

ARTICLE

Resorting to (un)secure(d) ageing

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Abstract

The commodification of later life by the retirement village industry opens a gated existence to a small portion of the globe's elderly. Retirement villages are presented in media images as places for people to enjoy glamorous and fun-filled lifestyles, a consumer choice not unlike the purchase of accommodation at a holiday resort—only more permanent and with a secured channel to the dependency care that may lie in the future. We offer a critical view of such consumer choice, not to diminish the security sought by those who can afford such a purchase, but to examine this depiction for what it illuminates and obscures in the lives of those who have equity to sap and those who do not—exposing the deeply institutionalised logic of capitalist markets. Drawing on the traditions of critical theory we focus on the attraction to resort-style communities as a herding of the equity-rich, the struggle of many diligent citizens to provide financially for their later years, and the vulnerability of the frail who must rely on state or charitable provision for their care in later life. Such scrutiny exposes contradictions in the view of “the market as freedom” and invites consideration of who we are “as a just people”.

KEYWORDS

ageing, critical theory, marginalisation, privilege, retirement villages

A still slightly square-jawed [usually white] male and his companions step from their golf cart to continue their leisurely afternoon. They are served pre-dinner drinks in gorgeous glasses by their sprightly [white] wives. The patio furnishings are modern. The sun is shining. The lawns are immaculate. The conversation is muted.

This playful image is crafted by collating common elements we in New Zealand are regularly exposed to in television, magazine, newspaper, and billboard advertisements to sell units in corporately owned retirement villages with resort or cruiser-like characteristics. As an example of this fabricated image, we offer the publicity material placed on the web by Ryman Healthcare Ltd. For the purposes of this article, Ryman was chosen as a typical “high-end” provider rather than as being different in any significant way from its competitors. For its general imagery, see Ryman Health Care (2018a); for a review of a virtual trip around the world, see Ryman Health Care (2018b); and for the generalisation of the cruise liner metaphor see *Aged Care Weekly* (2017).

Media images of ageing as a secure and comfortable lifestyle are not the only images of a later life stage our population is exposed to, but we wish to explore this particular one with some specific issues in mind. Space constraint prevents a deeper analysis of the types of promotional material associated with commercially driven resort-style retirement villages; we rely on the pervasiveness of this genre for reader recognition. Notably, the media images of such customers that come to mind in our jurisdiction are predominantly white heterosexual couples, generally fully able-bodied idealised characters set in a utopian vision of “the good life.” Such images may have specific variations in jurisdictions where white is not the predominant skin colour, or where being single, gay, or otherwise different from the most lucrative economic cohort might affect media presentation and marketing strategies. In this type of retirement facility, a variety of services are guaranteed. These services may range from sporadic home help to full rest-home care with various levels of medical assistance and other desirable services if the occupants can afford them. In return for this secure(d) way to live the latter years of life, the corporation will offer various ownership and on-selling protocols, some of which ensure growing property values flow as equity to the corporation: the more or less hidden agenda of corporate capitalist organisation.

While Ryman, our example provider, recognises the value of culture, a virtual tour of the world for residents of a retirement village does not equate to a political realignment of cultural inequality. That resort and cruiser-like metaphors should be so normalised in elder-care publicity vindicates our concern with the uncritical normalisation of the economic privilege of residents of this class of elder-care facility. These metaphors and others like them are in general and unremarkable use. Their normalisation endorses rather than challenges the growing inequality of capitalist market-driven societies.

In this article, therefore, we explore the social and economic implications of the pervasiveness of commercialised retirement life-styles by inviting first some careful attention to the ideas of Horkheimer & Adorno (1944/2002). They were concerned with the degradation of thought to a commodity, obedience to the disciplines of the associated linguistic demands, and the loss of capacity to critique society through the subtle normalisation of a specific linguistic turn. We take the idea of ageing as a marketable commodity crafted through utopian imagery of retirement in Western democratic jurisdictions. We then fold into our reflection a number of ideas from contemporary critical theorists to trace sources of the degradation of thought as hegemonic achievement by applying the ideas of Horkheimer and Adorno to the realms of commercialised eldercare. We suggest that the very banality of such conventions strengthens the hegemonic influence of institutionalised capitalist logic in much human organisation. The prevailing versions of this logic may appear to be under challenge as we witness the rise of right-leaning politicians or left-leaning new critics of neoliberalism in various parts of the world. The fundamentals of capitalism, however, remain intact, and, with them, the systemically generated unequal outcomes investors may further exploit. Our focus on the storying of ageing is only one instance of the moment-by-moment telling of our future into being and, with it, the subjugation of all life to the intensification of the competition intrinsic to the institutionalised logic of capitalist forms of organisation that Barker (1993) identified as “concertive control.”

In Barker's application, concertive control is a form of seeming self-management of or group control over the processes of production through worker participation in decisions regarding the ways that things are done. Barker demonstrated how such seemingly self-directed decisions obscure a hegemonic compliance with aspects of the rules of capitalism that intensify the exploitation of self and others. Our example is one where the well-off elderly, as consumers, appear to concur with a form of care that may entail diminishing their equity in relative market returns on the property now owned or co-owned by a corporation, and/or the exploitation of vulnerable workers as the

owners of the resort seek to maximise their profits. This selective co-option of a market-driven notion of participation and freedom was noted by Humphries (1998) as a significant undermining of thought about (and concern for) the “common good.” “Goodness,” “justice,” “worthiness,” and “appropriateness” are presented in the dominant discourse as an outcome of meritocracy, a system of justification of entitlement or marginalisation based on an assumed perfectly functioning market where people are attributed their “just rewards” (Humphries-Kil, in press a, in press b). Concertive control in this paper refers to what appears to be a free engagement with the retirement village market where one group (the well-off elderly) ultimately serve investor interest by turning over (a portion of) their equity to what are essentially property developers (Kilian, 2018). The residents are then cared for by service providers whose profit orientation invites cost control—most typically in the depression of wages of care-givers.

The indirect undermining of the common good is evidenced in the growing inequality gap in Western capitalist societies degraded by the effects of rampant free market principles applied to social services. Such exacerbation of inequality stands in stark contradiction to the expressed pursuit of universal inclusiveness that underpins Western democratic ideals. The commodification of care is a specific instantiation of the commodification of thought identified by Horkheimer & Adorno (1944/2002) concerned with the enabling of the regression of progress in liberal societies. We tackle their complex text by an exploration of our playful image of eldercare as a resort or cruise ship consumer choice providing a happy near end-of-life phase earned and deserved from a life well lived.

1 | COMMODIFYING THE THOUGHT OF LIFE(STYLE): REIFYING “SOCIETY” AS “A MARKET” FOR CARE (OF THE AGED)

If public life has reached a state in which thought is being turned inescapably into a commodity and language into celebration of the commodity, the attempt to trace the sources of this degradation must refuse obedience to the current linguistic and intellectual demands before it is rendered entirely futile by the consequence of those demands for world history. (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2002, p. xv)

We reflect on the social and ethical implications of the morphing of identities of wealthier older individuals into customers of the commercially driven retirement village industry through the marketing of a lifestyle for purchase. The very thought of a “purchasable lifestyle” focuses the mind on the reduction of life(style) to a market commodity. Such commodification comes with all the embedded potentials and risks of any market venture under prevailing economic conditions. In all jurisdictions within the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), these conditions are directed through the institutional(ised) logic of some form of capitalism and are thus prone to its attendant penchant for profiteering. In the examples known to us, once “secured,” the incremental increase in price or reduction in aspects of care for villagers-turned-patients may be justified by the need to meet the increased costs of provision of services including that of the wages of care-giver/nursing staff. The thought of a “purchasable lifestyle” crafted as a marketable commodity serves investors, marketing companies, and corporate public relations experts (Kilian, 2018).

The thought of a “purchasable lifestyle” as a commodity for an exploitable customer base is crafted to appeal to a perceived unmet desire that potential villagers can satisfy through their further consumer choices. We give critical scrutiny to this particular commodification by depicting this seemingly benign personal choice as the privilege of the few and as one thread in a complex socio-economic tapestry degrading our common humanity. By folding a number of contemporary critical theorists into our reflection, we attempt to trace the sources of this degradation by refusing obedience to the current linguistic and intellectual demands of the now normalised market remedy for meeting almost every human need. We advocate more disobedience before our capacity to question this dominating market logic is rendered entirely futile by the consequences of those demands for world history.

Thought about various possibilities for the commodification of care-for-the-aged generates direct and indirect exploitable market opportunities. For the wealthy in our ken, this thought commodified and marketed as a consumer choice manifests in the concept of life(style) as entitlement to security, fun, and readily available services. For less

wealthy people, thoughts of ageing may entail anxious attention to what can be commodified in some way from contemporary incomes, often already barely adequate for the immediate needs of self and dependants. Transformative responses to such realities might range from the reinvigoration of a more critically orientated adult education that has been diminished as a result of market-led budget cuts (L'Huilier & Humphries, 2012) to greater political and institutional activism on the part of advocates for the wellbeing of the less privileged frail elderly. Activist orientations (Came, Humphries, & McDonald, 2015) invite the advancement of critically generated (activist) strands of work that are orientated to pragmatic institutional change but, more profoundly, to challenges to the commodification of the thought that generates and sustains exploitative systems. Such thought often takes the form of desire for private insurance policies to cover all potential vagaries of life and manifests in examples such as the determination to purchase and retain a family home as an investment and buffer against future poverty. Each of these apparent insurances are framed in the normalised and disciplinary thoughtscape of capitalism as commodities exploitable by various parties. For the poor and frail, thoughts of access to the necessities of later life may entail fear of becoming a drain on one's family, a frowned-upon cost on the public purse, or a dependant on the vagaries of charitable providers. All thoughts (and fears) of the style-of-life in later years become a ready-to-harness commodity for markets, investors, funder-seekers, or politicians. We note how, in the circles of our purview, the expression of race, gender, health status, and sexual orientation complicate the story in ways not visible in the dominant public media imagery. There is rarely an identifiable indigenous or migrant person in sight, unless as part of the marginalised workforce.

Despite all its rhetoric of inclusiveness and empowerment, the prevailing market logic to which policy and law makers subscribe implicates people well beyond their immediate jurisdiction. Beyond the depictions of resort-style lifestyles, formulations of the thoughts-of-ageing discourses entail less direct market disciplines. For example, the elderly who are deemed an unbearable burden on family or community in regions with strong employment law protecting the conditions of care-giving service can now be exported to low-labour-cost jurisdictions such as Thailand (Mercola, 2016). Less troublesome elderly can be harnessed by laterally thinking community leaders for the dovetailing of care-giving or care-taking organisational innovations. In times of housing shortages, those elderly with surplus domestic space can be matched with students, exchanging companionship and minor services for cost-free accommodation as in show-case examples from the Netherlands (Carter, 2015). Regardless of its particular characterisation, "ageing" (thus life) is reified as a market commodity for investors, as a vote winner or loser for politicians, and as a fund generator for community providers—each variation is a commodity of value in the prevailing capitalist logic that disproportionately informs many relationships reified as "society."

The reification of relationships may, of itself, not be problematic. Reifications can facilitate smooth conversations. When these reifications obscure imbalanced power relationships, however, they become of interest to critical theorists. Horkheimer & Adorno (1944/2002) provided some theoretical ways to examine relationships long taken for granted as objects. "Society" for example, may be usefully thought of as a reification identifying a particular grouping of human beings who are deemed to share something in common enough to make this reification linguistically sensible in a variety of contexts. Its situation in linguistic convention allows for its disciplinary effects to go mostly unnoticed—whether they relate to "society," a small self-contained group, or the entire human species both of which have a selective and disciplined (in)tolerance of diversity. In a largely normalised neoliberal market-driven context, "society," as an all-encompassing reification that might more honestly be called "the global market," demands obedience in many spheres of human identity formation and organisational priorities. In this context, the word presents as a container, a vehicle, an organism, or an authority that provides individualised opportunity to compete against others in various markets for the securing of personal care. One's relegation to "a place in society" will be variously determined accordingly. The articulation of the thought of "society-as-thing" linguistically sets in place the logic by which individuals and groups may be considered "in" or "out" of its parameters, responsibilities, or entitlements. Normalised values embedded in the word naturalise the mandate by which individuals or communities may take a position to care for all of its members or to allow for their abandonment.

Where the disciplinary effects of "society" obscure abusive power and injustice even to those negatively affected by its protocols and routines, the conditions of hegemony are manifest. Such conditions stand in contradiction to the

emancipatory aspirations of both liberal democracies and of the neoliberal capitalist-market-driven characterisation of the OECD jurisdictions we are concerned with in this paper. Contrary to its advocates, critics of increasingly unbridled capitalism posit the social and political enabling of neoliberal capitalist domination as bringing about such hegemonic states through diffuse influence on individual, institutional, and societal identity formation. Its disciplinary effects infuse many seemingly free decisions conveyed as consumer choice and purported to be locations of personal sovereignty and opportunities to shoulder personal and societal responsibilities—including what it means to be “old” and what one might expect from “society” in the later years of one's life.

The embedding of capitalist institutional logics in the very care of life harbours hidden power relations that entail economic, political, race, and gendered dimensions in the care for the frail aged. We invite disobedience to the disciplinary effects of the framing of ageing as marketable lifestyles by suggesting intensified infusions into everyday speech of ideas that may challenge and transform the objectification, categorisation, and subsequent commodification of people and life(styles). We advocate a linguistic discipline that guides actions towards an ethic of care for (all) life.

2 | DISOBEDIENCE TO THE CURRENT LINGUISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL DEMANDS OF MARKETS

Seo and Creed (2002) draw on the analytical strengths of critical theorists to point to the necessity to locate and expose paradox and contradiction within hegemonic discourses as a means to disrupt the exploitative and degrading trajectories of any given time and place. A scrutiny of ageing in the context of a capitalist regime reveals that paradox and contradiction abound. The increase in economic productivity forged from a “more for less” institutionalised logic generates promise and hope for a secure(d), idealised and utopian later life. This logic also generates the technical apparatus that affords the social groups controlling it a disproportionate advantage over the rest of the population. The iconic competitive individual in a (mythical) neoliberal market-driven society must be [pressured] into pursuit of self-interest: work hard, live a frugal life, indulge lavishly, crave and subjugate to a fashionable identity, save diligently, spend wantonly, invest wisely, and accrue the means for a meaningful life in later years. Evident unequal benefit or suffering from the random vagaries of various markets is deemed part of the paradox of the personal freedom to be aspired after through market engagement. But this is an inadequate understanding of the contradictions in the stories of freedom, opportunity, responsibility, and the good society, largely framed in neoliberal terms for several decades and now under radical challenge by the intensification of rising support for radical neonationalist leaders. Gated societies, walled nations, strengthened borders, and stronger “security forces” are on the rise—and with it places for (only some) humans to seek refuge.

The overall impact of a limited reflection on this uncomfortable depiction of our common humanity is producing what Horkheimer and Adorno articulated as the international threat of fascism—progress is reverting to regression. They posit that

the hygienic factory and everything pertaining to it . . . are obtusely liquidating metaphysics [which] does not matter in itself, but that these things [our reifications] are themselves becoming metaphysics [the economy's emancipatory spirit], an ideological curtain, within the social whole, behind which real doom is gathering, does matter. (1944/2002, p. xviii)

2.1 | Paradox and contradiction for a just people to ponder

Clever marketing of retirement village lifestyles offering a lifetime of security with promised “care-full” transition from active village life to dementia and/or palliative care invites people to sign up to corporate-favouring contracts. Cost increases may lead to price increases or limitation of goods and services to customers however. Downward

pressure on the employment conditions of those who serve is inevitably tolerated in the interests of protecting profits—a tolerance cleverly woven into common concern about the risks of global recessions and the impact of such on common retirement funds. Profits achieved through frugal staff resourcing undermine the capacity of such employees to generate savings and thereby hopes that, in their later years, they themselves can cover the cost of their own care.

The cost of human labour in the care of the frail elderly can be further reduced through the recruitment of vulnerable employees, well-meaning volunteers, increased mechanisation, or through the export of the willing or docile elderly to low-cost-labour jurisdictions. Hope for a living wage for care-givers, let alone a wage that allows for saving towards retirement, is systemically nullified in the face of dominant and extractive economic powers. The elderly and their carers may become the prey of corporate greed, a category of state expediency, or the invisible outcasts of a society that “cannot afford” their care. Paradoxically, the interests of individuals (as customers or employees) may be ignored through common subjugation by the very economic apparatus they serve. While fun-filled village life may become the channel to a (perhaps to be fully automated) hygienic security through years of frailty and pain for some, their security is facilitated by the direct and indirect exploitation of a radically competitive “society” that justifies dangerously unequal outcomes with an untruthful claim to status as a meritocracy.

2.2 | Disarming market orientations

Activist and social-justice-focused scholar David Boje (2014) invited his readers into a radical rethink of some of the icons of normalised grand narratives that Berger and Luckman (1967) called “common sense.”. Boje gives attention to widely accepted icons of Western society by threading in critical stories generally missing from the narratives we circulate about ourselves. Trustworthy Ronald McDonald (Boje & Cai, 2004) and charming Disneyland characters (Boje, 1995) are just two examples that drew his critical eye to the contribution these characters make to the hegemonic influence of markets morphing citizens into consumers. Boje's confrontational images startle. For Seo and Creed (2002), attention to such startling images may alert us to hegemonic contradictions within our ways of knowing and are thus a potential emancipatory interruption to normalised ways of being. Such contradictions require sustained attention (Bauman & Donskis, 2013) by those who wish to see themselves as just people.

Our vignette of the secure(d) resort life(style) for a small portion of the world's (privileged) elderly is a Boje-style re-presentation of the attraction to resort-style communities for the wealthy. By maintaining our gaze on the unsettling depiction of this privileged cohort in the public domain, we re-present the market-driven organisation of our elders and their care(r)s as a herding of the equity-rich for the gradual transfer of their wealth to the coffers of investors. Profits must be maximised through routine capitalist logics of efficiency gains contributing to the downward pressure on the care-for-life experienced in many social and environmental conditions of the globalisation and intensification of capitalism. An invitation to scrutinise the possibilities, limitations, and the disciplinary effects of showcase examples of eldercare provides an opportunity to think more critically about care of the frail (elderly), about ageing, life, markets, and our humanity, and to raise questions about the dominance of this market logic. Such questions are necessary to ensure all questioning is not rendered entirely futile by the widely embedded hegemonic control exercised by corporate interests in their promulgation of as much commodification of life as can be achieved in any time and place—and the profits to be extracted accordingly.

The creeping slumber that is the source of hegemonic domestication to market logics can be disrupted by exposing societally placating showcases of “good news” as exemplified in the dovetailing of problematic elder-isolation and high student accommodation costs in the Netherlands for example. We read from a Dutch citizen with many opportunities to see diverse forms of elder and disability care:

I know of students living with elderly and I am mindful of the promotion of this show-case example the world over. But beware: these are 'healthy' elderly. So the innovation you read of is about achieving some social contact for a very small category of older people. It is a tiny drop in the ocean—nothing to

do with the thousands upon thousands of extremely dependent elderly. These often invisible people frequently have to stay in bed. When they are out of bed, there are not enough staff to watch over them or to ensure they did eat their meal. Even people who are NOT incontinent, are forced to become incontinent. They are dressed in diapers because there is not enough time to help them to go to the toilet at the time they need to go. What the carers must make time for is all the paperwork for the insurance companies, government grants, and the like—or else they will not get their subsidies. (Personal communication, January 1, 2017)

A critical re-presenting of degraded and degrading eldercare exposes the lie of “the market as freedom” and its system-preserving adaptations. We suggest profiling radically different ways of being human in later years of life in a form of storytelling that Boje (2014) would refer to as the presentation of antenarratives—opportunities to change the grand-narratives of our time. We draw attention to the *International Council of Thirteen Indigenous Grandmothers* (<http://www.grandmotherscouncil.org/>) as the most wide-reaching antenarrative we are aware of. There are many other people living their later years (dis)gracefully, (dis)obediently and doing so perhaps in the interest of the common good. Amplifying such stories can be a form of activist scholarship in the disruption and redirection of the grand narratives informing common sense, investor priorities, voter orientation, and political expedience.

3 | CONCLUSION: RE-STORYING THE FUTURE

In the Preface to *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, Horkheimer & Adorno (1994/2002) explained the constants of their concerns and interests shaped by the social and political conditions of the time of their writing (the period of the National Socialist rule of Germany in the 1940s). They focused on a significant contradiction they detected in the self-destruction of enlightenment inasmuch as

freedom in society is inseparable from enlightenment thinking . . . [and] the very concept of that thinking, no less than . . . the institutions of society with which it is intertwined, already contains the germs of its regression If enlightenment does not assimilate reflection on this regressive moment, it seals its own fate [T]hought in its headlong rush into pragmatism is forfeiting its sublimating character, and therefore its relation to truth. (1944/2002, p. xvi)

Horkheimer and Adorno provided a positive concept of enlightenment which liberates emancipation from its entanglement in blind compliance with power. How does our vignette bring this theory to life? What does it matter that a small portion of people can purchase a reified life(style) as a commodity in an equally reified and mutually reinforcing capitalist market? The considerable increase in wealth for the few and the socially paltry rise in the standard of living for the many attributed to decades of neoliberal development is reflected in a gospel of meritocracy populated by interest-bearing reifications—a gospel used to fabricate and justify selective privilege. Critical concern must be in the negation of reification and

must perish when it [a reification bearing injustice] is solidified into a cultural asset and handed out for consumption purposes What is at issue . . . is the necessity for enlightenment to reflect on itself if humanity is not to be totally betrayed. (p. xvii)

In the 21st century the hygienic factory for the elderly-in-care is bought with the morphing of all cultural entities into the gigantic crucible of “the market.” This situation might not appear to be too high a price to pay for the securing of some elders if the capacity to pay one's way into a retirement resort does not simultaneously fuel the degradation of life through an endorsement of the corporate's capacity to consume one's equity while entertaining and herding the secure(d) towards increasingly expensive personal care delivered by unpaid or underpaid care-givers and a range of even less satisfactory conditions for ageing by those who do not have the capacity to be secure(d) in a resort-style village. Held (2013) drew our attention to the way Horkheimer and Adorno detailed the radical reconfiguration of

“higher culture” into a commodity, the value of which is reduced to its capacity to deliver profits. In so doing the “subject transmits to ontology his own cleavage into a disciplined mental functionary and an apparently isolated existent” (p. 89)—but, in such transmission, we affect not only our own lives:

As thinker and actor, [the subject] is more than just himself. He becomes the bearer of social performance and also competes with the reality whose order precedes the divided being-for-itself of his subjectivity. As a psychological person, he must pay the price that the content of his consciousness is binding. Devoid of any relation to the universal, he shrivels up into a fact, succumbs to an external determination and yet also becomes a subjectless thing. It is the social process which decides about separation and unification. Yet also consciousness remains the unity of separates . . . self-alienation . . . caused by man, it also is an illusion. (Adorno, 1951/2006, p. 63)

All human sense-making includes story-telling. Story-telling is myth-making. Myths underpin all reality generation. Perceived social reality is a fabrication brought about through our collective storying. The stories we tell about ourselves as a just people, the style of our concern with ageing, and the depiction of capitalism as a meritocracy can all be explored in the small vignette of reducing care for the aged as a market commodity. The moral contradictions made visible (Seo & Creed, 2002), deflected attention on that which unsettles us (Bauman & Donskis, 2013), and the possibility of telling different stories about ourselves and universal justice (Boje, 2014) are just three (re) action(able) strands for a contemporary critical response to the acute insights of Horkheimer and Adorno.

Advertisements for resort-type retirement villages demonstrate the commodification of life(style) materialising an ultimately exploitive form of human organisation. In the discussion of the contradiction of the market as both emancipator and exploiter we exemplify the advertising industry's appeal to those not yet in need of their expensive services to sign over their potential equity to a corporation. Be it in the care of the elderly or the frail, or for the entitlement to wellbeing for those who cannot, or do not wish to, manifest life as a commodity to be exploited in the interests of capital gain, stories of the common good must be (re)told, invigorated, and made manifest.

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Maria Humphries-Kil, PhD, has been a teacher and researcher in management education and organizational studies for over 30 years. In 2010 she received the Peter Frost Memorial Award, an award acknowledging gifted teachers and scholars who “impart these gifts through mentoring students, colleagues, and associates.” Her orientation to teaching and learning is exemplified in *Understanding Management Critically: A Student Text* (Sage, 2014), co-authored with Suzette Dyer, Dale Fitzgibbons, and Fiona Hurd. “Introducing Critical Theory to the Management Classroom” (*Journal of Management Education*, 2005), co-authored with Suzette Dyer, was awarded the Fritz Roethlisberger Memorial Award for the best paper on teaching and learning published in the *Journal of Management Education* in the preceding year. Maria has co-authored over 50 refereed journal publications, and many book chapters and conference presentations published in their related proceedings.

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