

AN ETHNIC PERSPECTIVE: CONTROVERSY OF SENIOR'S LICENSING POLICY IN ONTARIO AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

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ABSTRACT

Driving cessation is a current and pressing issue facing many older drivers and their families, health care providers, vehicle licensing officials, transportation planners, and transit authorities. Driving cessation is well documented in current literature, however, such literature in general focuses upon community-dwelling Caucasian seniors, thereby does not address driving cessation amongst older ethnic drivers. This paper examines ethnic seniors' perceptions around driving cessation and, in particular licensing policy and procedures, amongst older drivers from the Asian, South Asian, Caribbean/African and Caucasian communities in Toronto and Vancouver. We assess whether and how specifically perceptions expressed by ethnic seniors are different from their Caucasian senior counterparts and from the existing literature on the topic. It is essential to understand ethnic seniors' perceptions around licensing policy and procedure in order to design cultural sensitive licensing policy that better takes into consideration the particular needs, challenges, and concerns of ethnic seniors, and in order to develop proper channels of communication between ethnic senior drivers and licensing authorities.

In-depth, one-on-one interviews (1 to 2 hours per interview) were conducted with 351 senior drivers from the South Asian (44), Asian (127), Caribbean/African (59), and Caucasian (121) communities. Seniors were contacted via community centers, senior's recreational programs, and community liaisons. No snowball sampling was used. In total over 400 hours of interviews with seniors were conducted and documented over a period of six months (Aug 2011-Jan 2012). Interviews focused various topics covering seniors' perception towards driving cessation and thematic analysis method was used to code the interview results and 14 dominant and reoccurring themes (including 43 sub-topics) emerged from the analysis. This paper focused on one of the themes examining seniors' perception around current and potential licensing procedures for senior drivers.

Perceptions by older ethnic drivers around driving differ greatly from their Caucasian counterparts. Regarding licensing policy, Caribbean/African seniors find it discriminatory based on age and race whereby Asian and South Asian perceive licensing policy to be adequate and fair. Similar to Caribbean/African seniors, Caucasian seniors also find the agebased licensing procedures to be discriminatory. Asian and South Asian seniors further note that licensing policy should be designed to aid older drivers in making the decision to cease or continue driving.

While numerous studies document the perspective of older drivers in relations to driving cessation, this work is unique as it fills in a missing dimension regarding ethnic seniors' perceptions around licensing policy and driving programs. Our findings recommend the design, implementation and communication of the licensing policy that are culturally sensitive and take into account the specific needs of differing ethnic seniors. There is a urgent need to begin a careful conversation around safe driving and driving cessation between driving seniors in various ethnic groups, health care professionals, licensing authorities and the society at large.

Keywords: driving cessation, ethnic difference, licensing policy

1. INTRODUCTION

Like many other industrialized nations, Canada is witnessing the aging of its population whereby seniors (65 years of age and older) comprise a significant and growing number of the Canadian population. To date, there are over 5.4 million Canadian seniors, accounting for over 13.9% of the overall Canadian population, a number that is expected to grow in the coming years (Statistics Canada, 2008). By 2036, it is projected that seniors will account for between 23%-25% of the Canadian population – nearly doubling the number of seniors from 2008 – thereby making seniors the largest demographic within the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2008). Canada not only boasts an older population, but one that is vibrant and lively who are in general physically active, readily engaging in out-of-home social activities, providing volunteer services and thriving as active members within their wider communities (Turcotte and Schellenberg, 2006).

For seniors, like all persons irrespective of age, mobility is the underlying and fundamental key to engaging in out-of-home activities and partaking within the wider community. Studies unanimously state that seniors who are mobile are more likely to engage in out-of-home and social activities, and are less likely to be placed in institutional care or require professional and/or medical assistance when compared to seniors who are not afforded mobility (Lister, 1999). Seniors who are mobile are also more likely to feel that they are independent and do not have depend on others, feel greater levels of self-confidence as accepted members of the community (Pine, 2009), perceive themselves to be in good or excellent health, express greater feelings of overall happiness satisfaction and are less likely to be depressed (Persson, 1993). As such, mobility is the key to a satisfying and fulfilling long life in later years (Persson, 1993).

The majority of Canadian seniors, irrespective of trip purpose and length, use the automobile as the primary method of transportation (Turcotte, 2012). For Canadian seniors, 85% of trips are undertaken by the automobile, whether as the primary driver and/or

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passenger, and less than 10% of trips, are made using public transportation and/or other methods of transportation (i.e. taxi services). The Provinces of British Columbia and Ontario, the 2 provinces with the highest proportion of seniors in Canada – 38% of Canadian seniors reside in Ontario and 14% reside in British Columbia – exemplify that the automobile is most prevalent form of transportation amongst seniors (Durst, 2005). In Ontario, over 72.3% of all trips made by seniors, regardless of purpose and distance, are made by the private automobile. In fact, the number of older drivers in Ontario has increased from 211,000 in 1993 to just under 450,000 in 2003 – a 102% increase (Newbold et al., 2005). Similarly, in the Province of British Columbia, over 68.3% of all trips made by older adults are undertaken using the private automobile, and the older driving population comprises 13.6% of the province's driving population (Turcotte, 2012). As such, it is difficult to underplay the importance of the automobile in maintaining mobility for older adults in Canada.

Given the importance of the private automobile in maintaining mobility and the benefits derived from the ability to be mobile, it is not surprising that the issue of driving is one of the most difficult questions to even contemplate for the older driver. The question of driving cessation becomes increasingly prominent and exceedingly pressing with age, given the physical, social and emotional aspects of driving cessation. From a physical perspective, the ability to safely drive, in general, diminishes greatly with age, whereby the capabilities for safe driving begin to diminish by about age 55, decline markedly after the age of 75, and are almost non-existent at age 85 (Persson, 1993). For many seniors, the aging process leads to physical and cognitive impairments that may affect an older adult's level of consciousness, reasoning, perception, spatial judgment and motor ability reflexives, and therefore greatly impair an older driver's ability to safely operate an automobile (Turcotte and Schellenberg, 2006).

The automobile accident rates amongst older drivers are often attributed to the effects of the aging process on the ability to safely drive. For every miles driven, older drivers are more likely to be involved in automobile accident and have the highest rate of at-fault collisions when compared to all other age groups (Ministry of Transportation Ontario, 2012). Senior drivers are also the most likely age cohort to experience fatalities, given the inability of the elderly body to cope with the types of accidents and shocks occurred and sustained during an accident (Turcotte, 2012).

The decline with age of the physical and cognitive ability needed to safely drive and the propensity of being involved in an automobile accident in older age highlights the need to address driving cessation in later years; so too, however, do the negative social and emotional effects of driving cessation. From a social perspective driving cessation is a difficult topic to broach as, for many seniors, the mere idea of no longer driving invokes images of a life without the ability to be social (Lister, 1999). Driving provides older adults the mobility, which is the key that unlocks the potential for social activity (Fonda et al., 2001). From both a social and emotional perspective, the idea of driving cessation is imperative to discuss given the societal stigmatization of no longer driving in a North American society, whereby driving has come to symbolize youthfulness, ability to care for oneself, independence, strength and freedom, and where, conversely, to cease driving is associated with being over the hill and old (Eisenhandler, 1990).

As such, given the importance of the automobile in providing mobility for older adults, the health and social benefits of mobility in later years and the safety and negative

consequences of no longer driving, the issue of driving cessation in later years and, in particular, seniors' perceptions around the cessation of driving has been well researched and thoroughly documented from a health and social academic perspective. But a glaring gap still persists in current literature that it does not document and/or examine ethnic seniors' perceptions around driving cessation and, as such, there is no understanding regarding how ethnic seniors' perceive the cessation of driving in later years. Studies that focus on the topic of seniors' perceptions around driving cessation, in general, examine such perceptions from a primarily Caucasian community-dwelling perspective, and when ethnic differences in the senior sample population is included, differences/similarities in perceptions are not explicitly drawn out or focused upon.

Ethnic seniors' perceptions around driving cessation must, however, be understood, given that the Canadian older population is made up of seniors from a number of ethnic backgrounds and, in particular, many Canada is home to many seniors from the Asian, South Asian, Caucasian, Caribbean and African communities. Over half of all Asian and South Asian seniors reside in the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia and almost all Caribbean and African seniors reside in Ontario, and specifically, in the cities of Vancouver and Toronto and their surrounding municipalities (Durst, 2005). As such, Canada's aging population is not homogenous and seniors' perceptions around driving cessation must be understood outside of a solely Caucasian community-dwelling context.

Further, seniors' perceptions around driving cessation must be understood from the perspective of ethnic seniors, given that ethnicity not only entails different cultural and racial backgrounds, but also different understandings around one's life history, one's conceptualization of current societal on-goings and different understandings of what is considered important and valuable in older years (Durst, 2005). As such, one's ethnicity and the ways in which one's ethnicity shapes one's personal understanding may impact ethnic seniors' perceptions around driving cessation.

This study serves to further enhance and expand the understanding of seniors' perceptions around driving cessation by documenting and presenting the social perspective of ethnic seniors. The following 3 research statements guide this study:

1. Document ethnic seniors' perceptions around driving cessation and in particular licensing policy and procedures in Toronto and Vancouver.
2. Document the differences in perceptions among older drivers from the Asian, South Asian, Caribbean/African and Caucasian communities, regarding seniors' perceptions around driving cessation, in order to determine whether differences/similarities in perceptions towards licensing policy emerge across the different ethnic groups.
3. Determine whether ethnic seniors' perceptions towards licensing policy differ and/or confirm findings on Caucasian senior in the vast literature, which may allow for designing cultural sensitive licensing policy that better takes into consideration the particular needs, challenges, and concerns of ethnic seniors.

2. METHODOLOGY

This section outlines the methodology and data collection procedures undertaken within this work. It includes an overarching theoretical framework guiding this study, as well as the coding and analysis process of the primary interview data. Furthermore, this section also

provides an explanation regarding how the results of this work are to be interpreted, describes the data collection procedures including eligibility parameters as well as recruitment procedures. Various interview stages and data storage measures undertaken to ensure protection of all primary data interviews are documented in this section.

2.1 Theoretical Framework: Grounded Theory and Thematic Analysis

As is explored below, grounded theory and thematic analysis are the underlying theoretical frameworks applied to this work to better understand ethnic seniors' perceptions around driving cessation.

Grounded theory is defined as a "*theory that carefully develops concepts that are put together by statements about mutual relations forming an integrated conceptual framework that explains or predicts a phenomenon or an event, and thereby guides action*" (Hallberg, 2006, p. 146). The underlying premise of grounded theory is to explore new and undocumented knowledge – a grand theory – that is likely to emerge from social processes and the complexities of social life (Ely et al., 1997). To ensure that a new knowledge base is formed, grounded theory proposes a systematic qualitative methodology that produces a theory that thoroughly describes the latent patterns arising from the primary data (i.e. interviews) (Ely et al., 1997). During the process, a constant comparative method emerges whereby every part of the data is thoroughly and equally assessed (Hallberg, 2006). As such, a close line-by-line reading of the primary data will directly lead to the identification of codes, categories and their properties. The codes, categories and properties are continuously compared with all are other parts of the data to explore variations, similarities and differences in the data (Hallberg, 2006). Theory can be generated from an understanding of the categories and the links or overlaps between them (Hallberg, 2006).

Following the rigorous methodological practice outlined in grounded theory ensures that it is the data itself which works to create a theory, and the researcher is working up from the data, not imposing upon it (Hallberg, 2006). It is essential that all categories, codes and properties are developed without preconceived concepts being forced upon the data by the researcher. Rather, a researcher is to reflect on the many interpretations of the data and attempt to discover alterative way of understanding and, therefore, be a simple observer as the data is born.

The researcher must constantly reflect on both the data and the process of examination through iterative analysis (Fereday et al., 2006). During this phase, researchers repeatedly and continuously move back and forth between and amongst the data and concepts, and between individual ideas and research explanations until no new concepts emerge (Fereday et al., 2006). As such, iteration ensures that the data is saturated and has completely and openly spoken (Ely et al., 1996).

To assess the interview data, thematic analysis is utilized. Thematic analysis involves scanning a data set in order to identify and/or find repeated patterns of meaning. It is theoretically free, as independent of any one particular theory (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and therefore, provides a flexible and useful research tool when assessing raw/primary data, and results in a detailed account of data (Fereday et al., 2006).

The broader framework of thematic analysis includes inductive and theoretical thematic analyses, whereby the latter provides a bottom up analysis of the data and the

former entails a *top down* analysis of the data (Luborsky, 1994). Following grounded theory closely, this paper employs an inductive thematic analysis approach to assess the interview data which entails that themes identified are strongly linked to the data themselves. As such, themes identified are not preconceived by the researcher's theoretical interest in the area and/or topic being explored, as the researcher pays no and/or little attention to the themes that previous research in the topic identifies (Luborsky, 1994). Using thematic analysis, all data assessed holds equal weight, whereby no data is more important when compared to any other data.

The use of grounded theory and inductive thematic analysis is most appropriate in relation to assessing and better understanding ethnic seniors' perceptions around driving cessation for the following reasons. First, ethnic seniors' perceptions have not been explored in previous literature discussing driving cessation and are, therefore, an unexplored topic. As such, the systematic and rigorous application of grounded theory and thematic analysis allows the data to speak for and represent itself and ensures that a new understanding regarding ethnic seniors' words, thoughts, beliefs emerge in a natural and holistic manner with little or no pre-imposed confinement analysis (Hallberg, 2006).

Secondly, the reiterative nature of grounded theory and thematic analysis calls on the researcher to remain attentive and alert when examining the ethnic seniors' perceptions around cessation as expressed through the interview data collected. It ensures that all primary data is given equal weight and guides the researcher to work with the interview data in a non-biased manner, ensuring that all perceptions and voices are equal in the eyes of the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Lastly, grounded theory and thematic analysis allows the researcher to maintain neutrality while working with the data to develop the natural themes, topics and sub-topics as expressed by ethnic seniors, at the same time allowing the rich overall description and true words of seniors to be retained (Hallberg, 2006, p. 142).

2.2 Data Coding Process

Using the central and guiding tenants of grounded theory and thematic analysis, the researcher followed a scheme to work with and organize the interview data in a systematic and comprehensive manner, allowing the data to develop naturally and ensuring the richness of perceptions are kept. The coding of interview data is an organic and a bottom-up process, whereby the researcher captures ethnic seniors' perceptions and organizes these perceptions in sub-topics, topics, themes and categories (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The overall coding process was lengthy and iterative and occurred in 7 distinct phases, whereby each phase leads to the development of sub-topics, topics, themes, and categories:

- 1) Data familiarization – during this phrase, the researcher began to review and re-review each interview to become fully familiar with the thoughts, expressions, beliefs and perceptions as shared by ethnic seniors in relations to driving cessation.
- 2) Identification of sub-topics – during the re-reviewing process, sub-topics within the data set were identified and coded. Phrases, sentences, expressions and/or words are considered a sub-topic based on whether the sub-topic captured something important in relation to the overall research question and objective (Braun and Clarke,

2006). Phrases that closely resembled one another were clipped out from the interview transcripts and collated.

- 3) Identification of topics – all sub-topics that are closely related to one another are designated under the same heading and organized into larger topics. During this phase, different sub-topics were examined to determine whether they can combine to form a topic and thematic maps were used to aid the researcher in developing topics. Thematic maps aided the researcher in determining under which topic each sub-topic most appropriately corresponded with.
- 4) Identification of themes – topics were then organized into overarching themes that brought together related topics. In creating an overarching theme, topics were further refined; certain topics not supported by enough data were removed, and some were collapsed into one another, and some topics were further broken down into separate themes. Thus, a theme was composed of data that cohered meaningfully together, while a clear and identifiable distinction between themes was present (Braun and Clarke, 2006).
- 5) Identification of categories - Following this, similar themes were brought together under one category because categories further made evident the distinction between themes, while bringing together closely related themes. Secondly, overarching categories allowed the corresponding themes, topics and episodes to tell the overall story in relation to the category (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Themes were then organized under different category headings and this paper is focused on one particular category of examining senior's driving cessation from a social perspective.
- 6) Review of data - To ensure rigorous analysis of the data, the complete data set was re-reviewed again at the end. The above processes were undertaken once again to ensure that sub-topics, topics, and themes were captured in the initial analysis. Reviewing the data was used to ascertain whether the previously identified themes work in relation to the data, and code any additional data within themes and topics that had been missed in the earlier coding stage (Braun and Clarke, 2006).
- 7) Completion of Data coding - Continual review of the data ended when the author determined that the reviewing and coding process no longer contributed to the overall analysis of this work (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

2.3 Interpretation of Findings

During the coding process, the relationship between sub-topics and topics were assessed in a positive or negative framework to capture the differences in perceptions as expressed by each senior. As such, the topic itself was divided into a positive or negative framework. A sub-topic was also ascribed to the topic in a positive or negative framework depending upon the relationship between the topic and sub-topic. The relationship was considered within a positive framework when a direct association between the sub-topic and topic was present. To exemplify, the sub-topic 'Unable to Meet One's Transportation Needs' is placed under the topic 'Lack of Self-Esteem' in positive framework, as senior participants shared in their discussion of this topic that the inability to meet one's transportation needs following driving cessation would result in a lack of self-esteem.

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Conversely, when no direct association was present, the relationship between the sub-topic and topic was considered within a negative framework. For example, 'Alternative Definition of Self-Esteem' is placed under the topic 'Lack of Self-Esteem' in a negative framework, as when discussing this topic and sub-topic senior participants shared that their personal definition of self-esteem does not include driving and driving cessation and that their self-esteem would therefore not be impacted should they cease driving.

Furthermore, to draw out explicit ethnic differences in perceptions for each topic and each of the corresponding sub-topics, the prevalence of each topic and sub-topic is tabulated. The researcher has chosen to tabulate the prevalence of each topic and sub-topic as the prevalence of both vigorously highlight seniors' perceptions by ethnicity, thus demonstrating when a clear divergence in perceptions is or is not present amongst the various ethnic groups interviewed within this work. It is imperative to note that a particular topic and sub-topic does not necessarily mean that the topic and sub-topic is more important (Braun and Clarke, 2006), but rather, the prevalence of a topic and sub-topic determines how often each was discussed by participants (Ely et al., 1997).

The prevalence of the topics was determined by counting the number of senior participants, irrespective of ethnicity, who discussed the particular topic. 351 seniors discussed the topic 'Lack of Self-Esteem,' meaning all participants (100%) broached the topic. Next, the prevalence of each topic was tabulated according to whether the topic was discussed and conceptualized in a positive or negative framework by the interviewees. Of the 351 participants who discussed the topic 'Lack of Self-Esteem,' 340 participants (96.8%) discussed this topic in a positive framework, whereby the remaining 11 (3.1%) participants discussed this topic in a negative framework.

Following this, the prevalence of the positive/negative framework of each topic is tabulated according to ethnicity. 340 senior participants who discussed the topic 'Lack of Self-Esteem' in a positive framework, 120 were Asian (94.4%), 40 were South Asian (90.9%), 121 were Caucasian (100%) and 59 were Caribbean/African (100%). Percentages tabulated for each ethnicity are derived by taking the tabulated number of each ethnic group identifying with the topic in a positive or negative framework and dividing it by the overall number of seniors partaking within this study from that specific ethnic group. For instance, the 94.4% of Asian seniors who identify with the topic 'Lack of Self-Esteem' was calculated by taking the tabulated number of Asian seniors, in this instance 120, who identify with this topic in a positive framework and divided over the total number of Asian participants – 127 – partaking within this study.

Lastly, to further highlight the differences or similarities in perceptions around driving cessation by ethnicity, the prevalence of each sub-topic was also tabulated. The prevalence of each sub-topic was determined by counting the number of seniors, according to ethnicity, who discussed the particular sub-topic in relations to the overall the overall topic within a positive or negative framework. Percentages tabulated for each sub-topic by ethnicity is also presented and was calculated by taking the tabulated number of each ethnic group identifying with the sub-topic and dividing it by the number of seniors from that specific ethnic group.

2.4 Data Collection

2.4.1 Study eligibility

As this work examines seniors' perceptions around driving cessation by ethnicity, older adult participants were required to ethnically identify as Asian, South Asian, Caucasian and/or Caribbean/African. The various ethnic groups examined within this work were chosen at the sole discretion of the researcher, as the researcher was interested in better understanding perceptions around driving cessation by older Asian, South Asian, Caucasian, and Caribbean/African adults. According to Statistics Canada (2005), Asian refers to a person having origins from the Far East, Southeast Asia and/or Indian subcontinent. This includes persons from China, the Philippines, Korea, Japan and Vietnam (Statistics Canada, 2005). South Asian, which is sometimes referred to as East Indian, is defined as any person who reports an ethnicity associated with the southern part of Asia and/or who self-identifies as part of the South Asian visible minority group. In general, South Asians are primarily those from Bangladesh, Bengal, Goa, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and India (Statistics Canada, 2005). Caribbean persons are those of African descent with Caribbean origins (Statistics Canada, 2001). Caribbean Canadians are persons who self-identify as Caribbean, and are from and/or can trace their ethnic roots back to the region consisting of the Caribbean Sea, its islands and the surrounding coasts (Statistics Canada, 2001). African is defined as those with ancestry from any of the native populations of Sub-Saharan Africa, and may come from any nation from within the continent of Africa (Statistics Canada, 2001). Caucasians are those who are considered or consider themselves to be 'white.' Officially, the term Caucasian is used to denote those having origins in any of the original people of Europe, the Middle East or North Africa (Brewer and Suchan, 2001).

Within this study, the researcher acknowledges that Caribbean and African persons are, in many instances, ethnically distinct. However, to simplify the interviewing process and better manage the analysis and coding process, the distinction between Caribbean and African persons were not differentiated; Caribbean and African interviews were thus treated as one.

While one is conventionally considered a 'senior' at 65 years of age, this work defines senior as 70 years of age and older and all participants had to be at least 70 at the time of the study. This minimum age requirement was chosen because the capabilities needed to safely drive begin to diminish between 70 years and 75 years of age (Harrison and Ragland, 2003). Literature pertaining to the topic of driving cessation amongst older adults, in general, also concludes that the cessation of driving is of great concern for seniors when compared to pre-seniors (65 years to 69 years). As such, it was assumed by the researcher that those aged 70 years and older would be more readily concerned with the topic of driving cessation. In 4 instances the researcher was contacted by participants who were 69 years of age, but who would be turning 70 years old during the set interview timeframe. Each of the 4 participants was interviewed only after they had turned 70 years of age.

All eligible interviewees had to be licensed and driving at the time of the study. 'Driving' was defined by partaking in at least one automobile trip per week. 'Licensed' was defined as holding a valid driver's permit and/or temporary replacement license as issued by the Ontario Ministry of Transportation or the British Columbia Motor Vehicle Department. A

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temporary replacement license was issued to 5 participants who had lost their officially designated license.

An additional requirement to participate within this work was that all seniors had to reside within one of the defined study areas/locations. In Ontario, the defined study locations included the City of Toronto, the City of Vaughan and the Town of Richmond Hill. In British Columbia, the defined study locations included the City of Vancouver, the City of Richmond and the City of Surrey. As noted in previous section, the City of Toronto and Vancouver and surrounding suburban locations were deemed suitable locations for this study given the ethnic diversity and prevalence of aging in each geographical locale.

2.4.2 Recruitment Procedures

Participants were contacted through 3 primary recruitment methods: community centers, public postering and community liaisons. The majority of seniors were recruited through various community centres in the defined study areas. In early July of 2011, the author contacted a total of 34 community centres (19 in the City of Vancouver, Richmond and Surrey combined; 15 in the City of Toronto, Vaughan and Richmond Hill combined). While there are over 150 community centres in each respective city, the 34 community centres were chosen based on the diverse demographic of the communities they reached. A combined total of 9 community centres in the City of Vancouver, Richmond and Surrey and 10 community centres in the City of Toronto and Vaughan and the Town of Richmond Hill were receptive, whereby all other community centres declined to partake in the project due to confidentiality issues pertaining to data collection. In 11 instances the researcher met with community centre coordinators and/or seniors' program coordinators to discuss the study, the role of seniors within this study, interview procedures, the appropriate forum in which to meet and engage seniors and issues of confidentiality. Each of these 11 community centres conceded to partaking in this study.

Recruitment posters were placed on Community Information Boards throughout the community centres and in community centre newsletters. Recruitment posters include information pertaining to the study, reasons for the study and the study eligibility guidelines. At the request of community centre coordinators, a formal presentation was given at 6 community centres, outlining the study and the study's benefits to older community centre members. In general, presentations were given following seniors' recreational programs and/or during seniors' potluck lunches. A combined total of 200 participants were recruited through community centres and public postering within community centres.

Recruitment posters were also placed in various locations that are often frequented by seniors throughout the defined study locations such as cafés, restaurants, local parks, doctor offices, medical clinics and religious establishments. Posters were placed on community information boards, on store front windows, placed on café and restaurant table-tops and distributed by doctors. A total of 60 seniors participated in the study after coming across the recruitment poster in one of the various locations mentioned above.

Many other seniors became aware of this study through community liaisons, all of which were recommended by community centre coordinators. Community liaisons were ethnically diverse; 2 community liaisons were South Asian, 3 were Asian and 2 were Caribbean/African. The primary role of community liaisons was to provide the researcher with

assistance in meeting and/or recruiting ethnically diverse seniors in a culturally appropriate manner and setting. In many instances, the community liaisons provided assistance with translation during community centre presentations and initial meetings between the researcher and participants. All community liaisons requested anonymity, and will therefore not be named within this work. A total of 91 senior participants were recruited through community liaisons.

All seniors made initial contact with the author requesting to participate within the study. The author did not contact seniors to ask if they would participate within this work. Initial contact was made by telephone, through email and/or in person. For older adults whose primary language was not English, initial contact was made by community liaisons and/or family members. In 16 instances a community liaison and/or family member indicated to the author that an older adult requested to be interviewed.

Lastly, it is important to note that snowball sampling was not a method used to recruit seniors, as it was not regarded by the researcher as an appropriate method to be used within this work in order to capture the diverse array of seniors' perceptions around driving cessation.

A total of 361 interested older adults contacted the author wishing to partake in the study. Following the screening process, a total of 351 participants were deemed eligible.

2.4.3 Interview process

The interview process unfolded in 2 stages – the pre-interview stage and the main interview stage. As is thoroughly outlined below, the pre-interview stage includes how the interview guidebook was developed and the main interview stage includes the specific process undertaken when interviewing each of the 351 seniors.

Pre-interview stage

The primary purpose of the pre-interview was to better understand the types of themes and/or topics relating to driving that older adults would like to discuss during the main interview and, thus, develop the interview guidebook used within this working during the main interview process. The pre-interview process was casual in nature, whereby older adults were asked to openly share what they thought to be the most pressing concerns regarding driving cessation, and how such questions should be framed in a more formal interview setting.

During the pre-interview stage, interviewees were asked to describe and/or write a list of potential topics and/or themes that they would like to address. To ensure representativeness of all ethnic groups in interest, pre-interviews were conducted with 2 Caucasian, 1 Caribbean and 1 Asian older adult residing in Toronto. In Vancouver, pre-interviews were conducted with 1 Caucasian, 1 Asian, and 1 South Asian older adult. On average, pre-interviews lasted 1 to 2 hours, including a 20 minute warm-up period, and were conducted at locations most convenient to participants (i.e. community centres, cafes, restaurants, participant's home, etc.). Each interviewee was contacted through a community liaison. Following the pre-interview process, the researcher identified the reoccurring themes that should be discussed, as noted by senior participants and compiled the themes into an interview guidebook for the main interview.

Main interview stage

The main interviews began following the initial contact made by seniors. Main interviews are those that were conducted with the 351 eligible senior participants. These 351 interviews make up the data set found within this work. All interviews were conducted at locations most convenient senior participants, and all interview times and locations were suggested by participants. In general, interviews were conducted in participant's homes, restaurants, cafés, community centres, parks and church basements. A total of 42 participants requested a phone interview as some being uncomfortable meeting face-to-face and/or were concerned with being seen by family and/or friends discussing driving in older age.

On average, interviews lasted 1 hour to 2.5 hours, excluding the warm-up period. Telephone interviews lasted approximately 50 minutes to 2 hours. When possible the interview guidebook was provided to participants prior to the scheduled interview. The interview guidebook was sent to participants via email, mail, fax, and/or distributed by community centre coordinators and community liaisons.

A 20-minute warm-up period was generally conducted prior to the main interview process. The warm-up period served to ensure that interviewees were comfortable in partaking within the study. During the warm-up period, older adult interviewees were provided with the opportunity to discuss the overall purpose of this work and clarify any pre-conceived misconceptions of the study and to ease the concern of confidentiality of interview responses. Participants were not required to submit their names and/or addresses, and the interview location would not be revealed for confidentiality. Further, all participants were made aware that during the data analysis phase and the write-up of the thesis participant names and other defining identifiers would be removed to ensure the anonymity of all participants. Prior to the commencement of the main interview process, all participants were made aware that they obtained the right to reject questions they felt inappropriate, and could exit from the interview at any time.

Interviews were semi-structured in nature, whereby the interview was content focused, but allowed seniors to discuss themes and/or answer questions at length. Interviews were organized around the interview guidebook, but flexible enough so that questions could be re-ordered to the satisfaction of participants (Dunn, 2010). The role of the researcher was to facilitate and direct the conversation so that all themes were discussed during the interview (Dunn, 2010). For older adults whose first language was not English, an English-speaking translator was present and further ensured a sense of comfort during the interview process.

All interviews were hand-written in the presence of the participants. Each participant was then afforded the opportunity to review the interview transcript. In addition, the researcher requested that participants to review direct quotes that might be used in the final write-up of the paper. Interviewees were made aware that direct quotes would only be included in the final write-up with their permission and that all names and identifying characteristics would be removed from the quotes. For older adults who spoke English as a second language, designated translators translated the interview transcripts and the direct quotes.

Following the interview process, data was secured through a number of means. First, participants' names were removed from the interview transcript and replaced by a code

number (i.e. 1001, 1002, etc.) unique to each of the 351 participants. Interview transcripts were then photocopied and placed in locked locations in both Toronto and Vancouver. The original hand-written transcripts were placed in a locked location in Vancouver. Following this, all interview transcripts were converted into softcopies that are password protected.

3. LICENSING PROCEDURES/POLICIES FOR OLDER DRIVERS

This section highlights different ethnic seniors' perceptions around current licensing procedures/policies in British Columbia and Ontario in examining the theme of 'Licensing Procedures/Policies for Older Drivers'. The theme 'Licensing Procedures/Policies for Older Drivers,' and each of its 4 topics, draws together differing topics that capture seniors' perceptions around current licensing procedures/policies pertaining to older drivers in the provinces of British Columbia and Ontario. The first topic 'Familiarity with Licensing Legislation Pertaining to Older Drivers' is included within this theme as it addresses whether participants are aware of current licensing procedures/policies within their province of residence. The second topic to be incorporated into this theme is that of 'Licensing Procedures/Policies as Discriminatory,' as this topic documents perceptions and feelings regarding whether current licensing procedures/policies are or are not discriminatory forms of policy. 'Licensing Policy/Testing as Useless and Inadequate' highlights why a number of seniors perceive current licensing procedures/policy as without use and/or generally ineffective regarding mature driver licensing. The last sub-topic to be addressed within this section is 'New Licensing Procedures/Policies Needed,' as this topic documents seniors' perceptions of the various ways in which current licensing procedures can be improved upon in order to meet their specific needs. Prior to examining the below topics, it should be noted that following the first topic, 'Familiarity with Licensing Legislation Pertaining to Older Drivers,' the current licensing procedures/policies as they exist in each province were explained to the participants, so that they could share their thoughts on licensing procedures from an informed perspective.

3.1 Familiarity with Licensing Legislation Pertaining to Older Drivers

During the interview process, seniors are asked about their familiarity with the current licensing policy for older adult drivers as legislated within their respective province. Just over half of all participants are unfamiliar with licensing policy concerning older drivers, while a number of these seniors bashfully admit that they did not know such policy "*even existed.*" Less than half of all seniors state, though hesitantly, that they "*do know some stuff about the licensing rules of older people.*" As will be explored below, ethnic differences arise regarding whether seniors are or are not familiar with current driving legislation. Further differences are observed with respect to the various reasons as to why these seniors express or do not express familiarity with driving legislation.

Table 1 - Prevalence of Seniors Indicating 'Familiarity with Licensing Legislation Pertaining to Older Drivers'

Familiarity with Driving Legislation (n=351, 100%)

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Positive Association (n=145, 41.3%)			Negative Association (n=206, 58.6%)		
Asian	30	23.6%	Asian	97	76.3%
South Asian	9	20.4%	South Asian	35	79.5%
Caucasian	100	82.6%	Caucasian	21	17.3%
Caribbean/African	6	10.1%	Caribbean/African	53	89.9%
Sub-topic: Yes, but Not in Great Detail			Sub-topic: Completely Unaware		
Asian	30	23.6%	Asian	97	76.3%
South Asian	9	20.4%	South Asian	35	79.5%
Caucasian	100	82.6%	Caucasian	21	17.3%
Caribbean/African	6	10.1%	Caribbean/African	53	89.9%

Within this work, 41.3% of seniors are familiar with current driving legislation for older adults in the provinces of British Columbia or Ontario. As is noted in Table 1, ethnic differences arise regarding “who is in the know and who doesn’t have a clue about this policy.” Seniors who state that they are familiar with current licensing procedures for older drivers are primarily Caucasian. Just over 82% of Caucasian seniors share that they do “indeed know what types of laws are in place for old people drivers,” whereby only 23.6% of Asian, 20.4% of South Asian and just over 10% of Caribbean/African express any familiarity with licensing legislation. These ethnic differences in awareness regarding driving legislation are further evident in the sub-topic ‘Yes, but Not in Great Detail,’ as is explored below. Furthermore, it should be noted that familiarity with current driving legislation could stem from the fact that a small number of seniors interviewed within this work are over 80 years of age and, thus, have been “subjected to” licensing policy as set by each respective province.

A number of seniors express that they are “aware of what the policies are” around driving requirements for older drivers, but make clear that they are unaware of “what the policies exactly are.” As is noted in sub-topic ‘Yes, but Not in Great Detail,’ Caucasian (77.6%), Asian (22.3%), South Asian (18.1%) and Caribbean/African (10.1%) seniors express that they are aware of current provincial licensing requirements. However, these seniors state that they are only knowledgeable around licensing procedures “thanks to my friend who has taken the test,” and further state that they are not “completely aware of the specific requirements” needed to retain one’s license in older age. As such, these seniors note that they “think I have to take a driving examination of some sort” at the age of 80, although they could not provide any additional information. As one Caucasian senior, who “knows he has to report to the ministry at 80,” shares:

Oh I know about the requirement that you have to go and get re-licensed at 80. I know this because my cousin Alfred told me so. And Alfred is 85. And I also know, because of Alfred, that you have to get tested every 2 years. What is it 2 years? Or is it 3? Anyways, you have to get tested every 2 or 3 years after 80 years so the government still knows you are a good driver at 82 years and 84 years and you get the point. But other than that, I don’t have a clue what the test is about. I know you have a test that makes you identify signs but I don’t know what else you need

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to be re-licensed. I think Alfred said something about a class, but I don't remember. I guess I find out when it is my turn.

One Asian male, who is "quickly approaching the Big 8-0," states:

Well I do know much about the testing for your license when you are old. My friend Michael, who is 80, well he briefly explained it to me last year. So I know at 80 you have to get tested so that you can keep your license. Michael passed his test, and he explained that you go in and just take a test on signs and other things.

It is important to note that not one of these seniors "*found out about licensing policy*" through official government sources or publications. It seems that for a majority of Caucasian seniors and a smaller number of Asian, South Asian and Caribbean/African seniors, "*my understanding around driving legislation is okay,*" but "*not perfect*" and that the majority of information is derived from informal and/or "*casual*" conversation with friends and/or family who have taken the examination and/or are nearing "*taking the big test.*"

The majority of seniors within this study openly admit that they are unaware of the current licensing legislation "*put into place for older drivers*" by each respective province studied in this thesis, but ethnic differences do arise. As is noted in Table 1, close to 90% of all Caribbean/African and just over 75% of Asian and South Asian seniors openly share that they "*didn't know about there being any driving laws at 80 years old.*" Less than 20% of Caucasian seniors express similar sentiments.

In identifying with the sub-topic 'Completely Unaware' the majority of these Asian, South Asian, Caribbean/African, and Caucasian seniors state that the lack of familiarity regarding licensing legislation stems from the fact that they have never "*come across any information telling me about licensing when I am older.*" According to these seniors, lack of awareness around such licensing matters is the direct result of the government failing to adequately communicate licensing protocol and legislation to older drivers. Given such "*poor showing*" on the part of each respective provincial government, these seniors perceive that this is the "*reason why*" they are unaware of the current licensing practices for mature drivers. One Indian woman, who "*is still young but still should know about what to expect with her license,*" shares:

I didn't know you have to get tested at 80. Is this new? Or something that was always there? I never knew about this, no one told me nothing like this. The reason why I don't know is because the government didn't say nothing. Because I am older and because the test for me will be such a big deal, or the doctor having my letter signed will be a big thing, the government needs to tell me. I would know if they send me a letter because I always read everything the government says. Everything. I always open the stuff they send me right away and I ask my daughter to read it to me in my language because sometimes I struggle with English.

Furthermore, in discussing sub-topic 'Completely Unaware,' each of the seniors share that the provincial government and/or licensing authority should send licensing information to

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seniors “years before my 80th birthday and in my language” in order to ensure that seniors are not “kept in the dark about these important age things.” This would provide them with the necessary knowledge about licensing legislation and, therefore, “make sure I am not completely unaware of what the heck I need to do to keep my license.”

Importantly, in reflecting on the sub-topic ‘Completely Unaware,’ these Asian, South Asian, Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors, further share that it is not “only the government’s fault why I don’t know about licensing in older age,” but also attribute such “blatant unawareness” to the fact they are “unsure of where to find this information.” Thus, these seniors state that even if they “wanted to know more or start learning about driving in old age,” they would “still be completely unaware of these rules and regulations” given that they would not know how and/or where to locate such information.

To exemplify, these seniors wonder whether they may simply call a licensing authority representative and have “the entire process explained to me,” and whether they may request an “information package be sent to me in my mother tongue.” As one Trinidadian male, who had “no idea about getting tested at 80,” states:

I have no idea where to even start looking for this information. None. Can I just request an info package like you can with other things because I don’t have a computer and I have no idea how to even use a computer. I am 72 years old not 17 and I didn’t grow up with a computer, so where do I get this information? This is why I don’t know about this, because I don’t have the right stuff to even start trying to find anything.

3.2 Licensing Procedures/Policies as Discriminatory

During the interview process seniors are asked to share their thoughts regarding whether current licensing procedures for older drivers, as set by each province, are believed to be discriminatory. Seniors spoke openly and eagerly about this topic; a number of seniors raised their voices to “get my point across,” while others were much calmer when describing their views on this “very important, but emotional subject matter.” A majority of seniors perceive that current licensing procedures/policies are “open discrimination against us seniors,” while just under half of all participants state otherwise. It should be stated prior to discussing this topic that an overlap exists between those Asian and South Asian seniors who perceive that licensing procedures are and are not discriminatory, as can be seen in Table 2. These Asian and South Asian seniors “can see how licensing policy is and is not discriminatory.” Furthermore, ethnic differences in perceptions are evident regarding the reasons provided by seniors regarding their association with this topic.

Table 2 - Prevalence of Seniors Indicating ‘Licensing Procedures/Policies as Discriminatory’

<i>Licensing Procedures/Policies as Discriminatory (n=351, 100%)</i>					
<i>Positive Association (n=289, 82.3%)</i>			<i>Negative Association (n=166, 47.2%)</i>		
Asian	88	69.2%	Asian	122	96%
South Asian	26	59%	South Asian	39	88.6%
Caucasian	119	98.3%	Caucasian	2	1.6%
Caribbean/African	56	94.9%	Caribbean/African	3	5%

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Sub-topic: Age Based Discrimination			Sub-topic: Licensing Procedures Needed		
Asian	0	0%	Asian	122	96%
South Asian	0	0%	South Asian	39	88.6%
Caucasian	119	98.3%	Caucasian	2	1.7%
Caribbean/African	56	94.9%	Caribbean/African	3	5%

Sub-topic: Cognitive Abilities			Sub-topic: Other Age Groups Get Tested		
Asian	0	0%	Asian	122	96%
South Asian	0	0%	South Asian	39	88.6%
Caucasian	16	13.2%	Caucasian	2	1.6%
Caribbean/African	8	13.5%	Caribbean/African	3	5%

Sub-topic: Senior and Ethnic Senior Unfriendly		
Asian	72	56.6%
South Asian	26	59%
Caucasian	42	34.7%
Caribbean/African	49	83%

Sub-topic: Licensing Policy as Racist and Discriminatory		
Asian	0	0%
South Asian	0	0%
Caucasian	0	0%
Caribbean/African	6	10.1%

Approximately 82% of seniors perceive that the current Ontario and British Columbia licensing regime is “very, very discriminatory” against older drivers. As noted in Table 2, a significant number of seniors from all ethnic groups identify with this topic, although Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors more readily express that “the way licensing is today makes it a form of discrimination against old drivers” when compared to their Asian and South Asian counterparts. Close to all Caucasian (98.3%) and Caribbean/African (94.9%) seniors perceive that current licensing policies and procedures are “biased and discriminatory against old people,” whereas 69.2% of Asian and 59% of South Asian seniors state similar responses. Ethnic differences in perceptions around this topic further arise regarding why these seniors perceive that “indeed, the way things are set up right now around licensing for seniors is a significant form of discrimination that can’t be called something else.” As will be explored below, Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors define “discrimination in licensing procedures against old people” in terms of ‘Age Based Discrimination,’ as to test seniors based solely on their age is “of course discrimination,” and ‘Cognitive Abilities,’ as “testing only seniors is to call into question our reasoning to be sound as we age.” Furthermore, Asian, South Asian, Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors all discuss discriminatory licensing procedures as ‘Senior and Ethnic Senior Unfriendly,’ given that they are “not fair or even nice to seniors.”

Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors who express that licensing procedures for seniors are discriminatory ground such perceptions in the fact that current licensing practices

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are “based on my old age and nothing else, just age.” As is noted in the sub-topic ‘Age Based Discrimination,’ for 98.3% of Caucasian and 94.9% of Caribbean/African seniors (and no other ethnic groups) licensing procedures are discriminatory as they are age-based, thereby “attacking seniors on their age and not only skill or real ability, just my old age status.” According to these Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors, age is “just a number that doesn't show anything about driving.” To exemplify, a Jamaican man loudly states:

What does being 80 have to do with anything? What does age have to do with driving? It doesn't make sense at all. Can't you see that? Having a test at 80 doesn't prove to anyone I am even a good driver. Someone's old age doesn't show anything about their driving. It really doesn't. Age is nothing but a number and you can be a good driver at any age and probably you are a better driver in older age. I mean what does it do? What does getting tested at 80 show? And here in Toronto you don't even get tested really, you just go to a class and then fill in some questions and you pass. But the question is why old people? Why does the government assume old people need to be tested, why do they just assume that with old age you become a bad driver and need to be tested? Doesn't make sense and it is all discrimination on age and picking on old people, that is what it is. The government is picking on old people and this is the perfect way to do it, go after their license.

As such, for these Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors, licensing procedures are “super bad and biased” given that they “test one on age and not their skill-set to properly drive.”

Furthermore, each of these Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors who discuss the sub-topic ‘Age Based Discrimination’ also note that current licensing procedures are discriminatory as they focus solely “on senior drivers but not other reckless drivers.” These seniors believe that in explicitly targeting older drivers licensing authorities “fail to capture the real bad driver” who “really pose a risk to the roads we all use,” who could be of any age. One Jamaican senior, who believes the entire “licensing regime in Ontario needs to be re-worked,” aggressively shares:

Yes, the entire licensing procedure is based on discrimination. The entire thing is screwy because all it does is seek out older drivers. The policy here [in Ontario] just focuses on senior drivers and starts screening us because we are old, but really when the government does this it misses the bad drivers, the ones that aren't old and need to get off the road. Really, I believe, deep down inside, that the putting all their effort [government] into making sure us old drivers are tested, they are missing the real point, that bad drivers are the young drivers and they need to focus on them not just old drivers like me.

Thus, as these seniors perceive that licensing procedures “seek out” and “only target” older drivers and not drivers from other age range, it is openly expressed that licensing schemes are discriminatory in nature.

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To further exemplify the above point, regarding each Caribbean/African and Caucasian senior describes a “*younger person who can't drive, but is still driving.*” One Caucasian senior, who openly shares that “*Vancouver [the Vancouver City government] thinks seniors are a burden,*” states:

I will never understand why they [referring to government] think age and driving are related. And I will never understand why they [referring to government] think old drivers need to be tested. Why do they think that once someone is older they need to be seen by a doctor and screened? Age doesn't have anything to do with skill and driving skill, the Vancouver government is all confused. Listen, I have a grandson, who I love very much, and he can't drive. He is 23 years old and speeds along and doesn't have regard for no one else on the road and doesn't even signal or look when he makes a lane change. See what I mean? You think age has anything to do with driving safe, it doesn't. My grandson drives like a maniac, a crazy person and no one makes him get tested. And the reason why he drives like an insane person is because of his age, younger men drive like crazies. And no one makes him get tested on his age. But I have to get tested because of my age; that is pure discrimination against seniors, pure and spiteful discrimination. Only the Vancouver government would do something like that.

An Ethiopian senior, who becomes “*upset every time I think about how the government treats seniors who drive,*” strongly expresses:

It is garbage. This testing for seniors is garbage and who came up with it? I can tell you no senior came up with it. The licensing people think that age can tell you if someone is a good or bad driver. Really? I don't think so because just knowing someone's older age can't. I mean when you ask someone how old they are and they answer you, does that mean you know everything about them based on age. No you don't, it is impossible to know about them because of their age. So tell me how can the government know if you are a good or bad driver at your older age? I have a cousin, her daughter Cindy can't drive to save a life and guess how old she is? 46 years old. Cindy is always in accidents, always because she is always asking her mom to bail her out. Does someone say “Hey test Cindy because she is 46 years old and can't drive?” No, no one says that. But they [referring to government] comes [sic] after seniors and attacks them because they think people in old age can't drive. There are other ages that can't drive.

Importantly, in discussing the sub-topic ‘Age Based Discrimination,’ 98.3% of Caucasian and 94.9% of Caribbean/African seniors share that current licensing schemes are without scientific merit. According to these seniors, there is no “*scientific proof*” that older drivers are unfit when compared to other younger drivers and, thus, this needs to be tested. These seniors openly question whether any scientific and/or medical studies/research clearly

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and explicitly demonstrate that as one ages their ability to drive safely diminishes. In particular, these seniors question whether an older driver “*turns a certain age then becomes a bad driver all of sudden that can be proven with science.*”

While each senior recognizes that age does create certain “*physical and reasoning challenges,*” they state that other age groups are also afflicted with such challenges and that there is no “*real confirmation*” that such medical problems inflict only seniors. One Jamaican male, who rolls his eyes at the mere mention of licensing procedures, states:

Is there something out there from the medical world that shows that seniors need to be tested and that when we get older and older we are all of a sudden bad drivers? I don't think there is because it would be all over the news and then the governments can do worse now and just say “At 70 years old we are taking away seniors' licenses.” But this is not happening. And I would love to know, just love to know, if there is something that clearly shows, on paper and by the medical world, that older drivers are worse than younger drivers and that is why there is testing. I would like to see something that shows this, because the government doesn't have any proof that older drivers are bad drivers because of our age. Okay, so yes, I admit it, when you get older your sight goes funny sometimes but so does the vision of younger drivers, so why are they only targeting seniors?

A second perception shared only by Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors, and no others, is that current licensing procedures are discriminatory as they call into question the cognitive abilities of older driving adults. As is found in Table 2, sub-topic ‘Cognitive Abilities,’ just over 13% of Caucasian (13.2%) and Caribbean/African (13.5%) seniors believe that licensing testing requirements “*automatically assume that seniors have lost their marbles.*” The Caucasian seniors residing in Vancouver state that DriveAble is a cognitive test “*designed specifically for older drivers*” to ensure their mental functioning is up to par for safe driving. Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors residing in Toronto express that the current testing procedures assume that mature drivers have “*suddenly lost their capacity to recognize driving signs.*” These perceptions are further reinforced by the fact that younger drivers are not subject to the same screening procedures as older adults, thereby making clear to these seniors that “*licensing authorities believe we are cognitively unfit to drive without any proof.*” As one Caucasian woman, who “*thankfully*” passed her DriveAble examination, shares:

I understand the government is trying to promote safe driving and to keep the roads here in Vancouver safe. I know this. But the way they go about it is all unfair for seniors. When they make us old people go and get tested for driving and to get our licenses renewed I feel like the government is doubting our brain capacity, I feel like they just assume we have lost our ability to reason when we drive. I mean the DriveAble is proof of that because it was brought in for seniors, everyone and every senior knows that. Have you ever heard of a young person getting tested with DriveAble? They haven't and I even asked my tester if she had ever

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tested a younger person than me and she said "Oh no, so far I've only tested seniors," which goes to show that the test is for seniors only. And that brings me to my next point why these testing are so unfair towards seniors, because it just assumes that seniors are the only ones with the problems it doesn't assume that younger drivers also need to be tested to see if they are sound in their mind. Nope, it just jumps to the ugly conclusion that seniors, because of their age, are losing their minds and that they need to be tested. It is the sad truth. And worse than this, I even know younger people who should be tested for the soundness in their heads by evil DriveAble. My friend Fraser, well her daughter has the beginning of Alzheimer's and she is only 59 years old, and she hasn't been hauled in by DriveAble. Now I feel sorry for Fraser, but what shock the government would feel if it knew that younger people were walking around out of their right minds and driving and the only thing the government was doing was targeting seniors.

While the above sub-topics are shared by both Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors, the third sub-topic 'Senior and Ethnic Senior Unfriendly' is identified with by a number of seniors from differing ethnic groups. Table 2 demonstrates that licensing procedures are viewed as discriminatory by over half of Asian (56.6%) and South Asian (59%) seniors, and the majority of Caribbean/African (83%) seniors, as they "*don't take into consideration culture.*" Just over 34% of Vancouverite Caucasian seniors share that current licensing policies and procedures are "*real discriminatory*" against older drivers. Prior to examining the following results, it should be noted that Torontonians Caucasian seniors do not identify with this sub-topic, and do not discuss perceptions around discriminatory licensing practices in terms of being senior unfriendly.

Vancouver-based Caucasian, South Asian and Asian seniors, when discussing the sub-topic 'Senior and Ethnic Unfriendly,' perceive DriveAble as a licensing procedures that is discriminatory given the fact that one requires "*adequate computer skills so that they can pass the test.*" According to these Vancouverite participants, many seniors are unfamiliar with the "*technical aspects of using a computer*" and, thus, believe such mandatory testing requirements "*discriminates based on our lack of skills.*" As one Caucasian male, who was "*forced to take the DriveAble because my neighbor hit my car,*" angrily shares:

The whole car incident wasn't even my fault. And the next thing you know I was dragged into licensing office and they said you need your DriveAble if you ever want your license back. So I took that test, and guess what you have to do? You have to push buttons on a computer. On a computer. Can you believe that? I have never used a computer in my life up until that damn moment. And thank God I passed, I thank God every day. I still don't know how I did it, no clue. And that Drive whatever it is called, DriveAble that is it. That DriveAble was my nightmare. And that is the perfect example of discrimination against seniors, the perfect example. Because we all know someone my age can't use a computer, we didn't grow up with a computer, and so the first test they come out with for your

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license is on a computer. If it wasn't discriminatory well then it would be paper and you would fill it out with a pen, because that is what seniors my age know – pen and paper, not a computer. So if the government says it is not being discriminatory against seniors, that is hogwash and I don't buy it because they make us do our licensing renewals tests on the computer under certain situations like mine.

These Asian and South Asian seniors further continue that this particular test is not only discriminatory based on the computer skills that are needed, but also given the fact that the DriveAble test can only be completed in English. As one Chinese man, who does not speak English well, states;

I know about this test. I read it in the newspaper and my son said something about it last year to me and how it caused problems with the seniors and the government. But the problem with the test is you need a computer knowledge which I think I don't have and I don't think a lot of Chinese senior people have. But the other thing too I was thinking that the test is only in English and that means if I take test I will fail because I can't speak English well at all and usually my son helps me when I need something in English. I think that this means that I will fail very bad [sic] and also I think this means that it is unfair to Chinese speaking seniors who can't speak English. It is unfair because it doesn't give them a chance to pass the test.

As such, for these Asian, Caucasian and South Asian seniors residing in Vancouver and surrounding suburban locations, DriveAble is a discriminatory feature of the current licensing regime as it requires *"computer skills which I just don't seem to have and language skills that I really, really, really don't have."*

Asian and Caribbean/African Torontonians also perceive that current licensing practices are discriminatory as they *"ignore the language barriers that we face on a daily basis."* For these seniors, the current written licensing examination, instituted as part of the Senior Driver Renewal Program, is perceived to not take into consideration the language barriers and literacy abilities of older Asian and Caribbean/African seniors. These seniors note that they do not believe that the written examination can be completed in languages other than English and that they may not be taken orally. One Korean senior, who believes *"that driving testing is important,"* states:

Well I know that the government of Ontario is doing the best for our safety. But can I say that I think it is very, very unfair when we can't take the licensing test in Korean and only in English. That is unfair because it makes sure that certain people like me who can still drive and can still drive good but can't speak English can't do a 100% on the test. That is my only problem with the testing, it needs to be more open to other languages and let people write it in their own language that they can understand.

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Furthermore, these Asian and Caribbean/African Torontonians perceive that current licensing procedures are discriminatory in nature, as the group education sessions do not take the specific driving needs of older ethnic adults into consideration. As group education sessions are only offered in English, some Asian and Caribbean/African seniors perceive that they would be unable to follow what is said during the classes and, thus, would feel uncomfortable and *"unwanted by the teacher and the others in the class."* In short, these Asian and Caribbean/African seniors perceive that they would be discriminated against when attending such classes given that English is not their first language. In addition, these seniors perceive that group education sessions would not take into consideration the cultural characteristics of ethnic seniors and, thus, present a simple and generalized overview of driving in older age. One Ethiopian male, who *"will never understand why seniors need to be tested to prove they are good drivers,"* states:

I know all about getting tested for your driving once you turn 80 years old here in Toronto because my best friend Joan just went through it. And he said it was a nightmare. I mean he said that the test was only in English [referring to the written test] and Joan could barely speak English and he struggled with the test. Joan thinks the teacher only passed him because he couldn't speak English and felt sorry for him. And then Joan even told me about group classes before the exam, and he said the teacher only spoke to the white people in the class and didn't relate to why Joan needed to keep driving at his age. Joan is 80 and is raising his daughter's kids, so the poor man needs to drive. Basically, the entire program doesn't think about our African culture and why we might need the car and keep our licenses because we help with our families so much.

The last sub-topic 'Licensing Policy as Racist and Discriminatory' is only identified with by a small number of Caribbean/African seniors. According to just over 10% of all Caribbean/African seniors, current licensing *"rules and regulation made up for seniors"* are *"to tell you the truth racist."* For these seniors, the language barriers and cultural insensitivity of the licensing policies and procedures *"works to make sure black seniors have a hard time passing these tests to get their licenses."* These seniors believe that the current licensing schemes are made for and designed by *"white people"* and thus can only be properly *"completed by white seniors who have no trouble reading and relating to these tests."* To highlight further, one Jamaican man, who *"knows these tests aren't for coloured people like me,"* openly shares:

The test that you have to take at 80 is racist and discriminatory. It is both things. It is both things because they aren't made of people like me. They [referring to the Ontario government] can't take tests as easily or read like white and that is how they laws and rules around driving in old age is discriminatory against old black men, it is racist. And let me tell you if the tests weren't racist and based on all sorts of discrimination then you could take the test in your language and even just answer without having to read anything. But you can't and I know these tests aren't made by no black man because if they were you would know they would make sure

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all people can pass, not just older white men and women. That is why I think these tests are discriminatory and racist and really any test for seniors is racist against seniors of colour.

As is noted in Table 2, just under half of all seniors – 47.2% -- perceive that current licensing policy and procedures “*are just fine the way they are and aren't discriminatory.*” Those that express this view are overwhelmingly seniors from the Asian and South Asian community; 96% of Asian and 88.6% of South Asian seniors express such thoughts. Less than a handful of Caucasian (1.6%) and Caribbean/African (5%) seniors note that “*licensing rules aren't discriminatory, I wouldn't say they are.*” As will be noted below, the Asian, South Asian, Caucasian, and Caribbean/African seniors, albeit to differing degrees, that do believe that current licensing policies are not a discriminatory act believe that ‘Licensing Procedures are Needed’ to keep the “*roads safe from bad old drivers,*” and because ‘Other Age Groups Get Tested’ and, thus, it is not only seniors who are “*subjected to age based testing.*”

Regarding the sub-topic ‘Licensing Procedures Needed,’ it is perceived by seniors that current licensing practices are not discriminatory, as they “*are needed to keep the roads and sidewalks safe from bad drivers.*” For a great number of Asian (96%) and South Asian (88.6%) seniors and a small number of Caribbean/African (5%) and Caucasian (1.6%) seniors, each respective government is ensuring that older drivers maintain the necessary level of fitness and skill needed to safely operate an automobile through testing requirements “*that seniors are presently asked to do.*” These seniors note that licensing procedures are necessary and fair, as “*it is true that sometimes older drivers have problems and need to be tested for or need to be told they have.*” ‘Problems,’ according to these seniors, constitute physical and cognitive inabilities that “*do happen to seniors, and probably very often.*” Each provincial licensing body, by “*making seniors get the test*” is perceived as working to ensure that older drivers are not driving when they “*can't because their health is bad.*” As one Chinese woman, who believes the “*government has the right to make the laws around driving,*” shares:

It is only unfair to seniors if there is no purpose to the law. If the Vancouver government only made us get the form signed by the doctor just because it wants to annoy old drivers then that is discrimination. There is a purpose [2 minute pause], a good purpose and that is to keep old people safe when they drive and because, like I say, the purpose and the need is there it is fair to have the paper signed by the doctor.

Furthermore, in discussing the sub-topic ‘Licensing Procedures Needed,’ these seniors perceive that “*making seniors get tested at 80 years isn't discrimination,*” given that it is a licensing policy and procedure that is needed as the “*government has to start somewhere to keep our roads safe.*” Each of these seniors share that if each respective licensing authority believes that 80 is the appropriate age in which seniors should begin screening examinations then it must be because the “*government knows when drivers hit a certain age where they become a bit unsteady in their health and need to be tested for safe driving.*” As one Caucasian woman, who believes that it would be “*foolish not have any testing,*” shares:

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We need some sort of test for our license in place. I think it is a good thing, and why would it be discriminatory? Why? Really it is only unfair to seniors if we didn't need it and we do need to have some test because some seniors aren't good drivers and need to be taken off the road. I am not saying all seniors, just some who have, oh I don't know, memory loss need to stop driving and at least some test in place will help get them off the road.

As such, these Asian, South Asian, Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors believe that "*getting tested at 80*" is a policy implemented to keep "*everyone safe, including seniors*" rather than a discriminatory act implemented by the provincial government.

All seniors who express that the current licensing regime for older drivers is "*not one bit discriminatory*," ground such perceptions in the fact that other age cohorts are tested on their driving ability and skills and it is not only seniors "*who have to show they can drive*." In discussing the sub-topic 'Other Age Groups Get Tested,' 96% of Asian, 88.6% of South Asian, 5% of Caribbean/African and 1.6% of Caucasian seniors express that current licensing schemes for older drivers are not biased, as younger drivers are also subjected to testing. For these seniors, discrimination would occur if only seniors and no other age group are screened for their driving ability. While these seniors note that younger drivers are required to undergo testing for different reasons when compared to older drivers, the former group is still subject to age-based testing to evaluate their driving abilities. As these seniors note, as long as the government is aware of the "*dangers that other drivers pose*" and implement testing requirements to ensure that "*the bad apples of the young age group are caught*," then licensing procedures pertaining to older drivers are not unfair. As one Chinese male, who believes it is very important to have licensing screening requirements for older drivers, openly expresses:

It is only going against seniors [referring to licensing procedures] if the government just made up these laws for seniors and just said "Well only seniors need to be tested and no one else, because we are just going to pick on seniors." That is when it is unfair, when the government doesn't make other people get tested for their driving and only old people, but that is not true because young drivers are also getting tested and I think their testing is harder than old people. So see? There is no discrimination, so you can't just say there is.

3.3 Licensing Policy/Testing as Useless and Inadequate

During the one-on-one interviews, a number of seniors spoke about the "*uselessness*" of the current licensing/testing procedures for older adult drivers. For these seniors, current licensing policy/testing are "*not only useless but are also seriously inadequate*." As no senior within this work noted that current licensing procedures are adequate and useful, ethnic differences in perceptions do not arise regarding a positive and/or negative association with this topic. Ethnic differences do arise, however, regarding

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the particular reasons as to why such seniors perceive licensing policy to be “utterly without any use.”

Table 3 - Prevalence of Seniors Indicating ‘Licensing Policy/Testing as Useless and Inadequate’

Licensing Policy/Testing as Useless and Inadequate (n=147, 41.8%)					
Positive Association (n=147, 41.8%)			Negative Association (n=0, 0%)		
Asian	6	4.7%	Asian	0	0%
South Asian	9	20.4%	South Asian	0	0%
Caucasian	96	79.3%	Caucasian	0	0%
Caribbean/African	36	61%	Caribbean/African	0	0%
Sub-topic: Accurately Screen for Unsafe Drivers					
Asian	0	0%			
South Asian	0	0%			
Caucasian	96	79.3%			
Caribbean/African	36	61%			
Sub-topic: Does Not Teach Anything					
Asian	0	0%			
South Asian	0	0%			
Caucasian	96	79.3%			
Caribbean/African	36	61%			
Sub-topic: Does Not Intend to Fail Older Drivers					
Asian	6	4.7%			
South Asian	9	20.4%			
Caucasian	0	0%			
Caribbean/African	0	0%			

As is noted in the introduction of this topic and as is evident in Table 3, just under half – 41.8% – of all seniors perceive that current licensing procedures are “good for nothing.” Ethnic differences regarding such perceptions do arise, whereby close to 80% of Caucasian seniors and just over 60% of Caribbean/African seniors express such perceptions. A smaller number of South Asian (20.4%) and Asian (4.7%) seniors also note that licensing procedures for older adults “are somewhat silly and don’t do what they should do.” As will be discussed further below, ethnic differences not only arise in relation to who identifies with this topic, but also with respect to why these seniors believe licensing policy is “no good and a useless bad joke.” In discussing the “uselessness” of licensing policy, Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors describe that licensing policies “are as useful as a door without a handle,” as they do not ‘Accurately Screen for Unsafe Drivers’ and ‘Does Not Teach Anything. Asian and South Asian seniors, however, state that licensing policy ‘Does Not Intend to Fail Older Adults,’ but is rather designed to ensure older drivers are re-licensed.

For a number of Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors licensing policy/testing is currently implemented, and a “bad joke because it is so worthless,” as it fails to screen for

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unsafe drivers. As is noted in Table 11.3, sub-topic 'Accurately Screen for Unsafe Drivers,' only Caucasian (79.3%) and Caribbean/African (61%) seniors, but no others, express such perceptions. According to these Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors, policy/testing that is currently being enforced is too lax to "*actually detect bad drivers and just pointless to have.*" These Caucasian and Caribbean/African perceive that licensing policy/testing fails "*miserably*" at ensuring that unfit drivers are forced to cease driving and, thus, fails to keep "*our roads safe from bad drivers.*" Given the inadequacies of such policies/tests, these seniors believe that there "*is no point of having them*" and, that they are forms of "*policy discrimination against seniors.*" One Vancouverite Caucasian male, who links the "*inadequate driving test*" to "*sheer discrimination,*" notes:

There is no testing. All you do is have your doctor sign your forms and away they go. What kind of screening is that? It doesn't do anything. I mean, if the government really cared about getting older drivers off the road, I mean older bad drivers, shouldn't there be a test. I mean everyone is saying this about old drivers and how we should not drive, but the government itself doesn't do anything. And like I keep telling you, having these useless tests that don't show if I know the difference between a red light or a purple light is all because the government is ageist. What other reason can you give me why we have these tests?

A second perception shared only by Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors, but no other ethnic group, is evident in sub-topic 'Does Not Teach Anything.' For 79.3% of Caucasian seniors and 61% of Caribbean/African seniors, such licensing policy/testing is "*beyond useless and a waste of taxpayer's money*" given that such policy/testing does not provide "*older drivers with the right information about safe driving, like at night, or to cease driving.*" As these seniors note, if the government insists on "*forcing these testing's down the throats of old people,*" they should be "*done properly and be useful.*" According to these Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors, "*useful*" is defined by providing older drivers with adequate advice and guidance in making decisions regarding safe and defensive driving in later years and "*advice*" on driving cessation. As one Trinidadian male, who thinks "*getting relicensed is as easy as opening a box of cereal,*" states:

There is no doubt in mind that all this licensing and running through hoops that this Ontario government has us older fold doing is discrimination. Oh and it is also racist, like I said before. But if the government isn't going to back down and they are going to force our hand in taking the test, then the stupid test should be at least worth it. I mean in Toronto, I am 81 so I know, you go and do a class and they talk about nothing relevant. Nothing. I would think if they really want it to be useful and actually make sure the roads are safe they should say in class "Okay listen some of you need to stop driving, so let's say why and here are a list of your options how to get around after you stop" and so on. All I am saying, if these tests are going to be there at least make them something worth it. Heck, people won't even think they are racist against seniors if the testing had some sort of purpose.

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Importantly, however, each of these Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors make clear “that if these tests are useful and actually teach us about safe driving or not driving, it is up to the senior, like me, to make the final decision.”

For the small number of Asian and South Asian seniors, and only these ethnic groups, it is perceived that licensing policy/testing ‘Does Not Intend to Fail Older Drivers’ and, therefore, is “supposed to be useless.” As odd as such expressions may sound, these 4.7% of Asian and 20.4% of South Asian seniors provide a thorough explanation. According to these seniors, when reflecting in the sub-topic ‘Does Not Intend to Fail Older Drivers,’ licensing policy/testing is purposefully designed to be “easy” and “ensure the majority of seniors pass” as the government is aware of the negative consequences should seniors be forced to relinquish their license. Furthermore, each of these seniors note that the governments of Ontario and British Columbia are “completely aware” that they do not have the resources to provide adequate mobility for seniors should they be forced to cease driving. As such, governments who find themselves in “a bind” and between “a rock and a hard place” design licensing schemes to ensure that seniors remain driving while “hoping that bad senior drivers don’t seriously hurt anyone” in the wider community, and that one’s family will “step in and fix the problem.” One Chinese man, who expresses sympathy for the Ontario government, notes:

Well what is the government going to do? They know that they need to keep seniors moving or else it is bad for all of society. So what do they [government] do? They make the tests so easy so that no one fails and seniors don’t have to be stuck at home. It is probably not safe, but what can they do. I think the government is stuck and unsure of what to do with seniors who can’t drive or don’t want to drive anymore.

3.4 New Licensing Procedures/Policies Needed

In light of the above, it is not surprising that seniors, regardless of ethnicity, perceive that new licensing procedures pertaining to mature drivers are “desperately needed.” In fact, all seniors perceive that new licensing procedures are needed. Seniors discussed this topic at great length; for example, 2 senior interviewees spend over 30 minutes sharing why “the entire licensing system needs to be improved.” While all seniors note “our licensing policy can be tweaked a bit,” ethnic differences in perceptions do arise.

Table 4 - Prevalence of Seniors Indicating ‘New Licensing Procedures/Policies Needed’

New Licensing Procedures/Policies Needed (n=351, 100%)					
Positive Association (n=351, 100%)			Negative Association (n=0, 0%)		
Asian	127	100%	Asian	0	0%
South Asian	44	100%	South Asian	0	0%
Caucasian	121	100%	Caucasian	0	0%
Caribbean/African	59	100%	Caribbean/African	0	0%
Sub-topic: Accessible Licensing Information and Policy					
Asian	127	100%			

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South Asian	44	100%
Caucasian	121	100%
Caribbean/African	59	100%
Sub-topic: Ethnically Accessible Licensing Information and Policy		
Asian	123	96.8%
South Asian	43	97.7%
Caucasian	0	0%
Caribbean/African	51	86.4%
Sub-topic: Reflect the Skills of Seniors		
Asian	10	7.8%
South Asian	0	0%
Caucasian	55	45.5%
Caribbean/African	45	76.2%
Sub-topic: Age Based Testing		
Asian	0	0%
South Asian	0	0%
Caucasian	102	84.2%
Caribbean/African	58	98.3%

As is noted in the introduction to this topic, all seniors, regardless of ethnic background, perceive that new licensing procedures/policies pertaining to older driving adults are needed. In general, as will be explored below and as is noted in each corresponding sub-topic, ethnic differences in perceptions exist, with the exception of the first sub-topic, 'Accessible Licensing Information and Policy.' In reflecting on the topic of licensing procedures/policies, all seniors note that "*new driving policy*" should include 'Accessible Licensing Information and Policy.' Only Asian and South Asian seniors, however, perceive that "*what you really need*" to improve licensing policy is 'Ethnically Accessible Licensing Information and Policy.' For a majority of Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors and a small number of Asian seniors, new licensing policy/procedures should 'Reflect the Skills of Seniors.' The last difference in ethnic perception emerges regarding 'Age Based Testing'; almost all Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors believe that licensing procedures should "*test everyone, at every age and not just seniors.*"

Regardless of ethnicity, *all* Asian, South Asian, Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors perceive that "*all and any information,*" regarding licensing procedure, as is evident in the sub-topic 'Accessible Licensing Information and Policy,' Table 4, must be presented in a manner that "*us old people are comfortable in using and getting to access.*" Such forums and "*easy access to information*" include documentation written in "*simple and easy words, so that we don't have to guess at what they are trying to say about licensing for old driver.*" For each senior, accessible licensing information does not include "*on the computer kinda of information about my license,*" as these seniors do not have access and/or own to a computer and do not have "*the knowledge on how to use the computer and the different things you need to do on it*" and "*can't read off a screen because I never learned how to and*

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am not used to it." Furthermore, according to all Caucasian, South Asian, Asian and Caribbean/African seniors, accessibility of information relating to licensing procedures includes ensuring that information is "*located in places where seniors go,*" such as community centres and doctors' offices, so that "*I can easily pick it up on my way in or out and it is right there so no searching.*"

To exemplify the sub-topic 'Accessible Licensing Information and Policy,' one Asian male, who would like to "*know the complete details of the licensing laws,*" states:

The information needs to be fully there for old drivers to know. That is the one problem I can see with the way things are for seniors drivers and their relationship with the government. We can't see the laws and how things work. I would just say one thing. The one thing is to have information that we can read or find easily. I know my grandson, Nico, just uses the computer to find information for me, but can't always do that because he not always at my house. I need to find information by myself and I don't have [a] computer at my house. I need to have it on paper and be able to get it at the Chinese senior community centre, and I go there 4 or 5 times a week. That is all I have to say, make the laws in writing and make them at the community centre so I can get them. And even my friends want them and they go to the community centre.

In addition, and importantly in discussing the sub-topic 'Accessible Licensing Information and Policy,' each of these seniors see having a "*proactive government that makes this info accessible to us*" as key to improving licensing procedures. According to all seniors, this entails that each respective government send older drivers licensing information "*a number of years prior to my 80th birthday and not just a few months before.*" For these Asian, South Asian, Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors, the government should send licensing information "*right at my doorstep and I don't have to search for it.*" Interestingly, each seniors further states that should the government send them licensing information directly they would be more likely to read it, and not have an "*excuse of not knowing what the licensing procedures are for old drivers like me.*"

In discussing the sub-topic 'Accessible Licensing Information and Policy,' one Caucasian senior, who "*had no clue that you had to get tested at 80 years old,*" states:

Well I would like to see a few changes made when it comes to licensing procedures. But one of the first things I could say is that because this information is so important the government should send old drivers the licensing information a year or 2 before we turn 80. I think this will make the entire information intake process more accessible for seniors because you know it is brought right to your front door and I also think seniors are gonna read mail sent to them by the government. You always open stuff from the government, you do because you never know what it is and it could be important. Also, I really think this will make things easier on older people because you don't have to go looking for the information directly. It just makes things so much easier. I would go get it [referring to licensing information] at a community centre and my doctor's

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office because they are both close by, but I don't know if every senior will go get this. I think some seniors would fear that others could see them grabbing this information or walking around with the info and then they would be judged or at least asked a million questions if they are scared about driving in old age.

While all seniors perceive that information pertaining to new licensing procedures must be formatted and presented in a senior-specific and accessible forum, the majority of non-Caucasian seniors perceive that a *"good improvement to any new licensing procedure is to make it ethnically accessible."* As can be noted in Table 4, sub-topic 'Ethnically Accessible Licensing Information and Policy,' the majority of Asian (96.8%), South Asian (97.7%) and Caribbean/African (86.4%) seniors perceive that licensing procedure information must be presented in a variety of languages other than English, thereby making it accessible to all seniors regardless of *"what language I feel best to talk in and read in."* One Korean woman, who believed before the interview process that senior licensing testing *"started at 85 years old,"* states:

I think, if I can say, to make things around the licensing process easy for seniors who can't do well in speaking English, the information needs to be in different languages. I can have my grandkids read the information to me, but I think it is easier for me to read it in Korean so then I can really get it and go back and read it many times if I have to or if I forget something.

Reflecting on the sub-topic 'Ethnically Accessible Licensing Information and Policy,' a great number of Asian and Caribbean/African seniors living in Toronto believe that new licensing procedures and policy should include Senior Driver Renewal Programs that are culturally sensitive, meaning that classes are held specifically for ethnic seniors and class instructors are fluent in the language of class participants. Such *"cultural modifications to the licensing policy"* would make ethnic seniors more comfortable discussing and learning about driving and *"even driving cessation."* One Chinese male, who *"likes the policies for older drivers"* but thinks *"small improvements can be made,"* states:

For me, I just think that the classes you are talking about [the Senior Driver Renewal Program], those can be taught in Mandarin. That would make me more comfortable because sometimes I struggle with English, and really have a hard time when people are speaking so fast. And I think I would be a small bit shy to talk about driving with other people that aren't Mandarin speaking because I am afraid they won't really understand me. That is something the government can do, make the classes in Mandarin.

As such, for these Asian and Caribbean/African seniors, licensing renewal programs that deliver driving information in a culturally specific and sensitive manner are perceived as necessary to make licensing procedures/policy in Ontario *"more easy for us who aren't, you know, Caucasian, to understand the information what is going on about our license."*

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Regarding the third sub-topic, 'Reflect the Skills of Seniors,' a number of seniors perceive that new licensing procedures must take into "*consideration the skill-set, whatever that is, of old people, old people like me.*" Such thoughts are expressed by the majority of Caribbean/African (76.2%) seniors, just under half of all Caucasian (45.5%) seniors and a small number of Asian (7.8%) seniors. Interestingly, not one South Asian senior expresses perceptions around licensing procedures and the skill-set of older drivers. For these seniors, skill-sets and "*my abilities*" include *language, literacy ability and "computer knowledge and skills."*

Torontonian Caribbean/African and Asian seniors who identify with the sub-topic 'Reflect the Skills of Seniors' perceive that licensing procedures and, in particular, licensing examinations must be provided in languages other than English, thus ensuring that ethnic seniors whose mother tongue is not English are provided the "*same chances as passing as other seniors who take the same test.*" As one Torontonian Japanese male who "*will struggle on the exam where you have to write*" boldly states:

I think the licensing tests here are very good and very important to have. I know seniors can sometimes be very bad, bad drivers. I say that the city make[s] the test where you have to write the answers and know the signs, [should] make them in Japanese so that I don't fail. And so that my friends and wife who don't speak English very good don't fail. That is what they can do make the licensing test a lot easier for seniors like me and wife and even my friends. And the language thing is what I mean when I start talking about making new policies in licensing.

Furthermore, these non-Caucasian Torontonians share that the "*written licensing examination component on the signs*" must be "*reconsidered and redesigned*" to better reflect the literacy abilities of these seniors. These Caribbean/African and Asian seniors readily note that they may struggle with the literacy component of the written examination, as "*I never really learned how to read so good in English.*" As such, Caribbean/African and Asian seniors believe that the Ontario government may want to consider orally administering the written components of the licensing examination process for older drivers who "*just can't read and write like a pro or expected to pass the exams.*" An oral examination would ensure that they "*have an equal playing field and can pass the test*" and take away the "*fear that I will fail because I can't write a test in English.*" In capturing the above, a Jamaican woman, who is "*concerned about passing the writing part of the re-licensing test,*" states:

Well as a girl I didn't really learn to read in Jamaica. And I came here at 10 years old and maybe had a few years of formal school but then I went to work because I had Peter and, well, you know how it is. Once you have kids it is so much harder to go back to school. I am going to make one suggestion for the government about licensing tests. I think the written test should be oral and where someone asks you questions, reads you the answer, and you pick the answer. I think this makes the testing fair for everyone. And even white people can take the test like this. Otherwise, if you don't do it like this and people can't read, well more ethnic people like

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me can't read, and then you can't pass unless you are white and I think most white people can read. And that makes the test a little bit racist, so I think you can solve this by making the test oral. And there you go, it is not a racist test anymore because we [seniors who can drive] can pass.

Vancouverite Caucasian and Asian seniors, who identify with this third sub-topic, discuss new licensing procedures in terms of the DriveAble examination and the perceived "*computer knowledge a senior has to have to pass the test.*" According to these seniors, new licensing procedures must include licensing testing requirements that are not computer specific as many seniors perceive themselves to be "*absolutely computer illiterate, and dare I say, stupid.*" Each Vancouverite Caucasian and Asian senior states that should they be forced to take the DriveAble examination, they believe they would likely fail given that they are unfamiliar with how to use a computer, a fact "*that makes the computer test not fair for us.*" As one Caucasian woman, who has a friend "*that failed that test, that computer one,*" states:

A new licensing procedure? Well [3 minute pause], I will say that maybe they should consider changing how the testing for DriveAble is done. Seniors my age, and I am 76, can't really use a computer. I never learned so if I had to take the computer test tomorrow I would fail. I really think it should be the same test but a different format, one that I can do, like pen and paper tests. I learned pen and paper growing up in school, not computers. Computers are a new generation thing. I think the government needs to really think about this when they bring in licensing test for seniors, what seniors can and can't do and what we are used to when it comes to tests, especially when we are dealing with testing seniors for their license. So that is the only thing I have to say on new licensing ways.

These Caucasian and Asian seniors, thus, recommend that DriveAble be made into a written test, a form of testing these seniors would be most comfortable with should "*I ever have to take that awfully mean sounding test.*"

As seen in the Topic 3.2 'Licensing Procedure as Discriminatory,' a number of Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors, and only these seniors, express that the current age-based licensing examination as implemented in each respective province is "*extremely*" discriminatory. It is, therefore, not surprising that with the present topic 'New Licensing Procedures/Polices Needed,' sub-topic 'Age Based Testing,' the majority of Caucasian (84.2%) seniors and almost all Caribbean/African (98.3%) seniors perceive that new licensing procedures should eradicate and "*get rid of*" age-based licensing testing for seniors "*immediately.*" As is noted in Table 4, sub-topic 'Age Based testing,' only Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors express such beliefs. For these seniors, "*mandatory testing for everyone*" ensures that drivers are examined on their driving skills only, and not their age, and seniors will no longer "*feel like they are being singled out by the feds [referring to federal government]*" and discriminated against. Furthermore, each of these Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors perceive that licensing examinations "*given to all drivers makes sure that*

drivers with no ability to drive anymore are found out" prior to the mandatory testing age of 80 years, thus making the *"roads and highways safer for everyone."*

Interestingly, these Caribbean/African and Caucasian seniors go as far as to offer a timeframe in which mandatory licensing testing should be administered: *"Every 5 to 10 years would be a perfect time and a good idea."* As one Caucasian male, who will never *"know why seniors have to be tested to prove that they are the best kind of driver,"* states:

I have a very strong opinion of what needs to happen about new licensing policy and procedures. First and foremost, the one thing that should happen is get rid of this age- based garbage, making seniors get tested at 80. That is discrimination. What should happen is to make everyone, all drivers, get tested every, oh I don't know, maybe every 5 years so that you know who is a good and bad driver based on facts and not just assuming age. Also, if the government had half a brain they would know that testing all drivers at least every once in a while would make sure that drivers, and I am not saying old drivers but all drivers, who have problems will be caught and forced to stop driving. That is what should happen, stop testing seniors because they have the age 80 on their licenses, test everyone.

4. DISCUSSION

This section will bring together relevant findings and results from the theme 'Licensing Procedures/Policies for Older Drivers.' As will be noted below, ethnic seniors' perceptions around licensing procedures/policies for older drivers have not been explored in previous literature. Therefore, findings reported here are unique and new as they bring to light how seniors from differing ethnic backgrounds perceive licensing procedures pertaining to mature drivers.

4.1 Seniors' Familiarity with Provincial Licensing Procedures

Regarding the first topic 'Familiarity with Licensing Legislation Pertaining to Older Drivers,' this thesis brings to light that the majority of participants are *"out of the loop"* regarding current driving legislation. As is noted in Table 1, over 58% of seniors are unfamiliar with licensing procedures/policies, whereas 41.3% state that they *"know about what the laws are around licensing for old drivers."* Seniors who share that they are unfamiliar with licensing procedures/policies are, in general, non-Caucasian. For instance, as is noted in Table 1, 82.6% of Caucasian seniors are familiar with licensing procedures, which may be directly compared to the 89.9% of Caribbean/African seniors who *"have no clue about what the laws and rules really are."* However, it should be noted that while the majority of Caucasian seniors within this work share that they are familiar with current driving legislation, they openly admit that they are *"unfamiliar with the complete laws, but have a general idea that I need to get tested at 80."*

The above comments may indicate a number of findings. First, given that the majority of seniors “*don't know about no licensing laws*” and/or “*know about certain rules, but couldn't explain them really well*” may signal that each provincial government is not openly and/or clearly communicating with seniors what the current licensing procedures/policies are regarding driving in older age. The “*lack of knowledge that most seniors probably don't have around licensing*” may also suggest that each provincial government may not be “*making this information senior accessible*” in a manner that seniors are most comfortable understanding. Furthermore, the fact that that the majority of Asian, South Asian and Caribbean/African seniors are “*in the complete dark*” around current licensing legislation may suggest that the provincial government(s) is not communicating licensing policy in a forum that is accessible (i.e. language, distributing written information at community centres) for non-Caucasian seniors.

4.2 Discriminatory Licensing Procedures/Polices

A second important issue is seniors' perceptions around discriminatory licensing procedures and policies pertaining to older drivers in the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia. In discussing “*discrimination through licensing practices*,” the overwhelming majority of seniors perceive that current licensing practices of each provincial government are discriminatory. As is noted in the second topic ‘Licensing Procedures/Policies as Discriminatory,’ Table 2, over 82% of seniors perceive licensing procedures/policies to be discriminatory. However, an ethnic divide in perceptions is evident, given that almost all Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors express that “*for sure that these laws are against older drivers, no doubt about it.*” This can be directly compared to the majority of Asian and South Asian seniors who express that “*well, driving legislation today is both a form of discrimination and not a form of discrimination.*”

Moreover, an ethnic division in perceptions is most clear regarding the particular reasons provided by these seniors as to why they believe current licensing policy to be or not be a discriminatory “*piece of legislation written in the books.*” As is noted in topic ‘Licensing Procedures/Policies as Discriminatory,’ sub-topic ‘Age Based Discrimination,’ almost all Caucasian (98.3%) and Caribbean/African (94.9%) seniors, and no other ethnicities, express that current licensing policies are discriminatory as such procedures/policies test “*only my age status*” without scientific and/or medical merit and “*overlooks other reckless drivers and even, the worst, younger reckless drivers.*” To a smaller degree, only Caucasian (13.2%) and Caribbean/African (13.5%) seniors, as is discussed in sub-topic ‘Cognitive Abilities,’ Table 2, perceive that licensing procedures/policies “*are biased against seniors because they call into question our mental capacity, saying that we can't decide if we are safe drivers or not.*”

In light of the above, as is noted in throughout the topic ‘Licensing Procedures/Polices as Discriminatory,’ a number of seniors also state why they “*don't have a problem with the licensing laws and I don't think they are discrimination.*” As is noted in Table 2, for almost all Asian (96%) seniors, the majority of South Asian (88.6%) seniors, and a small number of Caribbean/African (5%) and Caucasian (1.6%) seniors, it is perceived that licensing procedures are not discriminatory and, importantly, do not “*pick on seniors because of their age*” given that licensing procedures are needed to ensure roadway safety and “*don't forget that younger people get tested too, to show they have driving skills.*”

Given the above comments, a number of conclusions may be drawn. First, it may be suggested that Asian and South Asian seniors hold a different understanding regarding what constitutes discriminatory licensing policy pertaining to older drivers than their Caucasian and Caribbean/African counterparts. South Asian and Asian seniors do not feel current licensing policy to be a form of discrimination, while almost all Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors do. Furthermore, given that Asian and South Asian seniors overwhelmingly share that current licensing procedures/policies are not discriminatory as long as they “*make sure the roads are safe,*” it may be inferred that differences in understanding around discriminatory licensing practices exist. It may also be suggested that there are ethnic differences in interpretations as to why licensing procedures/policies are designed and implemented in their current form. This may be noted given that, as is evident above, the majority of South Asians and Asians interpret current licensing procedures/policies as a “*way to keep safety for everyone, even seniors,*” while Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors interpret licensing procedures/policies for older drivers as “*the perfect way to discriminate against old drivers and single us out by making us get these tests done.*”

4.3 Licensing Procedures/Policies Discriminatory Due to Skill-Set and Cultural Indifference

While seniors provide varying opinions regarding why they feel that licensing policy is or is not a discriminatory act “*created by the government,*” they are almost unanimous when it comes to “*the primary reason why I think the current legislation is a tad discriminatory.*” As is noted in Table 2, sub-topic ‘Senior and Ethnic Senior Unfriendly,’ the majority of Asians (56.6%), South Asian (59%), Caribbean/African (83%) and Caucasian (34.7%) seniors, with the exception of Caucasian seniors from Toronto, agree that “*the way licensing policy stands now, it is discrimination,*” as policies do not take into consideration that seniors do not have the specific skill-set and cultural understanding “*needed to pass your licensing tests.*” It should be noted that Caucasian seniors from Toronto and surrounding areas may not relate to the sub-topic ‘Senior and Ethnic Senior Unfriendly,’ as all licensing procedures are available in English (the primary language spoken by this group) and as DriveAble, a computer-based test, is not a mandatory licensing requirement.

Still, the majority of seniors from all ethnic groups (omitting Caucasian seniors from Toronto) perceive current licensing examinations “*as not taking into consideration how seniors work, function and take into consideration what we can actually do.*” For Caucasian, South Asian and Asian seniors residing in Vancouver, the DriveAble exam is seen as ‘Senior and Ethnic Senior Unfriendly.’ These seniors believe that they do not have the “*computer savvy skills to pass the test if I get called upon.*” The South Asian and Asian seniors within this group perceive that “*I would fail the test because I never used a computer and I can't take the test in English.*” For Caribbean/African and Asian seniors residing in Toronto, ‘Senior and Ethnic Senior Unfriendly’ refers to the fact that “*language and my specific culture of understanding are not thought of in the driving program [Senior Driver Renewal Program] to get your license in old age.*”

A second important point that should be noted is that this is the only sub-topic whereby Asian and South Asian seniors perceive that current licensing procedures are discriminatory. As noted above, there is also a geographic aspect at play, as only Caucasian

seniors residing in Vancouver and surrounding suburban locale express that current licensing policy and procedure are discriminatory as they are “*senior unfriendly*.” Caucasian seniors residing in Toronto and surrounding suburban locales do not frame perceptions around discriminatory licensing practices in this particular framework.

A number of conclusions may be drawn from the response to this sub-topic. It may be suggested that seniors, irrespective of ethnicity, share a similar understanding that their skill-set is not taken into consideration and licensing practices are therefore discriminatory. Furthermore, Asian, South Asian and Caribbean/African seniors share a unique understanding around discriminatory licensing practices. These seniors believe licensing procedures/policy “*overtly discriminate*” and language and cultural barriers exclude seniors from “*doing these tests properly*.” For Asian and South Asian participants, the perceived cultural and language barriers in licensing tests is the “only time” discrimination is felt in the licensing renewal process.

4.4 Licensing Procedures/Policies as Racist

Within the topic ‘Licensing Procedures/Polices as Discriminatory,’ the final sub-topic ‘Licensing Policy as Racist and Discriminatory,’ deserves specific attention. Table 2 reveals that only Caribbean/African (10.1%) seniors and no other ethnic group interviewed relate to the sub-topic ‘Licensing Policy as Racist and Discriminatory.’ For this small number of seniors, current licensing procedures/polices are created to “*make sure that people like us, black people*” are guaranteed to “*lose our license*.” In light of this, it may be suggested that these seniors have a differing view and understanding regarding the role of current licensing procedures/polices and the role of the provincial government in creating and implementing these procedures/polices. Furthermore, the fact these Caribbean/African seniors perceive licensing procedures/polices to be “*100% racist*” may suggest that there may be underlying issues with government created policy “*that regulates any part of my life*.”

4.5 Current Licensing Policy and Testing as Useless

Unlike other works examining seniors’ perceptions around driving cessation, this thesis documents the fact that some ethnic seniors perceive current licensing policy and licensing testing procedures as useless. The third topic ‘Licensing Policy/Testing as Useless and Inadequate,’ Table 3, is identified with by 41.8% of seniors. An ethnic division in perceptions is evident, given that 79.3% of Caucasian and 61% of Caribbean/African seniors express such perceptions, whereby 20.4% of South Asian and fewer than 5% of Asian seniors associate with this sub-topic in a similar manner. Most interestingly, however, are the various reasons as to why seniors find “*these policies are just silly and very, very useless*.” As is noted in Table 3, just over 79% of Caucasian seniors and 61% of Caribbean/African seniors, and no others, perceive current licensing procedures/policies to be “*without real use*” as they fail to accurately screen for unsafe drivers and do not “*teach us anything valuable about driving in old age*” and, importantly, “*doesn’t teach about not driving specifically*.” In contrast, Asian and South Asian seniors who identify with this topic perceive that current licensing procedures/policies “*need to be bad and useless*” given that the “*government*

knows it needs to pass us so that we can keep moving because the government knows it doesn't have anything else to offer us to move us."

Such comments demonstrate that Asian and South Asian seniors, when compared to their Caucasian and Caribbean/African counterparts, differently interpret the role and purpose of current licensing procedures/policies and the aims and deliverables of licensing procedures/policies. Furthermore, the above may suggest that Caucasian and Caribbean/African seniors do not readily link current licensing policy to perceptions around safety, as these seniors overwhelmingly note that licensing policy does "*not remove unsafe drivers from the road*" and "*doesn't show you anything about safe driving the older you get.*" This is in clear contrast to their Asian and South Asian peers who perceive that current licensing procedures/policies are needed to remove unsafe drivers off the road, as is noted in the previous topic 'Licensing Procedures as Discriminatory.'

4.6 Need for Improved Licensing Procedures and Policies for Mature Drivers

To date, works examining seniors' perceptions around the cessation of driving do not examine seniors' perceptions around the need for improved licensing procedures and policies for mature drivers. The last topic 'New Licensing Procedures/Policies Needed,' demonstrates seniors perceive a need to improve licensing procedures and policies for older drivers. As is noted in the topic 'New Licensing Procedures/policies Needed,' *all* seniors, regardless of ethnicity, identify with this topic, as is noted in Table 4. Where ethnic differences do arise is regarding the various sub-topics found throughout this theme. There is, however, one sub-topic, 'Accessible Licensing Information and Policy,' which all seniors identify with, regardless of ethnicity. Seniors share that "*any new policy procedure would be wise to be completely accessible to seniors.*" Accessible is defined as "meaning having information where I go" whereby "*the government has to make more of an effort to make sure this information gets into our hands.*"

Ethnic differences in perceptions begin to emerge in the sub-topic 'Ethnically Accessible Licensing Information and Policy.' In examining Table 4, one will note that almost all South Asian (97.7%), Asian (96.8%) and Caribbean/African (86.4%) seniors perceive that accessible licensing information and policy should include "*everything and anything to do with the licensing info that is in my language and even has a few cultural things I can relate to.*"

Given that issues around senior-friendly accessibility licensing information, in general and from an ethnic perspective, are frequently addressed throughout this topic, it may be suggested that seniors vehemently perceive current licensing procedures as "*not at all accessible*" and information around current licensing procedures/policies is not adequately disseminated. Furthermore, as "*ethnic senior-friendly*" is also frequently broached by non-Caucasian seniors, this may suggest that Asian, South Asian and Caribbean/African seniors believe that current licensing information is not being "*delivered to our community in a timely fashion or language specific way.*"

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