants (Novek et al., 2012), the geographical distance between the participant and me rendered this option impossible. We had to be creative in troubleshooting over phone calls and emails. Eventually, we set up Zoom on the participant's smartphone, enabling access but with a diminished experience through a smaller screen and lower video quality.

Holding the introductory meeting online invariably affected the participatory experience of photovoice. With COVID-19 forcing many meetings and gatherings online, I was cognisant of online photovoice becoming "yet another virtual meeting" (Call-Cummings & Hauber-Özer, 2021, p. 3222). Minimising 'Zoom fatigue'—the likelihood of participants fatiguing during and at online meetings—was a primary consideration. I followed the lead of researchers (e.g., Tanhan & Strack, 2020), sending key information like study details and ethics via email and condensing the introductory meeting to 1-2 hours. This contrasted with the longer introductory workshops organised for in-person photovoice (Carlson et al., 2006; McIntyre, 2003). My online introductory meetings focused on facilitating introductions among group participants, sharing study information, and discussing ethical considerations. Compressing the meetings meant reducing the time for icebreaker and brainstorming activities, elements that build rapport and interest among participants. This omission, coupled with the reduced interactivity of videoconferencing (Rania et al., 2021) and the diversity of and distance between participants may have affected their involvement. At the group introductory meeting, my attempts at theme ideation fell through as participants were ambivalent and instead asked me what I was looking for. Like the experience of in-person

photovoice studies (Murray & Nash, 2017), participants took their cues from what they thought I wanted. While I had intended the photography themes to be co-developed with participants, this ultimately failed in the shorter and mediated online introductory meeting. I ended up providing participants with photography prompts: one set around their hopes and aspirations of ageing in Australia, the other around their fears. Two individual participants did an additional photo theme of 'self' and 'identity'. Similar to studies where topics were predetermined by researchers (Hergenrather et al., 2009), the participatory aspect of this photovoice project was reduced.

3.5 Stage 3: Participation and Positionality in Discussions and Interviews

Following the introductions were the actual interviews and group discussions. These discussions were where dialogue, meaning-making, reflection, and interpretation took place. They made up the core of photovoice and the entirety of the semi-structured interviews. All individual photo-interviews, semi-structured interviews, and group discussions were held synchronously via videoconferencing software apart from one participant whom I met in-person. Cognisant of the varying commitments and limited time of participants (Call-Cummings & Hauber-Özer, 2021; Radonic et al., 2021), I condensed the group photovoice meetings into four: 1) introduction, 2) hopes, 3) fears, 4) wrap-up and debrief. 'Hopes' and 'fears' were my translation of 'ageing futures' into more concrete and commonplace concepts on the (un)liveability and (un)desirability of ageing. Three to five meetings were held for the individual photovoice participants depending on their availability. At these photovoice meetings, participants shared their selected photographs, reflected on them, and discussed the emerging themes with the group and/or me. I facilitated the discussions to encourage participant sharing and reflection (following Catalani & Minkler, 2010). This was particularly for group discussions which benefited from participants building off one another's insights. In the semi-structured interviews, I had an initial interview guide based around ageing futures and the same themes of hopes and fears. This was a working document which evolved as I learned and adapted with the unfolding research.

The use of online videoconferencing posed several challenges to participation and confidentiality. This additional interface made meetings vulnerable to technological issues (Call-Cummings & Hauber-Özer, 2021). While no major technical problems occurred, internet disruptions in one photo-interview forced me to change from video call to audio only.

Online communication occurred at a distance. The reduction of non-verbal communication and cues present in face-to-face interactions reflected what Rania et al. described as an increased “climate of tensions” (2021, p. 2718). The proximity of the computer/phone screens meant that participants and I were literally in each other’s faces, close enough to see the wrinkles around our eyes but not close enough to offer a handshake. This awkwardness was accentuated by the lack of body language: over video, only participants’ head, neck, and shoulders were visible; hand gestures, seating postures, and other elements of body language were largely cut off from the frame. A slight time lag occurred between a person speaking and their words being heard. In group discussions, one could not easily see when another person wanted to speak. This resulted in longer pauses and more frequent interruptions. Compared to the in-person experience, the initial online photovoice meetings were more awkward. Participants took longer to warm up and get comfortable with each other and me. Another issue that intensified was confidentiality. Group discussions for photovoice required establishing a safe space for participants who did not know each other to discuss potentially sensitive and personal topics. In the online group photovoice sessions, this was more crucial as the meeting space shifted from a controlled venue into people’s homes, workplaces, or even public areas. Despite choosing secure videoconferencing tools and following other studies in emphasising group norms (Castleden et al., 2008; Foster-Fishman et al., 2005), I could not eliminate the possibility of participants secretly recording the sessions or having outsiders around. While participants may have seemed relatively at ease, this risk might have held some back from sharing freely.

With these challenges, I paid attention to researcher-participant and participant-participant dynamics, falling back on photovoice and feminist principles of reciprocity and open questioning (Suffla et al., 2015). I structured participants’ sharing of photographs in turns, observing their faces and asking if they wanted to comment. Because the group photovoice only had three participants, this method of “circular communication” (Rania et al., 2021, p. 2717) was an easier alternative to Dare et al.’s utilisation of the Zoom ‘hand up’ function (2021, p. 6). In individual photo-interviews and semi-structured interviews, I made small talk to break the ice. The initial awkwardness in videoconferencing further dissolved when participants started sharing photographs and got comfortable. Participating from the comfort of their homes contributed. In Howlett’s study, the participants being interviewed on Zoom were at home, dressed casually, visibly relaxed, and less cautious with what they shared (2022). While I did not notice any significant differences in participant sharing between the online and offline meetings, the opening of participants’ (and my) homes was an opportunity to connect. From the tiny video camera, we could hear the noises in the

background, see the sunlight streaming in from the window, the layout of the room, the clothes we wore. We commented on the weather and interesting elements in the room. One participant even showed the group his dog. These little online snippets of our personal lives became conversation springboards, lessening the awkwardness of virtual discussions and bridging across differences.

My positionality and shifting positions vis-à-vis participants were crucial in shaping the discussions and interviews. Feminist methodologies call for researcher reflexivity and awareness on the research encounter to pay attention to the negotiation of power in the knowledge creation process (England, 1994; Rose, 1997). Social identities and our perception of each other's sameness and difference shaped the encounter before interviews and discussions even began. From the outset, my positionality affected how participants viewed and interacted with me. Aware of my visible non-whiteness and younger age, I introduced myself as a recent queer migrant to Australia. Coming out and naming myself was a bid to foster a sense of commonality and trust with participants, to develop reciprocity. My identification as also part of the LGBTQ+ 'community' gave participants an opportunity to ask about my experiences as a younger queer person or about the situation in my home country. Further, my newness to Australia as a migrant meant that I did not have the experience or in-depth understanding of Australian policies and changes and could ask the participants questions on these. This made the interviews and discussions more conversational instead of being a one-way question and answer session.

Ultimately, participation improved and deepened with shared time and space. My use of different methods allowed me to compare across group and individual photovoice, across photovoice and semi-structured interviews. In the one-off semi-structured interviews, conversations rarely deviated from my questions and topics. This was paralleled initially in the photovoice sessions, where participants treated me as the 'expert' (see also Murray & Nash, 2017) and asked if their photographs met my expectations. With the recurring meetings, I observed a noticeable shift in the group and individual photovoice dynamics. Participants became less concerned with what I 'wanted' and just shared, sometimes even deviating from the photographs and themes. The group photovoice participants bonded over their shared experiences and developed an easy rhythm and rapport. All three participants were gay or queer cisgender men who had grown up in Australia and lived through the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Irrespective of geographical distance, they connected, building off one another's ideas, reminiscing shared memories, and affirming each other. Without my

prompting, they would engage each other in conversations, going deeper and even off-topic:

> ***Daniel:*** *It's just one of those queer terminologies that we used, that I remember, that we used to have a little code to say "okay, yup. A friend of Dorothy's."*
>
> ***Tony:*** *And you know the history.*
>
> ***Daniel:*** *Yeah, and I love the history [laughs].*

Queer terminologies like "a friend of Dorothy's" belonged to the participants' particular history and time, shared by them but foreign to me. Through the photovoice discussions, participants reached a level of connection, collectivising, participation, and perhaps even personal transformation (e.g., Castleden et al., 2006). Sharing time and space in an online setting enabled this connection.

3.5.1 Meaning making through photograph production

As well, the photographs in the photovoice interviews and group sessions enabled different forms of participation to emerge. In contrast with semi-structured interviews where I guided the flow of questions, in photovoice the photographs of participants guided the flow. Our discussions were more organic and participant-led. While these photographs were in response to my prompts about their ageing futures, hopes, and fears in Australia, they surfaced diverse themes for discussion. Going off-topic was common as participants shared about the history and background behind their photographs. We spent time discussing what their photographs meant and why they chose it. The process of taking and choosing photographs also allowed participants to decide what they wanted to depict. This could be quick and dirty, done by a participant at the very last minute or even while listening to other people's sharing. Others, like Alan below, took a more iterative process:

> *I spent a lot of time wondering about "now what is it? What kind of picture should I be looking for? Should I go to the Internet looking for all kinds of different images?" And in the end, I just thought "no, I'm just going to go back to my own memories, and I'll pick what means something to me."*

Spending time sifting through old photographs for something meaningful transformed photograph production into a slower meaning-making process. Participants had the time and space to ruminate and explore what they wanted to convey. The chosen photographs were not just meaningful in what they presented the viewer, but also in what they represented for the producer. The act of producing photographs is valuable, facilitating critical consciousness and self-discovery (Castleden et al., 2006; Liebenberg, 2018). Compared to the immediacy of the semi-structured interviews, photovoice interviews and discussions

facilitated a more deliberate, slower, and iterative process of meaning-making for both the participants and me.

Participants' particular (re)use of old photographs gave the photovoice discussions a more nuanced and layered meaning that was not present in new photographs. Taking new photographs has been so normalised in the photovoice literature that I had assumed the participants would do the same in an online setting. While my study information mentioned having access to a digital or smartphone camera, I did not provide cameras or instruct participants to take new photographs. They needed only to submit their photographs and captions via email or an online form. Four of the six photovoice participants sent photographs taken in their past. One even "Googled" for images to share. The digital age, fully online photovoice platform, and COVID-19 lockdowns made it easier and more practical for participants to source for photographs from their digital albums or online. Without compromising participation, they could select existing photographs that depicted the imagery or message they wanted. These 'found' images in digital albums were not produced for the research but taken in a different time and place (Clark, 2020). Participants looked back at those memories and connected them to the current topic. Stephanie described her process, "I searched through a lot of older pictures and found ones that reflected on my journey of transition that I thought was important to my identity." One chosen photograph was taken by her partner right after her gender affirming surgery. In our conversation, she recounted the conversation and feeling behind that moment. Invoked many years later, this photograph conveyed how important this moment was to her sense of self. As Coffey wrote, photovoice is "a potentially aleatory practice because it is oriented to openness—responsive to feeling, mood, sensation and the dynamic affective happenings of everyday life" (2021, p. 13). Old photographs go beyond the everyday life, allowing participants and researchers to re-live the affective experience of the no-longer-conscious past. With my study's focus on ageing futures, past, present, and future became interwoven together in a dance of meaning. This practice of unearthing and choosing old photographs to imagine the future paralleled what Muñoz conceptualised as queer utopian impulses (2009). The past photographs provided a break from the present reality, representing a 'there and then' that participants desired in the future yet-to-come.

Participants' unexpected use of old or 'found' photographs necessitated my revaluation of photovoice ethics. Ethical guidelines had been written with new participant-taken photographs in mind. Typically, consent is first taken from the individuals

photographed by participants. Participants then consent to the sharing, use, and publication of their photographs in the photovoice project (Guillemin & Drew, 2010; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). As participants sourced photographs from their own digital/physical albums or online, both levels of consent became inadequate or even irrelevant. Photographs retrieved from the Internet belonged to others and were bound by copyright agreements (Rowe, 2020). For old photographs not taken by participants, consent was needed from the original photographer (Tinkler, 2013) as well as those photographed. Having started with the photovoice literature's consent procedures, I had to adjust to these emergent ethical issues (see appendices C and D). Adjusting proved complicated when participants no longer kept in touch with or remembered the photographer. In one group photograph, obtaining consent from the 20 over people featured proved impractical. While others may rely on the image owner's consent (Jordan, 2014), I erred on the side of caution due to the potentially sensitive topic. Resultantly, over half of the photographs could not be used in the project outputs or the exhibition. They nonetheless enriched the photovoice discussions and interviews.

3.5.2 Working through/with identities

Besides facilitating different forms of participation, stage 3 of my research process was crucial in working through my queer geographical approach to ageing. Outlined in my literature review chapter, I took inspiration from a queer subjectless critique, focusing primarily on the intersections of race/culture, sexuality, gender, and age but also attending to other social axes like class and disability and other identities that might be 'queered' in the process. This section details how I iteratively and reflexively worked through this process.

My initial interviews and discussions included explicit questions on culture, gender, and sexual identity. I aimed to let participants elucidate the ways in which these axes intersected with their imagined futures of ageing in Australia. This approach was akin to intersectional research which asks pointed questions relating participant experiences to particular social axes (Bowleg, 2008). To avoid additive thinking or the assumption that participants' multiple minoritised identities added to their oppression and disadvantage (Greene, 1996), I framed my questions more broadly. In the semi-structured interviews, I started with broad themes of living in Australia and participants' hopes and fears of ageing, before funnelling down to questions on culture, gender, and sexual identity. Sample questions include: "How do you feel about ageing/growing old in Australia"; How does your cultural background play a role in [topic of discussion]?" In photovoice sessions, I asked participants to take photographs of their hopes and fears of ageing alongside what was

meaningful to them. These photographs provided rich discussion and a segue into my specific questions on culture, gender, and sexual identity. In both methods, I intended for participants to explicitly reflect on how these identities influenced their perspectives and experiences on ageing in Australia.

This approach had mixed results. Gender and sexual identity were the easiest for participants to relate to and talk about. Even without prompting, some participants talked about themselves as LGBTQ+ subjects and recounted their encounters with homophobia and transphobia in Australia. Some photographs produced by participants affirmed their LGBTQ+ identities and struggles coming out or becoming authentically themselves. Many were active in LGBTQ+ groups. Participants linked their fears of ageing to their sexual or gender identity (e.g., fear of heteronormative residential care). In contrast, culture or cultural identity elicited varying degrees of response. Most participants did not describe themselves as cultural subjects with an equivalent enthusiasm. One even quipped that he had overlooked the 'multicultural' component of the study when signing up. Prompting was often needed to gain responses on culture. Unlike in my US-centric systematic review (Chen et al., 2022), racism did not surface as a key ageing issue for many participants. For those who had grown up in Australia, racism seemed to be a bigger issue in the past compared to the present or future. Across participants, conversations coalesced around the incompatibility of some religions and cultures with non-normative gender and sexual identities. Potentially conservative faith and cultural communities—not necessarily those of the participants—were identified as major barriers preventing LGBTQ+ multicultural people from ageing as they wanted. The different degree to which participants responded to questions on culture seeded doubts in me about overemphasising some social identities at the expense of others.

These concerns grew further through my experiences with the photovoice participants. As highlighted above, going 'off topic' was common as photographs led the discussion. These departures from my general line of questioning provided an opportunity to understand what really mattered for participants. At times, the photographs and discussions were unrelated to the identity intersections of sexuality, gender, or culture. For example, Stephanie's photographs of her fears of ageing led to a discussion on dying and the meaning and purpose of life with no relevance or relation to those identities. In these discussions, I had to prompt participants to consider their experiences through these social axes, particularly culture. To this endeavour, Stephanie replied, "we're not just transgender, or lesbian, or gay, whatever it is. We are just people with the same worries and loves and

fears as anybody else." This assertion that LGBTQ+ multicultural people's experiences were the same as anybody else's troubled my perspective. If photographs allowed participants to talk about what mattered to them, did their silence on sexual and gender identity and/or cultural background mean that these were not important to them? Contrasting the more organic surfacing of topics in photovoice discussions with the question-led semi-structured interviews made me wonder if my prompting in the latter arbitrarily framed the discussion at the expense of other important identity categories. My questions about culture, gender, and sexual identity could have dominated the interviews, leaving participants with little time to discuss other aspects. While selecting particular social identities *per se* was not problematic, overemphasising them was. In my fixation on questions of gender, sexuality, and cultural identity, I could have overlooked other identity categories which were relevant to participants' ageing futures.

Consequently, I adjusted my preoccupation on those social identities to a broader examination of ageing futures. As I reviewed and reflected on my earlier interviews, photovoice discussions, and notes, other important or hidden identities began to emerge. Rephrasing Stephanie, their ageing hopes and fears are not solely shaped by their gender, sexual, and cultural identities. Class, geography, and (dis)ability affected participants' imaginations of liveable and desirable ageing futures. Some participants in rural or regional areas lamented the inaccessibility of services or absence of a queer (multi)cultural community (see chapter 7). Others described their financial ability to age comfortably and fear of losing their able-bodied selves. Class privilege enabled some participants to be relatively sanguine about their ageing prospects; class disadvantage caused others to be uncertain (see chapter 5). These privileges made clear that the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants, despite sharing gender, sexual, and cultural minoritarian identities, have different perspectives of their abilities to attain their desired ageing futures. As Carbado's conceptualisation of colorblind and gender-blind intersectionality demonstrated, privileged identities like whiteness and (cis)masculinity should be interrogated alongside marginalised ones (2013). Because my participants occupied a multitude of socially constructed and living identities categories, some in privileged positions, others in marginalised positions, I needed to not only centre on marginality but be attuned to the interplay of privilege and marginality (see for example Cho et al., 2013). Doing so allows for an interrogation of desirable ageing futures beyond just heteronormativity and racism to also include compulsory able-bodiedness and class privilege (see Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). With this realisation, I refined my interviews and photovoice meetings, spending more time on broader questions on ageing futures, hopes, and fears, letting participants' chosen topics guide our

discussions. Evolving my approach helped attune our conversations to new intersections and dimensions of liveable and desirable old age.

Further reflection using a queer subjectless critique helped concretise my methodology. Articulated in my literature review, a queer subjectless critique eschews an identity-based analysis (i.e., heterosexual versus non-heterosexual people). Instead, it interrogates how discourses of sexuality work alongside raced, classed, and gendered discourses to marginalise certain non-normative subjects regardless of their sexuality and gender identities. Applying this to my research meant seeing the ageing narratives of LGBTQ+ multicultural people as shared with others who may be cisgender and heterosexual. Looking across my conversations with participants, this became apparent. It was present in Tony's mother's difficulty in accessing health services, in Daniel's father's negative experience in residential care, and in Barbara's accounts of people deteriorating rapidly in residential care. Recognising this shared identification gave me another interpretation of Stephanie's assertion. In other words, rather than trying to articulate how LGBTQ+ multicultural people experienced ageing 'differently' from everyone else (i.e., those with normative sexual, gender and racial identities), finding similarities in experiences reveals solidarities across subject categories. As Cohen wrote, a queer subjectless critique allows us to "build a politics organi[s]ed not merely by reductive categories of straight and queer, but organi[s]ed instead around a more intersectional analysis of who and what the enemy is and where our potential allies can be found" (1997, p. 457). Turning from identity to discourses and social constructions welcomes shared identification with other social identities beyond culture, gender, and sexual identity for this contributes to the building of coalitions and the task of disrupting or 'queering' age(ing). My task thus was to critique normativity in discourses of desirable ageing, *regardless* if their effects are felt by others who may not be LGBTQ+ and multicultural. It is with this understanding that I was able to align my theoretical framework with my methodological application, my thinking with the practice.

3.5.3 Data coding and analysis

My approach to data interpretation and analysis was then guided by this theoretical and methodological understanding. I first transcribed the video and audio recordings into text, then gave participants the opportunity to review and edit the transcripts if they wanted to. After this, I imported the transcripts, photographs, and captions into NVivo 12. To code this data, I undertook an iterative thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) underpinned by my queer geographical gerontological framework. Following from my previous discussion, I

was careful not to code the data by social identities but by themes and topics. My initial broad themes included ‘home’, ‘friendships’, ‘relationships’, and ‘aged care’. Identities and social axes then came on as secondary codes. Here, I included those of primary interest—culture, gender, and sexual identity—and attended to other axes like class and disability. Following the initial thematic coding, I reviewed the literature on LGBTQ+ ageing, geographies of ageing, and queer studies detailed in the previous chapter. This provided me with the critical lens to unpack the overarching discourses, social structures, and systems that undergirded participant narratives. Where appropriate, I turned to the grey literature to understand the socio-historical context in Australia. Finally, I re-viewed my coding scheme and nodes, relating and juxtaposing my initial themes and codes with the literature, mapping those relevant onto the three thematic threads in my literature review: time, kinship, and place.

My coding and analysis paid attention to the different data collected and voices articulated. In my study, data was produced from group photovoice discussions, individual photo-interviews, and semi-structured interviews. In addition to the text transcripts, the photovoice discussions and photo-interviews had photographs with accompanying captions or text. Taking Guillemin and Drew’s recommendation, I treated both “images and interview data [as] inextricably linked, requiring simultaneous and not separate analysis” (2010, p. 184). Coding photographs, captions, and transcripts into the same categories and nodes allowed me to compare and analyse them together. Linking photographs and interviews was important as participants’ explanation and description of their photographs provided additional contextual information for interpretation. Importantly, while I sought to understand and interpret participants’ photographs and words in the way they intended to convey them, I was cognisant that this process was always already mediated and situated. As Higgins noted, the “voice articulated through photographs is one that is produced through researcher–participant, participant–participant and participant–community relationships which might possibly and problematically include policy, rather than an isolated, singular voice stemming from a singular individual” (2016, p. 681). Just like how all knowledge is situated and stems from a view from ‘somewhere’ (Haraway, 1988), the voice(s) from the photographs, text, and captions displayed and interpreted in my thesis had been produced in layers, negotiated through one-off or recurring interactions among participants and me, created through a particular time-space, set amidst a particular socio-political context. My positionality and theoretical perspective inevitably shaped this process, and the eventual (re)presentation of data and argument in this thesis is my amalgamation and interpretation of these voices.

3.6 Stage 4: Post-Photovoice Exhibition

After the photovoice discussions and semi-structured interviews, the final stage in the photovoice process is typically a public exhibition. As my research unfolded, the photovoice participants were content to conclude with their photo sharing, reflection, and dialogue, ending their involvement at stage 3 rather than 4. While we had discussed emerging themes in each photovoice meeting, all but one photovoice participant did not want to check or review the transcripts or overall analysis, asking me to just send the results over. Participants were also not keen to co-organise the exhibition and left it up to me. These forms of 'reduced' participation could be seen as a lack of power and participant voice, for I, the researcher, had the final influence over what data to present and how to present them (Evans-Agnew & Rosemberg, 2016). Particularly for participatory photovoice, they could be read as falling short of photovoice's feminist and emancipatory ethos. Seen another way however, they reflect participants' trust in my use of their data, a lack of 'community' identity and engagement, or simply a reflection of their busy schedules. Joining the group discussions and interviews already demanded time, what more the logistics of co-organising an exhibition remotely. In the end, I set up an online photo-exhibition website (www.imaginingfutures.weebly.com), getting the comments and consent of participants before publishing it. To date, I have presented the website at two conferences and shared it with various people and organisations. The website afforded a more flexible medium than physical photovoice exhibitions. Without requiring the co-location of participants and me, it scaled up the online photo-exhibition across borders, allowing it to be shared and seen digitally by them, by me, by anyone.

3.7 Closing Reflections on Limitations and Participation

This chapter has outlined my research methodology and methods, highlighting the steps and choices taken as well as ethical considerations and positionality. Laid out neatly in stages, chronologically and conceptually funnelling through methodological framework to data collection and analysis, this process was in reality not as structured or organised. Described in the earlier section on 'Working through/with identities', it was iterative and messy, shifting from the interviews to the literature to initial analysis before settling on a framework for interviewing, coding, and interpretation. Like feminist, queer, and qualitative methodologies that set out without a hypothesis and fixed direction, this constant change and questioning was frustrating but perhaps only fitting. In this closing section, I reflect on participation and the limitations that my "doing" of this methodology brings.

What forms of participation were enabled or limited in my study? Earlier on in the methodology section, I identified photovoice's participatory potential as aligning with my personal philosophy and feminist/queer worldviews. In theory, photovoice enables participants to produce their own photographs and surface their own themes, culminating in a joint photo-exhibition. In practice, my version of online photovoice indelibly shaped participation. From the outset, online recruitment limited participation to those connected to social media and community groups or organisations. Online technologies precluded those who lacked technological knowledge, access to digital devices, or the luxury of time. The diversity of participants was thus reduced to those who were attuned to online social media networks and had the time, space, and technological set-up to participate online. Further, videoconferencing brought issues of reduced or more tensed interactions (Rania et al., 2021). Communication was hindered by technical issues, time lags, and reduced body language, in turn affecting the flow and ease of initial meetings. The lack of face-to-face rapport possibly limited participants' interest and commitment to the project. These culminated in participants being less involved in the decision-making aspects of the photovoice process and forgoing the exhibition creation. I ended up playing a more dominant role than desired.

These limitations in participation were bolstered by several enablers. Not only could participants join the project without travelling interstate, group photovoice participants could also connect with like-minded peers across Australia. Like other studies (Oster et al., 2022; Tanhan & Strack, 2020; Tanhan et al., 2021), harnessing a variety of digital tools and online technologies alongside more traditional offline communication like phone calls and messages enabled this. In my study's context of COVID-19 lockdowns and social distancing, virtual participation was perhaps the only way participation could occur. While the technology-mediated setting reduced "micro-alliances" (Rania et al., 2021) and interactivity, interviews and discussions occurring virtually in real time from participants' and my homes offered opportunities for more personal and informal interactions (see also Howlett, 2022). The online format fostered different and creative ways of photograph production beyond photo-taking. Participants tapped into their own or online digital repositories, giving old or existing photographs new meaning. Repurposing old photographs added additional feelings, imageries, and memories that participants and I could partake in, providing an affective and sensory experience (Coffey, 2021). Participation emerged in new ways facilitated by the online setting.

Reflecting on this reveals participation to be neither absolute nor one-dimensional. Placing these enablers alongside the limitations, it is impossible and irrelevant to judge how 'well' or 'effectively' participation in my study panned out. On hindsight, I could have strengthened participant voice in the process, involving participants at the conceptualisation stage, setting up lengthier and more interactive introductory meetings, and having multiple meetings to develop rapport with and among participants. Doing so might have allowed participants to have a greater stake in the study, thereby contributing to the research questions and photo-exhibition. Nonetheless, the recurring discussions and photo-interviews still resulted in the shared meaning-making and exploration that make up photovoice's core. Introducing the option of one-off semi-structured interviews offered less interactivity and depth but opened participation to those uninterested or unable to afford the photovoice commitment. In the end, these different forms of participation across group interviews, individual photo-interviews, and semi-structured interviews allowed me to think through and compare the knowledge and data produced, shaping and refining my research methods in ways I would not have done with photovoice methods alone. Simultaneously constraining and expansive, these myriad forms of participation were what my research resulted in, producing the situated knowledge, insights, and interpretations that I articulate in the following empirical chapters.

The next four empirical chapters respond to my research question of liveable ageing futures for LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above in Australia. Each chapter articulates my interpretation and analysis of the research data (quotes, photographs, and captions) using my queer geographical theoretical perspective. Chapter 4 begins by detailing the unliveable and undesirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people through time and space. Using the concept of time, chapter 5 articulates participants' liveable and desirable ageing futures. Chapters 6 and 7 then respectively expand on the themes of kinship and place/belonging in the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Across the chapters, I connect the findings to the extant literature and discuss their implications.

4 AGEING OUT OF TIME AND PLACE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter responds to my research question of examining LGBTQ+ multicultural people's imaginations of liveable and desirable ageing futures. As the first of four empirical chapters, it sets the stage by articulating what unliveable and undesirable ageing futures look like. It does so through illuminating and interrogating LGBTQ+ multicultural people's fears and fearful imaginations of growing older in Australia using a queer geographical perspective. I examine how their perspectives of ageing are constructed temporally and spatially. A relational perspective is also taken to illuminate how their ageing fears are shaped by interactions with other people and institutions. As with the subsequent three empirical chapters, this chapter is structured by blending research findings—the quotes, photographs, and captions of participants—with my critical interpretation which draws from the queer geographical perspectives and theories introduced in my literature review. Where relevant, I weave in linking and contrasting perspectives from the extant literature. Participant perspectives are mapped against social discourses and structures of ageing to reveal normative assumptions of older people's 'rightful' time and place in society. I conclude with a discussion that relates the findings discussed in this chapter to the literature.

Articulated in my theoretical framework and methodology, I adopt an ontological understanding of ageing and old age as a construction vis-à-vis categories such as the mid-life (van Dyk, 2014, 2016) rather than a fixed age range or life stage (e.g., older people as aged 50 or 65 years and above). In the photovoice discussions and semi-structured interviews, I left it up to participants to self-identify—or not—as 'older people' and articulate what ageing meant to them. Doing so enabled me to read their narratives and photographs as their imaginations and experiences of ageing. It allowed me to unpack a relational view of ageing, situated in time and space, shaped via interactions with others (Hopkins & Pain, 2007). Further, while my thesis centres on the intersections of sexuality, gender, and culture in ageing, I surface other key issues and concerns beyond these axes. (Dis)ability is the other primary dimension which surfaces in this chapter. Highlighted in the methodology chapter, the inclusion of other social axes serves to 1) interrogate imaginations of (un)desirable ageing across the relevant social dimensions, and 2) identify solidarities between LGBTQ+ multicultural people and other subject identities where relevant. From an empirical perspective, their inclusion reflects their importance within participant narratives, particularly in the more organic photovoice interviews and discussions. Bringing these

broader issues to the fore provides the overarching context to participants' imaginations of ageing futures and can be related to the theories in the critical geographies of ageing and queer gerontological literatures.

Overall, this chapter elucidates the dominant fear of ageing as temporal and spatial decline. I argue that ageing is seen as a slow but certain slippage out of time and place into a heteronormative, compulsory able-bodied, and chrononormative world. This view of an undesirable and unliveable ageing future is consistent with the decline narrative in critical and queer gerontological literature where ageing is constructed as a steady decline in one's mental and physical abilities, in one's social and financial status (Gullette, 2004; Port, 2012). Turning specifically to gender and sexual identity, ageing is depicted as a creeping loss of participants' queer selves, a diminishing of the identities they had painstakingly built and fought to maintain in a heteronormative world. Concurrently, ageing renders one increasingly vulnerable to slipping back into the temporal rhythms and spatial presence of 'straight time'. From this view, queerness is no longer a potentiality; queerness has no future. Queerness in ageing is a diminishing horizon, characterised by the slipping out of queer time and space into time and space governed by heteronormative logics.

4.2 Ageing out of Able-bodied Time and Space

Ageing is first and foremost an ageing out of able-bodied time and space. A negative sentiment often accompanied participant fears and narratives of ageing. A primary association with ageing was bodily decline and the loss of independence. When I asked Ninu whether they felt positive about any aspect of ageing, they paused for a few seconds before replying, "I'm not looking forward to being less able… [and] reliant on others." While not yet a current reality, ageing was seen as a process that rendered a future them less able and independent. It represented a future that was not worth looking forward to, a future that made them dependent on others. This was echoed in my conversation with George.

> ***George:*** *That's the fear for me. It's always growing old. Don't like it. I've never signed up for growing old [laughs]. Never signed up for it. It will be a struggle, growing old.*
>
> ***Me:*** *Which part is a concern? Or is it everything?*
>
> ***George:*** *Oh, the whole lot. The whole lot [laughs]. I've always had a fear of that. I'll probably never get over it [laughs].*

While George detailed heteronormative residential care as one key concern, he feared

ageing in its entirety. Growing older was seen as a struggle that he never agreed to live through. These associations around ageing as bodily decline reflect a fear of becoming less physically able and more dependent on others (Woody, 2014). They articulate the biophysical process of deterioration but also broader social norms that construct ageing and old age as a time of weakness, bodily loss, and mental decline (Grande, 2018; Gullette, 2004). These perceptions were not articulated by participants as unique to LGBTQ+ multicultural older people but a concern across older people (see Port, 2012; Sandberg & King, 2019; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). They represent a fear of the mental and physical decline accompanying old(er) age.

This decline out of able-bodied time is embodied, felt through bodily changes over time and space. Peter's recognition of ageing and growing older was tied to his affective experiences:

> *When I was younger, I was more confident on my capacity to overcome things; but as you age, things become a little bit more complicated because you become more fragile… Maybe it's something that people who are young don't have, the idea of how it feels to be old… I'm just saying that I wasn't used to feeling this way when I was 30, or 40. But as you reach 60, things begin to change because your body tells you: "you are different now."*

Comparing his more confident and capable past to his more fragile present, Peter saw his 60s as the turning point into being and becoming 'old'. The bodily difference in his 60s is realised in comparison to its absence or infrequent presence in his 30s and 40s. The passage of chronological time grounded this experience. Looking back on his younger self, Peter made sense of his declining confidence in capacity to overcome things. Ageing, expressed here as the onset of fragility and decline, is embodied and felt through changes in one's body over linear time (Schwanen et al., 2012). It is a relational experience constructed based on a difference between current and past capacity, between a what-once-was, a now, and a yet-to-come.

Besides spatio-temporal changes, ageing or becoming older is felt in relation to others. Rather than his chronological age, Dion's recognition of ageing was triggered by the death of his then partner:

> *It wasn't something I even thought about until I got a bit over 50. I never even thought about getting older... I had another partner who died back in 2008 at only 44. That made me start thinking. What I think about getting older is that it's really hard [laughs].... You don't want to be a burden, but if I get sick, who's going to look after me? I don't necessarily want to go into a nursing*

home, but if I have to I will.

The affective experience of losing his partner earlier in life brought forward for Dion the presence of ageing. Unlike Peter's association of age-related fragility with turning 60, for Dion this was accelerated by his then partner's death at "only 44", well before the average life expectancy in Australia. Initially further along in chronological time, ageing and its accompanying concerns about becoming sick and dependent on others for care and support appeared firmly in his horizons. This view of age(ing) in relation to others rather than in chronological time is seen in another comment by Dion:

> *It also makes me think about my life expectancy getting older. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, our life expectancy is five, six years less than the non-Indigenous population. But then I think about my own family. My dad, my two mum's brothers, and my mum's sisters all died at 70. I'm thinking I've probably only got till 70. Different circumstances I know, but it makes you think about how long you've got left.*

Unable to predict his own future, Dion made his comparisons with his cultural community using population statistics and his knowledge of the generation before him. This provided a reference point in projecting how long he could expect to live despite the "different circumstances" and socio-economic contexts separating the two generations. Identifying as an Aboriginal and South Sea Islander Australian, Dion referenced the lower life expectancy of Indigenous Australians compared to the non-Indigenous population (ABS, 2015-2017). Taking into consideration the deaths of his parents and his mother's siblings at 70, Dion speculated that his own life expectancy could be around 70. His understanding of ageing parallels the *travestis* and transwomen in Silva et al.'s study (2022) who perceived old age as between 27-40 years, way below the national average because of their social-spatial precarity and resultant lower life expectancy. The socioeconomic inequity faced by Indigenous Australians is similarly reflected in their lower life expectancy vis-à-vis the general population. Dion's relational view of age demonstrates the heterogeneity in perceptions of age and ageing. Affected by personal experiences and structural inequalities of race and class, ageing cannot be reduced to a demographic variable or a number. Rather, it is felt relationally. For Dion, affected by his former partner's death and cognisant of the lower life expectancy of Indigenous Australians, ageing has a quickened temporality. Ageing is that of a ticking clock, moving faster than the 'average' person, already in the present.

Ageing then represents a future out of one's control. It means losing the ability to do things that people value. Reflecting on one of his fears of ageing, Daniel's presented a photograph of his Brazilian jiu-jitsu belt (Figure 4.1) alongside this caption: "[t]o continue my

training in Brazilian jiu-jitsu is very important. A fear of getting older (as a reality) and not developing my skills and strength with age [is that] I will always decline [in] strength, agility, stamina, and skill."

Figure 4.1: Brazilian jiu-jitsu (by Daniel)

A practice he has committed to for nearly ten years, Brazilian jiu-jitsu was Daniel's form of therapy. It involves physical strength, ability, stamina, and skill, qualities that will decline slowly and steadily as one ages. While this loss could occur with the lack of practice or an accident, its decline through ageing, through the linear march of time, held a finality that seemed irreversible and irrevocable, one to be feared.

Beyond losing a practice, the loss of mobility through ageing is intertwined with the loss of control. In this segment during the group photovoice session on fears, John and Tony discussed mobility concerns.

> ***John:*** *If you're on a walking frame like this [refers to his picture of an older person with a walking frame], you [have] to think twice about walking three blocks to the supermarket. You'll go without fresh vegetables [be]cause it's just too hard. You won't organise to meet friends. It's just too hard. With decreasing mobility, a whole lot of other things cascade afterward.*
>
> *…*
>
> ***Tony:*** *I think that is a concern that all ageing people have. My mother is in that position at the moment and has been for some years. She can't walk very far. It really does make things difficult. She was doing hydrotherapy at Bendigo Hospital. She would go round and round and round trying to get a car spot. By the time she got a car spot it was too late to go. She would just have to turn around and do a 40-minute drive home.*

Thinking not about themselves but of others and a hypothetical ageing future, John and Tony narrated the challenges of decreasing mobility with age. Ageing as immobility or an increase in frailty is associated with a cascade of problems from social isolation, nutrient deficiency, to a reduction in quality of life (Brownie, 2006; Savikko et al., 2005). It dramatically reconfigures one's temporal rhythms as time is lost going round and round unable getting to inaccessible places. It shrinks one's time-spaces as one can no longer go far to meet friends or get fresh food. By referencing his mother's experience, Tony articulates a concern that surpasses cultural, gender, or sexual differences. Regardless of identity, immobility or reduced mobility through ageing affects people, profoundly altering their life worlds. It renders the completion of daily activities and rhythms no longer simple but beyond one's control.

The loss of control through ageing is then ultimately perceived as a decline of the self. Depicting his worst-case scenario, Peter staged a photograph titled "The uncertainty of the future". Speaking about the photograph (Figure 4.2), he shared:

Figure 4.2: The uncertainty of the future (by Peter)

It's in our front porch, the front door of our house. [My partner] isn't there. It's just like I'm staging a dreadful idea of life, losing my partner, being there by myself, growing old and lonely and powerless, which as you know me already ... the idea of getting old and losing my abilities to do things by myself is just dreadful. I don't think this is an exclusive feeling of what a gay man would

say. Ageing generally relates to becoming incapable or becoming dependant.

Taken in black and white, with Peter's back turned to the camera, the photograph visually emphasises the darkness of ageing. The powerlessness, incapability, and dependence that Peter described denote the decline of mobility and mental capacity as one ages. They allude to social decline in the form of losing his partner and becoming more socially isolated. Social isolation, a key issue for older people, is frequently associated with ageing and its accompanying loss of independence (Coleman, 2017; Seelman et al., 2017). As Peter mentioned, this was a "general" outcome of ageing which affected but was not exclusive to gay men. Peter's decision to set his photograph in his and his partner's home, out on their front porch, is significant. It undermines the home space as a sanctuary or a safe refuge from heteronormativity. In this depiction, home becomes a paradoxical space (Pilkey, 2014; Waitt & Gorman-Murray, 2007) threatened by the linear progression of ageing. Faced with the loss of independence and social relations, the home becomes a trap and a reminder of what one no longer has.

Seen together, what participants fear in ageing is the descent and decline from able-bodiedness to disability, from able-bodied time and space into disabled time and space. Their unliveable and undesirable ageing futures figure through the loss of mobility, social relations, independence, health, capability, and ultimately death. They manifest in an increasing dependence on others and a decreasing ability to function as well as before. This view of ageing is both biophysical and social. Referring to ageing as "late-onset disability", Gallop connected bodily decline in ageing and disability (2019, p. 12); if we live long enough, everyone will become disabled at some point. The immobilities and incapacities that ageing threatens to bring become visible relative to able-bodied time. Older people who find themselves with declining mobility are thrust into the shoes of disabled people, unable to navigate their neighbourhoods or visit the places at the same temporal rhythms. Lives previously structured, moving seamlessly from place to place, appointment to appointment, on foot, on public transport, and on car become impossible to replicate. Instead, new temporal rhythms in crip time are forged as time-spaces shrink or temporal rhythms become lengthened (Ljuslinder et al., 2020). Spatio-temporal experiences change in the extended duration and effort taken to walk three blocks to get fresh food, in the complexity of getting to social meetings, and in the futility and frustration of getting to medical services. Connecting ageing and disability highlights how the decline out of able-bodiedness is accentuated because of a compulsory able-bodied society (Kafer, 2013; McRuer, 2018; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). In other words, ageing is undesirable and unliveable because disability is

undesirable and unliveable. Ageing as becoming disabled or ageing out of able-bodied time is feared because of ableist norms in society which value independence over dependence, where certain minds and bodies are valued over others. These fears of decreasing mobility and increasing dependence as one ages reflect social barriers and the inequality and inaccessibility of basic services for disabled and older people. They underscore the decline of older people into compulsory able-bodied time.

4.3 Out of Queer Time and Space

Alongside the ageing out of able-bodied time was a notion of ageing as being inched out of queer time and space. Here, participants found themselves no longer fitting into or slowly being excluded from the LGBTQ+ time-spaces that once made them feel at home. Tony described:

> *They [an LGBTQ+ group] were going to have [an event at a] piano bar in Geelong. I pointed out, "but we're getting older. We find it hard to hear." It's not really the best pick for a venue because they really have to shout to the person next to you. Great fun, great fun to go and have a couple glasses of bubbles and enjoy being amongst our own, but not a place for older people and certainly not a place for any[body] to really be able to connect. You can't connect with people when you're shouting over very loud music.*

Clubs and bars have been positioned as centres of gay and queer culture, places that have seen community organising, protests, and movements immortalised into queer history. Like gayborhoods and LGBTQ+ friendly neighbourhoods, they are time-spaces that provide a temporary refuge for LGBTQ+ people away from the heteronormative gaze, momentarily 'queering' heteronormative space (Hubbard, 2008). Tony's ambivalence towards these places demonstrates their parallel effects of inclusion and exclusion. Being in a bar is "great fun", allowing him to be "amongst our own" and connect with other LGBTQ+ people. Nonetheless, the loud music makes it difficult for older people—or just any person—to have a conversation, thereby undermining the quality of the connection. As queer geographers have described, queer spaces fit a certain demographic deemed attractive: the young, able-bodied, middle-class, and the 'appropriately-raced' (Caluya, 2008; Holmes, 2009). This exclusivity makes queer spaces inaccessible or unwelcoming to older LGBTQ+ people (Seelman et al., 2017; Tobin et al., 2018). Despite wanting to be amongst others like them, the exclusionary nature of such spaces makes it difficult for older LGBTQ+ people to do so.

Thinking through age relationality reveals these queer spaces as invariably temporal,

as a person who once felt welcome in the past becomes too ‘old’ to fit into these spaces. Paralleling Tony’s sentiment, Daniel articulated:

> *I find too that being an older person I can’t party as much as the younger ones. I don’t want to go to gay clubs with alcohol and loud music... that’s why I had to go outside, to go bush walking and things like that.... I don’t drink much. My partner doesn’t drink much. Where do you go? What do you do? ... Because getting older, I’m finding I don’t want to go to clubs as much. There’s not much for older people to get to.*

Daniel here identified himself as an older person by naming what he is not: “the younger ones”. This generational distinction plays out in social spaces frequented by but also catered to the (younger) gay community. In no longer wanting or being able to party or drink “as much” as younger people, Daniel marked himself as outside of these gay spaces. It is in the time-space of the gay club, figured as an unwelcoming sensory and bodily experience for the older gay person, that Daniel’s identity as an older person is concretised. Age here is produced by embodied interactions with others of different ages (Hopkins & Pain, 2007) and realised in space (Enßle-Reinhardt & Helbrecht, 2022). It is alongside younger bodies and in the spatio-temporality of the gay club that Daniel sees himself as an older person, no longer comfortable there.

For LGBTQ+ people, ageing out of queer time relates both to the absence of spaces for them and their increasing inaccessibility. Daniel’s quote above lamented the lack of places for older LGBTQ+ people as LGBTQ+ spaces catered to a particular young(er) demographic. This exclusion is accentuated by the commodification of LGBTQ+ culture. The following brief exchange between Daniel and Tony demonstrated the increasing cost of accessing LGBTQ+ spaces.

> ***Daniel:*** *There’s not much [sic] for any older LGBT people to go to that feels safe, [where] they don’t need to have alcohol or anything like that. It costs a lot of money. I’m sorry, Tony, what do you think?*
>
> ***Tony:*** *I agree, and I used to love the opening night of the Queer Film Festival. But it became so expensive, and I felt that it catered to—I call it the gay mafia.... It got to $70 a ticket [for] two glasses of wine, a couple of nibbles. The atmosphere was fantastic. I love it, [but] my cousin and I just said, “no, we can’t justify spending so many dollars.”*

Besides ageism, the increasing commodification of these spaces results in older LGBTQ+ people feeling they have no place to go to. For Tony, going to the opening night of the Queer Film Festival was something he had done in the past but could no longer afford to do when it became too expensive. The prevalence of alcohol and money in LGBTQ+ spaces and culture reflects the dominance of a consumerist and capitalist class. As queer scholars have

argued on homonormativity, LGBTQ+ culture and politics have shifted over the years towards assimilation and the incorporation of certain LGBTQ+ sensibilities and subjectivities into mainstream heteronormative culture (Duggan, 2002; Holmes, 2009). This turn towards homonormativity can manifest in the commodification of LGBTQ+ spaces and the removal of non-normative or 'non-mainstream' LGBTQ+ spaces. It privileges middle-class, white, cisgender, and young(er) gays and lesbians who have the capital and resources to become part of the mainstream, part of homonormative culture. It excludes other LGBTQ+ people such as those who are older and racialised, rendering them out of place.

The exclusion of older LGBTQ+ people from queer spaces increases their risk of becoming socially isolated with age. Referring specifically to older gay men, Alan described:

> *I'm part of a couple of gay groups on Facebook. There's sometimes more than 2,000 people on it, and it's quite sad because guys who are much older, they keep talking about how they feel isolated, nobody wants to talk to them, and nobody wants to sit with them. Nobody wants to even go and have a drink with [them]. Forget the idea of having sex. They find it really difficult to connect with [others].*

Alan's comments echoed other studies demonstrating the social isolation of older, particularly single gay men (Coleman, 2017, 2018a). Being ignored by other (younger) gay men meant exclusion from the youth-oriented gay spaces (Reygan et al., 2022). Without spaces to forge social connections and the emotional and social support that come with it, older gay men risk feeling lonely and helpless. Alongside the loss of friends and kin to death with age, the risk of social isolation becomes heightened (Genke, 2004). It represents an ageing out of queer time and space, no longer in a queer or exceptional time-space outside of the heteronormative life course.

Overall, this fear of being inched out of queer time and place for LGBTQ+ people can be attributed to an ageist and youth-oriented queer culture. This is felt particularly by cisgender gay participants.

> ***Daniel:*** *In the LGBTI world, everything is about the image—young, pretty, that type of thing. But as you get older, you don't fit in that image... We represent a part of these younger people that they don't want to know about themselves.*

> ***Masaru:*** *As you are getting older and reach a certain age, you become invisible in society. Especially when the gay culture is youth-oriented. But there are people around you... and there are so many LGBTQ seniors living*

> *everywhere... Hopefully LGBTQ seniors become more visible in this society. Don't focus on young, vibrant gays who are visible in the society.*

Daniel and Masaru highlighted the youth-oriented nature of LGBTQ+ culture, especially among the gay 'community' (Genke, 2004). Paralleling heteronormative notions of beauty and attractiveness, gay consumerist culture valorises and makes visible young, fit, able-bodied, and muscular bodies. These bodies are desirable, ideal, and the norm. This inextricable link between gay culture, youth, and able-bodiedness, coupled with the association of gay social spaces with dating, hook-ups, and sex, render other types of bodies not 'gay enough', not the 'right' or desirable type of gay. Older gay men, with their bodies wrinkling, sagging, diminishing in muscle mass and physical ability, are bodies out of queer time and beyond desirability. The "certain age" that Masaru referred to is thus not a number but a function of one's physical appearance and body. It depends on how well one presents as youthful and attractive, or as Küpper put, how well one "mimics" youth and agelessness (2016). When one no longer fits this image of a desirable gay man, they become invisible, no longer seen in gay spaces or media, fading into heteronormative society as older undesirable men. Just like the myth of the asexual older person (Gott & Hinchliff, 2003), the older gay person is seen as sexless, no longer a sexual subject. Daniel's description of older gay men representing "a part of these younger people that they don't want to know about themselves" reveals how gay identity is temporal, placed in fundamental opposition to age. With ageing comes a slow and eventual loss of desirability and gay identity. To grow older is to no longer be attractive, sexually desirable, or visible as gay. Queerness or gayness is a temporality which expires with age.

Moving from cisgender gay, bisexual, and queer men to trans and gender diverse people, the slippage out of queerness and normative notions of desirability also apply but in a different manner. Clara, a transwoman with a husband 20 years her senior, was candid about him likely dying before her. While she recognised the limits of their partnership and acknowledged the possibility of recoupling, she saw her prospects of finding another partner as slim:

> *Straight men would be very uncomfortable going out with me. They would feel that it's a challenge to their masculinity. Going out with a trans[woman] may be admitting that "I'm [referring to the man] actually gay and I'm interested in this person who's actually male."*

Clara's concern that heterosexual men would be uncomfortable being with a transwoman depicts transphobia and the impossibilities of dating for transgender and gender diverse people in a heteronormative and binary gender society. By virtue of being outside the

gender/sex binary, transgender and gender diverse bodies are marked as illegible, undesirable, out of place and time (Nash & Bain, 2007). Unlike the temporal loss of the desirable cisgender male subject through ageing, ageing in Clara's case figures not in a loss of desirability—which has existed regardless of time—but in the potential loss of her partner to death. Her partner's death would thrust her out of the exceptionality of queer time-space, back into a heteronormative and transphobic time and place.

Ageing out of queer time and space for LGBTQ+ people thus manifests in the progressive loss of queer spaces, queer identities, and queer desirability. Spaces like bars, clubs, and LGBTQ+ events that had once been welcoming and accessible become increasingly exclusionary, commodified, and hostile towards older LGBTQ+ people. For older gay, bisexual, and queer cisgender men, it is through their relational placing against the younger and fitter bodies that they become inched out of queer time and space. Attractiveness and desirability, the hallmarks of queer sexual identity, fade not simply with chronological age but through relational time. Important to note in this section is how most examples pertain to cisgender gay, bisexual, and queer men. They experience ageism and age-related exclusion in LGBTQ+ and predominantly gay spaces (Reygan et al., 2022). Other segments of the diverse LGBTQ+ population instead lament the lack of queer spaces for older racialised LGBTQ+ people (see for example Johnson Shen et al, 2019; Jones et al., 2018) and trans and gender diverse people (Nash & Bain, 2007). Clara's example foregrounded an undesirability of transgender and gender diverse bodies not from age(ing) but from normative notions of gender and attractiveness. While ageism can still exist for them, it is not as central as for cisgender gay people. Theirs is thus not a queerness that is lost through time, but one that already exists and is accentuated with time.

4.4 Slipping into Heteronormativity

Parallel to the decreasing capacity of LGBTQ+ people to stay in queer time is the risk of slipping into straight time. Slipping into straight time is slipping into time governed by heteronormative logics. This is summed up by Sharifah's comment:

> *[What's] positive is that you can live an authentic life. For now, until you can't anymore. You have to conform to the straight world again when you're older. But that's the best thing about living here, that you're able to live your authentic life.*

A migrant in search of a better life, Sharifah cherished the opportunity to live an authentic life

as an LGBTQ+ person in Australia. As a first-generation migrant, the promise of a queerer, more LGBTQ+ friendly environment drew her to Australia in the first place. This difference between destination and origin countries was often articulated by the migrants who participated in this study and is expounded upon in chapter 7. Nonetheless, Sharifah's comment held a sombre note, a "for now, until you can't anymore". This finite and temporal limit to living a queer, authentic life signifies its fragility. It highlights how queer lives and the temporal rhythms that LGBTQ+ people have carved out for themselves into can be disrupted by the progression of age and chronological time. Growing older increases the risk of slipping back into past histories or the trajectories they had sought to avoid.

Central to this slippage into straight time is the interactions with formal services and institutions. The increasing need to access services such as aged care and healthcare places LGBTQ+ multicultural people into direct interaction with unknown others in a heteronormative world as they grow older. As Tony shared, "[e]ven now, in clinics, I don't know how many doctors I've had to educate who have no idea how to deal with a gay client." Tony's frustrations in repeatedly having to educate (cisgender heterosexual) doctors with no experience or knowledge of the needs of gay patients underscores the heteronormative assumptions underpinning healthcare institutions and staff. This is paralleled in Ninu's fears of being misgendered or affected by racial slurs:

> *I think as a gender diverse person, I'm really worried about being treated respectfully as I age. Having my pronouns used, being mis-gendered... I don't think I would be as racially profiled these days as I have been in the past, but it doesn't mean that those triggers wouldn't happen.*

Whilst Ninu may not experience overt racism, homophobia, or transphobia, the constant threat and heightened awareness of this risk occurring are distressing. They are a reminder that their bodies and identities are not present, represented, or respected in healthcare and other institutions. Within the literature, healthcare institutions and social services have been perceived as heteronormative and racist (Chen et al., 2022). Older LGBTQ+ ethnic or racial minorities have been sceptical and fearful of these services, with some choosing to hide their gender or sexual identities or be selectively 'out' (Martos et al., 2018; Stein et al., 2010). Tony's choice to continuously come out and "educate" doctors signifies his commitment to disrupt the heteronormative time-space temporarily and repeatedly. Still, these acts heighten his bodily out-of-placeness and render him potentially vulnerable to discrimination and homophobia. The choice to 'come out' is arguably less available for Ninu, whose gender identity and difference place them at a greater risk of being disrespected. Being in these time-spaces is an uncomfortable reminder of being a 'straight' time and space where they

are not welcome.

While the entry into the heteronormative time-spaces of healthcare institutions can be reduced, the intrusion of heteronormativity into home spaces presents a direct hostility. Articulated by Dion on the topic of home care services:

> *It'd be wonderful to have an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander care provider who was LGBTIQ or open [and] friendly, who have family members who are understanding. Because there's nothing worse than coming in—you talk about your partner and they say "oh, what's her name?" [laughs] and I go "Steven".*

Different from seeking healthcare or services at institutions, home care requires one to open their homes and private lives to a professional worker. In the current absence of providers who cater both to LGBTQ+ and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander older adults, Dion worried about receiving homophobic and culturally inappropriate home care. Belying his statement is the implicit heteronormativity of home care, including those catering to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. To receive home care, he and his partner risk opening their homes and lives to the scrutiny and judgment of others. The home as a safe space where one can freely express their identities through material display and daily practices away from the heteronormative pressures of society (Hoekstra-Pijpers, 2022; Pilkey, 2014; Waitt & Gorman-Murray, 2007) is disrupted through this incursion. Wary that their safe space would be subject to policing or judgement from an outsider, older LGBTQ+ people may become vulnerable and out-of-place in their own homes or pre-empt this prejudice by modifying their homes. Home care thus represents the infiltration of the temporal logics of straight time into one's private space, rendering the space potentially distressing, unsafe, and uncertain, no longer one's own.

More than the hostile intrusion of straight logics into the home space, the slippage into heteronormative time-space is taken beyond one's control in death. Sharifah described:

> *People of the older generation would have gotten married to cover themselves and they would probably have children. They're still gay. But people in the younger generation who can choose not to get married, and [for whom] the question of adopting is still not a common thing.... if they are ostracised by family, then what's left? There will be a whole generation of people who may still be wondering who will bury them, or if people will respect what their partner is saying... When they move to palliative care, the Imam comes and they send someone to do the last rites. But always you play that game of 'you are no longer yourself' when you become the friend or cousin or [anything] other than the partner [as you] fear that they won't bury*

you. There's always this fear.

Sharifah's predicament emphasised the conflict at the intersections of being LGBTQ+, Muslim, and older. In Islamic tradition, the ritual cleaning, shrouding, and burial of the deceased are done by close biological kin of the same sex (or, in its absence, Muslims in the broader community) with the involvement of the mosque's Imam. With Islam being a minority religion in Australia, LGBTQ+ affirming mosques and Imams have not emerged, unlike LGBTQ+ affirming churches which have proliferated in recent decades. Without an LGBTQ+ affirming mosque or accepting biological family, one's proper burial rites as a Muslim becomes difficult to fulfil. For LGBTQ+ Muslims who are ostracised by blood kin or not 'out' to them, the fear is having to hide their gender identity or sexual orientation, becoming 'no longer yourself' to be given an Islamic burial. Alternatively, the living partner may hide their partnership, presenting as a platonic friend or cousin for the Imam, family members, and other Muslims to deem the burial appropriate and acceptable. In both instances, death represents a final and irrevocable return to the violence of straight time, to a time pre-relationship, pre-transition, pre-'themselves' in order to be legible and legitimate in the eyes of biological kin and religious institutions. Echoing Sharifah's comment in the beginning of this section, death is when one can no longer reconcile their faith and gender or sexual identities, when one falls out of queer time and place.

Both Sharifah and Dion's concerns underscore the increased vulnerability of being thrust into straight time and space for older multicultural and multifaith LGBTQ+ people. Because of the absence of LGBTQ+ affirming services for their minority cultures and religions, growing older for them presents an increasingly unliveable and undesirable future. Sharifah's example reveals an impossible choice between one's LGBTQ+ and religious identity; Dion's example foregrounds the lack of home care services for those with minority cultural, gender, and sexual identities. Both cases demonstrate the incompatibility of these multiple minoritised identities not on a personal level but on a societal and institutional level, a predicament that is further explored in chapter 7. Here, the absence of LGBTQ+ affirming mosques or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander home care providers results in people like Sharifah and Dion risking downplaying or forgoing one part of themselves to affirm another. For example, Dion choosing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander home care provider runs the risk of him being subject to heteronormative care. Thinking at this intersection of age, gender and sexual identity, culture, and faith reveals the limited reach of queer organisations and activism. Just as queer theorists and the queer of colour critique have indicated queer activism's positioning to a predominantly white, gay, and middle-class

demographic, leaving out the realities and priorities of racialised people (Duggan, 2002; Ferguson, 2004), the dearth of services and support for multicultural and multifaith LGBTQ+ older people (Chen et al., 2022) signifies this neglect outside of the Australian Anglo-Celtic Christian majority. In other words, queer time-spaces for these minoritarian groups simply do not exist. For those existing at these intersections, ageing and having to rely on institutional services for support is then a slippage out of time, back into the heteronormative logics of straight time and space.

4.5 Residential Care as the Last Stop

Nothing exemplified an undesirable and unliveable ageing future more than the prospect of going into residential care. Residential care homes where older people lived under the constant care of staff were consistently highlighted in participants' fears of ageing. This was described by Barbara:

> *Residential care is the last stop. No one leaves that stop. We are going down very quickly. I've seen that happening. Anything from six months to one year—it's the standard living time in nursing homes, very rarely any longer. People give up. They just want to die. They become old, sick, frail, and negative.*

Barbara's term "the last stop" contains a double meaning: the final stage of life for a person but also the last resort. Residential care in Australia and in industrialised countries is where older people lived when they can no longer live independently in their own homes or in the homes of their carers/families. From a policy perspective, they are a last resort or second choice to ageing in place—ageing at home or in independent living communities (Forsyth & Molinsky, 2021). Barbara's perspective, based on what she knew of others in residential care, offered some insights into this. With the description of the "last stop", she painted a dire picture of residential care as a place that not only offered no way out except for death, but more importantly made people give up on living, become weaker, decline, and dying very quickly. In other words, residential care in Barbara's eyes brought forward death through an accelerated decline of one's mental, physical, and emotional state. With people "giving up", "want[ing] to die", time in residential care is time robbed from the living.

Barbara's criticisms point to systemic issues within residential care rather than any deficit in the health of older people. Indeed, the consensus of participants was that residential care was bad for anyone, not just for older LGBTQ+ multicultural people. First amongst their concerns was the poor quality of care fuelled by structural issues such as

management neglect, corporatisation, and a lack of government support. Ninu highlighted:

> *[I don't think] people in aged care get treated very well anyway [laughs] because [the staff are] all understaffed [and] overworked. So much paperwork and administration need to happen but the quality face-to-face time for people doesn't happen. The [residents are] lucky to get their needs met.*

Ninu placed the corporatisation of residential care homes through administrative overload and an underfunded workforce in direct opposition to their treatment of older people. This and other critiques came amidst the release of the Royal Commission into Aged Care Safety and Quality final report in 2021, when I was conducting my fieldwork. After years of investigation, the Commission, a national independent review of the aged care system, illuminated fundamental deficits in its report 'Care, Dignity and Respect'. Based on the testimonies of residents, their proxies, and relevant stakeholders, it detailed the abuses, substandard care, and living situations in residential care (Commonwealth of Australia, 2021). These deficits were particularly evident in for-profit residential care organisations (Commonwealth of Australia, 2020). Alan recounted, "the biggest complaints that have come out of the Royal Commission has been [around] the disgraceful way that private companies are taking over residential care facilities and just not spen[ding] enough money to look after them". The capitalist logics of efficiency, productivity, and economies of scale work in temporal opposition to personalised and attentive care. Chrononormative capitalism is founded on doing things faster, cheaper, in regulated routines and schedules not suited for individual needs and paces (Freeman, 2010). In corporatising residential care, the time and pace of business takes precedence over that of providing quality care to older people. It stoked the fear that the resident, as the customer or consumer, could be given minimal care for maximum profit, squeezed dry or priced out of their place of residence and care.

Besides poor treatment and care, residential care is characterised by a fixed spatio-temporality marked by the loss of independence and control. Being in residential care meant the loss of various individual freedoms. Two participants illustrated this in their photovoice submissions (Figures 4.3 and 4.4):

Figure 4.3: Jail-like window bars (by Alan)

Figure 4.4: Fear of ageing (by Stephanie)

Rust eats my bones as I sit
motionless frail and cold
cold as the look from the man who mocked me because he knew he could
and no one fixed the leak in the tap that drips on and on
and I wonder who the hangman is today
is he bad or is he kind
and will they forgive me for what I've done
when the good book said my sin broke the back of evil
when a thousand purgatories of hell itself
are not enough to clean the smell from the white sheets

Alan's photograph captures the view of an older person in a nursing home, having a beautiful view but unable to go out to enjoy it. He gave it this caption, "[t]he picture of the jail-

like window bars is what I do not want to see my last years through", likening it to being in a birdcage or jail. In our discussion, he added, "any nursing home is pretty much the same" if "you can't do anything by yourself". Being completely reliant on another person—the carer, for example—to leave one's room or the home was akin to being imprisoned. Likewise, Stephanie's photograph of the vehicles abandoned and left to slowly rust and decay in the middle of nowhere is mirrored in her poem as the narrator waits motionless in a nursing home for the hangman to attend to them, slowly rotting with the passage of time. Describing her photograph and poem as "an analogue of my own ageing process... if you wait long enough, you'll fall apart", Stephanie depicted the ageing process in a nursing home as suspended time in space. Time is spent waiting, waiting for assistance, waiting to decay, waiting to fall apart and die. This waiting is echoed in Alan's photograph where the resident must wait for someone to release them momentarily from their cell. In waiting, one is completely dependent on others, stripped of personal freedoms and independence. In waiting, one continuously and slowly decays, losing themselves to the eventuality of death.

Alongside this notion of waiting and suspended time is the omnipresent heteronormativity in residential care. Stephanie's references of the "hangman", "forgive[ness]", "sin", and "hell" layered this waiting with the threat of judgement and derision from others, the spectre of homophobic or transphobic abuse. The "smell" that lingers on the sheets, coming from their affirmation of their gender identity or sexual orientation, is read as sin according to certain religious interpretations or the heteronormative script of society. This smell marks older LGBTQ+ people as different, deviant, and disgusting, out of place in residential care and something to be cleansed and ridiculed by staff. The vulnerability and powerlessness of LGBTQ+ older people vis-à-vis staff and residents were echoed by others. Ninu commented, "I really fear going to aged care, generalised aged care. I fear the discriminations, the put downs. It would be like revisiting childhood." Tony's photograph (Figure 4.5) and caption paralleled this notion: "[t]he closet, I spent my 1st few decades in it, and I worry that with ageing, especially if I end up in an Aged Care Home, [will] force me back into it".

Figure 4.5: The closet (by Tony)

For both Ninu and Tony, going into an aged care home was akin to being forcibly thrust back into straight time, into a spatio-temporal zone reflective of their childhood and early years. Although chronological time and decades separated their younger selves from their current/older selves, the past resurfaces in the discriminations and put downs by staff and residents. Tony's picture literally represents him being back into the closet with tape over his mouth, made to stay silent. The visceral powerlessness and helplessness depicted in the photograph reflects the heteronormative time-space of the aged care home (see also Caceres et al., 2020; Westwood, 2016a). It is a forceful push back into straight time, back into the closet, imprisoned in a place where older LGBTQ+ people were once unable to show certain parts of themselves or were subject to derision and discrimination.

This enmeshing of the past in the present, of childhood in residential care, is significant given the generational characteristics of the participants. Tony and Ninu grew up in Australia when homosexuality was criminalised and the knowledge of gender and sexual diversity was non-existent. Barbara explained:

> *LGBTI people don't want to identify... themselves because they—particular[ly] men—[were seen] as crime-breakers and there were people sitting in prisons for that. They were victimised, not accepted socially, and this stigma sits with them. I would compare this with victims of war [in] that they*

> *have post-traumatic stress. I think the LGBTI people deal with post-traumatic stress related to [the] lack of acceptance and being isolated because of who they are.*

Barbara's relating of the experiences of older LGBTQ+ people—particularly cisgender gay, queer, and bisexual men—to the post-traumatic stress of victims of war denoted their intensity of pain and suffering. Homosexual acts between men in Australia were criminalised after colonisation until 1997, with Tasmania being the last state to decriminalised it (Carbery, 2010). This led to the policing and prosecution of men who had sex with men alongside the stigmatisation of those incarcerated (Kaladelfos & Smaal, 2019). Intertwined with this was public stigmatisation and violence in the form of hate crimes against LGBTQ+ people (Tomsen & Mason, 2001). Both the social hostility and the mark of a criminal record for these men were detrimental to their sense of selves, arguably more than LBTQ+ people who were treated as non-existent and invisible in the eyes of the law. Despite the progressive decriminalisation of homosexuality across Australian states and the belated expungement of these men's criminal records (George, 2019), time here does not work chronologically in a linear narrative of queer progress in having achieved equality and rights (Duggan, 2002). Regardless of the recent years of progress, marriage equality, and the greater societal openness and legal protections for LGBTQ+ people, the effects of growing up in a time when these were inaccessible and criminalised still linger. Like the folding of the past into the present and the future (Freeman, 2010), the violence of having once lived in a particular 'straight' time and place is embodied in the present and feared in the future. Aged care for older LGBTQ+ people and more so for cisgender men is this unthinkable future, the re-enactment of the violence and persecution they once lived through, a re-haunting from a past.

Faith-based organisations that dominate the aged care landscape accentuate the temporal slippage back into straight time. Clara highlighted the extent and implication of this:

> *One of the big issues with the aged care landscape in Australia is how much [it] is dependent on faith-based organisations. I don't know of a single aged care home in Canberra that's not run by a faith-based organisation.... If [they're] allowed to discriminate against LGBTI staff, that's going to send a strong message as to what they expect of the residents in nursing homes. Even though the Aged Care Act specifies that they have got to admit everybody and not discriminate against them and so on, if you are a lesbian person, a trans person, you're going to be quite anxious about how they would respect your identity if they are allowed to discriminate against their staff.*

Christianity is the most common faith in Australia. While it is slowly becoming less common,

decreasing with the increasing religious diversity of Australians, from 61.1% from the 2011 census to 43.9% in the 2021 census (ABS, 2022a), its dominance in the aged care landscape is huge. This prevalence of Christian or faith-based organisations in the provision of social services and aged care comes despite Australia being a secular country (Howe & Howe, 2012). Conversative Christian groups have been one of the most vocal oppositions to LGBTQ+ rights (Ezzy et al., 2022) with practices such as LGBTQ+ conversion therapy, campaigns against the plebiscite for marriage equality, and more recently, the Religious Discrimination Bill.

Adding to this is LGBTQ+ people's perception of these organisations discriminating against LGBTQ+ staff, regardless of its actual occurrence. For older LGBTQ+ people, moving into faith-based residential care homes thus evokes a fear of being discriminated against. Tony elaborated:

> *There have been complaints and problems with people in a nursing home, where somebody's wanted to have a rainbow flag in their room and some annoying care worker has taken umbrage because they have a Christian or religious background and find it offensive. Or, they've had some other paraphernalia that identifies them as being queer... I wouldn't feel comfortable wearing a rainbow t-shirt or anything like that. Not that it would be a big issue particularly, but ... we know that you don't need to be advertising the fact, the same way as if I wore an Aboriginal flag t-shirt. I know that that would really piss them off because they are very much an older generation.*

The atmosphere of heteronormativity in faith-based homes is aggravated through the constant presence of staff, many of whom are from multicultural and migrant backgrounds and have diverse perceptions and attitudes towards LGBTQ+ issues (Horner et al., 2012). It is worsened by the presence of older residents who may be Christian, religious, and conservative. Even if one's possession of a rainbow flag or donning of a rainbow t-shirt does not necessarily mark them as LGBTQ+, this display of seemingly queer paraphernalia may attract outright complaints, stares, or discrimination. Unlike the display of LGBTQ+ material possessions to queer and create a safe home space (Pilkey, 2014), older LGBTQ+ people living in residential care cannot display the same material possessions even though their home is there. The faith-based residential care home itself is an assumed heteronormative time-space where displays of non-normative sexual or gender identities—or any sexual identity—risk disciplining or silencing. Like in Bentham's prison panopticon (Foucault, 1977), being in the home renders one under the omnipresent control and watch of staff and other residents. No complaint or action from staff or residents is needed. The fear or perception is enough regardless of people's actual religious beliefs or organisations' openness towards LGBTQ+ issues. This assumed heteronormativity silences older LGBTQ+ people. It thrusts

them back into a time they feared living in, into straight time.

Moving from LGBTQ+ identities, viewing residential care through the lens of culture and race adds another layer of complexity. For older multicultural people, the temporal slippage back in time in residential aged care occurs at various levels. Tony's equivalent placing of donning the "Aboriginal flag t-shirt" alongside the "rainbow t-shirt" signifies how the culture in the aged care home is not just heteronormative but also racist and racialised. Like older LGBTQ+ people, older Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people may face discrimination in the Anglo-Celtic aged care homes. Despite the presence of some specific services and homes for larger minority cultures like those from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, Greek, Italian, and Chinese backgrounds (Radermacher et al., 2009), these are the minority and cannot cater to the vast diversity of cultures in Australia. Placed in 'mainstream' Anglo-Celtic aged care homes, they may experience racism and discrimination.

Language becomes an additional concern. Masaru described, "if I get dementia, probably I won't be able to understand English. You lose that ability to communicate in English. What's going to happen? Stuff like that, that always worries." For immigrants like Masaru, English is their second or third language. For others, English never becomes a learned language. With ageing or dementia comes the potential reversion to their mother tongues and a reduction of English capacity. This temporal and linguistic return becomes a concern in navigating the aged care landscape in Australia because of the language and cultural differences. Clara expanded on this point:

> *[W]hen they [elderly Chinese people] get to a stage where they actually need more care, they can be quite difficult because a lot of them don't really want to go into your normal nursing home. There's a lot of resistance in the wider community to go into nursing homes at all. But I think for Asians, there are additional barriers because they go into nursing homes where most staff can't understand what they are saying. The food is unfamiliar. Those are two main things that people tend to complain about.*

With English being the dominant language in Australia and in the "normal nursing home", language challenges affect the daily lives of migrants with dementia or with little English proficiency (Runci et al., 2012). Living in a place and being unable to communicate or eat one's usual food is akin to being trapped in foreign time and place. Outside of residential care, with much of daily life structured around a society's dominant language, the inability to understand or communicate also reduces one's independence and access to healthcare and social support, potentially increasing their social isolation (Vergani et al., 2022). Ageing and

the increased need to access these services renders one back in time, going back to when one was foreign, excluded, and out of place in the country.

Thinking through the intersections of age, culture, gender, and sexual identity then reveals the unliveability and undesirability of residential care for LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Daniel highlighted this immense fear:

> *Especially [from] a multicultural aspect... I know in Chinese aged care facilities that it [being LGBTQ-affirming] does not exist. One of the biggest fears, and I think Tony said that before, is going to an aged care facility because we will not have any rights. I know that having witnessed some specifically Chinese aged care facilities. Nah. It's worse than hell. Because they do not cater for our people. It's only very heteronormative.... That's just my thoughts. It's quite negative. I'd like to see it changed. I'd love to see it changed. Hopefully with our generation, we will make some changes. The representation will get stronger when our voices get stronger in lobbying.*

Daniel's comment on Chinese aged care homes demonstrated the prevalence of heteronormative norms for certain cultures and faiths. Whereas an option for cisgender and heterosexual older Chinese would be to live in Chinese aged care facilities where the food is familiar and staff and residents speak their language, this is evidently not the case for older LGBTQ+ Chinese people. For them, being in Chinese aged care homes would be a fate "worse than hell" as they need to hide their LGBTQ+ identities or risk discrimination and marginalisation. Likewise, following from Sharifah's earlier fear, being placed in a Muslim aged care home would be impossible to live. While not all minority cultures and faiths are heteronormative—or more so compared to 'mainstream' Anglo-Celtic culture—these examples underline the impossible dilemma and hopeless choice older LGBTQ+ multicultural people face in the future.

Taken together, the logic of residential care undermines the very being of older LGBTQ+ multicultural people. For 'the average person' who prefers to age at home, ageing in residential care is already seen as undesirable (van Hees et al., 2017; Wiles et al., 2009, 2012). Set up to care for the basic needs of older people, residential care is perceived to instead be wresting control away from them. The chrononormative institutional or corporate drive to operate efficiently and cost-effectively dehumanises the care process. Adding on the layers of gender, sexual, cultural, and religious identities emphasises this unliveability. Faith-based residential care organisations evoke fear rather than confidence, homophobia and transphobia rather than neutrality. They represent a future that is a reliving of the past, a past that is heteronormative and deprives them of their rights. This is exacerbated for older

LGBTQ+ multicultural people whose choices are limited at best to the cultural bubble of the mainstream Anglo-Celtic residential homes or the heteronormative ethno-specific home. It is no surprise then that participants echo the LGBTQ+ ageing literature (see Boggs et al., 2017; Gorman-Murray et al., 2022), consistently preferring ageing in place over ageing in residential care. Importantly, not all discussion on residential care homes was negative and fatalistic. Daniel's quote in the preceding paragraph contained a utopic quality of a liveable future in residential care. Masaru too was comfortable going into residential care if it was both "LGBTQ-friendly and multicultural-friendly". These comments contain a kernel of hope for remaking and re-locating an ageing future in residential care.

4.6 Conclusion

In this first empirical chapter, I have painted in broad strokes what unliveable and undesirable ageing futures look like for LGBTQ+ multicultural participants. Overall, ageing is seen as be(com)ing out of time and place in various facets of life. With the passing of chronological time, growing older results in gradual decline, rendering one out of able-bodied time (e.g., Kafer, 2013), unable to navigate daily and social activities in the same paces and rhythms as the past. Ageing inches one out of queer time, no longer desirable, visible, or accepted in LGBTQ+ and especially gay cisgender male time-spaces. It makes one increasingly vulnerable to slipping into straight time, increasingly having to rely on heteronormative institutions or be in heteronormative time-spaces. One becomes subject to a spatio-temporality that is no longer their own, no longer within their control. Instead, time and lives become governed by heteronormative, ageist, and able-bodied structures and logics. With ageing, LGBTQ+ multicultural people fall out of time, no longer able to be in a time or place that they desire. Like the queer person in Edelman's *No Future* (2004), LGBTQ+ multicultural older people lack futurity, having nothing good to look forward to as they age out of time and place.

The experiences and fears of ageing articulated in this chapter reflect those in the broader literature on LGBTQ+ ageing. Growing older evokes a fear of losing one's independence and abilities, becoming more dependent on other people and institutional support (Woody, 2014). As queer and critical gerontologists have argued, old age is predominantly perceived as decline and becoming weaker and less able (Gullette, 2004; Port, 2014). These fears of decline are amplified when considering residential aged care, perceived as the ultimate loss of control and freedom. Layered upon this wariness of and

reluctance to enter residential care (Boggs et al., 2017) is the concern of homophobic or transphobic treatment. Residential care time-spaces are seen as overwhelmingly heteronormative, unsafe for LGBTQ+ older people to express their identities or be themselves. Alongside heteronormativity, the cultural inappropriateness in aged care services creates a gap for LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Even in home care, LGBTQ+ people are vulnerable to having their homes, domestic lives, and identities subject to scrutiny and derision by aged care staff. Added to this is the visible ageism in LGBTQ+, particularly gay spaces (see also Reygan et al., 2022). Catering to a younger, more youthful, and more desirable demographic, clubs and bars increasingly become exclusionary spaces for older LGBTQ+ people, affecting their sense of selves and social connections. These barriers and challenges paint a sombre picture of ageing for LGBTQ+ multicultural people, whether in-place but especially in institutional aged care.

Important too in this chapter has been the interactions of different identities and structural barriers in the experiences and perceptions of ageing. While my central focus has been the identities of age alongside culture, gender, and sexual identity, different identities become relevant depending on interlocking axes of power. Paralleling the literature, ageism and heteronormativity dominate participant concerns of residential aged care and interactions with healthcare institutions (Caceres et al., 2020). Instead of racism in LGBTQ+ and gay spaces (Johnson Shen et al., 2019; Jones et al., 2018), ageism was the dominant exclusionary experience here. Beyond these axes, ableism was a cross-cutting issue that aligned LGBTQ+ multicultural people's perceptions of ageing with that of the 'mainstream' population who need not be marginalised in gender, sexual, or cultural identity. Compulsory able-bodiedness in society underpinned the inaccessibility of places and stigma of disabled and older bodies. Highlighted in Tony's example of his mother going around in circles unable to find a parking spot, one's culture, gender, or sexual identity is less relevant in a compulsory able-bodied and ageist world. Growing older, becoming less able-bodied or acquiring a disability already reduces one's capacity to seamlessly navigate society. Culture, gender, and sexual identities then come on as additional layers shaping LGBTQ+ multicultural temporalities and spatialities. Seeing disability as an unliveable and undesirable ageing future regardless of gender, sexuality, and cultural identity is important. It reflects the primacy of compulsory able-bodiedness within liveable ageing futures, echoing Sandberg and Marshall's comment that queer ageing futures require a simultaneous cripping of ageing futures (2017). It is a point that I will return to in my final chapter.

Turning from unliveability and undesirability, the next chapter explores imaginations and articulations of liveable and desirable ageing futures for LGBTQ+ multicultural people through the lens of time and temporality. It highlights the navigations, negotiations, and compromises made to resist, pre-empt, and reject this overarching sense of ageing out of time and place. Through these, I ask how notions and practices of time may be rethought, redeployed, or even queered to carve out liveable ageing futures.

5 AGEING IN (QUEER) TIME

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the ageing futures that LGBTQ+ multicultural people deemed unliveable and undesirable. In brief, participants experienced and perceived ageing in Australia as a slow but steady decline, out of time and place in various aspects of their lives. This chapter turns from fears to hopes, from undesirability and unliveability to desirability and liveability. It continues the previous chapter's productive discussion on temporality to examine the ageing futures and negotiations of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. I illuminate how LGBTQ+ multicultural people attempt to age in time, how they avoid and negotiate the slippages mentioned in the previous chapter. I draw out participants' personal time-space rhythms and elucidate their constructions of time in ageing through five overarching temporalities: delaying decline, being in time, ageing as beginnings and becomings, queer generative futures, and ending time. While detailed separately, they are not mutually distinct but overlap and intertwine. In line with my research questions, I interrogate these temporalities against (hetero)normative notions of ageing, notably successful ageing (Rowe and Kahn, 1987, 1997) and ageing as decline (Gullette, 2004). As well, I reveal how they present alternative temporalities that queer or dispute normative notions of 'successful' and liveable ageing.

Overall, I argue that participants' temporalities in older age both echo and reframe the narratives of chronological decline and timeless identities in normative age-related discourses. Their five temporal strategies and responses to ageing challenge, reinforce, or circumvent the (hetero)normative life course and typical scripts laid out in ageing discourse and society. As with the previous chapter, not all these conceptions of time are exclusive to participants' LGBTQ+ or cultural identities. The notion of delaying decline and to a lesser extent ending time are temporal enactments that reflect broader chrononormative and heteronormative constructions of successful ageing (see Jones et al., 2022a; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). As I argue, LGBTQ+ multicultural visions of liveable ageing futures may be congruent with or even contingent on achieving particular ideals. Doing so helps to stave off the perceived impending decline and allow participants to construct themselves as active subjects. In contrast, the other three temporalities—being in time, ageing as beginnings and becomings, and queer generative futures—open other ways of being in and understanding time in old(er) age. Within these strategies lie an affective lived experience of time and a grasp of the future that connects temporalities past, present, and yet to come. They

represent “multiple epistemologies of old age” (Port, 2012, p. 5), lived experiences and understandings of time that contest and resist the narrative of ageing as decline and the heteronormative, ableist, and racist narratives laid out in the previous chapter. These understandings see time in old(er) age as nonlinear (Chazan 2020; Chazan et al., 2022), unfixed, neither an upward progression away from nor a downward decline towards death. Unveiling these temporalities connects with Gallop’s call of “thinking about identity longitudinally”, conceiving identities that are changing with age rather than staying timeless or declining with chronological time (2019, p. 110). They present a different vocabulary and theoretical lens of articulating age temporally beyond the narrative of decline and no future.

5.2 Delaying Decline

5.2.1 Keeping time away: Healthy and active ageing

A liveable and desirable older age is first and foremost a healthy, active older age. Keeping time away was the most cited temporal strategy enacted by the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants and was unrelated to their gender, sexual, or culture identities. It meant keeping fit and active, staying healthy, doing the things that ‘should’ be done to stave away the social, physical, and mental decline associated with ageing. In the group photovoice session on hopes, the three participants connected over the various activities they did to keep fit and healthy. John shared a photograph (Figure 5.1) of him at yoga, noting that “[m]aintaining flexibility and balance are so important for healthy ageing”. Tony’s photographed (Figure 5.2) his feet and dancing shoes, adding “I hope the impairments of ageing won't stop me”. Daniel showed his grappling dummy (Figure 5.3), stating that “[t]he fear of growing older may reduce my mobility [for] my Brazilian jiu-jitsu”.

Figure 5.1: Yoga (by John)

Figure 5.2: Dancing, movement to music (by Tony)

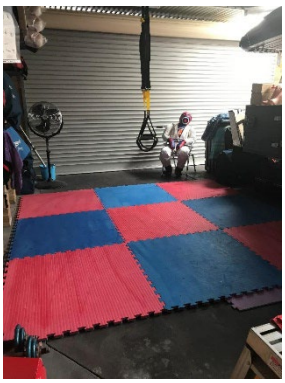

Figure 5.3: Fear of growing older (by Daniel)

At the final group meeting, looking through and discussing the previous weeks' photographs, Daniel summarised:

> *All of them—from my experiences, [are] just freedom of movement. There's a lot of outdoor activities. We're still very active, the three of us, with the dogs and things like that. Everyone's very active. There's still a lot of outside shots.*

Staying mobile and having the freedom of movement despite and during old age was significant to all three participants. The three photographs and the respective activities depicted were meaningful to them. These activities allowed them to move and kept them moving. They resist the "impairments" of ageing. Compared to the previous chapter's depiction of ageing as immobility and the shrinking of one's time-spaces, Daniel's comment on "still a lot of outside shots" places spatio-temporal emphasis and continuity on mobility and being active while ageing. Looking to the future, Tony's photograph of his feet and dance shoes encapsulates the hope of still dancing in ten years despite the physical decline associated with ageing. By depicting activity and mobility, the participants set themselves apart from the immobility that characterised old age. They placed themselves in a different relational category—temporally and spatially distant from the loss of independence, physical health, or at worst, institutionalisation in an aged care home. Their activities represent the active, fit, and healthy older person, mirroring the depictions of successful, healthy, and active ageing that continues from mid-life into later life (van Dyk, 2014). They represent a desired continuity in activity and bodily abilities from past to present, from present to future.

Keeping time away is a temporal endeavour requiring concerted effort and continuous cultivation. One needed to be committed and diligent in maintaining activity and mobility. John articulated:

> *I'm feeling content, I have to say. I made a commitment that the decade of my 50s was going to be devoted to physical health and yoga became part of that. I started going to the gym for the first time ever. I had already decided that my 60s where I am now will be devoted to [the] social and that's really taken off in a way that's never happened in my life. I've had this very definite plan for how to protect my wellbeing as I age and I'm sticking to the plan. It's working.*

John's dedication to protecting various aspects of his wellbeing over each decade of his older life had worked out well and benefitted him greatly. His yoga, meditation practice, and now social life took off in ways he had never experienced, positively affecting his life. This committed and planned effort through the decades, years, months, and days is articulated in healthy and successful ageing discourses which place responsibility and agency on the individual to age well (Cardona, 2008). The ageing body is seen as a resource that can be protected and preserved from the ravages of chronological time. With the 'right' efforts and

temporal consistency, one can reap the rewards of wellbeing, preventing and delaying inevitable deterioration and decline. Ageing well is then an individual endeavour that prolongs the middle age of able-bodiedness and able-mindedness (Sandberg & Marshall, 2017; van Dyk, 2014). It keeps time as it is now, allowing one to stay in or enhance one's current state of mind, body, and wellbeing.

Besides the benefits to the self, the practice of active ageing and keeping away of time bring external rewards and social recognition. On his yoga practice, John described:

> *[T]his little exercise station is filled with young fit blokes in their 20s doing incredible feats of strength and endurance in ways that I never could, never would, never will. But I can hold this pose for over a minute and I get admiration. I get respect. In fact, what I noticed is that after I've been going and doing yoga there for a couple of months, I notice[d] some of the young guys getting off the bars and all the heavy-duty equipment and starting to do some yoga stretches and yoga poses. I thought "oh, I had an influence on them." It's quite nice.*

Regularly doing yoga in an exercise station filled with young(er), fit(ter) men, John inserted himself into a time-space defined by youth, fitness, and strength. By completing his yoga pose for a whole minute, John defied the stereotypes of his age and the age-related norms of the space. Rather than being excluded, he became someone of influence and stature, owning and transforming the space. His yoga feat, something unexpected of one who looked visibly older than those at the exercise station, won the admiration of the younger men and even influenced them. Reading this through a critical temporal lens, John's claim to space was possible because his yoga act surpassed social expectations of old age, exceeding normative notions of what an older body should be doing, making him an exceptional older person and deserving of praise.

This exceptionality of the older person whose abilities surpasses age-related expectations is akin to the "supercrip". Crip theorist Kafer described supercrips as:

> [P]roducts of either extremely low expectations (disability by definition means incompetence, so anything a disabled person does, no matter how mundane or banal, merits exaggerated praise) or extremely high expectations (disabled people must accomplish incredibly difficult, and therefore inspiring, tasks to be worthy of nondisabled attention) (2013, p. 90).

Extending this concept to ageing, John's noteworthy yoga performance deserved attention from younger men because old age, like disability, is marked by physical inability and inadequacy such that an older person demonstrating a yoga pose garners praise and

influence. Seen differently, only in achieving the incredibly difficult task of holding a pose for one minute, something that younger men presumably could not do, can an older person be worthy of their attention. As with the previous chapter, this alignment of crip theory to ageing is crucial because both critique the measurement and valuation of bodies by compulsory able-bodiedness. The older and/or disabled body is always less desirable than younger, able-bodied bodies. Nonetheless, this binary comparison is softened by John's prioritisation of yoga, which valorised flexibility, balance, and control over the brute strength and endurance required for fitness bars and heavy-duty equipment. This indicated a changing understanding of bodies and bodily abilities with age. Rather than returning to the youth and strength that he once or never had, John found yoga to be a practice that fitted with his time.

5.2.2 Future-proofing older age

Alongside keeping healthy and active, participants articulated how chronological decline could be delayed by looking ahead and preparing for the future. Time here is experienced as a resource to be harnessed, a pace one can and should keep up with as they grew older. Masaru shared:

> *From time to time, [my partner and I] discuss and make sure that [we] will be financially okay, look after ourselves and try to be fit and healthy… [W]e have shoulder, back pain [laughs], things like that. That's the reality we're facing every day. Sometimes, not often but occasionally, we talk about getting old and what's going to happen in 10 years' time.*

Just like the above-mentioned practices to keep ageing and decline away, Masaru and his partner put in effort to stay fit and healthy. Theirs is a practice of proactive ageing, taking stock of their current state and ensuring they are tracking well in financial and physical aspects of their lives. Occasionally, they discussed the future further ahead, in ten years' time. Although neither Masaru nor his partner knew what would happen in the future, discussing it gave a semblance of preparation and decision-making. The temporality and affective reality of the present, felt in the shoulder and back pains, are signs of future threats and bodily decline. Their proactive planning, discussing, and safeguarding are practices that thus help delay decline and instead herald a fitter, healthier, happier future. They can be interpreted as keeping ahead of the ravages of time, taking back control amidst uncertainty by pre-empting and mitigating the risks of ageing. Doing so helps them maintain their independence, preventing them from slipping away into ill-health or financial destitute, the examples of decline articulated in the previous chapter.

Besides proactive planning, past toils and current resources help one keep pace with a desired ageing future. Encapsulating this perspective is Alan, who saw himself as reaping the present and future rewards of his past efforts. Sharing his photograph (Figure 5.4), Alan described his sanguine outlook to ageing:

Figure 5.4: Stay calm (by Alan)

[A]t the moment I don't see any of these sorts of barriers and challenges, but I can see that they certainly exist for a lot of people. It's so important to continue to focus on knowing yourself, knowing myself, being really comfortable and happy in my own company. But knowing that I've got family and resources and money and property, I have all the things that will protect me from the possibility of going into [a] nursing home or housing commission, [from] not having enough money to spend on myself or having to cut back my lifestyle completely. I don't see any of these challenges for myself for the moment. But what I do keep telling myself is, just be calm about life. Just stay calm and just take one day at a time and be thankful for all you have. I am a firm believer of doing things for other people because I believe if I do that then I will get [them] back. It's definitely a reality for me.

Submitted on the theme of 'fears', Alan's photograph and accompanying comments depicted their current absence despite acknowledging that fears do exist for many older people. What set him apart from them were his mentality of "staying calm", his comfort in his own skin, and his notion of karma—doing good onto others to reap benefits in the future. Above all, his possession of family, resources, money, and property ensured he could be "comfortable". He felt contented and surrounded by people who loved and respected him. His social support and financial independence would prevent him from ending up in residential care or public housing. Alan connected his past, present, and future in a seamless narrative and vision of ageing well. Having spent his younger years constructing a desired future and doing good, he had accumulated a wealth of resources and support. Reaping the benefits in his older age, he is protected in the present and foreseeable future against the challenges and fears of ageing. Because of his concerted and deliberate actions in the past, Alan may enjoy his

later years safe from the perils of decline and dependence. Past and present decisions align to secure his desirable ageing future.

Possessing key resources sets one apart from others, allowing one to age successfully and well. Alan elaborated in relation to others who were like him in chronological age but different in circumstance and outlook:

> *There are groups in Sydney and one of them is called MAG, Mature Aged Gays. They are entirely made up of ... older gay men… One of my challenges is I don't even see myself in that in that group, so I don't think about that [ageing]. I'm financially quite secure. The idea of an aged care facility is just so far from me.*

Because of his financial situation, Alan did not share similar concerns with other older gay men who were worried about financial insecurity and the looming threat of ending up in residential care (see for example Porter et al., 2004; Robinson, 2016). His remarks positioned himself as different from that group of older gay men, at least not yet ageing or declining in the same way. This distancing can be read in what Küpper terms “age mimicry”, the orientation and imitation of the middle-age by the ‘young-old’ (2016). Setting himself apart from these other older gay men, Alan maintained a socio-temporal identity as a younger, still able-bodied, financially-secure person. This view demonstrates the relational construction of age through the reification of the mid-life/old age binary (van Dyk, 2014), where one side (Alan) is independent, secure, and stable but the other (the older gay men) is dependent, insecure, and declining. While Alan is old in chronological age, he is not that ‘old’ in socio-economic situation and biophysical ability. Being in a financially and socially comfortable situation, he can stave off the concerns of ageing, keeping them as a not-quite-there, a distant temporal moment on the horizon.

Future-proofing oneself against the perils of ageing through proactive planning and the past accumulation of resources is nonetheless a privilege not possible for everyone. In contrast to Alan and Masaru, mopoke described a less-planned approach to ageing. They shared:

> *I would like to be independent [for] as long as possible. That's all I can do. I don't have plans. I don't have any…. Right now, I'm obsessively trying to create a garden where a lot of it will look after itself so I don't have to. I am planning ahead in that way. I'm creating a garden that, once it’s all in there, that little jungle looks after itself. I don’t have to weed it. But there's things that you do have to keep doing. It's that part of my planning ahead, to make the garden in places, in ways that has less work in the long run. Right now, I’ve*

still got a lot of work.

A single pensioner, living alone in a rented house, mopoke can be seen as Alan's polar opposite. They lacked savings, superannuation, property, or partner, the assets and resources that Alan has accumulated. Being single and without children, mopoke is without the support of a partner (unlike Masaru) and cannot fall back on any children (unlike Alan). Past the age of 60, mopoke's plans revolved around staying independent for as long as possible and creating a garden that would look after itself when they could no longer look after it. Compared to Alan and Masaru's plans of financial independence, mopoke's plans appear small and arguably unhelpful in securing a comfortable and desirable ageing future. Like the older gay men in Porter et al.'s (2004) article, mopoke's socioeconomic situation made them vulnerable to falling deeper into poverty and being dependent on social and institutional support. Without having accumulated wealth, without a partner or children, mopoke's planning for the future was reduced to staying independent and creating a self-sustaining garden. Their statement "that's all I can do" evoked a sense of futility and helplessness. Essentially, there was nothing else that could be done besides staying independent for as long as possible. Without having planned for and accumulated the requisite resources in the past, they are at risk of falling into financial peril with older age.

Put altogether, participant narratives of keeping away time and future-proofing older age to achieve desirable ageing futures demonstrate their attempts to delay and protect themselves against temporal ageing, biological decline, and the loss of financial and physical freedoms. As the examples above show, they require concerted diligence in the present and having done the 'right' thing in the past. Individual choices to live a healthy lifestyle, stay active, and exercise contribute to maintaining their independence and health. Meticulous planning by John's "decade of" approach or by the pragmatic future-making of Masaru and Alan allow them to keep pace with the evolutions and changes brought about as they age. In both instances, they provide a sense of control, certainty, and achievement: that the foundations built now and laid in the past can tide them on in an uncertain future. Mapped on to the gerontological literature, the keeping pace with and keeping away of time parallel theories on successful ageing. Conceptualised by Rowe and Kahn (1987, 1997) and widely adopted and adapted across gerontological research, successful ageing charts a pathway for the individual to be 'successful' in ageing. Success, defined by physical and mental health, social engagement, and the absence of disease and disability, is possible through the individual maintenance of a productive active life. The opposite to biological decline and loss of independence in old age, successful ageing is achievable with individual effort (Rowe

and Kahn, 1997). Done right, one can age well and avoid or delay physical, social, and financial decline.

Critically reading these participant narratives reveals how they reflect and rely on chrononormative and heteronormative temporalities of the life course. As Sandberg and Marshall argued, successful ageing comes from "the juxtaposition of this hetero-happiness with the spectre of 'failed' or unsuccessful aging" (2017, p.3). Juxtaposing mopoke's uncertainty against Alan's financial stability uncovers what success and by extension, failure, is dependent on. Alan's success rests on him having lived in heteronormative and chrononormative time, having spent his 'productive' younger years in paid employment, building up a retirement nest egg, coupling, childbearing and childrearing, keeping fit and healthy. All these enabled him to accumulate the necessary resources and support for older age. His reward is a sanguine and comfortable outlook on ageing and retirement. In contrast, mopoke, dependent on the government age pension rather than their own retirement income, single and without children, is deemed to have 'failed' at planning and living 'productively' in the past. Seen this way, mopoke's failure to live in heteronormative and chrononormative time, neither attaining private wealth nor the 'hetero-happiness' of coupledom and biological children robs them of a comfortable retirement future and exposes them to the perils and dangers of ageing. Reading Alan and mopoke's contrasting outlooks through heteronormativity and chrononormativity reveals how these successful, desirable, and liveable ageing futures depend on possessing certain subject identities and positions. They favour the privileged (e.g., the able-bodied, cis-male, middle-class) who are able and willing to accumulate resources and capital during their 'productive' adult working years of the life course. It faults those who cannot or do not accumulate sufficient retirement savings because of caregiving and other responsibilities (Hargita, 2016) or those marginalised and without access to resources (Martinson and Berridge, 2015). It faults those who do not pursue the hetero-kinship ideals of coupledom and procreation (Sandberg & Marshall, 2017), ideas which will be discussed in the next chapter. Those who do not or fail to do so then 'fail' at successful ageing, falling back into the undesirable and unliveable ageing futures that the previous chapter illuminated.

Thinking participant narratives through this critical lens brings two insights. First, the 'failure' at ageing 'successfully' is not failure of the individual but a product of neoliberal, ableist, and heteronormative society. As Rubinstein and de Medeiros argued, successful ageing is left to individual responsibility rather than socio-political action (2015). It is cast as

individual failure rather than political failure. Shifting failure and success away from the individual to the social and political highlights structural barriers and inadequacies. Hargita, in a chrononormative critique of Australia's superannuation policies, argued how the mandatory individualised savings for retirement unfairly disadvantaged women and individuals who take on unpaid and 'unproductive' care responsibilities (2016). Likewise, unequal access to resources, mediated by class, disability, race, sexuality, and gender, reduces one's capacity to age 'successfully' (Katz & Calasanti, 2015). Still, by striving to keep time away, participants demonstrate an acceptance and valuation of these notions of successful ageing, perhaps grudgingly. This is echoed in Jones' study on feminist ageing futures where participant narratives reflected "desirable attributes of complaint neoliberal citizens" rather than efforts to "step outside social norms" (2022, p. 8). Instead of reading this as a disappointment, I argue that participants' endeavours to keep in step with heteronormative and chrononormative time are their attempts to carve out an ordinary and liveable life in an exclusionary society that relegates the responsibility of liveable ageing to the individual. The temporalities of LGBTQ+ people need not always be in opposition to heteronormativity. They can be, as Stephanie put, the "same as everyone else's". Like the same-sex couples' "claims to ordinariness" that positioned their families as nothing extraordinary alongside other ordinary (heterosexual) families (Heaphy et al., 2013, p. 34; Mizielińska, 2022), these narratives of 'ageing well' and delaying decline mirror mainstream discourses of success. Doing so helps LGBTQ+ multicultural participants see themselves as ageing with agency. They provide a sense of stability and certainty amid a precarious and uncertain world.

5.3 Being in Time

5.3.1 Time as flow

Besides delaying decline, participants took the passage of time in their stride. This temporal experience of ageing as flow contrasted with the planned awareness and the keeping ahead of the perils of ageing. It breaks away from the binary of successful or failed ageing. Going with the flow meant sitting with uncertainty, letting things evolve at their own time and pace. It often came with a mindset and a commitment to let go. As Stephanie related, "whatever happens, I can't stop it [getting sick]. I'm not gonna worry about it until it happens. [I will] just deal with whatever happen[s] and think about consequences at the time, how best to handle it." Compared to the active keeping ahead of decline in the previous section, Stephanie adopted the mindset of not being able to stop it, choosing instead to deal with it when it happens. Doing so releases her from the pre-emptive, forward-looking task of

ageing ‘successfully’, switching from prevention or protection to adaptation and reaction. The choice not to worry about whatever happens or to always be one step ahead allows her to be in the moment. In going with the flow, presumption is traded for uncertainty, the future with the present, worry with calm.

While going with the flow necessitates relinquishing control over the future, like the previous strategy of delaying decline, it gives participants a sense of agency over their lives. John summed this up through his practice of meditation (Figure 5.5):

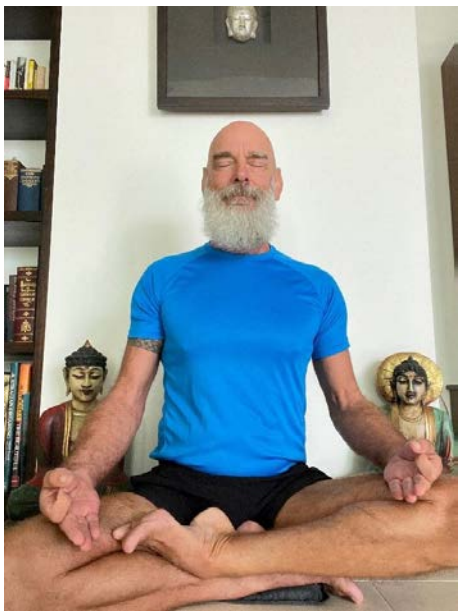

Figure 5.5: Meditation and Buddhism (by John)

No matter what's going on, whatever the external circumstances might be, there’s still a chance for inner peace, contentment, and happiness. That’s really important as we age, when the body becomes increasingly unreliable and more and more begins to let you down—to be able to hold back that stable, peace of mind that is independent of what's actually happening outside.

Meditation, a practice of the self and mind, allows one to rise above the challenges of the moment. No matter the external circumstance or the decline of the body, meditation allowed John to focus on himself, his inner peace, and happiness. Much like exercise and sport, meditation requires a deliberate practice over time. It is a practice that does not require physical ability, allowing one to be content despite the “increasingly unreliable” body and society. John’s privileging of able-mindedness over able-bodiedness invokes the Cartesian mind-body split that sees the mind as superior and separate from the body. It echoes the privileging of able-mindedness over disability and dementia in older age (King, 2022). This perspective nonetheless offers him reprieve and an escape from the affective bodily

experience of physical loss and decline that may come. Turning away from the multiple uncertainties of the future, meditation gives the doer the notion of mental and emotional control, focusing in the present and breathing meaning back into their life.

Age and the passage of chronological time are seen as crucial in achieving the perspective of going with the flow. Both Alan and Tony linked their perspectives to their experiences accumulated through age.

> ***Alan:*** *I now know at my age that this will pass as well, and if it doesn't, if something happens and it doesn't pass, then I've got to adapt. I have to review, "so, what's the lesson here? How have I contributed to the situation? Could I have done something different? Was it out of my control?" If I get all the right answers to that, then it's easier for me to move on.*

> ***Tony:*** *I [have] always liked the acronym DGAS when you talked about reaching a certain age. Don't give a shit. You're at that point where you don't have to impress people anymore, or at least you realise you don't have to answer to people or [care about] what people think. It's only important [to do so] for the people that matter to you. If somebody is unimportant to you, you really don't care.*

Speaking about coming out and separating from his ex-wife, Alan recognised those moments as turbulent and tumultuous. Seen across his 60 years on earth, they were mere ripples in the lake, lessons to learn from. His vantage point of older age lets him take a step back, review his circumstances, and know that things will pass. This perspective allows him to transcend the visceral moment, to hold on to the bigger picture and not worry about or over-plan the future. Similarly, Tony's mantra of "don't give a shit" was realised after "reaching a certain age". Not "giving a shit" allows him to tune out the expectations of others, particularly those unimportant to him. They allow him to fall out of step with the temporal logics of society, to disregard social norms and the disciplining gazes of others, heteronormative or otherwise. These practices of going with the flow, of being in the present, reflect the resilience and self-assurance seen in other studies on LGBTQ+ ageing (Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., 2019; Woody, 2015). Here, age is associated with the accumulation of past experiences and wisdom rather than with physical decline and poorer wellbeing. In other words, age(ing) is fundamental to these perspectives of equanimity and self-realisation.

5.3.2 Momentary time

Complementary to the perspective of time as flow is that of momentary time. In momentary time, time diminishes, worlds narrow, and the focus is on transcending the limits of the present moment. Like time as flow, momentary time requires an attentiveness to the quotidian, to the queer potentialities and glimpses of futurity in the present. On his photograph of kayaking (Figure 5.6), Daniel described:

Figure 5.6: Being able to explore the outdoors (by Daniel)

I'm going to access what I can now because I feel that I might have 20, 30 years of this. My partner and I can do it now because we can... to go and do all these things, kayaking, swimming, camping, because we can. That freedom is what I really enjoy.

With the feeling of diminishing time and the slow but eventual loss of mobility and independence in the horizon, Daniel recognised the potential of the present. He and his partner do what they can now because the future 20, 30 years ahead might deny them this ability. Against the narrowing of future possibilities, the present moment becomes replete with potential. Momentary time calls for living in the moment, for being fully present. It leaves out the complication of protecting oneself from decline and the perils of ageing, instead revealing the urgency and importance of the present moment. Time is taken with certainty and intention, by doing rather than waiting. Making plans or putting away intentions is traded for doing things now.

The temporalities of the past, present, and future align in momentary time to reveal queer potentiality. Momentary time enables the momentary stepping out of the heteronormativity of the present, slipping into a queer time and place. Sharing a photograph taken of him and his partner during one Christmas vacation (Figure 5.7), Daniel shared a similar sentiment to Tony's perspective of "don't give a shit":

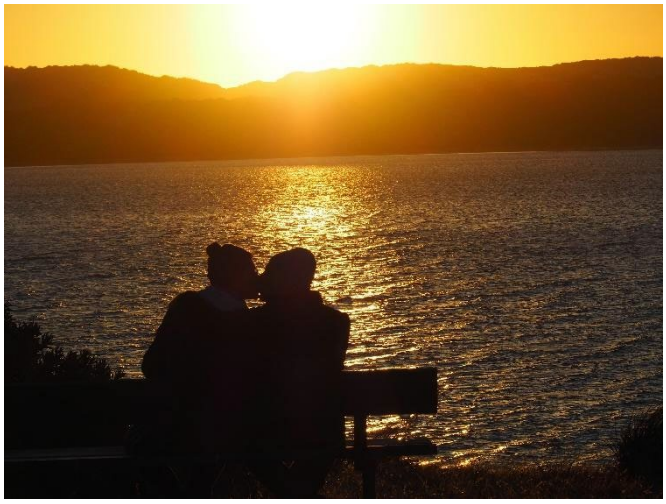

Figure 5.7: Celebrating life with my partner (by Daniel)

After 25 years, we're actually celebrating together. We don't need the—what's the word—the hassle of family Christmases with all that façade and that crap or anything like that. We really want to spend it the way we want to, and that's with each other, where we want to. That's just us going away for Christmas, just sharing our time with each other.

Christmas in Australia, a nation-wide holiday of celebratory reunion and display of hetero-kinship, is seen by Daniel as irrelevant and an upkeep of appearances. It is a time when LGBTQ+ people may feel even more isolated or pressured because of precarious or severed biological kinship ties. Daniel uses this photograph to evoke one such Christmas where he went away with his partner on a holiday at a national park. This reference to the past to disrupt a very heteronormative Christmas that still exists in the present is what Muñoz (2009) termed as a queer utopian impulse glimpsed in everyday life. Arising from a 'there and then', a past time and space that is no-longer-conscious, Daniel's Christmas with his partner represents a break away from heteronormative time, a rejection of the hetero-kinship ritual of Christmas for another way of being together in the world. Their need to repeatedly go away highlights the inadequacies and impossibilities of living in straight time, of being queer in a straight world. At the same time, queer futurity and potentiality surfaces in this past moment. Daniel and his partner reclaim and queer this festivity, simultaneously cutting the kinship ties they deemed toxic and redefining them with new meanings of love and togetherness. Futurity in momentary time materialises in Daniel's repeated choice (and future choices) of his partner over his biological family, leaving 'home' and going away every Christmas. Doing so pushes beyond the present impasse and injustices, opening a queer temporal window for being in straight time.

Momentary time is lived in activities that take on meaning beyond themselves, that

break out of the obstacles of the moment. Taking queer futurity beyond issues of sexuality and gender, I read the queer potential of momentary time as also present in Tony's account of tai-chi:

> *I carry quite a lot of chronic pain. At the moment I've got two bulging discs in the lower back and my mother's had a cancer diagnosis, so there's a lot that's being carried. It just means that you don't have that equanimity that I would like. I do tai-chi and I find that the best day of my week. I really need to bring it home and do it as well.*

Tai-chi, more than an activity to keep fit or stave away physical decline, allows Tony to momentarily transcend the physical pain and worries that mark his day-to-day life. It temporarily lifts the burden he carried, making it a little lighter. The "best day of his week", tai-chi offers a time-space out of present troubles into a field of equanimity, composure, and calm. It is an affective transcendental experience that grounds him 'here' in the temporal present but also 'there' in emotional and mental state. Just as Muñoz conceptualised "utopia as a moment when the here and the now is transcended by a then and a there that could be and indeed should be" (2009, p. 97), Tony's experience of tai-chi takes him beyond the present impasse, arriving at the there and then of the past, a temporary out-of-body, out-of-mind calm. Through tai-chi, he glimpses the equanimity and calm that is possible beyond the present.

Being in time through momentary time and seeing time as flow represents queer temporal possibilities of ageing. They are liveable and desirable ageing futures that break away from the linear temporal narrative of ageing as chronological decline, offering a different mode of understanding and experiencing time. Similar to the temporal shift of gay and queer people affected during the HIV/AIDS crisis from future-making towards living in the moment (Halberstam, 2005), the participants here turn their attention from future-making and future-proofing to living in the present. The impetus for their temporal shift is different, not stemming from the disrupted and shortened life trajectories from HIV/AIDS but from their accumulated life experiences and the looming decline and death associated with old age. Their conception of time is a narrowing of priorities and worlds to focus on what matters most. Importantly, theirs is not a blanket acceptance of the present but a turning towards the disruptive potentialities of the moment. By being in time, the utopian impulse in everyday life is glimpsed and embraced. These moments emerging from a no-longer-conscious past represent the queer potentiality of another place and time. They allow one to momentarily take flight from pain, step out of hetero-kinship norms, and tune out the worries and impossibilities of the present. The choices made in momentary time and time as flow disrupt

the temporal decline narrative and queer the heteronormative present. Not simply a turning away from the present, they re-position the present, opening it up to queer futurity.

5.4 Ageing as Beginnings and Becomings

Besides the present moment, queer futurity can be glimpsed in the future yet to come. Directly reflecting Gallop's call (2019) for longitudinal narratives of ageing are participant narratives of how their identities changed and evolved as they aged. Rather than a slow, steady decline, ageing or growing older is replete with possibilities for change, new beginnings, and becomings. Likening old(er) age to the sunset (Figure 5.8), John shared:

Figure 5.8: Sunsets (by John)

This is taken from my balcony… I love to sit there [between] 5:30 to 6 o'clock with a glass of red wine and watch the amazing sky show that sometimes happens. As a metaphor, we're getting older, in the latter part of the cycle of our lives. If you think about it, a sunset is the latter part of the day going into night. But sunsets are magnificent, absolutely magnificent, and they shouldn't be written off otherwise you miss scenes like this. It reminds me that okay, the best is still ahead. It's not all over.

John's metaphor of the sunset relates the human life to the temporal phase of a day: starting from birth as the sun rises, growing through the ages as the sun peaks, before slowly descending into old age and death as the sun sets and the sky turns back into darkness. This narrative serves to normalise ageing as a natural part of the life cycle, just the same as the sun setting into the night. Far from the decline narrative of ageing as something to be feared and delayed, this sunset narrative depicts ageing as a process to be savoured and treasured. It confers upon old age the qualities of being "magnificent" and "amazing", not to be written off as "the best is still ahead". Just as the sky show begins as the sun descends,

new opportunities and experiences emerge in one's later years.

This emergence of opportunities in older age is felt in relation to gender and sexual identities. The ageing of participants overlapped with the evolution of the LGBTQ+ landscape in Australia. Mentioned in the previous chapter, participants who grew up in Australia lived through a heteronormative time where gender and sexual diversity was unheard of, deviant, and even criminalised. In the 60s, 70s, and 80s, the language and landscape of gender and sexual diversity were nascent, if not non-existent. Over the years, this gradually changed. Finding their lives moving in parallel to this incremental social change and diversity, participants experienced ageing as a time of becoming, heralding new and continued evolution in their identities.

> ***Ninu:*** *This [growing up] is the 60s and 70s for me. You hadn't even really heard of gay and lesbian people, let alone trans* people. There was nothing in the media at all. No reflection. So, it's only since trans and gender diverse people became visible. They talk about the trans tipping point in 2014 for Laverne Cox on the cover of Time magazine. Conversations around trans* and gender diverse [identities] became more mainstream. Of course, there was a backlash to it. We're still sort of in battle or coming out of that, but with that has also come more visibility, more reflection for people to see themselves in.*

> ***mopoke:*** *When it comes to language, a lot of the words that are now in common use, that people are growing up with, didn't come into the English language until the mid-90s. Words like genderfluid, genderqueer, nonbinary, all the other definitions or descriptives of gender, agender etc., etc., etc. Those words came into being when people started doing gender studies and academics needed words to describe stuff in the 90s. I was 40. OK, so if you're in your 20s… you've grown up with those words in existence from the start. Not questioning their existence. We didn't have these words growing up. When I look back, I've always considered myself nonbinary but I never had the word for it… I was not comfortable being locked into "you're lesbian or not. Gay or not." None of them covered my being. That's the thing. If you're dealing with people who are older, we didn't have the language.*

Ninu recalled the impossibility of identifying as anything other than heterosexual and cisgender (terms that were themselves non-existent then) growing up in the 60s and 70s. There was simply no awareness or alternative conception to compulsory heteronormativity. This is echoed by mopoke's recollection of lacking the language to describe and conceptualise gender and sexuality. The words, theories, and concepts common in public and academic discourse today did not exist then. Without these words or reference to, as Ninu put, "see themselves in", it was impossible to recognise oneself as transgender or nonbinary. They could only see themselves through what they were not: not gay, not lesbian,

not straight. For mopoke and Ninu, it was only in their older years that their gender identity made sense and could be named and claimed as their own. Like the LGBTQ+ rights movement in the USA and UK, Australia's first pride marches were held in the 70s, leading to activism and incremental changes towards greater acceptance and rights for non-heterosexual subjects. Over the years, this shifting landscape broadened to include gender diversity and rights (Riseman, 2019). This was aided by increasing positive global media representation of transgender people led by transgender celebrities such as Laverne Cox, the proliferation of terms to describe gender beyond the binary, and greater public acceptance and awareness of LGBTQ+ people. For people like Ninu and mopoke who then were in their 40s, 50s, and 60s, this 'coming of age' of the LGBTQ+ landscape in Australia became their coming of age. Like the transgender participants in Fabbre's study (2015), recognition, identification with, and affirmation of their gender identities only came in their later years. For LGBTQ+ people who aged alongside significant social-historical changes, old(er) age is when their gender and sexual transformations and transitions took place.

Gender transitions in older age are therefore transitions that happen in queer time, out of step with heteronormative and chrononormative time. They depend not on the socialisation of biological family or formal education in adolescence and youth but on broader social and political shifts and changes. As participants commented, one notable socio-political change was having medical access to hormones and gender-affirming surgery for trans and gender diverse people. Socio-political systemic change made the affirmation of their trans and/or gender diverse identities not just a conceivable idea but one that was achievable. Clara described:

> *Well, given that I've supported quite a lot of patients through the whole process of gender transition, I knew exactly what it involved. If I had actually transitioned 20 years ago in Australia, it would have been a lot more difficult professionally... People weren't as familiar about it and a lot of my fellow doctors and professionals may have been less supportive.*

Transitioning later in life allowed Clara to follow in the footsteps of her former patients. She learnt through a queer kinship and socialisation process not from biological kin but from queer 'elders' who were older in experience and not necessarily age (see also Silva et al., 2022). Having navigated the medical, legal, and social requirements with her patients, she knew exactly what was involved. This made transitioning clearer and easier for her. Transitioning later rather than 20 years prior also helped her sidestep potential prejudice and discrimination from a more transphobic medical profession then. While material challenges still exist for trans and gender diverse people, transitioning in the past was more difficult or

even inconceivable. Clara, Ninu, and mopoke's later life transitions and affirmations, viewed through these contexts and their personal lenses, occurred in their own time. They involved waiting, learning, stopping, and changing, never a linear incremental narrative of change alongside age but a complex journey of stops, starts, and detours throughout their ages.

Transitioning and transforming oneself and one's life in older age is then a complex and challenging endeavour. Being out of heteronormative chrononormative time, participants were constantly reminded that they were not in the 'right' time. Peter, who left his home country a few years ago to finally be with his Australian partner, described, "[s]ome of my colleagues, my former colleagues, or some of my friends would regard me as a complete wacko because of the way that I dropped things that I had in Brazil. Solely based on an emotional bond." In his 60s, Peter was viewed as older than a typical migrant, someone who migrated in the 'wrong' time. By migrating for love later in life, Peter's experience deviated from the heteronormative and chrononormative life course of getting married, accumulating wealth, and settling down in early adulthood, the steps for ageing successfully in the earlier section on keeping time away. Instead, he had been married—to a woman—had a daughter, gotten divorced, maintained a long-distance relationship with his current partner, before finally migrating to Australia in search of a stable coupled life. Peter's decision to migrate later in life was a long-awaited move, possible only after waiting for his daughter to become an adult in legal terms. Finally able to shrug off the heteronormative linearity of time to lead his life as he wanted to, with whom he wanted, Peter nonetheless encountered disbelief and ridicule from his friends and colleagues. His decision to "drop" his career, house, social connections, and life in Brazil to move to Australia for a mere "emotional bond" meant giving up the solid foundations that could provide him a comfortable retirement. It meant going against the script of successful ageing, trading financial and emotional stability for uncertainty.

Rather than seeing his older years as the time to settle down, to relax and reap the benefits of having lived a chrononormative, heteronormative life, Peter chose to move to another country to start over again financially, socially, and personally. As he elaborated:

> *[M]y life over there had reached the point of stagnation: a pointless routine and repetition, repetition, repetition. No prospective for a man of my generation to be fulfilled as a man, as in building a future together, having a house together. Simple things like those, I've been able to have with [my partner] over here, like washing, doing the dishes together, buying plants for our garden. Something that I actually never experienced before. I mean, I had to struggle with sharing a bed [laughs].*

Peter's description of his life in Brazil as "stagnation", "a pointless routine" and "repetition" directly rejects the myth that connects financial stability and hetero-kinship with 'successful' ageing and desirable ageing futures (see Jones et al., 2022a; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). It exposes the meaninglessness of work and life in a heteronormative, neoliberal, and capitalist system which demands hard work, reproduction, and repetition in exchange for stability and security in older age. Unable to have a life together with his partner or be open about his sexuality, Peter saw his life in Brazil as stagnant rather than stable, one with no future. Migrating indicated his rejection of the blissful, heteronormative retirement ideal in search of another future. Like Fabbre's transgender participants (2014), Peter's life in Brazil can be understood as "time served", waited and lived in heteronormative chrononormative time. In his 60s, his "time left to live" provided the impetus to deliberately step out of this time-space, moving to Australia to build another future together with his partner. This change brought new experiences and intimacies. Household activities and chores, routine and repetitive to long-term couples, were novel and meaningful to him. So too were the daily affective practice of sharing a bed with another person. These practices are instances of queer home-making that contest and reconfigure heteronormativity and domesticity for a more liveable future (Koegler, 2020; Pilkey, 2014). This future is evidenced in Peter's juxtaposition of the novelty and simple pleasures of coupled life in Australia with the routine and repetition of his former life in Brazil. Instead of a trade-off between stability and emotional connection, migrating and transforming his life in older age was the only way to fulfilment and futurity.

Ageing then, far from being a decline of the self, represents a new beginning and becoming for LGBTQ+ people, for it is through the changes in older age that queer lives become liveable and desirable. Transitioning later in life means beginning a process to discover new languages of the self, re-embodying and reclaiming bodies and identities. Like Peter's quote above, this process is both affirmative and fraught with challenges. Stephanie expressed this duality in her photograph (Figure 5.9) and accompanying poem:

Figure 5.9: Untitled (by Stephanie)

the mother of all lost souls knits another web of threads that say again I am here
I am me
let's dance
and no
I'll not linger in the seventh circle of hell for the sins of those who wrote the book
I'll burn so hot you can warm the ice that set in your veins
and together we'll build a new world
brick by brick

In the photograph, Stephanie looks intently and directly at the camera as if to bare her soul for everyone to see or to judge. The poem highlights the struggle and effort of transitioning, having to "kni[t] another web of threads" of connections with people who saw her transition in a negative light, who treated her as a sinner, who judged her based on religious beliefs. It speaks of building a new world "brick by brick", referencing the immense loss of social connections and the life she once had and the slow effort to rebuild. It heralds the new person and world that emerges, full of life and vitality, "burn[ing] so hot you can warm the ice that set in your veins". Stephanie's photograph and poem powerfully stake her place in the "new world", in a new time. Like Fabbre's participants, they speak of embracing their 'failure' to adhere to heteronormative norms, choosing to define success on their own terms (2015). They demonstrate the loss, change, and evolution of Stephanie's identity and her efforts to rewrite and rebuild her life. They affirm who she is now, comfortable and confident in her own skin. Describing his future in Australia, Peter related a similar sentiment:

> *I would like to build a truer version of myself. I wouldn't like to have this part of me, divorced, anymore. I would like to be a [professional] once again, but I would like to be a gay [professional]. I wouldn't like to frighten anyone because "huh [expression of fright]. He's gay." I don't feel like having this. I'm not a monster. It's just a part of my life.*

In a new country, free of the social connections and perceptions that others had of him, Peter envisioned a different future and a different self. This self that he would like to re-create is a more authentic version of himself: not a (heterosexual) divorcee but a gay man. Peter's transitioning to another country deliberately ridded him of the shackles of his past and put distance between him and the people there. Like Stephanie, this gave him the opportunity to build a new world and a new self. With the social environment in Australia being more accepting than Brazil of gender and sexual diversity, Peter's vision of being seen and accepted as a gay person and professional can finally come into fruition. It is in older age that he can finally enact this new becoming and beginning.

These narratives of transitions, transformations, and evolutions in later life demonstrate how ageing and growing older is intertwined with futurity for LGBTQ+ people. Going back to John's metaphor of the sunset, the sun does not set upon the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ people. Rather, sunsets in older life continue to be magnificent, revealing new horizons and adventures. Ageing for LGBTQ+ people is liveable and desirable precisely because it is when they affirm and construct their gender and sexual identities, aligning themselves, their bodies, and lives. The new beginnings and changes that follow are testament to the "longitudinal" nature of identities (Gallop, 2019). They reflect the non-linearity and complexity of lives across the life course (Chazan et al., 2022). They demonstrate the detours one can take outside heteronormative and chrononormative time (Halberstam, 2005). The transitions of the participants complicate the linear narrative of birth, adolescence, adulthood, marriage, reproduction, retirement, and death. Peter for example goes through the first five stages before eschewing retirement in Brazil to include another marriage and migration to Australia. Likewise, the re-creation of social, personal, and life worlds through gender and migratory transitions can be read as another adolescence or adulthood as one adapts to life in a new country or new identity. This stepping out of the normative life course presents depictions of desirable ageing that queer successful ageing, that cannot be contained by the narratives of successful ageing or bodily decline. More than just bodies moving towards death or assiduously striving to keep away time, ageing identities are diverse, experiencing change and growth, beginning and becoming again and again.

Further, juxtaposing the later-life experiences of LGBTQ+ people with that of younger LGBTQ+ people explodes this binary between young and old. Thinking age relationally (Hopkins & Pain, 2007) calls to question the similarities and differences between these

experiences. The transitions in gender and sexual identity highlighted by Clara, Ninu, mopoke, Stephanie, and Peter figure aplenty in the LGBTQ+ literature, albeit amongst younger LGBTQ+ people. The process of 'coming out' or 'coming of age' are queer stories of struggle, self-realisation, acceptance, change, and growth. They are queer stories typically reserved for younger LGBTQ+ people but hardly figure in the literature on LGBTQ+ ageing (an exception being Fabbre, 2014, 2015). Yet, these experiences of queer 'coming out' and transitions are shared across ages and generations rather than being exclusive to younger people. Chazan and Baldwin made a similar argument about ageing: reflecting on queer lessons learned over time, younger and older LGBTQ2IA+ participants shared similar insights about resistance, resurgence, and resilience (2021). In other words, age holds nothing essential for identity and identity transformation. One can transition or 'come out' at any time in one's life: in youth, in mid-life, in older age. One can experience the same shifts regardless of age. There is no 'right' or 'wrong' time. Identities do not conform to chrononormative time but shift, change, and form at any phase of life (Jones et al., 2023). Age is a factor in the case of my participants because of the socio-political context and barriers that prevented them from living their desired lives. It is neither a prerequisite nor a impediment to LGBTQ+ transitions. Seeing these transformations as something all can share regardless of age gives renewed meaning to taking a longitudinal view on identities. It re-situates older age in the life course not as a stage distinct from youth or mid-life but as a continuum with the same personal and social possibilities. It expands the imagination of older age beyond decline and decay to include all the nuances, complexities, and changes that are afforded to and taken for granted in mid-life and youth. It affirms older age and ageing futures as desirable and liveable in themselves.

5.5 Queer Generative Futures

Alongside older age as a time for evolution and new beginnings is its potential for generative change. LGBTQ+ participants shared how they forged ahead to generate change for themselves and their communities. Stephanie shared on one of her photovoice entries (Figure 5.10) for the theme of 'hopes':

Figure 5.10: Creative writing and counselling (by Stephanie)

Breathe and wait
let the fresh breeze wash over
to cleanse the troubled soul
of its distemper
to see the sun not the shadow
hear the birds not the silent stares
of those who play the game
of blame
and let it soar in the jet stream
of wildest abandon
above the pit
the chalk line
and the dust

Featuring a close-up shot of Stephanie's pencils and hands immersed in writing, the photograph highlights the creative and focused process of creative writing. The accompanying poem depicts the joy, rejuvenation, and freedom experienced through the pursuits of creative writing and counselling. These pursuits "cleanse the troubled soul / of its distemper", allowing one to turn away from negativity, "the silent stares / of those who play the game / of blame". Through writing and the imagination, one can "soar in the jet stream / of wildest abandon", being and becoming free from the "pit" and "dust" of the present world. In our interview, Stephanie provided some context into creative writing and counselling:

> *Writing I've loved most of my life. But more recently in the last 20 something years, I've been loving writing creatively. Counselling is more recent. Since I transitioned, I became much more interested in helping other people who go through a similar journey to me because I know there's not much help out [there] with that kind of thing.*

Reading this quote in line with Stephanie's photovoice submission presents creative writing and counselling as interests that enable her and others to break free from heteronormative time. Writing serves as an imaginative escape and counselling an emotional and mental journey out of heteronormativity and into queerness. Stephanie's own transition sparked her

interest in counselling. She started a support group and later developed a private practice, helping LGBTQ+ people who were going through similar challenges. Counselling and creative writing allowed Stephanie to extend her influence beyond her private life to aid others like her. With this, her work leaves a legacy that will transcend her time, that will be felt in the lives of LGBTQ+ people she supports and future generations.

This desire to generate change for themselves and other LGBTQ+ people is echoed by other participants. They engage in generativity, the practice of guiding and positively influencing the next generation (Bower et al., 2021).

> ***Daniel:*** *The future doesn't look good, but we're still going to try to make it better. What I try to do in my little corner of the world is [to] make it better. That's all you can do. You'll fight a losing battle if you try to make it macro. But if you fight in your little corner of the world, like making your stance—for me, where my work is, and [through] my social networks, making it safe for me and for other younger people coming through. That's my little corner of the world.*

> ***Tony:*** *I'm determined to try and get a dance group [and] a seniors' group going. I've kind of been pushed in the corner by the committee a little bit, but they don't want to put me offside entirely because they want to have a senior who's the real deal on the committee.... It may take a while for them to actually stand [for] something, but this is naked self-interest in a sense. One, there's a need, and two, the need affects me.*

Daniel saw his future as bound up with that of other younger LGBTQ+ people. His work contributes to making a better world for himself and others. A long-time activist and advocate, Daniel organised, lobbied, and fought for better rights and visibility for the LGBTQ+ community in his younger years. Now in his 50s, no longer having the energy to lobby on the frontline, he supports vulnerable LGBTQ+ people as a social worker and mentor. In fighting from his "little corner of the world" through his efforts and social networks, his lobbying continues in a different capacity, smaller but not necessarily less effective. Similarly, Tony saw his role as crucial in advocating for his and other older LGBTQ+ people's needs. In Geelong, a regional city where he lived, LGBTQ+ activities for older people are not as plentiful as in the state capital of Melbourne. Equal parts self-interest and community work, Tony's efforts to start a dance group and a senior group will help fill a gap in his community and ultimately benefit him. Both his and his local LGBTQ+ community's futures are intertwined and connected. By channelling his efforts into LGBTQ+ community groups in Geelong, Tony can create a more liveable and desirable ageing future for himself.

These examples of queer generativity demonstrate the efforts of LGBTQ+ participants to partake in the broader project of queer future-making. Their individual efforts, however small or micro they may be, are part of the making of a world that is more hospitable to and accepting of gender and sexual diversity, an ageing future that is more liveable for themselves and other LGBTQ+ people. These generative practices exist outside of hetero-kinship relationships (Chazan, 2020; Chazan et al., 2022); they are decoupled from blood kinship and familial ties, instead anchored to a shared vision of queer futurity. Unlike inheritance or the passing of capital within the heteronormative familial unit, these examples of queer generativity work to forge an easier path for future and present queer generations. Furthermore, unlike the "unidirectional passing down of knowledge, care, and advocacy from older to younger" generations (Chazan & Baldwin, 2021, p. 94), both younger and older generations are implicated and connected in this future -making. The efforts of Daniel, Tony, and Stephanie all serve to benefit themselves and other LGBTQ+ people across ages. Their work is not simply a gift for future generations but represents acts of advocacy and desired change for themselves. Put differently, their futures are interconnected across generations, with the individual contributing to and benefitting from the broader project of queer future-making. Thinking through temporality, queer generativity extends and projects one's identity and influence across time. Queer time and space continues to be carved out by older LGBTQ+ people who create history and leave legacies for present and future queer generations. Time flows and connects across these people, histories, and legacies, weaving together a promise of a queerer future yet-to-come.

5.6 Ending Time

In contrast with the above four temporalities that herald a more desirable and liveable ageing future, ending time through death puts an end to one's future. Death signifies the ending of one's time on earth, the foreclosing of one's futures, desirable or otherwise. Possibly reflecting how much they had pondered over it, some participants brought up death and dying without my prompting. For them, death was an escape from suffering, a better alternative to ageing poorly. After highlighting the abysmal quality of residential aged care in Australia, Barbara quipped, "[w]hen the time comes, dropping dead quickly, not suffering [laughs]". A quick death without suffering is preferred to ending up in residential aged care and slowly declining, for being in aged care is a fate worse than death itself. This is echoed by Daniel:

> *If you can't live as an older person in your own home, then we've [my partner and I have] made a decision. I'm not going to aged care. I'll rather die first.*

> *Because I know that they are extremely violated. There's so much elder abuse and you've got no power. There's no way of speaking for your own rights.*

Highlighted in the previous chapter, residential aged care represents the ultimate violation which robs older LGBTQ+ multicultural people of their independence, their capacity to speak, their right to exist, and their gender, sexual, and/or cultural identities. Facing this injustice, Daniel and his partner would "rather die first" than go into an aged care home. Should they be unable to live in their own home, death was a better option than residential care. Daniel's invocation of only two choices—between ageing at home and ageing in residential care—reflects the perceived limited options for ageing and becoming increasingly dependent on others. It underscores the failure of residential care to be a liveable option for older LGBTQ+ multicultural people and the impossibility of imagining alternative liveable futures. Death and ending time then become preferrable to living.

Powerless to change or carve out a viable way of living, choosing death is then to embrace the certainty of having no future over the uncertainty and unliveability of the future. It is a disidentification with and rejection of any promise of futurity (Edelman, 2004). This spectre of a diminishing future led Peter to also consider death and ending time for himself:

> *Feeling and being physically incapacitated to take care of myself, not having the financial means to look after myself, and being by myself without my husband, I'd rather go before he does. Being very honest with you, I'll much prefer to go before he does, although he feels pretty much the same…. Perhaps we could poison each other. I'm joking [laughs].*

Both Peter and his partner's preference to die before the other is grounded in the fear of dying alone, being incapacitated physically and financially. Against the narratives of successful ageing—being financial stable, socially connected, and able-bodied—in the delaying decline section, Peter's scenario depicts the failure to age 'successfully' in a chrononormative, ableist, and ageist world. While he did not elaborate on the consequences, Peter's preference to end time denotes a refusal to accept their conditions for living. Ending time is his preferred way out. Like Daniel and his partner's desire to die first before ending up in residential care, Peter and his partner's hypothetical act of poisoning each other removes the guesswork, uncertainty, and stress about ending up alone and incapacitated. Left up to the flow of time and circumstance, the likelihood of either him or his partner dying first is greater than both dying together. Poisoning each other turns this uncertainty into a possible and planned reality. It is, in the words of a participant in Jones' study, "to leave the world on [their] own terms" (2022, p. 6). In choosing death, Daniel, Peter, and their partners reject ultimate decline, injustice, and suffering. By turning away from life, they hold on to the

power to decide their futures for themselves, even if this future is to literally have no future.

Desiring to end time need not however require one having 'failed' at ageing. It can be a temporal vision of ending a life well-lived, of controlling one's life and death. Alan articulated:

> *My partner promises me that if things get really bad, he'll keep pushing me around in a wheelchair and drive me here and drive me there. I'm quite happy with that. When I get to that point where I think that living is becoming more of a challenge than not living, then I still have this thing in my head that I would like to look at some form of assisted dying. I've lived a good life, I've had lots of challenges, done lots of great things. I've done enough and I'm just enjoying these last years. As long as I'm healthy and well, that's great. Yes, I want to see my sons get married. I'd like to see them have grandchildren. Those are important, but … I'm not sitting here praying to God, saying, "please, keep me alive so I can see X or Y".*

Having two filial sons and a partner much younger than him, Alan is well-placed for a comfortable retirement safe from the threat of the aged care home. His sons and younger partner can support him financially. His partner is willing to be his future caregiver. These assurances of financial and social stability allow him to be "enjoying these last years". His positive outlook is echoed in his reflections of having "lived a good life". Even his descriptions of the future are positive, including anticipations of his sons getting married and having grandchildren. Compared to Daniel, Barbara, and Peter's fearful articulations of residential care, loneliness, and losing their partner, Alan's ageing future remains sanguine and desirable. Despite the achievements of his past, the joys of his present, and the anticipations of his future, Alan made the same decision as Daniel, Barbara, and Peter, to die if "living is becoming more of a challenge than not living". Alan's decision to explore assisted dying or euthanasia in the face of a privileged present and a liveable future, not in a state of hopelessness, is significant. Rather than prolonging life to experience the future joys of becoming a father-in-law or grandfather, choosing to die turns away from these futures to embrace the certainty of death. It points to a desire to end life on one's own terms even if the future holds joys and potentialities yet to come.

Together, these evocations of ending time disrupt the grounding of futurity in notions of hetero-kinship and hetero-happiness—themes that I will explore in the next chapter. Peter and his partner's poisoning of each other, alongside Alan's desire to die if the going gets tough regardless of his partner's devotion, queer the happily ever after ending. It upends hetero-happiness or its homonormative approximation of a couple living and ageing well

together (Marshall, 2018; Sandberg, 2015). No longer is coupled time seen as time everlasting: riding off into the sunset, staying together in sickness and in health, till death do they part. In Peter's alternate ending, the couple spare each other the misery of ageing alone by dying together. Death becomes the final piece of the puzzle, the final choice for a planned future, the final act of love and devotion. For Alan, love and devotion are not the be all and end all for living. Ending time represents a choice despite love and a promising coupled future. In these examples, the promise of a happy hetero/homonormative future is thoroughly exposed and queered. Its myth is exploded by the undesirability and unliveability of ageing into chrononormative, able-bodied, heteronormative, and ageist time.

These evocations of ending time signify a desire to avoid certain ageing futures deemed unliveable. Their desires to end time due to declining health, wellbeing, physical incapacitation, and loneliness may be read as disavowals of crip futures, where the loss of able-bodiedness or able-mindedness is the loss of futurity (Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). At the same time, ending time by wresting one's fate and end of life away from a 'natural' death rejects biomedical visions of agelessness and curability. It disrupts the myth of longevity, delaying decline (Gullette, 2004), and the biomedical aim to prolong life as much as possible. Rather than living life to the oldest, extending one's time on earth to its limits, time depends on the subjective 'worthiness' of living. Notably, voluntary assisted dying (VAD) in Australia is a complicated and contested issue. Legal only in six (of eight) states at the time of writing, it has stringent medical eligibility criteria and requires the judgement of medical practitioners (End of Life Directions for Aged Care [ELDAC], 2022). Personal assessments of pain or decisions on the worthiness of living do not suffice. With decisions made under this medical framework, assisted dying reflects the biomedical valuation of longevity over individual subjectivity. Life, bodies, and the chronological life course remain governed and shaped by the narrative of prolonging life and curing illness through medicine and medical interventions. While these laws restrict one's ability to end time and end one's life legally, participant narratives of ending time demonstrate their assertion that certain ageing futures are neither liveable nor desirable.

5.7 Queering Time

In this chapter, I have narrated the liveable and desirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural participants through five broad temporalities. These temporalities allow participants to view themselves as ageing in time, bolstering their sense of agency and self

against the threats in the previous chapter. On one level, these temporalities reinforce (hetero)normative notions of ageing as chronological decline (Gullette, 2004). In delaying decline, participants harness time as a resource to pre-empt and prevent the perils that lie ahead in ageing. This temporal frame echoes the dominant discourses of successful ageing where 'success' or 'failure' depends on an individual's adherence to the chrononormative and heteronormative trajectory of coupling, procreation, production, and active retirement. It surfaces too in participant desires of ending time, a resolute 'no' to being trapped in decline. Rather than letting death be a temporal uncertainty, participants preferred to leave the world on their own terms when they no longer deemed their conditions for living 'liveable'. They would rather die than face decline, decay, or residential care. Death was a preferable option to 'failed' ageing. Both delaying decline and to a lesser extent ending time reflect ageing temporalities that are only liveable if deemed 'successful', that depend on a combination of agelessness, able-bodiedness, able-mindedness, and hetero-kinship (Jones et al., 2022a; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). By harnessing them, participants construct themselves as active subjects to survive in a chrononormative and heteronormative world.

In contrast, the other three temporalities represent other ways of being in and understanding time beyond the decline narrative or the success/failure binary. They articulate liveable and desirable ageing futures that deviate from the linear temporal narrative of ageing as chronological decline (see also Chazan et al., 2022). Using queer theory which thrives in the failures, temporal disjuncture, contradictions, and detours outside 'straight' chrononormative time, I demonstrated the other ways LGBTQ+ multicultural participants experienced and constructed time. Being in time reveals their imperative to live in the moment, where the moment harbours queer potentiality and transcendence. Ageing as beginnings and becomings demonstrates the continuities of the life course, the changes and evolutions that occur across one's life span. Rather than declining or staying timeless, one's (queer) identity evolves with time and age. This continuity across age is seen too in queer generative futures, where participants connect their lives and ageing futures to the broader project of queer future-making, making change for themselves and other LGBTQ+ people. Together, these temporalities reflect the multiple ways time unravels and is lived in old(er) age. Time in ageing is not a linear narrative towards decline, decay, and death; heteronormative or chrononormative time are not the only ways of charting time (Changfoot et al., 2022; Jones et al., 2023). Time in old age is one of multiple entry points, changes, and potentialities. Just as in young(er) age, identities shift, evolve, and emerge in old(er) age. Rather than the need to be in the 'right' time, to delay decline, one can live and emerge in queer time, decidedly out of sync with the heteronormative life course but not out of time.

Likewise, the perceived narrowing of horizons and quickening of time's pace in older age (Port, 2012) do not limit the possibilities of ageing. Together, these temporalities reveal "multiple epistemologies of old age" (p. 5), providing new vocabularies and identities for (old) age. They queer old(er) age's place in the life course, decoupling it from limitation and decline, re-placing it alongside the potentialities taken for granted in mid-life and young(er) ages.

This chapter wraps up the overarching thematic of (un)liveable and (un)desirable ageing futures through a temporal lens. In the next chapter, I move to explore and queer kinship, the kinship and care relations that LGBTQ+ multicultural people value and construct in older age.

6 CONSTRUCTING (QUEER) KINSHIP AND CARE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter turns its focus from time to kinship, particularly the kinship relations for care and support in older age. In the previous chapter, I examined LGBTQ+ multicultural people's imaginations of liveable and desirable ageing futures through the lens of time and temporality. Some of these temporalities hinted at kinship modalities that mapped on to 'successful' notions of ageing. Delaying decline, in particular, was more achievable for those who were coupled and had children. This chapter delves deeper into the kinship relations constructed and harnessed by LGBTQ+ multicultural people. I interrogate how they reflect, challenge, or reframe (hetero)normative notions of care in older age. I draw on Butler's definition of kinship as "a set of practices that institutes relationships of various kinds which negotiate the reproduction of life and the demands of death" (2002, p. 14). Kinship is a practice, a doing or 'kinning'. It is the deliberate and dynamic process of making and maintaining relationships across the life course. Conceptualising kinship as a 'doing' allows one to unpack its discursive and material form, not taking it for granted but as a constant work in progress. I thus analyse the care and supportive relationships that LGBTQ+ multicultural people have and envision to have as they grow older in Australia, elucidating how kinship is mobilised and constructed in older age. I examine how they are made, formed, and experienced, illuminating the meanings attached to these relationships and the power structures and systems that underpin them. I unravel and critique the relational logics of hetero-kinship and hetero-happiness embedded within these networks of care, support, and (inter)dependencies, before reflecting on how kinship in older age may be reimagined and queered.

I structure the chapter into three sections, each foregrounding a kinship structure that is important for LGBTQ+ multicultural people ageing in Australia. The sections are biological family, couple, and queer/chosen family, reflecting both the articulations of the participants and the dominant categories used in the extant literature. As I demonstrate, the boundaries between these categories are not fixed but fluid. LGBTQ+ multicultural people mobilise across these kinship forms as they grow older, drawing on and constructing their kinship networks for support. Further, these categories do not map neatly onto 'heteronormative' or 'queer' norms. Rather, heteronormative—or more accurately, homonormative norms—can exist across categories. Just as the couple can imitate and approximate hetero-happiness, the biological family can be blended and extend beyond hetero-kinship. I draw out how

hetero-kinship norms render certain modes of kinship legible, desirable, and therefore able to access resources for support in older age. With obligations of filial piety, love, and care surrounding the biological family and couple, these kinship forms are deemed more reliable for a liveable old(er) age. Constructions of queer family, often untethered to these normative expectations, are as a result both vulnerable and promising. The practices of constructing queer familial kinship reveal the mutuality, efforts, and interdependencies required. Queer kinship connects LGBTQ+ people intergenerationally and intragenerationally, across space and time, becoming an active avenue for imagining a liveable and desirable ageing future.

6.2 Biological Family and Children

Biological family is constructed as the primary or default line of care for older LGBTQ+ people. Most evoked in discussions on kinship and care relationships in older age is the lack of biological family or blood kin for LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Regardless of their own relationship with their own families of origin, participants saw biological family as a relevant and crucial feature in kinship and care relations in older age. Drawing on the experiences of older LGBTQ+ people he knew, Daniel articulated:

> *They're more prevalent to be targeted for elder abuse. Because a lot of the older people, they don't have blood families. Therefore, they've got no family hierarchy to support them. They're more targeted for predators in that way. A lot of the older people who need that support, they've got their own—what's the word—trauma of how they grew up. As I said, I'm working with people who are so traumatised of how they grew up. They don't have blood family support. They've got to find their own chosen family support, or they've got to rely on formal support, formal organisations. Sometimes those organisations can be very few and far between.*

Daniel constructed families of origin as the normative kinship network for older people, the first line of defence when their health declines or when they lose their independence. "Family hierarchy" invokes the biological nuclear familial unit that structures care and support, whereby children and the younger generation care for parents. "Hierarchy" also connotes a relative order, a duty of care and necessity embedded and assumed within this familial unit. "Family hierarchy" therefore underscores the heteronormativity within assumptions of blood familial support. For older LGBTQ+ people, besides the trauma of growing up and coming out in a heteronormative world—highlighted in chapter 4—the absence or rupture of biological family ties carries on as they age. Estranged or no longer connected to this "family hierarchy", they cannot rely on family members for financial, social, and physical support when they are older (Reygan et al., 2022). Daniel's comment highlights the vulnerability of older people, particularly older LGBTQ+ people. It demonstrates their weak(er) biological

kinship ties vis-à-vis their cisgender heterosexual counterparts (see Green, 2016) and their need to look elsewhere, for non-biological chosen family or formal government and social support to feel safe and cared for.

6.2.1 Children as the future

The absence of biological family for LGBTQ+ multicultural people is felt most starkly in the absence of children. Those who do not have children of their own are perceived as having no support to fall back upon. Peter affirmed:

> *The LGBTQ community, we don't have—most of us don't have a family to back us up. Because normally in the traditional family, once you get old and you get incapacitated, you'll have your grandsons, your granddaughters, your grandchildren to look after you. You suppose you do, or it's been told to us that you do—your sons and daughters look after you. What do we have? Apart from the community in itself? Let's face it. Society works with money [laughs]. It would be either family in the traditional way… in the heteronormative way... or something financed.... Because that's the way things work. You either have a family to look after you, or have to be sent to a home care, an older care facility. Who's going to pay for your care if you don't have any relatives? Or any money?*

Peter pointed to children—sons, daughters, grandsons, granddaughters, grandchildren—as the crucial components of support in one's older age. They are the "traditional" hetero-kinship forms of support that people rely upon, that the heterosexual and cisgender older person is assumed to have access to (Brennan-Ing et al., 2014). The alternative is money, being financially self-sufficient to pay one's way for care and living support in older age. Peter's dual mention of money and children is not without purpose. It relates to how success in ageing—like the previous chapter's delaying decline demonstrated—is dependent on following heteronormative and chrononormative temporal norms and routes (see Sandberg, 2008; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). One's care in older age is either financed through being economically productive and saving for retirement in younger age or by having children who, once economically productive, can support them. The biological familial unit as a microcosm of economic productivity, transference, and self-reliance reflects the heteronormative capitalist reproductive logic that sustains society. Without children of their own or excluded from this hetero-kinship unit, older LGBTQ+ people then do not have access to care from the subsequent generation(s) (Gabrielson, 2011; Green, 2016). Their failure to have children and to maintain or construct this family renders them more vulnerable and alone in old age, without a chance at hetero-happiness. When they can no longer look after themselves, they are bereft of kin, with no future ahead of them.

The interrelationship of biological family, ageing, and care therefore depends on the promise of the next generation(s). Support from biological family is assumed to come from the child(ren). Children are seen and continuously articulated as the primary kinship relation that older people draw care from. Alan spoke of his sons:

> *They are my sons…. I'm there for them in any way possible and they bring a lot of joy to my life even though we have ups and downs. Because that's just part of life… I still have good relations with them. I see them every week. We all get together for dinner. And so, for me, I know that they will be there for me as I get older, as I get into retirement. You never know whether you can still be with your partner, but you certainly know that your sons are always going to be there unless they die before me. I know that they would look after me. They would rather have me stay with one of them than having me move into a retirement home or an aged care facility or something.*

With two sons from his past heterosexual marriage, Alan was one of the few participants who had children of his own. His relationship with his sons had gone through ups and downs, lasting through his divorce with his former wife, his coming out, and his current partner. Alan sees his sons as his pride and joy, a constant and stable feature of his life, more so than his partner. This notion of blood being thicker than water, of biological kin being stronger than 'chosen' kin is embedded in heteronormative kinship discourses and grammars (Payne, 2016). Alan's characterisation of his relationship with his children is one of permanence, of unchangeability and immutability. No matter what, when he grows older and retires, his sons will be there to look after him even if his partner may not. This stability of intergenerational biological relationships is taken for granted and projected into the future as a certain reality. Children are his back-up plan, an insurance against old age and incapacitation. Their presence ensures that one need not worry about moving into an aged care facility or losing their freedoms.

This perception of children as the default source of support in old age holds despite recognition of their unreliability. Peter's comment about LGBTQ+ people not having hetero-kinship relations to rely on was made while acknowledging that he "would not be cared for" by his own biological child. His apparent dissonance reflects the entrenched discourse of hetero-kinship and care and the impossibility of envisioning a better alternative for himself. Despite recognising that the perfect filial child does not exist, children continue to be described as the default and preferred option for care. John made a similar comment:

> *The risk of loneliness escalates in nursing homes. Certainly, there is the element for gay men where they won't necessarily [have] children, not necessarily in my generation. In younger generations of gay men, the[re] are those families. Children, adult children visit as an obligation but at least they visit [laughs].*

For older people in nursing homes, having visits from children out of obligation is preferable to having no visits. At least, as John noted, they visit. John's mention of "obligation" parallels Daniel's "family hierarchy", both invoking a fundamentally different affect than care, stemming from expectation rather than personal desire. Obligation is present because children are bound to their parents by blood kinship, by filial duty, by heteronormative norms. The presumed care—obligatory or otherwise—from children relieves the loneliness and social isolation faced by older people in nursing homes. It is better than having no care at all, no visits from kin, a fate that is assumed of those without children of their own, especially for older LGBTQ+ people.

Notably, the presence or absence of children for LGBTQ+ people is marked by a generational temporality. John's quote above highlighted how having children is more common in certain generations of gay men. This generational difference is also described by Tony:

> *I think all of us [referring to the group photovoice participants] are of an age where we grew up when it was criminalised here. Younger people don't know that. They have no idea of how so many of us were married because of religious or family pressures, had to live a lie, and could not come out. I'm not out to my father. He's 90 years old and he is Italian. We're not close. I'm out to the family and I am tolerated. They think they are accepting. A lot is not easy.*

Mentioned in chapter 4, the participants who grew up in Australia did so in the shadow of anti-homosexuality and criminalisation. They lived through a time and space markedly different from today. Because of this sociocultural context, many of them could not come out and had to get married. This generation of older LGBTQ+ people who were in past heterosexual marriages is also documented in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature (Shippy et al., 2004; Westwood, 2016b). These generational particularities play out in older age, where LGBTQ+ people without children and estranged from families of origin risk finding themselves without the support of family or children. Tony is one of them, and he continues to feel "tolerated" by biological family members who "think they are accepting". In contrast, others like Alan have children from past marriages who can support them in older age. These older LGBTQ+ people can draw on the strength and reliability of familial kinship networks to then age 'successfully'.

These narratives demonstrate how biological kinship relations continue to feature heavily in LGBTQ+ multicultural people's imaginations of care in older age. Biological

kinship, particularly children, are seen as providing crucial access to ageing support, care, and finances, providing a route to age successfully (Carceres et al., 2016; Green, 2016). These notions reflect the continued relevance of heteronormative discourses of care within the narratives of LGBTQ+ multicultural people as biological kinship is constructed as a fundamental source of care and support in older age. Possessing hetero-kinship ties is thus a taken-for-granted route to desirable and liveable ageing futures (Sandberg, 2015), allowing those who possess them to also attain hetero-happiness. At the forefront of these imaginations is the notion of the child as the future, as the filial saviour who provides for the old age of their parents. Even for LGBTQ+ people who do not have (filial) children of their own, children are constructed as the future, as the continuation of the family hierarchy, as the primary support that anchors people to a liveable, dependable old age. The queer child-less person bereft of biological kin and support is vulnerable to slipping back to the undesirable and unliveable ageing futures foregrounded in chapter 4. In contrast, those with filial children from past marriages can reap the successes of hetero-kinship. This placing of immense faith and responsibility on the (adult) child can be read in parallel to Edelman's critique of society's investment of futurity in the Child (2004). It is built upon the figuring of children as the future for societal progress, or in this case for the care of the older generation. The lack of futurity for older LGBTQ+ people without children—or the desirable futures of those with children—rests on this promise of the child. This is despite the promise of hetero-kinship being suspect, as demonstrated through the 'unfilial' or 'unreliable' child.

6.2.2 Blended and expanded families

Despite these dominant constructions of biological family and children, their diversity and malleability are present in the narratives of the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants. Biological kinship need not always be equated to the hetero-kinship model of the nuclear family: a couple and their children. Alan's example of his children from his previous marriage reflects the blending of multiple families into one.

> ***Me:*** *So even though you separated from your previous wife, you were still very much involved with your sons since they were young and growing older?*
>
> ***Alan:*** *Yes, and with her. We used to meet—I used to see them twice a week, every week for many years. Now we're down to once a week because they're all grown up. I'm going over this evening to have dinner.*

For Alan, having lived both 'heterosexual' and 'homosexual' lives connected him to two sets of kin. Despite having separated from his wife, he maintained a co-parenting relationship with her, staying connected regularly together with their children while living apart. In his

case, marriage severance and ‘coming out’ did not result in the dissolution of kinship ties but in their expansion and multiplicity. Now with his own (same-sex) partner and with his sons grown up, his family thus is blended, made up of a mix of current and ex-partners and children from former relationships (see Westwood, 2016b). This plurality of kinship relations juxtaposes against the nuclear familial structure in hetero-kinship. It demonstrates that kinship need not be an either/or, a rejection of the biological/heterosexual in favour of the chosen/queer. Instead, it can be an amalgamation and combination across the divide.

Biological kinship relations are also malleable and can shift over time. While the earlier examples of kinship relations with families of origin featured rupture or estrangement, for some they can be repaired and reconfigured with time and age. Dion, who found it difficult as a gay person growing up, saw his family’s attitudes towards him slowly shifting over time. Sharing about these relationships now, he described:

> *Because I’m openly gay and have good relationships with just about all of my family members, I think it’s made it easier for other family members. I’ve got three first cousins who have come out. I think it was easier for them to come out because of me and what I went through. In our family, it’s just accepted now. My nieces and nephews, great-nieces, and nephews all call my partner “Stephen. Uncle Stephen”.*

Time and age here work to repair and strengthen familial relationships. Over time, Dion’s sexuality became a non-issue and his partner was welcomed into the fabric of his biological family. His coming out further paved the way for a broader acceptance of LGBTQ+ identities within his family. This process of re-kinning signifies the fluidity of familial relationships and the possibility of repair (Westwood, 2016b). Practices of kinship are negotiated and evolve over time (Butler, 2002). Dion’s example expands the notion of biological family to incorporate LGBTQ+ members.

Familial kinship is also be redefined through expansion beyond the nuclear family unit. Without children of his own, Dion planned to rely on his nieces and nephews for care in older age:

> *I’ve got one brother and one sister. My brother has got no kids. I’ve got no kids. My sister has got five kids. I said to them one day, “when I get old, will you look after me?” Only the baby one said “yes I will” [laughs]. Then I said, “well, whoever looks after me when I get old, I’m going to leave all my money to him or her in my will.” They all* put *their hand up [laughs]. But all jokes aside, I think my nieces and nephews—if I needed to be cared for—they would [care for me].*

On the surface, Dion's example appears to parallel the other participants' narratives of biological children as a crucial source of care and support in older age. Despite him having no children, he anticipated that his sister's children would care for him. These ties are biological, but read more closely are beyond the heteronormative nuclear familial kinship unit. His intergenerational kinship and care relationships are decidedly different from the parent-child obligations articulated in the above section on children. They are located beyond the nuclear family unit, including broader extended family. This kinship network is common in Indigenous kinship systems that are made up of close relationships between 'aunties' and 'uncles', extended family who are related not necessarily by biology but also by culture and heritage (Chazan, 2020; Beaufils, 2022; Tallbear, 2018). It is therefore broader than the nuclear family construct, representing a more diffused network of intergenerational kinship ties that need not be connected to reproduction and repro-futurity.

These examples of expanded and blended families demonstrate the continued relevance of biological kinship ties for the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants. Biological kinship can be both a site of conflict or a source of care. This variability indicates that unlike in the literature (Brennan-Ing et al., 2014; Gabrielson, 2011; Green, 2016), older LGBTQ+ people cannot be simply assumed as having weak biological kinship ties. Just as the presence of children does not guarantee care in older age (as in Peter's case), time and space may change one's relation with biological family (as in Dion's case). More importantly, uncovering the multiplicity in biological family formations and their malleability over time attests to queer potential within biological kinship. The examples of biological kinship here cannot be reduced to hetero-kinship. Alan's blended family includes multiple families, blurring the boundary between chosen and biological kin. Dion's extended family is a network of intergenerational kinship relations beyond the nuclear family unit. These examples are queer constructions of biological family beyond reproduction, monogamy, or hetero-futurity (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan et al., 2022). These queer constructions allow older LGBTQ+ people to reshape and reconfigure their relations to biological family.

6.3 The (Queer) Couple

Alongside biological family and children, partners are constructed as a significant source of care and support for LGBTQ+ multicultural people in older age. Most of the participants were coupled, settled into life with their partners, living and planning for the future together. Their partnership was a source of stability, meaning, and purpose.

Emphasising the value of having a partner in her life, Clara commented:

> *It is important to me to have a significant other in my life. I want someone to whom I matter more than anything else in the world and who matters more to me than anyone else in the world. If I don't have that, then my life would lose a lot of its meaning. Yes, I can do all these things for my community. I can be a spokeswoman for my community. I could have a circle of friends. Yes, that's good, but that wouldn't be enough.*

To Clara, having a partner was of paramount importance, without which her life would lose much or most of its meaning. Clara's statement constructed partnership as central, valued more than community support or friendship. It reflects other LGBTQ+ ageing studies where the couple or conjugal relationships appeared as the most important relationship (Heaphy & Yip, 2003; Heaphy et al., 2013; Westwood, 2016b). The loving couple at the centre of each other's universe cannot be replaced. Without a partner, life becomes meaningless and lonely, not quite enough. This notion that romantic love, monogamous partnership, and intimacy give life its meaning threads through hetero-kinship discourse and the cultural imaginary. It represents the promise of the heteronormative good life in older age, an arrival at that 'happily ever after' of hetero-happiness (Marshall, 2018). Like the older heterosexual, cisgender couple, older LGBTQ+ people locate hetero-happiness in older age through (queer) coupledom. Finding love and staying coupled is central to attaining a liveable and desirable life in older age.

Apart from meaning and purpose, the couple is constructed as a crucial means of providing and accessing mutual support and care. Being and staying coupled becomes even more important in older age. This is underscored by Barbara:

> *No one wants to be alone. One issue is to try to maintain a relationship with the partner so we can support each other in old age. Nothing new under the sun. Everybody wants the same. It can be difficult, can be difficult, but not impossible.*

In chapter 4, I highlighted how ageing is perceived as an impending threat of social isolation, disease, disability, and death. Here, Barbara mentioned two aspects of ageing as a couple that were preferable to ageing uncoupled: company and support. With a partner, one can avoid becoming alone and bereft of support. Noteworthy is Barbara's use of "no one" and "everybody", making an overarching statement on the value of being coupled in older age regardless of sexual or gender identity. Her statement puts the queer couple alongside the heterosexual couple, both desiring and maintaining companionship and support, both recognising coupledom as a way to navigate the perils of ageing. Partners become the primary source of help and support in older age (Heaphy et al., 2004; Lottman & King, 2022).

The LGBTQ+ couple is thus a kinship formation that can be read as homonormative, paralleling the monogamous heterosexual family unit but with gender and sexual non-normativity.

With partnership, one becomes integrated within a broader kinship network, expanding their sources of support. The practice of kinning across families through marriage or coupling is mirrored in Daniel's example: "A fear for me is growing older, you [have] less support, [fewer] social networks. That's the fear that I have… I'm lucky that my partner's family [is] also close with us. He's from a very large family." Daniel's partnership presented him with the opportunity to form kin with and be close to his partner's large biological family. This construction and affirmation of kinship ties through partnership mirrors the hetero-kinship ties of marriage, where two families come together to share wealth, resources, blood, and names, conferring support to its family members. By becoming part of his partner's familial network, Daniel can access social support and care from them. It is a source of support that becomes crucial in view of Daniel's strained relations with his own biological family. Daniel's status as a partner grants him access to and entry into another 'family', another set of kinship ties.

Coupling thus gives LGBTQ+ people a route to obtaining the financial and social support required for desirable and liveable ageing. Alan summed up this benefit of being and staying coupled in old(er) age:

> *Over the last 20-30 years, we had a lot of gay couples we knew—lesbians and gay men. The men were much older than us. They were in their 70s and even 80s, but because they had each other for longer periods of time, they had more stability. They had more financial support in either living together or sav[ing] their money. They didn't see life in such a sad, negative way. What they would see is well, "obviously we're not young enough anymore and it's nice to look at young gay men running around looking very fit and muscular. But that's not going to be us." But they still have their friends and each other's company, and as the decades roll on you shift your focus from something to the other. You might do lots of cooking, lots of reading, going for walks, bushwalks, cruises. But the single people, especially those who don't have any financial backing, for them, it's a very difficult period.*

Alan's comment underscored the financial and social stability that living and ageing together as a couple brings. Drawing from his knowledge of older same-sex couples who had been together for many years, he noted their ability to amass financial capital and support more efficiently and effectively than single LGBTQ+ people. Coupledom was a route to financial stability and support in older age. It offsets the loss of youth, fitness, and attractiveness

valued in gay and LGBTQ+ culture (seen in chapter 4). It may even offset the lack of support or care from children. The couple, having each other and the joint accumulated finances to cover the cost of ageing, can shift their focus away from the youth-centric gay social activities and spaces to those centred on them and their friends. Essentially, being coupled allows LGBTQ+ older people to sidestep the negative aspects of ageing (Caceres & Frank, 2016): losing independence, ending up alone, or alienated from LGBTQ+ spaces. Coupledom is crucial to hetero-happiness and successful ageing. It allows older LGBTQ+ people to reap the benefits of retirement and a relaxed lifestyle.

In contrast, the single or uncoupled LGBTQ+ person, without children and without the financial help and companionship of a partner risks facing, in Alan's words, a "very difficult period". This perception of the lonely, single, and vulnerable LGBTQ+ older person is conjured up in view of the healthcare and living costs needed. Single and living alone, mopoke shared:

> *I've got my space and it's my space. If someone came into this space to live, they'd be dominated by my shit. I'm not going to give up my individuality to be in someone else's space. I'm past the moment where I can go, "let's live together and be happily ever after". So even if I were in a relationship, there's an independence required. Living alone is because I choose to and not because I have to. It is a privilege in fact, to be able to do it…. The downside is what happens to me when I get old. I don't know [laughs]…. I'll just keep going. There's nothing else I can do. I stay active. I stay doing stuff. I don't have a Plan B [laughs].*

Mopoke's comments both challenged and echoed Alan's perspective on coupledom versus singlehood. On one hand, mopoke's framing of singlehood because they "choose to" disrupts the 'happily ever after' narrative, the belief that coupledom will bring everlasting joy to two people. It rejects hetero-happiness, the notion that locates happiness in being and staying coupled (Marshall, 2018). Instead, mopoke saw coupledom as an undesirable clash and compromise of individual difference, a grudging making of space and time for another person. Not willing to give up their individuality and independence to accommodate another person's living habits, temporal rhythms, possessions, and bodily presence, mopoke preferred to live alone. Still, in articulating their decision as a "privilege", mopoke recognised the limits of independence, of increasingly becoming less able to live alone independently as they age. Living alone is contingent on them staying able-bodied, in good health, and financial standing. Mopoke's acknowledgement of not having a "Plan B", of having "nothing else [they] can do" is a reminder of the precarity involved in staying single as a LGBTQ+ person, of not having a partner to depend on. Like the older single gay men in Porter et al.'s study (2004), being single is being at risk of an uncertain ageing future. Without the comfort

or security that living with a partner brings, a desirable older age is one that is difficult to imagine.

A notable factor contributing to the construction of queer coupledom as a stable source of support in older age is the broader sociopolitical context in Australia. The stability of the couple for LGBTQ+ older people is aided by the increasing legal recognition and legitimisation of LGBTQ+ couples. The legalisation of same-sex marriage in Australia after a nation-wide postal survey in 2017 paved the way for same-sex couples to access the same rights and privileges as cisgender heterosexual couples (Commonwealth of Australia, 2018). Its implications for ageing are explained by Sharifah:

> *Because I was older, I thought, "okay, marriage will make it easy in terms of taking care of each other if we get sick, in terms of assets and everything." We were going to be together, love each other and everything, but wishing to actually get it down on paper was, for me, more of for security and legal protection.*

For Sharifah, her decision to get married to her partner was a practical decision that gave them access to the rights that their heterosexual cisgender counterparts had. Their decision paralleled the older LGBTQ+ couples in Westwood's study who enacted civil partnerships for legal protections "because of the greater imminence of death and dying" (2016b, p. 16). Marriage for Sharifah and her partner gave their relationship equal legitimacy and legibility in the eyes of the state and its institutions. It ensured that it was to each other that financial and care decisions would be made, that they were each other's default and primary substitute decision maker in times of crises. Particularly as a permanent Australian resident, Sharifah received an additional layer of security and certainty by marrying an Australian citizen. Marriage works as a legible pathway to navigate the legal and social framework of ageing. It informs healthcare, state, and social institutions that just like the cisgender heterosexual couple, the LGBTQ+ couple is an accepted and protected kinship structure. This equivalency removes barriers and discrimination that LGBTQ+ couples might otherwise face, such as from homophobic aged care institutions (articulated in participants' fears in chapter 4). Enshrined by the state, marriage makes concrete the social and financial security that coupledom brings for LGBTQ+ people.

Despite this equivalency and approximation, the security of LGBTQ+ coupledom through marriage is not absolute. Even with its legitimisation as a primary kinship unit, the LGBTQ+ couple is subject and vulnerable to contestation. Sharing one of his fears of ageing, Daniel presented this photograph (Figure 6.1) of his and his partner's wedding rings:

Figure 6.1: A life with my partner of 25 years (by Daniel)

We've been married not long ago, a couple of years ago after 23 years of living with each other. We decided to get married and we're still together. Yay! We're allowed to, legally speaking. You do hear the stories that even after marriage, touch wood, if anything happens to your partner, other blood families or relatives [may] contes[t] your will. That still happens. That's still my fear of aged care, because I know I've got a family member that would contest the will... It's a horrible part of our lives as a gay man with a lifelong partner, which I've got, [which] I'm lucky to have. It's a fear that whatever we've got can be taken away... It still happens. That's a fear of mine—what I would leave him [my partner] won't go to him.

Like Sharifah, Daniel and his partner's decision to get married after 23 years of being together held more legal than relational significance: to access the laws and rights afforded to heterosexual cisgender couples. The spectre of having these rights taken away nonetheless remained for Daniel. He feared challenges to his will from his biological family member(s). His fear was made more concrete through the experiences of other LGBTQ+ couples. Across the Australian states, the Succession Act lists the order of inheritance (when one dies without a will) as the partner, children, parents, and biological relatives. As de Vries et al. argued in a Canadian context, this order has a "strong heteronormative focus" (2022, p. 82), prioritising biological kinship and conjugal partnership. The possibility of Daniel's biological family member contesting his will despite not being named as a beneficiary speaks to the overarching grounding of state and legal constructions of kinship on heteronormative logics. Biological and hetero-kinship ties continue to be seen as primary, and in Daniel's case they threaten to erase the legitimacy of his marriage to his partner. As much as the LGBTQ+ couple may attain the rights of cisgender heterosexual couples through marriage, their access to these rights is hindered by the legal framework that continues to centre kinship on biological familial relations.

In many ways, coupledom for LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia enables them to mirror and attain hetero-kinship norms and privileges. LGBTQ+ coupledom is a route to financial, social, and emotional support and stability. The primacy of the couple as a kinship

site of care in older age is echoed too across the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, where partners are considered the primary caregiver (Croghan et al., 2014) or primary relationship (Heaphy & Yip, 2003). Partners are perceived as being able to provide more intensive forms of support that friends or chosen family cannot provide (Lottman & King, 2022). In Australia, like other countries that have amended and updated their marriage laws, marriage allows the LGBTQ+—particularly same-sex—couple to further secure their partnership. It enables them to complete legal documents like wills and lasting power of attorney, naming each other as their beneficiary or executor (de Vries et al., 2022). Yet, as Daniel's example shows, this stability is not absolute and is always at risk of heteronormative incursion. Marriage, while a stamp of legitimacy conferring LGBTQ+ couples protection, is not a guaranteed route to hetero-happiness. In a sociopolitical context still grounded in hetero-kinship norms, older LGBTQ+ couples may find their legal union threatened or compromised. This risk is a reminder of the limits of homonormativity, that despite mirroring the heteronormative familial unit, LGBTQ+ couples do not have a clear path to hetero-happiness. Relatedly, elevating the (LGBTQ+) couple raises questions on kinship and care for single LGBTQ+ people like mopoke as well as those who rely on non-monogamous or non-romantic relationships outside of the socio-legal framework of the conjugal couple (see Westwood, 2016b). I address this problematic in the final section on chosen family.

6.4 Chosen Kinship, Queer Family

Moving from the queer couple, I explore here the potential of queer or chosen family as a key source of support and care for older LGBTQ+ people. While some consider LGBTQ+ couples as 'chosen family' (e.g., Caceres & Frank, 2016), here I elaborate on queer kinship examples that do not have the element of a romantic or life partnership. In the interviews and photovoice discussions, queer or chosen family was often held up as a source of care for older LGBTQ+ people. As Barbara observed,

> *Generally, the gay community, they are self-help, meaning that they have lots of friends. They have good networks and because of [the] lack of trust [in] others, they will rather use their own networks or even friendships rather than g[o] to organisations and ask for help.*

Barbara's characterisation of LGBTQ+ people as "self-help" because of their "good" friendship networks and suspicion of formal organisations is significant. In chapter 4, I highlighted participants' fear and distrust of residential and aged care institutions, seeing them as heteronormative and avoiding them unless as a last resort. LGBTQ+ people's possession of "good" friends and queer kinship networks allows them to tap on these instead

of institutional support. Ninu echoed this notion of strong queer family in our interview.

> ***Ninu:*** *I feel positive about having support systems like our own families, not biological families, but the families of—queer family. The strength of that. Maybe creating other models of caring and looking out for each other.*
>
> ***Me:*** *So, you have that within your support system?*
>
> ***Ninu:*** *Not at the moment. But if I was to move back to the Northern Rivers, I would.*

Despite not presently having the queer support system they desired, Ninu remained hopeful that this could be a reality. Their imagination of other models of care beyond the default heteronormative option of nuclear biological family and children or institutional care is a utopic but unrealised alternative. Importantly, their queer family did not exist in their present neighbourhood or community, but would be in the Northern Rivers where they used to live. Tied to place, Ninu's connection to their support system was contingent on moving back to the Northern Rivers, a spatial connection that I will return to in the subsequent chapter. Until then, Ninu's queer care model remained a work in progress, a hopeful aspiration, a future yet to come. It is an aspiration of queer kinship that replaces the dependence on and assumption of hetero-kinship.

Articulated within notions of queer kinship are their importance and primacy particularly against heteronormative modes of care. In the absence of biological family or children, queer family is constructed as a viable or even necessary source of support. When asked who else was important in his life, Masaru remarked:

> *My gay friends. Because I don't have any immediate family here, right? Just [my] partner and I. Only us. That is why we joined [a group] to expand our LGBTQ network.... It is really important for me to support each other. Also, I met [an] Australian Japanese couple here. The friends are our LGBTQ circle. We have to know friends and allies. They are like our chosen family.*

Having close gay and LGBTQ friends was paramount for Masaru because he did not have "immediate family" in Australia. Besides his partner, Masaru found support in gay and LGBTQ+ friends. Chosen family and queer friendships have often been described as a key source of support for older LGBTQ+ people, especially those who are single, childfree, or with strained ties to their families of origin (Gabrielson, 2011; Hughes, 2010). This replacing of biological family by queer and chosen family is affirmed by Daniel:

> *[Though] the epidemic—I think for us survivors of that—we had lost a lot of family. I believe that. I'm not calling them friends or anything. They are chosen family. They are people that I grew up with. They had passed away since I was a teenager and the memories that they—they're etched in your*

> *mind. You don't forget them or how they died and from what my experiences are… we had to actually pay for our friends' funerals because they were rejected by their families. We were their family, and that's where I think the tight knit community [comes from].*

Daniel's comment was made during the group photovoice discussion. Over the photovoice sessions, he and the other two gay and queer cis-male participants returned to and recounted their experiences living through the HIV/AIDS epidemic that swept Australia in the 1980s and early 1990s. Daniel made a deliberate distinction between 'friends' and 'chosen family', even correcting me at one point in the photovoice discussions. To him, the term 'friends' failed to encapsulate the tight-knit, intimate, and caring relationships that he and his queer and gay kin had during the HIV/AIDS crisis. 'Family' confers the values of closeness, connectedness, and interdependence typically reserved for hetero-kinship and the nuclear family. The failure of biological family at the time of crisis—seen in their rejection of their HIV-positive children—exposed this illusion of hetero-kinship. The LGBTQ+ people who stepped in to support, care for, and even organise their funerals essentially replaced and took over the roles expected of biological family, becoming that chosen family. Daniel's language of 'chosen family' rather than 'friends' works to reclaim and reposition familial relations away from hetero-kinship ties. It is a re-naming of kinship grammars (Payne, 2016). Repositioning queer kinship as 'family' offers a recuperative language and site of care for LGBTQ+ people. Decades after the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the crisis has waned. Regardless, the experiences of Daniel and other survivors of the HIV/AIDS epidemic reflect a form of queer kinship glimpsed in the past. It is a there and then that is projected and desired as a possible future yet to come (Muñoz, 2009).

6.4.1 Constructing queer kinship over space and time

With queer kinship conceived as important for LGBTQ+ multicultural people, in this section I pay attention to its construction. Embedded within queer kinship is mutuality, the bringing of mutual value to those involved. Alan's first photograph on the theme of 'hopes' was titled "Friendship, long lasting friendship". It featured him and his friends at a home gathering. Discussing it in our interview, he shared:

> *We have been friends for [a] little bit over 12 years. Almost all of them. And that's just one group of friends. They are the group of friends whom I built up friendships [with] through Trikone, which is the South Asian group that I started many years ago. That's why they are particularly special to me. We stay in touch quite a lot. This is a group that I work with professionally but we also do a lot of social stuff, like our dance parties and other events… The objective here is to broaden the story to say that I have good friends, and I have quite a lot of good friends from different facets of life. What's been really*

> *important for me is I really believe—I think I said that in my note, "what goes around comes around", and so I have always put effort into connecting with friends, into building friendships, and into building personal relationships with most of these people. That meant either inviting them to our home for drinks, for parties, for dinner, going out with them… This is only one group, but there's a number of them. There's about three or four and we stay in touch. They bring much joy to my life.*

The importance of friendships with other LGBTQ+ people of a similar cultural background came through in Alan's photograph and quote. These friendships, alongside his relationships with his partner and sons, were what he highlighted throughout the interviews as the kinship relations that mattered. Contrasting with the language of obligation and expectation used in describing parent-child or biological nuclear familial relations earlier in this chapter, the language here demonstrates the mutual effort and reciprocity in queer kinship. Alan's friendships formed through Trikone, a South Asian LGBTQ+ group, have been cultivated over 12 years through professional and personal commitments, across home and social spaces. Different from the queer kinship born out of the urgency of the HIV/AIDS crisis, Alan's queer friendship is formed through co-presence and commitment. Not driven by rejection or loss, they are built through the mutual recognition of their value and the concerted sharing of space and time.

This sharing of space and time is even more crucial with the absence of social spaces for older LGBTQ+ multicultural people. In chapter 4, participants lamented the youth-centric queer spaces—bars, clubs, and parties—that were too loud and unwelcoming for older LGBTQ+ people. They disliked the ageist attitudes in the LGBTQ+ community, particularly amongst the gay community. Reflecting on queer friendships for older gay men in a youth-dominated culture, Alan described:

> *I think you would have to start just creating your own friendship base. It is really [through] restaurants, friends' houses, maybe things like a theatre or picnic? Maybe a movie? … We [are in] quite a queer-friendly suburb and you can go into a Thai restaurant or a Vietnamese restaurant or a pub. You'll see ten or 12 older guys all sitting and they are having the best time ever. They are all screaming and shouting as if they [have] suddenly become really young people, because as a group of people they are having a great time and they're all connecting on the same level.*

In the absence of specific social spaces for older LGBTQ+ multicultural people, the creation and nurturing of queer friendships take place in private homes or public spaces that are perceived as more 'queer-friendly'. In Sydney where Alan lives, these queer-friendly spaces are not limited to LGBTQ+ focused bars or clubs. Theatres, cinemas, restaurants, and parks are alternative options, quieter and calmer places for older gay men to connect. Separate

from the ‘typical’ gay spaces, these places are not infused with the ageist norms of dating, sex, or youthful attractiveness. They allow older gay men to build up their queer kinship networks without the ageist expectations of gay culture.

This diffused spatiality of queer kinship networks nonetheless renders them vulnerable. When the COVID-19 pandemic hit, some participants felt its impact keenly:

> ***Masaru:*** *[W]hen COVID-19 hit our country, we lost some of the members, lost contact because some of them [did not] know anything about social network systems. Some of them only rely on their mobile phone[s] and [did not] know anything about Zoom meetings or Skype... [P]eople are very easily—once something serious like COVID-19 happens—cut off from society.*

> ***Tony:*** *That was what I lost in COVID[-19]. I just caught up … with a group of those people … and an old mate said to me, “it’s been 18 months since we've seen each other.” It's been so difficult, so isolating. Although we weren’t on lockdown in Geelong like you poor Melbourne people [referring to another photovoice group participant], my brother and sister were. We were on lockdown. I was on lockdown. I couldn't go and visit these people where it was a safe space. It was a gay and lesbian space that was accepting.*

COVID-19 in Australia saw each state imposing varying levels of lockdowns and restrictions. Sydney (state of New South Wales) where Masaru was based experienced a shorter lockdown than Geelong (state of Victoria) where Tony was based. Regardless of the lockdown duration, both Masaru and Tony felt separated from their queer family and friends. Lockdowns often meant leaving one’s home only for ‘essential’ reasons. They meant the closure of public and social spaces, effectively narrowing the life worlds of LGBTQ+ multicultural people to whoever lived with them (e.g., their partner), restricting their ability to connect with queer kin who lived elsewhere. It meant those like Tony were unable to access queer spaces that were accepting and supportive. This isolation was echoed in Amos et al.’s study which found that LGBTQ+ people in Australia had less interaction with and support from “friends” compared to “family of origin” during the pandemic (2022). While the study emphasised the importance of shifting to online technologies like Zoom or social media, these were more inaccessible to older people as shown in the experience of Masaru’s queer friends. Further, health concerns and the fear of catching COVID-19 kept people like Tony on self-imposed lockdown even after the state-mandated lockdowns were lifted. In Tony’s case, this meant only being able to meet up with his queer friends after 18 months. Albeit an exceptional situation, COVID-19 demonstrated how one could be “cut off from society”, separated from safe spaces and queer kin. Just as how it increased the social isolation of

older, disabled, immunocompromised people and those who live alone (see for example Kasar & Karaman, 2021), it disrupted the ties that LGBTQ+ people had with their queer kin. It exposed the vulnerabilities of queer kinship, particularly queer kinship that was a key source of care and support for older LGBTQ+ people.

Re-placing queer kinship was then an endeavour that some participants took to reimagine and plan for what growing older interdependently would look like. The ideal of living together with queer kin while living separately was raised by three participants, two of whom described,

> ***mopoke:*** *It's mixed communities, like multiple occupancies where people have separate houses. But it's a whole village, really. You can have that model in the country. You're still independent, you still [have] your own thing, but you [have] your separateness... Some people are more gregarious and social. Everyone I know really values their privacy [laughs], really values their alone time.*

> ***Ninu:*** *I used to have this idea when I was younger that it would be lovely to have an old folks' home that was queer and was built—I had planned out the whole thing—so that you had your own space looking out but also had this veranda all around that connected. Then in the middle, you could have a garden or whatever and have paths going off to various other places. One of those places could be where you get planted after you passed on.*

Both mopoke and Ninu conceptualised queer living arrangements that were not yet available to them but existed in some form in Australia. Multiple occupancies allow people to live in separate houses but be co-located in the same place or interconnected through shared pathways and communal spaces. This way of living together yet separately transforms the home from individual houses to a "village". For mopoke and especially for older LGBTQ+ people who are single and live alone, this way of living enables independence alongside interdependence. It situates them close to queer kin without needing to be(come) coupled and live under the same roof. Living this way sidesteps the reliance on queer spaces outside of one's home, as one's home expands to become a queer social space. It thus avoids the isolation in times of crises like COVID-19. Juxtaposed against the existing options of residential care homes where one is (dis)placed into the care of others, or in home care where care comes to one's home, multiple occupancies offer a radical rethinking of what and where care could be. It firmly situates queer kinship and care within one's home and life world.

6.4.2 Queer kinship across ages

Shifting from the temporal and spatial construction of queer kinship, in this final part I analyse its age relationality. Age—or more accurately, life stage—structures kinship and particularly care relations for LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Alan's quote above highlighted older gay men "connecting on the same level", being able to have that close connection away from the ageist and youth-oriented gay spaces. Masaru made a similar point about connecting with LGBTQ+ people of his age:

> *[My partner] and I said to always get involved with these activities [for older LGBTQ+ people] and stay connected with other members. I think that's really important because we just understand each other, right? We're facing the same problems, not like gays in their 20s or 30s. They got their own problems anyway. When you're ageing, it is very important to stay connected with [the] same age group, then we can just discuss. Some people say, "I got [a] knee replacement", "I got [a] hip replacement." At this stage I don't need to do any of that, but when I hear these people saying, "oh, I got [a] knee replacement", "I had [a] hip replacement", and this and that, [I] just listen to them. Their experience really helps me be aware of this problem I may face in the near future. It really helps a lot. This is a reality, facing this—especially health problems. Listen[ing] to their stories, it's really helping to keep your mind alert.*

For Masaru and his partner, being in the same life stage as other LGBTQ+ people was crucial to having and maintaining a connection. They were able to relate to each other, discuss, and exchange experiences related to ageing as LGBTQ+ people. These issues are less relevant to younger gay men who have "their own problems" to worry about and therefore cannot relate. Life stage structures queer kinship horizontally. The older people in the group function as both Masaru's peers and elders, similar in life stage but ahead in experience. Despite not having the same experiences, their sharing reveals potential hurdles and crucial life lessons in navigating ageing as an LGBTQ+ person. The group socialises and orientates Masaru into becoming an older LGBTQ+ person, pre-empting and preparing him for the challenges yet to come. Connections with other older LGBTQ+ people provide important emotional support (Hughes, 2010). They demystify the process of growing older, making it easier for them to support one another in the future. Across this shared life stage, LGBTQ+ people construct queer kinship.

Nonetheless, queer kinship organised horizontally has its vulnerabilities. As with ageing, the realities of death and loss limit the potentiality of intragenerational queer kinship. Queer kinship made intragenerationally across older LGBTQ+ people of similar ages risks diminishing with older age and death. This is exacerbated by the vulnerabilities experienced by LGBTQ+ people. Daniel described:

> *I lost a lot of—nearly all my chosen family due to HIV, drug overdose, violent behaviours, things like that. Nearly all of them are dead. There's a lot of mourning. There's a lot of grief and loss still happening now, but I tried to channel it and try to focus on how I can make it easier for the new generation coming through.*

Here, the effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic which Daniel's generation of chosen family lived through carry on into the present. HIV/AIDS took the lives of countless people, shrinking the support networks of those who survived and continuing to affect the health and wellbeing of older survivors living with HIV (Murray, 2022; Norman et al., 2022). At the same time, the precarity experienced by LGBTQ+ people make them more vulnerable to drug and substance use than the general population (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2022). These added aspects resulted for Daniel in the loss of nearly all of his chosen family over the years. Like the *travestis* in Silva et al.'s study whose precarity caused them to see their life expectancy as much lower than the average person (2022), the precarity experienced by Daniel's chosen family—his generation of LGBTQ+ people—shortened their life trajectories. While Daniel tried to channel this grief and loss to benefit the next generation, a lingering question remains of who would support him and his generation of LGBTQ+ people. Losing one's chosen family would be detrimental if one relied heavily on them for support.

Turning then from intragenerationality to intergenerationality, queer kinship across ages and life stages offers a different configuration of care and support for LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Daniel's channelling of his loss to "make it easier for the new generation" enacts a practice of care and support for younger LGBTQ+ generations. This construction of queer kinship across ages, life stages, and generations is echoed by mopoke:

> *I will eventually inherit a little bit of money from a beautiful patron. It's not from family, and that's what I mean by queer family. He's part of the queer family... He's a beautiful older man, queer man, who's become quite unwell over the years. There's a network and interesting enough in that he's a queer man, his whole support network is a bunch of queer women, many of whom have been sex workers. He's always been very supportive of sex workers, particularly BDSM sex workers. Just this morning, there was a thread—he's just coming out of hospital—and it's called "[name] care coordination". It's people lining up, "who's going to visit him in hospital?" "Who can pick him up?" "who can visit him when he gets home?" There is somebody who's looking after aged care stuff properly for him. She coordinates it all. But it's just a whole bunch of mostly women, queer women, stepping in to be a support network for somebody they have a huge amount of respect for. It was funny because I'm looking and going "no gay man in that particular network. This is really interesting". He's a total gay man [laughs]. It's just funny where you find your support.*

Mopoke's anecdote depicted queer kinship as intergenerational interdependence. The older patron that they described had a support network of mostly queer women who stepped in to coordinate his care and discharge plans when he was hospitalised. These women had been supported by him in the past and in turn cared for him when he became unwell. Their kinship network is founded on interdependence, care, and respect, wherein the support given by the patron to the queer women in the past is returned by them in the present when he needed it.

Likewise, mopoke's future inheritance from the patron represents continuity and interconnectedness across generations. While the hetero-kinship act of familial inheritance passes financial and social capital from parents to children or from one partner to another in marriage or conjugal partnership (Halberstam, 2005), mopoke's inheritance from their patron is a transference of capital from one queer generation to the next, through queer kinship that is based neither on romantic nor biological ties. Without needing their queer kinship relations to be recognised and legitimised in a socio-legal framework, mopoke, their patron, and the queer women harness and construct a model of care and capital transference that works. Further, rather than generational dependence, where the old are dependent on the young for support and care, mopoke's narrative denotes generational interdependence and respect for queer elders. Both younger and older members of their queer family contribute and benefit. Like the intragenerational connections that facilitate the horizontal exchange of knowledge and experiences, intergenerational kinship ties here are mutual and reciprocal, involving an exchange of capital and care. This mutuality does not take place simultaneously but over different spaces, times, and ages. Because of this connectedness across generations, mopoke's patron can depend on his queer family as he grows older, just as mopoke can draw on his bequest upon his death.

Queer intergenerational kinship thus requires a deliberate and concerted construction, a pulling together across ages, spaces, and times. Underscored by mopoke further on in our interview:

> *What creates community is when ages are mixed up together, that we don't socialise within age groups. We socialise because we have commonality. When I go back to the dance parties and parties that I still am part of... the diversity in age of the people attending those parties goes from 20-something to 70s... It meant that the older folks who actually didn't want to stay up late were integrating with the young folk and partying. We do stuff together. I think it's really crucial that ageism doesn't come into one's social circles. It isn't that only young folk hang out with young folk and only old folk hang out with the old folk. It's a community that is integrated... Besides the "I don't know what's gonna happen to me in the next 20-30 years", there's also the confidence that*

> *we have community that look in on each other. So, maybe part of the answer is, community needs to happen on a lot of levels for old folk to have support.*

Mopoke's example of queer kinship and community stands in stark contrast with the ageism experienced in the LGBTQ+ social spaces in chapter 4. In the dance parties they go to, queer diversity is reflected across ages and generations. Rather than socialising within age groups—the young with the young and the old with the old—interactions in this queer community occur regardless of age and life stage, brought together by a common interest in dancing. Notably, this is made possible with the dance parties starting in the afternoon and finishing at night, differing from the typical late-night temporality of nightclubs and bars. Commencing in the day and ending by late evening, these dance spaces did not just cater to younger queer people but also fitted the temporal rhythms of older or other people who did not want to stay up late, facilitating interactions and integration across generations. This sharing of space-time and bridging across ages creates queer intergenerational community. It creates intergenerational identity beyond heteronormative notions of grandparenthood (Tarrant, 2010, 2013). Referring to mopoke's earlier concerns about growing older as a queer single person without children, these concerns appear less bleak when placed alongside their hopeful portrayal of queer intergenerational kinship.

These examples present queer kinship as a potential site of care and support that LGBTQ+ multicultural people can rely upon as they grow older. Untethered by biological or romantic association, it is as once promising and vulnerable. It does not harbour the heteronormative expectations of care and filial piety projected onto biological children. Unlike the couple, queer kinship does not require the making and sharing of a life together. It is not a given and cannot be taken for granted. The absence of obligations for queer kinship relations means that they depend on mutuality and interdependence. They require a concerted co-construction by its members, sharing space and time, giving and taking. Referring back to Butler's understanding of kinship as a practice (2002), the queer kinship foregrounded here contains examples of how kinship can be done. They are examples of reconfiguring kinship grammars away from the default of hetero-kinship or romantic love to the language of respect, interdependence, inter- and intra-generationality, and mutual care. Linking to the literature on LGBTQ+ ageing, queer kinship and chosen family have been characterised as a potential but uncertain source of care in older age. Studies have suggested that LGBTQ+ older people draw on friends and queer family for general support but may not rely on them for more intimate care needs (Green, 2016; Lottman & King, 2022). The findings in my study do not necessarily contradict these but demonstrate how these intimate care relationships can be constructed through a sharing of space, time, and

commitment. In other words, it is the *doing* of queer kinship ties, not their *being*, that enables them to become viable for a liveable older age.

6.5 Queering Kinship

In this chapter, I have demonstrated the kinship and care relations that LGBTQ+ multicultural participants construct and imagine as crucial for a liveable and desirable older age. Presented across three categories, the kinship forms of biological family, the couple, and the queer/chosen family are harnessed to differing extents by LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Masaru has the support of his partner and queer family; for mopoke, their queer family is primary; Alan has his sons, partner, and chosen family. This pulling across multiple kinship forms reflects the inconclusiveness and diversity within the LGBTQ+ ageing literature. Despite weaker ties to biological family (Green, 2016), some older LGBTQ+ people have support from their biological family and children (Croghan et al., 2014; Heaphy et al., 2014). Others find kinship and care from a mix of extended family, friends, partners, and children, with certain relationships playing a more important role depending on the individual (Changfoot et al., 2022; Westwood, 2016b). As mopoke commented in one of the quotes above, “it’s just funny where you find your support”. Queer kinship need not be a prioritisation of families of choice over families of origin (Mizielińska & Stasińska, 2018), but reflects a practical array of kinship connections that can include both biological and chosen forms.

With these findings, the question of *what* kinship forms older LGBTQ+ people have becomes less important to *how* kinship is constructed for ageing. As I have shown in this chapter, different expectations and norms govern the kinship forms. Reflecting hetero-kinship notions of care obligations and filial piety, the biological family and particularly children are seen as the default source of support. With these norms, LGBTQ+ older people who do not have biological kinship support are considered more vulnerable and reliant on state or institutional support (see Green, 2016), whereas those with children are perceived as less vulnerable and can age more successfully (see Caceres & Frank, 2016). Similarly, the LGBTQ+ couple as each other’s primary kin reflects hetero-kinship ideals of the monogamous couple. Bolstered by the legality and legitimacy of marriage, they are able to share resources and navigate older age together. Regardless of one’s sexual or gender identity, being coupled, having children, and being economically productive is the default route to obtaining rights and privileges in our neoliberal society (e.g., Eng, 2010; see also

chapter 5's section on delaying decline). Just as heteronormativity affects non-normative heterosexuals (Oswin, 2010), homonormativity affords some LGBTQ+ people in particular societies the rights of the heterosexual subject (Duggan, 2002). Hetero-kinship is thus not exclusive to cisgender heterosexual people. The presence of biological family, children, and a partner for older LGBTQ+ people provide routes to the hetero-happiness modelled in heteronormative imaginations of desirable older life. While the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants were not necessarily pursuing hetero-kinship, their constructions and imaginations of desirable ageing through obtaining family, children, and coupledom nonetheless reflect the continued relevance of heteronormative norms in support and care for older age. Outside of this narrative, the single, child-free LGBTQ+ person—or simply the single, child-free older person—is considered more vulnerable in older age, or to have 'failed' at ageing.

Present within the constructions of kinship and care by LGBTQ+ multicultural people are nevertheless queer possibilities beyond hetero-kinship and the nuclear family model. They include the extended, blended, non-romantic, and interdependent forms of care and support that structure LGBTQ+ lives. Alan's blended family with his sons and former and current partners exemplifies the blurring of the divide between 'chosen' and 'biological' kinship. Dion's extended family support repositions family away from the nuclear and monogamous family ideal to include broader definitions of intergenerational kinship (see also Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan & Whetung, 2022). Crucially, the section on queer family demonstrates how kinship beyond notions of romance, biology, or 'origin' may be constructed and harnessed. Unbounded by biological kinship grammars and expectations, unaided by legal mechanisms, the creation and maintenance of queer family relies on mutuality and reciprocity, the sharing of space and time, across and within generations. Equal parts vulnerable and strong, these instances of queer family figure in the past HIV/AIDS crisis, the present, or in future imaginations of co-living and co-ageing. They allow those like the single, child-less LGBTQ+ person to envision a non-heteronormative but desirable way of accessing care and support in older age. By demonstrating how and why queer family is harnessed and imagined for LGBTQ+ multicultural people, this chapter concretises its importance in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature. The next and final empirical chapter closes with place and belonging for LGBTQ+ multicultural people.

7 QUEER BELONGINGS, QUEER PLACES

7.1 Introduction

This final empirical chapter shifts its focus from kinship to belonging, to where LGBTQ+ multicultural people feel and construct belonging. In chapter 4, I argued how participants experienced and envisioned being pushed out of place and time due to the different intersections of ageism, heteronormativity, and racism. Chapter 5 then examined participant-enacted temporalities and efforts to age in time. This chapter closes the loop by investigating notions of place and belonging within the liveable and desirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Belonging and place are two concepts that are central to the spatial discipline of geography. In this chapter, I interrogate place-based identity and belonging through the lens of cultural, racial, diasporic, and national identity, foregrounding the multicultural within LGBTQ+ multicultural participants' imaginations of a desirable and liveable ageing future. This contrasts with the previous three chapters, where the primary lenses have been along the axes of age, gender, and sexual identity. Here, I centre on the 'cultural' to flesh out meanings of belonging and place for those who inhabit minoritarian gender, sexual, cultural, and age identities.

This chapter is structured in four sections. The first and second describe normative understandings of belonging and ageing in place present among LGBTQ+ multicultural narratives. The second and third sections respectively outline belongings and unbelongings to places and communities, highlighting the complex and often contradictory ways that participants are attached to and inhabit multiple places and communities. The former foregrounds LGBTQ+ multicultural people's (un)belongings to places across the transnational and translocal. These (un)belongings are created by movement, migration, and mobility across their life course but particularly in their later years. The latter shifts to discuss (un)belongings to communities, foregrounding how LGBTQ+ multicultural people feel belonging and unbelonging across diasporic and queer communities. Both sections overlap in that communities are also spatially located. Dividing them into two sections emphasises the materiality and physicality of place in the former and the discursive constructions of place for the latter. In both, I attend to how sexual, gender, and cultural identities result in overlapping and conflicting notions of belonging and unbelonging in ageing. The final section harnesses the notion of queer belonging as in-betweenness to describe how LGBTQ+ multicultural people then negotiate and navigate these (un)belongings to multiple places and communities, carving out ageing futures that are liveable and desirable to them.

7.2 Belonging in Place

Belonging is located by being in place. Across the interviews and photovoice discussions, the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants spoke of the connection they had to their homes and the place(s) they called home. Home was where the environment was familiar to and comfortable for them. On the theme of 'hopes', Tony (Figure 7.1) and Stephanie (Figure 7.2) submitted photographs of their homes. Tony captioned his submission, "[m]y garden, a place that I find therapeutic. The circle of the seasons, and always something happening. A place of refuge."

Figure 7.1: My garden (by Tony)

Figure 7.2: Happy at home (by Stephanie)

The air spires and re-spires
the land waits
trembling with the limerence of springtime forgiveness of winter sin
the wind chuckles in the leaves of blue-gum and paper birch
beyond the window beside the cushioned chair
where I view my lifework with a smile
because it reminds me of the time
when I walked barefoot on the rim of the world

Stephanie and Tony's submissions depicted their homes as places of comfort and refuge. The home, pictured in Tony's garden and Stephanie's cushioned chair next to the window, is a place that is at once therapeutic and dynamic. It allows them to recharge and be themselves; it is a safe space for them to watch the seasons and the world unfold. Home is also a place that holds one's "lifework", one's memories, achievements, and experiences perhaps displayed as memorabilia and artefacts within the domesticity of the space (Pilkey, 2014; Zechner, 2017). This dynamic between the stability of the home and the changing life and environment beyond is elaborated by Stephanie:

> *[The photograph and poem] encapsulat[e] all the things that make me happy about being at home. When I say happy at home, it's a big part of me because if I'm traveling or I'm away, I always look forward to coming home. I can't even understand people who are like nomads, who want to go away and never have a home to come back to deliberately. I love my home, and I love this particular room, this particular place where I sit. Every morning I look out across the valley and I do stuff that I like. I write or I read.*

Home in Stephanie's view is thus articulated as a constant and desired feature in one's life as one ages. It is the place that one chooses to return to after each departure or journey away. Coupled with its other qualities above, home is where one can belong, where one can feel safe and connected (Wiles et al., 2009, 2012). Stephanie's statement of "always look[ing] forward to coming home" underscores the strong connection one has to their home, the desire one has to age in place.

Belonging can also be made through finding the 'right' place in older age. With ageing for some comes the notion of retirement, of choosing a place to settle down after their working lives. Describing his ideal retirement in the future, Alan shared this photograph (Figure 7.3) with the following caption: "A view of how I see life retired into my last years and moments. Peaceful, somewhere where it gets cold and the autumn and spring bring the cycle of life around and around."

Figure 7.3: A view of life retired (by Alan)

Unlike Stephanie's wish to always come home, Alan desired to move away to retire somewhere "peaceful" and scenic. Reflecting retirement migrants, Alan valued serenity and scenery. This is reflected in this photograph of Dublin in Ireland, a stark change in environment from his current home in Sydney. For him, ageing sparks a search for another place, for the 'right place' (Golant, 2015) that can match his slower pace of life and preferences at this life stage. In a peaceful and idyllic environment like that in the photograph, Alan can retire, relax, and live out his last years and moments.

The importance of place—particularly home—to LGBTQ+ multicultural people is foregrounded when viewed through the lens of gender and sexual identity. In chapter 4, I expounded on participants' fear and negative perceptions of residential aged care. They saw residential care as the last stop, a step back into heteronormative time and for some, a fate worse than death. Faced with the threat of residential care, being able to age in place or in one's home becomes crucial. Barbara highlighted:

> *I want to avoid residential care if I can. I hate it. I know residential care and I think it's the last place to be. Ideally, I will be opting for cluster homes within retirement villages that ideally would be recognising what I'm standing for. Which is possible because there's a trend of elderly people from my background trying to get together into one space... So, ideally independent living [for] as long as possible with support from aged care organisations taking care of my old age needs.*

Seeing residential care as the "last place to be", Barbara hoped for a viable alternative of "cluster homes within retirement villages … with support from aged care organisations". Elucidated in chapter 4, this desire is grounded in older LGBTQ+ people's fears and negative experiences of residential care homes. Hers was a carefully thought-out alternative,

balancing her “old age needs” with her independence, values, and identity. While residential homes are meant to take care of these needs, they are unliveable and undesirable options for Barbara and many other LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Ageing independently in one’s home—ageing in place—was the desired alternative (Boggs et al., 2017). While difficult, it could be possible by factoring in the care and support required.

Similarly, notions of home and ageing in place were echoed in participants’ queer co-living aspirations. In the previous chapter on kinship, I described the desires of some participants to live and age near chosen family. Dion shared:

> *My best friend, he came out after me. He and I used to joke about when we get older, we’ll just buy a big house and live there. One big house. All of us can live in that house [laughs]. It’s probably not feasible... We were talking amongst ourselves about who will look after us when we’re old and where we [will] live. In nursing homes? We talked about living with family members and we also talked about having our own space. A place where a few of us lived and others could visit.*

Dion’s desirable ageing future is of “one big house” where he and his best friend, perhaps with their partners and friends, could all live in. Articulating this somewhat in jest, Dion noted the unfeasibility and difficulty of communal living compared to the nursing home option. Still, it represents aspirations of a queer place amidst a social landscape of heteronormativity. It is a desire to create a safe place for him, his best friend, and other LGBTQ+ kin to age in place.

These participant narratives reflect the literature’s emphasis of forging attachment and belonging by ageing in place. Participants view their homes as a safe and desirable place to grow old in. Whether in their current homes, future retirement homes, or visions of co-living, participants find and forge meaning and belonging in these places. Home is what they are familiar with, where their social connections and relationships exist (van Hees et al., 2017; Wiles et al., 2009), where they can affirm their gender and sexual identities (Grant & Walker, 2021; Pilkey, 2014) or be with their chosen family. Crucially, even though ageing at home does not prevent homophobic or transphobic intrusion (as in the examples of home care in chapter 4), it is preferred to the heteronormative time-space of residential aged care (Czaja et al., 2016; Westwood, 2016a). These notions echo the geographical and LGBTQ+ ageing literature on ageing in place, for it is the familiarity, safety, and connections one has in one’s home or environment that allow one to belong.

7.3 (Un)Belongings across Places

Finding belonging and ageing in place is however complicated when including the element of racial, cultural, and national identity. In Stephanie's quote above, she described not "understand[ing] people who are like nomads, who want to go away and never have a home to come back to deliberately". Nomads are people who have no fixed home but move from one home to another, from one place to another. Contrasting with the narratives of home, place, and belonging in the previous section, not having a home to come back to can be inferred as an unmooring from belonging, identity, and attachment, a "being out of place … accompanied by distress" (Rowles, 2017, p. 208). Leading from this idea of "nomads", in this section I shed light on the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants who have moved from one place to another. These movements are deliberate as individual choices but are also affected by heteronormative pressures and cultural challenges. Their movements occur on two levels: transnationally across international borders and translocally across Australia. More importantly, with these movements come a belonging as well as an unbelonging across places.

7.3.1 Transnational movements and (un)belongings

Transnational movements and mobility characterised the experiences of LGBTQ+ multicultural people who migrated to Australia. Gender and sexuality were often key in their decisions to migrate to Australia.

> ***Sharifah:*** *From young, I always knew that I wasn't going to be like my cousins and all my other relatives, getting married and living in [my country]. There was always this internal thing that I'm not supposed to be there. When the opportunity came…someone at work applied for PR [Permanent Residency], and I thought, "why not apply?"… It wasn't a conscious effort. It was more like, "why not?"*

> ***Masaru:*** *In Japan, the pressure from the family and society to get married, settle [down], and have a family [is great]. My parents have very conservative values. When you reach a certain age, you should be married and start a family. Well, I wasn't. They kept saying "you should get married." "You should get married." The pressure was so much but I couldn't come out to my parents… By the time I was 35, the pressure was too much. I was pretty depressed. When you reach the point of "I cannot take this anymore", you have to decide what to do. Finally, I came out to my parents, "I'm sorry, but this is me. I'm a homosexual guy, so I cannot marry and the pressure from you is way too much. I'm sorry, but I cannot take this anymore." I felt like I needed to reset my life, my thinking. Also, I [had] always wanted to not just [have a] holiday [but] spend some time overseas [in an] English-speaking country…to stay longer [and] settle down. I wanted to try do that and because*

I [had] some friends in Australia… I just dumped everything [laughs].

Both Sharifah and Masaru reflected on the dissonance and displacement they felt in their countries of origin. Recognising at a young age that she was different from her relatives and cousins, Sharifah felt uneasy knowing the heteronormative expectation of marriage in her culture. She was out of place in her country, "not supposed to be there". This disconnect and unbelonging was huge too for Masaru, who at 35, according to his parents' articulation of the chrononormative life course, should have been married and have had children. His parents' repeated admonishments indicated that he was out of step with straight time, running out of time for marriage, childbearing, and childrearing. Moving to cities in Australia allowed him and Sharifah to be outside of the heteronormative scripts in their countries, starting anew in an alternative 'queer' time and place. Their journeys echo those of other LGBTQ+ migrants—transnational and translocal—who leave their heteronormative familial homes and environments for the city or a more welcoming country (Gorman-Murray, 2007; Pino, 2017; Quah & Tang, 2023). Echoing the literature, gender and sexuality were nonetheless not the only push and pull factors for migration. Work opportunities, social connections, and new life experiences contributed to and facilitated their moves to Australia. Their impetus to move stemmed from a broader thirst for a better, queerer life elsewhere.

Queer migration afforded LGBTQ+ migrant participants the opportunity to feel and construct belonging as non-normative gender and sexual subjects in a new country and place. Key to this feeling of 'in placeness' was the more liberal and welcoming queer environment that Australia represented compared to their countries of origin. In their interviews, participants discussed the freedom to be themselves, to have equal rights, or just to live ordinary and peaceful lives. Masaru elaborated:

> *Australia, especially in the city, is so LGBT friendly. Even back then when I came to Australia, it was so gay friendly. Of course, there was discrimination, but compared to Japan, it was so much more gay-friendly. I felt really comfortable here to be who I really am... You don't have to advertise, "hello, I'm gay", or anything like that. You don't have to hide your sexuality... It's so much easier. I [feel] life in Australia is so much easier as a gay guy. Everybody is so accepting... When I got really sick and went to the hospital, my partner went with me. These people, the doctors and nurses, they [did not] look at us twice. My partner... introduced himself as my partner and the doctors and nurses said "okay". That was it... In Japan, you will still have to hide some parts [of yourself].*

Masaru's experience with the hospital staff brought home the differences between living in Australia and Japan as a partnered gay man. The way that the staff treated him and his partner, ordinarily and without making a fuss, highlighted the broader inclusion and

acceptance of LGBTQ+ people within the fabric of Australian society. This was in stark contrast to Japan where he would have had to hide his sexuality or potentially face discrimination. City life in Australia enabled him to experience life as any other person, without the negative connotations or treatment of being gay. In Australia, he could be "the way [he] want[ed] to be" without hiding or pretending that he was heterosexual. This comfort of being accepted was fundamental to his construction of belonging in the Australian city. Echoing this was Peter:

> *There are things that I miss in my former country. I wouldn't be sincere if I said to you that I didn't miss anything over there, because I do. But I would say it's much healthier mentally and hopefully physically. I would say there's a much more solid perspective of growth over here from what I'm envisaging so far than in Brazil, because over there, you have to work your arse off in order to get something because there is so much political instability and social inconformity... In Australia, I feel much more tranquil emotionally because my husband is here. I have been experiencing the possibility of having more gay friends over here than the way that I used to have in Brazil. It's more likely that I might construct a truer self, a truer persona.*

For Peter, being in Australia meant being in the same place as his husband, building a home and shared life together. It offered authenticity, mental and physical health, growth, and tranquillity because of Australia's political and social stability compared to Brazil. Peter could envision having more gay friends, reclaiming, and reconstructing his identity as a gay man, things he could not do back in Brazil. This ability to "construct a truer self", navigating and re-inventing one's identity is crucial to one's construction of place and belonging (Christou, 2016). In Peter's case, it grounded him and gave him renewed hope of growing and flourishing as a gay man. This prospect of living an authentic live as a gay man was crucial to his constructing of belonging in this new place.

While forging belonging in Australia, LGBTQ+ migrant participants maintained connections with their countries of origin. Peter's quote above articulated what he "misse[d]" and left behind in his former country, evoking the attachment transnational migrants continue to have to their countries of origin (Bastia et al., 2022). Theirs was a transnational belonging between two countries, between two places. They constructed personal, professional, and social networks in Australia while maintaining biological familial networks and connections back in their countries of origin. This transnational belonging is tempered by participants' queer identities, complicating returns to their countries of origin. It is decidedly un-nostalgic, not a wistful or romanticised yearning to return to past origins in the homeland (Gopinath, 2005). Masaru narrated this impossibility:

> *My father has passed away 6 years ago... I'm still regularly visiting my mom*

> *but we don't really talk about these gay issues in my life over here.... We just don't ask, don't tell. I don't bring it up and my mum doesn't particularly ask me. She just keeps [say]ing, "just stay healthy", and of course, she miss[es] me a lot.*
>
> *…*
>
> *Sometimes my mom tells me that when I've passed away, "please, I want you to be in my family grave. I don't want you to be buried in Australia. I want you to be here." At this stage I say "okay, okay. Of course, I will do that." But practically, I don't know how I [can] do it. Yeah, but that's a long way away. When I'm getting really, really old and cannot look after myself, what do I do?*

Regularly connected to his mother in Japan through visits and conversations, Masaru maintained a duality or what he described as a "double life": out and proud, married to his partner in Australia but silent around this relationship to his mother in Japan. His "don't ask, don't tell" approach is reflective of non-Anglocentric cultures where LGBTQ+ people choose not to 'come out' to avoid impacting biological familial relationships (Mizielińska, 2022). This delicate balance of kinship and belonging across borders is troubled in ageing and especially death. While Masaru's mother wants him to be buried in their familial grave in Japan after his death, this wish is impossible for Masaru to envision fulfilling. Returning to Japan to age and die would mean going back to a heteronormative past left behind by emigration, relinquishing his decision to grow older in Australia. For Masaru and queer diasporic "impossible subjects", belonging across places is fraught with impossibilities and contradictions (Gopinath, 2005). The heteronormative 'homeland'—albeit with its connection to biological family and its cultural familiarity—is not one that they can return to in older age, not even in death. Rather, it represents both a place of belonging and unbelonging, a tenuous and paradoxical connection.

Ageing further complicates belonging across international borders as one's financial situation and mobility change. Maintaining visits between two countries and across continents requires transnational mobility which becomes harder and almost impractical in old age. International travel, even after the lifting of COVID-19 border restrictions, favours the young, able-bodied, and financially able. It becomes inaccessible when one's health declines or when one lacks the money (Näre, 2017; Zechner, 2017). The financial and social cost of ageing complicated Peter's prospect of one day returning to Brazil:

> *Going back to your original country is going to be impossible, because you won't have anyone to look after you or any superannuation. I'm working on bringing my superannuation from Brazil to Australia... It's a pension. But still, our currency ... is worth a quarter of what the Australian [currency] is worth. I'll have to live with a quarter of what I would have in Brazil. I would say it's pretty*

> *much the same reality [for] wh[o]ever chooses to come to Australia. Considering that you don't have the same currency, if you come from Indonesia, India, China... even if you bring your superannuation, your income would be dropped to a half, or one-fourth, or one-fifth, sometimes one-tenth.*

Unlike Masaru's reluctance to return to the heteronormative environment in Japan, Peter's concern centred on not having "anyone to look after [him]" or sufficient retirement funds. As articulated in the previous chapter, care and resources for older people are often constructed around heteronormative kinship ties where the biological family—particularly children—are assumed to care for their aged family members. Peter's strained ties with his biological family in Brazil made it impossible for him to rely on them even if he returned. At the same time, he saw his superannuation or retirement savings significantly reduced with his later-life migration. Migrating later after his 'productive' working years meant the inability to grow and amass adequate superannuation and savings for healthcare and other living expenses in his 'non-productive' older years. Migrating outside of chrononormative time, in a neoliberal society which emphasises self-reliance in ageing necessitated bringing his superannuation from Brazil over to support himself but at a drastically reduced amount after currency conversion. The migrant narrative of progress, moving to a 'better' place, to a more LGBTQ-friendly and 'developed' country represents social mobility and stability but at a financial cost in older age. As with Suen (2022) and Pino's (2017) studies, ageing complicates the lives of queer diasporic subjects by limiting their transnational mobilities and presenting them with the dilemma of staying or returning. For queer migrants outside of hetero-kinship relations or with reduced financial means, returning is not only undesirable but impossible to envisage.

Choosing to stay put in the destination country is thus a choice with difficult implications for queer migrants. Like Masaru, Sharifah, and the other transnational migrant participants, Peter was more comfortable growing older in Australia. Nonetheless, his later-life migration presented him with the urgency of forging new connections and support networks before time 'ran out'. On his photograph in chapter 4 titled "The uncertainty of the future", he elaborated:

> *In my original country I had things but I didn't have the one that I love. So, I changed everything that I had in order to achieve the things that I love with my husband by my side. The idea [of the photograph] was—the worst fear would be the perception of being defeated. Of having nothing else to do but die and with no one by my side to help me in the process... If I lose my husband, if I don't have time to get back into work and put myself back [on] my feet, that will make me unable to support myself in the country. On top of that I would be having no connections, no friends. A very sad end of life.*

Uprooting and moving everything from Brazil to Australia to finally be with his husband, Peter

needed to re-create a place of belonging in Australia. Without the head-start that other transnational migrants had, his uprooting and regrounding in older age (see Fortier, 2003) had more at stake. Being older presented a greater risk of losing his husband and less time to build crucial social support and connections. As mentioned above, it created an urgent need for employment to support himself in a 'more developed' and expensive country. Being older raised the stakes of migration for Peter as he had to re-create a life and place for himself in a new country without younger migrants' luxury of two, three, or four future decades of life. His practical fears and challenges reflect the precarity of older migrants who feel out of place, financially insecure, and without social support in their countries of emigration (Lewis, 2009; Sadarangani & Jun, 2015). While they could choose to return to their countries of origin in older age (Wallace & Kulu, 2014), Peter's non-normative sexuality prevents him from returning. His was a one-way journey without the possibility of going back. Age, sexuality, and culture thus intersect, highlighting the precarity of LGBTQ+ migrant belonging and ageing between two worlds. In both countries and places, they feel belonging and unbelonging, simultaneously in place and out of place.

7.3.2 Translocal movements and (un)belongings

Turning from the transnational to the translocal, belonging and unbelonging across places in the country was present for some LGBTQ+ multicultural participants. They experienced disjuncture between the place where they wanted to grow older and the place where they 'should be'. As Dion explained, "for me, getting older and needing care. I would probably have to move back to Rockhampton. Getting older and not needing care, I wouldn't go anywhere near Rockhampton [laughs]. I hate it. I like this lifestyle." Having grown up in Rockhampton as an Indigenous gay man, Dion found the town "redneck" and unwelcoming. He moved to Brisbane as an adult in search of community. Recently retired, he moved with his partner to Bribie Island, leaving most of his friends in Brisbane and his biological family in Rockhampton. Dion's moves were reflective of other migrants. His first migration was as a gay Indigenous person from a small town to a bigger city with broader acceptance and a larger LGBTQ+ Indigenous community presence. This parallels the rural-urban migration journeys of LGBTQ+ people in the literature (Gorman-Murray, 2007; Lewis, 2012). Dion's second migration is in retirement, in search of a more relaxed lifestyle. It echoes Alan's desire in the first section to move away from the big city to a quieter, more idyllic place.

Dion's choice to be away however implicated his access to support networks particularly if he needed care in older age:

> *[If] I wanted to go to an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander aged care service on Bribie Island, there isn't one... The closest one is on the South side of Brisbane. But the non-Indigenous community wouldn't have to do that. I could go to the one just up the road here if I wanted to.*

Dion's predicament reflects how ageing, sexuality, and culture work to trouble belonging in 'place'. Like other retirement migrants, Dion desired a slower and different "lifestyle", moving to Bribie Island where retirees, retirement, and aged care services were "just up the road". This movement is complicated by his Indigenous identity, by the absence of services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In chapter 4, I detailed the cultural inadequacy and heteronormativity of residential aged care as a barrier for LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Heteronormative residential care services are posited by Gorman-Murray et al. (2022) to affect LGBTQ+ retirement migrants in rural or regional areas. For Dion, who is uncomfortable using mainstream aged care providers in the absence of Indigenous ones, it is their cultural inadequacy that is more salient and implicates his ability to age in place. The absence of culturally-appropriate aged care services for LGBTQ+ multicultural people (see also Chen et al., 2022) mark his place in Bribie Island as transitory, a temporary stop despite his growing connection to place. Dion's contemplation to move back to Rockhampton despite his "hate" and aversion to the "redneck" and heteronormative culture is worth unpacking. Rockhampton is where his biological family is, where he thinks he will be cared for in older age when he needs it. Rockhampton for him then evokes a complex, shifting, and contradictory sense of belonging: simultaneously heteronormative and inclusive, alienating and caring. This in-betweenness between belonging and unbelonging in places is articulated in his connections across Brisbane, Bribie Island, and Rockhampton as he endeavours to find a place in older age.

Belonging across translocal places can be characterised as in-betweenness, an impermanence marked by transitory moves. Shifting needs and care responsibilities in and because of ageing made Ninu move temporarily across the country:

> *I feel like I'm biding my time here. I came here to be with my partner, whose mother is ageing. She's a couple years younger than my mother, but she's frailer. She was living in the house that I'm in now. My partner came over to move her into aged care which she's now in. My partner was meant to come back to the Northern Rivers but decided that she wanted to stay here till her mom passed. So, it was either have a long-distance relationship or come here. The things you do for love [laughs].*

Unlike the hetero-kinship ties that keep the transnational migrant participants close to and connected with their countries of origin (Buffel, 2017), Ninu's kinship ties connected them to a place that was foreign to them. Their partner's caregiving responsibilities necessitated

them leaving the Northern Rivers—the place where they would like to “grow oldest”—to a “monocultural” rural area where they lacked social connections and queer family. Without a sense of belonging or desire of fostering it, they felt a sense of “biding [their] time”, waiting for their partner’s mother to die before moving back. Age(ing) here is relevant not just in the care needs of LGBTQ+ people (Suen, 2022), but in their care work and kin work for older kin. Further, the lack of cultural, gender, and sexual diversity in that rural area precluded Ninu from fostering a sense of belonging. Unlike the voluntary and desirable dwelling across translocal places in Iossifova’s study (2020), Ninu’s connections across the translocal in Australia is transitory and undesired. Caught between (queer) community and connection to place in the Northern Rivers and their partner’s kin responsibilities in this region, Ninu chooses the latter, albeit temporarily. Their intention to age in place is disrupted by transitory movements and connections across the translocal.

While the translocal movements of Ninu and Dion were more transitory, for Daniel they took on a more permanent feature. He elaborated on his movements from regional to metropolitan Australia:

> *I’ve lived in the country. It was nice but it's not for me…. Having lived in in the country, I don't want to experience that isolation of being a gay Asian. That's why I moved back into the city. But I've still got some really lovely friends in the country.*

Like Dion and Ninu’s comments on the “redneck” and “monocultural” regions in Australia, Daniel lamented the isolation he experienced living as a gay Asian in regional Victoria. Echoing their kinship connections to those regions, Daniel spoke of “really lovely friends in the country”. This connection to people in those places was however insufficient to alleviate the isolation he felt by being both gay and Asian. Moving to Melbourne, a metropolitan city where both his ‘queerness’ and ‘Asian-ness' were reflected in others was thus a way Daniel could feel at home, in place amongst others like him. The tension between rural and metropolitan areas, where the latter is ‘queerer’ or more welcoming of diversity than the former, has been critiqued by LGBTQ+ scholars aiming to break this duality (see Grant & Walker, 2021). Nonetheless, taking an intersectional perspective where LGBTQ+ people are also racialised or culturally marginalised underscores the continued materiality and relevance of this duality. Inasmuch as cultural diversity and representation continue to be lacking in rural/regional compared to metropolitan spaces, queer lives at these intersections will continue to feel out of in place in rural spaces.

Together, these examples of translocal and transnational (un)belongings to places demonstrate how normative notions of belonging and (ageing in) place are complicated for LGBTQ+ multicultural people. They have attachments that stretch across scales to multiple places across the country and world. Figuring through the impossibility for LGBTQ+ migrants of returning to their 'homeland' and the temporality of place for participants, these examples bring to light the racialised and heteronormative narratives that underpin what it means to have a place or be in place in the 'homeland' or the (destination) country. They complicate the desires of LGBTQ+ multicultural people to settle down, forge belonging, effectively to age in place. Interrogating issues of culture, race, and diaspora alongside gender and sexual identity therefore troubles the notion of belonging and ageing in place as LGBTQ+ multicultural people find themselves both in and out of place, belonging and not belonging in these "impossible" spaces (see Gopinath, 2005). They inhabit multiple places of belonging and unbelonging, holding multiple attachments that elicit conflict and contradiction alongside connection and familiarity.

7.4 (Un)Belongings across Communities

Shifting from (un)belongings across places, this section examines (un)belonging across communities. While the two overlap as communities are embedded in places, I am less interested here in their spatiality but in their discursive norms and cultural and/or immaterial meanings. By foregrounding the perspectives of LGBTQ+ multicultural people at the intersection of cultural/diasporic and queer communities, I assess how the association of belonging as belonging to a community is troubled and disrupted.

As queer diasporic subjects, LGBTQ+ multicultural people described not belonging to their diasporic or cultural communities. Heteronormativity and more importantly the risk of homophobic or transphobic discrimination and violence made them outsiders in their own diasporic communities. Barbara, who has Eastern Europe heritage, described:

> *I'm a victim of abuse from my community and I'll never forgive them because I was doing [a] perfect job [of] assisting my community... There was a group of people that found out that I was gay, and I've gone through hell. I've gone through threatening letters and anonymous letters, talking about me behind my back in church or to the community. Damaging my name, pointing me out with fingers, punching the tires of my car, sending me scary letters like "be careful, because we can kill you".*

Regardless of her efforts to help and be part of her diasporic community, Barbara was seen

as a threat to them because of her sexual non-normativity. Belonging to this community demanded compulsory heterosexuality. Heteronormativity was an unspoken characteristic of this diaspora (see also Walcott, 2005). Barbara's experiences of abuse and harassment by those within her diasporic community were efforts to drive her out and demarcate the boundaries between what the community represented and what it was not. Effectively, it sent the message that those who were LGBTQ+ had no place in the community. By being gay, Barbara could no longer belong to her diasporic community.

Finding one's place at the intersection of multiple minoritised communities becomes a complex endeavour. George described his wariness of becoming part of the LGBTQ+ community:

> *I'm not involved with [the LGBTI community] ... When I was living here with friends, we used to go out a lot and I never got right into the LGBTI community because it's very gossipy [laughs]. You don't know who they can talk to. Because the Greek community knows everybody here, you don't know who knows who. Also, because I have friends who are part of the community and ... there's a lot of gossiping. It's very detrimental to the person. They become very obsessive... Sometimes I think it'd be good to get into the community, to work, to learn, and all that kind of stuff. Then, the flip side is, what happens if they talk to friends who talk to my brother or my sister? ... I'm really protecting [myself] on one level. [On another] level, I should be involved in the community [laughs]. It's very difficult.*

Despite desiring to connect with other LGBTQ+ people and be part of the community, George "never got right into" it. He held back because of his experiences of unpleasant and harmful gossiping. More crucially, the gossiping risked outing him to the Greek community, to his siblings who did not know of his sexuality. The closeness and small size of both the Greek and LGBTQ+ communities, where "everybody knows everybody" and gossip moves around fast presented a double edge sword that promoted connection and belonging but threatened to expose one's LGBTQ+ identity. Not being 'out', he could not be too involved in the LGBTQ+ community for risk of exposure, for risk of experiencing what Barbara went through. While conceived as separate, the porosity and permeability of queer and diasporic communities meant people could belong to or know others across both communities, making it difficult for George to keep his identity hidden. Belonging to the LGBTQ+ community, while desirable, implicated coming 'out' or becoming 'out-ed'. This necessity restricts George, preventing him from connecting with other LGBTQ+ members, from becoming embedded within this community. Without experiencing the outright discrimination that Barbara had, George is also unable to navigate belonging to both Greek and LGBTQ+ communities.

Articulated in these two examples is the impossibility of community-based belonging for multiple minoritised subjects. Their queerness prevents inclusion within the diasporic community, which in turn reveals its heteronormativity.

> ***mopoke:*** *[If] you stick a whole bunch of people who are of a similar ethnic minority, they've got commonality that comes of being that ethnicity to a certain degree… Arabic, Islamic queer folk, there's no way they would want to be in an Islamic old folk's home because they know that their queerness is not going to be accepted. So, it's complicated. How do you look for the commonality here? ... If you're going to look in terms of ethnicity, [saying] "okay, all you Han Chinese people, you go here. And all you Malay Malaysians, you go here." Just looking in Malaysia for instance, it's complex. Even within that one country. Just because everyone's Malaysian doesn't make them all Malay. Far from it. Just because you're Chinese, doesn't make everybody the same.*

> ***Alan:*** *Even within the queer community, we have little communities within them. We've got South Asians, East Asians… While it's nice to know that [the] persons on either side of your room are queer just like me, if I'm an Indian who's got little understanding or care for a Western-oriented [culture], then outside of knowing we're queer, I'm not going to relate a lot to an Aussie. Or you [have] got language difficulties or food [differences].*

Highlighting the complexities within and across diasporic communities, mopoke critiqued the assumption of belonging that centred on cultural commonality. Unpacking the category Chinese, Malaysian, or Muslim reveals many cultures, variations, and differences. Having diasporic commonality does not equate to affinity or belonging. Just as Barbara faced discrimination from her diasporic community, queer Muslims could face the same hostility amongst their religious community, not least in an Islamic aged care home. The clash between religious and/or cultural values and LGBTQ+ identities make LGBTQ+ Muslims not only minorities within minorities, but also non-existent and out of place in this religious community. This is echoed in Daniel's comment in chapter 4 about the overarching heteronormativity in Chinese aged care homes. The illumination of heteronormativity within diasporic communities is paralleled in Alan's unpacking of whiteness in LGBTQ+ communities. Alan critiqued LGBTQ-focused aged care as 'Western-oriented', catering to the majoritarian Anglo-Australian subject rather than across the different cultures within Australia. This orientation ignores and excludes LGBTQ+ people from non-Anglo-Celtic cultures, from the many "little communities" embedded within the 'LGBTQ+ community'. The queer diasporic older person becomes simultaneously in place and out of place, amongst other LGBTQ+ people but foreign in tongue, palate, and connection.

While the above examples illuminate the conflict of belonging to both cultural and LGBTQ+ communities, this conflict is not a given for all minoritised LGBTQ+ and cultural subjects. Participants themselves noted the diversity inherent across cultures and contexts, where some could be(come) more welcoming of sexual and gender non-normativity than others. Exemplifying this change was Dion, who saw in his lifetime a shift in the actions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people towards LGBTQ+ people. In the previous chapter, I highlighted how his biological family grew to accept him, his partner, and their other LGBTQ+ members over the years. Reflecting on the broader transformation across his cultural community, he attributed this "big shift" to his vocal LGBTQ+ elders and a change in mindset:

> *As a people, as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, we're so downtrodden. We talk about [the] Stolen Generations, we talk about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people not being citizens of this country until 1967 when we were counted in the Census. People realised that what they were doing to the LGBTIQ members of their own community was what white people did to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. I think that changed people's actions. It might not have changed their perception—they still might not like gay people for whatever reason, their own insecurities—but they realised [that] by them excluding and discriminating against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander LGBTIQ people, they were doing just what the white men did to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.*

For Dion, the parallels between the oppressions faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and LGBTQ+ people were pivotal to the former's shift in behaviour towards LGBTQ+ members of their cultural community. The historic and systemic racism Indigenous Australians experienced from white settlers, while not equivalent to their discrimination towards their LGBTQ+ members, sowed the seeds of recognition and change. It allowed Indigenous Australians to change their actions towards other LGBTQ+ Indigenous Australians even if their attitudes and perceptions remained negative. This shift for Indigenous LGBTQ+ Australians like Dion had material consequences, allowing them to belong as an LGBTQ+ Indigenous person. He elaborated, "[w]e have a special bond with other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander LGBTIQ+ people. We have an affinity and affiliation with the broader Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community that sometimes we don't have with the LGBTIQ community." Unlike the examples of Barbara and George, Dion forges belonging within his cultural community, having a "special bond with" other Indigenous LGBTQ+ people and "an affinity and affiliation" with the broader Indigenous community. Notably, it is to his cultural community rather than the LGBTQ+ community that he feels greater belonging to, indicating the pervasive reach of racism within the (white-centred) LGBTQ+ community. Dion's contrasting narrative is a reminder of the diversity and temporality of communities. Diasporic or minoritarian cultures need not always be

communities of unbelonging. They can also become communities of belonging.

Overall, these examples of (un)belongings across communities illuminate the heterogeneity and complexity present within assumptions of community-based belonging. They show how belonging cannot be achieved by emphasising singularity of culture and community. Community, or a group of people with shared characteristics, cultures and backgrounds is invoked in discussions of belonging and being in place, from the imagined community of the nation (Anderson, 2006), the diasporic communities of migrants away from their 'homeland' (Buffel, 2017), and the place-based communities of older LGBTQ+ people in residential care (Lottman & King, 2022). Treating the community as harmonious and homogenous has been the modus operandi in ageing policy and advocacy groups. In Australia, the development of LGBTQ-specific aged care services as well as Greek, Italian, or Chinese residential care homes reflects the assumption of commonality within either cultural or queer communities. Work on ageing in place assumes the homogeneity and cohesiveness of communities that enable older people to age 'in place'. The call for LGBTQ-friendly aged care services for LGBTQ+ older people (Boggs et al., 2017; Westwood, 2016a) elide the cultural homogeneity of LGBTQ+ older people. The examples by LGBTQ+ multicultural people thoroughly trouble this assumption that (queer or cultural) commonality is affinity or is sufficient for promoting belonging amongst its 'members'. Instead, such communities can reflect heteronormative or racialised underpinnings, catering to the default (white, middle-class, able-bodied, cisgender etc.) subject and excluding the queer diasporic or racialised subject. As Koegler writes, "identification with a diasporic community is easily disrupted where it intersects with queerness" (2020, p. 884). The assumed homogeneity and heteronormativity of cultural and LGBTQ+ communities is exposed when considering these specific intersections. Resultantly, LGBTQ+ multicultural people can find these communities and services inhospitable and even uninhabitable, experiencing ageing in-between communities, partly in place but out of place.

7.5 Belonging as In-betweenness

Having outlined the experiences of LGBTQ+ multicultural people belonging and not belonging across multiple places and communities, I move to articulate their negotiations and reworkings of belonging in this final section. I flesh out three imaginations of ageing in between places and communities. These imaginations recognise and valorise belonging as in betweenness rather than emplacement, as fluidity rather than fixity. They are queer

notions of place and belonging that hold together the uncertainty and tenuousness of being between two (or more) worlds, places, and communities, not necessarily in wholly coherent terms, but in ways that make sense to those living it.

7.5.1 Intersectional communities and places

The creation and existence of intersectional communities make belonging in/between communities possible. These communities are for what Dion termed as “minorities within minorities”, the LGBTQ+ multicultural people who find themselves out of place in both LGBTQ+ and diasporic/cultural communities. Dion’s special bond with other LGBTQ+ Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is one example. Another example came from Alan, a key organiser of Trikone, a South Asian LGBTQ+ group:

> *I just felt that we had to create a place for people to feel safe, where they could eat their own food and not worry about somebody saying “oh, you smell like a curry”. Socialise, listen to our kind of music, Bollywood music, just laugh and just create family because, as you may know, Asians and South Asians have a strong sense of family. You don't have that here. Well, you didn't have that. If they [LGBTQ+ South Asians] did have family, they [the family] didn't know about it [their gender or sexual identity], so they couldn't be free and open with their family. So, you end up becoming this family for a whole bunch of people. It's been successful.*

Identifying as South Asian himself, Alan felt affinity and kinship with other LGBTQ+ South Asians. Having been in LGBTQ+ spaces that were predominantly white and Anglo-centric, he understood how South Asians like himself might feel out of place. The slur “you smell like a curry” reflects the racialisation and exclusion of black, brown, and Asian bodies particularly in gay culture (Caluya, 2008). At the same time, South Asian LGBTQ+ people who have emigrated and moved away from their biological families and countries of origin—as the section on transnational (un)belongings demonstrated—are physically and emotionally distant from their biological families, in a different country and possibly not ‘out’ to them. Despite their cultural “strong sense of family”, they are unable to forge close ties with either LGBTQ+ or biological families, out of place in both diasporic and LGBTQ+ communities and spaces. Trikone fills this gap by becoming *the* place for queer South Asians, the community where their diasporic and queer identities can be simultaneously embraced, valorised, and accepted. In Trikone, South Asian LGBTQ+ people find a queer diasporic community of people just like them.

These intersectional communities are for queer diasporic and cultural subjects a

community within communities, a place between places. In Australia, a myriad of diasporic queer communities like Trikone exist. Tending to congregate in the larger metropolitan centres of Sydney and Melbourne, theirs is a place where multiple cultures and belongings converge. For the migrants who left their countries of origin in search of a better place, these communities provide an anchor to their homes, perhaps lessening the ache of missing family, culture, and place. In eating their own foods, listening to their own music, and speaking their own languages, those in queer diasporic communities maintain their connections to their cultures without having to return to the 'homeland'. In doing so, the glance back to the 'homeland' is transformed from nostalgia or the impossibility of return, incorporating, recuperating, and situating queer diasporic identities and desires by staying put (Gopinath, 2005). In Trikone and intersectional communities like them, queer diasporic subjects recognise that they can be both queer and South Asian, in-between communities and places but firmly belonging in place.

7.5.2 Heterogenous communities and places

Belonging in intersectional communities is nevertheless hampered by the multiplicity of identities and its many possible intersections. As Alan acknowledged, while Trikone catered to queer South Asians, most of its members were young, cisgender, and male. This age bias in queer diasporic communities was something I had encountered and described in the methodology chapter. It underscored how intersectional communities, like those oriented towards a specific identity category (e.g., LGBTQ+ or cultural identity) can never include or represent everyone within it. Relating this to ageing policy, Dion explained:

> *Because of the multicultural slant of ageing, it's very difficult to meet the needs of the specific groups within the multicultural community. A response for Chinese people may be very different from a response for South American people or whatever… It still needs to be culturally sensitive and specific, but just not white [laughs]. If that makes sense. Even within a multicultural community, there are specific cultures. That's what you need to be aware of, in developing aged care services for LGBTIQ+ people. Even within LGBTIQ+ [people], a lesbian may have different needs to a transgender male-to-female or female-to-male [person]. Different needs and responses. A disabled LGBTIQ+ person will have different needs. Those sorts of things. Even though we are included under that multicultural term, we're still individual cultures within that.*

Dion pointed to the limits of aged care services and policies for older multicultural or LGBTQ+ people. Difference and diversity exist even within the category of 'multicultural' or 'LGBTQ+', not to mention the overlaps with other social categories like disability and class. Because of the infinite different identities of older people who identify as LGBTQ+ or

multicultural, it is futile for an overarching ‘multicultural ageing’ or ‘LGBTQ+ ageing’ service to cater to their specificities. Put differently, it is impossible to have an intersectional community for every person to belong to. Rather than having greater intersectionality within communities—as in the case of Trikone and other queer diasporic or cultural communities—Dion’s suggestion of “not white” is a unifier enabling the inclusion of difference. “Not white” values solidarity across differences over unity through homogeneity. Whereas LGBTQ+ and multicultural aged care services fail at being racist and heteronormative respectively, a “not white” response (and relatedly, a “not heteronormative” response) makes space for non-normativity to flourish. This point echoes the queer subjectless and queer of colour critiques’ call for ‘queer’ to be positioned against the ‘normal’ rather than the ‘heterosexual’ (Cohen, 1997; Oswin, 2008). “Not white” calls for aged care services to be positioned against racism and cultural insensitivity; “not heteronormative” issues a similar demand to interrogate compulsory heterosexuality and hetero-kinship. Doing so attunes aged care services to the multiplicity of non-normative genders, sexualities, and cultures, regardless of whether the subject is LGBTQ+, older, or multicultural. By foregrounding non-normativity and difference, it allows for a better inclusion of diversity and heterogeneity across subjects.

This foregrounding of non-normativity is elucidated through the examples of heterogenous communities. Heterogenous communities create belonging by pulling across multiplicity. Instead of being based on similarity and shared cultures, heterogenous communities create a place for those in between cultures, for those who are non-normative, who are queer or different. Masaru recognised this in the scale of Sydney, his chosen city:

> *Especially in Sydney, … it’s such a multicultural city. If you don’t speak good English, which when I came to Australia [laughs] I couldn’t speak English well, people just don't really care. At least, [to] your face they don't really say anything nasty. Sometimes people say racist things to your face, but most people are just okay with it. For a non-English background and gay person, a city like Sydney is pretty comfortable to live in.*

Sydney represents a queer utopian place where anyone can live in, regardless of their backgrounds and identities. In its multiculturalism and queer diversity, people “just don’t really care” or are accustomed to the people from all backgrounds who inhabit the city. While this does not mean that racism, homophobia, or other structural forms of marginalisation are absent, at least in Masaru’s eyes Sydney allows him to be himself, to be comfortable, to live. Contrasting with Japan, where Masaru felt the heteronormative and homogenising pressures of society and his family, Masaru’s vision of Sydney is arguably elevated. Sydney represents a heterogenous community where one, regardless of race, language, gender, and sexual identity, can find belonging and can be in place.

Crucial in heterogenous communities is an acceptance of and bridging across difference. Mopoke described their queer family as an amalgamation and intermingling of difference:

> *Queer family, chosen family, I have an amazing kind of [family] which fits. There's no Othering involved as far as ethnicity is concerned…. My people, as far as my people are concerned—same with the guys who are strictly gay, I look at the folks who are from the LGBT+ community and when I see that their whole social interaction is only with their own gender. It's the lesbians whom all their friends are lesbians. It's the gay man with all their friends are cismen. Those are not my people. We're in the big alphabet soup together.... I'm much more with the queer folk where it's all kind of mixed up and messed up and crossed over and much more accepting. That's my family.*

Mopoke called out homogenous communities where interactions are all based on sameness—gay men only interacting with other gay men; lesbians only interacting with lesbians—as inadequate and potentially exclusionary. To them, these interactions reflected the ageism or racism seen in LGBTQ+ or predominantly gay spaces (described in chapter 4). As a non-binary Eastern European person, mopoke located their own place within their queer family in a regional town. Their metaphor of a "big alphabet soup" described their community as one of difference rather than sameness, a place for the infinite variations and identities that being "queer" can be. Their family included "trans folk" and "gender fluid folk", but also people "in hetero relationships, a man and a woman together", "queer as fuck". Mopoke's definition of queer here references the queer subjectless and queer of colour critiques, referring not to the non-heterosexual or non-cisgendered subject but to a way of thinking and being that embraces gender, sexual, and racial non-normativity. It is a disidentification with heteronormative or homonormative white culture. They describe it as embracing being "mixed up and messed up and crossed over". This mixing and messing up of people, cultures, and identities is where difference can be accepted without Othering, without reproducing dominant norms of race, able-bodiedness, gender, and so forth. Belonging in this queer community thus requires not homogeneity but heterogeneity, not sameness but difference. It is one possible answer to Fortier's questions of "[d]o communities necessarily entail the suppression of difference? Can communities come together without presumptions of 'being in common'?" (2002, p. 193). Without needing to look for commonality at the intersection of identities, a commonality that stamps out differences, heterogenous communities invite interactions across differences such that each person may feel in place.

7.5.3 Belonging as in-betweenness

Finally, belonging in between places and communities may be navigated through reworking and reconfiguring their multiple, overlapping, and contradictory meanings. Unlike in the above two sections, this does not require a belonging to heterogenous or intersectional communities but a personal endeavour of resituating belonging. It can require a simultaneous process of holding on and letting go, discarding elements that do not make sense and reclaiming those that do. As mopoke articulated:

> *I relate more to European culture than I do to English culture…. Culturally, I just didn't relate to it. The Queen? What's she doing here? What are we? Still a colony? What's the Union Jack doing on the flag for God's sake? I was ten years old when I looked at the flag and went, "that's wrong. Why have we got the British flag on the flag?" If a 10-year-old can figure it out, how come the grown-ups haven't figured it out? That hanging on to colonial Britishness, that is part of what is Australian or considered Australian. It is just, "huh?" Yes, it's the Englishness. It's the Englishness that is foreign to me… The racism and lack of respect for Indigenous people and First Nations people… I choose to live in a bubble that doesn't contain those things. But I know it's out there.*

Not fitting within the normative 'Australian' or 'English' culture, mopoke's rejection of it allowed them to reimagine being in Australia without identifying with its racialised and colonial narrative. Instead, they chose to "live in a bubble", rejecting the "Englishness", drawing from their Eastern European heritage and resituating it in Australia. This reworking of identities juxtaposes with the migrant narrative of cultural hybridisation where a new identity is created based on the blending or mixing of two separate cultures (Bhabha, 2012; Palladino, 2019). Rather, mopoke's practice is a reworking of being in Australia without the embrace of normative Australian culture. Mopoke's ability to "live in a bubble" suggests a privilege that other racialised queer diasporic subjects may not have, who rely instead on the practice of disidentification (Muñoz, 1999), subverting and resituating themselves within exclusionary discourses (Gopinath, 2005).

Contrasting with mopoke is Ninu's narrative of forging belonging in between places and communities:

> *I identify as Maltese Australian because of those oppressions and also the preciousness of identity when I did go to Malta and feel that sense of coming home and being accepted and being embraced. Which I had never felt here.*
>
> …
>
> *That year ended up being an investigation of those fragments of identity. It was a powerful experience for me to really delve into the herstories and histories of Malta. There's this whole Goddess culture that I'd never heard*

> *about before, infinitely older than Stonehenge and places like that. It's really rich but nobody really knows the stories, so there's lots of folk stories. Through investigating all that, it gave me a stronger sense of identity, belonging and knowing that was solid. I had a place and somehow that made it easier to have a place here… I identify with the land here [in Australia], but I also identify with the land there. They've got very different energies. But because this is where I was born and this is what I know, this is a culture I know even from the margins. Then [thinks for a couple of seconds], I still belong here as well. Not so much through people but through my sense of connection with place.*

Growing up in Australia in a time when non-Anglo-Celtic European migrants were discriminated against, Ninu felt a keen sense of being "from the margins", being Othered and out of place in their own country. Being Maltese and Australian were irreconcilable identities for them. Neither here nor there. Much later, through learning about and going to Malta, they were able to delve into those "fragments of identity", those parts of themselves that had been hitherto incomprehensible. Knowing the richness of their culture and connecting with that place made them feel a sense of belonging and acceptance there and subsequently the means to "have a place" here in Australia. Ninu's narrative contrasts with mopoke's in that they did not reject Australian culture but carved out belonging as a minoritarian subject "from the margins". Theirs is a practice more akin to the notion of cultural hybridisation (Bhabha, 2012; Palladino, 2019), through the double identification as "Maltese Australian" connecting their diasporic identity of being Maltese with that of being Australian. Belonging for them is also possible through a connection to the more-than-human places, the lands and energies of Malta and Australia. This connection to the more-than-human rather than to people is echoed in Grant and Walker's study where older lesbians forged a sense of place in rural Tasmania through their connection to the plants, animals, and wider environment (2021). Belonging in Ninu's case is a queer spatio-temporal togetherness that layers the distant and the proximate, the past "herstories" and the present, being marginal but belonging. Being in between cultures and places creates a bridge connecting them, transcending hegemonic, heteronormative, and racist spaces to carve out their own place.

As much as belonging through in-betweenness helps one belong across places and communities, in-betweenness can be a choice to remain open amidst uncertainty and (un)belonging. This can be seen in the transnational migrant participants who, as mentioned above, preferred to age in Australia but held on to the possibility of one day returning to their countries of origin. Dual citizenship gave some the legal right to do so and shuttle between two countries. Those whose countries of origin did not permit this chose instead to obtain Australian permanent residency and hold on to their original citizenship. Masaru explained: "I

didn't apply for the citizenship because all of my family is still in Japan... I don't know what's going to happen in another ten years' time. Who knows? I just want to keep my Japanese citizenship." Masaru expressed the duality and uncertainty of ageing while belonging across two places and countries. At his current stage of life, he is certain of ageing in Australia rather than in Japan. Despite charting decidedly queer futures not possible in his original country, Masaru chose not to shut the door on returning, keeping his Japanese citizenship and making space for a "who knows?", the possibility that with age he might want to return. Sharifah mirrored his sentiment, maintaining her citizenship to her country of origin "for whatever reason", a "just in case" she might want to return. Unlike the literature on ageing and migration, belonging for queer diasporic subjects like Masaru and Sharifah cannot be achieved by going 'home' to their countries of origin. At the same time, that connection is valuable and exists. Going back to the 'homeland' is a future that Masaru and Sharifah choose to keep open and possible. Their articulations of uncertainty and undecided futures can be read parallel to Gopinath's theorisation of "queerness not as homecoming … but as a process of both dwelling in those off-centre spaces and of staying lost" (2018, p. 61), "dwell[ing] in a space of indeterminancy" (p. 73). Even without a present desire to age back in their countries of origin, their holding on to their original citizenships meant holding a ticket back if and when they needed it. It meant dwelling in the uncertain, with the indeterminate, continuing to stay 'lost' in that transnational space of belonging across two countries, two homes, two places.

Going further, belonging as in-betweenness need not depend on being in one place, but in making one's place. This was articulated in my conversation with George.

> ***George:*** *I don't need to belong somewhere. I'm already belonging to something. I belong to myself, to other people. I don't need a community to belong [to], because if I told my parents or if my relatives knew, [there's] homophobia and then I need to go somewhere to belong. Where the LGBTI community is belonging [sic], it's part of that community, to belong, to be accepted. I'm okay being on my own. I don't need a group of people to say "yes, you're okay" to me. Does that make sense?*
>
> ***Me:*** *Yeah.*
>
> ***George:*** *Yeah. So, I don't need that. I get it from somewhere else, through my work, through other people, through activities that I do. I am belonging somewhere else, but I don't need to be in that common belonging to an organisation or to a community.*

Mentioned earlier in this chapter, George's ambivalence about becoming part of the queer community stemmed from his unease at being outed to his biological family and the Greek

community. Regardless of this out-of-placeness in diasporic and queer communities, George's articulation of "belonging somewhere else" evokes a queer belonging not centred on a singular community (e.g., LGBTQ+ community) or place (e.g., Sydney). "Somewhere else" denotes a plurality that holds together the multiple communities, people, and places that are anchored to him. This reframing decouples belonging from a single place, locality, or community. It recuperates and relocates belonging to the self and one's connections vis-à-vis others. Belonging as in-betweenness is relational, shifting, expanding, and contracting depending on where, when, and what the person is. It is a continuous process forever in the making, drawing on the multiplicity of connections that one makes across the life course. Belonging in-between thus holds the multiple places and communities in concert rather than in contradiction, allowing one to feel in place by being in places, allowing a sense of place to be configured through making one's places and connections in the world.

7.6 Queering Belonging, Queering Ageing in Place(s)

In this chapter, I have highlighted the imaginations of place and belonging that feature in the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Whereas ageing in place at home and in a familiar and welcoming environment is important (Wiles et al., 2009, 2012), the stability and singularity of home and place are complicated by issues of race, culture, and diaspora. Place and belonging for LGBTQ+ multicultural subjects in Australia are located across multiple and conflicting places and communities. Queer diasporic belongings transcend international borders, connecting LGBTQ+ migrants to their countries of origin but also troubling their desire and prospect of returning particularly in older age (see also Pino, 2017; Suen, 2022). Queer belongings for LGBTQ+ multicultural people stretch across places in the country, at once intimate and alienating. Thinking belonging through queer and cultural 'communities' further exposes the tensions and conflicts within these communities. LGBTQ+ multicultural people's intersectional identities as both queer and multicultural, as "minorities within minorities", can preclude them from fitting within either queer or cultural communities. Ageing 'in place' becomes complicated when there is no one place, when LGBTQ+ multicultural people transition between places or wrestle with connections and contradictions with places and communities.

Thinking of belonging as in-betweenness then allows for a way to reconceptualise belonging and ageing in place(s). Intersectional communities provide a place that specifically recognise the queer and diasporic identities of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. They queer the

narratives of diaspora and nation, transforming heteronormative space into a place for queer diasporic practices and identities (Gopinath, 2005). Heterogenous communities, on the other hand, go beyond defining communities as sameness or similarities. They value difference and heterogeneity without the impetus towards assimilation, creating a space for the non-normative and queer to belong. Finally, belonging as in-betweenness can be a practice of the self, seen in the disidentificatory practices of queer diasporic and racialised subjects (Gopinath, 2005; Muñoz, 1999) but also in LGBTQ+ multicultural people's reclaiming, reshaping, and recuperating of disparate and conflicting cultures, communities, and places. These practices enable LGBTQ+ multicultural people to age while belonging in between, to stay put while being connected across places, to identify with lands, cultures, and people in the plural (see also Changfoot et al., 2022). Overall, then, conceptualising belonging as in-betweenness requires a move from sameness to difference, from singular to plural. It is a reminder for the LGBTQ+ ageing and geographical literature to look beyond 'ageing in place' and LGBTQ-based commonality. It is a call to interrogate and incorporate plurality, multiplicity, and heterogeneity in belonging, for it may only be in these interstices that belonging becomes possible and inhabitable for such minoritarian subjects.

8 DISCUSSION

This discussion chapter is structured into two sections. The first section responds to my research questions of interrogating liveability and desirability in ageing through the narratives of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. The next section elaborates on my contributions to the field of queer geographical gerontology and suggests areas for further research.

8.1 Queering Ageing Futures

In their article, critical queer gerontologists Sandberg and Marshall asked, “whose lives matter?” and “what lives are understood as desirable to live and thrive well into old age” (2017, p. 8)? They urged critical and queer researchers in the field of ageing to critically interrogate how desirable and liveable ageing is constructed and reflect on different possible renderings of old age (for recent examples in queer gerontology, see Jones et al., 2022a; Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan & Whetung, 2022). Taking up this call in the interdisciplinary space of queer geographical gerontology, this discussion chapter pulls together my findings to provide one answer to their question from the perspective of LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above in Australia. In this thesis, I explored the following research questions: what are the liveable and desirable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia? How do they reflect and queer/disrupt heteronormative notions of ageing? Drawing on photovoice discussions and semi-structured interviews with 14 LGBTQ+ multicultural people across Australia, I interrogated their ageing hopes and fears through the concepts of time, kinship, and place. These three concepts have threaded through my four empirical chapters, where I critically analysed how their imaginations of (un)liveable and (un)desirable ageing futures connect to and/or deviate from normative notions of ageing. In short, this thesis was a geographical endeavour to rethink and queer representations of ageing through LGBTQ+ multicultural articulations of futurity.

8.1.1 Normative aspirations

The liveable and desirable futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people depict able-bodied futures. Able-bodiedness and able-mindedness permeate LGBTQ+ multicultural participants’ perceptions of liveable ageing. LGBTQ+ multicultural people feared being forced out of able-bodied space and time. Ageing meant slowly losing their mental and physical capabilities, their independence, and mobility. Growing older, they feared no longer being able to

navigate their usual space-time routines and becoming socially isolated. As with the broader literature on ageing and LGBTQ+ ageing (Coleman 2017; Porter et al., 2004; Robinson, 2016), participants feared becoming disabled, ill, dependent on others, lonely, financially destitute, and helpless. Accompanying this was their aspirations and endeavours to prevent or delay the slippage into disabled time. Like others in the literature (Jones, 2022), LGBTQ+ multicultural people aimed to stay able-bodied, healthy, and independent into older age. Through the temporal endeavour of delaying decline, they pre-emptively strived and proactively planned to keep illness, dependence, and decline away. They ensured they had the financial security to stay out of residential care or homelessness. Essentially, they endeavoured to stay in able-bodied time.

Besides able-bodiedness, hetero-kinship and heteronormative norms permeate the desirable and liveable ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Participants saw their possession of and/or access to certain kinship networks as enabling a better older age. They saw biological children and positive biological familial relationships as sources of care and support in older age. Being and staying coupled was their pathway to a more dependable and companionable future. It allowed the LGBTQ+ couple to accumulate resources together over the chrononormative life course, saving up sufficiently for retirement and healthcare needs for ageing. Like in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, those who were coupled, had (supportive) children, and positive ties to their biological family saw themselves as being in a position to age comfortably (Caceres & Frank, 2016; Heaphy & Yip, 2003). These constructions reflect how the promise of hetero-happiness (Marshall, 2018; Sandberg, 2015) continues to be applicable not just to cisgender heterosexual people but also to LGBTQ+ multicultural people. Particularly in the Australian context where laws and policies increasingly recognise, legitimise, and validate the LGBTQ+ couple form, liveable ageing through coupledom becomes imaginable and achievable for LGBTQ+ couples.

These depictions reflect the continued relevance of normative discourses of successful ageing within LGBTQ+ multicultural narratives of liveable ageing futures. These discourses coalesce around an overarching notion of ageing as decline, vulnerability, and loss (Gullette, 2004). Seeing ageing as decline is to mark the spatio-temporal divide between the mid-life and old age (van Dyk, 2014), where the former is youthful, able-bodied, and desirable while the latter is old, disabled, and undesirable. Preventing one's slippage across the divide requires following chrononormative and heteronormative time, for in doing so one is able to maintain and preserve their financial, emotional, and physical state. This is

done through participants' dedicated practice of delaying decline, accumulating resources and capital diligently over the chrononormative life course. The possession of hetero-kinship resources for some LGBTQ+ multicultural participants helped them position themselves within the 'successful' end of this spatio-temporal divide. These understandings reflect the dominant lexicon of agentic and embodied responses to ageing: they are depicted in the gerontological literature through concepts such as 'successful ageing', 'healthy ageing', 'active ageing', and 'ageing well', describing how older adults can maintain desirable and liveable lives even in old age, extending their youthfulness, prolonging health and longevity, and keeping physical and mental decline away (see Sanberg, 2008; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). They are echoed in the LGBTQ+ ageing literature, where older LGBTQ+ people can also age 'successfully' through staying well and harnessing hetero-kinship networks (Caceres & Frank, 2016). Ageing and staying in chrononormative, heteronormative, and able-bodied time charts a clear path towards liveable and desirable ageing futures.

This echoing of successful ageing discourses by LGBTQ+ multicultural people reflect their aspirations for a 'normal' older life. As other LGBTQ+ scholars have argued, following the normative life course enables LGBTQ+ people to have a sense of 'normalcy' and 'ordinariness', to live their lives not always as struggle and deviancy but to a much calmer cadence (Heaphy et al., 2013; Mizielińska, 2022). Likewise, the turn of LGBTQ+ activism towards homonormativity enables certain LGBTQ+ people (e.g., couples) to assimilate in society and attain similar rights, privileges, and opportunities afforded to the 'mainstream'. Seen in the context of this study, LGBTQ+ multicultural people may willingly adopt and pursue the same aspirations precisely because this pursuit allows them to maintain control and agency over certain aspects of their lives. This is not a critique of LGBTQ+ multicultural people but rather an illumination of the difficulty or impossibility of imagining some ageing futures—particularly disabled, poor, and single futures—as liveable. In an ageist, ableist, and heteronormative society, following and attaining certain norms is easier and sometimes preferable to always going against it. For the LGBTQ+ multicultural people here, delaying the decline associated with ageing through prudent financial planning and physical upkeep helps them maintain their independence with age. Staying coupled and having supportive biological kinship relations ensures they can be reliably cared for in older age. Their endeavours and aspirations for these ageing futures demonstrate that chrononormative and heteronormative ideals may not be challenged but instead embraced by LGBTQ+ multicultural people (for a similar example on feminist ageing futures, see Jones, 2022). For rather than charting decidedly queer and non-normative ageing futures, following these normative scripts makes ageing easier, more bearable, and more imaginable.

8.1.2 Queer renderings

At the same time, this aspiration to normalcy and normativity is not equally accessible or achievable across the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants. Comparing Alan's sanguine depiction of his future years to mopoke's articulation of staying independent as "[t]hat's all I can do" underscores this unevenness and varying privilege across the participants. Successful ageing is accessible particularly to participants who are coupled and able-bodied. Those who have supportive children, biological family, financial resources, and social capital can envision themselves as being well-placed for ageing. In contrast, those who are single, disabled, without children or sufficient financial capital are less able to or cannot follow these normative paths and scripts. This is reflected in the literature through the increasing risk of loneliness, social isolation, and incapacitation for LGBTQ+ people who are single, poorer, and/or without (supportive) children (Porter et al., 2004; Robinson, 2016). This difference and variability of ageing futures within participants point to the material inequalities and injustices in an ageist, heteronormative, and ableist world that make certain LGBTQ+ multicultural lives unlivable or unworthy of living. With this recognition, rather than an overarching exclusion and marginalisation of older LGBTQ+ people as often depicted in the literature (Ramirez-Valles, 2016), a nuanced discussion of difference within this population is needed. Their extent of exclusion and marginalisation depends on their intersectional identities and factors such as financial ability, hetero-kinship resources, able-bodiedness, and able-mindedness (see for example Jones et al., 2022a; King, 2022). Achieving 'successful' ageing futures depends on their ability and willingness to follow heteronormative and chrononormative scripts of ageing.

Alongside this variability are challenges that are shared across the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants. They perceived their gender, sexual, and cultural non-normativity as precluding them from desirable and liveable ageing futures. They saw ageing in Australia as requiring an increasing adherence to heteronormative and racialised norms, norms that marginalised or silenced their gender, sexual, and/or cultural identities. These norms manifest through various spaces and temporalities. Like in the literature (Coleman 2018a; Haile et al., 2011), healthcare and aged care institutions were viewed as sources of discrimination, prejudice, and ill-treatment. Residential care represented the ultimate violation of their LGBTQ+ and cultural identities, sending LGBTQ+ multicultural people back into a heteronormative and racist there and then. Ageing meant losing one's desirability and attractiveness within LGBTQ+ and especially gay communities and spaces, becoming increasingly vulnerable to social isolation and loneliness (Reygan et al., 2022). Adding in the layer of race and culture further revealed LGBTQ+ multicultural people's exclusion from and

unbelonging in either cultural or LGBTQ+ communities. It revealed their impossibility of ageing in place, torn between countries, cultures, and places. It revealed the dearth of place(s) or communities that valued their gender, sexual, and cultural identities. Together, these fears reflect how different intersections of gender, sexual, cultural, and age-related norms render LGBTQ+ multicultural people out of place and time as they grow older. Ageing meant going into a straight, racialised, and ageist time and place that precluded their futurity.

It is at this disjuncture that queer imaginations of desirable and liveable futures emerge. LGBTQ+ multicultural narratives reflect an aspiring and doing of time, kinship, and place/belonging that differ from and disrupt heteronormative, chrononormative, and racialised notions of ageing. Participants eschewed the temporal script of ageing 'successfully'. Being in time meant going against the chrononormative demand of delaying decline, embracing the moment and its queer transcendent potential. Ending time is their rejection of longevity to choose their own exits (see also Jones, 2022). Their evolution and transformation of identities in later life—ageing as beginnings and becomings—challenge the immutability and timelessness of identities in age-related discourses. They demonstrate how ageing, just as other temporal stages of the life course, is a time where they can develop and forge queer identities of the self. These temporalities are non-linear, expanding, moving, and changing with the rhythms across the life course (Changfoot et al., 2022; Fabbre, 2014). Queer generative futures connect LGBTQ+ multicultural people to other queer generations in the broader project of queer future-making, positioning ageing beyond the limited temporality of the self. They go well beyond heteronormative notions of generativity (Sandberg & Marshall, 2017) to include other intergenerational connections and relationships (see also Chazan & Whetung, 2022). These temporalities are LGBTQ+ multicultural people's efforts to continue living and ageing in 'queer time', continuing to chart queer ageing futures despite the heteronormative and exclusionary pressures of society.

Besides expanding notions of time in ageing, LGBTQ+ multicultural people's hopeful imaginations of queer kin and diverse family forms reflect care and support in older age that are not grounded in hetero-kinship. Instead, like other examples of queer kinship (Chazan & Whetung, 2022; Westwood, 2016b), they are located in expanded and blended families that go beyond the narrow nuclear familial unit. The construction of queer kinship over space, time, and ages offers another source of care particularly crucial for those who are single and without children. Whilst not yet present for many of the LGBTQ+ multicultural participants, their hopeful imaginations of queer kinship disrupt the inexorable dependence of desirable

and liveable ageing futures on the ‘child’ and the ‘couple’, on hetero-kinship (or homonormative kinship) and hetero-happiness. They reflect the possibility of intergenerational relationships untethered to heteronormative assumptions and expectations (Vanderbeck, 2007). They present the potential of structuring and locating care more horizontally and mutually rather than through filial piety obligations and romantic love. While a work in progress, they are efforts to build alternative modes of care and support through older age.

Finally, the narratives of LGBTQ+ multicultural participants queer notions of place/belonging in ageing. For them, desirable and liveable ageing futures cannot solely be located through current discussions on ageing in place, through ageing in their homes and communities. Diasporic LGBTQ+ people are caught between their connection to kin in their countries of origin and their desire to age in a less-heteronormative Australia. They are caught between overlapping and conflicting diasporic/cultural and LGBTQ+ ‘communities’ and places. They are caught between practical needs for care and support and desires for retirement. For them, the norms of ageing in place—making a place through queer domestic practices (Pilkey, 2014) or forging belonging through an LGBTQ-friendly or an ethno-specific aged care home (Boggs et al., 2017)—are insufficient. Rather, their (un)belonging across multiple places and communities requires a reconceptualisation of belonging as in-betweenness (paralleled in Palladino, 2019; Suen, 2022). With their (dis)connections across multiple places, communities, and homes, belonging for them is recuperated through in-betweenness: through intersectional queer and cultural communities; heterogeneous communities that pull across differences; and practices of resituating belonging across disparate and conflicting cultures, communities, and places. These modes of belonging reflect ageing futures that do not just constitute attachment and belonging to a place or home but in navigating one’s relations across places, homes, and communities. They allow LGBTQ+ multicultural people to chart liveable and desirable ageing futures that include or hold both their cultural and queer identities in concert.

8.1.3 Expanding ageing futurities

These examples across time, kinship, and place queer normative notions of desirable and liveable ageing futures. The alternative temporalities of ageing challenge the monolithic decline narrative or the binary of successful/failed ageing. They produce visions of ageing that are not grounded in timeless and ageless identities (Gullette, 2004) but in everchanging and evolving identities with age. The examples of queer kinship refuse the myth of hetero-

happiness (Sandberg & Marshall, 2017) for different forms of intergenerational and intragenerational kinship based on mutuality, reciprocity, and co-construction. The multiple belongings of LGBTQ+ multicultural people reflect their striving to create their place(s) in between racialised and heteronormative spaces and communities. Theirs is a rejection of conventional understandings of ageing in place for a belonging that pulls through contradiction and multiplicity. It is an eschewing of singular modes of community-based ageing (e.g., LGBTQ+ or ethno-centric aged care) in favour of plurality and multiplicity. These examples articulate modes of liveable and desirable ageing that are not just accessible to the privileged, that deviate from heteronormative, chrononormative, and racialised scripts. They are the "multiple epistemologies of old age" (Port, 2012, p. 5), the expansive ageing pathways where LGBTQ+ multicultural people may take to continue living in queer times and places. They are a queering of ageing futures that includes and valorises their gender, sexual, and cultural non-normativity.

Reading LGBTQ+ multicultural people's imaginations through a queer subjectless critique further allows for a critique and queering of ageing futures. While my thesis has focused on LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia, their narratives of ageing futures are not limited to those who have minoritarian gender, sexual, and cultural identities. As described earlier, the variability of ageing futures within LGBTQ+ multicultural participants demonstrates how the ability to age 'successfully' is predicated on financial ability, hetero-kinship, and able-bodiedness. Viewed this way, 'successful' ageing is equally out of reach for older cisgender heterosexual single people, those without (the support of) children, and those who are poorer and/or disabled. Regardless of their gender, sexual, or cultural identities, these subjects also have no place (or time) in heteronormative and chrononormative discourses of ageing. Relatedly, the queer imaginations of time, kinship, and place in ageing are relevant for older people who have non-normative heterosexualities or cultures. Queer kinship can be applicable for single older people who construct their own mutual networks of care beyond the nuclear family. Queer temporal understandings of time and place may be harnessed by migrants who move across borders in later life. They start and build identities and lives anew, navigating multiple (un)belongings to places and communities. Drawing on queer theory's definition of 'queer' as disruption and non-normativity rather than investigating non-heterosexual identities (Oswin, 2008; Seitz, 2015), solidarities and commonalities exist across others regardless of gender, sexual, or cultural identity. Queering ageing futures is thus a queering that is relevant to non-normative subjects across sexualities, genders, and cultures.

In this regard, the liveable and desirable ageing futures articulated by LGBTQ+ multicultural people are an expansion of ageing paths, life courses, and trajectories. They are not a complete disruption of heteronormativity or chrononormativity within successful ageing discourses, for ascribing to these norms allow some LGBTQ+ multicultural people to envision and chart a more liveable future, to live a more ordinary and 'normal' older age. In particular, the importance of able-bodiedness and able-mindedness within LGBTQ+ multicultural narratives of liveable ageing futures reflect the overarching ascribing of old age with disability and their association with undesirability. As queer gerontologists have argued, they indicate a need to further integrate queer with crip theories, to explore how crip futures can be intertwined with ageing futures (Jones et al., 2022a, 2022b; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017). Nonetheless, the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people harbour queer potentiality that disrupt heteronormative, chrononormative, and racialised notions of ageing. Conceptualised in this thesis through time, place, and kinship, they enable LGBTQ+ multicultural people to see themselves as growing, connecting, and flourishing into older age. They chart out other paths of ageing that includes other futures—queer and multicultural—as also liveable or desirable. Doing so enables a futurity not just for LGBTQ+ multicultural people but also for others whose non-normative heterosexualities or cultures position them increasingly outside of normative time and place as they age.

8.2 Queering Geographical Gerontology

Moving from my research questions, this final section elaborates on my contributions to queer geographical gerontology. In my literature review chapter, I mapped the literature across three broad fields—geographies of ageing, LGBTQ+ ageing (including queer geographical gerontology), and queer studies—highlighting their synergies and gaps. Through this, I charted out my approach to a queer geographical gerontology. Going beyond illuminating the spatial preferences, needs, and challenges of older LGBTQ+ people (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022; Ramirez-Valles, 2016), I engaged theories in queer gerontology and queer diaspora to critically queer (hetero)normativity in ageing. Outlining how geographical attention to temporality, spatiality, and age relationality complements queer theoretical perspectives on time, diaspora, and kinship, I deployed my queer geographical perspective to unpack the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. In my empirical chapters, I articulated how they echo and queer normative notions of time, kinship, and place and reflected on their contributions to the LGBTQ+ ageing and geographical literature. Pulling these findings together, I discuss their value to the burgeoning field of queer geographical gerontology.

8.2.1 Thinking relationally

First, applying a relational lens to unpack the ageing futures of LGBTQ+ multicultural reveals how (old) age and ageing are constructed through interactions in space, time, and across ages. This is elucidated particularly in chapter 4, where ageing is embodied, realised through interactions and differences with others, and situated in time-spaces. One becomes 'old' and out of place in a gay bar or club packed with fitter, leaner, and more attractive bodies, alcohol, and pulsating music. In other words, it is through interactions with other (younger) persons within the time-space of the gay club that one recognises oneself as an older person. Age(ing) is felt in comparisons of past, present, and future selves and capabilities. Being older spans multiple temporalities, some which participants identified themselves as already in (e.g., through encounters with death and dying), some that were still a future yet-to-come (e.g., residential care). Attention to relationality provides concepts and ways of understanding experiences and perceptions of ageing. These ways of understanding investigate the divide between the mid-life and old age (van Dyk, 2014; 2016), demonstrating how old age or being an 'older person' is insufficient when conceptualised as a fixed phase of life or in demographic categories of 'young-old' and 'old-old'. Rather than treating old age as a number, what scholars on LGBTQ+ ageing have largely done, examining age(ing) relationally allows for a more nuanced analysis of its experiences and implications. Doing so demands that age be treated not as a demographic category but as one that is temporally, relationally, and spatially constructed.

The conceptual lens of time and temporality particularly complements existing geographical attention to space and spatiality in ageing. Spaces are marked by time, seen in how LGBTQ+ spaces becoming increasingly unwelcoming to bodies that are read as older. Time extends into space, seen in the decreasing mobilities of older LGBTQ+ people and the extended time needed to move through space, to places. Time is folded into spaces (Schwanen et al., 2012), seen in how residential care elicits traumatic memories and recollections of heteronormative childhood. Seeing time as integral to space provides another avenue for geographers interested in LGBTQ+ ageing to theorise LGBTQ+ ageing experiences. They call attention to the temporality of spaces and to their changeability. Particularly as ageing is a fundamentally temporal construct (Port, 2012), queer temporal concepts are powerful in critiquing linear notions of ageing as decline. As I have demonstrated, they critique the temporal trajectories and norms in older age. Simultaneously, they are useful in articulating alternative renderings of a life course (Jones et al., 2023; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017) and highlighting the possible routes older LGBTQ+ people may take to stay in queer time. Queering and expanding notions of time allow futurity

and potentiality to be located in the lives of older LGBTQ+ multicultural people. This queering offers possibilities for alternative conceptualisations of ageing in time, expanding queer geographical gerontology from a spatial examination of older LGBTQ+ people to include a temporal unpacking and rethinking of age(ing).

8.2.2 Expansive kinship

Moving from relationality, the findings in this thesis contribute to the literature by interrogating heteronormativity within the kinship constructions of LGBTQ+ multicultural people. By shifting from the LGBTQ+ ageing literature's focus on the 'what' of kinship relations to their 'how', I demonstrated how hetero-kinship norms and hetero-happiness continue to be relevant for LGBTQ+ people, albeit in a non-heterosexual form. LGBTQ+ multicultural participants saw the conjugal couple as a route to desirable and liveable ageing futures. As well, the biological family, especially the children, was perceived as important for care and support in ageing. Participants who possessed either or both kinship relations were able to envision better ageing futures than those who did not. This variability amongst participants and in other studies (e.g., Westwood, 2016b) suggests that the frequent mention of older LGBTQ+ people as having weak(er) ties to biological family, lacking children, and becoming more vulnerable and isolated in older age (Brennan-Ing et al., 2014; Green, 2016) is not so straightforward and needs contextualisation. Particularly with the trend towards same-sex marriage and legitimisation in countries like Australia, LGBTQ+ relationships that mirror hetero-kinship may increasingly be a 'queer' route to achieving hetero-happiness.

Contrasting with this normativity within LGBTQ+ kinship relations are their legibility and liveability beyond hetero-kinship forms. The examples of blended and/or expanded families and queer/chosen families in my thesis illustrate how desirable kinship in older age goes beyond the nuclear ideal. This is particularly crucial for single LGBTQ+ multicultural people or those without positive relations with biological family and/or children. Unpacking queer kinship as practices across space, time, and generations reframes kinship as a doing, a work in progress, a potentiality. This attention to construction is a route that takes the LGBTQ+ ageing literature out of its bind. Within the literature, studies are torn about the potential of queer family, with some outlining chosen families as key sources of support (Almack et al., 2010; Croghan et al., 2014; Gabrielson, 2011) and others remaining cautious of their ability to provide more intimate or intensive forms of care (de Vries et al., 2022; Heaphy & Yip, 2003; Lottman & King, 2022). Turning away from what queer kinship is or does, conceptualising queer kinship as practices gestures to what they could be. In other

words, queer kinship—or kinship relations more broadly—are not a given but need to be made over time and space. It is the doing of queer kinship and not their being that makes them viable and reliable for care and support in older age. It is this doing that the literature should centre on to illuminate their potentiality.

In this regard, my thesis brings to queer geographical gerontology an attention to plurality in kinship forms and structures. It reminds the literature to illuminate the many kinship forms that LGBTQ+ people harness for care and support in ageing. Reflecting on queer kinship and family research, Dahl and Gabb wrote, "[d]espite the fact that many queer families consist of multiple parents and lovers, cultural narratives and socio-legal opportunities, which surround and shape 'the (queer) couple,' have seemingly driven us inexorably towards researching 'compulsory coupledom'" (2020, p. 224-5). While their comments were directed at queer kinship research on younger LGBTQ+ people, they are also relevant here. Despite countering the heteronormative bias in geographies of ageing by investigating kinship for older LGBTQ+ people, LGBTQ+ ageing research still centres on the presence/absence and primacy of biological family, children, and partner (Caceres & Frank, 2016). More can be done to illuminate queer families and blended or expanded intergenerational families that include current partners, ex-partners, and non-romantic relationships. More can be done to include kinship forms across generations beyond just the biological child(ren). These relations reveal the possibilities of reconfiguring and recasting kinship beyond hetero-kinship, reproduction, and hetero-happiness (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan 2020; Chazan et al., 2022; Westwood, 2016b). Referring to Butler, who argued for a refusal of the "field of sexuality to become gauged against the marriage form" (2002, p. 40), kinship in queer geographical gerontology and LGBTQ+ ageing should not simply be a non-heterosexual version of hetero-kinship, reduced to the conjugal (LGBTQ+) couple, their children, and/or families. It can go much further by queering kinship in ageing, by attending to and elucidating the plural and diverse ways of kinning and doing kinship.

8.2.3 Expanding place and belonging

Finally, my thesis demonstrates how attending to race, culture, and diaspora is paramount to expanding normative notions of belonging and place in ageing. Examining race, culture, and diaspora alongside gender and sexual non-normativity troubles the default location of belonging and place for older people in their homes or communities. Within the queer geographical gerontology and geographies of ageing literature, belonging for older (LGBTQ+) people has been largely conceptualised as place-based belonging. Ageing in

place, where one ages at home and in one's neighbourhood, has been posited as an ideal both in policy and for older people themselves (Forsyth & Molinsky, 2021; Hoekstra-Pijpers, 2022). Although scholars outline how older LGBTQ+ people's relationships to their homes and communities are continually contested and negotiated because of heteronormativity and ageism (e.g., Grant & Walker, 2021; Waitt & Gorman-Murray, 2007), 'place' and 'home' are still examined in the singular. Likewise, the literature's emphasis on LGBTQ-specific aged care services (e.g., Boggs et al., 2017) assumes the coherence of LGBTQ+ communities, ignoring inequalities related to race and culture. Missing within these studies is a discussion on culture, race, and diaspora which transforms and complicates 'place' from singular to plural, from the stability of LGBTQ+ communities to their conflict and exclusion.

Considering the interrelated elements of culture, gender, and sexual identity renders these notions of belonging to place or community insufficient. Drawing on perspectives from two sets of literatures—1) ageing and migration; 2) queer diaspora—that discuss racialised, diasporic, and older or queer subjects, I revealed how LGBTQ+ multicultural people's cultural/diasporic and LGBTQ+ identities result in multiple and conflicting belongings across places, homes, and communities. They are connected to homes and kin across transnational borders, to kin and desired places to age across the country, and to diasporic/cultural and LGBTQ+ communities. At the same time, they are impossible subjects (Gopinath, 2005) caught between heteronormative narratives of diaspora and racialised nationalist narratives of belonging, not fully fitting within either LGBTQ+ or cultural communities. Diasporic communities can be heteronormative (Walcott, 2005) just as LGBTQ+ communities can be racialised and exclusionary (Chen et al., 2022). LGBTQ+ multicultural narratives thus illuminate the racial silence within the LGBTQ+ ageing literature. It is in this intersection of racism and heteronormativity that ageing 'in place' becomes impossible for LGBTQ+ multicultural people, for there is no one place, home, or community for ageing but multiple and contradictory ones.

My reframing of belonging as in-betweenness, in between places, communities, and identities then allows belonging and places to be examined in the plural. The examples of intersectional and heterogenous communities allow LGBTQ+ multicultural people to forge belonging while embracing their gender, sexual, and cultural identities. Belonging as in-betweenness is their navigation and reworking of exclusion from diasporic and nationalist discourses of belonging by staying put (Gopinath, 2003, 2005). Together, they point to a critical understanding of belonging beyond ageing 'in place', one that considers the

multiplicity of places, communities, and the (dis)attachments present in endeavours of queer placemaking and queer belonging. This is not to argue that home or place is unimportant or insignificant for I also foregrounded how LGBTQ+ multicultural people forged belonging at home/in place. Rather, belonging conceptualised primarily through the 'home' or 'ageing in place' is insufficient and even impossible for queer racialised/diasporic older people who navigate belonging and unbelonging across multiple homes, places, and communities. Put differently, positioning ageing in place as central to the liveable and desirable ageing futures of older LGBTQ+ people neglects issues of race and culture, for it is precisely in this intersection of racism and heteronormativity that ageing 'in place' becomes impossible. As Fortier wrote, "not only can home be a space of multiple forms of inhabitance—queer and others—but belonging can also be lived through attachments to multiple 'homes'" (2003, p. 132). Seeing place and home as a singular site for belonging in ageing is inadequate for it leaves out one's attachments and dis-attachments to multiple places, cultures, and communities. Instead of ageing in place, queer geographical gerontology should move to theorise belonging that transcends locality, space, and scale. It should look beyond ageing in place to ageing in places.

8.2.4 A 'queerer' queer geographical gerontology

In sum, my thesis demonstrates the value that a 'queer(er)' geographical gerontology brings by challenging what ageing is and can be. Adopting queer perspectives and concepts from the adjacent literatures of queer gerontology and queer diaspora allowed me to not only interrogate (hetero)normativity within notions of time, kinship, and place in ageing but also expound on their possible queering. The examples of queer time, queer kinship, and queer places/belongings articulated by LGBTQ+ multicultural people demonstrate how normativity within ageing may be challenged and disrupted. The result is not simply an elucidation of LGBTQ+ multicultural people's spatial needs and specificities in older age but a questioning and recasting of the spatial, temporal, and age-related discourses of ageing. As Jones et al. wrote, "[q]ueering ageing reveals futures which resist patriarchal, heteronormative, and raciali[s]ed logics that need not be reinscribed... [which hold] possibilities both not yet lived and to iteratively continue" (2022a, p. 2). Illuminating the multifaceted identities, lives, and imaginations of LGBTQ+ multicultural people enables the simultaneous critique of normative notions of liveability and desirability in ageing and an elucidation of queer ageing possibilities. Doing so brings queer geographical gerontology closer to queer studies while still being firmly geographical.

This articulation of non-normative ways of ageing puts the field of queer geographical gerontology in a stronger place to contribute to and disrupt the geographies of ageing. This contribution comes from shifting from the non-heterosexual to the non-(hetero)normative, away from describing how non-heterosexual people (LGBTQ+) age to illuminating non-heteronormative ways of ageing. It shifts the emphasis away from comparing LGBTQ+ people with cisgender heterosexual people towards interrogating normativity and expanding possibilities within ageing. The relevance of queer notions of time, kinship, and place to those of majoritarian but non-normative genders, sexualities, and cultures (e.g., older cisgender and heterosexual single people) attests to their relevance beyond just older LGBTQ+ people. This understanding echoes the call of queer scholars to look beyond the non-heterosexual and attend to solidarities across all genders and sexualities (Oswin, 2008). It makes queer geographical gerontology more relevant to geographies of ageing, for its contribution is not just in elucidating differences for a select group of (LGBTQ+) people. Instead, its contribution is in interrogating normativity and uncovering pluralities within ageing, queering and expanding what ageing can be.

8.2.5 Future research directions

The scope of any research project is always shaped by the methods, context, participation, and interpretation. My thesis explored ageing futures through the perspective of 14 LGBTQ+ multicultural people aged 50 and above in Australia. The findings and arguments I have presented in this thesis make up only one view, shaped and limited by the participation outcomes and methods outlined earlier. They are complemented by others who are and have been working to revision and expand ageing futurities. Towards the end of this PhD journey, a special issue taking on Sandberg and Marshall's (2017) call to queer ageing futures was published in the Journal of Aging Studies. Edited by Jones, Changfoot, and King (2022a), the special issue spoke of "revisioning ageing futures" through empirical application using the theories of Sandberg, Marshall, and other pioneering queer gerontologists. Positioned for audiences in critical and queer gerontology, the articles in that special issue interrogated and outlined ageing futurities for queer, crip, Indigenous, and disabled subjects (see Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan & Whetung, 2022; Jones et al., 2022b; King, 2022). Reading their studies parallel to mine, I was struck and inspired by their explorations and expansions of ageing futures, somewhat different but somewhat synergistic. I have integrated insights from their studies throughout my thesis, and in this final section I draw on them to elaborate on future research directions for queer geographical gerontology.

First and foremost, the nascent field of queer geographical gerontology can benefit from deeper engagement with the ideas in queer gerontology and queer diaspora for the continued queering of time, kinship, and place in geographies of ageing. These ideas critique the heteronormative underpinnings of ageing discourse, offering a lens to reimagine ageing for those at the margins. Particularly with the emphasis on intersectional research in queer geographical gerontology (Gorman-Murray et al., 2022), these theoretical perspectives are crucial for this task. My thesis has focused on the additional intersection of culture alongside age, gender, and sexual identity, examining culture and race primarily through migrant and diasporic experiences. Future research can attend to Indigenous ageing experiences and futurities. In critical and queer gerontology, emerging research has highlighted Indigenous perspectives on ageing that challenge dominant chrononormative, heteronormative, and colonial notions of time and kinship (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan, 2020; Chazan & Whetung, 2022; Grande, 2018). They demonstrate how Indigenous notions of time are non-linear, spiral, and cyclical. They articulate how Indigenous understandings of kinship are plural, intergenerational, and diverse, exceeding the human and the reproductive nuclear family. These ideas map onto geographical attention to relationality, intergenerationally, and belonging. They complement queer notions of time and kinship, and should be developed and incorporated to augment queer geographical gerontology.

Two other areas are worth further investigation. Crip and disabled perspectives should become front and centre of queer geographical research on ageing. Although my thesis did not set out to investigate (dis)ability, able-bodiedness, and able-mindedness underlined the desired ageing futures of my participants. This demonstrates how ageing is also about disability, and vice versa. As others have argued about the intertwining of able-bodiedness, able-mindedness, and heteronormativity in successful ageing discourses (King, 2022; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017), future research can unpack and critique this relationship to offer alternative pathways and routes of ageing. Work by Changfoot et al. (2022) offers one view of crip ageing futures through intergenerational relationships re-made by living with dementia. Much more can be done by geography to broaden this area. Second and more broadly, as I have suggested through a queer subjectless critique, alliances and common experiences can be found across subjects. The experiences in this thesis of LGBTQ+ multicultural people may resonate with others of non-normative heterosexualities. Following Cohen's call to "build a politics … around a more intersectional analysis of who and what the enemy is and where our potential allies can be found" (1997, p. 457), scholars in queer geographical gerontology can think beyond a sole focus on older LGBTQ+ people. They can identify the 'queer' in other populations. They can forge alliances with others who work on

the crip, Indigenous, multicultural, single, and working-class dimensions of ageing, pulling across theories, disciplines, and ideas to queer ageing.

Finally, future research on queer geographical gerontology can consider a methodological orientation towards futurity. Articulated through my thesis, empirical attention on futures is a thread that moves beyond the present focus on ageing vulnerabilities and needs towards possibilities and potentialities. Grounded in ideas on queer futurity (Muñoz, 2007, 2009) and operationalised through online photovoice and semi-structured interviews, my thesis showed how LGBTQ+ multicultural articulations of ageing futures can relate to, contest, and disrupt normative discourses of ageing. My thesis is but one example. Grant and Walker (2021) utilise photovoice to discuss older lesbians' place-based belonging in rural Tasmania. Scholars revisioning ageing futures have shown how arts-based methodologies enable participants to think beyond present inadequacies in ageing policy and practice (Changfoot et al., 2022; Chazan & Whetung, 2022; Jones et al., 2023). These examples open a creative window, inviting participants to explore and imagine what their ageing futures can be. It is also through this opening that queer geographical gerontological researchers can critically interrogate ageing, queering and expanding it for geography and beyond.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Participant information sheet and consent form (individual)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (INDIVIDUAL)

Imagining Ageing Futures: LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia

Chief Investigator
Ms Jin Chen
College of Education, Psychology & Social Work
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Co-Investigator
Dr Helen McLaren
College of Education, Psychology & Social Work
Flinders University
Tel: 08 8201 3025

Co-Investigator
Dr Michelle Jones
College of Education, Psychology & Social Work
Flinders University
Tel: 08 8201 2756

Study Description
This online study explores the ageing hopes and fears of multicultural LGBTQ+ people in Australia aged 50 and above. It is centred on participants experiences, hopes and fears of ageing, with the aim of imagining a more inclusive ageing future. Participants can either join an individual interview with optional photo-based interviews **or** a group photo-journey. A public exhibition featuring some participant-chosen photographs will be held at the end of the study. The study is supported by Flinders University, College of Education, Psychology & Social Work.

Study Purpose
This study aims examines what people aged 50 and above identifying as **both** LGBTQ+ and from a multicultural background think about ageing in Australia. Participants explore their hopes and fears of ageing through conversations and sharing experiences. The group photo-journeys involve taking photographs to explore these hopes and fears; for the individual interviews, this photo-taking is optional. Through the study, we hope to work with multicultural LGBTQ+ people in Australia to raise awareness about their lived experiences and use the findings to inform policies and practices on ageing in Australia.

Study Benefits
In joining the study, you can discuss your experiences, hopes and fears of ageing in Australia through an interview. If you choose to join the optional photo-based interview(s), you can explore these through taking photographs. Your chosen photographs can contribute to our public photo-exhibition to raise awareness on LGBTQ+ multicultural ageing issues.

You can also join us in creating a public photo exhibition if you are interested. It is hoped that the research findings and outputs will help raise social awareness and inform policies and programmes on ageing for multicultural LGBTQ+ people.

Participant Eligibility
To be eligible for the study, you need to

- identify as LGBTQ+
- be from a multicultural background
- be at least 50 years of age
- be living in Australia and want to continue living here in the future
- have stable internet connection
- be willing or able to use online video conferencing (for online interview)
- communicate in English

For the **optional** photo-based interviews, you need to also have a phone and/or digital camera. You do not need to be an expert at photography—anyone who can take photographs is welcome!

Participant Involvement
Participation involves **one 1.5hour individual interview** on your hopes, fears and experiences of ageing in Australia. Phone interviews are also possible if you prefer. Face-to-face interviews can be arranged for participants in Adelaide.

(Optional) After the interview, you can choose to join **1-2 online photo-based individual interviews lasting 1-1.5hours**. You will be taking photographs on aspects of ageing in Australia that matter to you and discussing them during the interviews. If you take photographs of other people, you will need to get their consent prior to taking the photos. If you like, you can select some photographs to be featured in our online and physical public photo-exhibition.

Participation is **voluntary** and you can withdraw any time you like. The interviews will be recorded using video conferencing software or an audio recorder. The videos and recordings will only be used for text transcribing purposes and will **not** be shared or published.

Potential Risks
We do not expect the questions to cause any harm or discomfort to you. You may choose not to answer any question or discuss any issue that you find sensitive. However, if you experience feelings of distress as a result of participation in this study, please let us know immediately. You can also contact the following services for support:

- QLife – 1800 184 527, www.qlife.org.au
- Lifeline – 13 11 14, www.lifeline.org.au
- Beyond Blue – 1300 22 4636, www.beyondblue.org.au

Withdrawal Rights
You may, without any penalty, decline to take part in this study. You may also choose to participate but not complete all phases. If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you may, without any penalty, withdraw at any time without providing an explanation. To withdraw, please contact Jin. Any data collected up to this point will be securely destroyed.

Confidentiality and Privacy
Only researchers listed on this form have access to the individual information provided by you. Privacy and confidentiality will be assured at all times. The research outcomes may be shared at conferences, in publication or in other research purposes described here. Your privacy and confidentiality will be protected at all times. You **will not be named** and your individual information will not be identifiable in any research products unless you consent to doing so. No data, including identifiable, non-identifiable and de-identified datasets, will be shared or used in other research projects without your explicit consent.

If you participate in the photo-based interviews and select your photographs for the exhibition, your photographs and accompanying captions will be displayed publicly at the exhibition. They will be public and may be copied or circulated by partner organisations or others. However, you will not be named and your photographs will not be identifiable unless you consent to doing so.

Data Storage
The information collected will be stored securely on a password protected computer and/or Flinders University server throughout the study. Any identifiable data will be de-identified for data storage purposes unless indicated otherwise. All data will be securely transferred to and stored at Flinders University for at least five years after publication of the results. Following the publication, the recordings will be destroyed, and the de-identified data stored indefinitely.

Token of Appreciation
You will receive a $15 digital grocery voucher for participating in the first individual interview. For *each* of the 1-2 photo-based interviews, you will also receive a $15 digital grocery voucher.

How will I receive feedback?
If you are joining the photo-based interviews, you can identify key themes from the photographs and discussion. Your feedback on the analysis and findings, and clarifications on your photographs, captions and data will also be sought. Upon project completion, a short summary of the outcomes will be provided to all participants via email. A brief public report will also be published.

Ethics Committee Approval
The project has been approved by Flinders University's Human Research Ethics Committee (no. 2665).

Queries and Concerns
Please contact Jin at jin.chen@flinders.edu.au or 0484 896 718 if you have any queries on would like to join the study. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Flinders University's Research Ethics & Compliance Office team via telephone 08 8201 3116 or email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. The sheet is yours to keep. If you accept our invitation to be involved, please sign the enclosed Consent Form.

Warm Regards,
Jin Chen

CONSENT FORM

Consent Statement

☐ I have read and understood the information about the research, and I understand I am being asked to provide informed consent to participate in this research study. I understand that I can contact the research team if I have further questions about this research study.

☐ I am not aware of any condition that would prevent my participation, and I agree to participate in this project.

☐ I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study.

☐ I understand that I can contact Flinders University's Research Ethics & Compliance Office if I have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this study.

☐ I understand that my involvement is confidential, and that the information collected may be published. I understand that I will not be identified in any research products **unless I choose to be identified**.

I further consent to (tick all those that apply):

☐ participating in the first individual interview
☐ having my information recorded
☐ my data and information being used in this project for an extended period of time (no more than 5 years after publication of the data)
☐ being contacted about other related research projects
☐ being **identifiable** (i.e., named) in the research outputs (e.g., exhibition, publications)

For optional photo-based interviews:
☐ I consent to participating in the photo-based interviews
☐ I consent to taking photographs and sharing them and the captions with the research team

Participant Signature:
_____

Participant Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix B: Participant information sheet and consent form (group)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (GROUP)

Imagining Ageing Futures: LGBTQ+ multicultural people in Australia

Chief Investigator
Ms Jin Chen
College of Education, Psychology & Social Work
Flinders University
Contact: jin.chen@flinders.edu.au; 0484 896 718

Co-Investigator
Dr Helen McLaren
College of Education, Psychology & Social Work
Flinders University
Tel: 08 8201 3025

Co-Investigator
Dr Michelle Jones
College of Education, Psychology & Social Work
Flinders University
Tel: 08 8201 2756

Study Description
This online study explores the ageing hopes and fears of multicultural LGBTQ+ people in Australia aged 50 and above. It is centred on participants experiences, hopes and fears of ageing, with the aim of imagining a more inclusive ageing future. Participants can either join an individual interview with optional photo-based interviews **or** a group photo-journey. A public exhibition featuring some participant-chosen photographs will be held at the end of the study. The study is supported by Flinders University, College of Education, Psychology & Social Work.

Study Purpose
This study aims examines what people aged 50 and above identifying as **both** LGBTQ+ and from a multicultural background think about ageing in Australia. Participants explore their hopes and fears of ageing through conversations and sharing experiences. The group photo-journeys involve taking photographs to explore these hopes and fears; for the individual interviews, this photo-taking is optional. Through the study, we hope to work with multicultural LGBTQ+ people in Australia to raise awareness about their lived experiences and use the findings to inform policies and practices on ageing in Australia.

Study Benefits
In joining the study, you can explore your hopes and fears of ageing in Australia through photography, dialogue and reflection with others. You can connect with others with shared identities during group discussions, affirm your experiences and deepen conversations. You can also join us in creating a public photo exhibition in Phase 3 if you are interested. It is hoped that the research findings and outputs will help raise social awareness and inform policies and programmes on ageing for multicultural LGBTQ+ people.

Participant Eligibility
To be eligible for the study, you need to

- identify as LGBTQ+
- be from a multicultural background
- be at least 50 years of age
- be living in Australia and want to continue living here in the future
- have stable internet connection
- be willing or able to use online video conferencing (e.g., Microsoft Teams)
- have a phone and/or digital camera
- communicate in English

You do not need to be an expert at photography—anyone who can take photographs is welcome!

Participant Involvement
Participation spans **two phases over 2 months**. Participation in all phases is **voluntary** and you can withdraw any time you like. The sessions will be video-recorded using video conferencing software.

Phase 1 Workshop
Phase 1 is a **2-hour online workshop** with Jin and other participants. The workshop introduces the study, connects you with other participants, discusses ethical issues and shares photography tips. You will receive several prompts to take photographs using your phone or digital cameras.

Phase 2 Online Meetings
Phase 2 involves **4 weekly group meetings over 2 months**. Participants will share and discuss a few selected photographs and identify emerging themes. Group meetings will take 2-3 hours. Participants will take photographs throughout this phase and selecting some to be featured in the phase 3 exhibition. If you take photographs of other people, you will need to get their consent prior to taking the photos.

Phase 3 Exhibition (Optional)
Phase 3 is an optional online and physical **exhibition** of photographs from the study. Towards the end of phase 2, you can decide whether to continue with phase 3. Phase 3 involves contributing to or organising the exhibition with the research team and partner organisations. You can also attend the exhibition. There may be other outputs which will be decided together during the phase 2 meetings.

Potential Risks
We do not expect the questions to cause any harm or discomfort to you. You may choose not to answer any question or discuss any issue that you find sensitive. However, if you experience feelings of distress as a result of participation in this study, please let us know immediately. You can also contact the following services for support:

- QLife – 1800 184 527, www.qlife.org.au
- Lifeline – 13 11 14, www.lifeline.org.au
- Beyond Blue – 1300 22 4636, www.beyondblue.org.au

Withdrawal Rights
You may, without any penalty, decline to take part in this study. You may also choose to participate but not complete all phases. If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you may, without any penalty, withdraw at any time without providing an explanation. To withdraw, please contact Jin. Any data collected up to this point will be securely destroyed. Data recorded during group discussions may not be able to be destroyed. However, it will not be used without your explicit consent.

Confidentiality and Privacy
Only researchers listed on this form have access to the individual information provided by you. Privacy and confidentiality will be assured at all times. The research outcomes may be shared at conferences, in publication or in other research purposes described here. If you consent, your photographs and accompanying captions will be displayed publicly in phase 3. They will be public and may be copied or circulated by partner organisations or others. However, your privacy and confidentiality will be protected at all times. You **will not be named** and your individual information will not be identifiable in any research products unless you consent to doing so. No data, including identifiable, non-identifiable and de-identified datasets, will be shared or used in other research projects without your explicit consent.

Participants at group meetings will get to know each other. There is a small risk of participants recording the meeting or inadvertently revealing details of the group to others. To reduce this, group norms of respecting participant privacy and confidentiality will be established at each meeting. You can choose not to discuss or share anything you are uncomfortable with. If you would like to remain completely anonymous, you can attend individual interviews instead.

Data Storage
The information collected will be stored securely on a password protected computer and/or Flinders University server throughout the study. Any identifiable data will be de-identified for data storage purposes unless indicated otherwise. All data will be securely transferred to and stored at Flinders University for at least five years after publication of the results. Following the publication, the video recordings will be destroyed, and the de-identified data stored indefinitely.

Token of Appreciation
As a small token of appreciation, you will receive a $50 digital grocery voucher at the end of phase 2.

How will I receive feedback?
During phase 2, you can identify key themes from the photographs and discussions. Your feedback on the analysis and findings, and clarifications on your photographs, captions and data will also be sought. Upon project completion, a short summary of the outcomes will be provided to all participants via email. A brief public report will also be published.

Ethics Committee Approval
The project has been approved by Flinders University's Human Research Ethics Committee (no. 2665).

Queries and Concerns
Please contact Jin at jin.chen@flinders.edu.au or 0484 896 718 if you have any queries on would like to join the study. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Flinders University's Research Ethics & Compliance Office team via telephone 08 8201 3116 or email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. The sheet is yours to keep. If you accept our invitation to be involved, please sign the enclosed Consent Form.

Warm Regards, Jin Chen

CONSENT FORM

Consent Statement

☐ I have read and understood the information about the research, and I understand I am being asked to provide informed consent to participate in this research study. I understand that I can contact the research team if I have further questions about this research study.

☐ I am not aware of any condition that would prevent my participation, and I agree to participate in this project.

☐ I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study.

☐ I understand that I can contact Flinders University's Research Ethics & Compliance Office if I have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this study.

☐ I understand that my involvement is confidential, and that the information collected may be published. I understand that I will not be identified in any research products **unless I choose to be identified**.

☐ For group discussions and workshops, I understand that I will be unable to fully withdraw my data and information from this project. I also understand that my data **will not be used** for this research study.

I further consent to (tick all those that apply):

☐ participating in the study phases 1 (workshop) and 2 (meetings)
☐ taking photographs and sharing them and the captions with the group and/or research team
☐ having my information video recorded
☐ my data and information being used in this project for an extended period of time (no more than 5 years after publication of the data)
☐ being contacted about other related research projects
☐ being **identifiable** (i.e., named) in the research outputs (e.g., exhibition, publications)

Participant Signature: _____

Participant Name: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C: Photographer release form (for photovoice participants)

Imagining Ageing Futures: LGBTQ+ Multicultural People in Australia

I …….....

agree to the photographs I have taken for the *research study 'Imagining Ageing Futures'* (as requested in the Participant Information Sheet) to be used for:
[please circle whichever applies]

display in thesis materials	agree/don't agree
display in academic articles and presentations	agree/don't agree
display in public exhibition	agree/don't agree
display in other outputs from the research	agree/don't agree

1. I have read the information provided in the Participant Information Sheet.
2. I waive any claim for payment for use of the photograph(s).
3. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that if my photographs are displayed in any of the above uses, they will be in the public domain and may be copied or circulated by partner organisations or others.

3. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Participant Photograph Release Form for future reference.

4. I understand that:
   - All photographs will be de-identified using computer editing software unless I choose to be identifiable.
   - Photographs will be numbered not labelled to maintain anonymity. However, if the photographs contain people, the anonymity of these people cannot be guaranteed.

Your name……

Your signature…… Date……..

I certify that I have explained how photographs will be used to the participant and consider that they understand what is involved and freely consent to participation.

Researcher's name……

Researcher's signature…….. Date…….

Flinders UNIVERSITY ADELAIDE • AUSTRALIA

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 2665). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix D: Photograph participant form (for photovoice participants)

Imagining Ageing Futures: LGBTQ+ Multicultural People in Australia

You are invited to have your photograph(s) taken by one of the photographers in the "Imagining Ageing Futures" photovoice project. This project is supported by Flinders University, College of Education, Psychology & Social work. It aims to share the ageing hopes and fears of multicultural LGBTQ+ people aged 50 and above in Australia. The project photographs will be showcased in a public exhibition and online. Others viewing the photograph(s) may recognise you, but your name and contact will not be revealed.

I ……

consent to having my photograph(s) taken for the *research study 'Imagining Ageing Futures'.* I waive any claim for payment for use of the photograph(s).

I further consent to

☐ Having my photograph(s) taken in a way that makes me identifiable
☐ Having the photograph(s) of me submitted to the research team to inform the study
☐ Having my photograph(s) displayed at an online and physical exhibition along with other public outputs

Participant's signature…… Date……...

If you would like a digital copy of the photograph(s) taken of you, please write your name and email address:

……

I certify that I have explained how the photographs will be used to the participant and consider that they understand what is involved and freely consent to participation.

Photographer's name……

Photographer's signature……..

Date……

Flinders UNIVERSITY ADELAIDE • AUSTRALIA

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number 2665). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au