"IT'S ALL LIFE:" AN EXPLORATION OF THE ELOQUENCE OF EMBODIMENT IN POSTWAR ADULTS

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Abstract

In recent years, the academic field of gerontology has developed a newfound interest in the body. A curiosity about temporality, in its many manifestations: chronology, generation, rhythmicity, pace, anticipation, and history, to name a few, is growing in the social sciences. To date, no one has tackled ageing bodies embedded and embodied in time. This thesis explores time, embodiment, and identity as people come to know, experience and conceive of the bodily ageing process. The cohort, coming of age in the sixties timescape were in the centre of a social rupture. That era starkly exemplifies the importance of time and identity but is, by no means, a stand-alone event. The multiple aspects of the temporal dimension profoundly influence our expression and experience of ageing embodiment and meaning as expressed through identity. Yet, ageing is also a universal human experience. The collective experience of the postwar generation including the Bomb and Cold War, Earthrise, music and dance, the Pill, and the liberation movements have influenced expressions of physicality throughout the lifetime of this cohort. For this cohort, the experience of these events is now influencing the meaning of embodied ageing and identity. Body, time and the times of the postwar cohort are explored in this thesis. The inclusion of the intersection of time and body adds to our understanding of ageing.

Employing a systemic perspective and constructivist grounded theory methodology, this study reflects research that included rich interview data from a cross-class study of thirty adults born between 1945 – 1955. The study makes an original contribution to the field of social/cultural gerontology in its exploration of embodiment, time, and identity and the findings that result from that investigation. The concepts of deep time, relative time, and dynamic legacy in relationship to older people are illuminated as a result of this study.

*This quote is from Maggie, an interviewee. The full text can be found on p 127

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Leave safety behind. Put your body on the line. Stand before the people you fear and speak your mind - even if your voice shakes. When you least expect it, someone may actually listen to what you have to say. Well-aimed slingshots can topple giants. And do your homework. (Kuhn, 1977)

As a young American in the sixties, Maggie Kuhn was one of the few older people on my radar that was labelled as cool. The organization she founded, the Grey Panthers, got its name after one of the Black Panthers suggested it to Maggie. To me she seemed, mouthy and fearless, and she was raising a ruckus. She was shaking up the 'system,' and her campaign called for "young and old together" (1972), because our concerns were, in many ways, the same. And then, I forgot about her. She was not one of my heroes, just a cool old woman who said stuff that I admired, at the time. When I first got interested in doing research on ageing, I remembered Maggie Kuhn. I read everything I could get my hands on she had written. I put a small picture of her next to my desk. Thanks, Maggie…Here's to raising a ruckus and doing your homework.

This study began as an intense curiosity about ageing body and the group of people who came of age during the sixties. What developed out of that curiosity is a research study that explores embodiment, time, and identity with a group of people born between 1945 -1955. I should, at this point, say I am one of those people in that birth group – a member of the postwar generation. My curiosity was peaked when, on moving to the UK five years ago, I had my first 'in your face' experience of ageism. It was that experience that started me on this journey. However, this is not a comparative study of the US and UK. The focus of this research is the UK only, which provided me with many challenges. I had to steep myself in a cultural and historical understanding of the UK in the sixties, which was very different than the American experience. My outsider perspective forced and allowed me to examine cultural differences like class, language and accent, and cultural mores. Though my background is in clinical psychology, I approached the study as a social researcher, working through the lenses of critical gerontology and sociology.

This research is about temporality, ageing body, and identity. In the last thirty years, the breadth and depth of research and literature about ageing has expanded rapidly away from primarily portraying the state of being older as one of unremitting decline. The literature has shifted from medical research to a much wider range of perspectives that embrace social, cultural and critical gerontology as well as the political economy of ageing. There is no longer one monolithic way of describing ageing and what it means to get older. With this study, I would like to extend that description of ageing further.

There is no literature that explores ageing body and time in depth. Elias (1939/1978, 1985) and Merleau-Ponty include both time and body in their work – Elias primarily from the aspect of history and Merleau-Ponty through the lens of perception. A number of authors have touched on the subject but primarily through a singular lens of either chronology, history, generation, or memory – Grosz (2005), Turner (1991, 2008), Shilling (2003), Katz (2013), and Gilleard and Higgs (2000, 2005, 2013), to name but a few. As this thesis will demonstrate, embodied time is rich and varied. I would like to extend the growing body of critical literature on ageing, the experience of growing older, and the meaning of that experience.

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2, *The Research Study*, describes my systems research approach or theoretical underpinnings, epistemology and ontology, methodology, research design, sampling and study population. I also explain the theory and philosophy behind the interviews I conducted. In other words, Chapter 2 is a complete picture of the what, how, and why of the study. Chapter 3, *Body, Time, Identity: An analytical critique of the literature*, presents a review of the relevant literature in three areas: body and ageing body, time, and identity. By "relevant," I mean literature that was most important and/or influential to the development of this study. By necessity, it is a long chapter even though there is not an abundance of literature in any of my three chosen areas. I reviewed far more literature than is actually presented within Chapter 3; that literature is listed in a *Further Reading Bibliography*. In Chapter 4, *Kaleidoscopic Sixties*, the context in which my participants came of age is mapped out, but that is not the sole purpose of this chapter. It serves to contextualize some of the key findings in the research by noting the historic, cultural, and societal changes that came out of that period, the sixties. Chapter 5, *On Time* is a data analysis of my participants' notions, descriptions, and relationships to time. The data analysis continues in Chapter 6, *Embodied Time.* This chapter, is unusually long because it follows the linear flow of time (past, present, future) as it analyses participants' experiences and descriptions of embodied time. Chapter 7, *The Chiasm of Time and Embodiment,* is a discussion of the findings along with some concluding thoughts in regard to those findings. In Chapter 8 a brief summary conclusion is presented, addressing a generalizable theory, thoughts on interviewing, and recommendations for further study. There is also a key/description of the participant group included in Appendix A. I have included the interview questions in the Appendix B, since they may be of some interest.

Before I continue, a few of clarifications. I have not used an article, i.e. 'the', where the word body appears. I found the use of the word 'the' distancing – a linguistic trope that solidifies the binary myth of mind and body. Some chapters have both a prologue and an introduction. I have used these prologues to set the stage for the upcoming chapter in several ways: to impart autobiographical information, to contextualize the upcoming chapter, and to review slippery concepts so they are fresh in the readers' mind as they read the chapter. Finally, as an American, I have chosen to use American

English and style. Of course, there are spelling differences but also the use of commas (more prolific) and less use of the word 'that' are some of the dissimilarities. American grammar and punctuation tends to mirror spoken language.

CHAPTER 2

The Research Study

Introduction

The initial research question was:

> The postwar generation had initiated cultural changes in the ways we think about gender,
> sexuality, and work. Would the postwar generation initiate a cultural shift in our notions of
> ageing?

This starting point, now it appears to me to be a naïve and somewhat simplistic framing but it opened the door to one of the best rides of my life. This chapter will address what I think of as the nuts and bolts of research of how I tackled the initial research question. Those nuts and bolts include my philosophy, values, ontology, epistemology, design, sample, methods, and ethics.

Background

The door to the world of academic research was opened for me by a lifetime habit of curiosity and questioning. In a former life, I designed community programs, everything from adult literacy to an international design week. I did this work in a variety of settings over the course of 19 years so it would be impossible to describe all the projects. Here is a brief overview of one of the projects. In Santa Fe, New Mexico there is a neighborhood that is a mix of traditional Hispanic families, recent Mexican immigrants, young families, and older people ageing in place. The average income is well below other neighborhoods in this city as is the high school dropout rate. Based on another organizing project I had done in the neighborhood, I knew literacy rates were low. So, with the help of the director of a literacy program at the local community college, consultations with adult learners, and funding from the city Economic Development Council, I designed a neighborhood literacy project. The design included organizers conducting door-to-door conversations about schooling and literacy, and a neighborhood classroom that provided childcare that resulted in students successfully completing a General Equivalency Degree. Approximately 200 people were engaged in the door-to-door organizing effort, resulting in 26 people ranging from 18 to 71 attending neighborhood classes 3 times a week. Owing to the efficacy of the pilot, a permanent neighborhood literacy program was established and funded.

At the core of this work and all the other work I have done over the years, is the question, "Whose voice is preferenced, mine or the community I am working for?" This research is no different. The people who created my data are at the core of my work. I strive to preference their voices, their notions of ageing body, what that means, and who they are now becoming. Now that I have said that, it is also important to examine the researcher's voice and the experience and expertise that are brought

with that voice. Balancing the voices is part of an overall research perspective of systemic theory or, more precisely, ecology of mind approach. These theoretical principles have been the guiding force in every phase of my PhD. An ecology of mind, an approach developed by Gregory Bateson (1972) has been applied to a number of different disciplines including psychology and anthropology. Systemic thinking could be, and indeed is, a thesis in itself. Since that is not the aim of my work but rather the consistent ontology of the project, the following lays out the basic systemic concepts that informed this work.

Research Approach

The choice of research paradigm should be consistent with the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher (Mills et al 2006; Holloway, 2012). A research paradigm, as defined by Guba and Lincoln (2000), is a set of beliefs, or a framework, that represents the researcher's assumptions about their world. The research paradigm consists of the researcher's ontology, epistemology, values, and methodology. The etymology of ontology is being and from a the position of the social sciences that is the study of what exists in the social domain. From the researcher's perspective, it is the researcher's lens on the nature of reality or their fundamental beliefs. Epistemology addresses the grounds for knowledge, while values underlie and guide the principles of the researcher. Methodology is the activity of research; it is what transforms ontology, epistemology, and values into action.

Ontology

I came to the work of Gregory Bateson (1972) and ecology of mind in the second year of my Master's program (1990), with the discovery of Narrative Therapy. Bateson was one of the founders of systems theory. His work covered a range of disciplines from psychology to anthropology and he is credited with foundational thinking that led to the development of the internet. Bateson's work in psychology was seminal in the development of Narrative Therapy. There is a fairly long list of people who were important in the founding the systemic perspective, but it was Bateson's writing and practice that has shaped my fundamental beliefs and thinking ever since. Ecology of mind is not a technique but a worldview. A system is defined as two or more people together, processes, or technologies

Metaphor is essential to understanding systemicism. Bateson says of metaphor:

Yes, metaphor. That's how the whole fabric of mental interconnections holds together. Metaphor is right at the bottom of being alive (Capra, 1988, p 77).

Look at the hand above and consider the hand as a metaphor for a whole system.   Bateson explains it is not just the fingers that are important, but the spaces in between because it is the relationship of the whole system.[1] (Bateson, 2010). Ecology of mind is most concerned with looking at the whole or all the parts and how those parts work together or influence each other. Systems thinking is difficult. Bateson's work calls on us to change the way we think about things as discreet and separate ideas or concepts and begin to see the relationship between those ideas or concepts. Returning to the hand metaphor - without the spaces, there are no fingers just a mass of flesh; fingers and the space in between form a relationship that is essential to the making of a hand, making the hand functional. To take the metaphor further, both the fingers and the space between are ideas and are what Bateson calls *an aggregate of ideas* or *ecology of ideas* (Bateson, 1972 p xxiii). Within the map of the hand, what are all the existing elements? What is their relationship to each other and the whole? Bateson states the question this way, *How do ideas interact?* (1972, p xxiii). To take the metaphor further, both the fingers and the space between are ideas and are what Bateson calls "an aggregate of ideas" or "ecology of ideas" (Bateson, 1972 p xxiii). Within the map of the hand, what are all the existing elements? What is their relationship to each other and the whole? Bateson states the question this way, "How do ideas interact?" (1972, p xxiii). Central in this notion of interaction is the knowledge

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[1] I first became aware of the hand metaphor viewing the film, *An Ecology of Mind: A Daughter's View*. Later, in private email correspondence with director, Nora Bateson (19 and 20 September 2012) she told me the footage came from Kresge College commencement address, 1979.

of relationships and how ideas interrelate with one another rather than a grouping of discreet facts or ideas.

The hand has its biological parts, its visual aesthetic, its sensory relationship as part of a body, and so on. Each of these possible ideas about the hand comes from a separate discipline e.g. medicine or art. There is the possibility of creating a discourse or narrative that did not include the disciplinary boundaries but, instead, discussed the relationships between the disciplines, across the boundaries to highlight a pattern of relationships (White, 1995). In *Gregory Bateson, Cybernetics, and the Social/Behavioral* Science, Bale states,

> *…focusing on isolated traits obscures or eclipses attributes characteristic of the whole, our focus should move to examining the combined interaction…* (Bale, 1995 p 5)

In the quote, Bale is answering the question: how do we see the whole pattern or system here? Systems Patterns are a maze of similarities and distinctions, all in relationship to each other. Every system, or whole, has patterns that are embedded within the whole. These patterns lead us to an understanding or knowing of, for example, meaning or function of the whole. The system becomes the 'thing', the parts a metaphor for the thing.

Again, consider the hand. It is a whole in and of itself. Though we may use, say, medical terminology to divide it into parts, it is still a whole. The fingers or nerves or bones are separate from the whole of a hand and yet they all exist in relationship to each other. The hand could be described as the context, and that context contains and interacts with meaning. There is a relationship between context and meaning (Bateson, 1972). Looking at the hand as a puzzle, one sees that all the pieces fit by size and type, thus the hand is useful. As with puzzle pieces, any one piece will not fit with any other piece; only specific pieces fit together. The fit of a puzzle piece is determined by the shape of the pieces around it or context. There is a focus on what is excluded. The puzzle exists already; it is a system that contains all the puzzle pieces. Bateson would identify these pieces fitting together as 'restraints.' A femur bone would not work in a hand, just as restraints guide the selection of knowledge (Bateson, 1972). The choice to take a multi-disciplinary approach, fitting together notions from a range of disciplines was then, not an exercise in inclusion. Viewing my research topic as a system that was to be discovered meant a process of exclusion rather than inclusion. To return to the puzzle metaphor, two people sit down to do a puzzle, the puzzle is the system or whole. All the puzzle pieces are there; making the puzzle is a matter of excluding what does not fit. Bateson makes the point that, *Information in the technical sense, excludes alternatives…* (p. 381). By this, he points to the importance not of difference but of impact or influence. In this case, difference is the restraint. It is not differences that guide the direction the research but the aspects or elements that their influence upon each other within the whole.

Similarly, to return to the analogy, is not the body, in the same way, "context is not content" (Bateson, 1972, p. 408). There is a hierarchy of context in that a finger bone is content in the hand, the hand the context, and the body is context for the hand. What defines content and context is dependent on how and what is being examined. In the context of the hand, the finger is content, in that it is contained or held within. Within the whole body system, the hand is content, as it is held within that system. There could be larger systems that would contain more than one body which would define a single body as content within a larger system or context. The key to understanding these similarities and distinctions is perceiving content and context in relationship as a whole or system.

I would like to shift metaphors here to the way two eyes work together when looking through binoculars. There are different kinds of vision in terms of field, depth perception, and distance (Bateson, 1979). Single vision is the limited view of unenhanced (by binoculars) vision. Though single vision is limited, it is the usual way we see the world, notice the wider whole, get curious about things motivating us to look closer or in more depth, and so on. The view we get through binoculars could be described as double vision, where the question of limitations - limitation of the self, the boundaries of the self, and environment - come into question. Double vision provides an opportunity to look at a distance, notice the details, and have a shift in perception. The metaphor aptly describes the various positions a systemic researcher would use to explore possibilities from multiple perspectives. This project looks at relationships rather than boundaries. Interactions, patterns, context, and meaning are at the center of my work as I use both single and double vision to explore.

Systemism, as defined by Bateson, is not a technique or a series of techniques, but a worldview. Because systemic thinking, by its very definition, is about perceiving the wholeness of things/systems it involves looking for the whole pattern and/or meaning within a system. There are no limits to its applications or disciplines. Psychology, anthropology, business management, communication theory, and the development of the worldwide web are among the arenas influenced, either directly, or indirectly, by Bateson or his ideas. Ontologically, employing a systemtemic perspective to uncover the influences and patterns of existing practices and technologies of ageing was a choice that followed an ongoing intellectual path, one that continues to ignite my curiosity and passion. That path has led to opening fresh ways of knowing the beingness of ageing.

Epistemology

Epistemologically, constructivism is inherent in a systemic worldview. It's departure from empiricism to a premise that is grounded on the "assertion that, in the act of knowing it is the human mind that actively gives meaning and order to that reality to which it is responding" (Raskin, 2002 p 14) Epistemologically, constructivism is founded, not on the existence of an objective reality, but, on the notion of social construction that is an interaction of mentality, emotionality, culture, context and language (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Raskin, 2002). Social constructionism is the emergence of

meaning through the 'interaction between people' (Hoffman as quoted in Freedman and Combs, 1996 p 26). Making meaning falls between both positions, since the space between knowledge and ideas (constructivism) and social interaction (social constructionism) is permeable; we learn about ourselves and our world through both.

Bateson's concept of metalogue refers to personal and social meaning and their interconnectedness. History, self-awareness, social context, and future are interlaced within metalogue, and are all equally significant (Broughton, 1989). In the construction of the discourse what matters is the separate elements in relation to each other, as well as a synthesized dynamic relationship to the whole (Bateson, 1972).

In the end, with the concepts of constructivism, social constructionism, and metalogue, there is an agreement that knowledge is not reducible and, that, there is plurality from single individual's experiences of the world through to big systems of society or culture. In other words, individual experience and the meaning of that experience is not necessarily the same as described by society or culture. That said there is also an interrelationship between the individual, society/culture and experience and meaning. Co-construction of meaning is an understanding in all three concepts - constructivism, social constructionism, and metalogue (Pearce and Cronen, 1980, Rieber, 1989; Charmaz, 2006; Freedman and Combs, 1996).

Epistemologically, my world view has been shaped by long engagement with notions of social construction and the concept of metalogue. With my introduction to constructivism through grounded theory (see discussion under Research Design), the three perspectives all contain the seminal aspects that ground the epistemology of this project and this researcher, in general.

Philosophy

Harking back to what this thesis is in literal terms, it is a means to a Doctorate of Philosophy and, of course, methodology should exemplify the ontology of the researcher. A systemic perspective, ecology of mind, as defined by Gregory Bateson, has wholly been the ontological lens throughout the methodological construction and process. It is not a series of techniques but, instead, a way of perceiving, of thinking, of making sense and meaning. From that perspective, the choice of using constructivist grounded theory to analyse the data (see Methods section) and using applied Coordinated Management of Meaning to guide and inform the interview process (see Interview section), the thought behind the choice of participants, and the ethics (see Ethics section) of the project have all come from the over-arching philosophy of ecology of mind.

Values

The values inherent in this research are discussed throughout this chapter. The ontology of systemism, as defined by Bateson, is also value-laden with a profound respect for natural and human worlds (1972; Bateson, 2010). I have attempted to do my best to mirror those values in every aspect of this research – respectfully and with integrity approaching, interviewing, interpreting, reviewing, and writing the information imparted to me by the participants. I have also done my best to accomplish this in regard to those researchers and writers whose work has influenced, inspired, angered, or engaged me.

That said, at the core of Bateson's work is a shift away from Cartesian, dualistic thinking and a move toward perceiving the wholeness of whatever is being studied. Toward the end of the ontology section, I discussed the notion of exclusion. Exclusion is framed and preferenced because the researcher starts from the premise that a whole exists and is waiting to be discovered. In the case of this research, the discovery of ageing body embedded and embodied in time is informed by a cross-disciplinary perspective, which is an important value in systemic thinking (Bateson, 1972, 1979; Rieber, 1989; Weinberg, 1979). Sociology, gerontology, medical anthropology, philosophy, history, biology, and contemporary English and American literature were all areas that were explored in my literature review (this is discussed in analysis section). Discovery and curiosity, a passion to see the larger whole, the systemic view that lends deep understandings of the phenomena studied (in this case, ageing) are all values that have been the drivers in this research.

> *Value plays an active role in purposive human behaviour. Every goal set, every motivation responded to, involves value* (Quito, 1984, p. 604).

As stated in this quote, there are no purposeful human actions/behaviour that do not involve values. The choice to pursue a PhD and my chosen subject were, of course, value-laden decisions. A lifetime of activism and an experience of ageism combined to motivate me to seek an effective avenue for social action. Though this thesis is primarily theoretical in scope, there are a number of threads that could lead to social activism and policy applications. It is the respect for human process, drive of curiosity, the joy of discovery, and the promise of activity that form the core values of this project.

Within a systemic perspective, ontology, epistemology, philosophy, and values cannot be separated; they are all interconnected within the worldview of the researcher; without the agreement of one, the others would not exist. It is important, at this juncture, to state again that ecology of mind is not a series of techniques, but a full way of thinking about the nature of knowledge and life.

Research Design

<u>Methodological Approach</u>

If a systemic perspective offers a container to comprehend the landscape, constructivist grounded theory provides the means to carry this out. In reviewing the various qualitative methodologies, constructivist grounded theory appeared to be the best fit with a systemic perspective, reflecting my own intellectual and theoretical roots. Charmaz's expanded definition of constructivism resonated with my own world view.

Glaser and Strauss's book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1968), introduced grounded theory as a method of systematic qualitative analysis/interpretation of data to the social sciences. Though systemism or cybernetics was not included in their lexicon, the method is applicable within that paradigm. In its time, their book which developed from the study, *Awareness of Dying* (1965)*, was revolutionary (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, Heath and Cowley, 2003). In essence, they opened the way to generating new theory through research rather than testing existing theory (Heath and Cowley, 2003; Birks and Mills, 2011). The notions of inductive research and theory saturation (for discussion of both theory saturation and inductive research, see below) were radical departures from the quantitative perspectives and interpretations of the time (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Heath and Cowley, 2003; Suddaby, 2006). In 1990, Straus co-authored *Basics of Qualitative Research* with Juliet Corbin. This text was meant to rectify the criticisms of Glaser and Strauss's work that grounded theory, in its original form, was a series of techniques and strategies rather than a methodology (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Birks and Mills, 2011, Holloway, 2012). Over thirty years have elapsed between the introduction of grounded theory and its current iterations. Since its inception and the development of postmodernist and post-structuralist perspectives, there has developed a critique of Glaser and Strauss's (and Corbin) work as being based on positivist notions (Charmaz, 2000, 2006). Though there is a plethora of books and journal articles on grounded theory, there appears to be a general consensus that the work of Charmaz has been responsible for taking grounded theory forward in its next iteration (Suddaby, 2006).

The work of Charmaz has taken grounded theory from its development by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, and the reformulation by Strauss with Corbin, to a place where rich data is analyzed through the lens of constructivism (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, Hancke, 2009, Silverman, D., 2010). Charmaz, states that,

> *A constructivist grounded theory recognizes that the viewer creates the data and ensuing*
> *analysis through interaction with the viewed. ..."discovered" reality arises from the*
> *interaction process and its temporal, cultural, and structural contexts (Charmaz, 2000, p 523*
> *– 524).*

Charmaz, a student of both Glaser and Strauss, says she has re-examined 'classic' grounded theory and developed her own construction. In describing the work of Glaser and Strauss, and Strauss and Corbin, Charmaz writes that, "their positions remain imbued with positivism, with its objectivist underpinnings" (2000, 510). Her critique locates grounded theory as the space between "the empirical worlds" and postmodernism (2000, p. 510). She states that, by taking a constructivist approach, grounded theory moves away from positivism and towards richer analysis and interpretation of data and theory development that leads to deeper meaning. Charmaz disagrees with Glaser and Strauss that discovery of data and theory occurs independently of the researcher (Charmaz, 2000, 2006, 2008). Using the lens of constructivism, Charmaz describes grounded theories as constructions of the researcher and her participants, and states that they are interpretive analyses (2000, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2011). She has stated repeatedly in her writing that it is the interaction between the wider context and content that takes on meaning between the researcher and participant (2000, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2011). Constructivism is defined by the co-constructions of meaning between researcher and participants (Guba and Lincoln, 1985).

Perhaps, the most succinct definition of grounded theory comes from Charmaz and Bryant,

> *Grounded theory is a method of qualitative inquiry in which researchers develop inductive theoretical analyses from their collected data and subsequently gather further data to check these analyses. The purpose of grounded theory is theory construction, rather than description or application of existing theories."* (Charmaz and Bryant, 2011, p. 292)

At its essence, grounded theory is about discovery (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Charmaz, 2000, 2006). Grounded theory is about abstracting the data and the production of theory -perhaps, theory with a small 't' but never the less, theory (Silverman, 2010). Theory is the answer to the 'why' question; it is the means of explaining (Bengtson, 2012). It is moving beyond the descriptive level, reporting what an older population is like, to 'explanations of process' (Bengtson, 2012). Data can become proscriptive, reductionist in nature without the development of theory (Dilworth-Anderson, 2012). It is the goal of this research to do just that – move beyond description to explanation to create a framework for understanding the central issues explored within this research.

So Why Constructivist Grounded Theory?

As someone who has spent half my adult lifetime devoted to systemic thinking, notions of importance of meaning, and the co-creation of meaning, it was essential that I chose a methodology that was reflective of that ontology and the values that follow. I completed a narrative analysis module in my first year as a PhD student. It was interesting and, in many ways, stimulating and helped me develop

some clear ideas of where I did not want to go with the research because of its emphasis on narrative as the object rather than a means to an end or tool .

Methodological congruence was a primary consideration (Dey, 1999; Potter, 1997). With its emphasis on context, meaning, perception, induction and abduction, and multidisciplinary flexibility (Charmaz, 2000), constructivist grounded theory is a method that allows systemic precepts to be put into research practice. Systemism and grounded theory fit together within a schema of congruence. With grounded theory's inductive stance and Charmaz's iteration (constructivist and post-positivism), it is possible to stay true to the central principles of systemism

Inherent in developing the original research question was the possibility of theory construction. I had initial thoughts about possible notions of history or generation, looking for basic social processes (see below for discussion of theoretical sampling, theoretical sensitivity, and abduction).

Charmaz states that grounded theory provides "flexible heuristic strategies rather than formulaic procedures" (2000, p. 510). That understanding of grounded theory opened the door for me to use my training and experience with interviewing (see interview section below). In a more general sense, there is room in the methodology to be flexible as long as one stays within the basic precepts and features.

Sampling
Sampling was undertaken with the aim of theory construction of basic social processes, not population representativeness (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006). Thirty interviews were completed with adults born between 1945 – 1955. That ten year span was chosen because interviewees would have been young enough to have had limited experience as independent beings in the 1950s and old enough to have become relatively independent by the end of the sixties. I am using the years 1958 (the appearance of the Mods) to 1973 (an economic shift with the oil crisis) as the period defined as the 'sixties' (Donnelly, 2005; Green, 1999; McKay, 1996). The advent of defining this cohort as teenagers (Marwick, 1998), combined with the range of historical factors that all created the sixties era make the sampling group of particular interest to a study of ageing.

In grounded theory initial sampling is described as purposive (Charmaz, 2006; Bowen, 2006; Birks and Mills, 2011; Holloway, 2012). The early interviews were a range of people from diverse class background. More importantly, they had a range of experiences during the sixties, from various levels of engagement to the social rupture of the sixties to none at all. It was important to purposefully select that range, in order to gather relevant data to develop emerging categories (Charmaz, 2006; Bowen, 2006; Birks and Mills, 2011; Holloway, 2012). Sampling continued but, at this point, to confirm, clarify, and expand categories (Charmaz, 2006; Bowen, 2006; Birks and Mills, 2011; Holloway, 2012). It was clear, that as categories emerged, continuing along the tactic of

interviewing a diverse range of individuals that fit within my basic criteria would lead to refining the emerging categories.

In the National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper, *How many qualitative interviews is enough?* (Baker and Edwards, accessed 11/01/2012), nineteen researchers respond to the question with little consensus. Saturation is achieved when a category or theme is no longer yielding new insights or properties (Charmaz, 2006). Returning to the NCRM paper, Charmaz discusses the problem but offers no hard and fast number (Baker and Edwards, accessed 11/01/2012). The number thirty was chosen because: 1) I was pursuing a potentially controversial subject (Baker and Edwards, accessed 11/01/2012); 2) I was hoping my findings would be provocative (Baker and Edwards, accessed 11/01/2012) and; 3) I love the interview process. I had originally hoped to do fifty interviews for the reasons stated above (mostly the latter), but, after looking at some of my early transcripts, my supervisory team recommended I cut back to thirty, based on the richness of the data.

-Study Population
Thirty interviews were completed with adults born between 1945 – 1955. The interview group was diverse (see sample section). This group was also the first cohort to have experienced an entire lifetime with the defining term 'teenager'. The term had been in use previously, but it now held specific connotations as defined by, first, Madison Avenue advertising (NYC), and then rapidly exported to the UK in the postwar period (Frank, 1997; Heath and Potter, 2005). The importance of naming and defining this birth cohort will be explored in depth later in the thesis. This is a brief overview of the study population which is explored in more depth in the Sample and Demographic sections.

-Recruitment
It was surprisingly easy to recruit participants. Repeatedly, people stated that they wanted to talk about ageing. Many more people contacted me as potential interviewees than I was able to use. People were chosen based on their diverse backgrounds and locations. The working title for the project was *When I'm sixty-four*. This was on all recruitment materials (see Appendix C), so there was a flavor of/reference to the sixties. The stated purpose of the study in all informational material was:

> *...to find out about what baby boomers born between 1945 – 1955 think about the body changes they may be going through as a result of getting older and who they are becoming as they age.*

The wording differs from that in the research question but states the central purpose of the study as I perceived it at the onset of the interview process. A number of avenues were used to recruit: formal and informal email networks, colleagues, friends and acquaintances (asking within their circle), snowballing, Stonewall newsletter, Bristol Scooter Club, Bristol Older People's Forum, and Age

Concern. I used the same simple request email/notice for all recruitment. In the case of the Stonewall newsletter, I had introduced myself to the director and asked if he would place a notice in the newsletter. I attended a Bristol Older People's Forum meeting and made an announcement at the end of the meeting stating I was looking for volunteers. I contacted Age Concern (Todmorden) by phone and said I was looking for volunteers. The person I spoke with sent an email out through their network. I found people very accommodating and interested in my research and had more volunteers than I could interview. I also had several requests to interview partners of interviewees. I chose not to interview any partners since it would skew the diversity and results. The first two upper class contacts came through my husband's connections. Interviews were conducted in a variety of venues: participants' homes or places of work, pubs, restaurants, a hotel lobby, and the Southbank Members Bar in London. The choice of interview site was based on participants' preference.

-Demographics

There was an initial screening instrument to ensure that people were born within the target years and; primarily identified as British. This instrument also asked respondents - for self-defined class during their childhood, and asked them to provided their work/profession and demographic data. Coming from the US, I had made some assumptions about what defined diversity, and I began this project with those assumptions. I had assumed that the research group would be far more diverse than it was in the end. For instance, it was a big shock when I discovered that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to locate an Asian population born in the UK during my parameters that primarily self-identified as British during their childhood. The meaning and distinctiveness of class became a more important measure of diversity than it would have been in US culture (Goldthorpe, 2003). Like many of my compatriots in our adopted country, class is a source of fascination and confusion. What became clear is that, in contemporary Britain, there are multiple perspectives on the definition of class, each of which has multiple profound political and social implications (Adonis and Pollard, 1997; Goldthorpe, 2003; Jones, 2001; Roberts, 2001). Class position may shift in the course of a lifetime (Vincent, 2003); although childhood class status does seem to play its part in shaping attitudes and health factors across the life course (Roberts, 2001). Because the sample came of age in the sixties, a time of social change in terms of class, it was important to identify class position during childhood and adolescence to help me understand notions of time and ageing body in later years. Interviewees who self-identified as having grown up in middle-class families ranged from those who attended public school to someone whose family struggled economically but owned their own home. Though the screening instrument asked only for broad categories, some respondents added more detail as to where their families were located on the class ladder. In the process of data collection, people did add class information in the description of their lives. In the end, there was a fairly even split between people who self-identified as having grown up in working class or below ('below' is an interviewees' word), middle, and upper class. Some of the interviewees seemed to have moved or reported moving into the

middle class in adult life (mid-teens for one interviewee) but, to one degree or another, continued to identify as working class. Within those categories, a wide range of class experiences existed. I did run across an interesting conundrum within the upper class group. One interviewee, who I had met through social contacts, told me that she would have lied about her class had she met me in other circumstances. She then introduced me to someone she described as a childhood friend and as upper class. He self-described as middle class, though that was contradicted by his accent, manner, schooling, and description of other aspects his background. In the table below, I have placed him in the upper class group. Interviewees came from London, Bristol, Manchester, Halifax, Somerset, Derbyshire, and West Yorkshire. Of note, two interviewees were not born in the UK but came here as very young children. One identified as British-only; the other said she had a foot in both cultures, though she was in the center of the sixties Mod scene. The chart below is designed to give the reader a breakdown of the interview group (for anonymized descriptions of interviewees see the Key in Appendix A). Class categories, as explained, above are broad.

Demographic Table

Self-defined Family Class Position (in Childhood)	*Female*	*Male*	**Total**
Working and Below	9	5	**14**
Middle	5	4	**9**
Upper	2	5	7
Total	**16**	**14**	**30**
Ethnicity	2 Black British 1 First generation Irish immigrant (interviewee self-identified as such) 27 White		
Sexual Orientation (self-identified only)	2 Gay men 1 Lesbian woman 26 Heterosexual 1 (ambiguous statements in regard to sexual orientation)		
TOTAL	**30**		
Employment Status	22 were in paid employment 4 were retired (3 did either formal or casual volunteer work) 1 was a full-time student		

	1 devoted a significant number of hours per week to volunteer work
	1 was a community activist in paid and unpaid work
	1 stated retired but did receive compensation for sport coaching
TOTAL	**30**

-Phenomenon Studied

The central focus of the study was biological body changes that participants, who were all members of the postwar cohort, attributed to ageing. I was, at the start of the project, aware of the negative perceptions and accusations of essentialism that had been leveled at writers and researchers who centered on biological body (Beauvoir, 1974; Wittig, 1992, Sayer, 1997; Oderberg, 2007). Despite my own misgivings, there was something profoundly important about the physical bodily signaling of ageing. Reading Julia Twigg (2000, 2006), and later others (see Body chapter); I realized I was not alone in my interest in body and ageing. Biological body change was the vehicle to begin a discourse about ageing and the meaning of age to the postwar generation. That vehicle proved to be a rich source of data, and opened the door to a myriad of information on ageing for the postwar generation or, at least, for the thirty interviewees. What emerged was the connection between body, identity, and time and, eventually, identity, ageing bodies embedded and embodied in time.

Methods

Data Collection

-Interview Approach

I thoroughly enjoy interviewing. There is something about the process of the co-construction of meaning that excites me. Years ago, when I was in my Master's program (clinical psychology), I wrote about the space in between the therapist and the client, that middle space where, between the two of them, meaning is developed. Of course, research interviews are not therapy, but rather an engagement between the researcher and the interviewee, in which, meaning is co-created in a kind of momentary intimacy between the researcher and the interviewee. Geertz calls it entering "the conceptual world of interviewees" (1993). It is of primary importance to "remain theoretically sensitive" as you develop theory (Birks and Mills, 2011, p.75), rather than to develop singular individual anecdotes or notions. Constructivist grounded theory does not have a formulaic description of interviewing. Charmaz's description and advice about interviews is an overview of good practice qualitative interviewing, in general (2006). Given my experience with interviews and my chosen ontology, systemism, I elected to do interviews employing the systemic communication theory, Coordinated Management of Meaning.

Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM), developed by Pearce and Cronen (1980) and influenced by Bateson's work, states that communication is reflexive and that meaning is, in part, created through the relationships between communicants. In other words, the interview process is not lineal, but recursive or circular, and meaning is co-created. Pearce states,

> Note that the "communication perspective" is a non-totalizing _perspective_. It proposes that we see events and objects as textures of communication; it does _not_ make the "nothing-but" argument that events and objects are _only_ patterns of communication. [emphasis in original] (Pearce, 2001)

CMM principles were further developed and refined through a seminal journal article by Tomm, 1987 on _Interventive Interviewing_ and White's and Epston's important book, _Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends_ (1990). It is important, at this juncture, to state that it is the psychological disciplines, practicing within a systemic worldview, that took CMM from theory to practice, but this does not mean that the only application is within psychotherapy. It has been applied in organizational development and management and education (co-construction of teaching and learning), among other areas. Epistemologically, it is described by Pearce as "systemic social constructionism" (1993, p. 96). Pearce describes "communication as a primary social process" (2000, p. 95) and CMM as a theory of that process. It is the systemic communication theoretical principles that informed my interviews. What is useful in the interviews, among other aspects, is the deeply inductive nature of interview question crafting, as described by Tomm (1987). Circular, reflective, and reflexive questions were preferenced over the very occasional strategic question. The language in a group of core questions was developed using these principles (see Appendix A for the interview questions). Each participant was asked most of the same questions. Not every participant was necessarily asked all the questions because some people had embedded an answer to one question in the answer to another. In addition to the crafted questions, questions were asked: 1) regarding clarification or development meaning, 2) to provide opportunities to extend an interesting or important area, 3) regarding theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006; Birks and Mills, 2011). The questions piloted through two interviews I did with colleagues that fit within the confines of the target interview group. Neither pilot interviewee suggested changes to any of the questions, stating they found the interview provocative and interesting. Though it may appear that using the same set of core questions implies highly structured interviewing, a look at the questions, and the very rich data developed from those questions, demonstrates otherwise. I was well aware that within the methodology semi-structured interviews was the preference. I based the decision to deviate from that norm to something that fell between structured and semi-structured interviews. My rational for doing so came from long experience with CMM and addressing interviews in a planful way with carefully crafted questions. The questions

invited participants to directly address my areas of interest. I saw no reason to deviate from those questions especially after the successful pilot and first few rich interviews. The nature of these core questions, plus framing new questions, extended the theoretical sampling to refine categories (Charmaz, 2006; Birks and Mills, 2011).

The interview itself, the communication between researcher and interviewee, has much to do with how meaning is constructed. Pearce and Cronin argue communication is reflexive and that meaning is, in part, created through the relationships between communicants (Tomm, 1987). In other words, the interview process is not lineal/strategic but recursive or circular and meaning is co-created.

The tone of the interviews was conversational. My own contributions to the interviews were kept to a minimum; this was not a dialogue. I noticed that if I did make any more than minimal comments, interviewees got a bit edgy or cut me off, wanting to get on with their own ideas, stories, thoughts, and feelings about the subject at hand. CMM and the later developments in systemic communication theory were a way of enabling me to get away from stock answers to questions about ageing and ageing body. There is a strong cultural narrative that includes jokes and other kinds of statements about ageing eyes, the force of gravity, senior memory, and the like. Obviously, it was important to collect data that explored underneath those kinds of set-piece responses, if there was an underneath. The questions were crafted to disrupt the automatic flow of responses and give the interviewee pause. As explained above, the questions were not lineal or strategic. Rather they provided me with a window into the relationships of interviewees to time (past, present, future) in a compressed form and their ageing bodies, and enabled them to situate themselves within the circles of internal and contextual relationships. These recursive or circular questions were also looking for distinctions – "In what ways did you imagine body changes to be different? The same?" One of the outcomes of this form of communication is to "extend the conversation" (White and Epston, 1990), rather than receive simple and direct answers. This led to rich data collection, some of which is not relevant to the focus of this thesis. Much of the data that will not be included are some of the stories about family, family and personal history, and situating themselves in contexts from politics to entertainment. It was important for interviewees to situate themselves in order to feel comfortable in relating intimate information about their bodies and health. Situating talk provided the participants with a sense of agency by developing a narrative that allowed me to see them in the greater context of their lives – past, present, and possible futures.

- What Happened in the Interviews
A number of participants commented on the process. The following are indicative of the comments:
Bruce: *Some of these questions are funny.*
Naomi: *Yes.*

Bruce: *They make funny clicks in your head.*
(Laughter)

Lisa: *Is that right…?*
Naomi: *There is absolutely no right answer. It's just the way you feel.*
Lisa: *These are really open-ended questions, terribly open-ended.*

Jack: *Many years ago I earned some money when I was at University, when I was very short because I didn't like to go home and I did psychology and philosophy – I did experiments and I became so good at knowing what they wanted that I just had to stop doing it - but I couldn't figure out what you wanted (laughter.*

The interviews were approximately one hour in length. Initially, I had thought I might schedule a second interview or send followup emails to refine ideas developed through the first set of interviews. The initial interviews captured much rich data, so much so that gathering additional information was unnecessary and would have led to too much data to reasonably handle.   Among the ethical considerations was the need for interviewees to have control as to the intimacy of their answers. At several times, I cut an answer short asking, "Are you sure you want to be telling me this?" It should be noted that my experience as a psychotherapist equipped me to conduct interviews in a sensitive, supportive, and ethical manner (for a full ethics discussion see ethics section). The interviews were audio recorded.

Data Analysis

Meaning and the co-construction of meaning is an important element in both constructivist grounded theory, CMM, and systemic thinking in general (all systemically based communication theories). It is the voice and judgment/interpretation of the researcher that creates the sense or tone of the research and represents the participants as well as her own perspective (Charmaz, 2000, Charmaz and Mitchell, 1997, Birks and Mills, 2011). Charmaz connects the production of meaning in that the 'researcher and subject frame interaction and confer meaning' (Charmaz 2000 p 524).   In other words, the researcher takes into account the participant's meaning and represents that meaning within the data analysis process and together there is co-production.

In making or finding meaning there was an emphasis in the interview process on participants' interpretation. In *Narrative Inquiry and Psychotherapy* Speedy (2007) takes the stance that the researcher should 'apprentice' (2007) oneself to the interviewee. In the co-construction of meaning, I interpret an apprentice stance as giving a preference to the interviewees' interpretation and taking

steps (in the interview) to clarify that meaning. Gubrium and Wallace (1990) ask "who theorizes age" in a paper of the same name, which again takes the position of preferencing the interviewees perspective. Hollway and Jefferson (2000, p 3) state, an interpretive approach is essential 'if we want to do justice' to the complexity of our subject. They go on to note that data should be approached "with a spirit of inquiry rather than advocacy," (10) an important tenant in every phase of this project. In the end, all three of these researchers are describing a position of respect and an understanding of co-construction of meaning in not only the interview phase of the research, but in the final analysis.

-Procedure

Data collection and analysis were concurrent, which allowed for the development of theoretical sensitivity (Glaser and Strauss, 1968; Strauss and Corbin, 1990, Charmaz, 2006). As stated in the interview section, this immersion in the data informed the interviews or the process of theoretical sampling. Theory development came through the open coding process and then theoretical coding. There was a certain repetition and obviousness to what was being said in both the purposive and theoretical sampling, but it just did not feel I was developing substantive theory or 'it'. Perhaps the larger issue was that I had clear groupings of categories/themes plus the subcategories, or axial coding, but there was something missing in terms of theory development. The emerging theoretical notions were too shallow. Mind mapping is my preferred memo writing form and, for me, it served, at this stage, to underline how possible ideas and hypotheses were not adequate. By the fourteenth interview, I had a lot of repetitive data. The more I looked at the data, the further my preconceptions receded; it felt like the more I looked, the less I knew (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). What were interviewees telling me? Frequency is not important (Mason, 2010; Charmaz, 2006), but it did feel like I was missing something. I continued theoretical sampling, pursuing the categorical directions of my open coding. Though I was stuck, it is also important to note that Ethics Committee approval was predicated on thirty interviews and, as Mason states,

> *Irrespective of their understanding of saturation, PhD researchers are using samples in line with their proposal to suit an independent quality assurance process (i.e. doing what they said they were going to do).* (2010, p. 12)

During this time, I picked up *Unmasking Age* (2011) by Bytheway and was struck by a section on time. I pursued the citation to Adam's book, *Timewatch (1995). Timewatch* is a multi-dimensional development of notions of time (more on Adams work in subsequent chapters). It was the discovery of Adam's work that was the missing perspective, along with my 27th interview. My interviewee spoke at length about generations before him, placing his life in the context of time. This reference to time was a sensitizing concept. It offered "ways of seeing, organizing and understanding experience" and provided a place "to build analysis" (Bowen, 2006, p 14). I returned to the previous data,

employing theoretical coding. I had coded a category, 'sixties', where interviewees were discussing time but I was interpreting it through a very narrow lens, since I had been using a narrow chronological definition of time. Through that lens, I saw how other notions of time, i.e. pace or memory, were discussed in the interviews. By reconceiving of time through a thicker description (Adams, 1998; Neale, 2008; Bytheway, 2011), I realized that my interviews had rich time data. As Dey (1999) states, knowledge is used to inform the analysis, not direct it. Theoretical sampling in the last three interviews carried the redefined notions of time forward. Theoretical analysis demonstrated how the codes/themes related to one another allowing me to frame theory (Charmaz, 2006). I had reached saturation using the following definition: "the collection of new data did not shed any further light on the issue under investigation" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Mason, 2010). I found that moving away from notions of class or participation in the sixties - in other words, the participants' biographies - the data became more meaningful. The larger theoretical ideas of ageing body embedded and embodied in time made meaningful sense of rich data. After all, the early limit to 30 interviewees had proved unproblematic.

- Credibility, Reliability, and Validity
"Is the investigator's interpretation of data…persuasive and plausible, reasonable and convincing?" (Riessman, 2011 as quoted in Silverman, 2011, p 351). This question is core to credibility. At first glance, the statement is obvious, but to a full-time researcher so constantly close to the data, it is possible to convince oneself of all kinds of ideas and hypotheses. Thus, rigor or quality, reliability, and validity are important in establishing that research is credible. Glaser contends that grounded theory has a logic of its own in assessing for rigor (1978). My reading of Glaser's (1978), Charmaz's (2006), and Birks and Mill's (2011) criteria for credibility within the grounded theory model demonstrate some differences in their views about the scope of credibility. That said, evidence, logic, depth, and relevance are all notions used by all three writers. This research has attempted to meet these requirements.

Critical to credibility are the concepts of reliability and validity. In terms of reliability, Silverman (2011) points to the importance of both "describing our research strategy and data analysis methods in a sufficiently detailed manner" and, also, to the critical importance of "theoretical transparency" (p. 360). In the detailed sections above on research strategy, data analysis, and theoretical transparency every effort has been made to achieve this standard. All interviews were recorded and transcription was checked by this researcher for accuracy. Low-inference descriptors were used in analyzing the data. Extracts of data in this thesis will be presented in context or in some cases, context will be described (because of the very long answers in many of the interviews).

Hammersley clearly defines validity as: "the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers" (1990, p 57). The constant comparative method was used from the onset of the interview process. The first four interviews were used to generate early categories. With each small batch of interviews, new categories/themes were considered and compared with the earlier data. All transcripts were uploaded to Nvivo, which was only moderately helpful. I was able to test possible hypotheses by looking for phrases, word frequency, or mapping things out, but, in the end, there was a certain bean counting aspect to it. This was helpful in checking the accuracy of my perceptions of a growing body of rich detail. It was also useful to find another detailed study of an earlier seminal time, The Great Depression. *Children of the Great Depression* (Elder, 1974) was based on quantitative research but the similarities of shared narratives, community of memory and experience, and identity development appeared to validate my hypothesis in regard to the role of time.

Ethical Considerations

The research was conducted within the ethical framework of my university and the 2007 ethical guidelines of the British Society of Gerontology. The principals of informed consent, confidentiality, and privacy informed this project. A brief screen instrument (see Appendix C) was administered either by email, post, or by telephone. An informational sheet was then provided to participants who passed the initial screening. Names and identifying information were anonymized on all materials, including transcripts and discs. The research was conducted from my home office, so no one else had access to the materials.

Born in 1949, I embody the very issues, concerns, and questions of the participant group. However, I have a unique perspective, in that I spend an inordinate amount of time contemplating the entry into old age and ageing body. This deep immersion does skew my perspective. It was important that I bear in mind that the participants in the research may not have given the subject much thought, or may hold attitudes and ideas very different from my own studied stance (Birks and Mills, 2011; Gumbrium, and Wallace, 1990). I also entered the research with a history of deep involvement in social and political changes in the sixties, but I soon discovered through the literature that there were significant differences between my experience of the sixties in the US and that period in the UK. At some early point in the research, I experienced a shift from someone researching a period that I was embedded in to more of an anthropologist, with some connections to my research group but also some large historical and cultural differences. When I started the research, I had been in the UK for a little less than two years and was only beginning to fully understand the depth of the cultural difference between my home country and my adopted country. This meant that I held an interesting outsider/insider position that had both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, holding an

anthropological perspective provided me with insights that were only possible as an outsider, but as an outsider, I likely missed more cultural cues than I can imagine.

Being in the same age range as my participants, I suspect, led to more openness in terms of rich descriptions of body change, as did my status as a cultural outsider. I was someone who could understand (because of my age) but was comfortably other (because of my Americaness). My gender may have had an effect of the willing of participants to speak about intimate body issues. Some men may have been reticent to discuss ageing body with me. It is important to note that the majority of the women in the study commented on either my "slimness/trim figure" or fitness or both which, of course, had an influence on the research. Research participants also made assumptions about my involvement in the sixties, or lack of involvement. I remained neutral on the topic, except in the two cases where interviewees asked me directly.

Concluding Comments

Harking back to what this thesis is in literal terms, it is a means to a Doctorate of Philosophy and, of course, methodology should exemplify the ontology of the researcher. A systemic perspective, ecology of mind, as defined by Bateson, has wholly been the ontological lens throughout the methodological construction and process. It is not a series of techniques but, instead, a way of perceiving, of thinking, of making sense and meaning. From that perspective, the choice of using constructivist grounded theory to analyse the data and using applied Coordinated Management of Meaning to guide and inform the interview process, the thought behind the choice of participants, and the ethics of the project have all come from the over-arching philosophy of ecology of mind.

CHAPTER 3

Body, Time, Identity: An analytical critique of the literature

Introduction

In July 2012 at Annual British Society of Gerontology Conference, I witnessed an exchange between two established academics, Neale King and Chris Gilleard, which struck at the very centre of issues of body and social science. Gilleard asked King a question concerning physicality or corporal body, to which the latter replied, "I'm not a biologist, I'm a sociologist."

This simple declaration left me perplexed, and underlined some of the work I had been reading over the almost two years of my PhD journey. Despite the theoretical turn in academia toward body, the carnal continues to have limited acceptance within gerontology. This limited acceptance makes sense at one level given the centrality of ageing bodies in the cultural and medical narrative of decline. The critique of biological determinism has been, and continues to be, a rich area of research and writing within Women's Studies and, in many ways, gerontology has followed this lead. That said, the realities of ageing bodies are biologically determined, in that they do age in a variety of ways and that the body is finite. Through this thesis, this indisputable reality of body is explored. Time and body, coming together in the end of bodily time is primary to gerontological understanding. The development of identity is inherent in the entanglement of ageing body and time.

This brings me to another story about time. At that same conference mentioned above, speakers on a panel wrangled with each other on the importance of generation and history, questioning each other as to which was more important. Again, I was perplexed. History and generation are but two aspects within our understanding of time. Defining them as distinctly separate categories assigned to a hierarchy within a gerontological discussion does not fit with the sociological and philosophical understandings of time. There has been a reticence to enfold temporality into gerontological thinking. Perhaps for the same reasons that exploration of body has been limited. It is the limitation of both body and time, that in large part organizes the meaning of ageing body, yet it does have a ring of determinism. The reality of ageing body is predetermined - finitude. But, then again, it is only part of the picture; there is so much more to the life and times of ageing people.

This chapter draws from the literatures of body, time, and identity in order to bring together an understanding of how these three areas work together to form a contiguous whole. The chapter first reviews the literature of body and embodiment, moves on to time, and finally identity. Obviously, each of the literatures from these subjects is expansive. It is impossible to cover all the literature and background reading that informed this thesis. Instead, I have chosen to cover the literature that is the most seminal in forming my theoretical understandings of these subject areas. In the bibliography, I

have a section, *Additional Reading that* includes sources that are not discussed in this chapter but are of note in order to give the reader a sense of what has informed my thinking.

ON BODIES AND EMBODIMENT

In this first section I focus first on the work of Foucault, followed by key feminist writers, and the work of Twigg- a feminist but not necessarily classified as a feminist writer. The section continues with the writing of Merleau-Ponty, Turner, Elias, Featherstone and Hepworth, and Gilleard and Higgs. I focus on these writers because they have had a primary influence on my thinking (and within the wider academic readership). Though each of these writers frames bodies through different lenses, their work traces an evolutionary path through the social sciences that has sought to understand how it is we might collectively understand the physicality, the being-in-bodiness of life. I have included time in this section of the review because it is so integral to the work of Merleau-Ponty, Elias, and Turner.

Foucault

I began my PhD steeped in Foucauldian thought. For many years, as a Master's student and then as a family therapist, administrator, and, finally, as a consultant, Foucault had informed my work. From the starting point of ageing body changes, it was an obvious choice for me to approach my reading from this perspective. The body is central in much of Foucault's writing, particularly his *The History of Sexuality* (1990) but also holds a central position in *The Birth of a Clinic* (1994) and *Discipline and Punishment* (1997) as well as other published interviews and essays (e.g., *Body/Power*, 1972). For Foucault, the body is the discursive; it is constructed rather than naturalized. Discourse constitutes the meaning and knowledge about body, and thus body is constituted and subjugated. Body is constituted by cultural/historical narratives of power and knowledge (Foucault, 1972, 1990, 1994, 1997). In other words, some knowledge is privileged while other kinds of knowing are marginalized and oppressive power is central to understanding discursive body. Foucault's body is historicized. He traces the historical conditions that have brought body into the modern era. His reading of history is a praxis point in the construction of modern bodies. Foucault's bodies are units controlled through the technologies of power and knowledge. Foucault's work focuses on "*not* merely talking about the social construction of *ideas* about the body but *about bodies themselves*" (Freund, 1988 p 845 [emphasis is the original]). Body is a malleable thing that is socially constructed and historically contingent (Williams and Bendelow, 1998; Turner, 2008). Discourses are more than ways of thinking or the production of knowledge. It is the discursive body, in and of itself, that forms Foucault's body. The various practices that Foucault describes and analyses become internalised within individual bodies and populations.

From this starting point, bodies are divided in terms of productivity or utilitarian analysis, categorized, and classified. The old, mad, delinquent, and sick are separated from those whose bodies are productive or useful. Appropriate institutions are devised to separate, discipline, and, in some cases, punish those who have not earned the right to remain in productive society. From a Foucauldian perspective, categorization is a function of an expert or professionalized group. Knowledge is the domain of the professional group. Doctors and psychologists, for example formulate a codified system based on expert knowledge. That expert knowledge defines normative and deviant behaviours or medicalised bodies that are healthy or sick. Both individuals and populations are included in this categorization process. In the case of institutional categorization, like schools or prisons, regulation of essential bodily needs, i.e. food and toileting, are an accepted norm. Population classification practices, like collecting demographic data or other official statistical information, are used to measure, and monitor populations. This is, in part, the development of profiles of average or normative activities, behaviours, health status, risk, and the other measures. Regulatory practices are established as a result of this classification process. Foucault describes this through his discussion of the Panopticon. The Panopticon is both virtual and metaphoric. It is the mechanism of control over, and of, knowledge and power. Inside the Panopticon, social regulation is posited within body and no longer needs to be imposed from without (Foucault, 1997, 1972). Foucault is almost relentless in his descriptions of the subjugation of body to technologies of knowledge and power. Later in his life, he began to develop the idea of technologies of care of the body/self as a form of resistance.

A wide range of authors have analysed and critiqued the work of Foucault from multiple perspectives. There are serious questions about the veracity of his scholarship, both his telling and rendition of history (Shilling, 2003; Turner, 2008; Williams and Bendelow, 1998). Particularly relevant to this thesis is the non-materiality of Foucault's body. It is absent as both fleshy and as a phenomenological entity (Shilling, 2003; Williams and Bendelow, 1998, Twigg, 2006). Foucault's conclusions about internalized regulation do not constitute a notion of embodiment. In Foucault's world, bodies are not active "producers of meanings" (Williams and Bendelow, 1998, p 35). Foucault's emphasis on the construction of bodies and the context/field within which bodies live leaves little room for social action and the agency of material body (Williams and Bendelow, 1998; Shilling, 2003; Twigg, 2006). Ultimately, body is dematerialized or absent as a lived experience; it is a cipher for what Foucault considers the real action, namely knowledge, power, and discourse. Embodied activity and behaviour is non-interactional within a world of relationships. Foucault's world is a uni-directional one. The constitution of body is handed down from the purveyors of knowledge and power, and interwoven into the fabric of individual bodies and societies. Without a phenomenology of embodiment the story of bodies is static.

Foucault's Influence and Legacy – Bodies, Feminism

That said, Foucault has had a significant influence on the social sciences. As an influential, radical, and outspoken figure, his explicit naming and discourse of body opened up the subject to modern sociologists and gerontologists. If nothing else, his body of work has given us something to rub up against – a starting point. In terms of my own current research and writing, Foucault's work has given me an on-going awareness of the potency and disciplining power of grand cultural narratives that influence individual and group ideas about ageing. By default, he was a starting place to shape my notions of agency. First, being deeply steeped in Foucauldian thinking, and then slowly deconstructing his ideas through my work as a psychotherapist, I found meaning in his writing about expert knowledge and power. The important ideas he set forth in the world have shaped and influenced many, either by default or through a more active embracing of his ideas. Bryan Turner (*The Body &* Society, 2008), Simon Biggs (*Understanding Ageing*, 1993), Jason Powell (*Foucault and Aging, 2006*), Stephan Katz (*Disciplining Old Age*, 2002) and Hiram Hazan (*Old Age Constructions and Deconstructions*, 1994) are just a few important thinkers on ageing who have been influenced, to varying degrees, by Foucault's work. Excepting Turner, the writers above imply that, if Foucault had carried forward his work on the technologies of self, he would have developed work on ageing body. However, in some ways, I do agree with a Foucauldian analysis; knowledge and power are aspects to be considered as part of the whole understanding of body rather than the overriding features of modernity/postmodernity. The phenomenological experience of living in a body, a body experiencing obvious biological changes, was what I was trying to explore in this project.

Foucault's work also influenced the developing area of Women's Studies that emerged from the women's liberation movement. His formulation of discursive body allowed for feminists to move away from essentialist descriptions of body difference so as to explore new meanings of sex and gender (Lovenduski and Randall, 1993, Twigg, 2006). However, like Foucault, the body that was central to feminist theory-making was discursive, missing physicality. Some feminist thinkers like Irigaray (1985, 2001) took a stance that highlighted bodily difference, thus valuing and confronting the biological body. Early feminist theory analysed the definition of body itself. They stated that women's bodies were defined as 'other,' meaning men's bodies were normative, and all other bodies were 'other than.' It has been stated (Oakley, 2007; Twigg, 2007) that the first group of second wave feminists have now entered old age, they are writing about the othering of ageing bodies. The notion of gendered bodies as social constructions, or the division between the artificial and the natural, was central to feminist thinking (Wilson, 2003). The work of Butler (*Gender Trouble*, 1990), Oakley (*The Captured Womb*, 1984), and Grosz (*Volatile Bodies*, 1994), to name a few, is important for many reasons, but, in particular, to this study of ageing body because they have opened the way for addressing the importance of body, difference, and identity as entangled with being and having bodies.

Two other feminists, Wilson (Adorned in Dreams, *2003)* and Hollander (*Seeing Through Clothes*, 1993), both fashion researchers, are important to mention here. Wilson has analysed the notion of 'natural dress', the absence of artifice as a moral imperative in second wave feminism (and earlier). Her critique of the moral basis of what has been deemed as appropriate has deep implications as to how we see and define ageing bodies. Hollander discusses the perception of body as seen through clothing, or the second skin. She states that it is clothing that provides our visual ideas about body. Taking Hollander and Wilson's work together opened up another way of thinking about body for me. Their writing about fashion takes on a materiality that translates to defining the physicality of living in and being bodies. Though I found that Wilson overstated her case for the construction of body, her discussion on the moral imperatives placed on women's bodies was easily translated to that of ageing bodies. Many second wave feminists as they age have broached the discussion of ageing bodies under the dictum, 'the personal is political.'

Julia Twigg

It is the work of Julia Twigg that creates the balance between culturally constructed bodies and the exigencies of ageing bodies. Twigg's work has spanned a range of bodily issues, from vegetarianism to bathing to body at the centre of social care to her current work on fashion. For Twigg, lived body experience or embodiment and constructed body are interlocked (2000, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2012). She is concerned with the "everyday experience," "the subjective and embodied" of social care (2006, p 25). In her critique of radical postmodernism, she makes clear that the realities of ageing, illness, and death cannot be deconstructed away. At the core of her writing is the workings of the biological and the social and cultural meanings of embodiment. She places body at the centre of gerontology.

> *The body is the master theme of gerontology, a single strand that unites the subject and gives it coherence*   (2004, p 70).

Given the past reticence to focus on corporeal body, this is a bold and brave statement. This reluctance to approach ageing as something other than physical is well justified, given the strong biomedical emphasis on bodily decline. The rise of social gerontology's explorations into other narratives of ageing is important to the development of the discipline and the larger dissemination of ideas about ageing. Walker (*Understanding Quality of Life in Old Age*, 2005), Estes (*Social Policy & Aging*, 2001), Phillipson (*Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age*, 1982), Arber and Ginn (*Connecting Gender and Ageing*, 1996), Vincent (*Politics, Power and Old Age*, 1999) and Bytheway (*Ageism*, 1995) are just a few whose work established ageing as something beyond mere bodily decline. The authors listed here have effected a shift away from ageing as decline and social withdrawal by, addressing through a critical lens, the politics of old age whether it be through economics, gender, or discriminatory practices and stances. Twigg's work adds to this body of literature by addressing body though a critical lens. It is her work that brings body back into the

frame but in a renewed and respectful way. Though she is not the first researcher to discuss ageing and body, Twigg (2006) strongly defines ageing body as a category of difference, arguing that the sight of ageing bodies and age ordering create a social division as potent as race or sex. At the early stages of my research, this last statement informed my notions of biological body change. It was not simply a case of essentialism or, at the other end of the spectrum, body as discourse, but, instead, an interlocking of biology and culture within a phenomenological, embodied approach. Repeatedly, Twigg refers to 'real bodies,' taking the mundane experience of those in care and, in particular being bathed, out of the theoretical realm and into its materiality (2000, 2004, 2006). It is this materiality that drives the reader to a sense of tangible ageing corporality in care. Twigg's theme of real bodies is the underpinning for much of her work. She calls for more subjectivity regarding accounts of bodily ageing; a "widening account" of old age that is "reflective" of the lives of older people (2006, p 53). The notion of real bodies is inextricably linked with a move away from Cartesian dualism and an embracing of the concept of embodiment (2004, 2006, 2007, 2012). In *Bathing – the body and community care,* Twigg (2000) writes with an intimacy and concern that has informed my research and writing. For me, there was a resonance and confirmation that understanding the life of ageing embodiment was important. In particular, looking to discover embodied meaning in the experience of biological body change was worth pursuing. Real bodies are important. She also argues that it is the ageing body where we most clearly understand the enfolded nature of physiology and culture (2000, 2006). Like the work on pain and illness, ageing body brings an awareness of the physicality of the life of the body (Twigg, 2006; Bury, 1982, 1991, 2003). It is the lived experience of ageing body that, like illness, dissolves a sense of dualism and enlivens the knowing of an embodied self (Twigg, 2006; Williams, 2003; Williams and Bendelow, 1998).

In both Twigg's books on community care (2006, 2007) and her current work on fashion (2012), she attempts to balance a consumer cultural approach with the lived reality of ageing and ageing bodies. She uses a postmodern, consumer culture perspective as a departure point. Youth and all that is associated with youth are valued above all else in consumer culture. Beauty and exercise regimes are two examples of age resistance in an effort to approach the youth ideal. Twigg positions her work from a more balanced perspective than other theorists, such as Gilleard and Higgs (2000, 2005). She acknowledges the influence of consumer culture but she argues that resistance mitigates its impact upon older people. Having said this, in none of her work does she expand on her notions of resistance and the meaning of that counteraction. This is problematic, in that Twigg does not leave the reader with clarity concerning her position. Like her critique of Foucault, and his lack of defining the terms and meaning of resistance, she leaves the reader with little more than the notion that consumer practices need to be "reassessed."

Twigg's strength lies in writing about bodies. Her more recent work on fashion unpacked the moral aspects of older people's fashion and clothing choices. She began to broach the moral aspect of good, bad, and/or transgressive bodies in her earlier work, but has expanded those ideas of late. This valuing of, or giving moral value to, ageing bodies, and dressing ageing bodies, has opened up another area of thought that was useful as I took my research forward. By implication, in terms of the cultural lens that she applies to body and fashion, Twigg constructs a balanced biological and historicized perspective. At the core of Twigg's work is the notion that ageing bodies are a balance of culture and biology. Her embodied approach to ageing has been an invaluable lens as I conducted this research.

From Bodies to Embodiment: Merleau-Ponty
It is the work of Merleau-Ponty that created the fertile conceptual ground for Twigg's writing. His work, brings body and mind back together after 300 years of the Cartesian split through his seminal text, *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945/1962). At the core of Merleau-Ponty's work is the concept of embodiment. Embodiment is the "phenomenological study that attempts to understand human practices or the performativity of the body" (Turner, 2006, p 146). Turner takes this definition from an anthropological perspective. The study of embodiment is phenomenological because it is the lived experience of being in a body. The term 'embodiment' describes a collapse of the mind/body split, a separate but profound intertwining of the two. Nettleton (2006) describes this interaction as oscillation. Grosz (1994) describes it as a Möbius strip where mind into body and body into mind exist together along the strip, thus eliminating the binary divide but maintaining distinctiveness. Csordas (1990, 1994) calls embodiment the essence of "being-in-the-world," our existential lived experience. For me, the notion of embodiment gave substance to researching ageing biological body through a systemic lens. It brought together the troubling duality that within the Foucauldian discursive body was, in the end, not a real body. It liberated me to explore ageing as biological and performative.

The revival of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological analysis of perception through the body-subject has helped to redefine the terms in which we think of the body (Twigg, 2006; Williams and Bendelow, 1998). Merleau-Ponty's existentialist position took the tact that situating humans in their being-in the-worldness was the start of all philosophy[2] (Langer, 1989; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Toadvine and Lawlor, 2007; Morris, 2008). It is important to put in context the central themes of his work. His despair over the Bomb and the Cold War led him to critique Cartesian rationalism. It was his belief that the split between mind and body, with a preferencing of mind, made the unimaginable – nuclear annihilation

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[2] Please note that because of the complexity of Merleau-Ponty's writing, I have used, along with original text, the work of commentators and other writers.

– possible (Langer, 1989; Csordas, 1990). Merleau-Ponty sought another vision, one that dispensed with the old dualities and rationalistic views – an integrative perspective. He sought to

> *re-establish our roots in corporeality and the perceptual world, while awakening us to an appreciation of the inherent ambiguity of our lived experience.* (Langer, 1989, p149)

In the *Phenomenology of Perception,* Merleau-Ponty (1962) lays out his central thesis concerning body. In this seminal work, he details his reimaging of body as a vehicle for consciousness, an "opening to the world" (1962; Morris, 2008). Body as opening to the world is existential; it is the lived in body that is our existence in the world. With this central point, Merleau-Ponty (1962) shifts body from an occupied object to expose the reality that there is no difference between "I" and the body "I" lives in (see also Langer, 1989; Grosz, 1992; Morris, 2008). This I/body opening to the world expresses and receives the perceptual, emotional, relational, and sexual – the whole of all there is to experience. Merleau-Ponty (1962) goes on to argue that consciousness is sensing and reasoning and that body is our contact with the world. Perception is always embodied perception, and cannot be anything other than embodied experience (see also Crossley, 1995). The seamless, integration of mind and body functioning together creates our sense of perception – of us solely or in relationship to the world (Merleau-Ponty, 2004). There is, by necessity, interrelatedness between mind and body that cannot be severed as long as we are embodied beings (Merleau-Ponty, 2004; Grosz, 1994; Williams and Bendelow, 1998; Williams et al, 2003). Body is invested with "carnal intersubjectivity;" bodily activity forms the basis for the expression of meaning and ideas (Williams and Bendelow, 1998, p 52). All meaning is experienced through the body, whether it is pre-reflective (unconsciously received or habitual) or reflective as an interaction of the self and the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Morris, 2008). Finally, it is important to note that for Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1964), the body/embodiment is not conceived as a container, a tightly bounded holder of mind/perception (also see Battersby, 1993). Instead, there is an interpenetration, a fluidity of perception where we do not stop at the outer limits of our skin. Subject and object comingle in a permeable dance. These ideas are at the core of Merleau-Ponty's delineation of embodiment. His construction of embodiment is foundational work replacing a Cartesian vision of body with an undivided body/I. It profoundly informed my research. Starting from a systemic perspective, I needed a theoretical understanding of body and consciousness that was useful to make meaning of the lived experience of ageing embodiment. In Merleau-Ponty's work I found a way of conceiving of ageing biological body. This shifted my interpretation of the interviewees' conception and consciousness of the lived experience.

Merleau-Ponty describes how the drastic or dramatic, for example, chronic or severe illness, changes the experience of living in the world. These physical changes modulate our phenomenological experiences. With physical changes, this entanglement of mind/body leads to a shift in the sense of

self. Ageing, though not necessarily drastic, does engender corporeal changes, everything from a change in hair colour to the change in skin texture and body shape. Merleau-Ponty's work is of deep relevance to understanding ageing from the dimension of embodied ageing.

However, his work does not address historicized body which I define as the development of body (form, knowledge, use, etc) as embedded and interacting with developments in history (see next section for a detailed discussion). Instead, body lives in time and time lives in body. He describes body in a "momentum of existence;" body lives in time with either habituated or conscious projections of meaning. Body inhabits space, and this inhabitation of space means that there is movement through time.

It is through thought that we know our perception, and there is nothing that we perceive that is not, or cannot be, thought (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). From thought comes speech. Thought, the root of speech, it not representational but rather equal, to or coterminous with, thought (Csordas, 1990). Embodiment, then, is not discursive, nor an instrument of inscription (Grosz, 1994), but body – embodiment – is the root of speech and speech is existential (Csordas, 1990). Merleau-Ponty's concept of pre-objective body is a call to reflect on the primordial state, to distinguish between cognition and the raw power of "psychic and physiological" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p 138). Body is both subject and object.

It is through this philosopher's work that social scientists have been able to add flesh to the bones. In Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological lens, body is both subject and object and always alive with perception – a being-in-the-worldness that is an integrated vision of who we are (Csordas, 1990; Crossley, 1995; Williams and Bendelow, 1998).

Before I end this section, I am going to touch briefly on Merleau-Ponty's work on time in relationship to body. Though Merleau-Ponty has a separate chapter on "Temporality" in the *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962), it is his interweaving of time and body in the main section of the book that is most valuable and salient here. He explains that the body is our "point of view on the world," and thus our temporal (and spatial) window to, and within, the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p 70). In other words, we live in time and time lives within us. Lives span a wholeness of time immersed in the perceptual field; they cannot be separated from this field, as it is the nature of being (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). It is "through time that being is conceived" (Muldoon, 1991, p 430). In the *Phenomenology of Perception*, Merleau-Ponty discusses the phenomenon of phantom limbs. He uses it as an example of how, what he calls the 'habit body' takes an injury from the past and carries it into the present and future. It is a demonstration of the physicality of time, time within the body. Merleau-Ponty's primary interest in temporality is perception – our perception of the temporal dimension. That said, Merleau-Ponty's interweaving of embodied time, was an important opening, for me, into understanding my data through a new perceptual lens.

Elias and Turner – Speaking bodies in time

At this point, I would like to look briefly at body theorists who discuss body through historicized time. The body, embedded and constructed in historicized time (history as perceived through the lens of time), is an important notion in the work of Norbert Elias (1939/1978, 1992) and Bryan Turner (2008). Turner's work explores an interlocked mind/body perspective (see also Shilling, 2003; Williams and Bendelow, 1998). Turner's *The Body and Society* (2008) was one of the first books I read for my doctorate and was influential in the initial stages of framing my research. I began to understand the significance of corporeal bodies and see the fault lines in Foucault's formulation of body. In general, he is "extremely important in influencing subsequent formulations of, and investigations into, the problem of the body in society" (Shilling, 2003, p 81). In Turner's writing about ageing bodies, he describes bodies as "walking memories" (1995, p 253). His call for an embodied understanding of ageing within the temporal dimensions of generation, memory, and history is a strikingly fresh configuration for gerontologists. Despite the physicality that Turner adds to the discussion of body, his bodies still are not embodied, phenomenal, thoughtful entities with agency. Shilling also notes that, though Turner's bodies are historicized, he does not explain the mechanisms for historical change (2003).

Elias's work (1939/1978) is of major importance because he formulates a sociological perspective of the body. It is body across the historical arc that is the story of biology and social determinates. Elias's body undergoes a civilizing process as it travels through history. It is a learning process that starts in court societies and through 'figurations' or individual intentions and interests that exert control en masse. It is not my intention here to review Elias's work fully, as much of his thinking has little to do with my research. What was important to my thinking was his sociological approach and situating biology within the framework of historicized time. Elias closely enmeshes biological and social functions. He also synthesizes a biological, physical, and psychological dynamic within historical time as he maps the civilizing process. The temporal dimension of history is embodied in his work (Turner, 2006). Ultimately, though, biological body in his work is more of a passive recipient or 'docile body' rather than an active agent (Shilling, 2003; Williams and Bendelow, 1998).

It is interesting that, many years after he finished *The Civilizing Process* (1939/1978), Elias wrote an essay on time. He described *Time: an essay as* a completion, "the circle is closed" – he had addressed time and body (1992, p 33). He is referring to his study on time as the final link in the civilizing process. Elias's essay takes a non-positivist stance, investigating the interlocking 'natural' and social, internal, and external aspects of time. In his move away from Cartesian thought, time is a subjective experience, not a fixed state (Adam, 1990). Elias briefly discusses biological time as sometimes stable, as in the inevitable nature of the lifespan. He describes the move away from the status of the family in pre-modern Europe towards an individual chronological reckoning of maturity/status. In

other words, life stages, defined by chronology, are part of the civilizing process. He also touches on the biological patterns of time, for example hunger and satiation. In later work, Elias revisits time and body as he describes his own advancing years as embodied in time (1985). He discusses the physicality of his own ageing body and the coming of the end of time, death. One of Elias's primary concerns in this essay is time as an internal, and external societal constraint in the civilizing process. Body is not an active agent, as Elias preferences social time in his analysis. Time is, indeed a very central aspect to the civilizing process. Elias poses an interesting conundrum as he describes the flow of time, both biological time and social time. It is unstoppable, of course, and uncontrollable. A reading of his work raises questions about the nature of the docile body in the face of time. The questions that flow from his work laid some of the groundwork for my exploration of body and time and issues of agency. Elias's work is ground breaking in that he addresses time, not as a philosophical exploration, but as a sociologist (Adam, 1990).

The Cultural Turn

Featherstone, Hepworth, and Gilleard and Higgs address ageing body directly through the lens of consumer culture and 'high' modernity, or 'Modern II'. Featherstone builds a theoretical basis of the body through the lens of the sociological theorists Giddens (*Modernity and Self-identity*, 1991), Beck (*Risk Society: Towards a new modernity*, 1992), and Bauman (*Postmodernity and Its Discontents*, 1997). Consumer culture and commodification are central to high modernity and the constitution of bodies (Williams and Bendelow, 1998). Choice, mobility, and an unceasing search for novelty that will fulfil desire are the hallmarks of consumer culture (Featherstone, 1991, 2010). Strategies that pre-empt "deterioration or decay," the pursuit of youthful perfection, is what Featherstone names the "self-preservation body" (1991, p170). In this commodified world, there is an emphasis on appearance and presentation. Risk and moral danger have given rise to surveillance medicine or the biomedical gaze (Williams and Bendelow, 1998). Social reflexivity is at the core of framing body. Body is both self-referential and in the centre of a feedback loop. Featherstone's and Hepworth's (1991) important contribution to gerontology is opening a discourse about the representation of ageing bodies. This is an important step, which stimulated a shift in gerontological studies from viewing ageing bodies to inhabiting them. It is important to note at this point that, in the *Coming of Age*, bodies in decline are inhabited (de Beauvoir, 1972). De Beauvoir employs a primarily humanities approach to the subject of ageing bodies. Nevertheless, Featherstone's work pioneered an approach to body in high modernity. The consumer body is relegated to a Cartesian duality with a deep divide between presentation/appearance, regime, and lived experience. This is evident in Featherstone's and Hepworth's *Mask of Ageing,* where, in essence, youth is trapped in ageing body (1991). This is a profoundly ego dystonic and one that denies a phenomenological embodiment.

In their earlier work, Gilleard and Higgs[3] place the words 'body' and 'embodiment' in chapter titles though body is largely absent for them (2000, 2005). In their latest volume, *Ageing, Corporality and Embodiment,* they redress this absence of body. In this book, their reading of Merleau-Ponty's work is a singular focus on the "acceptance that an inseparable relationship exists between the body and the being of the observer and the world that s/he observes…" (2013, p 7). It is, perhaps, through a misreading of Merleau-Ponty (see Merleau-Ponty section earlier in this chapter) that Gilleard and Higgs miss Merleau-Ponty's call for an end to <u>all</u> binary conceptions of body. Gilleard and Higgs separate corporality from embodiment thus, defining a new dualism. They define corporality as the "unmediated materiality of the body" (2013, p ix) and embodiment as "the vehicle or medium of social agency" (2013, p ix). Like their earlier work (2000, 2005), they discuss the imposition of consumer cultural regimes on ageing bodies. The genesis of these regimes is objectification of body in late modernity and includes plastic surgery, vitamin therapies, diets and exercise, and various biomedical interventions. Body is then an outer plastic surface to be worked upon to fit an ideal of youth. Through their work it appears that ageing people live in a state of, at least mild, body dysmorphia, or their sense of self/ego is dystonic or at odds with its body. There is a lack of habitation in the ageing bodies that Gilleard and Higgs present; they become postmodern projects as the subjects living within them seek youth and fulfilment outside of an affective or sensual life. Despite a distancing approach from ageing body there is an approach, the creation of an opening to discuss older bodies in the work of Featherstone and Hepworth and, later, Gilleard and Higgs. The subject is open, placed on the table for discourse and that, in and of itself, is important. To have theory to push one, and to push at, is far different from a theoretical absence. The door was opened, the subject was broached, and dialogue ensued.

Summary

Throughout this section, I have cited Williams and Bendelow (1998), whose seminal writing on body – an embodied sociology – has been an important influence on my research. Their critique of formulations of body is invaluable to my understanding of ageing bodies. Williams and Bendelow (1998, p 209) hold the position that sociology should "fundamentally be embodied," and that "theorising not so much about bodies but from bodies as lived entities" is crucial. This is applicable to social gerontology. Biology forms the basis of our lives, our live experienced of being-in-the world.

> The 'mindful' body… *provides the active sentient basis of agency and meaning creation in relational and social forms* (Williams and Bendelow, 1998, p 208).

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[3] Gilleard and Higgs work is discussed again later in this Chapter

Foucault (1990, 1994, 1997) provided an initial understanding of the influence of culture/society on the construction of body, but it is through a notional body that the historic flow of power and knowledge has been shaped. The influence of his work on feminist scholars, searching for gender and sexuality within the grand narrative of patriarchy, misses the corporeal body, save for the work of Grosz (1994) and Irigaray (1985, 2001). Within the context of second wave feminism, the absence of embodiment makes sense. There needed to be an absent presence to understand that biologicalism was not everything, and to begin to peel away the layers to an understanding of the embodied experience. Merleau-Ponty (1962) creates a framework for our understanding of embodiment. His work provides the language to make meaning of a body and mind that oscillate (Nettleton, 2006) together or form the continuous Mobius strip that eschews duality. It is the work of Twigg (2000, 2004, 2006, 2007) that gives ageing bodies flesh, and finally brings an understanding of both biology and culture to gerontology. There is an eloquence to her descriptions of bathing and caring for old bodies that is phenomenological, inviting compassion. Elias (1939/1978) has made a significant contribution to sociology of the body as he traces the civilizing process through a history of the body. Turner's (2008) panoramic history of the body, and his steps toward an understanding of that embodied history, takes Elias's legacy forward for other sociologists to build upon. Featherstone and Hepworth (1991) make the entre to the conversation about ageing body in high modernity. They examine the meaning of ageing body in the face of a culture that preferences youth and perfection, as do Gilleard and Higgs (2000, 2005). Some of these writers approach time either directly, as is the case with Elias and Merleau-Ponty, or implied in their work as time through the lens of history. This takes me to the next section that explores time.

TIME, TEMPORAL DIMENSION, AND TIMESCAPE

Looking from this vantage point on my process of developing the theoretical underpinning of my thesis, it is surprising to me that I had not initially read the importance of time into my understanding of body. Of course, I understood the interplay of body and history and the importance of chronology to the cultural construction of ageing, but it was not until my attention turned to the data analysis that I began to understand the depth of the significance of time. There was a story I read in Luce's *Body Time* (1973) that, to me, was an indicator of the deep power of time. Oysters were brought into a laboratory in Illinois from the US East Coast and kept in special pressurized tanks. For the first two weeks or so, they continued to react as if they were still in their home waters; they opened their shells on the New England high tide schedule. Thereafter, they shifted their schedule to their new home. In their new location, thousands of miles away from New England, their shells opened at what would have been high tide (if there was a tide). I picked up *Body Time* after reading about Bytheway's invitation to consider time and ageing in *Unmasking Age* (2011).

Discovering Time

Bytheway has had a long-standing interest in chronology. He began to investigate chronology, first as central to age ordering and stereotyping which results in ageism (1998, 1995). More recently, Bytheway (2005, 2011) has explored everyday life within the temporal dimension as interconnected to personal history through practices marking important anniversaries, circular time or the seasons and the weather, and, what he calls, 'return.' By return, he is referring to the return to places that were of some significance in earlier life. Central to Bytheway is the notion that these and other aspects of time are part of the whole of the temporal dimension or Timescape, a concept developed by Barbara Adam. He describes timescape as analogous to landscape (Bytheway, 2011). Bytheway's important work introduces the centrality of aspects of time to the lives' of older people. His work moves beyond an analysis of chronology to introduce temporality into the gerontological sphere. Time conceived as a landscape allows us to perceive time in its entirety and analyse its aspects, while maintaining a sense of wholeness. While investigating a specific aspect of time, like chronology or rhythm, that aspect moves to the foreground but maintains its place as part of the whole (Adam, 2013). Bateson (1972) describes time as unity, saying it is inextricably linked to nature and human life. This, too, is the starting point for Adam.

Barbara Adam

Time as a whole, a non-dualistic perspective, is at the heart of Adam's work as first outlined in *Time and Social Theory* (1990). She is not the first social scientist to theorize time in this way. Giddens (1987), Luhmann (1976), and Elias (1992) all hold this perspective. The difference in Adam's work is that she moves from describing time to creating a body of knowledge about time (Adam, 1990). She accomplishes this by relocating time from being fundamentally dependent on the human mind to a binding aspect of all nature, in which humans are included. Following the lead of chronobiologists, she argues that it is through rhythmicity that we can begin to perceive that the living world is constituted in time. In describing this living world, Adam states:

> *a world of orchestrated rhythms of varying speed and intensity, of temporally constituted uniqueness, a realm of organisms with the capacity for memory and foresight and of beings that time their actions and reckon on time* (1990, p 72).

In other words, from the radiance of the sun, to the rotation of the planet, and the relationship between the moon and our sun, there is a primal rhythmicity. On the most basic level, our sleep cycles are regulated by this primal rhythm. It governs our social processes, along with the processes of all earth life. Social scientists have described natural rhythms through cycles of sameness – plant in the spring,

plants grow in the summer, harvest in the autumn, and winter takes the earth into a fallow phase, sequentially, year after year. Life sciences research finds a profound complexity in all of life, from single cell organisms to humans, from the rhythm of fast chemical processes to far-reaching climatic change. The past, present, and future interpenetrate through seeds and plants, which are embedded within their environment. Adam's metaphor of orchestration penetrates the universality of rhythm. Time is variant, rather than a steady metronomic movement. There is multiplicity within the variation and all are interconnected. Variation in time of, say, rhythm, growth, or duration is context dependent. For example, all mammals learn to walk when they are babies but there is a wide variation as to the timing and a multiplicity of regulated biological processes must occur in order to learn mobility. Each system in our bodies has a different rhythm. Oscillating together as a whole, these are connected to the seasonal and diurnal cycles, the lunar rhythms, and growth and decay, to name a few aspects of the time that interconnect with our living world. Time is the gestalt of the natural world. Human life cannot be separated from the natural world or that gestalt. Both physically and psychologically, our health and well-being spring from these rhythms. Clock and calendar time aside for the moment, our body clocks know much about time in terms of sequence (morning, afternoon), duration, and intervals. We live embedded in time as it lives in us. Return to Luce's (1973) story of his laboratory oysters for a moment. Their body clocks, the interpenetration of the past, present, and future, their embeddedness in the larger (sun/earth/moon relationship) planetary cycles, and their own small metabolic rhythms (opening shells) are all at play. It is not simply a sequencing of these aspects of time, these rhythms – all are orchestrated together in the oysters' connection with and living in time. Rhythmicity is fundamental to nature. The living world is not episodic, with beginnings or endings; instead, there are interconnections and interpenetrations that are continual processes. Adam's elegant description of this rhythmicity provides the social sciences with a theoretical framework to review old assumptions about the divide between human time and the natural world (1990, 1995, 2004(a)).

Until the publication of Adam's seminal work in 1990, the social sciences conceived of time as primarily linear and sequential. It is also postulated in the social sciences that there is a division between natural time and human social time. Giddens (1987), Elias (1992), and Luhmann (1976) are the exceptions. All these social scientists attempted to frame a non-binary theory of time, but never with the full breadth of analysis of Adam (1990). Bateson (1972, 1979) understood the non-sequential nature of time and the unity of the whole of the lived world, but never developed a theoretical analysis. Adam (1990, 2004(a)) argued that social science was using outmoded scientific models to frame a concept of time that did not include innovations in biology or physics. Fundamental aspects of human life are, of course, biological. Our biological nature is demonstrated through growth and ageing, "purposeful action, sociability, communications, and the beginnings of consciousness" (Adam, 1990, p 90). However, social science, for the most part, continues to lift an

analysis of human endeavours out of the realm of its interconnections with the natural world. The entire lived world is fundamentally dynamic, in part, through a profound interconnectedness with time, which must be included in a primary understanding of our human world.

Social scientists from multiple disciplines state that the birth-death horizon is central to the constitution of human life (Adam, 1990, 2004(a); Elias, 1985, 1992; Turner, 1991; Aries, 1974; Vincent, 2003). Within human life, the consciousness of death is the most obvious bounding of time. Awareness of finitude, in combination with our need to construct some sense of continuance, or something of permanence in our lives, is an integral aspect of life and time (Adam, 1990, 2004(a); Aries, 1974). Adam (1990) explains that the birth-death horizon is usually understood to be sequential and linear and as a result it is the boundaried framework of finitude that has defined the structure of the social sciences. Instead, Adam argues that all "habits and traditions, goals, wishes and intentions, values and meanings, even pragmatic action are only possible" through continuity and the interpenetration of past, present, and future" (2004b, p 4). All pasts and futures are continually lived out in the present. Within the temporal dimension, aspects of anticipation, imagination/projection, experience and return (cycles), as played out through mental, psychological, and physical human activity, are examples of the interpenetration of past, present, and future. We reach back to the past and forward in all aspects of life. I address the issue of return in the next paragraph. What I am describing here is both small and large timeframes. Past and future can, and do, extend to vast periods of time. Take for example the theory of evolution, which, occurring over a great span of time, includes the aspects of time named above, and profoundly affects our construction of society and our individual selves, yet no human is able to conceive of this breadth of time.

I would now like to focus briefly on the notion of return. Adam is clear that, within the living world, there is no possible return to an identical place/state. Travel through time, whether it is seconds or years is, in itself constitutive of change. Later, in *Timewatch* (published five years after the concepts described above), Adam stated that each act contains the "seeds of change" (1995, p 9). This, perhaps, is a softening of her position, but, nonetheless, is conceptually identical. The present is always inclusive of past and that inclusivity colours all succeeding moments of time. It could be said that cycles are not entirely circular. Time cannot be reversed. Social scientists arrange natural time and social time in a dualistic hierarchy, with a preferencing of clock and calendar time to explain modern (versus traditional/primitive) concepts of time (1990, 1995, 2004(a)).

At the centre of analyses of clock time are ideas of organization, regulation, and symbolism. I have established up to this point that Adam does not perceive of time as a symbolic measure, but a material, unifying dimension. Organization is seen everywhere in nature, obvious examples being ants and bees. Time regulation in the lived world is everywhere, from diurnal cycles that regulate most of our work days and traffic patterns, to metabolic cycles that regulate essential activities like digestion. It could be said that natural time is 'being time' while clock measurement symbolizes time.

Clock time is spatial yet body time inhabits fully the temporal dimension. Yes, space is important but, ultimately, space is primarily temporal because it can only exist in time. In other words, all complex living systems interconnect through time, though they also exist in space. Within the many rhythms of human life, from sleep to seasonal life to human rituals, it is natural time rather than clock time that, in the end, is embedded in our being. Clock time is a delimiting concept in terms of the whole of our temporal being. As temporal beings, our personal boundaries are expanded by our relational nature. Our temporal extended boundaries are experienced through a multiplicity of awareness. For example, we go to a Ginger Baker[4] concert on the appointed date and time, remember the past when we last saw him live, relive that moment with the person next to us who has never seen him live before but has "always listened to his music," all while experiencing the music, moving our bodies in time to the music, in the present.

The example of the rock concert underlines how aspects of time operate/exist in relationship to each other. Adam (1990, 1995, 2004(a)) refers to this as 'mutual implication' and argues that through the interconnections of these relationships, aspects of time can be mutually reinforced and exert influence on each other. Mutual implication can be a useful systemic notion but as Moran has indicated:

> *Mutual implication as a term ambiguously suggests that all times somehow relate. However, Adam is quick to point out that gaps are more common than connections, and that non-interactions can be more important than connections* (2013, p 11).

Moran's contribution not only helps to clarify Adam's concept of mutual implication but also the fluid nature of defining time – it is like trying to hold mercury between your fingers.

Over the course of history, there have been attempts to define, reduce, and simplify our boundaried understanding of time. It is of note that, with the invention of mechanical clocks, descriptions of body, metaphorically and literally, shifted to mechanistic language. All this is not to say, that clock time is irrelevant, nor an unimportant measure, but it is the reification of clock time in the social sciences that is problematic for Adam. Industrial time is, by its nature, different from clock time. Industrial time is the commodification of time; units of time have a monetary value placed on them. Though Adam (2009) does not consider the notion of bureaucratization of time in her definition of industrial time, it is an area that is interesting to consider within a gerontological framework.

I return now to the larger concept of social time. Adam does not deny the importance of social time; after all, she is first and foremost, a sociologist. At the centre of her work is the notion that there is, within the natural sciences, a knowledge of larger, universal principles of natural time. The study of time within the context of human life is concerned with activities, events, and behaviours that are unique to humans. Adam calls for the parameters of the study of human time to be understood within

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[4] Ginger Baker is one of the most important rock drummers of the sixties. He is credited with creating the rhythms that became psychedelic rock (Galenson, 2009; Schartz, 2007; Whiteley, 1992).

the larger principles of natural time, thus inviting a more unified perspective rather than a binary positioning, separating humans from their place in the natural world.

Time, timing (good and bad), temporality (human communicative tools and concepts about time), and tempo are at the core of social time as explained throughout this section. Adam definitively demonstrated that all time in the living world is interconnected. Diachronic and synchronic time, though linguistically separated, can be likened to Grosz's (1994) metaphor of the Mobius strip of mind and body outlined earlier in this chapter. Adam's current work is focused on theorizing and developing social science methodology to understand the future, both in the short and long terms (2004(b), 2007, 2009, 2010, 2013). The future is seen through the lens of consequences, of both past and current decisions, and the effects of the decisions on the health of the planet. This work carries forward her analysis of the interpenetration of past, present, and future in both theoretical and material ways. In an unpublished paper, she calls for research into the lives of ageing people and their "death-transcending creations" (2010, p 9). She frames those creations or achievements through the lens of a globalized world, stating that they are diminished because of the vastness of the problems and the seemingly limited future possibilities. Though I did find this paper limited in scope, in terms of addressing ageing studies through time or even futurity, it was a useful read. In analysing our possible long-term futures, Adam's analysis can be read as bleak. She delineates the irreversibility of time as she outlines many past and present decisions/actions, i.e. nuclear bombs and power plants, which have detrimental effects for the long-term future of the planet. Again, she calls on social scientists to incorporate time, and especially the future, into their research.

Adam's work is at the core of this thesis. Like Merleau-Ponty, she has addressed the basic problems of Cartesian dualism and developed viable theoretical solutions, creating a body of work that presents a layered unity of time in the living world. In addition, like Merleau-Ponty, her perspective is profoundly informed by the state of the world and what has brought about these conditions. Adam's perspective and analysis of time has been the guiding light for my own analysis. Adam's work was seminal in shaping my view. In this subject area, there are not unifying terms and little agreement as to the parameters and meaning of time, and widely varying opinions as to the importance of time to the social sciences (Adam, 1995; Nowotny, 1988, 1992, 1994; May and Thrift, 2001; Moran, 2013). It is not that time is not theorized within the social sciences; it is more that each discipline discovers time/temporality and reinvents it (Adam, 2004(a); Nowotny, 1994; Moran, 1013). That said, there are others whose work complements my core insights and adds to my own understandings and theory development.

Rhythmicity, History, Social Time, and Space

In looking at society as a whole, Young and Schuller (1998) place rhythmicity at the centre of their analysis. They also perceive chronobiology as central to an analysis of time. They take the perspective that humans are akin to other creatures in the lived world, but also decidedly different. Those differences must be accounted for in terms of temporality. Returning to the concepts of rhythm, they argue that it orders people's experiences in the world. Rhythm is an "interplay between repetition and surprise" (Young and Schuller, 1988, p 13). Adam, in describing the biologists' position, states that nature is ever in search of beauty and novelty. For Young and Schuller, it is this tension between regularity and surprise or innovation that is the beat of society.

Lefebvre (2004) describes this unpredictability in rhythmicity as 'Moments' (also see Shields, 2001). He applies Moments to formulate a temporal theory that encompasses individuals and societies and the making of history. Moments are critical times when there is an opening to challenge the status quo – the orthodoxies of the time. It is these moments that hold the potential to radically alter the direction of history - in other words, a turning point. Lefebvre's vision may be too limited or mono-causal, but it is an important insight into the rhythms of history and change. It is of note that Lefebvre does include the life of the body, or embodied experience, in his phenomenological perspective. The social body and the biological rhythms of body are part of his central thesis, which he calls 'Rhythmanalysis'. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, history is central to the formulation of body for some key writers. We have also seen that history, as an aspect of time or temporality, is not defined, with the exception of Elias's (1939/1978, 1992) work. The study of history has, for the most part, been divided into human and natural history. However, Toulmin and Goodfield (1983) develop the perspective of history as "temporal development," profoundly interwoven with natural history (p 17). Links to the past become the shape of pooled collective human memories. In these memories, human motives and thoughts are central, but continually entangled with the natural history of the planet. Recognition of the interaction, within the temporal dimension, of natural and human forces is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of history. Using the language of time, Toulmin and Goodfield shape another sense of history, opening the possibility of reaching far into the past and an interpenetration of the past and present with a presage into the future. History moves beyond a retelling of events to encompass a wider field of understanding.

Like history, social time, until recently, has been perceived as entirely divorced from natural time (see section on Adam). There is a wide divergence of opinion as to a definition of social time within the social sciences. Generally, covers what could be called 'human doings.' This lack of clarity as to the meaning of social time is not necessarily a limitation. A universal or singular definition would inevitably create a narrow and binary description of all things human within the temporal dimension (May and Thrift, 2001). Thinking about all the aspects of time touched on so far, and how they may be applied to the social life of humanity, makes it clear that no one all-encompassing definition is possible. Nowotny (1988, 1992, 1994) has called for a unified definition and has reworked several

definitions. Ultimately, each reworking appears to be binary and unable to account for the time and space continuum/dimensions (May and Thrift, 2001).

Within Nowotny's struggle to define social time, there emerges the central question of what is social? Put another way, is the societal matrix ultimately a fully separate entity from the rest of the lived world? Moran (2013) builds on Adam's analysis, reframing the discourse by viewing time as social practice or, rather, a group of social practices that are fluid. This question of social time is important because, in the end, it is how we boundary social practices within the social sciences or, more specifically, within gerontology. Moran, like Adam, is more interested in the relationships between aspects of time and social practice than clumping human activity together in one big-tent definition. For him, temporality works by any number of functions, i.e. speed, anticipation, waiting, or access. Fundamentally, time is a passage and temporal phenomena are captured within the language of these functions – this is the temporal as social practice. Clocks are our references to time, but social practice is how time is "enacted and lived" (2013, p 15). In other words, time is the container for the temporal, which holds the properties of time in the human realm. If this sounds grand or big, it is. For Moran, there are no absolute unifying terms, as they would be reductive. Moran states that:

> ...we should trust our instinct that time is confusing and not reducible to a timeline or experience of passage (2013, p 17).

There is an inevitability to our experience of time in the present – we have arrived here in the now and it assures us of passage into the future. To extract this knowing, or any other aspects of temporality, without firmly holding onto the Adam's notion of mutual implication is to disconnect and reify one particular aspect. Again, time is a web of connections – clock time refers to our organization of diurnal cycles and activity patterns of work/leisure and so on. Finally, Moran looks at the timing of shifting social practices, from telephones to using search engines on the Web (and the erasure of diachronic time as a result of those search engines). This places timing within the context of history in a world of changing social practices. But has it ever been any different? Moran's work, framing time within social practices, adds another grounded dimension to Adam's work, taking notions of temporality a step further into the lived world.

Adding another dimension to my understanding of social practice, the work of geographers May and Thrift (2001) look at time as social practice. They describe social practice across four domains: 1) the natural universe, 2) social discipline, which could mean secular or religious practices or work/leisure/family time divisions, 3) the emergence of our sense of time from various "instruments and devices" i.e. telephones, cell phones, computers, and 4) our sense of temporality that emerges from new notions of time that come through the written word, media, etc. These ideas are disseminated and then become codified. Through interaction with these domains, our ideas and sense

of social time are conceived and reconceived. These domains are deeply interconnected and each operate at their own pace – sometimes accelerated, sometimes slow. May and Thrift also see the problem of defining time and space in a non-dualistic way. Their solution, though influenced by Adam's work, is a departure, or, at least, an unpacking of time and space. They state that "time is bound to the spatial constitution of society" (p 2). In their mapping of time, timing, and time consciousness, they clearly define the importance of spatial variance. Understanding the primacy of language, they name the entanglement of time and space, 'timespace.' Finally, 'practicing time' includes both our external and inner lives. Exterior time is manifest by activity and interior time through our imagination and they are not separate spheres. Instead, outer or social activity and imagination/cognition constitute the practice of time. Within their work, they are always looking to undo dualities and see the interconnections and interpenetrations of the whole. For me, this is an interesting return, coming full circle back to Merleau-Ponty's description of our perception of, and in, time.

I would also like to touch briefly on the work of Melucci (1998), who describes the interiority and exteriority of time as a whole. He discusses the difference in pace between our inner and the external worlds, stating there is a tension between the complexities of different paces between the two in contemporary society. Though he defines social time as linear, he also sees the interconnection with the multiplicities of time. He brings forward the notion (which will be discussed in more detail below) of time as shaped or configured differently for different 'social' groups, like youth or women. These groups challenge the larger societal notions of time, foregrounding that there are multiple experiences of time. He theorizes an oscillation between the layers of dominant time - time as practiced within particular social groups, and interior time. He states that it is the conscious awareness of this that brings an energy to, and mitigates the intensity of, contemporary social rhythms.

Naming Time
The notion of variance of time within different groups is important in gerontology, where pace, timing, duration and other aspects of time may slow down or shift. Of course, as groups migrate to new countries/cultures, they bring their cultural sense of time with them. I would like to focus here on gender/sex and time. It is a useful way to think about how notions of time may be applied to ageing people. Women's time means living within and with an awareness of the physiological cycles (menstruation, pregnancy/lactation, childbirth), caring times (for children and ageing parents), and in relationship to other times (children's, partner's, industrial time) (Forman, 1989). These examples of women's time also represent the notion of mixed time and public/private time. Women's time, it is argued, is closer to a sense of natural time, or living within cycles, because of women's biological differences, i.e. menstruation. Menstruation and menopause are examples of a larger cycle within a

lifetime, but Forman discussed smaller conceptions of time like waiting as children do things at their own pace. This, along with living intimately within the spheres of growing beings, shifts women's perspectives from those of the dominant culture. Kahn (1998) couches this as historical processes that have shaped our knowledge of time so that preferenced public life (work, etc.) over more life processes. Kahn goes on to state that this is an impoverishment in the lives of women. I would take this one step further; it is an impoverishment within the society, at large.

Women's time is linguistically evocative. The naming of time within a particular group provokes an imaging of what that might, or does, mean. Moran (2013) and May and Thrift (2001) discuss the role of time language within text. Moran describes how, through our use of temporality in communicating, we are constantly invoking notions of time. How often in a day do we use words like become, later, move, and frequent? Philosopher and sinologist François Jullien (2011), looks at the larger implications of time and language as he analyses differences between the Chinese words for transition and our English use of the word. This cultural difference in the use of the language of time profoundly affects the way we conceive of ageing. Jullien's work provides another lens into an understanding of temporality and ageing from a non-binary perspective. He describes the process of ageing as one of silent transformation. Nature is reflected in Chinese language and meaning. Ageing is a continuous process and like "all change, all movement [*is*] indivisible" (2011, p 37). It is like watching the continuous process or movement of a meadow. We can name these artificial moments of sprouting or end-of the-season but, in reality, it is all continuous movement. He asks the question, where in the process or at what juncture, does one begin the analysis? For the Chinese, transformation is global, continuous - an interchange of elements which are envisaged as non-differentiated. Jullien notes that Chinese historians have not developed a concept of time. To them, it is all framed as continuous process. Of course, I am fully aware that what Jullien is describing is embedded in a rich cultural network. I do not suggest that this could be replicated within the West. Nevertheless, I found this framework a useful analytical tool. Within social gerontology, it is frequently stated, "we are always ageing," a statement I have not found particularly useful to my own thinking. Jullien's work provides apt and evocative distinctions that have been useful in delineating the analyses of time that has informed this research.

Lifecourse, Generation, Periodicity, and the Third Age
Perhaps, the lifecourse perspective is the polar opposite of silent transitions. The terms lifecourse, lifespan, and lifetime have been used frequently in this thesis to describe the life trajectory in relationship to the nature of ageing. There is another use of these terms that denotes a distinctive process in which time is marked in a staged progress through the lifespan. Lifecourse theory is built on the notion of life stages that are developmental (Elder, 1994; Mills, 2000; Gilleard and Higgs, 2000; Grenier, 2012). The conception of these stages of development is a causal advancement

through the lifecourse or time (Mills, 2000). There are two streams within lifecourse theory. They are the personological and institutional perspectives. Elder's (1999) work is representative of the personological approach, is primarily concerned with personal biography, history, and the challenges of analyzing those areas ahistorically. The institutional strand takes an analytical approach, founded on the life course and social structures (Grenier, 2012; Dannefer and Settersen, 2010), and is less concerned with the temporal dimension. Both streams are lineal and causal, reaching temporal/developmental markers built on earlier events in one's biography, or social and institutional structures that shape the construction of age across the lifecourse (Biggs, 1997; Grenier, 2012). I include lifecourse theory in my literature review because it is the most well developed temporal perspective even though time is defined and used in limited and linear ways. When compared to the work of Adam and others cited throughout this chapter, lifecourse theory's narrow view of time and human ageing was not useful.

The temporal conception of generation has also been, and continues to be, a theme within gerontological discourse. Whether it is Ryder's very specific use of the time-boundaried word 'cohort' or the looser grouping of generation, it is a notion that continues to be debated in gerontology (Ryder, 1965; Gilleard and Higgs, 2005; Higgs et al, 2011). Gilleard and Higgs, in their argument for the importance of generation, state that time is a social construction, which is a dismissal of the importance of time within a gerontological analysis. Instead, they privilege generation, writing as if it were not an aspect of time. It is of note that they state that time is "under-researched and under-theorized" (2005, p 64). They argue that generation should be included, with class, race, gender, etc., as an identifying category. Turner takes a stronger stand, stating that generation should replace class as a primary identifier (1998).

There is a common agreement with all those mentioned above, in this last section, that there is an interconnection between social change, an association with one's times, and generation. Giesen (2004), on the other hand, describes generation as part of the 'hybridization' in the historical movement of time. For Giesen, it is the 'messiness' of time, juxtaposed to clean notions of historic periodization that are contained within generation. Generation is a social collective temporally located. This social collectivity results in a merging of memories. For Giesen, this is not simply the process of a sequence of events but, instead, an interplay of time and the times in the formation of this collective memory. Giesen likens collective social or generational memory to individual memories, where there are, indeed, differences in recollections. A central aspect in the generational merging of memory is the development of a collective meaning(s). He calls this merging of memory within the generation 'divided memory,' because it is divided one generation to the next. The collective memory of generations is not only a mental process but corporeal, in that they are related to bodily experiences like trauma or engagement in a cultural revolution. Corporeal experience, he explains, can be

indirectly (through media) or directly experienced. In other words, the memory of the experience is held and experienced in body and mind. Within Giesen's construction of generational memory, events are a break from previous generational experience and are the basis for forming or merging memory into a social collective remembrance. Generational memory can be reinforced through ritual or repeated experience, like dancing with others, so that participants reflect one another's experience/memory. Finally, Giesen discusses the shift to a social structure in which temporality plays a primary role in decentralizing class. His analysis did not elucidate the replacement of class with time, rather than temporality being added to the centrality of an analysis of social structure. Zerbuval (2003) names collective memory as a mnemonic community. He broadly defines mnemonic communities as groupings that share a commonality of remembrance – families, ethnic groups, and nations. It is simply recalling the past together. Zerbuval describes a collective memory as, not just remembered events, but a process of synergy that happens within the group to shape the memory. There is a cultural mental schema, or mnemonic socialization, that dictates how collective memories are formulated. We develop plotlines and narratives that are an aggregate of individual memories, and, together, these accumulated remembrances constitute the formation of a mnemonic community. There are relics or memorabilia that connect the mnemonic community, as well as imitation and replication of the past, which are similar to Giesen's ritual or repeated experience. Together, Giesen's divided memories and Zerbuval's mnemonic communities constitute an analysis of generational memory which is an important concept in this thesis.

Both Giesen and Zerbuval are, of course, describing events or shared memory within a given group during a specific historic period. As we have seen through Adam's work, and described in Zerbuval's analysis, historic time is continuous, without break or periodization (Adam, 1995, 2004; Zerbuval, 2003). In the West, history is mentally segregated into periods to facilitate the creation of a sense of meaning and coherence (Zerbuval, 2003). This 'social punctuation' is also evident in temporal breaks like weekends, separating work and leisure, or holidays, separating the sacred from secular. This is to say that historical discontinuity, the convention of periodization, is a social construction that tends to divide time into 'watersheds' or periods of 'rupture'. Periodization is a useful form of time categorization if it is not reified. It is tempting to see a watershed period like the sixties as symbolic or representational but, instead, an analysis of this period is a useful means to social or gerontological understandings if it is seen in the larger context of the flow of time. It should be understood in the wider notion of timescape as an aspect of time brought to the foreground (Adam, 2013). Gilleard and Higgs (2000) describe the emergence of generational divisions as an interplay between cohort and period. Their use of terms like period is not contextualized within an analysis of time and thus the definitional boundaries and meaning are not clear. Their primary concern, in terms of generation and periodization, seems to be activity with a particular fascination with activity that is marked by lifestyle and material consumption.

Gilleard and Higgs's work, as with many other social scientists concerned with ageing, employs a staged approach to the lifespan, though, it should be noted, this is a divergence from the lifecourse approach discussed above. The concept of Third and Fourth ages, developed by Peter Laslett, could be described as a kind of periodization of older life (Laslett, 1996; Gilleard and Higgs, 2000, 2005). Laslett calls it the 'new division of the life course' (1996). Laslett's new 'map' of old age was developed to address the specificity of ageing, address stereotyping of ageing, and create a more liberating way of perceiving older people as vital and capable. It has been an important and useful way of redefining ageing, away from the unremitting representations of decline. Laslett was concerned, from the onset, that the notion of the Third Age would codify and

> *...lead to an exaggeration of the differences between the phases it sets forth, to exaggerate the homogeneity within them and dwell excessively on transitions between them, and especially to conjure up an air of predetermined inevitability...* (Laslett, 1996, p 201).

The Third Age, for Laslett and later others, is another aspect of time that appears to have been a useful tool in the conception of ageing. It has, unfortunately, like many theoretical tools, been taken outside a larger conception of time, so it tends to be understood as a standalone notion. Laslett states unequivocally that the Third Age is not "chronological or birthday-age term*(s)*" (1996, p ix), instead it is a personal and collective phenomenon that hat come about as a result of longevity and, at least, moderate affluence. It is the period after retirement and/or parenting responsibilities have come to an end when people are free to experience life as "personal achievement" (1996, p 192) through education, culture, or other experiences. Laslett defines the Fourth Age are marked with "dependence and decrepitude" (1996 p 192).

Summary

Time has largely been missing within gerontological analysis and theory. With the exceptions of Bytheway (2005, 2011), and some of the lifecourse theorists, time has not been considered in any depth. Sociologist Barbara Adam (1990, 1995, 2004(a)) has developed a time theory that is based on the natural sciences, and is a departure from many of the clock and calendar based notions of time that had been previously put forth in the social sciences. An inclusion of rhythmicity, as well as the multitude of other aspects of time, is important for our understanding of culture, society, and ageing. Young and Schuller (1998) place time and the aspect of rhythm at the heart of society. For Lefebvre (1992/2004), rhythmicity is central to an understanding of historical development. Toulmin and Goodfield (1965/1983) specifically address history as an aspect of time and see the two areas as profoundly interconnected. Social time, a commonly used phrase, represents many different things. Moran (2013), who builds on the work of Adam, has developed ideas of time as a social practice, shifting away from the more dualistic notions of time put forward by Nowotny (1988, 1992, 1994).

May and Thrift (2001) address time the time/space binary and time as a social practice, developing Adam's works further.

The movement away from situating time and space within a binary framework is a major development in the social sciences, though, as Westerners, we struggle to find language that reflects new temporal meanings. Jullien's (2011) work is a useful way of looking at cultural difference (between the West and China) in conceiving of time and ageing. These differences shed light on possible new ways of thinking about time and ageing. Lifecourse theory uses time to express lifespan meaning in a staged understanding of ageing. Generation, another aspect of time has been addressed by gerontologists, but it is not, necessarily, thought of as an aspect of time. The meaning and relevance of generation and cohort is contested ground. Ryder (1965), Gilleard and Higgs (2000, 2005), and Giesen (2004) view the meaning and importance of cohort and generation through different lenses. Giesen and Zerbuval both (2003) address memory as held by a social group. In the case of Giesen, he addresses generation; Zerbuval addresses an array of social groups, from families to nations. Both Zerbuval and Giesen perceive the merging of memory within a community as a powerful force within the construction of the sense of group and group consciousness. Periodization is another temporal tool that provides society with a representation of a time and meaning. Laslett's (1996) Third Age is another aspect of time that has been influential in the understanding ageing.

IDENTITY

Identity is perceived from a panorama of viewpoints. It is seemingly as unchangeable as DNA, fingerprint, or iris pattern, or it is the almost imperceptible shifting fluidity from infant to older person. In *Identity*, Walker and Leedham-Green capture the essence of these two primary perspectives in this quote from *Alice in Wonderland*:

> *'When **I** use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.'*
> *The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean different things.'*
> *'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master – that's all'* [emphasis in original] (Carroll, 2001, p 113).

Humpty Dumpty states the contextual position as he refers to his untimely accident when he broke into pieces (Walker and Leedham-Green, 2010). If all the king's horses and all the king's men put him back together again, would he be the same egg? Alice takes on the essentialist perspective; it is what it appears to be. Time, point of view, and meaning are captured in this exchange. They appear to be at the centre of definitions and theories about identity and, specifically, identity and ageing. Both ontologically and epistemologically (see methodology chapter), I hold a systemic perspective. Bearing that in mind, Bateson (1972) situates identity within a web of possibilities: from values and

beliefs to an "aggregate of habits of perception and adaptive action" to what we decide, we or the group we identify with, likes or dislikes (p 242). Bateson also makes the point that mind/self is systemic and is not confined to the boundaries of the body, but part of the larger whole or cybernetic system. An example of breaking this boundary is our identity in a relational context as we reach out to others and interact (Jenkins, 1996). Bateson gives us the big picture of identity and leaves it to his readers to pin things down from the principles he puts forth. Gullette (2004) introduces identity in the broad term of "me-ness" (2004).

In this introduction I have touched on context, embodiment, and time. However, there is another important aspect that has shaped notions of identity: social and psychological perspectives. Is there a construct of a core self that is psychodynamically defined, or a systemic construction of self/identity that informs the writer or theorist? This question of theoretical baseline is central to notions of identity construction. Biggs (1999, 1997, 1993) and Featherstone and Hepworth (1991) sit firmly in the psychodynamic camp. 'Narrative Therapy' is a postmodern (post-psychodynamic) psychological perspective that does not employ psychoanalytic theory to define formation of the self or identity. Rather, the social and psychological perspectives are integrated to form a definition and an understanding of identity. The psychodynamic perspective incorporates the internal mental and emotional processes while a systemic perspective is more interested in contextualizing the person within systems, whether they be familial or larger social systems i.e. patriarchy. Both systemic and psychodynamic positions will be discussed in this section. Ageing is not, in itself, a notion of identity that can be segregated from general identity theory. As Gullette (2004) explains, it is part of our me-ness[5]. Thus, I draw from general theories of identity, as well as theories specific to ageing.

The Singular Self
The work of Simon Biggs is based on the psychodynamic tradition of Freud, located within the belief that it is our childhood experiences that shape a core, or authentic self. These buried parts of ourselves rise to the surface, providing us with meaning-making for the events in our lives (Biggs, 1997, 1999). As we mature, we develop surface personas, a masquerade that acts as a bridge to our interior desires. This masquerade provides us with the tools necessary for social connection and a link to continuity of self (Biggs, 1999). For Biggs, the 'mature imagination' is the expression of a developmental trajectory where one reaches a psychological state that provides access to multi-layered psychological expression. In other words, a depth or maturity of psychological expression of the authentic self that signals a sense of continuity. Biggs defines the mature imagination as the integration of surface and depth. He presents a proscriptive picture of normative ageing. Like the developmental theorists before him, he sees ageing identity as a series of interior tasks to be

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[5] see section on *Multi-storied Age Identities* for a more detailed discussion of her work.

accomplished throughout the stages of life (Biggs, 1999; Erikson and Erikson, 1997; Bateson, 2000; Hockey and James, 2003). The mature imagination is released from the constraints of a historical past locked in an interior self, and is discursive, though the authentic self continues to be of central importance. Biggs's work is also very much informed by Foucault. In Biggs's terms, maturity is dependent upon the ability to resist the bio-medical gaze, and other constructions of knowledge and power, and employ the 'technologies of self' (Powell and Biggs, 2003; Powell et al, 2006).

Some identity theorists make a demarcation between our social identities, what we present to the world, and our interior, private selves. As postmodernists, Taylor and Spencer (2004), define identity as a negotiation between our external and internal worlds within a framework of self-management. For them, identity is dichotomous. It is in the space between ourselves and others, both individuals and groups, that we negotiate our identities. Language/discourse and power are central to the formation of identity and meaning, though they emphasize that discourse comes from a multitude of sources. Thus, for Taylor and Spencer, there is not a singular influence that forms identity; instead, there is a deluge of possibilities. For them, identity is unstable, open to a change and flow.

Hall (2000) is perhaps the most pre-eminent cultural identity theorist. His is a postmodernist perspective, deeply informed by Foucault and psychoanalytic theory. He theorised that identity is formulated through the psychoanalytic paradigm and the discursive practices of knowledge and power. Hall states that identity is a never-ending discourse (Akomfrah, 2013). He, like many other postmodernists, places body – gendered bodies, racialised bodies, bodies of difference – in a pivotal position in defining identity (Hall and du Guy, 1996; Hall, 2000; du Gay et al, 2000; Taylor and Spencer, 2004). Though body is primary in their configuration of identity, it is the discursive body, rather than phenomenological body or embodiment. It is of note that, throughout the work of the postmodernists, the subject of ageing body, as a body of difference, is not explored, with the primary exceptions of Biggs (1991), Featherstone and Hepworth (1991), and Kaufman (1986).

Featherstone's and Hepworth's (1991) *Mask of Ageing* has been much critiqued (Ballard et al, 2005; Wray, 2007), but it is important to include it here, because it has been significant in gerontological thought. The mask is predicated on the notion of a core authentic self that is masked by an old face and body. Kaufman's (1986) *Ageless Self* investigates ageing identity and a singular self, in which meaning is constituted through themes. These themes 'crystalize' over a lifetime and remain unchanging as one enters old age. Identity is cumulative, as events from the past are structured and restructured to fit the themes developed over the lifespan. Kaufman's theory is developmental, with the continual improvement of the self that can denote progress. She concludes that the ageless self transcends age and is not an identity but a knowledge about oneself that fits into prior life themes.

Multi-storied Age Identities

Gullette (1997, 2004), who names herself an age critic, departs from the idea of singular core identity to a configuration of identity as multiple changing or shifting narratively-driven identities. Storytelling is at the heart of Gullette's work, in that she sees our identities as constructed of the stories we tell ourselves and others about who we are – our me-ness. The meaning of ageing is developed through our historical and chronological, geographical/spatial, and discursive contexts. We hold a secret identity that is never spoken or shared and also a social identity. Both of which come about, in large part, from the decisions we make as to who we want to be, based on beliefs, values, and affiliations. In the formation of our ageing identity, we adopt and adapt these to fit a sense of self-identity. Age is primary in our identity construction. Ageism and cultural mythologies of age decline play a significant role in Gullette's theory of identity development (1997, 2004, 2011). Resistance to decline plays an important role in the development of ageing identities. At the core of Gullette's theory is the notion that, through our narratives, we create multi-storied identities, and these identities are the voice of our multiple selves (1997).

Identities and Embodiment

The work of Richard Jenkins (1996) makes a major departure from previous identity theories when he situates embodiment at the core of identity. It is the fact of our embodiment that is the unifier of the self. In analysing Freudian and Transactional Analysis theory, he names them the 'theory of bits' (Jenkins, 1996, p 46). We do not, in reality, experience multiple entities living inside us; instead, we experience ourselves as unitary embodied beings.

> *A unitary model, however allows us to recognise the self as a rich repository of cultural resources; organised biographically as memory, experientially as knowledge; some conscious, some not; some of them in contradiction, some in agreement; some of them imperative, some filed under 'take it or leave it;' some of them pure in-flight entertainment; etc. The self is an umbrella….* (Jenkins, 1996, p 46).

In other words, there is no true or authentic self/identity as described in psychoanalytic terms. Jenkins views identity as fluid and, like Gullette, portrays its expression as a core 'is-ness'. However, unlike Gullette, he delineates a multi-layered investigation of identity. He defines identity, all identity, as social identity. Identity itself is, he states, the wider category of naming all substantive things and creatures. That said, Jenkins' stated concern is not with how identity is defined but, rather, with how it works. Through Jenkins' systemic lens, identity is a flow of relational processes and practices. Self-knowledge - our perceptions of ourselves and the world around us - as well as knowledge of others, which we experience through interaction and observation (not the psychoanalytic notion of

projection), is the stuff we use to construct identities. Embodiment is the unifier of mind and self and, from this, identity flows. Identity formation is a reflexive process that is an interaction with social constructions, our relations with others, and with institutions. He describes a similar process in his construction of the collective social identity, a process where individuals reflect the collective and the collective reflects individuals in an active transferable process. Jenkins' description of the larger processes of identity making, from the individual to society as a whole, is useful, leading to an understanding of process that extends beyond individual identities. He also explains why resistance to identity classification/stereotyping is a potent process over time. This is an important point for Jenkins; people have a great deal of difficulty being categorized or quantified, and they will resist institutional/societal efforts to do so. As with Gullette's notions of age categorization and resistance, we defy attempts to categorize us. The internal-external tension that is constitutive of identity operates to resist categorization. Jenkins makes an interesting and important point about the process of identity formations: reflexive self-identity is not a modern phenomenon. He compares the ideology of spiritual salvation and how, at another point in history, it could be construed as similar to the modern ideology of personal growth. Identity might, very well, once have been reflexive of an ideology of religious salvation, as it is today reflexive of personal development ideologies. History and culture determine the shape and meaning of identity, but the process of formation is comparable. Jenkins' work is significant to my research because he conceives of embodiment as the unifying basis for identity, not as naturalised but as the fact of our corporeal selves. In other words, he reads identity as selfhood, mind unified by embodiment, reflexive of culture and society. Jenkins' embodiment, like Merleau-Ponty's, is not conceptualized as a bounded container but, instead, something that can be, and is, interpenetrated by others. He cites Bateson and his Ecology of Mind theory, which situates the flow of self as part of a larger ecological whole or cybernetic system.

This brings me to the work of Hockey and James (2003), who build on Jenkins theoretical base to construct a theory of ageing identity through the lens of embodiment that is neither psychodynamic nor naturalized. They state:

> If, as Jenkins (1996) argues, individual identity can only make sense in relationship to social identity then the reverse is also true. Social identities only come into being through their embodiment or animation by **individuals**. Thus 'the social is the field upon which the individual and collective meet and meld' (Jenkins, 1996, p 17). We therefore come to know that we are ageing through our embodiment. And, in the social, this experience conjoins with ideological and economic structures [emphasis in original] (2003, p 134).

Ageing identity is the interpenetration of engagement with society, human agency, and embodiment (both culturally constructed and corporeal fleshy body – which, ultimately, cannot be teased apart).

This is not to say that there is not a wide variance of ageing identities. Class, race, gender, family history, health, and personal choices are just a few possible variables that constitute ageing identities. Hockey and James postulate that age is a significant and basic aspect of identity. Like Jenkins, they develop a theory of identity that is fluid, relational, and reflexive. Identities are formed as we: 1) learn how others view/perceive us; 2) are influenced by the cultural discourses of knowledge and power; 3) interact with the social forces (of all kinds) around us. Identity is not stable. There is no true or authentic self; instead, it is fluid and contingent. In part, the genesis of this instability is age, since age is not static. In large part, our identity is formed by our own internal sense of ageing and how others perceive us. Hockey and James challenge notions of fixed life stages and, instead, describe a 'fuzzy' life course where age, all ages, is significant to identity formation. Through the passage of ages, events, interaction, etc, identity is produced, reproduced, and changed. Individuals and society/culture engage and merge through the body. The process of the production of identity, both collective and individual, is initiated and cultivated at this junction. Hockey and James touch on the temporal as they discuss not just chronology, but also the historical dimensions of identity. Though embodiment there is an interpenetration of past, present, and future that shapes the imagination and the production of memory. This is the raw material of identity. Age and culture are situated in the historic. With their inclusion of embodiment and temporality, Hockey and James have developed an important theoretical understanding of ageing identity. Like Jenkins, they have moved beyond the disembodied discourses of knowledge and power to add the dimension of embodiment to our understanding of identity. Like Jenkins, Hockey and James advance a notion of body that is not a bounded container, but instead, extends beyond vessel status to being part of a social matrix (Hockey and James, 2003).

I would now like to briefly touch on the work of Battersby, which crosses over both body/embodiment and identity. Battersby describes the body's permeable boundaries, with its "potential for penetration and pregnancy," as intrinsic to identity. For her, both body and identity flow in a configuration, which is outside notions of containment. Elegantly, she states:

> *What I have been wanting to stress throughout this paper is that not all talk of identity involves thinking of the self as unitary or contained; nor need boundaries be conceived in ways that make identity closed, autonomous or impermeable. We need to think individuality differently; allowing the potentiality for otherness to exist within it, as well as alongside it; we need to theorise agency in terms of patterns of potentiality and flow. Our body boundaries do not **contain** the self; they **are** the embodied self* [emphasis in original] (1993, p 38).

For Battersby, the embodied self/identity is a unitary construct; we are our embodied selves.

Before I conclude this section, I must come full circle to my roots as a Foucauldian psychotherapist. I stated at the beginning of this chapter that I had been greatly influenced by the work of Foucault earlier in my life. There is much about his work that is troubling, or no longer fits with my vision, but some of his postmodernist ideas continue to influence my thinking. As a former practitioner of Narrative Therapy, based on Foucault's work, my conception of identity is influenced, in part, by Narrative theory. Originally, Narrative was the translation of Foucault into psychotherapeutic practice. Over the years, Narrative founders, Epston and White, have also shifted their perspective (Guilfoyle, 2012). The development of Narrative is collaborative, and many practitioners have had a hand in its development and shifting theory and practice. Narrative Therapy is not psychoanalytic/psychodynamic (Epston and White, 1990). There is no true or authentic self which then develops various personas or identities while true self remains stable (Epston and White, 1993; Guilfoyle, 2012). In other words, there is no sovereign self. Instead, the self is constituted in stories, and these stories shape, and are shaped by, our lives, our relationships, and our being-in-the-worldness. Stories are not defined by consciously constructed autobiography but, instead, the everyday talk that can be perceived as narratively-driven. In this quote, the self is described metaphorically as fluid, rather than a reductive inner reality:

> *What was needed was a shift away from structure and a view of the self as a stretch of moving history, like a river or stream. ...I came to think of the self as the Australian aborigines think of their 'songlines'. Songlines are the musical roadmaps tracing paths from place to place in the territory inhabited by each individual* (Hoffman, 1992, quoting Gergen).

Like all postmodern theory, Narrative is founded on the notion that knowledge and power profoundly influence our sense of selves. Ageism or sexism are a result of the Grand Narratives that are constitutive. In Narrative, both social constructionism/postmodernism and narrative are defined as metaphors rather than rigid literalisms (Freedman and Combs, 1996). Included in identity are our hopes, values, dreams, intentions – who we are, as we inhabit a storyline (Duvall and Beres 2011). In this way, self and identity bleed together and become a landscape of our is-ness. Through action and consciousness or social practice, we create meaning. Meaning, self, and identity are fluid and contingent. Events, relationships, intentions and motivations, commitments, values and beliefs, to name a few, are part of the landscape of action. Through action, identity and meaning can shift (Freedman and Combs, 1996). Though Narrative was predicated on the work of Foucault, there was always a disconnect between the influence of discursive technologies of knowledge and power and the personal agency that Narrative championed. In White's later writing, he shifted away from a radical postmodernist view to, something he called, the agentive self (White, 2007; also see Guilfoyle, 2012). The 'agentive self' develops identities that counter subjugating stories like ageism. It is of note that, throughout its history, Narrative has been concerned with embodied practices and the

phenomenology of those practices. There has always been a discomfort between Foucault's discursive body and the embodied practices that Narrative Therapists chose to work with, for example anorexia and domestic violence. Like the agentive self, the phenomenological body, not the discursive body, framed Narrative theory and practice. This is, perhaps, a result of another major influence in the development of Narrative: the work of Bateson (Duvall and Beres, 2011). Bateson's influence is also acknowledged in the notions of temporality that are enfolded into Narrative.

> *Human sense organs can receive only news of difference, and the difference must be coded into events (i.e. into changes) in order to be perceptible* (Bateson, 1979, p 79).

It is news of difference that precipitates identity development as our stories are produced, reproduced, and changed (Epston and White, 1990).

Summary

There are more similarities than differences between the theories of Jenkins, Hockey and James (2003), and those of White and Epston (1990). Perhaps, the major difference is Jenkins (1996) and Hockey and James emphasize embodiment, while White and Epston frame identity through stories. Hockey's and James' focus is, of course, age and embodiment. Neither Jenkins nor White and Epston specifically focus on age as a separate category of identity, though some narrative practitioners do, in fact (Young, 2008). Ultimately, all five theorists frame identity within postmodern notions of social construction <u>and</u> embodiment. They all develop notions of identity without a stable core authentic or true self. For them, identity is fluid, and there is an interchange between the collective or cultural/societal identity and the individual. Gullette (1997, 2004) also discusses multi-storied selves, though her stories are age specific. Biggs (1997, 1993), Featherstone and Hepworth (1991, 2010), and Kaufman (1986) take the view that there is a sovereign self that is stable and includes a developmental perspective. Postmodernist identity theories, like those developed by Hall (2000) and du Gay et al (2000), are also psychodynamic, with an overarching self. Identity is seen as discursive, though body is addressed in terms of difference; identity continues to be formulated through discourse. Battersby's (1993) important contribution is the description of a profound entanglement between our embodied selves and identity. I have reviewed a mix of age identity theorists and writers who did not focus on age, primarily because age is but one aspect of our rich pantheon of possible identities. For me, the framework of identity production, the embodied and temporal landscapes of it, is more important than a singular focus on ageing identity.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This literature review has covered three seemingly distinct areas of research and writing, body, time, and identity. But, from a systemic perspective, ageing is the ecology or context where these areas interact in relationship to each other. Going back to the metaphor of the hand in the Methodology Chapter, body, time, and identity are the fingers and the development of the data I've gathered and analyzed are the spaces/relationships between the fingers. Body, identity, and time are areas that hold a distinctive meaning in the process of ageing. So, two questions arise: What is the interaction, the relationship between these areas? Does recognizing and illuminating the interconnections add to our understanding of ageing?

It is important to point out that the core theorists in each section (Merleau-Ponty, Adam, Epston and White and Jenkins) have much in common. They all take a non-binary perspective, perceiving their work within a larger whole or context. Each of these writers works within a systemic framework. These authors also have concerns and values that motivated their work. It was the development of the H-Bomb in Merleau-Ponty's case, environmental devastation for Adam, and oppressive cultural narratives for Epston and White. It is their perspective, their concerns and values that drew me to the work of Merleau-Ponty, Adam, and Epston and White. I hope in some measure my work answers the two questions posed above and reflects the values that run so clearly through the seminal work of these writers.

CHAPTER 4

Kaleidoscopic Sixties

Prologue

In 1965, when I was 16, I was guided through my first LSD trip by a sociology professor who was receiving pharmaceutical acid from the government for experimental purposes. It was a trip that changed me from a curious, oppositional, suburban teenager to someone that had experienced a oneness with nature and the planet. That LSD trip also handed me a sense of purpose and, though fleeting, a clarity that would return throughout my life. Millions of young people from that era engaged in the same delving into an alternative to consensual reality through one of the most powerful drugs known (Green, 1999). I had also become deeply involved in opposition to the Viet Nam war, listening to blues and rock music, reading Camus and Sartre, hanging out in coffee houses, immersed in deep and deeply sophomoric conversations. I was still a suburban teenager, attending high school and expected to go to University. I was going through, or looking forward to, all the rites of passage of an American teenager - driving a car, dating, proms, and parties – but, I was a wild child of my times. Later, in the summer of 1969, I travelled through Europe and the Middle East, spending a couple of weeks in London, breathing in the 'scene.' I tuned in, turned on, and dropped out; I lived in a commune and became disillusioned. It seems that one drags their family craziness with them and acts it out, even in hippie communes. The hippie part of the sixties, for me, was deeply liberating in some ways and, in not quite equal measure, oppressive. A couple of years later, I sat with a group of women trying to make sense of our experiences of the sixties, and wondering just what was that free love stuff about anyway? That consciousness-raising group was, for me, the last hoorah of the sixties. I was not one identity, but a young woman who was developing a complex set of ways of being, circles of friends and acquaintances, and experiences from multiple pools of life. Something happened that caused my generation to question the ways things were - the fixed ways of being. Acceptance of prior cultural assumptions and definitions had changed.

Introduction

My perception was shaped by the American experience, which, in some ways, was significantly different from the British sixties. There was a cultural revolution in the UK (Marwick, 2005; Tickner, 2012; Gardiner, 1999).

> *Society, rather than being dominated by dialectical conflict, was **permeated** by new ideas* (Marwick, 2005 p 781 [emphasis in original]).

There was constant cross-fertilization and inspiration between the centres of activity – Mexico City to Paris to Rome, for example but, America and Britain shared a great deal. For Britain, the sixties was

a time of cultural revolution (Marwick, 2005; Gardiner, 1999). The more I read and spoke to people about their memories of the time, the more I realised that I needed to approach the sixties in Britain as an anthropologist. The British experience of that time came out of a very different culture and context than my own experience in America. Starting with the cross-class ferment in the streets engendered by the Viet Nam War and universal conscription, the American sixties were different. I have held, and continue to hold, a tangled insider/outsider perspective. Of course, it colours my perception of the material but, if I were a Martian researcher, that too, would shape my perception (and confusion) of the times.

The subjects covered in this chapter: governmental/institutional changes, The Bomb, Earthrise, technology, Astrofuturism, the Creative Revolution, subcultures, liberation movements, and music could each be a thesis in itself. This chapter is designed to give the reader a snapshot of the sixties and thus, to place the growing up and coming of age of my interviewees within a time/era. We always live in time; we cannot make an escape. This picture of a time, some fifty years ago represents some of the images and ideas of the day, placing the sixties generation in a context. Some of what is described in this chapter, governmental changes, the Cold War and the Bomb, Earthrise, and Astrofuturism were not created by the postwar cohort. Instead, they were recipients of these changes and cultural happenings. In the second half of the list above, the members of the postwar cohort were direct innovators. These influences, which were major elements of the cultural rupture, effected everyone, whether they were hippies, protesters, musicians or went to hear and dance to the music and the like. They also influenced those who sat on the sidelines or watched or ignored.

What is offered here is my own snapshot of the key influences of this period. It is kaleidoscopic because there was a rapidly changing scene or pattern that occurred in the sixties that was rainbow-hued; one might call it psychedelic (definition from Dictionary.com, 2013). It is written from a curiosity-driven systemic perspective – the driving question was: What is the larger context? Hence, the territory I have covered is wide and varied though other authors might well choose to place a different emphasis and interpretation on various strands. As an American LSD-taking, pot-smoking, commune-living old hippie, anti-war protester, and feminist here are the British sixties:

The Times

There is no real agreement as to what precise chronological period defines the sixties. Of all the varied opinions, the years 1958 – 1973 (Marwick, 1998) appear to capture what Donnelly (2005 p. 3) calls a 'totem' or an entity set apart. That period was initiated by the appearance of the mods and concludes with the ending of the Viet Nam war, the oil crisis, and, the most decisive event, a recession. Then again, it has to be said that the sixties was as much a "state of mind as a chronological concept" (Green, 1999 p 6). With the appearance of the mods, the Victorian Era takes

its final bow (Marwick, 1998; Donnelly, 2005). It was the confluence of events, notions, and the tumultuous moment that made it possible to usher in a new era.

The term 'teenager' was coined in 1944 by a New York advertising agency. Teenagers became a distinct marketing group but, more importantly, teenagers themselves developed what became a self-defined group. The postwar cohort now had a context to "talk*[in']* 'bout my generation" (Townshend, 1965) sung by The Who. Edwardian and Victorian Britain saw a nascent youth culture and a market developing for youth entertainment within the working classes. The Victorians had understood that there was a period between 13 and 24 years old that was a transition between childhood and adulthood. Ideally, it was the time for young privileged boys to learn the discipline that would be the mark of their manhood (Tucker, 1999; Savage, 2008). Again, during the interwar years, there were times when working class young men had disposable income and a youth entertainment market developed (Zimring, 2013). There were other times in history that could be pointed to and described as change junctures, where young people caused a ruckus and influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, their society. The Romantics in the 1800s and the Roaring 1920s were two such examples, but the changes wrought from those and other periods did not have the scope and size of the sixties in terms of cross-class participation and impact (Marwick, 1998).

Fundamental societal changes were enacted after the Second World War. Those changes had been in the making throughout the first half of the twentieth century (Thane, 1996). As a result of the cohesive societal attitudes, bred out of necessity during the war, social policies based on a more just and equitable societies were enacted (Kynaston, 2008). What is often called the Welfare State, as a result of the enhanced role for the state, made changes in health, education, social security, and other areas. These reforms were to have a major impact on the postwar generation. In hindsight, the National Health Service (NHS) was to be at the centre of the welfare state. Britain might not be able to lead the world any longer through her colonial, military, and economic might, but some have argued she could through demonstrating tolerance and even-handedness (Robinson, 2007).

Roy Jenkins was a leading figure in pursuit of a series of legal changes to liberalise British society (Adonis and Thomas, 2004). Starting in 1959, Jenkins, as a Labour MP, was the principal sponsor of the *Liberalising Obscene Publications Act* (Adonis and Thomas, 2004). This encouraged the publication of D. H. Lawrence's novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which had been banned since it was first published in 1928. The publishers were taken to trial but won, and many forms of censorship ended as a result of this landmark judgement. With the Labour Party's victory in the 1964 election, Harold Wilson appointed Jenkins as Home Secretary. In his period of office further liberalisation took shape in the forms of abolition of capital punishment, decriminalization of attempted suicide, relaxation of Sunday drinking laws, lowering of the age of majority, reform of the divorce laws, legalisation of abortion, and reformation of homosexuality laws, (Adonis and Thomas, 2004).

Looking back, all the legislation represented a loosening of the State's control over body. The way Jenkins's saw things, a "permissive society was instead a civilized society" (Pimlott, 1992, p 486).

The Church of England had assumed a more liberal position in some of its attitudes (Green, 1999; Brown, 2011). A new line between public and private matters of conscience (Robinson, 2007) had been drawn. The boundaries of leisure activities, entertainment, and culture loosened. These changes, along with a demographic bulge of children becoming teenagers, led to a 'peculiarly intense' sense of generational consciousness (Clarke et al, 2006). They led to a 'break in the cultural fabric…a rupture' (Nuttall, 1968 p. 22). It was, simply put, a 'break with the old' (Clarke et al, 2006).

For many young people, the old was represented by Britain's involvement in the nuclear arms race and the Cold War. Whether members of the postwar generation were actively engaged in protest or saw nuclear weapons as a positive deterrent, The Bomb and the Cold War were to have an effect on their sense of the world. Alvah argues:

> It is possible that growing up with a ubiquitous fear of nuclear war contributed to baby-boomers' distrust of authority figures and fueled their social, cultural and political activism in the 1960s. (2010, p 27)

Dropping the H-bomb on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the culmination of the Manhattan Project. Based in Los Alamos, New Mexico, this group of international scientists worked in secrecy to develop the Bomb. The H-bomb unleashed on the consciousness of humanity the very real possibility of planetary destruction. In Bomb Culture, Jeff Nuttall states:

> Moral values thought to be absolute were now comparative…Society lacked the moral authority with   the dropping of the H-bomb (1968, p. 22).

The ensuing Cold War, and the reality and rhetoric of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), created a constant background hum for the postwar generation. For many children, it was also the first inkling that there was something inherently wrong with the current state of the world.   The information they were learning in science classes about radiation and nuclear materials contradicted the government's message of peace and safety. Studies conducted in several Western European countries found that 50% or more (depending on the study) of children stated that they believed a nuclear attack would occur and they would not survive (Doctor, 1988). From its *onset of the Cold War could not but affect the temper of British public life* (Kynaston, 2007). The postwar cohort grew up with the looming H-bomb threat and they could not fathom that the world was better off (Nuttall, 1968; Green, 1999).

British scientists had been included in the Manhattan Project team. After the war, Britain entered the race to acquire atomic weaponry. Ernest Bevin as Foreign Secretary, stated it baldly, "We've got to have this thing over here whatever it costs … We've got to have the bloody Union Jack on top of it" (quoted in Hogg and Laucht, 2012 p 482). The Atomic Age was launched in Britain. Though there

was ambivalence within in the Labour Party about the continued development of nuclear weapons, the Wilson government continued to build and test weapons (Hughes, 2009).

The events that ensued may, at this distance, seem far away but it was the stuff of the postwar generation's childhood preoccupations. A consciousness of The Bomb was ever-present. Paul Boyer, of the Daily Express referred to Hiroshima as "a psychic event of unprecedented proportions" (quoted in Bingham, 2012 p 609). Unlike the US, where the idea of the atomic bomb had been unleashed on the public, the government had to sell The Bomb to the public in the UK. The bomb, or what some in the press referred as "The Monster", was a central discourse in the 1950s, not just in the print media but through all cultural mediums, from art to film (Bingham, 2012; Hughes, 2012). It is of note that, in the postwar period, newspaper circulation had reached its peak, selling over 30 million copies per week. Newspapers were at the heart of the discourse and the marketing of the   necessity of nuclear armaments to the public (Bingham, 2012). Marketing 'The Bomb' included visual imagery that displayed photographs of mushroom clouds and diagrams of concentric circles showing the potential areas of destruction (Bingham, 2012). Pictorial representation was a regular feature in the news media because it so dramatically demonstrated the power and might of nuclear weapons. Children, even those with limited literacy skills, were able to follow the dialogue. This was at a time when there were, compared with today, a paucity of images. As a result images of mushroom clouds and diagrams of ground zero vulnerabilities were even more startling, effective, and iconographic than they are today (Hogg, 2012; Bingham, 2012). 'The Bomb' and the Cold War were, by measures, frightening, mundane, and ubiquitous. Giveaway toys, like atomic submarines in packets of cornflakes, and screaming headlines like, "The Family that Feared the Future" (about parents who had killed their children and then themselves because of their belief in a nuclear holocaust) and "Threat to Children?" (about contaminated milk as a result of a nuclear accident) were part of daily life in Britain's nuclear culture (Hogg, 2012). The historical and psychological context of this period is of note. British nuclear culture developed in the context of the postwar period, where memories of Second World War, and its attendant trauma, created a heightened sense of threat, whether it was real or imagined (Hogg, 2012). A series of interviews with university students and workers from a car factory were conducted by the *Daily Express*. In the interviews, there was an "overwhelming sense of anxiety, powerlessness, resignation, and a surprisingly unified understanding of nuclear danger" (Hogg, 2012).

Concern also came from another quarter namely the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). From the late 1950s until the early 1960s, England (and Germany) had the strongest anti-nuclear movement in Europe, even measured by today's standards. This broad coalition functioned as a social movement (Nehring, 2005). The CND's rhetoric served to inform the public, in no uncertain terms, of the dangers of nuclear weapons and exemplified resistance and action. Though after 1964 the CND's

numbers declined from their peak, many young people from the postwar cohort would become active in the organization. 'The Bomb' and the Cold War would mark a shift in non-indigenous humanity's relationship to the earth and its environment. The Cold War made it blatantly clear that humanity could no longer perceive itself as separate from the earth (Burkett, 2012). The earth was no longer vast; it shrank with the understanding that decisions made by governments regarding nuclear weapons had the potential to destroy people and places thousands of miles away (Burkett, 2012).

There was another event that was to effect humanity's, and particularly the postwar generation's, perception of the earth as a singular macrocosm on which we all lived and were all connected: Earthrise. In 1968, Frank Borman, an astronaut in the Apollo 8 crew, photographed Earthrise seen for the first time by human eyes. It was as if humanity discovered the earth (Poole, 2008). There was a new focus here on planet Earth, rather than what was out there in space. In the UK, *The Times* published the first colour pictures in an Earthrise supplement. When Borman toured here, he met the Queen and was a guest of Parliament. At the time, the potency of the Earthrise image was enormous, as strong as that of the mushroom cloud over Hiroshima and the Hurricane nuclear test image. There was a cooling of the Cold War – a moment of peace and cooperation in a number of areas from science to art (Poole, 2008). Humanity's pictorial imagination shifted from a two-dimensional map or a small round three-dimensional globe to a knowing of the whole earth. With the change in imagination came a new language. "Globalisation," "global humanity," "global environment," and the like were phrases that did not exist prior to Earthrise (Lazier, 2011). The environmental movement, which had begun to coalesce as a result of Rachel Carson's book, *Silent Spring* (1962), launched in big way after Earthrise. Languaging environmentalism, like the new global speak, was a result of Earthrise, culminating in the notion, "Thinking globally, acting locally" (Poole, 2008; Lazier, 2011). It was, what Jay Winter calls, a utopian moment. Winter states that we have a desire to:

> *… dream dreams, structures and futures precisely at the moment when those dreams, structures and futures are least likely to be realised* (2006, p 99 – 100).

Like 'The Bomb' and MAD, Earthrise signified the earth as one living organism, all of us living (or dying) on it. Unlike nuclear weapons, Earthrise offered the promise of collective action and peace. American writer Norman Cousins stated to a 1975 US Congressional hearing,

> *What was most significant about the lunar voyage was not that men set foot of the Moon but that they set eye on the Earth* (quoted in Poole, 2008, p 3).

Today the image of Earthrise is ubiquitous but, in the context of 1968, when there were a limited number of images, Earthrise took on meaning and significance that would not have been possible

today. Space travel was, of course, a technological feat and it is of note the role that technology held in the public imagination.

In 1963, then PM Harold Wilson declared that his Labour Government would "stoke the burning white heat of technology." His speech excited the nation. The notion that technology could, and would, be used to create a better world, or provide the means to leave this world for a better one, was part of the discourse of the day. Science fiction literature was not new to Britain, but the Astrofuturists, headed up by Arthur C. Clarke and "New Wave" writers like Kingsley Amis, had an important influence and place in the sixties (Kilgore, 2003). Astrofuturism connected hard science to popular imagination with dreams of the possibilities of space travel and life on other planets. Book sales of science fiction during this period were the highest in history. Science fiction literature came of age during this era, exerting an influence in how the future was perceived, shaping the imagination (Bland, 2013). Apocalyptic and utopian visions sat side-by-side on bookshelves, very much like they did in reality. There was something about the sixties that invited a flourishing of the imagination – an opening to dream of all kinds of possibilities.

The postwar Industrial West was awash with economic possibilities for many. There was a new affluence with historically low unemployment and high wages and salaries (Gardiner, 1999; Clarke et al, 2006; Green, 1999). There was a change in focus from production to consumption (Donnelly, 2005). Confidence within the working and lower middle-classes was higher because of this newfound affluence (Marwick, 1998). Working class young people had access to disposable income, either their own or through their parents. With the rise of the postwar advertising industry, teenagers became a unique class and an important marketing niche. Out of this arose the notion that teen culture was essentially homogeneous; young people could be assigned to their own self-contained world (Cohen, 1987).

The development of mass media and technology added influence and momentum to the cultural shifts (Green, 1999; Donnelly, 2005; Marwick, 1998). The impact of the ability to watch the Viet Nam war and images of the iconic music festival, Woodstock, unfold on the nightly news was inestimable. Young people watched their counterparts protesting the Viet Nam War, nuclear madness, and civil inequities from Rome to London to Mexico City to Berkeley, inflaming and inspiring each other. The Beatles came to the US through a popular television program and Bob Dylan crossed over to the UK. Air travel also became more accessible to middle-class youth, enhancing cross-fertilization of ideas and cultures. Mass media provided information in the form of words, music, and images to the entire generation whether they were actively engaged in some aspect of a subculture or not. A sense of cohort experience was created through the mass media even if some individuals were opposed or indifferent to the cohort activities; this can be construed as identification through their oppositional stance. The term global village was coined as media and travel made the world smaller (Donnelly, 2005; Marwick, 1998).

In the early sixties, a British textile magazine, *The Ambassador*, initiated a new campaign, "Creative Britain," projecting an image of Swinging London fashion and culture (Tickner, 2012). Other British industry and media followed, packaging and exporting Britain's cultural revolution from pop art to science fiction, music, and fashion (Tickner, 2012). Meanwhile, 'Brits' were crossing the ocean to work in New York (NYC) advertising firms, learning from the Creative Revolution (see below) that was in process as hard sell shifted to creative, ironic soft sell (Cracknell, 2011; Frank, 1997). There was a good deal of cross-fertilisation between NYC and London throughout the sixties. UK companies opened NY offices and vice versa, but it was not until the early seventies that the real Creative Revolution hit London (Curtis, 2002). The new art colleges were turning out graduates, full of fresh ideas and looking for work (Cracknell, 2011). London ad agencies, ready to make the shift from old style advertising, were looking for the talent to make it happen. Additionally, with the launch of ITV in 1972, a new market opened, generating a boom (Curtis, 2002). The British Creative Revolution was a driving force, selling populist cultural ideas and images constructed by young people who were part of the counterculture (Frank, 1997).

That said, the sixties were not just a revolution in style but also substance. There was a social rupture that continues to echo today, whether it is a nostalgia for a Traditional Britain, the romance of the sixties era, or the changes that were launched and continue to reverberate.

This rupture speaks to the broad brush of history; it is the cultural and historic context of a specific place and generation and, most importantly, time. When reading the sweep of this era, it may be easy to forget that these events took place in the context of individual lives. What has been described so far in this chapter are the historic, economic, and cultural conditions of the sixties. Some analysts point to these conditions as creating style and not substance - empty spectacle (Debord, 2002). This analysis appears to be a surface reading of the era. There was, like any time of change or social rupture, an interaction between the conditions of the day and those who are living within those conditions. There were an infinite number of paths the postwar cohort could have taken as a group, within the conditions of the times. They chose the path of cultural revolution; ultimately they created the great social rupture of the sixties.

Making the Revolution Happen

Yes, there were Martin Luther King, Timothy Leary, Mick Jagger, Germaine Greer, and Mary Quant, but at the core of the sixties were the millions of individual young people who participated in a multitude of ways, be it small or with the whole of their beings. This was not history led by their betters but history created by engagement and, in many ways, homemade - crafted and created by those individuals. There is not universal agreement that something significant happened in the sixties. The left-centre and right agree with an analysis that these events and changes were of import, but the radical left never did get revolution on their terms and view the sixties as empty spectacle (Marwick,

1998). However, through the lens of cultural revolution and an examination postmodern life, there can be little doubt that "something happened" (Clarke et al, 2006; Cohen, 1979; Donnelly, 2005; Green, 1999; Hebdige, 1979; Marwick, 1998; McRobbie, 2000(a), Brake, 1980, 1985). That 'something' has changed the terms of life in the Industrial West and influenced a good part of the rest of the world, for better or worse. Arthur Marwick in his extensive history, *The Sixties*, describes the sixties not as counterculture and subcultures, but as a large network of subcultures that interacted *'thus creating a pulsating flux which characterizes the era'* (Marwick, 1998, p. 11).

Hebdige describes it as

> …*the breakdown of consensus in the period following the war. ...style is the medium levelled against hegemony through subculture (Hebdige, 1979, p. 17).*

What were the main components of this sixties revolution?

The first reported appearance of the mod(ern)s was in 1958 (Rawlings, 2000). They were the first sixties subculture. Yes, there were the Rockers and the Teddy Boys before them, but it was the mods who were the first to break away from the grey and drab of the nineteen-fifties (Donnelly, 2005). Paul Stagg, one of the founders put it this way:

> *I also think ours was the first generation that hadn't been obsessed by the war, we were in a way selfish in that respect. It didn't matter to us at all, I looked at my older brothers and they were all fucking shell-shocked – they knew their place, we didn't give a shit* (Quoted in Rawlings, 2000, p 50)

Started by lower middle-class and working class young men, the mods subculture fetishized appearance (Clarke et al, 2006; Hebdige, 1979). Motor scooters, longish bouffant hairstyles, Italian and French cinema-style clothing were how the mods signified themselves visually. Music was paramount to identity; music was the dividing line as to whether you were or were not mod (Rawlings, 2000). Later, music from some of the important mod groups would be one of the 'pulsating strands' that ran through the generation connecting them, as *My Generation* and *Won't Get Fooled Again* became anthems for the cohort. Amphetamines and marijuana were their drugs. It was the liberalization of the education system leading to the development of art colleges that formed the core of the early mods (Rawlings, 2000; Marwick, 1998). Perhaps, most striking was their talent for subversion or concealment (Cohen, 1979). It is interesting to note that mod young men were considered 'sissy' in their mode and attention to dress, some even wearing make-up (McRobbie and Frith, 2000).

Original mod style was also more unisex for girls than past styles, including very short hair and slacks. Later, with the rise of boutiques, there was a 'democratization of fashion' that had never before been available to working class females (McRobbie, 2000(b)). There was a new freedom on the dance floor for young mod women moving independently of men (Hedbige, 1979). Young mods

of both genders did *'not just consume but they created themselves'* (Cohen, 1987 p. 151). This was the first generation of young working class women to work and live away from home.

Hippies

If all things mod came to the US from Britain, the hippie movement in America flew back toward the British shores with a force. Hippies in the UK were, for the most part, from middle-class backgrounds. Their stable childhood and adolescence provided them with fertile ground to challenge and subvert the culture and society or 'the system' as it was often referred to in counterculture politics (Green, 1999). Some strands of the hippie movement were hostile to politics. There certainly are accounts of this (Webster. 1975, Brake, 1980) but, like the mods, this was a cultural revolution that was inherently political, even if certain members of the subculture did not take an overt political stance. This chimes with Brake's description of hippies as covering:

… a vast array of bohemian and student subcultures from politician and militant to mystical and religious (1980 p. 91).

There was a larger proportion of middle class young women who identified as hippies because of the different gender attitudes between working class and middle-class females. Many young middle-class women were more independent, living away from home and attending university. They had more disposable income through their families than their working class counterparts (McRobbie, 2000(b)).

There was permeability, with some members drifting between 'head'[6] subcultures and activist groups. Hippiedom also had its categories of weekend hippies (working 'stiffs' and serious students who donned their gear and went to rock concerts on the weekends) as opposed to those embracing the hippie culture on a full time basis. This became a dividing line later with the advent of communal living and intentional communities. LSD and marijuana were the drugs of choice, though later harder drugs were part of the urban scene. At the core, the binding feature of the hippie subcultures was a deep optimism that they could change the straight (mainstream) world (Green, 1999; Marwick, 1998; Frith, 1996).

> *All that free milk and orange juice and cod-liver oil made us big and strong and glossy-eyed and cocky, and we simply took what was due to us whilst reserving the right to ask questions (Carter as quoted in Rowbotham, 1997, p. 338).*

Middle-class hippies approached the world with more privilege and media savvy than working class kids. They were able to construct a world of alternative or underground culture through print media, visual art, and theatre. Hippies looked to earlier radical notions and integrated them with new subversive ideas on environmentalism, education, social work, psychiatry (anti-psychiatry), and alternative medicine. Straight world technology and materialism were attacked while subculture

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[6] This term refers to hippie drug use – primarily marijuana and psychedelics and was used as an alternative term for hippie.

entrepreneurs (Brake, 1980; Heath and Potter, 2006) hawked sophisticated light shows, stereo systems, and the accoutrements of hippiedom. As well as Jefferson Airplane's appeal to 'feed your head', some British subcultures came together as an intellectual core to feed the mind. In 1965, the *Dialectics of the Mind* conference in London brought together important elements from subcultures on both sides of the ocean. The conference represented a wide spectrum: theatre, literary pursuits, Black Power luminaries from the US, new left politics, education progressives, social work radicals, and the anti-psychiatry advocates.

Politics were central to some groups within the hippie subcultures but it was not tradition Left politics focussed on class (Robinson, 2006). It was politics as developed through the values and rhetoric of the counterculture. Some of its members had been active in CND and, when it became clear to them that the government had not, and would not, take notice of them, the youthful protesters were further radicalized (Nuttall, 1968). Taking an ethical stance and organizing in regard to Viet Nam, students' rights, women's rights, gay liberation, and environmentalism were how some hippies identified themselves.

Towards the end of the era, the intentional community, or commune movement, gained traction. Communities fell along the lines of the various subcultures. There were communes that were primarily political in orientation while others had a 'back to the land' focus or a spiritual one. Many communes were built on nostalgic ideas harking back to earlier utopian movements.

> *In community lay all that was the opposite of alienation, estrangement, rootlessness, loss of attachment, disintegration of the social bond. These were the products of the city, of mass society, technology, industrialism, and the state itself (Cohen, 1985, p. 121).*

> *Disillusionment set in primarily because the interpersonal problems that living together in groups created were far from liberating (Robinson, 2007* p 31*)*

The Cultural Impact of Migration from the Caribbean

I would like to turn here to the significance of the postwar economy's need for new sources of labour which was to lead on to the creation of another subgroup, the rude boys or rudies. Starting in the 1950s, Postwar Britain saw a glut of jobs. There were more positions available than there were people to fill those jobs and so began a migration from the West Indies to Britain. For some, it was a return to the 'Motherland' (Shah, 2006; Jones, 1988). For others, it was a second best choice, since the US had enacted stiff quotas for Afro-Caribbeans. Though Britain wanted such 'incomers' to solve their labour shortage, the new immigrants found discrimination on every other level, from housing to leisure time activities. As a result, immigrants created their own terrain and, for many, life revolved around the black church, the shebeen (house party), and the gambling house, just as it had in their home islands. This isolation was the foundation of a subversive culture and would be a primary element in their struggle in Britain for years to come (Jones, 1988).

For the first generation born in Britain, or primarily raised in this country, their parents' life was not what they wanted. The 'rudies' were a homogenization of black youth from all over the West Indies that they could connect with a black identity over that of their parents' origins (Jones, 1988). Both mods and rudies adopted the same look of close cropped hair, high water loose trousers, suspenders, and a confident 'jive-ass' walk with an attitude of strong self-assurance (Hebdige, 1975). Significant numbers of these children of immigrants, responded to being the target of discrimination at school by becoming truants and school leavers, hanging out and carousing with the 'white negroes' in their community (Brake, 1985; Cashmore, 1979; Hebdige, 1975). Over time, rude boys saw their white counterparts gaining employment, but they were without prospects as the economic engine slowed and employment opportunities declined. The alliance between black and white was short lived; the rudies became more politicized their consciousness turned to the racial struggles being enacted in the US and Africa (Cashmore, 1979).

Liberation Movements

There is no more apt description of the liberation movements than this quote from Gil Scott Heron's *B Movie*. Though the allusion to the cavalry is very American, Heron's song had resonance in the UK.

Civil rights, women's rights, gay rights...it's all wrong. Call in the cavalry to disrupt this perception of freedom gone wild. God damn it...first one wants freedom, then the whole damn world wants freedom (1981).

Towards the end of this period, identity and liberation became a central issue for women, gay and lesbian people, and British black citizens. At the beginning of the postwar period, the term 'liberation' was associated with political movements (Goldie, 2004). By the sixties, liberation came to be identified with notions of self-determination - - an "opportunity to be the self that every person should be allowed to be" (Goldie, 2004, p 38). Liberation meant new forms of emancipation (Goldie, 2004). The liberation movements ushered in a new development in the sixties social rupture. At their core was the notion that the personal is political. In all three major movements, consciousness raising groups exploring the personal and political were a central focus. Subcultures split again; people broke off to explore new or hidden identities. For some who had been a part of the earlier 60s groups, it was a time for consideration, a juncture in the road towards action and liberation. For some young people, who had not participated in earlier movements, it was an opportunity to explore, declare one's identity, and participate in liberation struggles. The 1965 and 1967 *Dialectics of Liberation Conferences* were, perhaps, the most influential events in the framing of the counterculture political agenda (Marwick, 1998, Robinson 2006). Included in that political agenda was the notion that play/fun was part of making a revolution. Though it must be noted that there were few women who were invited to the podium during any of the conferences, and male voices dominated the proceedings, as both speakers and participants.

The evolution of a gay/lesbian political identity is most commonly associated with two pivotal events - the 1967 legislation that provided limited decriminalisation of homosexuality (between men) and the Stonewall riots in New York. However, it was the development of countercultural political notions of liberation, an abandonment of traditional class-based left politics, and an ontogenesis of "gay political subjectivity" (Robinson, 2006 p 448) that led to the founding of the gay liberation movement. The Gay Liberation Front (GLF), a people's movement, was founded in London and lasted from 1970 – 1973 (Robinson 2006, 2007; Weeks, 1990). Lesbian women played an important part in founding and the early years of the GLF. 1970 saw the first Gay Pride Parade (Weeks, 1990). Gay liberation was a product of counterculture consciousness – the notion that communities and individuals had a right to self-expression (to 'do their own thing') and a call to stand up to oppression. The failed 1967 legislation reforms had politicized people, inciting them to call for an end to discrimination (Robinson, 2007). At the heart of the movement and the GLF Manifesto was the slogan, "No Revolution Without Us. An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose" (quoted in Robinson, 2007, p 69). The movement was dominated by white middle-class men and, by 1972, many women had fled the organisation to become involved in a range of feminist groups. Some women formed radical lesbian separatist groups, seeing liberation through the construction of single gender/sex communities. This movement left a profound legacy, in that the meaning of relationships and of sexuality itself became part of the social discourse which led to a shift in assumptions and attitudes (Herzog, 2006).

1962 marks the beginning of the Black British liberation movement. Unlike the GLF mythology, 1962 was a historical delineation point (Kapo, 1962). The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act was, as the opposition leader in Parliament, Hugh Gaitskell, stated, "cruel and brutal anti-colour legislation" (Lester, 1998). The Act sharply curtailed immigration from Commonwealth countries, primarily effecting immigrants of colour. With the passage of that Act, it became apparent to the Black community that White Britain had shifted their attitude from one of "racial condescension" (Kapo, 1981 p 15) to open racism. The groups that comprised the Black British liberation movement covered a wide political spectrum (Mullard, 1973, 1985). Martin Luther King visited the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (C.A.R.D.), which was focused on multi-culturalism. The leadership was taken over by white liberals and the organisation dissolved within three years (Mullard, 1985). At the other end of the spectrum was Obi Benue Egbuna's United Coloured People's Association that espoused militant separatism (Mullard, 1973, 1985). Malcolm X and American Black Panthers, Angela Davis, Stokley Carmichael, and Huey Newton attended *Dialectics of Liberation Conferences* assisting in the founding of the British Black Panthers movement (Marwick, 1998). The British Black Panther movement differed in focus from the American. They were working for community social change rather than political action (Bayley, 2013). It should be noted that the fundamental differences in Black British history led to a differences in the liberation movements.

> *Fundamentally the Black British and the Black American experience was different, right from the source. Black American were dragged, screaming and kicking, from the shores of Africa to an utterly hostile America, whilst my parents, they bought a ticket on the 'Windrush' bound for London!* (quoting British Black Panther member, Don Lett, Whitfield, 2013).

The kinds of explosive political actions that America saw in the sixties did not occur in Britain until the eighties. Yet it was the sixties social rupture, counterculture politics, and the call for self-determination and Black Pride (Mullard,1973, 1985; Foner, 1977) that initiated the British Black liberation movement.

The Second Wave of the Women's Liberation Movement, some say, started in 1963 with the US publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. The book was immediately popular in the UK. Discontent was in the air. The next, and uniquely British event in the UK Second Wave feminist movement was the sewing machinist strike at Ford's Dagenham plant in 1968. The women demanded a reclassification of their job status and equal pay commensurate with that status (Carter, 1988; Rowbotham, 1997). The women of Dagenham did not call themselves feminists but their actions and the framing of the strike were, by definition, part of the liberation movement. By 1970, the women's movement was a wildly diverse group demanding an end to discrimination. Women committed to a new left socialist perspective were at the core of the movement. Though most women adhered to a socialist agenda the countercultural notion of small groups creating closeness/sisterhood so that each woman was free to express herself (Rowbotham, 2013) was a core principle of the movement. The movement's structure was always decentralised. There was a tension within the movement from its very roots. As with the GLF, satisfactorily mixing the personal and political did have its pitfalls (Robinson, 2006; Rowbotham, 2013).

> *Feminist politics can become preoccupied with living a liberation life rather than becoming a movement for the liberation of women (*Rowbotham, 2013, p 142).

Colour and class tensions caused a splintering, leaving primarily middle-class women to take the movement forward, founding the National Women's Coordinating Committee. Despite the tensions and splits, Second Wave feminism has been carried forward by the next generation, a Third Wave and, it does not look like it is going away anytime soon (Snyder, 2008). The WLM had, and continues to have an impact on the lives of women and girls throughout the class spectrum.

The Pill – Two Generations of Women
The Pill is widely associated with the women's liberation movement, free love or the Sexual Revolution - the latter contested by feminist academics. The new oral contraceptives were commonly called the Pill and it made one of the most startling changes to wide swaths of humanity: the uncoupling of procreation from sexuality (Elias, 1985; Feher, 1989). The Pill allowed women "to

control their fertility as and when they see fit" (Cook, 2005). It also shifted the central focus of birth control from men to women (Brown, 2011; Cook, 2005; Szreter and Fisher, 2010; Herzog, 2006). Prior to the Pill, the preferred forms of contraception, for British couples, were abstinence and withdrawal (Szreter and Fisher, 2010; Collins, 2003; Cook, 2005). The story of the Pill is a story of how oral contraceptives became routinely available and is itself a story of liberation (Cook, 2005) and was enacted by both the postwar generation and their mothers. Originally, the Pill was only available in family planning clinics, which tended to be located in urban areas. Women wanted this new form of contraception and went to their GPs asking for it. Many GPs saw birth control as trivial and outside their purview and refused to prescribe this contraceptive. For the first time, women, the mothers of the postwar generation, delivered ultimatums to their GPs in large numbers – either offer family planning or they would go to another GP who does provide it (Cook, 2005). As a result, the NHS began to offer comprehensive family planning services across the country. From 1970 onwards, women of all classes and status were using The Pill. The Pill shifted the boundaries of respectability - respectability as 'good girls' or 'bad girls' (Brown, 2006). Brown argues that this loss of an investment in respectability, along with all the liberalisations that loosened state control of body, had a detrimental effect on Christian Britain; "Religion had simply become irrelevant" (Brown, 2006, p 153). The Pill removed the fear of pregnancy which led to increasing levels of sexual activity by single women. There was a shift in attitudes towards religion and Christian church attendance which was "a significant instigator of the religious crisis" during the sixties (Brown, 2006, p 189).

Music
No discussion of the sixties would be complete without touching on the music.

Rock's superiority over previous popular musical forms is simply the result of its existence in a period of expanded and heightened social, political and psychological awareness, a period which made possible and necessary a hip and relevant popular music (Levin, 1971, p 131).

The common experience of music bound together the generation (Frith, 1996). No matter the subculture or opposition to it all, the music pulsed, influencing anyone in hearing range, from public school kids to working-class office boys. Music became a 'metaphor for identity' and an 'organizing principle' for the subgroups (Frith, 1996). The music spoke to a generation in a language that literally moved body and mind. From Muddy Waters and the Rolling Stones to The Who and the Beatles to Bob Dylan and Bob Marley and everything in between - and there was a lot in between - music moved from a leisure time activity to enacting cultural politics (McRobbie and Frith, 2000). Making and listening to music are deeply 'body matters' (Firth, 1996). Of deep significance in the formation of the sixties social rupture was this bodily connection to music. There was a new abandonment that was manifest through dance – moving to the beat – rhythmically moving with one's whole body. The music of the sixties has the enduring power to evoke emotional responses and keep alive identities as

it continues to be used in film scores, advertising, and played again and again over the radio. Ask almost anyone who came of age during the sixties where they were the first time they heard any number of the important songs of the day, and they will be able to answer in detail.

Schwartz (2007) argues it started with the Blues - American GIs selling 45s to working class boys. Singers like Sonny Terry, Bo Diddley, and Fats Domino captured the frustration and lack of possibilities that many working class young people felt in the late fifties. Young women felt it too, and singers like Bessie Smith and Ella Fitzgerald spoke to their sense of marginalisation. The first British incarnation of the music was skiffle and that morphed into British R & B. It was a British sound, since white young men were interpreting music that was very much a part of the African American cultural experience (Schwartz, 2007). The deep rhythmic back beat with repeated syncopated motives was replicated (Baily, 1994) – a rhythmic flexibility since, as James Brown said,

Black music's basically rhythmic, it's all about Africa and dancing (Hall, 2006, p 59).

Dancers separated, moving to the beat but without touching each other. The strong irrepressible beat freed the body to move. At first, the music centred around the London club scene, but quickly spread out to other urban centres. Live music was paramount because the BBC would not play it. Radio Luxembourg had been around since the fifties, but could only be heard in Britain in the evenings, and even then the signal could be weak in some locations and, in many cases, shortened versions of the songs were broadcast (Crisell, 1997). In 1964, the pirate radio stations arrived, Radio Caroline was the first. Only one year later, they had an estimated audience of between 10 and 15 million listeners. In 1967, the newly elected Conservative government was determined to shut down the pirates which, eventually, they did. The response of the BBC was to launch Radio 1 as a new dedicated music channel so that "British sound broadcasting would never be the same again" (Crisell, 1997).

Throughout this time, the music grew with cross-fertilisation between the US and the UK, but something else was happening: great advances in recording technology. "I'm working on music to be completely, utterly a magic science," Jimi Hendrix declared. (quoted in Clarke, 1983, p 195). The technology of sound recording was evolving exponentially. Rock music had become a "recorded art" (Clarke, 1983, p 195). The recording revolution allowed for new forms and new ideas to come into the musical lexicon.

Beginning with the Beatles *Rubber Soul* album, some popular music shifted away from a dance beat to an aural experience, allowing for major innovation (O'Grady, 1979; Whiteley, 1992). A short time before, Bob Dylan's music moved from classic folk to music that was more prophetic poetry (Galenson, 2009). "Bob, freed your mind the way Elvis freed your body," as Bruce Springsteen put it during a speech at the Rock-and-Roll Hall of Fame Induction Dinner in 1988. Some music critics say that, from the beginning, Cream's music was an aural and lyrical exemplification of the psychedelic drug experience (Whiteley, 1992). Others credit The Beatles and *Strawberry Fields* with that honour

(Daniels, 2006). The Beatles' *Sgt Pepper* was the first concept album, and took progressive rock and the psychedelic to, what some saw as a revolutionary place (Whiteley, 1992; Galenson, 2009). Cream, Jimi Hendrix Experience, Jefferson Airplane, and the Rolling Stones fed the heads of the counterculture with coded lyrical references to drugs, but it was not just the music of a subgroup; it was the music of a generation (Whiteley, 1992). It was music to make your body move, music to make your mind dance, music that called out the concerns and issues of the times, music that was sexual and sensual, and music that said, with love, it would all be okay. On that note, I end my brief window into the sixties.

Conclusion

So much happened so fast. The conditions were created by a commitment to a more equitable society by some in government, positive economic conditions, and technological innovations both terrifying (The Bomb) and wondrous (Earthrise). The postwar generation took those conditions and made the era their own, initiating a cultural revolution that played out throughout British society. Technology, whether it was the medical innovation of the Pill or the new capabilities in the recording studio, played a major role in the social rupture. Style and identity produced a bubble around the postwar generation that was named the generation gap. Gap? Perhaps so, perhaps not, but it was a new world that was, in part, crafted from all the elements in this snapshot of the sixties. Music and dance were the common denominators for a cohort that very much saw themselves as an "us," a generation. Initially, that sense of teenagehood was marketed to them, but through the changes, the counterculture/subcultures, liberation movements, and the commonly held experiences of the Cold War and Earthrise, this cohort made their own generational definitions.

Prologue

There is no single time, only a multitude of times which interpenetrate and permeate our daily lives (Adam, 1995).

Within a lifetime there are a multitude of times. I remember being a child, probably about nine or ten and waking up on a Sunday morning just as the sun was rising, sliding out of bed, going out and getting on my bike and riding and riding. There was no one around and the feeling of endless time stretching out in front of me is still palpable. As an older person, fifty years hence, I no longer have an endless sense of time, at least not in this body. It is age but it is also the times with seemingly endless responsibilities and obligations. It is not just our sense of time that shifts through a lifespan but the meaning we attribute to time. In this chapter I look at how my participants talked about time, what it meant, what it means to them, how it is definitional, how it shapes their lives, and how it plays in and around their consciousness. But, first, I start with two musicians and what they had to say about time in the sixties.

Introduction

The Times They are A-Changin'

Come gather 'round people

Wherever you roam

And admit that the waters

Around you have grown

And accept it that soon

You'll be drenched to the bone

If your time to you

Is worth savin'

Then you better start swimmin'

Or you'll sink like a stone

For the times they are a-changin'. (Dylan, 1964)

<u>*Season of the Witch*</u>

When I look out my window

Many sights to see

And when I look in my window

So many different people to be

That it's strange, so strange

You've got to pick up every stitch

Must be the season of the witch (Donovan, 1966)

Both Bob Dylan and Donovan captured the sixties era in their iconographic songs. In *The Times They are A-Changin*, Dylan describes the social and political upheaval which was at the core of the sixties (Heylin, 1991). He used the perspective of time, in an almost prophetic way, to define an era that was characterised by change. Dylan's song has been called one of the two great anthems of the sixties cohort (The Who's, *Talkin' 'Bout My Generation*, the second one) (Heylin, 1991; Marqusee, 2003). At the time, Dylan said he wanted to write an anthem for the times. He did not see it as having to do with age but, instead, "aliveness," versus what he called "deadness." Dylan was adamant that he was not referring to the generation gap (Heylin, 1991, p 126). The song calls into awareness the times, the sixties. The postwar cohort was self-consciousness about coming of age during that era and being closely identified with it. That awareness or self-consciousness continues to the present day, constantly reinforced with media reminders (Gilleard and Higgs, 2013). Older people could appreciate that song, but it was significant numbers of the postwar generation that made it their anthem. Multiple perspectives of time will be discussed in this chapter and one of those aspects, I argue, is an influence/identification with the sixties. That identification with time, the sixties, and its interaction with another kind of time, generational time, is essential to who the postwar cohort were and who they would become as older people. The final verse, with its lyrics, "As the present now will later be past," is a call to understand the transience of time. Embedded in the interviews, participants described the influence of time and those times on their lives.

Season of the Witch was a different depiction of the times and time. Perhaps the first psychedelic song to have been written, it, too, has an important place in the annals of sixties pop music (Whitely, 1992). Donovan's song was never released as single in the UK (it was in the US) but has been covered dozens of times and used in film scores and as a title to a book. It has a staying power that has lasted through time as reminder of the sixties. It has been called "haunting" and an echo of the sixties (Whiteley, 1992 p 67). There have been a number of interpretations of Donovan's ominous, and beautiful song. With the title reference to "season" (time of the sixties era) and its lyric of "picking up every stich" (the moments of time), it can be interpreted as a description of the sixties as seen through the lens of time. The *Season of the Witch* was an exhilarating time of change but also

difficult and even dangerous. Donovan is telling us to be aware, to pay attention to the movement of time, the moments which hold the present/now juncture and potential futures.

The Times They are A-Changin' and *Season of the Witch* are articulations of a visceral sense that ran and continues to run through the postwar cohort's consciousness. Not everyone from the sixties generation would agree with the sentiments of Dylan and Donovan's songs but they will most certainly recognise them. They say something about the times, what we have taken forward from that era, and the nature of time itself. Time is always on the move, unstoppable, changing yet it is the container for our lifespan and the dimension we live in. The flow of time has carried the postwar cohort along, past youth and middle-age and towards old age. The sixties generation is clustered around that magical number where the question is, "Will you still need me, will you still feed me when I'm sixty-four?" (Beatles, 1967). They now see time through the lens of many more years and from a very different point in their lifespan (Bytheway, 2011). This chapter explores time through the perspective of ageing and the experience of time as an older person. Longevity does change the way we see time. This may or may not be through the perspective of wisdom or learned experience, or simply the number of years lived. There is a visceral sense of finitude in knowing that there are more years that have been lived and experienced than remain ahead of us. This consciousness changes our view of time.

Time is…

Though many people use chronological time as a marker, it is lived experience that creates meaning (Bytheway, 2011). Events and, even more so, relationships are interwoven in time to create meaning in our lives. Relationships in time are more than shared experience, though that is certainly part of their dynamic. Relationships also live in time within us as memory and imagined future in the resonance of the other person or persons. In this chapter, many of the quotes are connected to relationships with friends, family, or acquaintances. The passage of time – past, present, and future – and the linear and nonlinear way that passage occurs is included in this chapter. The elusive nature of time and some of the many ways we try to capture it or mark it are described here. The ways we create meaning through moments, eras, beginnings, and endings is also covered in this chapter. Initially, I developed these notions through my participants' descriptions, statements, and musing about time. But, first, I begin with a brief description of time.

Time is the sea we swim in and, like saltwater, it lives within us and is intrinsic to our bodies. Like the ocean, we can sit on the shore and watch as well as being immersed in it. Unlike the sea, the complex layers of time structure our lives - from clock and calendar time to lifespan, era, pace and rhythm, memory, generation, and history. We are embedded in and embody time (Adam, 1995) as clock time interpenetrates interior and biological time. Time is integral to our sense of ourselves, who we are, how we have lived, and who we might become. It lives in our personal memories, the current

moment, and our future imaginings. Internal time can make it feel as if the clock has stopped or is racing forward (Mills, 2000). It can be a biological flow with the lunar cycles, such as with menstruation, or the simple light/dark cycles of sleep (Luce, 1974). Our internal sense of time is informed by our knowledge of the finitude of life - that mortality is inevitable (Adam, 1995; 2004(a)). Our perception of time is mutable, with the variability of our sense of long or short. An hour can feel like an eternity or a moment (Chernus, 2011).

In this except from an interview with Rich, he speaks from the perspective of someone who has very little time left, having been diagnosed with terminal lung cancer. From the perspective of his doctors, he is living on borrowed time. From Rich's perspective, he is living <u>in</u> time. The quote picks up many themes about the nature of time and clock time versus lived time. Some of these themes were ideas that were being explored by him in embryo form in the sixties and have been developed throughout Rich's lifetime.

Naomi: *So what do you imagine, how would you talk about the experience of 65 years on this earth, in this body? What's the meaning of experience? Put it in the context of this almost last hour we've been speaking.*

Rich: *It's been five minutes or three moments and life anyway is only a sequence of moments. Our lives, I think are seldom more than a minute long. Life is a sequence of moments, each one of which lasts, maybe a second. So, if your life is 60 seconds long when – wow, you've lived a lot (long pause). And the moments are so wonderful, they are so filled with wonder and with joy. And those two responses are the crucial ones in human existence and from them all others proceed. All the crucially important ones like compassion, kindness, gentleness, love – all those things come from those moments, I think. You know, I think love comes from wonde*r.

Naomi: *And, are you describing experience or are you describing time? Or, are you describing both?*

Rich: *I'm always extrapolating from experience but I'm also describing time here and the very strange nature of time and the way in which our description of it is inadequate to its operation because although we have to tabulate it, we can't actually control or determine or rule it – it rules us in the strangest ways. It surges in upon us and then it proceeds and it becomes – [Rich makes a tick tock sound].*

Naomi: *So, time is central to some of your ideas about experience, of your notions of experience?*

Rich: *I think the timeless moment is more crucial, I think that the significant experiences in your life circle around the timeless moment and you know how that is, Naomi.*

Naomi: *Say more.*

Rich: (Long pause) – *It's strange that you have to define it in terms of time, isn't it? It's a state where time is suspended and awareness is all enveloping. Awareness is all and it's the awareness of your place in the world.*

This rich description of time touches on: 1) the elastic or fluid nature of our sense of time; 2) how we fill those moments and what is really important in the span of moments that make up a lifetime; 3) how we can "tabulate" some types of time but we cannot control it – the nature of time is that it just keeps moving in its own way; and 4) how experience and time are interwoven but there are conscious moments when time is suspended, like in the eye of a hurricane. The language Rich has used to describe time is also important. The language, and its understanding, is an expression of the sixties era. I call it sixties-talk. Though Rich has not used any slang from that era, he is expressing ideas in language that became popularised during that time. The themes in Rich's quote will be explored, along with other themes pertaining to time, in this chapter. If the whole of time is seen as timescape then this chapter places the postwar cohort and their particular perspective of time in the foreground.

Time, Ageing, and Non-linearity

Through the interview process, I have come to a visceral sense of understanding that our internal sense of time is fluid, not fixed to clock or calendar time. The passage of time is evidenced through our skin, hair, teeth, bones, and muscles. The proof of our time, our embodiment, is the visual stamp of time on our bodies and the shift in tempo as our internal systems slow down. When our time is up, we cease to be. Time is our lifespan lived, both in interiority and our exterior experience through events and relationships and beyond. When I began this PhD, I had a vaguely defined sense of connection between time and ageing. Though Twigg does not discuss time, it was through my reading of her work (2000, 2006) in conjunction with Adam's books (1990, 1995, 2004(a)), my participants' perspectives, and a developing consciousness of my own ageing body that I came to see ageing body and time as profoundly connected. In this quote from Geri, she describes it as a journey:

You know, you think about it in bits. I sometimes read an article and I think about the sixties – I think about my experience – and I think about how I was - how very lucky I am to have been born in that time and how that shaped my relationship with my children, but I never put it together in the way that we've now talked about it, in a whole journey. I think it is a whole journey – and we're at the other end.

Time is structural and yet, given the complexity and integration of the layers of it, it eschews duality. Structurally, time gives shape to our lives, providing us with a sense of our world (Bytheway, 2012). Our sense of time is different at different points in our lives. All of the participants spoke about chronological time from the vantage point of an older person - someone who has lived many years within their lifespan. By its nature, chronology is a kind of tabulation of time – how much has been lived; how much is left? Calendar years are one way we mark our years and calculate our ageing process. Chronology is not a metronomic happening. Instead, even this basic reckoning of time has a

sense of mutability (Adam, 1990, 1995, 2004(a); Young and Schuller, 1988). This quote from Candice discusses time from the perspective of someone who is ageing:

I think you think about it [ageing] *in a much more transient way when you're younger because it is just so far off and I feel what happens is you start looking at time spans, looking back and thinking how quickly time has gone and therefore knowing that 20 years hence it's going to come 'round very quickly. And so, it's about your appreciation of time or – I think, maybe, at this age, you do have another perspective on the passage of time.*

From a structural perspective, participants' reckoning of time is a definer of where they are in their lives. Participants discussed their lives in terms of a movement of time, as parts or segments. In this quote from Gill, she describes the next phase of her life:

Naomi: *So, did I really cover –*
Gill: *about getting old – yes because I've only been thinking about that because I'm going to Australia, thinking, Gill, this is your gift. This is your opportunity. This is yours – for the next phase of your life.*

In Gill's quote she is describing another beginning, the start of a new time. The notion of beginnings is illustrative of the elusive nature of time. Elusive, for example, in that participants spoke of beginning and ending together as they described the interpenetration of the present and the future. I would argue that the naming of time does not come from a linear timeline of life or a staged trajectory of phases of the lifespan, but the interior sense of the passage of time. What does the passage of time feel like? Individuals mark "beginning" based on the feel of the passage of time. Time is elusive because it is continuity and segmentation existing together. Many participants used words like "start" or "begin" in relationship not just to a whole lifespan, but also in referring to the meaning they have attributed to any given event or moment.

Patricia: *Joe wants to be a doctor* [he's 17 years old] *and I wish I could win the lottery so I could put him through University because he's going to come out of there as – probably £7500 in debt. You know,* **what a way to start a life** [emphasis in original].

From the vantage point of a young person, Joe most likely would not see himself as "starting life" but from his grandmother's perspective of many more lived years, it is an important beginning, a start.

Stephan places beginning within chronological terms. He discusses expectations of society's ideas about beginnings and his own life trajectory:

I've been very fortunate that, perhaps, because of that active mind and curiosity and always inquiring and asking and wondering and worrying to a certain extent throughout this opportunity and through a couple of very fortunate occurrences, I met somebody with whom I could develop the idea and turn it into a business. We're doing the sort of thing that most bright people do in their 20s or early 30s. It hasn't come to me at all until post-60 (laughter). But that doesn't worry me at all (laughter).

Elaine's quote is another kind of beginning:

Elaine: *If you'd been 63, years ago, you'd probably be an old person whereas 63 now is starting life, isn't it? It's young.*
Naomi: *How would you describe starting life?*
Elaine: *Well, your family's gone so you start doing some things you wanted to.*

Life's Reckonings

For many interviewees, there was a keen awareness that they were closer to the last part of life. In this quote below from Elaine (discussed later in the interview) she stakes out her sense of the limited time she has left. Interviewees had a layered sense of time holding multiple notions or aspects of time collectively. In other words, interviewees grasp both the idea of beginning and ending in almost the same breath. Elaine discusses a new beginning through an intense awareness of ending or finitude.

When I think, when I turned 60 – I mean, people say when you turn 40 this and when you turn 50 that – none of those affected me but when I reached 60, I sort of thought about the years and I thought, well, I'm 60 now and I had three quarters of my life – you know, the years left could be 13, could be 20 but it won't be nearly as many as I've had, as have gone by.

Elaine was one of a number of participants who held, in tandem, multiple notions of time. Judith, for example, describes the limits of her time with ruminations over beginning a new project or phase of her life:
I have been thinking, over the last few years about – what is my role? So, in that sense, I have been thinking about what is my role and where I should be putting my energy with an awareness that I've got a limited amount of time.

Geri describes moving her mother into a sheltered flat:
What I find most interesting - the mental acceptance – "So, that is where I am in my life." That is significant – [sharp intake of breath] – I mean, that's it, that is the last part, the last move, really, isn't it?

Time, whether it is reckoned through segments or years or events in time, creates a pattern. George describes living in time as being, "*part of life's rich pattern.*"

Seen as part of a pattern, years and/or events tied to years become a stabilizing force in our lives. Time becomes a framework for our lives, not as a tyranny but as a way of seeing pattern and creating a sense of stability. In the absence of religion, ceremony, or ritual life for many people in the Industrial West, we have little stability in terms of our sense of past, present, and future as delineated in formal ways (Adam, 2007). Time is representational, in that these time-marked events come to be rich in meaning. Births, deaths, anniversaries, what one normally does in life, as time flows, marks life and the movement of time (Bytheway, 2012). In these two quotes from Nick and Elaine, they describe how their wedding anniversaries were marked with a family gathering. Using time as a signifier, their families came together, adding to their life's pattern as a group and individually. Also embedded in these quotes is the notion of continuum, which will be discussed later. Marking anniversaries takes on more layers with ageing and the passage of time.

Nick: *I've been married for 40 years last Sunday. We just had our wedding anniversary. In a small way – we didn't go out and all that but we had it at home with my son and his partner and our first grandchild, Luke. And I felt a great deal of satisfaction – we both did.*

Elaine: *When we were married 40 years, we had a nice meal down the pub and they all come back here – and how lovely. Nothing more than my family. They're so important, they give me so much pleasure.*

In these quotes, time is invested with meaning. Throughout the interviews, participants used the interconnection of time and event to create meaning and structure for their lives. That structure gives us a sense of shape and helps us make meaning. It is not only a small, single marker of time that can be a signifier of meaning. It can also be large periods of time. Participants discussed decades or periods of time. In this quote from Mike, he describes the meaning he has attached to decades:

I loved the seventies. I thought the eighties were pretty anonymous to me but then again, I always, I look at the decades – I tend to go back and look at what am I doing educationally, work-wise and sports and music-wise.

Movement, Flow, and Continuum

The time period or era was and is an important signifier for the participant group. The period of the sixties held an important meaning for the postwar cohort (discussed in detail in the Embodied Time Chapter). How the timeframe of period or era is framed or described and experienced is variable for individuals. The range of experience is first described by Gregory as gradual. In this quote, he describes how his world changed and how he felt the movement from one period of time to the next:

When I was at prep school, which was – I started at the age of eight – it was perfectly feasible that one should become a colonial administrator which I would rather have fancied, to tell the truth – running a piece of the Sudan or something. And that opportunity had dematerialized by 1965. The changes in attitudes – I was brought up in a sort of fairly moderately liberal household so I wasn't shocked or jarred by these sort of changes that had come gradually and naturally in attitudes.

Paul describes his sense of the time shift into the sixties era in different terms, as a break:

*The 40s were, of course, were a bad time because of the war. You know, people didn't even think of that sort of thing [being unconventional]. They weren't exposed to it and they continued doing things the way they'd learned from their parents and so on and so forth going back to way back when. So, I think the sixties – **it was a very positive period for me personally – because it was a break – precisely because of that** [emphasis, author]. Not everything about it was positive but I think it was a kind of very positive experience for people.*

In this quote from Geri, she describes a seminal experience that she describes as a moment in time that was a defining moment:

And we went to see Hair and we saw naked people on a London stage. And we could go on the stage and dance with them and, now, that was, that was truly revolutionary. So, of course that's going to colour how you take your life forward because you are conscious of being – I was conscious of being within a very huge, enormous revolution.

Grace returns to the moment in time that she became invisible to men:

I can even pinpoint when I became invisible (laughter) so to speak, physically.

In the above quotes from Grace, Geri, Paul, and Gregory, they are all describing how they experienced the movement of time and the experience of change within that movement but, of course, from their vantage point in the present, looking back through the years. Time flow or movement is not a constant. The language of the sixties describes living life within the flow of events/time. The expression "going with the flow" was used by a number of participants. The expression is associated with taking life as it comes (Dan, 2003). Encompassed within going with the flow is the notion that time takes on different rhythms. Events in time can come fast and furious, in a slow steady drip, or paced far apart.

Lisa: *When you think, you knew you were going to get older – you were too busy leading your life to think about ageing. Did you? I think so much depends upon the life you've led. You just go with the flow.*

Charles: *Okay, where my head's gone now – again, it goes back to the question of being a product of the time or the ambience, the mood, but whatever was going on at the time. I think in terms of life, I have kind of gone with the flow.*

Mike describes the flow of time when life is sometimes perceived as "boring," as even and constant: *Life kind of ticks along with no flutters of the heartbeat, sort of thing.*

Stephan describes a period of time in his life, when he entered the army after being in an exclusive public school, as an "instant"; he perceived the flow of time as an instant:

...being totally immersed in a social spectrum that was much wider than I had been – where there were coloured people, people from much broader backgrounds and much wider range walks of life and becoming very quickly, very close friends with all those sorts of people who I never met before socially or at school. And that was a very instant liberation, exposure to such a wide range of people.

There are moments when time feels as if it has stopped and there is a hyper-keen awareness of the present. In this quote from Gill, she describes just such a moment:

I remember when I was 40, my 40th birthday, the day of my 40th birthday. I was at work and I used to work in a building – there were 17 floors – and I was walking down – I was a senior training officer. I was walking down the stairs and looking out and I realized, oh my God, I'm forty – I just stopped, it all just stopped. First I felt scared – then I thought, my God, from now on it's all up to me. I'm responsible for me – from now on it's really up to me.

The flow of time is an interpenetrated continuum between the generations, partners, and friends. The continuum of time connects the past, present, and, sometimes, the future. Many participants described this movement of time. In this quote from Grace, she describes the continuum, the long movement of time from her vantage point of ageing:

And on the continuum of life, I can see my daughters, my mother, and hear my transitioning – having been that and will become this. I can see the map of the territory more at this age.

The ongoing nature of time was discussed in many ways by almost all of the participants. In part, this continuum is seen through the lens of ageing. Grace places herself within the larger movement of time in the quote above. Many participants described their connection to the flow from the past to the present through physicality. In these quotes below from Stephan, Candice, and Elaine, they talk about physicality as a connection to the past, to the now, and possibly into the future:

Stephan: *My mother is still alive. My father lived to be very nearly 90, my mother is 88. So, we are a long living family and a very fit family. So, one's sort of inherited healthy genes or whatever.*

Candice: *My hands – I didn't imagine – did I imagine? I can remember looking at my mother's hands and I can see – with the veins sticking out and –* (long pause) *– Is it different than I imagine? Oh yeah, I think my joints are bigger in my hands – they've gotten swollen or something, I suppose but – My mother always used to talk about having big hands* (short laugh) *because we have got big hands in our family but I think – I can remember looking at her hands but I didn't think about mine becoming like that – like they are now.*

Naomi: *Do you look like your mom?*
Elaine: *While I'm alive, my mum will be alive – my husband says that.*

In this quote from Nick, he describes continuity through a learned quality:

...who I am now, I would've liked to have been more grateful and understanding of her and appreciative, actually. I, I, I think I was, I hope I was. I was, I saw her quite regularly, you know and she knew that about me. But, of course, you get a bit older and unfortunately for me, my means – we were first married, we, my wife and I and we didn't have much money so we couldn't take them out for meals and all that, what we could have done later. I, I have my mum's integrity. (Laughter)

This quote from Gill describes continuum through activity:

My eyesight – that's very interesting. I can remember when my mum always asked me to thread a needle for her – or read something for her. Now I ask my daughter – I feel pathetic without my glasses (laughter).

Sarah discusses her identity as a Jew and the daughter of a Holocaust survivor:

I came back to my identity as a Jew and worked a lot, continue to work [in co-counseling] on being the daughter of a Holocaust survivor. My mother came out of Germany and not really having family that was – it was never talked about at home really and it was so traumatic that I couldn't make sense

of it but – it's another strand, I say, that's important and tied into that time because, I think post-Holocaust – it effected everybody but there was a particular resonance because of my family background.

Rich discusses the flow of time through friends:

I think I have been very fortunate throughout my life for having good, close older friends willing to talk about their life experience and certainly their wisdom passed on to me has been invaluable in my own encounter with senescence.

There is an expectation that we live within a sense of time that is continuous. In these quotes from Bill and Jack, they discuss the discomfort or pain of discontinuity.

Bill: *It's the biggest regret that I think I have is that he [his brother who died of AIDS] never met either of my children 'cause he would have absolutely adored them and they would've absolutely adored him.*

Jack: *I used to think that I was, that I'd been adopted because I didn't look like my family.*

While many participants discussed time as a distinct flow during the interview, they did, at other points, talk about the compression of past, present, and future. This compression is defining of the interpenetration of past, present, and future. Below Jack, talks about his experience of working with older people and how that has shaped his perception of time. Though he ends the quote by saying he needs to focus on the present, he is seeing this conclusion through the lens of the past, present, and future.
So, people's life course and choices in relationships and all those sort of things lead them to being who they are. I suppose, I thought, don't worry about who you will be then, imagine how you are now because that will lead to who you will be. The now is really the thing to focus on.

Geri's quote, again, compresses time to look back, to the now, and to the future:

But actually, if you come back to it, actually this is the last third of your life. I think there's quite a tension between the way you reconcile the chunk that was the sixties and how you were brought up because I – when you reach old age you naturally start to look back to your roots – but we left them – which is my point. What do we do now? I don't want to put my feet up by the fire – so, I'm forced to paint a picture of the old age that's totally different. I've lived my life totally differently. So, what is my old age?

Time is not static, it moves and flows, and it carries us along as continuum. The notion of continuum is striking to me. Though the participants were informed by people and events in their past, they did not speak as if they were returning to a past time. It was time, in the present where that contained the shards of the past but in new ways. Like in Adam's notions of return (1990), and the impossibility of really experiencing return as replication, the interviewees captured the non-static nature of time in their discussions.

Memory, Shared History, and Relationship

Memory and shared history between family, friends, or colleagues are both the interiority of time and the exterior manifestation of time. Shared history is manifest in the stories we hold in common and our deep and often-times layered relationships. Collective experience is accumulated over the years. Shared history brings past times to the present, not just through stories but through the continuity of relationships. Bruce describes an aspect of shared history between himself and his partner:

I've been together with my partner now since 1979 and obviously we both, we've both sort of aged together… In terms of, neither of us has had any cosmetic surgery, for example. We've both of us have lost our hair and neither of us, has made any effort at toupees, implants (laughter).

In this quote from Mike, he describes his shared history with his ex-wife:

I still keep in contact with my first wife who's in Georgia. We just emailed the other day. For whatever reason we haven't seen each other for a long time but, I think she is someone who has known me, knows me.

Patricia describes sharing memories of her teen years with a friend:

I just did things I really wasn't meant to do. This is that – a friend of mine I met again - and she is living in Australia and she came back and she says, "Ugh, God, the things we used to do." "I know, it's a wonder we're still here." And she said, "yes" (laughter).

In this quote from Nick, he discusses a sense of shared history with friends with the common thread of interest and place:

I went to a funeral recently of a very close friend and a few people said, yeah, you look like you were. I suppose, it was a friend from youth club in 1963, a woman who lives in Brighton now. Yeah, I think that's who said that (laughter). I've known her since she was 17 and me similar.
Naomi: *What do you imagine her knowing about you now? If I asked her, what would she say to me?*

Nick: *I was part of the group, I was fun – hopefully, I was fun and I hope she would say – (laughter). I was good fun to be with that it was a good time and we had – she and I never went out or anything like that – she was a part of the group which makes it more interesting, really. I think there has been, there is quite a sense of continuity with me, in music, I suppose. Music and history – well, social history and love of London and friends, actually. I mean I am the sort of person who likes to stay in touch with people so I make an effort to phone, e-mail, whatever to keep in touch with people.*

Later in the interview, Nick goes on to describe another kind of shared history. It is history that is shared within a relationship but also within a place:

Yesterday - I was part of some community work – I was speaking to a colleague and we're doing a community film and we met in the café at the college I used to go to with my friend. So, this was a great emotional connection. We both did A-levels in art at this college. And we were now sitting in the cafeteria in London and we were kind of – and I was talking to my colleague and it was a great meeting but I was aware of the resonance of the past, as well. And it does have a good effect.

Sarah describes a very long-term group, one that existed well before her arrival. Her quote discusses the sense of their shared history but also a sense of continuity:

In co-counseling there's been this reference person for elders so that's been a - for people over 50 – so that's been the same person for as long as – well before I turned 50... So, there's been a whole movement of the elders that have gone before me - now I'm in that cohort because a lot of us started co-counseling at the same time. Some of us have dropped out but a lot of us have stayed – we've know each other for 30, 40 years – some people I've known for nearly 40 years. And seeing us age and seeing us continue to strive for social transformation has been thrilling.

An object can carry the mark of time as a signifier of a relationship or event in time. In this quote from Sarah, she mentions the cardigan she wore to our interview that had belonged to a friend who had died. The object, in this case a cardigan, is a signifier of continuity – the past and the end of time for her friend to the present/now:

I was just thinking, probably the biggest challenge to me physically has been the death of two friends in the last – Susan died three years ago – this is her cardigan [motions to cardigan she was wearing]. *I don't know why I chose to wear that today? That's interesting.*

Reunions were a common theme in many of the interviews. Though they are conscious attempts to capture the past, they also are an experience in the present, and can be a launch for possible futures.

Shared histories are revisited and new histories are made. In this quote from Suzanne, she describes her connections, old and new, with a university friend:

I sat with two women, one of which I had been very close friends with and we hadn't seen each other since University and – you know there were things as our conversation unfolded that I just knew about her because I knew her when she was young, the work she's doing now. It was like there were bits and pieces of her now that really evolved and developed and matured to me. That I found surprising and interesting.

In this quote from Sally, she described organizing a school reunion. Again, there is connection, first through appearance and recognition of each other from another time in life. Bringing the past and present together in a continued shared history people reconnected – creating new history and stories. Sally states that now there are people from this reunion who meet regularly, creating possible futures together:

What we did, we had sticky labels and we all put a badge on so we knew who each other were. I found that if I wasn't sure and somebody said who they were, I could immediately see it. But, nobody said to me, I wouldn't have known you – no, nobody. And now, now there's nine of us who meet quite regularly now and we all look the same (laughter) – not really, if you saw school photos of us in our little shorts and on the gym equipment.

This last quote is a shared memory between a large group of people. The people who attended the reunion could be said to be members of a community of memory or a mnemonic community. The postwar generation, itself, forms a mnemonic community (Zerbuval, 2003; Giesen, 2004). The shared experiences of the postwar years, including the sixties, operate together to form this community of memory. There was no one in the interview group who did not have ways of identifying the sixties - events, feelings, and history – all the elements that make up time, or, in this case, an era. Participants perceived themselves as generational, with a collective memory. The use of the pronoun "us" or "we" was employed liberally throughout the interviews when referring to certain kinds of collective experience, like memories of sixties music. The possessive, "our" as in "our generation" was also used often throughout the interviews. Mnemonic community will be explored in detail in the next chapter, Embodied Time.

Futurity

The elusive nature of time, as it is constructed in the Industrial West, makes it difficult for us to imagine our lifespans in terms of time. No one in the interview group stated that, as younger people,

they were able to imagine a future time when they would be old or what it would be like to be old. The following quotes exemplify that point – imagining the movement of time from young to old. Lisa:

I couldn't imagine being 65. I know it's reality, if you are 65, but it just seems so ancient. But actually, now that I've turned it, in fact I feel quite relaxed about it. Do you know what I mean? It is a milestone.

Lisa says in her quote that she "couldn't imagine being 65." Many participants discussed their inability to imagine their own life trajectory through time to being older. That said, as exemplified above, participants were able to imagine time forward for them, now.

Naomi: *Did you ever imagine turning 63 would be the way it is now?*

Charles: *No. As simple as that, no. In fact, the simplest way to answer it is that I never imagined being 63. I never thought "When I'm sixty-four"* [sings it]. *You know, I've sung the song – I'm that age where they wrote that song so, no. Yes, I understand the sentiment but it never entered my head to kind of explore that.*

Suzanne: *I was in my 30s and, looking around and thinking, heavens, what am I doing with my life? I need a proper job – I hadn't really had one 'til my 30s. I didn't assume – of course, one got old – that was so far in the future.*

From the now juncture, or the vantage point of being an older person, many participants discussed the future. Their discussion included not only future plans, but imaginings and fears about the projection of time, or, as quoted earlier,

I think, maybe, at this age, you do have another perspective on the passage of time (Candice).

For my interview group, their sense of the future was profoundly informed by knowing they had lived more years than they had left to live. The future is both filled with possibility or fecundity and with ending. It is a different sense of time than that described in the quote from Rich, at the beginning of this chapter. His perspective is through the lens of the clarity of absolute finitude. During the course of my interview with Rich, he used the word "transience" repeatedly, the passing of time which, for him, includes the clarity of an end point. For other interviewees, there is an understanding of the finitude of their lives but not a clarity in regard to its imminence. Lived time is not to be stopped. It is uncontrollable, moving on at its varying, meandering or surging pace. This exchange captures the inherent sense that was clear in all the interviews.

Suzanne: There's nothing one can do but grow old gracefully.

Naomi: *And what does that mean?*

Suzanne: *I prefer disgracefully.*

Candice, a book lover, put it this way:

I know I think I've heard people talk about not having enough time to read all the books they wanted to read. And this sort of feeling that you're constantly developing or there's something, there's some sort of learning but - (pause) – not enough time.

Lisa describes, with regret, the loss of time, a day. Time is out of her control; she can tabulate it but she cannot stop it:

*What's most satisfying to me? I think being able to get out and about, to travel, to have a good life, to do things I want to do. I think, sometimes, one's hard on oneself and I think, I should be out there doing more things, being more proactive, so I do sometimes beat myself up a bit and think - (sharp intake of breath) – **I can sometimes wile away a day doing absolutely nothing and I think, my God, where's the day gone?*** [emphasis, author]

Our relationship with futurity changes over the course of lifespan to make the passage of time more imaginable. Many participants discussed their future wonderings in the form of worries and fears, but also from a position of ongoing development and becoming.

Elaine: *I'd like to be self-supporting – independent – so that I can do things on my own, I don't have to rely on my husband or anybody else. So when I am old, as long as I am fit, that I can get on a bus and get to London. I can get on a – I would be independent – feel independent enough to do that – not rely on other people. I can't swim so I'm going to take swimming lessons when I retire – 'cause I can't do it. And I'd like to do it 'cause I think when you get in a pool and you go up and down and up and down – the cares of the world go by. So, by doing those things you're going out into the world and being independent – so you don't have to rely on other people. So, when I get to the point, when I am on my own, I'd still be able to take part in all those things. Not stay home and think the world, my husband's gone, the world is gone now – get out – keep going.*

Nick: *It's funny, I was thinking about that today, actually. Not in connection with our meeting. I'm going to see a friend tonight who plays music and he's just, he's going to be 70 this year and I was kind of thinking, I wonder if I'll still be playing when I'm full version 70 or 75 or older. And I thought, well, I hope so, anything's possible (laughter).*

There is tentativeness, a hope, in these future imaginings. While speaking about the future, Mike casts back to his childhood to a constructed future certainty that was presented to the postwar generation. It lives as a projection into the future, and, also, as a community memory:

I remember in the sixties, when we used to see what a typical house was going to look like. So, you have the fridge that told you when it was empty of milk – the space age family (laughter).

Participants' imaginings about the future very much included a future world without them in it. Many participants expressed an understanding that the world we inherited had been bequeathed to us by the previous generation and we would pass the world on, as it is, as we left it, for the next generation. In this quote from Geri, she states her sense of the future, baldly echoing the feelings of many participants:

Future generations have a load of crap that they have to deal with.

Cutting across time, across lifespan, from the perspective of old, George imagines a future world that continues:

I suppose the one saving grace is that young people have optimism and, you know, they will make a way of things.

Finitude is the future and the end. Many people discussed a way of living life through a double vision; time within their lifespan was finite, but also unknowable and possible a good many more years. This has been heightened by the shift in life expectancy. We are living longer, but how much longer? How much time makes up a lifespan? How does meaning shift when one lives with less rather than more years in that lifespan? In this quote from Sally, she describes being diagnosed with cancer and her recovery:

Sally: *I think once I was told about the cancer, I thought my days were numbered, so to speak, and when I got over it I thought, I got to get out and do the most you can.*
Naomi: *If you don't mind, I'd like to ask you a couple of questions about the skin cancer. Is that okay?*
Sally: *That's okay. When I had the first lot all I did was cry and I never told people. But, once I had the second one – it's funny, I just seemed to accept it – I suppose it's because I got through the first on. Yeah, fire away.*
Naomi: *Was there a moment, was there a conscious moment when you remember saying I'm done with my old life? Or did this happen gradually?*

Sally: *Oh no, it just seemed to happen.*

In this quote from Gregory, he describes the death of friends affecting his internal sense of lifetime:

There is an element of – gather ye roses all, while ye may because they're our friends who have died unexpectedly. A former girlfriend, a very close friend, died 18 months ago of emphysema and various other things. Another friend is seriously ill with cancer and you – all these people have been perfectly healthy one minute and essentially not there the next minute.

Many people expressed a wish for and a belief in the possibility of many more years. At the same time, many interviewees told stories of family, friends, colleagues, and acquaintances who had not lived what they considered a long life. Contained within the telling was a knowledge that a lifetime was just that, a life time – self-contained within its own space of time, no matter how short or long. This quote from Maggie, on the death of a seven year old from her village, sums up an inherent sense of lifespan that was expressed by many participants:

People always say how it is tragic if a life is cut so short or something like that. I believe a life is always complete within itself - his seven years – that is his, John's life, in its entirety. I think, that's something I believe that our life, in its entirety – there's no point saying, if only this or that. We live our lives every day. Tomorrow is never going to come again.

Time and Process

A reflection on time within the interview itself is a fitting end to this chapter. In this quote from Rich, he talks about the passage of time and how time's passage changes us:

I very much go along with that wonderful insight of Keats that he expresses in a letter, when he was a very young man – well, he died a very young man. But, where he writes about the quality that he defines as negative capability and goes on to describe it as the capacity to be in the moment of uncertainty, doubt, and unreason. I think it's also provisional and I don't think that set and determined answers are of much validity. The moment changes. The moment in which we started this questionnaire is over an hour ago. The planes have shifted since then, even. And, I wouldn't give you the same answers again. We live in a very shifty universe – atoms are circling continually and whatever is on the other side of the veil will be different now as to how it was an hour ago.

Conclusion

This section is a distillation of the participants' discussion, thoughts, and musings on time. Age, the years lived, does substantially change our relationship to time. It affects our ability to imagine the future, our sense of the past, and the lens through which we see the present. Our perspective of time

is interconnected with events and relationships and that affects our sense of time's passage. Those relationships are, primarily, with people, but can include our link to objects. The nature of time is, of course, unstoppable and uncontrollable, but through relationships and events we create a sense of continuity or flow of time. Discontinuity can be painful and/or a source of grief. The flow of time has no fixed sense but is instead mutable. Our sense of time can also be one of compression, where past, present, and possible interpenetrate. Beginnings and later stages of life can live side-by-side as we discuss the start of something new towards the end of life. We use time as a marker of significant events to help make sense and meaning of our lives. We also mark time, for example, in terms of segments or moments to help give our lives structure, and, even, a sense that we cannot control time, but we can contain it in our minds and through our relationships. The time of lifespan is the whole of our time, no matter its length. Our lifespans are part of a larger, richer pattern of time. We recognize the smallness of our lifetimes as we consider the future, the point after which we are no longer part of lived time, but we become contained in memory.

CHAPTER 6

Embodied Time

Introduction

There is an obvious and prominent fact about human beings: they have bodies and they are bodies. As we are embodied so we live, as both the subject and object, in a seamless enmeshment of mind and body (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Our embodied selves live in space - waking, resting, moving, and motionless. Bodies, or embodied selves, live in time –industrial, chronological time, and other ways of reckoning time, from rhythmic body time (Adam, 1995, Luce, 1973) to timescape (Adam, 1998; Bytheway, 2011; Neale, 2008). The temporal dimension and embodiment are never separate, never really discrete. Just as bodies must be situated in the spatial dimension, they must also be situated in time. To exist, bodies need a place and a time to be. Our individual bodies are embedded in time and time is embodied within us.

Contained within timescape, that sweep of ever-flowing time, is the sixties era. Within the postwar cohort, those born between 1945 – 1955 were becoming independent beings during that momentous era. In this data analysis section, the sixties/past, ageing/present, and mortality/future each, in turn, move to the foreground of timescape (Adam, 2013).

The past, the sixties era, is discussed as an ongoing influence in their lives, especially as it relates to ageing and to who they have become as older people. The present looks at how the influences of the sixties era are reflected in the cohorts' embodied ageing selves. The future is a discussion of the dynamic legacy, many participants plan to carry forward as the years pass and they move towards the eventual end of embodied life.

Grace: *Going back, going back to that period, during the sixties, I was a teenager then I was a student and did my degree, got married in 1969 so I just snuck in there, at the end of the sixties. It was a profoundly liberating time, I think, there was a sense, not just the flower power but with the scientific findings, with the growing liberality, with political revolutions - all a much wider world to step into. I also am very conscious from a parent perspective of how it had been postwar, then post-postwar and suddenly in the sixties all the doors seemed to be flung open and there was more affluence, there was more aliveness and there was more permission. There was the pill. There was more freedom in dressing. There was an invitation to hold views that were unconventional (laughter). So, I think, I think because I was immersed in that I get, I find it hard to discover (sharp intake of breath) or even ask if that was just the status of being 17, 18, 19, 20 and being a student and being in that milieu or it really was a remarkable feature of the age. You know – obviously, it was both. But the degree to which you look around and say, whoa, who is living in an amazing decade is secondary to thinking*

I'm beginning to claim these freedoms for myself and I'm beginning to get a taste of what existence is all about on a much wider stage.

Geri: *You know, if somebody said, yeah, you know at 57, which I think, if you asked that question, say in my 20's, 57 would have sounded old – still does, some days, anyways, (sharp intake of breath) – and someone had said to try to describe what you were doing, I'm not sure how far beyond wishing – I might have wished I was different from my parents but I'm not sure if I would have been able to articulate what that might have been because that was my role model. My role model was parents who were very comfortable and had quiet lives and, you know, and had become, in my case, had worked hard and become successful, brought up a family. Mmmm, you know, so this old age is so, so very different.*

These two quotations from Grace and Geri reflect many of the themes that were articulated by participants in regard to time, embodiment, and identity. First, Grace recounts this time from a perspective of lived history rather than nostalgia. Second, by her placing her understanding of this time as more than just a discreet period of history or generation, Grace is acknowledging her perspectives/experiences and the flow of time to a new postwar world. She is also anticipating her future when she states *a taste of what existence is all about*. Grace has placed her experience of the sixties in the foreground of timescape. She uses chronology as she positions herself within adolescence, *the age* in her discourse. It is her teenage years, as well as other aspects of time that she moves to the foreground of timescape in her description of that marker in her life course and of the larger milieu. Grace is speaking from the perspective of her personal experience of that *amazing decade*, but it is peopled by all those around her in the milieu, the era. Third, she was naming some of the political, economic, scientific, and cultural changes that were wrought in that time. Fourth, Grace invokes the importance of embodiment when she say, *there was more aliveness*. She also identifies the importance of body-centered transformations with the pill and the freedom of dressing.

Geri considers what she might have thought about old age in her youth and how her parents' ageing looked to her as a younger woman. She explores her own *old age* in the present and considers how *very different* it is from her parents. Geri considers the passage of time, then (her younger self) and now (her older self) at the beginning of this quote. She mentions her parents as role models thus linking the generations, imagining time beyond periodicity to incorporate a larger flow of time. In Geri's quote, her acceptance of her ageing self, though different than her parents', is another theme that is explored in depth later in this chapter. In the end her construction of an identity that is different than her role models of old age, different from her parents comes to the surface of her conscious understanding.

Now, at this time point, forty years on from the end of the sixties, the postwar cohort is ageing and, by many calculations, old. The praxis of the themes stated above, in both Geri's and Grace's quotes, are

the focus of this chapter. This chapter will explore how and in what ways the embodied experience of time and identity are central to meaning making in the postwar cohort. Time has informed my participants' responses as they "themselves interpret and discern what it is like to grow old and be older in today's world" (Gubrium and Holstein, 2000, p 3). This analysis positions the postwar cohort and their place in the sixties at the centre of this specific analysis but the sixties is not ultimately the primary player. It is the manifold configurations and the patterns of time and embodied ageing that are primary.

The data in this chapter were generated through interviews. The majority of the interview questions focused ageing embodiment. The sixties formed only a small topic within each interview, yet the sixties and other aspects of time loomed large in the respondents discourse, suggesting that there are significant connections between time and ageing embodiment. This chapter is arranged in the linear flow of time – past, present, and future though in the interviews there was no linearity to the questions or discussion[7]

Living the Sixties

Many participants self-identified as ageing or old. Their experiences of ageing body - the appearance of wrinkles, grey hair and the like, the sense of feeling slowed down, or aches and pains, all perceived as signifiers of ageing - were discussed as part of the identification with ageing. Though participants identified themselves as old, they also articulated a redefining of the meaning of ageing as compared with previous generations. Many stated the period of 1958 – 1973, the sixties, was a strong influence on their lives, regardless of whether they were directly involved in the politics or subcultures of the day. It was that influence, the advent of the social rupture of the sixties and the many attendant changes, which they attributed to this redefining of embodied ageing. It is now forty years since the end of the sixties, a considerable span of years in the life course, yet the social, economic, and political meanings have carried this cohort forward into old age and embodied identity.

In some ways there were remarkably similar descriptions of the sixties experience throughout the interview group, regardless of whether they self-identified as hippies, mods, feminists, involved in the CND, or other overt sixties signals. Within the interview group there were no consistent markers that would identify someone as being involved in the sixties in stereotypical ways. A few people did self-identify as hippies or involved in politics. Lisa explains her sense of it at the time:

That whole sixties thing in London was just magical. And yet, you didn't really know why, you just knew you were different. People doing things – there was the Rolling Stones, the Beatles, the fashion, the miniskirts – and I was luckily right in the centre of it all - working in London and it was wonderful.

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[7] For interview questions, please see Appendix B.

Suzanne describes her adolescence as not being involved in the sixties this way:

I mean, I was always sort of well behaved as a teenager ... I mean, well, we all smoked drugs a bit but, I mean I didn't go into anything – you know, it was around so one certainly had to try it – not hard drugs – I wasn't into that – you know, the occasional spliff or something.

Patricia who self-identifies as being involved in the sixties says:

And we were all very good and we didn't have drugs (laughter). None of us tried drugs. Involvement in the sixties could not be defined by any set of activities - it was, perhaps, a state of mind and a self-identity.

This quote from Jack describes the generation, but also a collective sense despite differences.

I was a member of that generation but it wasn't uniform but we shared, amongst other things, we shared.

The descriptions were stated from perspective of years lived to the present and the nature of the attendant cultural changes since the sixties. The telling of that time was rarely from a nostalgic position, but more an analysis constructed through time and hindsight – a historic perspective. Nick was able to clearly identify the difference for him between nostalgia and history:

And looking back, it's historically interesting, as well. So, yes it certainly has influenced me. I think in a way it influenced me in that I look at that period now in a nostalgic way, as well, as with affection for friends and people who were around at that time. But, also, that looking back as a time, a time of change.

John defines the period, historically. Though he mentions the social changes, he also brings out two of the aspects of the period tied to body: fashion and music. He describes it like this:

I suppose, we were all conscious, our generation, of being children of the sixties which was clearly, with hindsight, a period of social revolution. I don't think we realized it at the time, that as a school child in the early to mid-sixties one was not aware of anything but a little bit of the Carnaby Street fashion changes, pop music era. One was not aware of the social changes that were happening in Britain and certainly now it's appearing to be a radical period in British social development.

The telling of that time of change is a critical starting point. It is where the embodied adolescents in this research mark the beginning of their journey through the life course to old age. Whereas Grace stated she was to "get a taste of what existence is all about on a much wider stage," Rich, who self-

identified as deeply involved in the sixties, describes the embodied changes. He uses the word "liberation" as did many participants regardless of their experience during the period. He characterizes transgressive LSD - consuming body as "important" in this way:

At a tangent, don't you think we were remarkably lucky to grow up in the sixties? My teens, for example, were exactly coincident with the sixties – in 1960 I became a teenager and by the end of the decade I was what? 23, 22. So, I thought the sixties entirely wonderful. And I thought the permissions, the cultural permissions by the sixties had an enormous effect on my life in many ways. I think the social changes of the sixties and the shifts in attitude about – a shift away from a very ossified social order that was maintained in the postwar right up to the sixties were liberating. Some of the obvious ones, you know, the changes in political attitudes and sexual liberation, the changes in feminist consciousness, I suppose and the awareness of the subdued role of women in the society, at the time. But, I think also personally, there was a much greater autonomy, the cultural mix allowed and the revolutionary sense in the air - I think there was a distinct revolutionary atmosphere about the sixties right through to sixty-eight and so on. And I think the major players would have been things like easy access to so-called mind expanding drugs for an example. LSD was an enormous influence on the sixties or my social set of the sixties generation. I think to me, it would have been one of the most important factors about the sixties.

Rich was one of the few men who mentioned feminism, though many of the women included that in their description of the sixties. Some women named themselves as part of the "Pill generation," creating a demarcating line between their embodied experience and those women who came before them. This is certainly the case, as the postwar cohort were the first to experience what may, perhaps, be one of the most far-reaching changes in the course of human time – the uncoupling of sexuality and procreation. There was little consciousness of the depth of the changes that were to take place with the introduction of the Pill. Many of the women who were interviewed did discuss the effects of the Pill on their lives.

Candice: *I think the Pill has got to probably be the biggest influence. Not on me personally – well, yes, on me personally, in the sense, I think, people, young women in the sixties were under pressure to have sex because they could without getting pregnant. In the early seventies for me, really, not the sixties. But, of course, it started in the sixties. But, I think that probably, the whole business of choosing to start a family – I suppose having that choice – that's influenced everything having to do with women's position in society. That was the key to the whole thing.*

There was some indication of class differences, in women's descriptions of the sixties. Some working class women disclosed that they had married and had children while still in their teens. That did not

supersede their describing their lives as different and with more opportunities than previous generations of women. Julia, who self-identified as working class and married in her teens, states:

I think it gave women a lot more confidence and just a totally different way of life – for women 'cause my mum, well, my mum never worked, she was a stay-at-home mum. She had no need – I'm not saying she had no need to work, the money would've been handy but it just wasn't something that was done unless you were desperate, I think. And so, my mum's life was totally different to mine. So, when I was a youngster I wouldn't have thought that I would be going out to work and being independent. The way things changed, you would not have thought that when you were ten.

Julia's quote is a profoundly gendered difference between the time of her mother and her time, yet she also characterizes it as a change in her childhood imaging of the grown-up world. She uses the word "independent" - an embodied gender difference. Lisa's description encapsulates the centrality of body to the sixties as she relates her description of the time.

It was a wonderful period because suddenly you were free. Because growing up in Britain, in England, in the postwar period was very austere. You know, when you think you couldn't buy jeans. I didn't eat – I hadn't seen a proper orange until I was four or five, you now, older than that actually. And I could, you know, it was very, very – we didn't have butter – it was quite a difficult period. It all seemed to be very dark as a child. I remember my father was in the Navy so we traveled a lot out, out of England. It was lovely and light but back in England that postwar period was very depressing. And so suddenly the sixties was a – it was like an explosion of everything happening and it was so exciting and you were free and, of course, we had the pill. We just had this feeling of freedom.

There was a sense that the ways of being female were less proscribed. Patricia describes this opening in terms of freedom of movement.

I think it is because we have the freedom to do a lot more… I'm country, anyway. I was born and brought up down the road. I used to just enjoy life and things that mom never could do that I was doing. I used to go out and I learned to ride a motorbike 'cause my boyfriend had a motorbike so I had to learn how to ride a motorbike. We used to go down to Brighton on our bikes… Now, mom wouldn't have done that.

There were other significant changes during this period, in household technologies, which made women's physical labour far less onerous. The introduction of labour saving devices, in effect, created another kind of liberation for women and, like the pill and other freedoms, body was central.

Sally: *When you think of the appliances with that and the comforts in our home. My memories – the house we grew up in – it was a modern one built just after the war but it had a black flooring and my mum used to be on her hands and knees polishing that and it had a half rag rug over it and they made that and when I think about how hard things were. You think with the washing where now we got washing machines, we push things in. There was a boiler and on a Saturday me and my sister used to help and there was an old mangle and you bought blue bags and you rinsed it and then you put it in this blue water.*

Along with the changes for women, there were other bodies of difference that were liberated in this time. Gay and lesbian people were deeply affected by the social revolution of the time. This is Bruce's telling of that time:

I mean I was brought up in the 1950s inevitably having been born in 1948. I think the most significant thing that happened in the sixties was, if you think about – and you probably weren't in the UK at the time – in the provinces, in the 1950s, in sort of middle-class households, things were fairly inflexible. People were, attitudes were quite rigid. There were really clear demarcations between what was acceptable and what was not. There was a plus side to that, of course, because life was much more predictable. If you were comfortably well off, the likelihood was, that's how you were going to stay. But what happened in the sixties, in society, in this country was that a lot of that rather stuffy kind of predictability was thrown up in the air and, I think, an enormous input of tolerance and understanding of difference. Not just – obviously, it affected me, in terms of sexual orientation but in terms of the way people dressed, the way we looked, the way we behaved, all these things changed. I mean the fifties were just terrible from certain points of view – food being one of them. I think that willingness to be more open minded, tolerant, accepting of other people, in terms of their outlook, their situation. I think that has been influential – it probably influenced lot of other people who had that experience of the sixties.

Dressing the Sixties

Both men and women spoke about sixties fashion as a physical marker of identity, of being of that time, the sixties. Fashion, as defined as costume: clothing that is particular to a group (Wilson, 2003). The subcultures had their own specific style markers but style was larger than countercultural looks. It was a physical statement of generation as defined by costume. What makes the costume of the day so important was that, up to this time, a good deal of teens dressed like their parents. Bill describes it this way:

I went to one or two pop concerts and things like that but I certainly wasn't a hippie or anything like that. I wore the clothes of the day, sort of kipper ties and flared jeans and did everything that kids did in those days – put sort of flowery bits on your jeans, wore thick belts and suede jackets.

Chosen style holds a world of meaning. The fetishized mod style was laden with significance, for example, class, music preferences, and drug-taking (Rawlings, 2000) . Gill describes liking the look but also, what mod signified:

I remember the mods and I really liked that because it was in between the rockers and the fascists and I really liked the mods. I thought they were really cool. I like the way they dressed. My boyfriend, at the time, my ex now, he was a mod (laughter).

Grace tells the following story, in which sixties fashion plays a central role as a metaphor for many of the values she held/holds dear:

The first party of the medical practice he had joined [husband]. *And I got dressed the way I usually did and I was wearing a maxi dress, a leopard skin zip-up the front, big hood, perfectly modest, covered everything up (laughter) but I suppose was very – very, I don't know, suggestive and he absolutely said, "You can't wear that. You can't come to meet my partners dressed like that." And you didn't think I was particularly a wild child but I think being in Oxford – there was a freedom being in Oxford which was the sixties, which was an expression of freedom, of self-expression, eccentricity, creativity which exaggerated all of that and I didn't think it was an exaggeration. I just thought it was, it was gloriously, voluptuously to be enjoyed – full-spectrum. Coming to [city name] – partly through his influence and partly through just the recognition of it was like in the provinces – I really tamed things – I'm not saying this was good because he also wanted to tame other things that to me were natural progressions – being curious about life and spirit, and healing and the world – which I didn't think warranted being limited. So, that became a kind of metaphor of a child of the sixties. And then sartorially having to really edit the appearance and some of the views and mannerisms that didn't sit with being the doctor's wife.*

The sixties did have distinguishing camps. There were the different countercultural groups, straight people and those who Jimi Hendrix named as 'experienced'. The most ballyhooed division was the generation gap. Clothing (and hair) was a significant marker of that gap. John describes it this way:

My parents' generation, many of them were very adverse to the changes – the long hair, the children of the sixties and seventies who we were – so many of one's parents, they droned and they moaned about our dress sense and our hair and our style and our attitudes and our

liberalism and whatever. And even now, when I see photographs of myself, I think, oh my, did I really look like that? Oh God, how awful. So though I never strayed too badly, even I can see that there was a period of one's life when one must have, no doubt, caused anguish to some who thought, "Oh wow, what's going on with this modern generation?" But I never strayed too far. But I mean, I can look at some of those photographs of friends from university, these chaps are champions of industry now. They're, you know, supremo top notch people – Wow, look at what they looked like in 1970 – you think, Good God! (laughter).

Who We Were – What We Knew

Few people discussed their relationship as young people with their parents. Among those who spoke about their relationship with their parents, there was little consensus. Some people did discuss an aunt, or grandparent or older friend of the family with whom they either had an understanding relationship with, at the time or who they felt "seen" by.

Gill: *As a child she [aunt] always told me you were bright, if you want to get anywhere, never let your skin colour get in the way. Just remember, you are a bright child and if you work hard you should do well in life. And she always told me she loved me and she just gave me that, that spirit to remember who you are and what you can be.*

Lisa: *I think she was quite a liberal woman for her day – very laissez-faire. She let me do what I wanted. I remember staying with her as a teenager and she was never against my going out – "I'm going out this evening." "See you sometime, darling. I won't lock the door" (laughter). She was never what I would call strict about what you were doing and where you are going. She was quite sort of get on with that sort of thing. She was fun-loving. She would say, "Good for you, darling, get on with it"* (laughter).

It is difficult to discuss this era without mentioning fun. Life, the whole embodied physicality and spirit of it was something to celebrate, to live, to have fun. This quote from Paul describes the era. He also uses a term that was frequently repeated in the data, "open-minded," the embodiment of opening up and taking in the new.

You see, having fun is part of the picture as something that's on the table, that's open to you because you're more open-minded. You're not, you know, narrowly following convention or what you've been taught is the way to behave or that sort of stuff – that tended to open up in the sixties, you know, that

sort of lifestyle. Even if you didn't become a hippie, for example, you were sort of exposed to it – it was an option, the idea, even if you didn't want to follow it.

Music and dance was at the heart of fun for the postwar cohort. The insistent, even aggressive beat was "eminently danceable … the very social and functional origins of rock and roll" demanded body movement (O'Grady, 1979). Rhythmicity, the beat in time, ran through the sixties, seductively pulling at people to dance.

Patricia: *We only went into town once a week to go to the disco. But everybody – hardly anybody ever smoked in there because there was too many people. So, we was just dancing too much to stop for smokes* (laughter).

Julia: *I was just into music, dancing – I enjoyed myself and then I was only 19 when I got married – and then the child within 12 months, so – that sort of stopped but I was out at the clubs just dancing – and night school.*

Many of the quotes and analysis, up to this point, focus on periodicity, generation, and history, - the specific time of the sixties, though people do look back to their parents' generation. Later, I will explore generational time in more depth. The word "bequeathed" was used in a couple of interviews in regard to what the previous generations had initiated or given to the postwar cohort. Other interviewees used other terms to describe a continuum, or sequence of time, where one generation hands over to the next generation. The time of the sixties moves into the background and earlier times become foreground in the ever shifting timescape. Instead of conceiving of the sixties as an isolated moment or period, some interviewees discussed aspects of the sixties in a shifting flow of timescape. Some people described a larger flow of time. In this quote from George, he explains the flow of time as he perceives it. It is important to note that, though George is discussing parliament and laws, he describes the physicality of the sixties as played out by "some people" and the rhythm or pace of the time that came through the music.

...what happened in the sixties was not down to us – to our generation. It was down to the generations before us, our parents' generation. I mean, they were the ones that changed the law – I mean they were MPs in parliament they were the ones that changed the laws to make it more progressive. What we did, our generation, was to take advantage of it all – well, some people took advantage of drugs, sex, and rock 'n roll (laughter) but I didn't. But I did what most of us did which was listening to music.

Contained within the flow of time are the shifting embodied cultural images. In this quote, Jack describes time in transition.

- the second world war and the previous depression sitting on their shoulders which we understood but they actually were a long way from – in some ways, the business of the war comics, they were extraordinary. I sometimes remember them now because they were a cultural feature that's completely vanished. I mean, in the fifties and early sixties every news agent had piles of these – they were called war comics and were usually in a slightly smaller format, full of stories in which gallant British and American soldiers all called Dirk and things like that fought their way through piles of bodies and all those guns and Germans and blitzes and so on. They were just extraordinary cultural artifacts of the time which, by the time I was 11 or 12, I could recognize as being bizarre and I couldn't understand why people would read them anymore (laughter) *– all that kind of thing – I picked that one out just because it was a tiny – I'm trying to think how it was for me to think about – well, that's not me. I'm looking somewhere else – and along comes the poets and all the rest of it and, of course, they capture something that you're responding to – they're a reflection – there's an interactive process there. The things they're saying are the things you're trying to find a voice for…*

Contained in his quote is the question: how did it all change? The war, the comics made sense and then they didn't, what happened? Timescape is a continually shifting landscape of what is foreground and what is in the background.

Throughout the interviews, almost every participant spoke from the underlying assumption that they were a member of a group or generational cohort. Interestingly, that despite the media's label of "baby boomer." that term was rarely used. More often, people referred to "my generation" or, simply, "us" or "we." Some participants called themselves "a child of the sixties," or used other allusions to their generation. Additionally, the founding of the NHS and the experience of universal health care throughout the lifetime of the cohort was woven into the interviews. The knowledge that care of the body, in terms of health was a universal right was within the consciousness of the postwar cohort. As Val says of herself as she recalls the sixties she was a …*child of the NHS*.

There is another reading of the recollections quoted above, and that is through the lens of memory - memory as living time of a generational experience. The collective experience as memory forms a mnemonic community. Though there was a wide- range of variants in the personal narratives of the participants, the music of the sixties was mentioned and discussed to one degree or another in every interview. Many of the participants talked about dancing. Music, and to a lesser degree dance, was a binding feature of the postwar cohort. The music of the Rolling Stones or the Beatles or other groups

of the time formed a mnemonic community. There are a number of elements principal to the time that are part of the postwar mnemonic community.

There are a number of elements principal to the time that are part of the postwar mnemonic community. The Cold War was a constant during childhood and adolescence of the postwar cohort. Images of mushroom clouds were ubiquitous, embedding themselves in the consciousness of every member of this cohort. The possibility of nuclear war, threatened not just individual annihilation but the annihilation of the body of earth. In the postwar years, Britain experienced a brutal stability (Stone, 2013). Chapter 4 argued that the Cold War is important to the construction of the postwar mnemonic community. The possibility, or even sure knowledge, of a foreshortened future was the constant backdrop to the times, heightened by the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1963. For some participants, the term Cuban Missile Crisis was used as a kind of descriptor or shorthand for the Cold War and the Bomb. The threat of the end of embodiment, both individual and planetary, was real in their mnemonic community. Some of the participants reflected very specifically on this:

Jack: *Well, I spent most of my – I suppose I spent most of my early teens and early adulthood imagining I would die young because of the Cold War.*

George: *Thing is, that I've been involved in politics for, well, I suppose I would define my starting point as the Cuban Missile Crisis. I didn't want to get blown off the face of the earth so I joined the CND.*
In this quote from Judith, she states:

It was all rather surreal. You are doing everyday things like going out with friends and the same time, well, maybe we all go up in a puff of smoke.

Chapter 4 also argued that the image of Earthrise is another important aspect of the postwar cohort's collective memory. As a representative image, Earthrise is as seminal to the mnemonic community of the postwar cohort as the image of the nuclear mushroom cloud. The 1968 Apollo 8 astronauts photographed the first colour images of the body of earth from space. What was intended to be a discovery of outer space became the discovery of earth (Poole, 2008). It is hard to imagine that this ubiquitous image was unseen, unknown before 1968. At the time, Earthrise had the power to spark the collective sense of all of us together on the body of the earth, a global humanity. The profound physical beauty of the earth, as seen from space, earth understood as home to all humanity, formulated an ingredient in the community memory of the sixties. Rich recounts here what he remembers as his first impressions after seeing Earthrise. It is a description, straight out of its time with its mix of

magical resonance and certainty, that combines the physicality of the body of earth with the notions of the magic/spirituality of the sixties time.

It's so blue and I thought, gosh, we're in flux. Our life is actually one of flux and it's so blue and shimmery. And the blueness, of course, that has its own magical resonance. You look how, for example, the mother of God and religious icons are always depicted in blue – and the blue of heaven and the blue of the sea. It all becomes blue – and vast and yet the world was so round and small and certain in those pictures.

The Cold War and Earthrise along with the intrinsic aspects of the sixties discussed in this section informed the postwar cohort's construction and meaning of body. The postwar generation has embodied this transformational meaning. They are, as a generation, a mnemonic community with deeply embedded knowledge and experience of time and body as experienced through the lens of the sixties.

Getting On

At the start of this chapter, there was a quote from Geri discussing the difference between her life as a 57 year old ageing woman and that of her parents. Many of those differences relevant to identity and corporeal ageing will be analyzed in more depth later in this chapter. For now, consider these quotes from Judith as she examines the influence of the sixties on her as an ageing person.

Naomi: *And now, if you imagine going back to people who you knew, who were fifty-eight and fast forwarding to yourself – Is it different? Is it the same?*
Judith: *It's completely different – there's just no – it's completely different.*
Naomi: *In what ways?:*
Judith: 58. *Well, when I was young, a teenager, 58 was an old person who kind of pootled about* (laughter). *That was the impression that I had even – yeah, my parents were really old. Even before they retired they were old people. I don't know if every young person thinks that.*
Naomi: *Old in what way?*
Judith: *I think it, it kind of felt like there was a prescribed way of how people could kind of live their lives – you had your education and then you got married and then you stayed home and looked after the kids and dad went to work and then the kids grew up and then dad retired and they pootled about a bit together. You know, there seemed to be a pattern for people's lives…Yeah, so I think that* [the sixties] *had a really crucial – a profound effect on my life, of identity and – freedom, really. As I said, people's lives were mapped out.*
(later in the interview)
Naomi: *Does that time, the sixties, has it had an influence on your life?*

Judith: *I feel my mother, my father that they were trapped and I think they were both very bitter when they died, about their life. And I think I had quite a strong sense that I didn't want to die bitter – I wanted, I want to die thinking and feeling I'd had a good innings.*

A number of ideas are encompassed in Judith's statement. At the heart of it, she is acknowledging herself as an older person, but also speaking about her other younger self. Judith sees herself through time in memory, but also through the aliveness and relevance of the memory to the now. Past and present become the juncture point in the now in her last statement – I wanted, I want…. Second, she is saying that the sixties were crucial, had a profound effect on her life. Third, Judith delineates the difference between her parents' ageing selves and her life as of life as mapped out. Fourth, as an older person, Judith is acknowledging the finitude of her life as an embodied being. Judith knows and acknowledges she is ageing and her determined voice in the interview informs the listener what is important to her in this last segment of her life, informing how she wants to live. This statement could also be read through the lens of an embodied identity as defined through the temporal dimension. This embodied identity is the interconnection of time/era and the values and ideas that grew out of that era. For now, I will turn to the meaning of embodied/body ageing for my post war participant group.

With the exception of one participant, everyone acknowledged that they were ageing and experiencing corporeal changes. Would they call themselves old? Some people did but others did not. It was not a denial of the years, but more a questioning of what "old" means; what constitutes old. This quote from Suzanne exemplifies the clarity with which many of the interviewees acknowledge their chronological status, their ageing body a reminder that they are ageing.

You know, aches and pains when I was terribly stiff getting out of bed because I hadn't taken [exercise] – of course one thinks about it. And then the milestones 50, 60 – it's pretty shocking. So, then, yes you realize – do I celebrate? do I have a party? Do I celebrate being 60 or do I quite honestly sweep it under the carpet? But then you think, well, there's nothing you can do, you are 60 – go for it."

In this quote from John, he discusses chronology and, from that perspective, what old may be.

I think of myself as middle-aged. And, yet, it's debatable as to when middle-age begins – middle-age begins at 45, some people say middle-age begins at 40. But I would say from 45 is middle-aged now. It's debatable if middle-age runs from 45 to 65 now or 45 – 70.

Both quotes discuss the chronology of ageing, one of the measurements that marks the passing of time in the course of a life. Though many participants made comments similar to those of John and Suzanne, it is was the corporeal signals of ageing that represent the sure awareness that time is moving on and they are getting older. Embodied knowing of life course was seen as more potent than a chronological time construction.

Jack's description of ageing expresses the reality of having arrived at the place of old in his life course. His quote very much reflects the underlying sense of the reality of becoming old that was contained within many of the interviews.

It's just the reality of it like all realities, the reality is the reality – the fact that you didn't – like jumping in a pool – once you're in it you're in it – it's kind of different than looking at it and thinking about it.

The experience of ageing body as an experience of self was pervasive throughout the data. Many of the interviews were eloquent descriptions of the physicality of the embodied life course. Intimate details of the signs (or visual markers) of age was central to the discourse of most of my participants. That said, there were some gender differences that were notable in the data. Women described their body changes in more rich detail. The influence of the sixties, with the advent of the women's health movement, is a factor in the language and detail of body changes. This will be explored in full later in this thesis. Many women spoke about menopause being the moment they marked as the recognition of ageing.

Judith: *There is, obviously, there's physical appearance. I think – I mean, not long ago, I was looking at photographs from a trip to New Zealand which was six years ago and I look 15 years older, if not more (laughter) – from then. I mean, I didn't have my menopause 'til – my periods didn't stop until two years ago and I think that was the point at which it really speeded up. So when I look at photographs from five or six years ago I look so much younger. And, you know, my skin and all the rest of it and, as I say, it happened really quickly once my periods stopped.*

Perhaps women's relationship to their bodies, as described in this quote from Maggie, is the key to at least some of the gender differences –

Naomi: *In what ways have you been surprised about the changes in your body?*
Maggie: *I don't think any of them have surprised me because, you know, as women we know how – the cycles of our body.*

(later in the interview, Maggie describes the early stages of menopause after she had her coil removed)

...from that moment on I had flooding bleeding which was a complete bore and when they actually scanned me they said you've got a couple of fibroids which they took out, no trouble. But I would say that is the only change in my body that I could have done without because I had never had a general anesthetic and I was only in hospital for a day and it caused me no other issues, <u>at all,</u> except I was doing a long-distance walk in New Zealand when I started flooding and that was inconvenient because in the overnight lodges, I'd go and ask some friendly looking housekeeper, do you have any Tampax? And they would come out with these tiny little, little things and it didn't really, really help at all (laughter).

There are two aspects of body changes embedded in this quote. First, Maggie's heightened awareness of body change has already gone through a major shift with the advent of menopause. Second, Maggie describes a gendered sense of knowingness about her body. Menopause was frequently mentioned as the first ageing biological change. For some women it was perceived as a natural process, as in Maggie's case, but for other women it was not easy. Again, there was a straightforward use of language – an unembarrassed description of physicality.

Suzanne: *My body? Oh Lord!* (laughter). *You mean the menopause, that sort of thing?*
Whatever, these are really open questions so I leave it up to you...
Well, that was a nightmare! I was in my 30's when that happened so that was a bummer- so, I got through that quite early.

Sarah: *You know, since the menopause I really don't care if I ever had sex again and it's something I feel really sad that is something I've just given into - I'm not going to force myself to do something I don't want to do. Something about sexuality and older people and –* (pause) *– it feels like it robs me of a certain aliveness. It feels like a deadness in me. Menopause came and then my dad got Alzheimer's and then he died and my mum had a couple of good years and then she got ill and I just thought sex just – good physical closeness is important but I'm sad sexuality seems so low on my agenda.*

Many women began descriptions of ageing body in the form of an inventory, listing hair, skin, eyes, etc changes in detail that was unmitigated and unmediated. There was no use of mechanistic body illusions, but instead language that was direct, language that was embodied. The use of metaphoric language, which is described in some gerontological literature, was not a feature in the data. There is a direct experience of embodiment as demonstrated through the language used by participants. The

direct sense of embodiment as manifested through language speaks to Johnson's (1987) work on imagination, language, and embodiment.

Grace: *My hearing has deteriorated to quite an alarming degree… so eyes and ears, skin, brain memory.*

Geri: *As I get old? Oh God (laughter), it's more, I mean physically I think it's all the normal stuff – am I surprised by anything? No, I don't think I'm surprised. I knew my tits would droop and my bottom would get wider so…surprising things are that I appear to be getting bigger breasts as I get older, which is a bit weird… And I do appear to be suddenly the victim of middle age spread. And that's a surprise because I can't avoid it and I, I've always been the one with a very flat stomach and I think there are certain things that your body is just going to – is just going to change.*

Patricia: *I suppose the easiness to put weight on (laughter) whereas I used to be able to eat anything and still stay slim. Um, but I'm (sharp intake of breath)…apart from that, the colour of your hair, that's all gone – it's out of a bottle (laughter). My nails are getting a bit brittle, they ain't what they used to be. I used to have really, really long nails. Ah, apart from that really, apart, you know, I used to – what I never expected to end up with is, a bad hip, an arthritic hip.*

Many men displayed the same sense of comfort and embodied language when discussing their ageing bodies, but not all. Though the discourse was not, for the most part, as rich in detail, it was an unconstrained account of changing body. The use of unmediated, embodied language had the same discursive quality as the women's accounts of body change.

Nick: *I don't have any kind of condition that makes me sickly, that inhibits what I do but, there are certain physiological changes I think about. I'm a bit slower. My reactions are a bit slower, a bit of loss of hearing and eyesight and I think we all kind of go through those changes.*

Arthur: *In the sixties, seventies sex was brilliant but now if you – I don't know how you would put it, but if you can – if you think of the Union Jack going up, it's a big difference…I can't get stimulated. That's a big difference.*

Two men denied there had been any real body change while a small group of three shifted their position from denial to an acknowledgement of ageing during the course of the interview. I suspect, this last group, were able to reveal more information as they developed some trust and/or comfort with me during the course of the interview.[8] The composition of both groups was cross-class. I did not ask why some men might deny they were ageing, physically ageing, but during the course of his interview, Jack hit on the subject.

Jack: *I meet people who choose to make different choices and it's fine for them to do that – I don't know why they do it and sometimes it feels like they do it because that's what they've got to do – something has shaped them in a particular way so they have this little internal story… That's a silly example, in a way, actually…I can think of a couple of people I've met like that – men – it tends to be men – it's a way of – I'm sure it's partly about a denial about being older and that kind of thing.*

This small number of men had not yet come to terms with their own embodied ageing and represented a kind of denial about growing older. For many other participants, ageing bodies/selves brought up complex and contradictory feelings. Interviews were laden with dichotomous statements about ageing, and it was clear that all the stances had a ring of truth. The ability to hold seemingly contradictory positions and ideas about ageing was demonstrated throughout the data. In some instances, like the quote below, there is a consciousness about holding multiple stances/feeling, at any given time. In this quote from Grace she delineates the paradox of ageing. In our interview (see above), Grace goes on to discuss the notion of contradictory feelings about her ageing body.

It's a paradox, it's a paradox! Live with the paradox! And I think a lot of what I said is quite paradoxical about my body, you know. (Sharp intake of breath) There are things that are quite sad and painful and other things that are quite natural and unstoppable (laughter) – and so be it.

Paul's use of the Dorian Grey analogy was said with a mixture of irony and humour as he conveyed his paradoxical feelings about his ageing body.

Paul: *I suppose, by and large, I don't sort of see it, that, getting older is very negative – but – as I see it… (pause)… If you said to me, would you prefer it if you were Dorian Grey? (laughter) – I suppose, I would tend to say yes, actually (laughter). Although he had other problems so I don't want to carry that analogy too far (laughter). If you say to me, you can stay at age 30 or something, you know it might be kind of nice (laughter).*
Earlier in the interview, he had stated his acceptance of *looking his age*.
I think, okay, I'm 63, it's not as though I don't look like I'm 63. I don't think I look as though I'm 73. I don't think I look as if I'm 53.

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[8] Please see Chapter 2 for reflections on interviewing men.

Physicality, Body Ownership and Embodied Habitation

These are examples of the nuanced approach to embodied ageing that came across in the data. Participants were comfortable with holding multiple positions, rather than one definite construction of ageing embodiment. This expansive, less confining way of perceiving ageing harks back to some of the embodied transformations of the sixties. The Pill, the transgressive acts of smoking pot and imbibing psychedelics, and the loosening of the State's control over the body led to a greater sense of ownership of one's body. This was expressed in many ways, but one example was through the feminist movement and the founding of women's health collectives. The Pill and the politics of Second Wave feminism gave rise to ideas of body ownership and control. Choices regarding procreation were the bedrock of that ownership. In this quote from Val, she discusses the difference between her grandmother's inability to resist her husband's "claims" and women now.

*My mother said that her mother said that her father said that when my grandmother didn't want more babies, he told her, 'stock's as good as money'. So, I think **that's** changed – but, that would be part of it, part of getting older and not resisting your husband's claims and stuff of that nature.* [author emphasis]

A number of women related stories about their own parents' or grandparents' inability to accept the biological changes that ageing brings to the body. This signals a distancing from the body that was the diametrically opposed to body ownership. In this quote from Grace, she describes how her mother was unable to fully inhabit or own her own ageing body. What she relates is at odds with, not only Grace's embodied ageing talk, but the data in general.

What she does – it's just interesting – because I never – she would never say in her 50's or 60's, oh what happened to my good looks – never any comment like that but now she looks at her arms and her legs and says [Grace says the following in a small voice] – "How did this happen? How has this happened?" – you know, as though she can't reconcile it. Her – still her mental image of herself is of a much younger woman and she looks at it kind of in disbelief and a lot of – pain. "How did my legs, how did my arms get so thin? How did this happen?" She says it as if she were outside---.

It was not just women who were affected by these notions of body ownership. Changing constructions of embodiment is reflected in the data in both genders. Rich has been diagnosed with a malignant tumour in his lung. He has chosen to limit treatment since his doctors had told him it would only add a small amount of additional time to his life but would significantly decrease the quality of his life. In this quote he describes the treatment choices he has made, how he has taken ownership of his body and control over his own treatment. Rich articulates a nuanced understanding of his body and its workings that are in juxtaposition to that of the medical advice he has been given.

And I'll certainly not go down that route [taking pain killing drugs]. I determinedly and absolutely walked away from conventional treatment. I wouldn't have anything to do with it because it was so drastic what was being suggested…And it's to say – this is <u>my</u> body; I know what's going on instinctively. This is my analysis of it and I'm going to work with it. And I'm not going to carve it up, cut bits out and discard that and say, oh, this is –'cause we're not just simple machines. We're profoundly sophisticated organisms in which everything has a role to play.

Rich's statement, *this is **my** body* is a declaration of profound embodied knowing - *I know what's going on instinctively.* [emphasis in the original]

An embodied sense of ownership is woven into the postwar cohort's relationship to their bodies in large and small ways. For example, the construction of body habitation is critical to the cohort's engagement in exercise. Much of the literature refers to the regime aspect, disciplining the body as central to notions of ageing and exercise. In my interviews, a sense of exercise as a regime was noticeably absent. Instead, exercise was a kind of defining habitation of the body, a layer of relationship in the complex weave of embodiment.

Exercise was discussed by almost every participant, whether it was a lack of exercise in their lives (two interviewees) or, in most cases, the importance of exercise. What was curious was the lack of a sense of regime in the majority of descriptions.

Jack: *I'm not good at regimes so why try to build – cycling's a habit, I like to cycle as a way for travelling. I like to do it – it works, it's quick. And so, that's just my choice of a way to travel – that just happens naturally. I mean, it's about a 25 minute cycle to work so I just do it – plus, I go to meet people that sort of thing.*

Lisa: *I bicycle all over London. I walk – I don't like gyms but I do Pilates now and again. I'm not a natural exerciser, you know. I don't like pounding away on machines or anything like that. I love my bicycle and I love walking! And I love being active every day. So, yes, I do exercise.*

Instead of regime, the meaning of fitness and exercise was connected to an embodied sense of health and well-being. Many people, from all class backgrounds, derived pleasure from physical activity, from a deeply perceived knowing of inhabiting the body. Jack describes it this way:

There are people whose experience in the world doesn't seem to rest very much on their physicality. I just feel that's not me. I've always thought and I still think it – I imagine it will go on being so. It's partly about my connection with the world. Walking out on the moors as I grew up in [name of the

place] *and all those sorts of ways of being aware of the world that I live in and really feeling it and connecting with it –all sorts of things. My physical presence in the world.*

Like Jack, some interviewees had been physical their entire lives. Exercise/physicality was an ongoing and central aspect to their lives. Others started exercising later in life.

Suzanne: *I still take a lot of exercise as I go to the gym and things like that.*
Naomi: *Have you done that your whole life?*
Suzanne: *Nope!*
Naomi: *When did you start?*
Suzanne: *I used to drive – when I worked at the* [name of workplace] *and the* [name of workplace]*, I used to drive to work and then I suppose in my late 40s, I got terribly stiff getting out of bed and I know – actually I realized that it was because I didn't take exercise everyday because, you know, into the car, into work – nightmare. But – I suppose, it's only in the last - (pause) – 10 years I've been going to the gym.*

The quote above from Suzanne also brings up the issue of motivation. Why do interviewees choose to exercise? Like Suzanne, many people discussed the fact they felt better/healthier and wanted to stay fit for as long as possible. Again this harks back to the shift toward a stronger sense of ownership or control.

Naomi: *I have one more question, if you don't mind? It's funny, because the questions that I've asked you were not about fitness; they were more about you and your relationship to your body and you expressed it in terms of fitness, which I think is a really important distinction for me. And how, that's how you think about yourself?*

Roy: *Yes! I do want to be fit for the reason I DO want to get to 80! As opposed to where's the Zimmer frame? Where's the walking stick? Where's the motorized wheelchair? (laughter)*
Naomi: *So, fitness is primary in terms of your relationship with your body? Yourself?*
Roy: *Yes, keep yourself fit to live a happy life.*

Others discussed their initial rationale for the introduction of exercise into their lives and discussed how that had changed as they aged. Elaine had started a fitness program about 20 years prior. She continues an active life of biking and walking, but she now describes some shift in her motivation.

(Elaine had been discussing the previous generations in her family and how unhealthy and sedentary they were or had been. Below she is referring back to her family.)

Naomi: *In what way has the ageing experience of people you have known in the past been useful to you?*

Elaine: *I guess only in that I look around and think I don't want to look as old as them and get as old as them – yeah.*

Naomi: *So, say more about that.*

Elaine: *Well, that would be down to a fitness thing. Keeping going – you know, you look at them and you think if they had kept going or done this or they had done that – maybe if they had been active they wouldn't have had a heart problem or maybe ---. No, so I look at them and I think, I don't want to be like that, I don't want to feel like that.*

Paul expressed the meaning of exercise to him in this statement:

…which is to say that you are sort of maintaining your ability to fulfill your potential or something like that.

It is important to note that health problems were not, for many people, a deterrent to exercise, within the limits their health allowed. The meaning of exercise was the same for people regardless of their health status. Patricia is a widow who had lost her husband approximately two years prior to our interview. She was diagnosed and treated for cancer the following year. She also had a visible limp as a result of osteoarthritis.

Naomi: *In your email you wrote you had a fitness class –*

Patricia: *Yes, I been – I started going again – up until my husband was taken ill I used to go to the gym three times a week and do Pilates, as well. But then when he died I, well I gave up because of nursing him. And then I just didn't go back, then, of course, the weight piled on and then, when I first moved here, my neighbor said she fancied going to water aerobics and I said, well, okay. That was fun but then I was taken ill so I had to stop that.*

(later in the interview she says the following)

But now I can just go up [the stairs]. I mean yesterday it was really easy and I thought I'll be running up here soon. And I said to Mary – I can't do the exercises – there's one down on the floor and so I can probably get down but it's awkward getting up. And she said, well, I'll have you doing that soon. Now, to light my fire I have to get down on the floor to – because it's the ignition to - so I have to get down to do that and I can do it now with ease and I get up easily.

Naomi: *It sounds like a big incentive to keep going.*

Patricia: *Yeah, yes, it is, 'cause, you know, I'm feeling so much better – in myself.*

Julia remained committed to exercise despite her suffering from emphysema.

Naomi: *In what ways are the body changes you are experiencing –*
Julia: *Oh ho – now I can talk! (laughter)*
Naomi: (laughter) – *different than what you imagined? The same?*
Julia: *Personally, I didn't expect I'd have emphysema. I didn't expect that and that really limits what you can do. And, and, I'll say exercise – I don't mean exercise as in physical exercise just walking, walking uphill. Now it winds me just getting up to the top of the lane there.*
(later in the interview)
Naomi: *I'd like to go back to a couple of things. First of all, do you walk regularly or is it more random?*
Julia: *No – (sigh) – We walk the dogs, we take them out and we just take them around the field because that's easier for me – I go around the field 3, 4 times.*

Experiencing, Knowing, Seeing, and Looking
Embedded within all the quotes above is the notion of body image as defined as a perceptive sense of self, through feelings about one's body (Clarke and Korotchenko, 2011). These quotes are representative of interviewees' perceptive notions of themselves as embodied ageing persons. That perception is a direct reflection of body image, but there was another layer of that reflection expressed in the data. Many people discussed directly their ideas about their ageing body image. In other words, interviewees consciously wanted to impart to me how they think about their ageing bodies. In this quote, the topics of experience and body image are interwoven, which is of note. The corporeal or temporal embodied identity was in many ways, intertwined in the data.

Gill: *So, my body, to be honest, it's just the fat I can't get rid of. The aches and pains I – it's all part of the, the parcel, you know – and I have to learn to work with that, you know, work with that. But I think it's the wisdom. You know, I really feel I've gained a lot of wisdom over the years and I mustn't be embarrassed to talk about it, to talk about what I know, talk about what I feel. Before I was always worried that people would think, she's really big-headed. She says too much and who are you to say these things? The fact is that I know and I want to honour that – I don't want to hide it anymore and I think that getting old – you know, I've got experience. And I want to say, actually I do know what I am talking about. So that way is different, yeah. And I know – I see other women my age and they look beautiful in their clothes, beautiful in their bodies so I know also, it's a possibility. So, I don't worry about getting old and looking frumpy because I know it doesn't have to be like that. So, that's good for me.*

The quote from Charles is almost a conversation with himself, discussing wide-ranging perceptions of his ageing body, though there is a strong sense of self-awareness and a consciousness in describing his body image. Again, this quote from Charles imparts a multi-layered definition of his embodied self. Some of the themes he discusses are explored later in this chapter.

Naomi: *In what way have you been surprise about the changes in your body?*
Charles: *(Laughter) Well, it's really subtle and then sometimes it's not, you know. So, I think even more so because I have a particular genetic – I'm fortunate genetically my body is the way it is. Over time you get used to living a certain kind of way and you have a certain kind of lifestyle or I have a certain kind of lifestyle but its subtly changing, subtly changing. There are certain habits that I have developed that I needed to monitor those things and I haven't. And so, for example, as I've gotten older, I've been less physically active, yeah? And it's not like I've decided not to do anything but as a younger person I did those things and so gradually, gradually those things faded out. So, I haven't altered by lifestyle to take into account those things – like, I've been eating the same portion sizes. And, so what am I talking about? I'm not as physically active so my body shape has changed. So there's that, also gradually slowing down and I can still feel physically fit – for a while. And around maybe 10 years ago, I remember saying to myself. Well, you know what? I'm not 20 anymore (laughter). My body is not the body of a 20 year old. But still having the expectation that I could do the things that I could do when I was much younger. So those are – I don't feel physically different, externally. But, I think that there are some massive changes that have gone on.* (Charles went on to discuss the shift in his exercise and fitness pattern from playing hard sports to walking.)

Grey hair, wrinkles, and the like have been labelled as negative physical characteristics in some of the gerontological literature (Krekula, 2007). Many interviewees held contradictory feelings about the outward signs of ageing. Those outward signs hold multiple meanings. They are not simply a signal of oppressive 'othering' by the society, but also a signifier of age, experience, and of self-confidence.

Lisa: *I suppose, you find your first grey hair, your first wrinkle, things sag and, (laughter) what do you do? You have to just take it as part of growing older.*
(A few lines later in the interview)
By the time you get to our sort of age you've earned a few lines and I think it keeps, it gives us – a little bit more character.

-Sixties Bubbling Up
Not only does the postwar cohort observe their ageing, and that of their friends and family, but the bodily changes of iconographic musicians from the sixties, some of whom continue to perform. Their

performances denote a very public kind of ageing. Many interviewees discussed their deep connection to the music of the sixties, which continues to this day. The primacy of the music, and the men and women who made that music, lives in time, present and past. The music continues to resonate with meaning, as do the music makers. In this quote from John, he discusses the Beatles song, "When I'm Sixty-four" and Paul McCartney:

Well, I suppose – it's a very clever thing, 'When I'm 64' because when the Beatles wrote that, which I presume they did in 1965 …. 47 years ago, the Beatles thought that the age of 64 was …Darby and Joan, not quite geriatric but very nearly geriatric, so it shows how in 47 years, since that song was written, the parameters have moved…. Because to a 27 year old a 60 year old is grotesque, great grannies - the Beatles must have thought that when they wrote 'When I'm 64'. And, interestingly, old Lord McCartney, Paul McCartney, 'what did you think when you wrote those words? What did you think?' Because look at him now prancing about on stage and playing his guitar.

The music, it's driving, danceable rhythms, continues to be a part of life. Some participants discussed listening to music, and in some cases dancing, as a significant part of their present, as past and present blur the boundaries of now and memory. This quote from Arthur exemplifies the postwar cohorts' relationship to music:

Oh, I still love the music. I sit in there, I lay on the bed or in the shade or in the shower or the bath and all my sixties music comes on to my DVD which is the big difference because in the sixties it was all around.

Up to this point, some themes discussed have been body ownership/control and a deep embodied habitation. Though mind/body are a unified whole, there is an oscillation between the two. Expression of the entwined mind/body connection was a central theme in the data. The exception being the men who were in denial about their ageing bodies. In this quote from Charles, he makes his non-binary sense of the body/mind connection evident in his comments. There is an imperative that his body is speaking so he must listen because his body holds a kind of intelligence or knowledge. Phrases like "my body is speaking to me" or "telling me something" are very much part of the sixties lexicon. Inherent in that language is the notion that one's body speaks; it is something to be listened to rather than denied. This notion, embedded in the culture wisdom of the sixties, is summed up here.

Charles: *I never imaged what it would be like [ageing]. It's not where my head has gone - well, ageing is not important - but then faced with something my body is telling me, I have to face it.*

A strong connection to their own physicality, the generation's collective construction of embodiment is demonstrated by attitudes toward ageing. In the current discourse, much has been made of youth culture and its effect on the post-war generation. According to this narrative, the post-war generation has difficulty believing or accepting the reality of the finitude of their bodies or even the reality of ageing. As evidenced from much of the analysis in this thesis, this is not the case for these

participants. Youth culture and the current discourse were directly discussed in some of the interviews. Again, within the interview the group, there was little to no evidence that there was an inability to accept ageing. In this quote, Bruce makes a clear distinction between sixties icons chasing eternal youth and the way the rest of us approach our ageing bodies. Perhaps, in part, the visibility of sixties icons continues to fuel the discourse.

Bruce: *I think equanimity is a better idea than the idea of embracing [age] because I don't think anybody would embrace the changes that advancing years bring – that would be a rather odd position to be in but being even-tempered about it and accepting of it is fine. I think – what I find difficult to think of is if whether people from the sixties, if the 60 experience makes it better or worse. You see, I think there was a very strong sort of youth element of the 60's culture and some of the most eminent - particularly in fashion and the music and so on – people from that time started the idea of never ageing. This sort of Keith Richard syndrome. But if you're rich enough and famous enough you might think you can be forever young.*

-Appearance and Fashion
That discourse of eternal youth, and/or the look of youth, made possible through invasive and non-invasive medical procedures, was introduced by many participants, both male and female. Many people stated they would not have those kind of procedures and no one discussed a desire to have plastic surgery or non-invasive interventions. Hair dying was mentioned in passing by a few women but was not identified as a non-invasive intervention. It is the connection to embodiment and, as Bruce says, equanimity about ageing that is perhaps a strong deterrent to radical changes in appearance.

I suppose these days men, some men, particularly if they're in the media or big business, tend to, sort of take various cosmetic steps to maintain a more youthful appearance. I mean, I haven't done anything like that, as you can see (laughter). I'm not in that situation, I don't need to do it. I don't feel any obligation to do it. I don't want to do it.

Presentation, dressing, fashion, and clothing as costume, as was discussed in the sixties section above, continues to be part of the embodied experience as these participants age. Both men and women, across the class spectrum, expressed an interest, a caring about how their clothing presented them to the world, but also about dress as a construction of identity for the wearer's pleasure and sense of self. Clothing had taken on a particular significance in their youth, and continues to do so today, as the cohort ages. In this quote from Paul, he discusses the differences between his fashion choices and that of his father. He does not stop with a comparison but goes on to state that there aren't any real

parameters about fashion for older people. This being "experimental" was an underlying theme in many of the interviews.

I remember reading in the paper that a man, not a woman but a man what when you reached age 60, probably when you stopped working, that you started wearing the same sort of clothes that your father would have worn and you wore them for the rest of your life – (laughter) – My father, I'm sure he never had a pair of jeans in his life (laughter), yeah. So, that's the difference and perhaps not everyone dresses in the same way but I think that's a big difference between the two generations – the way people dressed and you're prepared to be (pause) – sort of experimental in a way, in terms of the way you dress and that sort of thing.

Jeans are emblematic for the generation and mentioned by a number of people.

Paul: *Here I am, typical SOHO advertising boy, it's Friday and I'm wearing jeans and a casual shirt. In fact, I'm no different than I am on a Monday. So, you know, I don't dress like an old man, if I didn't wear jeans and a decent shirt or whatever, I think, I possibly would look a little bit older but I like dressing like this.*

Suzanne: *I don't buy hugely expensive clothes, as you can see – I wear blue jeans.*

Comfort was important for a number of people, but not at the expense of being stylish. In this quote from Geri, she discusses comfort and also how she is less worried about monitoring the size of her clothing. Geri also is clear that she is maintaining a sense of style – her sense of style.

I'm less bothered about getting into a size 10. I suppose the way I dress, if anything, I mean is slightly more for comfort. For the first time <u>*ever*</u>*, I went through my wardrobe and threw out everything I couldn't fit into. Normally, I keep it and go – I'll get into it. And I actually thought but don't be stupid, it's uncomfortable, why bother. So, I think that's a big acceptance. Yes, so I feel, I'm not that – (pause) – that its whatever I'm transitioning to, that's my body to the next phase – So – I still dress as, the way I dress, the way I portray myself is no different. I think I'm less svelte than I used to be and therefore I'm a little more careful about how figure hugging anything fits around my stomach.*

Katherine: *I want to feel comfortable. I don't feel comfortable when my tummy feels bloated or I don't like my clothes being too tight telling me so.*

A number of women talked about the changes in their bodies and dress. The stomach or tummy was mentioned frequently. Strategies to maintain a sense of style, and camouflage their stomachs were mentioned frequently.

Lisa: *Of course, you have to cover certain areas which aren't as good as they used to be (laughter) – like my tummy and I think you have to be a little bit more resourceful in your shopping. I find there are places but it's not like when you were 20 or 30, you just went in – there was so much choice. Your choices are narrowed down because your body is not quite the same as it was and when you're buying things you have to look for certain things that disguise your – that's what I think (laughter).*

There is an underlying theme in both Paul's and Lisa's quote above about the question of age and presentation. "Mutton dressed as lamb," is an oft repeated theme in some of the fashion literature. I was struck that only two participants used the phrase. Instead, many others discussed wanting to dress for their age while expressing how they wanted to present themselves to the world.

Margaret: *It used to be that when you got to a certain age this is how you were supposed to behave and this was how you were supposed to dress and this is what you did through the ages. I've been discussing, with one of my colleagues, this morning about leggings, for instance and it, "Yeah, I've got to a certain age where I wouldn't dream of wearing some of those." But that's the type of thing, some people still wear them. We've got the freedom to do what we think is right for us.*
(Later in the conversation)
I would still love to wear the younger fashions. I think they're absolutely lovely but you need to, have to be sensible, don't you? I feel I have to be sensible. I don't want to be mutton done up as lamb which is to try and appear a lot younger. I want to stay fashionable and smart for my age and not for the next generation or the previous on but relevant to my age, now.

The underlying theme of clothing as a form of self-expression, as part of her embodied identity, is present in the quote from Margaret. Margaret is struggling with conflict between how she feels she needs to present herself to the world and her taste and sense of style.

A number of women discussed their frustration with the unavailability of clothing that fit their sense of style and the way they would like to present themselves to the world.

I think, I've become, I do find – obviously, you can't wear the things you wore when you were 30 – like a little mini, the little mini dresses and I do find when I go shopping now it's not so easy cause I still want to look, you know, I don't want to look like an old bag – it's – you've got to find things that are a bit quirky and nice and sort of youthful without – it's hard to get actually, I think.

Elaine discusses similar frustration. She has a rural lifestyle so wears "casual" clothing all the time with the exception of dressing for a more formal event.

It's an awkward one, that is. I think you have to dress how you feel comfortable because some older ladies can look like tarts, really. So, I think, you need to be – well, people don't dress quite as smart as they used to – not unless they're going out. I mean casual wear is quite, casual wear is easier to wear. To dress trendier, like with jeans is easier – casual wear – than going out. I find going out, that age I am, perhaps you were going to something very, very – like a ball or dance – that would be very difficult to dress in – that age that you are because they are either half there [touches cleavage] or half there [points to a very short hemline] or something so that's more difficult. The casual wear you can be trendy in wearing that but when it comes to actually an evening type thing, it's more difficult.

Quirky, kitschy, or unconventional were words that were used to describe a desirable look. In this quote from Candice, she describes a friend of hers whose clothing made her feel uncomfortable in the past, but now it is almost as if she has grown into her friend's sense of style.

I'd seen this article in the Sunday Times about these glamorous women in their 90s and thing and I just think, yeah! I've got, I have a friend, a close friend, she's older than me, but she's – she dresses in quite an unconventional way and sometime I think, why are you wearing that? That's really kitsch. I think that's fine, now. I wouldn't – I don't – that's just her style.

There was a widespread range of ideas, about style from glamour to jeans. In this quote Judith maintains her, expression of self:

I've always dressed casually, comfortably, as I do now.

-Timing, Friendships, and Alliances
Pace, another aspect of time was identified by many participants. There was a dichotomy between what some participants described as their bodies slowing down, and the pace of their lives remaining the same. Embodied time through the element of pace is described here by Grace. Grace stated later in the interview that she was experiencing a bodily sense of slowing down but her life pace is described as thus:

I certainly imagined 60 as a genteel sort of non-dynamic, passive, harvesting of life's riches kind of age and it – the experience of it is very different. Plenty of harvesting of good things but almost an increase in complexity, in challenge, in pace and multifarious demands.

The activity levels that Grace had assumed in her current life were similar to a number of other participants. There did not appear to be a tension between high activity pace and a bodily sense of slow down. Suzanne described it this way:

You know, you get old, mate (laughter)! You know physically, I suppose it's noticeable – I have noticed it – you take longer to do things. Perhaps, one's not as quick as one used to be – (pause) because I think it's a hell of a good thing to still be working and have a good job where I have to get on with it – mean working for the media [name of the company], you know, there's pressure, it builds up and then it's over. That sort of keeps one on the ball. I mean you just have to do it. (Laughter), you can't really say, I'm sorry it's not done. Yes, yes, so I think that's a very good thing actually.

A substantive element of acceptance comes from strong sense of cohort or generation that evolved within the postwar period. Throughout the interviews there was a collective sense that this is happening not just to me, but to us, the postwar generation, my cohort. Body knowledge and awareness as a generational discourse has been ever present throughout the life of this cohort. The sense of openness and a willingness to discuss body change was not limited to this interview. Many participants described conversations they had had with friends about their bodies. Friendship, and a shift in the meaning of extended family, is something that has developed over the life history of the generation. Both genders used friendships (in many cases, long-term friendships) to compare notes about ageing body and gain knowledge or reflections of their own body changes. For some working class women, it was family (siblings) with whom they discussed ageing body. Additionally, the small group of men who denied that their bodies were ageing were the only ones who perceived ageing competitively or as a matter of comparison. There was a distinct absence of comparative comments, or even comments about not looking one's age, despite it being a common theme in the literature. This lack of competitive or comparative ageing cut across both genders (with the exception noted above). The quote below exemplifies the ageing discourse between friends or cohorts. In some cases, it was done in a formal group setting as Sarah describes here.

For the last two years I've been a member of [group name] which is how I got heard about you, which is a consciousness raising group for those of us who are actually in the second wave – that's how I got your email. So, that group's been good for me. I didn't know the women because they were in [different group name] and I was in [group name]. It's been good – it's not easy – we meet once a month and pick a subject that's pertinent to ageing and look at it from a feminist perspective.

For most people, it was an informal part of their friendships. Nick describes some time he spent with a friend recently:

We were talking and sharing some old photographs, which, of course, is the worst thing you could do (laughter) – (pause) – there's a usefulness – certainly, it's very comforting to know that other people are ageing, as well. I think you can get quite isolated with it.

In this quote from Candice she describes part of an intimate conversation with a friend:

One of my friends talked about knees and I hadn't ever thought about the fact that your knees sag. And, I suddenly realized, oh yes, your knees sag.

Friendship is not just an alliance between members of the postwar cohort. Many women and some men discussed their friendships with much younger people. The flow of time, as manifest through intergenerational relationships, was discussed with a kind of surprise, since it was a departure from the cohort's own experiences as young people.

Sarah: *It seems exciting to be with younger women. And I really, now – I have to be, to do more work on myself – the part that feels old and stodgy and how wonderful it is when younger women want to be with me.*

Candice: *I feel pleased I have younger friends.*

Many women also identified adult friendships with their children that they did not experience with their own mothers. Geri puts it this way:

I think a lot of the moral framework was good and sound and we should hang on to relationships and family and respect. We should really hang onto it because if they [adult children] *get lost that's where the fabric of society is falling apart. But the good bits that we added on are, the openness, the ability to say to Jane, hey, I'm passing through, let's go for a drink on Sunday night – where you are friends and equals – which is another good change.*

Up to this point, time has been examined through a variety of elements, from pace and rhythm to points on the life course. Chronology looms large for most people as it assists them in determining a position in their life span. As demonstrated in the section on defining 'old,' participants, in part, used chronology as a factor in their reckoning of ageing. It has also been demonstrated throughout the data, that past and present live side-by-side within people in multiple forms, from individual memory and mnemonic community to shared histories and ongoing activities. The lines of time are blurred and interwoven, with multiple selves populating our internal lives. During the interviews, some people referred to themselves as "a child of the sixties" or a "child of that time." The past lives within the present/now juncture as well as in future /anticipation, not as strictly circumscribed units, but as a free flowing continuance. The participants could experience the past within the present rather than living in the past. We can be more than one thing, one identity, at any given time. I watched interviewees' faces as they recounted times with friends and family, moments of true relived history, but still they were very much in the present. Other times, what I saw in people's faces was a recounting of memory and a return to the past, erasing the present. Still other moments were filled with nostalgia, but in the next moment I saw people facing the future. Our past, present, and even future selves can and do live together at any given moment. Through chronology, many participants

expressed this side-by-side phenomenon of multiple moments of time compressed into a pantheon of identities that live inside each of us. Like the expression of the paradox of ageing body expressed above, we can and are more than one age and more than one identity at any given time. These quotes express the blurring of the chronological age lines.

Bruce: *I think what's strange is that I don't feel, in my head – really any different than from when I was 25. I mean, it's very difficult to say that, because you don't know what 25 felt like. I don't feel any awareness of my consciousness being any different – but – well, I do feel wiser and more tolerant than I did forty years ago.*

Maggie puts it this way: *Maggie is still about 25 – 26 years old, you know, sometimes. When I am 90, part of Maggie will still be somewhere around that age. Inside, you know – it's all life.*

Becoming: Imagining, Wondering, Expecting the Future

Up to now, this data analysis section has focused on the past and the present. The future dimension is one that all of humanity imagines and inhabits. Without the ability to imagine the future there would be no action – in the immediate, mid-term, or long-range future time. There has been a shift in life expectancy; the likelihood of living a longer life than in the past, is real. This cohort has lived an entire lifetime in which they have witnessed this shift in the possible duration of their lives. The embodied knowing that death may not be imminent, and that there are more years to be lived, is reflected in the data. For a few people with health issues, there was an acceptance that finitude was probably closer, rather than farther away. The one participant who had been diagnosed with terminal cancer expressed a clarity about death. But for many participants, those with and without health issues, there was a sense of possible longevity, beyond that of previous generations. There is an embodied cognizance of extended years. That body/mind knowledge is "deep time." Deep time is posited in deeply embodied knowledge/imagining of possible futures. In this quote from Jack, he makes a distinction between older people he has known or worked with in the past, and their sense of chronological embodied duration.

It seems to me that as older people, we have a new set of – (pause) – it appears to me that each generation has new challenges. Like for some of the earlier ones [he worked with] *it was the very surprise of being old. People would say, "I'm 70, you know"* [said in a very proud tone] *as if being 70 was like running the hundred meters or something.*

There was a group of interviewees who had lived to a greater age than their parents and grandparents. Many, but not all of this group, came from working class families. In other words, interviewees had already experienced longer-lived lives than their parents or grandparents.

Sally: *Once I realized that I was looking at people* [photographs] *and I'm older than they were before they died, I realized just what happened.*

Some people discussed their experience of the changing demographic. Here Julia recounts her current experience as a volunteer at Age UK.

A lot of people now – we're short of members because – when I was younger you were a pensioner and you were an old pensioner at 70. So at Age UK events and the luncheon clubs that we have, there were a lot of people because they were in their 70's but now people in their 70's don't want to be considered old and going to a lunch club for old people. So, a lot of our members are now in their 80's and 90's.

-Questioning the Meaning of Numbers
We have limited language to directly express knowledge of expanded life spans. Many people employed a chronological reckoning to express longevity. In this quote, Mary discusses longevity within her childhood memory as well as her surprise at feeling young at her age. She also includes the longevity of her domestic partnership in her reckoning of time and her feelings about her life. Mary compares her possible life span to that of her grandmother. Mary has a deep time knowing that her life may well be much longer, and that 61, though considered old in the past, is now not very old in a lifespan, she does, in fact, feel young.

Naomi: *Did you ever imagine that turning 61 would be the way it is now?*
Mary: *I didn't imagine that I would feel young, actually for starters. Well, I didn't imagine that I would have to keep working because of the recession. I don't really know - I mean, I'm perfectly happy at this stage. I didn't imagine I'd be this happy – I mean, I've been with my other half 30 years or so.*
Naomi: *Wow, that's wonderful. You didn't imagine you would feel this young?*
Mary: *No, because when I was young, a person who was 60 was heading down to the graveyard. You know my Nan lived until she was 78 and everybody thought, goahhh, that was a really a good age (small laugh). Of course, now, well, I fully expect to live for a long, long time.*

Later in the interview, Mary discusses the possibility that she may live for many more years. The quote starts out with her referring to a very late night out celebrating the Jubilee and feeling tired and "grumpy" the next day:

It just irritates me. You know it's going to happen. I'm just irritated by it but I've got another 30 – well, maybe 20 – maybe 30 odd years to go and getting tired that's, that's the part of ageing I don't like.

In this quote from Bill, he discusses duration in terms of looking into the past, bringing lifespan into the present, and taking it forward into a possible future. Bill has also out-lived both his parents. He states:

I remember my parents – that sort of 60, in their day – I remember that they thought when you get into your 60's you were getting quite old. Nowadays, I think, you have to be in your 80's before you <u>really</u> start thinking you really are old. Well, I think 50's, 60's – well, certainly 50's you could easily be middle-aged. You could go on into a hundred.

In this quote from Paul, he discusses numbers, what is chronologically possible within his lifespan. Towards the end of the quote, he connects how he feels physically, his embodied sense of life, with his chronological reckoning.

And actually, whatever is true, the precise numbers – When you think, now, that people who reached 60 – 65 – you know - someone I knew quite well died at the age of 65, quite recently but that's not considered anything normal - that's considered quite regrettable. You know, when you're 85 that's what you might expect but not when you're 65. That's a big change in say, 100 years, isn't it? Expecting not to be alive at 68 – now, I'm 63, I'm feeling fine and it's sort of gone to 90 – I've got 30 years or something.

There is a marking of where one is in the lifespan embedded in the chronological reckoning of longevity. The possible number of years that lie ahead is expressed in this quote from Margaret. Again, as in many of the quotes, past, present, and future bleed together in the imaging of long-lived futures.

We used to have a touring caravan and going off in the caravan and having holidays and having fun and feeling that there was a lot of time in front of you. That was a nice feeling. I still feel I could live for another 40 years. Yes, it's very feasible in this day and age but I want to live a healthy 40 years.

-Longevity, Difference
Some interviewees came from families with a history of longevity but conditions in high modernity have created a more universal sense of deep time. Stephan describes an interaction between his sense of longevity and how he has lived his life to this point. It is important to note that Stephan discusses his pace of life within the context of longevity.

Naomi: *In what ways has that* [long-lived family] *influenced your ideas about ageing?*
Stephan: *I think it has in this way, Naomi, that – I never factored into my life plan, not that I have a life plan – I never factored in, in so far as it was subliminal, the issue that when I was 60 or 65 or 70 I won't be able to do that. I'm ssslightly (elongates), at this stage now, I'm starting to think that some of*

the things, some of the really physical things I did when I was young – I'm doing a little more of that - I'd like to – I'd like to do them once more before I can't (laughter). So, I'm doing a little bit more of that. That doesn't mean driving sports cars, it means sporting things. But, no, I think I've been, perhaps, rather complacent. I never said to myself as a result of seeing other people falling off the perch, God, you must hurry up and live life for the day, absolutely, you know, live life in a hurry. I think I've taken life pretty much at a canter rather than a gallop.

The pace of life was introduced in an earlier section through the lens of present time, but the pace of life is also influenced by expectation. Expectation is an aspect of future time. Expectations live in time, in a knowing and reckoning of future time. The expectations of longevity are embedded in Stephan's quote and was a feature in many other interviews. Like Stephan, there was little mention of a change of pace except when health issues forced participants to take things more slowly. Much of what Stephan has described are aspects of time, longevity/duration, finitude, generation (previous family history), and pace. Within embodied knowing of longevity, deep time stretches and the pace of life appears to remain similar, if not the same. In the following quote from Julie, she directly addresses the notion of expectations.

Naomi: *Do you imagine any of the ideas from the sixties affects how you feel about yourself as an older person?*
Julie: *Yes, I think it does because I don't think we age as quickly as that generation did and we've got a lot more things to do – a lot more expectations and for that generation it was totally different. People dying at 70 – now we're still working, we've got lots of things to do, lots of hobbies and we're a totally different generation.*
Naomi: *You mentioned expectations, what do you mean exactly by that?*
Julie: *Probably the expectation of living longer and being able to do a lot more than that generation could. Do you want me to compare the two generations?*
Naomi: *You said quite a bit already. Do you want to compare them a bit?*
Julie: *I just thought, when I was 10 in 1957 – older people, they worked until they were 65 and were lucky if the lived until they were 70 and they didn't, have really, didn't have a lot to do in between…*

The last section of Julie's quote brings out a generational comparison, which was a point of discussion in almost every interview, despite the fact that there were no specific questions on the subject in any of the interviews. Throughout this analysis, there have been quotes that have mentioned generational differences. The flow of time is embedded in much of the data. Looking back to the past beyond their own time, some participants recognized what was bequeathed to the postwar cohort by previous generations. The generational comparisons also look to the future, addressing ideas of what ageing may look like compared to that of previous generations or the past. Jack discusses his parents and the choice they made to live in Spain in the last twenty years of their lives. Interviewees did not appear

interested in moving to the seaside or warmer climes (with two exceptions). Here's how Jack explains it:

My parents moved to Spain for the last twenty years of their life and I kind of begged them to keep a home in – they had a wonderful wide circle of friends whom they lost and were quite miserable at that loss. And I could kind of see that – it seemed inevitable that's what would happen. And it was entirely avoidable if they had just sold their house and bought a little flat then they would've made coming to and fro entirely manageable and they would've retained their friendships and that would have meant that they – that would have helped them with some of the heartache in old age - I'm sure a pleasure to them and to their friends.

In this quote from Geri, she describes the difference between her parents' old age and the importance of friendships for the postwar cohort. She imagines a future where her friendships continue to be primary.

I think the future has to have something in it that is what our generation is all about. We are all about friendships – communities of friendships. That is what makes us. It's not about putting the slippers on and smoking the metaphorical pipe in front of the fireside, the two of you until one of you pops their clogs and then there's just one of you left and the cat.

Participants discussed their present and future of "being old" in relationship with previous generations in a variety of areas such as decorum, routine, and exercise. In terms of decorum - the presentation of oneself as one ages - the discussed decorum – the participants were critical of previous generations for holding far too rigid and limited views of acceptable behavior. In the comparison of differences, it was implied that this generation would not live within these previously proscribed ways of being old.

Gill: *My parents' generation and her parents before, there were very, very set roles – women were expected to dress a certain way, to behave a certain way. It was almost as if you had to fit inside this box.*

Bruce: *My father at 46 looked older than I do now in terms of his appearance, his dress, he looked old. And I think that people who got to middle-age, people in their 50's and earlier, who were middle-aged, behaved a certain way. There was a certain sort of physical decorum that was expected of people who had reached middle-age.*

But some people described an adherence to daily routine in their parents' and grandparents' old age. It was described within the context of retirement and, also, as part of decorum or the "right way" to act as an older person. In these quotes from Arthur and Lisa, they describe their vehement commitment

to live differently from their parents. In their choice to live differently, they are describing another embodied rhythm to life, a syncopation that is different that the metronomic beat of routine.

Arthur: *He had his life* [his father] *– he come out of his house, go up the lane, go to Avonmouth, go up the road to the pub* [pub name]*, every day, every night. And I thought to meself, I ain't going to have all that. I ain't having that – not the rest of me life.*

Lisa: *Our mothers were old at 50. You know, their clothes, the way they liked routine. I mean, I <u>hate</u> routine – I hate doing anything – if somebody said you've got to live like that I couldn't bear it, you know.*

Exercise in old age was another area that was much discussed. The need to stay physically active in the future was not only seen as important, but also a major departure from their parents' activity levels and physicality. The following describes two barriers to exercise faced by past generations of women.

Candice: *I sort of think about my mother and what she didn't do or couldn't do and also she didn't do any physical activity really except for cleaning the house. I have thought that I must do more than she did, but I think it was partly because of – I know this sounds ridiculous – because women's shoes. I don't think she could, she had very large feet and she couldn't –I don't think there was the variety of shoes that enable you to walk easily.*

Candice describes not only the lack of desire to be physically active, but women's shoes as an actual impediment to being active. She goes on to describe how limited the choices were and her mother's unwillingness to wear "big clodhoppers." In the quote below, Suzanne combines the themes of expectations of being old and physicality.

Suzanne: *It's quite interesting looking back at 30, what I was doing and where she was – she would no more have **dreamed** of doing something like going to a gym than fly to the moon. I mean, I think her life was completely different. I think the expectation was once you were over 60 you retired and you just led a less hectic life. I think that was the expectation whereas now you don't have that expectation, you do what you can whereas then when you were a certain age, life wound down.* [emphasis in the original]

Work was a frequently discussed topic – whether to continue one's present work into the future, or even start new work. The differences in the meaning of work between this cohort and previous generations was much discussed in the data. Retirement, interestingly, was only touched on by a small number of people and not discussed in much detail. Those few people who did mention it, did not discuss it as a fun time in their lives, but more in terms of respite.

The differences described above are indicative of what, in some ways, were and are the generation gap. Rather than the emotional and over-the-top reporting from the sixties media, the generation gap is demonstrative of the social rupture or cultural revolution of the sixties. Though there are differences between the generations, there is the abiding and all-encompassing human condition of ageing that is described by Grace:

On the continuum of life, I can see my daughters, my mother and hear my, you know, transitioning – having been that and will become this – I, you can see the map of the territory more at this age.

-Connections

Over the years, relationships mellow, edges soften but, more importantly, the generation has matured. Though there may be deep differences between the generations, there are the profound commitments of familial ties. Some people discussed caring for ageing parents:

Sally: *My dad was able to live in his own home by me doing everything there for him. So, he stayed there, right there, to the end.*

Geri and her sister have supported her mother through a move into a sheltered flat, which has been good for her mother and has also enhanced Geri's perception of ageing and her relationship with her mother.

It's evident that she is happy – she has never stopped thanking me and my sister for suggesting the move. She's so happy – which is brilliant. So, I think then so, so, so you take from it – you get enormous help if you are left on your own – you have no partner and you need to be somewhere you need help – you can still make it a really pleasurable and fulfilling experience even though you're that age and that's heartening to see.

Other interviewees, mostly women, continued to have important relationships with aunts, grandparents, or family friends. Lisa describes her godmother:

My is 96, I mean she still is incredible. She's full of life. I go and see her – she still lives in London – yeh she moans a bit – she says getting older is not much fun. She still looks incredible.

Candice describes a relationship she developed as an older adult with a friend of her parents.

There was a woman that I knew as I was growing up. She was in my parents' circle of friends. I used to go and talk to her – she was in there [the same home as her father]. *We got on very well together – I enjoyed her company. So, that was different – so she saw me, she probably got to know me in a different way. We had interesting conversation about all manner of different things. She might say that I was, she might think that I was a bit like her daughter.*

Cross-generational relationships were the source of information or inspiration for some people. Gill talks about her relationship with two elderly women who she finds admirable:

These women I can talk to about things and they still are independent women living on their own. They dress good, they look after themselves, they always make sure they look well and they don't speak bad about anybody. They haven't lost their sense of humour, their sense of well-being.

Judith describes an elder whose organizing work has been an inspiration to her:

There was one guy I knew who – he passed away a number of years ago – he was someone who kind of became, he really became this elder of wisdom and kindness. He was the person who was at the door to welcome people.
Naomi: *What was it about his way of ageing? What makes his way of being useful to you now?*
Marian: *I suppose first of all he was someone who was, who emanated – is that the right word? who emanated peace and happiness. He was always smiling. He had this aura of being peaceful and happy within himself. But, also, having this knack – it seemed unlimited – attention to key into people. He was able to really engage with people.*

Roy discusses his admiration for his in-laws:

When she was young her parents too her to Wales and the Lake District and they'd spend a week walking on their holidays.

-Looking Forward
Activity and physicality are themes that are demonstrated throughout the data. Physical activity in the form of exercise assumes immediate meaning in the present, but is also perceived as important to a generative, active future. Respondents discussed embodied generativity through a myriad of avenues. In this quote from Stephan, he talks about the business he has recently launched. He is careful make clear that it is a "green" business, operated with ethical principles and values. He launched the business for a several reasons, including the fact that it supplies a sustainable product, but also addresses his money worries. Here he describes how he has taken this path.

I've been very fortunate that perhaps because of that active mind and curiosity, and always inquiring and asking and wondering and worrying, to a certain extent throughout this opportunity, and through a couple of very fortunate occurrences I met someone with whom I could develop the idea and turn it into a business, which is now looking like the timing is perfect. It's already spawned another business -- it's – we're doing this thing that most bright people do in their 20's or early 30's. It hasn't come to me until my post-60 – but that doesn't worry me, at all (laughter).

Stephan was not the only member of the interviewees to have recently started a new business, one that was forward-thinking in terms of its values and the needs it fulfilled. Some people continue to work, in part because of money worries and, in part, because they like what they are doing. The data showed a multitude of wide-ranging activities that were future oriented. Interviewees related informal community work, like befriending a single mother in her neighborhood, providing free childcare, and acting as a surrogate grandmother. A number of participants were committed grandparents, an activity that certainly is future orientated.

Grandparenting is a tradition later life activity but interviewees described a commitment to providing childcare and other material needs for their grandchildren. In this quote from Elaine, she describes her commitment to her grandchildren:

It's everything to me – I can't think – these people who say about posh holidays and where they've been and all that, that's nothing to me. I can't think of anything better than us [grandchildren] *being together. It is important to me – and I think I'm very lucky.*

Margaret left work and, after a year, returned to work in a new, more responsible position. In her case, money was not the motivator though she *loves* her job. The following from Margaret describes her commitment to supporting her grandchildren:

I love being a granny. I love that. My daughter, she needs me because she and her husband are divorced so I support them both physically and in every other way to make sure that the children are okay.

In this quote from Judith, a lifelong activist, she relays her thoughts about being taking on a new project and continuing her commitment to making a better world:

I have been thinking about my role and where I should be putting my energy with an awareness of the limited time ---.

Sarah talks about a current project that was just funded and her passion for continuing that work into the future. It is of note that, though she saw this work as her future, she worried that the funders would frame it differently:

I just got 6000 pounds from the [name of the foundation] *– I'm going to the States for eight weeks to research things that I love and I was worried about putting in for it – I'm too old, they want people who they can invest in the future. And then, I was thinking that that is absolutely ridiculous, that's buying into what the oppression says. So, when I talk about a hunger, it means I'm determined not to stop.*

For some interviewees volunteering within traditional charities and non-government organizations (NGOs) was part of their future expectations. One interviewee was making plans to found a NGO. Mike talks about a charity he has worked for, but wants to make a bigger commitment in the future:

I want to do something – I don't know how big, I don't know how grand but we support this children's charity. So, I want to step up and do more work – also come up with something out of the ordinary to do with that.

For Nick, it is continuation of the satisfying life-long work he has done:

I'm going to see a friend tonight who plays music and he's just, he's going to be 70 this year and I was kind of thinking, I wonder if I'll still be playing when I'm full version 70 or 80 – that kind of thing. And I thought, well yeah, sure, anything's possible (laughter). [later in the interview, continues that theme] *Feeling like I can still do that* [music] *and will continue to do that until it's really, for various reasons, impossible - and also, my interest in writing, music and writing in the main.*

Charles discusses just having quit his job and his excitement of starting a new career path doing what he has put off for years:

I feel like I want to say that nobody's really seen me yet. Yeah? A few people have had little glimpses. My partner is probably the one who knows me the most and she's probably got the best sense of it but I think I'm yet to emerge. So, as I'm telling people about the way my life is about to change and I'm telling them what my plans are –"You do that? You do that? I never knew you did that." I say, yeah, I studied that. So something like surprises – you know, there's lots to come.

Embedded in looking forward into the future is the on-going belief in becoming. The notion of becoming is contained within Charles's quote – he is in process of becoming. Becoming, and/or developing, were words peppered throughout the data.

Naomi: *Who out of your past would be the least surprised at how you look now?*
Candice: *… Ah, I think they would say - they see me as a woman developing.*

Gill: *I'm still very much becoming. This is quite an exciting time for me – it can be stressful but I do feel like I'm becoming.*

This sense of development or becoming, as seen from the quotes above, is posited in the future, a future that is not laid out in the "set roles" of the previous generation. As Margaret stated:

I am plotting my own course.

One might read earnestness to the tone of this last group of quotes. Earnestness could not be farther from the reality of sitting through these interviews. There was lots of laughter, at themselves, at their pasts, at the sagging and bagging that was happening to their bodies. There was an atmosphere in the sixties of celebration and fun. That sense of fun continues now in the present, and was one pervasive undercurrent in talking about the future. Not fun in the sense of previous generations' notion of retirement as a party but as integral to life. Jack describes the previous generation like this:

Then there was a sort of hedonist period, "we all deserve a rest" – raving on about how much fun we're having.

There was a sense of balance that was demonstrated in much of the data. Fun, for want of a better word, is a balance to the rest of life's activity and worries, not the central focus of old age. Bruce puts in well in this quote:

I feel like people - feel like the sixties ethos – that people have a right to continue to enjoy themselves and have fun.

That said, the postwar cohort carries deep worries – personal worries about health, finances, and their futures in general. Worries about health are reflective of generations prior to them. Fear of financial problems was evident across class lines, and also echoes earlier generations. As a group, almost everyone discussed their worries about the future of the world. Reading the transcripts, I was very much struck by a lack of complaint about younger people, and the expression of deep concern about the next generations and the state of the world. Bruce, like many people I interviewed, described their worries about the world. The understanding that we are never one thing, never hold only one lens on our world, is personified in both statements about fun and future worries.

Bruce: *I'm a glass half-full person myself, but anything political I'm now so cynical about, I find it so depressing. I listened to the news this morning and the directors of the FTSE 100 companies have awarded themselves 49% increases in remuneration in the last 12 months. I find that sort of news deeply shocking and so desperately unfair that when there are so many people who are struggling and this winter there are so many people who will have to choose between eating properly and heating their homes.*

Maggie states her worries through the historical lens of her lifetime:

Yes, I think we all thought about when the Berlin Wall came down and the Cold War was apparently over that this big specter that had been so much the politics of Western Europe for 40 years, now we'd be in the sunny uplands and we find we're in much choppier waters – that raises all kinds of questions

for all of us and society here on this little island of ours. We don't quite know what that's going to mean in 50 – 100 years time.

Arthur discusses his worries about young people:

I feel sorry for the youngsters because the standard of living for their mum and dad – some people have not had a pay raise for almost 3 years and I honestly believe whatever money they are getting is now being taken off them so that mum and dad can survive. Because if you haven't got a roof over your head, you've got nowhere to go, and it's getting worse.

I will end this section with a quote from Rich. It is a perspective on the world from a man who continues his own life's work regardless of his very limited energy levels and small window on the future.

We all have to accept human life, any life is transient. We are not going to live eternally, so what? Doesn't matter that we don't individually live eternally because then world lives on – so, preserving the world is the crucial thing and celebrating the world. That's the view which I have come to.

Facing Finitude

Death is the last point in the future. Whatever the knowing of deep time, the duration/longevity of life, dis-embodiment lies at the end. There were no questions asked during the interview about death, though finitude was touched on by virtually every interviewee. Many people spoke about death directly, or implied that this segment of their lives was the last part of life. Other people brought up the death of a colleague, family member, or friend. Death was on the minds of my participants. The interviews, with ageing body at their center, triggered thoughts of finitude. Overall, the language used of discussions about death was unmediated, without the use of euphemisms. It had a straightforward quality that was neither morbid nor uncomfortable. This is not to say that the meaning of the finitude of body has changed, but that the expression, the relationship of the discussants to their bodies, is one of acceptance of the physicality of life. It is worth noting that is that there was little mention of God or religion in any of the comments regarding death. In some of the interviews there was a more spiritual or, in the case of a couple of people, a Western Buddhist perspective, but that was more implicit than explicit. This quote from Rich comes from an earlier part of the interview than the quote immediately above.

And I would say – it's very easy to take up stances on this and to posture around it but I would say that I'm really not concerned about what's happening to my body. It's another contingency in life which you, which you cope with as best you can –as you learn to cope with dozens of other contingencies over the decades which brought you to this point.

In this quote from Jack, he discusses the process of thinking about mortality in the context of a recent health issue he has experienced.

I just had a little health scare and that's been quite sobering and effected – (pause) – I haven't fully processed it yet – what that has meant to me. It clearly affected me a lot, you know, at some deep level. And I don't have a lot to say about it. I was – my partner commented on how quiet and preoccupied I went. And, clearly some thing's going on in my tectonic plates – around – some of that's just asking existential things about mortality now or in the future about that.

A few people spoke about fears of death that were triggered by the death of someone close to them. Even in their discussing their anxieties, the unmediated language of the body was apparent. Though they were speaking about trepidation about mortality, there was still an immediate connection in their language to their bodies, and the reality of being in a body.

Suzanne: *I suppose one's more aware of one's own mortality. I'm terrified of dying – not the pain or anything – it's my God, what's going to happen after. So, I suppose, that gets more and more imminent. So, that's something – one's more aware of death, I suppose, obviously, when one's parents die – it sort of brings it home.*

Sarah: *I think I've always been scared of dying and stuff but something about that is kind of ratcheting up a little when your own friends are dying. And they both had horrible end-of-life so that was – that's kind of left me feeling vulnerable in my body.*

There was some discussion in the interviews regarding diet, fitness, and exercise as the key to a longer life or a healthier time during the lifespan. In this quote from Elaine, she knows that exercise and fitness are no guarantee of prolonging one's life, but she questions what longevity, in the end, could mean; what the possible consequences are of living a long time and remaining fit. Her statement looks into an uncertain future with the knowledge of death, sometime, somehow, at the end.

Elaine: (Referring to fitness and health) *I can't say it will prolong my life but I could be struck down with cancer tomorrow or gone next week. And there's nothing you can do about that one. And then, there's the other side of the coin of keeping yourself too fit and getting too old and not dying and being, perhaps, in a home and just sitting about. Whereas if you don't keep fit you may die of a heart attack just like that. So, there's lots of – you think to yourself, well maybe – the ones that don't do it may go off quicker than the ones who do do it 'cause I don't know that I want to get to 90 and in a home.*

It was clear throughout the data collection that mortality was a subject that people had acknowledged and considered, whether it was fear of death or, in the quote below, the option of taking control of one's death. Control of one's own body, body ownership, as discussed early in this analysis, is the central theme in the quote below. Margaret has contemplated the circumstance under which she would end her life. She very much perceives that it is her embodiedness, and she holds the ultimate responsibility for its ending.

Naomi: *I'm curious, has your sense of your body, the changes in your body, been influenced by caring for older people your whole life?*
Margaret: [Referring to controlling her own death] *I'm very aware to look in case dementia is starting within me because it is such a sad – dementia's such a sad illness and I wouldn't wish to impose any caring on my daughter.*
(Later in the interview)
Margaret: *I hope I have the courage to make sure that my daughter does not have to take care of me. I hope – the trouble with dementia and Alzheimer's: by the time you may need to be able to do something about it, you've passed the point where you may be able to do something it. And so, I, you, you need a lot of courage for that.*

In a simple but direct way, Arthur states the profound knowing of the reality of dis-embodiment. He imagines reuniting with his family and friends when he dies.

I can walk around the city docks now where my dad used to work, many years ago and I can think to myself, "What a wonderful life." I know one day, I shan't be, not appear at all, because one day me number will be up. They'll pull out the bingo number and I'll go up with them.
The last quote in this data analysis section comes from the perspective of caring, even in death, for friends. In this quote from Nick, he describes the recent death of a friend, and the circle of friends (a phrase used later in the interview) that cared for him. Friendship was a theme that emerged strongly from the data. This quote exemplifies the expanded boundaries of friendship that developed for many of the postwar cohort. Taking care of each other in old age was discussed in a number of the interviews. Nick describes care of a friend like this:

He died of cancer – a group of us saw him quite a lot and cared for him and all that, and in the end we were responsible when he died for taking care of his flat, his belongings. His parents were no longer alive and there was all that of trying to support him, really, during that period. (sharp intake of breath)

Conclusion

The collective sense of "us," "our generation," is the starting point of this chapter. Embodied ageing experience is not just an individual engagement with body, but the experience of a generation. In this chapter, the experience of the postwar cohort, the sixties era being central to that experience, is foregrounded within timescape. The influence of the social rupture in the sixties era has been felt from the immediacy of that moment through to the present. The postwar cohort, the central players in the social rupture, now feel the influence of the sixties in the process of ageing and, in turn, are influencing current models of ageing. The generation's memories form a collective memory of that time – they are a mnemonic community. The experience of living with the Cold War and MAD and Earthrise has the effect of bookending the intensity of the time. Posited within the cohort's memory or their mnemonic community is held the extremes of the threat of personal and global annihilation and the possibilities of global unity. The advent of The Pill, the uncoupling of sexuality and procreation, produced an understanding of body ownership and control that crosses genders and classes.

In the present, many elements of that era continue to resonate as the embodied experience of ageing looms large in their lives. That experience is shared through friendships, through the aches and pains, continued active physicality, and a pace of life that maintains a vitality and creative future imaginings. There were some marked gender differences in the acknowledgement and description of the changes wrought by ageing. Women, by and large, spoke in great detail, while some men (2) did not even allow that their bodies had changed. In general, women were more detailed in their descriptions. Both women and men described intimate body changes with humour or irony or both. Class did not appear to be a significant factor in the most of the findings. The significance of friendships emerged across class lines, except in the case of few working class women where family provided the most significant friendships. Interviewees directly addressed the visual reality of ageing body as a paradox of sadness and surprise, with many other mixed emotions, including acceptance and equanimity. The past and present abide within our embodied selves, where multiple temporal identities all live together. We can, and indeed do, feel 28 years old at the same time that we know we are 62. Deep time, the embodied knowing that we may have many more years in front of us, allows this generation to look toward a dynamic legacy.

The future is marked by the finitude of death, but the way, to this moment as described by participants, is one that is filled with both fears and generative possibilities. A dynamic legacy means both the hopes of bequeathing something to the future and enacting fulfilling activity in an extended older age. Death is not hidden away and spoken of in hushed euphemisms, but addressed as it is, the end of embodied life or, for some, finitude of the self.

Sometimes the lights all shinin' on me;

Sometimes I can barely see.

Lately it occurs to me what a long, strange trip it's been. (Grateful Dead, 1970)

CHAPTER 7

The Chiasm of Time and Embodiment

Prologue

In this chapter, aspects of time are sometimes discussed separately, but it is important to remember that each time category interacts with the whole within the temporal dimension.

Chiasm is an x-shaped configuration. Lefebvre (1992/2204) argues that it is the point of intersection that is paramount to this shape. In genetics it is the point of fusion and exchange and it is a useful metaphor to describe the relationship between ageing embodiment and time. The chiasm is useful as a visual representation of two elements profoundly connected. Seen through a systemic perspective, the theory of wholes, or wholeness, is the investigation of the relationships of parts that make up a phenomenon (von Beralanffy, 1968; Phipps and Vorster, 2011). In this case, the phenomenon is ageing embodiment and the temporal dimension. The parts that comprise that whole, as discussed by the participant group in collaboration with me, are included in this chapter. Our knowledge about time and ageing comes from biological, cultural, and linguistic perspectives. Biological, because no matter how we frame embodiment, whether through post-modern, social constructivist, constructionist, or lifecourse perspectives, the body and its end point are finite. Though there is great variety, or relativism, in the biological ways we get there, ageing is a non-relative category (Twigg, 2006; von Beralanffy, 1955). Our window on the temporal dimension is shaped by our cultural and linguistic lenses, which means that there is a relativity to the parameters of the definitions of time (von Beralanffy, 1955; Bateson, 1979; Phipps and Vorster, 2011). However, within the framework of systemic thinking, there is no true representation of ageing; what follows is what Beralanffy calls, "traits of reality" (1955, p 254). It is the correspondence between myself, my participants' experiences and descriptions of those experiences, and what has been named as reality. Using the social constructivist definition, ageing embodiment is a construct that is shared by a community of knowers, or a communal exchange (Hoffman, 1993).

One cannot step outside of time any more than one can step outside of landscape. The systemic approach very much lends itself to the 360-degree view or timescape that is the temporal dimension. This research, and specifically this chapter, addresses from a systemic perspective, many of the

aspects of time and body that were discussed in the interviews. It acknowledges and analyses the preferred narratives (the stories we tell ourselves and others about who we are) of the participants. It also explores those stories which were more suppressed or hidden (stories about who we are that are outside of our preferred narratives) but came forward in the course of the interviews. Though I said very little during the interviews, it was a collaborative process that was, on the most basic level, curiosity-driven. The genesis of my curiosity is the core belief that my interviewees are the experts on their own lives and, as experts, they have much to impart and teach me about their experience of ageing embodiment. It was only later, while doing the data analysis that I began to understand the significance of temporality. It is through this process that I have come to know that body and time are intertwined.

Introduction

Once I had read the data through the lenses of body and time, it became apparent that body and time are inseparable. It is here that the mutual implications of culture and nature meet (Adam, 1995, 2004). There may be no time in our lives when we become more aware of our bodies living within temporality than when we perceive the length of time lived within our changing/ageing bodies. The biological body, within the temporal dimension, is undeniable – a seamless yet visible reality. Duration is the most obvious aspect of time throughout our lives, especially as we watch the reflection of our changing bodies in the mirror. Our birth is a celebratory moment in time which is then marked annually. Time plays the most significant of roles both in our private and public lives. Bio-rhythms, sleep/dream cycles, and the differing rhythms of each of our organs are examples of bodytime (Luce, 1973; Lefebvre, 1992/2004). Social time, through its multiple definitions and descriptions, places the activities of human society and people, themselves, within this big category of time (Adam, 1990, 1995; Nowotny, 1994; Melucci, 1998; Moran, 2013). The totality of our embodied lives exists in time and beyond, through memory and artifact. Time is key to making sense out of the chaos; it is structural. Whether that structure is light and dark cycles, markers, like birthdays and anniversaries, or the moment when we feel hungry and check our watches, we live within temporal structures. We also create temporal structures to invoke meaning and order to our lives.

A systemic lens opens the possibilities of perceiving ageing body, embodiment, and temporality as a whole. This discussion brings together the themes that were explored and refined throughout the process of the research. The data analysis pointed to the non-lineal nature of ageing. Thus, it is important to start with a critique of a lifecourse or developmental perspective, which has a defined linearity, to establish the thematic grounding for this discussion. An exploration of the perspectives of the participant group in relation to time illuminates the information they imparted in the interviews. The interviewees' descriptions and understanding of time provide context to the material and the meaning they attributed to that information. A panoply of temporal facets - chronology, individual

memory, mnemonic community, duration, rhythm, pace, futurity, history, generation, intergenerationality (relationships between the generations), continuity and flow, relative time, deep time, past and present, and the interpenetration of past, present, and future – are described in relationship to body and embodiment. These elements of time are where the chiasm of temporality meets embodiment. My key findings as expressed through my participant group are found at this nexus. The manifestations of embodiment through a sense of body ownership and control, exercise and agency, music and dance, and clothing and fashion are the chiasm where body meets time. Participants have shaped and defined their ageing embodiment through these aspects. There is an interplay between the universality of the experience of ageing body and the realization of the certainty of death and the cultural construction of ageing that was eloquently stated as interviewees gave voice to their embodied experience. Finally, the life of the physical body, the linguistic connections to that corporeal consciousness was expressed by participants as they discussed the deep habitation of body.

It would have been difficult, if not impossible to discover the key findings without a depth of understanding of significant writers. The work of Merleau-Ponty, Adam, Twigg, White and Epston, and Jenkins provided the initial lens I used as I read and analyze the data. The material in this chapter is, at baseline informed by the work of these authors. The other writers reviewed in Chapter 3 have also informed this chapter, through contributing either a singular notion, that I took further or a group of ideas that triggered and influenced my explorations.

Final note on the research

Before I address and develop the key themes, it is important to briefly discuss the role within my research of class, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. There was great diversity within the research group, which included the above stated categories, but also what people stated they were doing in the sixties. Many working class people of both genders married and had children younger than those of other class categories in their cohort. Other working class people took advantage of the opening of the polytechnics and art colleges. Interestingly, regardless of how people described their lives in the sixties, all but three interviewees stated that the sixties had had a life-long influence on who they were, their interests and values, and how they had lived their lives. Of the three who said it had no influence, two made a number of references to influences from that era, both directly and indirectly. Despite the great diversity, there were far fewer differences than I was warned about by other academics at the beginning of the project. Women of all classes were generally more open or detailed about discussing their body changes. I am sure my gender had something to do with that, as well as the focus on women's bodies that first came through second wave feminism and continues to unfold today (Grocz, 2005). Some men opened up during the course of the interviews as trust was established. Both men and women of all classes, ethnicities, and sexual orientation fit within the parameters of the themes of this research. Looking back on the themes, there is a universality to them

that is reflective of the generation's coming of age and ageing. Perhaps, the only surprising theme for me was exercise and fitness, but in the process of exploring the notion of deep habitation, it made sense. It did, in fact, underpin part of the development of that idea. Did the participant group manifest the sixties dream or scourge (depending on your point of view) of a classless society? Certainly, not all the signs of an unequal spread of power and privilege were evident in the participant group. Instead, the connection within the participant group lay within the consistency of the discourse that brought together temporality and embodiment. It is with the recognition of that chiasm that allowed me to develop the thesis.

Lifecourse perspective

Lifecourse, lifespan, and lifetime have been used frequently in this thesis to describe the life trajectory in relationship to the nature of ageing. What was described here is different from lifecourse theory. The data did not validate lifecourse theory. Lifecourse theory is built on the notion of developmental life stages (Elder, 1994; Mills, 2000; Gilleard and Higgs, 2000; Grenier, 2012). The conception of these stages of development is a causal advancement through the lifecourse or time (Mills, 2000). There is no denying that biography and social and institutional structures, in part, constitute the construction of participants' discussions of ageing. However, from a systemic perspective, the data reads as a complex set of phenomenon that are made up of nonlineal or recursive processes (Bateson, 1979). A recursive process is "any event that is part of a circular chain that is simultaneously cause and effect in relationship to other events" (Phipps and Vorster, 2011, p 132). This means that, looking at the whole of ageing, there is an interaction between all the parts that comprise ageing: meaning-making, lived embodiment and our experience of biology, cultural narratives, and time, to name a few. All these parts interpenetrate within us, individually, as a cohort, and inter-generationally, and constitute the ageing process. As we perceive the present, we look forward to the future and backward to the past and we explore the process of ageing. Of course, I was unable to look at every aspect of the process, but it was the interpenetration and interaction of the parts, as described to me by the interviewees, that informs this discussion, the analysis, and the research as a whole. It may be useful to the reader to bear this in mind: though the parts are necessarily laid out in a linear fashion, they are always imagined as interacting with each other to make the whole.

Time alone - through the lens of relative time

This section is about time from the perspective of ageing. Of course, we are all ageing from the moment of our births, but there is a time in life when the recognition dawns that one has lived more years than one has left to live. In the past this had been thought of as mid-life crisis, but this recognition of mortality has been shown to precipitate a crisis in one's 60s (Robinson, 2013). This was also borne out in my data. Seven interviewees were in their late 50s, but their interviews

included the notion, either stated directly or alluded to, that they recognized they had lived beyond the half-way point of their lives and had limited years left. From the data, that recognition occurred in tandem with the recognition of biological body changes that interviewees defined as signs of old age. The embodied visibility marks a shift in perception, or a knowing that there is less time to live than time lived. There is a recognition that we are in the last segment of our lives. Interviewees named it the last segment, phase, or part. This change in our viewpoint of life is a shortened time horizon (**Carstensen**, et al 1999) or 'relative time.' The eyes we see the world through shift.

The interviews contained a wealth of information about the nature of time itself from the perspective of people who have self-defined as living in relative time. The consciousness of having lived more time than the amount of time remaining, coupled with a more certain sense of finitude, provided a different window of perception. The notion of lifetime took on new meanings for interviewees when placed within the framework time lived and finitude. Throughout our lifetimes, time helps to create a sense of structure. This structure is important in this period of late modernity, in that it provides a framework to create meaning out of life (Adam, 2007). Chronology is important. It is not just an "empty variable" in the study of ageing (Bytheway, 2005). In an essential way, it is constitutive of our social identities (Bytheway, 2005; Nikander, 2009). It is well to remember that chronology has loomed large for this generation, from the catchphrase for many during their youth, "don't trust anyone over 30," onwards past their own 30th birthday, to approaching the milestone of "when I'm 64." Participants used chronology as a means of discussing the structure of their lives, whether it was the ages of their grandchildren, marking anniversaries or reunions, or when middle or old age begins. Many participants used chronology as a means of reckoning the possible number of years they had remaining. Chronology took on a meaning far beyond a simple calculation of number of years lived – it became representative or symbolic of times in life, many of those times described in relationship to other people. Chronology became a symbol for events, periods of life or the space between life events. Decades were used as a descriptor for good or bad times, productive or successful work, education periods, or to discuss a particular period in the development in popular music. Birthdays were mentioned, but so were the number of years since the death of a parent, family member, friend, or colleague, and/or the age of the interviewee when the death happened was frequently stated. It was not the chronology itself that had meaning; the plentitude of numbers were a linguistic symbol, sometimes identifying concepts like a long time or the richness of time spent together as a married couple.

Chronology is embedded in our cultural narratives of ageing (Bytheway, 1995; Baars, 2012). The age when one becomes a pensioner or retirement are indicators of the onset of old age. There is a growing literature that disputes this chronological reckoning of life (Hazan, 1994; Grenier, 2012; Bytheway, 1995; Baars, 2007, 2012; Nikander, 2009; Gullette, 1997, 2004, 2011). There was a tension that cut across many of the interviews between the chronological and cultural narratives of old age and the

actual reality of their lives. That tension raises issues of preferred self-narratives versus cultural narratives, the changing realities of ageing versus the cultural story, and the power of numbers/chronology. These issues will be explored later in this chapter. It is important to introduce the power of chronology within the cultural narrative of ageing/old age lest I leave you with the impression that chronology is only symbolic, which is not the case. Chronology did have multiple meanings in the lives of my interviewees, but it was the symbolic/representational and structural power of the numbers that was striking throughout the interviews.

Within interior reckoning of time, there is a continual interpenetration of past, present, and future (Adam, 1995). Simply by dint of number of years lived, packed with daily or routine, and sometimes extraordinary, events, our pasts become richly laden. This is by no means necessarily an indicator of living in the past but, instead, the lens through which we experience the world. For example Adam (1995) touches on this notion through the example of learning. Depending upon our age, learning about the fall of the Berlin Wall will have a different contextual meaning. For a child it was a vague piece of history but for an adult, it may well be connected with emotional thoughts of freedom. This was evident throughout the data as people described times in their lives, particularly time as a flow or a continuum. This is exemplified in the data through descriptions of historic events or the transition to the social rupture of the sixties. The impression of flow, the movement of events unfolding through a sense of temporality - of lived time - can vary greatly, from a moment in time to a long, subtle transition. Some participants used sixties language to describe the trajectory of their lives in terms of temporality when they repeated the phrase, "going with the flow." Flow, or continuum, was very much in evidence as a relational aspect. Again, time and relationality were frequently described across all the data. Intergenerational physical characteristics, values, knowledge, and family history bind people together through a sense of temporal continuity. When that continuity is disrupted, it can be disturbing. There were a number of areas where a disruption in continuity was described. Even the death of a work colleague that was considered "too young" or "sudden" was seen as a disruption by interviewees. Others described death as simply part of life, regardless of when it occurred, as if that, too, was part of the continuum.

Memory brings back the past into the present and can launch us into an imagining of the future (Adam, 1995). The interviews were, naturally, a sharing of memories with me - the interviewer. This process of building a stock of memories, of the interviews themselves, continued through my process of transcription, analysis, and this writing. Listening to interviews, reading transcripts, writing and reading drafts and chapters, and thinking about the research participants feels at times as if the various personalities, and my relationship to them, live in my office. They live in my memory, as, in a smaller way, I live in theirs. Together, through the interpenetration of past, present, and possible futures, we continue to collaborate in this ongoing research process.

Building memories together, over time, creates a sense of shared histories – events that happen in relationship with someone, or, in some cases, a symbolic object that contains or carries the shared history. Longevity, events, emotions, and values, to name a few, are the stuff of shared history. Throughout the interviews, there was a strong sense that shared history was deeply valued and of real importance to people, regardless of gender. The quotes in earlier chapters are obvious examples of this temporal aspect. There were many other passing comments made throughout the interviews that alluded to the centrality of shared history in the lives of the participants. Ultimately, over the long course of a lifetime, the act of witnessing others' lives and holding that within memory is of profound value. This was demonstrated by the warmth and emotionality with which people described these relationships. Placing these relationships of shared history within the context of relative time adds another dimension to their significance.

Time and body – history and generation

There has been an ongoing discourse in gerontology that revolves around the nature of history and generation, and the importance of these aspects of time to ageing (Gilleard and Higgs, 2005; Higgs et al 2011). Seen from the perspective of timescape, neither history nor generation can, or should, be given preference. Instead, history and generation are elements within the temporal dimension, as are memory, social and bodytime, rhythm, and the like. It is this lens of time that frames this discussion. The aspects that compose the temporal dimension were contained within the collaboration between the participants and myself. Instead of being preferenced, each, in turn, took a place in the foreground and then receded. This brings us to the topics of history and generation. History and generation are entangled with each other and with culture, and society. Our notions of the constitution of body and time, how we frame them, and how we experience embodiment and temporality, are born out of this entanglement (Elias, 1939/1978).

History is a marking of change throughout time. Henri Lefebvre explores the rhythm of history; rhythm described as a specific repetition over time. He developed the 'theory of moments' – significant when it is possible to challenge existing beliefs and traditions (Lefebvre, 1992/2004). It is at these moments that it is possible to challenge, radically reshape, or overturn existing orthodoxies. As stated earlier, the jury is still out as to the breadth of lasting changes that were set in motion in the sixties, but, during this period, many of society's doctrines were challenged. The postwar generation was bequeathed a number of historical innovations and changes during their childhood and adolescence. The *Kaleidoscopic Sixties* chapter explored the many changes that had made, and would continue to make, deep revisions in our cultural notions of embodiment. These changes were a result of inter-generationality and the collective choices of the postwar cohort themselves. Liberalizing legislation or loosening State control over the bodies of its citizens, The Bomb and the Cold War, Earthrise, the advent of the Pill, rock music and dance, the liberation movements, the founding of the

National Health Service, and even our notions of self-expression through dress and fashion were all to have a profound effect on this and subsequent generations' ideas about their bodies. At the core of each one of these changes or events, body and time were intertwined or created a chiasm.

Interviewees and interviewer were all born between 1945 and 1955, in the bulge of the postwar demographic wave. We were born into a moment of history, as all humans are, and we made, and continue to make, our own bit of history. All but three participants described the ways in which the challenges put to existing orthodoxies influenced them during the sixties, and throughout their lives. It is striking that, throughout the interviews, there was a collective sense of generation. The possessive, 'our' – as in 'our generation' - was used repeatedly. 'Us' and 'we' were also used liberally throughout the interviews, despite or disregarding how people self-identified their role in the events and general ruckus of the sixties. This was the first generation to have grown up with the term teenager, in their consciousness, and was born in tandem with the rise of mass media and a new energy in the marketing and advertising sector (Frank, 1997; Cracknell, 2011). At the same time, the reality of economic affluence, regardless of class status, was part of their coming of age. It was this, and all the other factors stated above, that wove together a collective sense of generation. That collective identity has been carried forward because of constant media references to 'baby boomers' and the reminders everywhere of the sixties, from the music to second wave feminist references. The participants in my research stated, in a variety of ways, that this generation both made its mark and was marked in an interplay of history and generation and through a collective sense of embodied generational identity developed through the sixties social rupture. It is their experience and perceptions of their time in the sixties that has set the stage for the trajectory of their lives and, at this point, their older selves. Of course, there is a range of experience in terms of class, economic status, rural versus urban life, gender, and other diverse factors, but, in the end, those personal histories/identities are folded into a collective sense of generation. This was an important feature of the interview group. It was a point of membership or a commonality of, if not experience of, at least of being there, being there in that time - the sixties. That experience, as demonstrated in the data, was defined and played out in different ways, but it was all under the big umbrella of the sixties.

'Baby boomer', a moniker applied to the postwar generation, is a collective identifier. There is no consensus within the literature as to what it precisely signifies. The term has been used to define a cohort, a common cultural experience, and a specific group of values. For the participant group, it was an identifier and an identity. The cohort's lifetime identity as baby boomers is the construction of an interactive process of media/social/cultural designation and the development or shaping of that identity by the group itself (Roy, 2001; Freedman and Combs, 1996; Epston and White, 1990). This process was evident in the data. History and generation are only two aspects of time that are part of the composition of the sixties as an entity in the temporal dimension; other aspects include pace and rhythmicity, expectation and anticipation, and how a youthful sense of immortality manifested, to

name a few. The term 'boomer,' itself, is born out of that denotes a demographic that is generational, and places that demographic within the historic context of the postwar period. There is any number of pathways to enter the story of the postwar cohort; it certainly does not start with the sixties. Perhaps, a core starting point is the upper class generation that experienced the Second World War and had their pre-conceived assumptions of class and privilege disturbed, in addition to those people that had been working for generations to improve the lot of the British citizenry (Thane, 1996). Theirs were the impulses that led to the founding of the NHS and subsequent nutrition programs (free milk and orange juice). Of course, the NHS and nutrition programs bolstered the health of the general population, but there was another effect which was to reshape the participant group's construction of body. The underlying message of the founding of the National Health Service and open access to health care for all is that care of the body is a right, not a privilege. Along with phrases that denoted generational solidarity, some participants stated that they were a *child of the NHS*, discussed memories of the milk program, or described the importance of good nutritional standards as they were growing up. The belief that care of the body is an inalienable right of every citizen was an article of faith within the postwar generation (McHale, 2013), shaping their construction of embodied life. This was echoed within the interview group.

Care of the body as a universal right and with universal access to the Pill (at the critical juncture of, or around, the onset of sexual activity) worked in tandem to create a narrative in regard to the shift in construction of body. The uncoupling of sexuality and procreation invited a new mastery of bodily functioning. Participants spoke in both subtle and direct ways, demonstrating that they took ownership/control of their bodies as integral to embodiment. The ability to control procreation through the advent of the Pill and the decriminalization of abortion affected not only women, but also men's construction of their bodies. While many women spoke explicitly about the effects of the Pill on their lives, interviewees of both genders spoke about body ownership/control. References to the changes of ideas about gender were stated directly and indirectly by participants, both male and female. Participants discussed the changes wrought by second wave feminism and the material and perceptual changes that feminism had wrought in the embodied performance of life, work, and leisure. For both women and men, those changes, particularly regarding women and work, were an unquestioned part of the fabric of daily life. It is of note that both men and women spoke positively about the shifts in women's work lives and other changes. The liberation movements, the construction of sexuality, and elimination of prohibitions have altered our notions of how bodies may be sexual. It was relatively rare that heterosexual interviewees made comments about gay liberation. Body constructions, as seen through social rituals, sexual behavior, and work and leisure activities, to name just a few embodied practices, changed as a result of these liberation movements (Twigg, 2006; Turner, 2006; Grosz, 1994). As Turner (2006) points out, the study of body as an academic topic comes from this period. Whatever valuation the participants gave to the liberation movements, they

were part of the collective memory of the time and there was agreement that changes had resulted from these liberation struggles. Embodied agency was at the core of both feminism and gay/lesbian liberation movements. Gay/lesbian interviewees openly described ageing with their partners. An embodied self-possession, a direct result of the liberation movements and their attendant social and personal changes, has influenced the shape of ageing for the interview group.

Some interviewees mentioned the use of drugs during the sixties. They did not define their drug use as transgressive but rather as an assumption of body ownership and control. In general, there was an open or tolerant, live and let live attitude in the interviews that is a reflection of the notions of body ownership/agency – people may do what they like with their own bodies. The loosening of state controls over bodies through legislation, notion of care of the body as a universal right, the Pill, and the liberation movements that led to a shift in the construction of sexuality and gender, are events that have happened in time. These events are historical, generational, and intergenerational. There was a compression of timing and events of the sixties that was rhythmic, as described in Lefebvre's theory of moments. These events have shaped memory and affected the future, as there is an interpenetration of past, present, and future. Through the discourse and descriptions of their embodied selves, the participants made clear that they believed there had been a shift in their relationship to corporeal life compared to that of previous generations. That shift was now manifest in their descriptions of ageing body.

Mnemonic community

Collective generational memory forms a mnemonic community, a community of memory (Zerubavel, 2003). Aspects of a mnemonic community were discussed throughout the interviews - music and dance, fashion, food, the Cuban Missile Crisis, Earthrise. These are all aspects that comprised the collective memory of the interview group. There was also the remembered importance of light-heartedness and fun that stood in opposition to a heaviness that permeated their parents' and older siblings' lives as a result of the WWII experience. I turn now to seminal events for the postwar generation: the Bomb, the Cold War, Cuban Missile Crisis, and Earthrise. The Cuban Missile Crisis, as discussed by participants, was a kind of shorthand for The Bomb and the Cold War. The unstructured events of that time, bomb tests, political rhetoric, etc. seemed to coalesce in a memory (Zerbuval, 2003) of the Cuban Missile Crisis. This event was the polar opposite of a sense of control and body agency that was discussed above. The possibility of personal annihilation, and even planetary annihilation, was the backdrop of postwar cohort's childhood, culminating in memory with the Cuban Missile Crisis, when the world was "minutes away from nuclear catastrophe" (Butler, 2000, p 21). Nuclear catastrophe became the stuff of pop culture, from Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove* and Bond films to Les Paul guitar adverts and pop music. *Atomic Platter* is a multiple disc compendium of The Bomb and the Cold War in music (Savage, 2010). Many of the artists are American, like Bob Dylan,

whose music crossed over, but it also includes many British musicians. The immediacy of bodily annihilation was on another scale than that of personal finitude. The following quote from the poet and essayist Wendell Berry is a lucid description of the essence of the bomb. It is the thing the postwar cohort grew up knowing, within themselves and as a generation:

...the nuclear bomb as the perfectly apt symbol, as it is the perfectly illustrative example, of an idea released from the limits of things, an idea unrestrained by respect for anything. It is itself of course a thing, but it is the oddest of things: a perfect materialization of an abstract idea, a thing whose only purpose is the destruction of everything. (2010, p 29)

Living in the shadow of the Bomb has had a constitutive influence on the construction of ageing within the postwar cohort. Some participants discussed their belief that they might have died young as a result a nuclear catastrophe. Their notions of embodiment came into being against the backdrop of the British Atomic Era.

Earthrise came five years later, the nature of which was antipodean to the Missile Crisis.

For the first time in all of time, men have seen the Earth: seen it not as continents or oceans from the little distance of a hundred miles or two or three, but seen it from the depths of space; seen it whole and round and beautiful and small.' This view, he prophesied, would remake mankind's image of itself. 'To see the Earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the Earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold—brothers who know that they are truly brothers.' (Archibald MacLeish as quoted in Poole, R. 2008, p 8)

The potency of this event changed how we thought about ourselves, our place in the world, the collective body of the earth, and our physical relationships to each other and the planet (Poole, 2008; Winter, 2006).

These two events are constitutive of the mnemonic community and are both concerned with embodiment. Facing finitude on both individual and planetary levels was a factor in shaping the consciousness and relationship to body for the participant group. By the same token, viewing the earth from a distance for the first time was also a collective experience and created a shift of awareness. These events add to the tension between body ownership and the very finite nature of our embodiment – ageing with its possible illness, frailty, and decline. Throughout the interviews, participants expressed a profound knowing of embodied habitation. The collective experience of both the Cold War and Earthrise underlined the physicality of life, provoking a lucid awareness of the life of the body, or body habitation. As described throughout the data and this discussion, there were a number of facets, both bequeathed or engendered, that led to this strong sense of body habitation. A

heightened sense of body habitation was demonstrated in most of the interviews through the clear acceptance of ageing body. In the data, there was an openness to discuss the biological body changes with this interviewer, and, more telling, with peers. There was a decided lack of shame or embarrassment in the intimacy of the descriptions of biological body changes. This comfort in discussing the physicality of ageing body was a demonstration of a strong sense of body habitation, an ease with the bodiliness of life. Though this is not a linguistic analysis, it is of note that participants expressed their relationship to embodiment through phrases that had developed as part of the sixties lexicon (Barrett, 2002). These phrases again point to a heightened sense of body habitation. The language of embodiment that came out of the sixties, with phrases like, "my body is speaking to me," describe an acceptance of embodied physical intelligence. This intelligence is the sum of the many embodied facets of the sixties social rupture. Body intelligence, again, speaks of agency, control or ownership, and a heightened sense of relationship with one's body. More women disclosed detailed descriptions of biological body changes than did men. Men discussed the topic but not necessarily in such intimate detail.

 Music and dance, another expression of the physicality of the sixties, are also facets of the mnemonic community. Music was at the centre of sixties (Brake, 1980; Frith, 1996; Hebdige, 1975; Green, 1999; Marwick, 1998). Music changed rhythmically to reflect African beats and this introduced a new way of moving. Cream drummer, Ginger Baker, called it a "change in time" (Bulger, 2012). For many of the interviewees, the music of the time lives in their bodies, their personal memories, and is part of their present day lives. The rhythms shaped their sense of body habitation. Many participants described dancing in the sixties and some still dance to that music today. The following quote captures the essence of body habitation and the core importance of rhythm:

A sound precipitates air, then fire, then water and earth – and that's how the world becomes. The whole universe is included in this first sound, this vibration, which then commits all things to fragmentation in the field of time. In this view, there is not someone outside who said, "Let it happen" (Campbell and Moyers, 1988 p 63).

Those rhythms are an embodied collective memory that is reignited through the replaying of the music of the sixties in adverts, films, radio, television, shopping malls, and other spaces. Along with the rhythms, there is the collective memory of the musicians who played and currently play that music. Participants discussed bearing witness to their ageing musician heroes. Their ageing, and the continuation of their careers as performers and public figures, are a reminder of the postwar generation's continued cultural presence. The ageing and agency of such public figures is also a reflection of that generations' own ageing and sense of agency. These musicians have a place in the mnemonic community of this generation and a role to play in the definition of ageing for the cohort.

The rhythms of the music that their bodies listened and danced to together were held within the participants' collective memory. Some interviewees continued to dance to or, at the very least, actively choose to listen to the music of that time. Some participants described the music of the time as nostalgic. For others, the music still had a freshness. Yet other people discussed it with a mix of feelings. Scraps of remembered lyrical references and descriptions of current and past concerts were brought up during the course of the interviews. There is an interpenetration of past and present and even surreal glimpses of the future embedded in the music and the lives of the musicians of the sixties. Many of the musicians are older than the postwar generation fans and their ageing faces and bodies (those who have not gone under the knife) are a presage of things to come. Many of them still tour and make new music, continuing to be generative and creative while others play the nostalgia card. Some interviewees noted this in the course of their interviews. It is as if the musicians of the sixties carry an encoded embodied message about what ageing is and what it looks like. The physicality of musicianship is an affirmation of the life and vitality of the body, which these iconic figures of the sixties demonstrate as they publically age.

Expectations, body habitation, image and presentation

'Expectation' is a loaded word in this context. Participants did expect that they would continue to experience the biological body changes that are associated with the ageing process. They expressed fears as to where those changes would lead, such as a lack of mobility, frailty, and death. However, there were also other kinds of expectations as to what life ahead could accommodate. As Julia stated, referring to previous generations, *we have a lot more expectations*. An extended period of embodied agency is central to those expectations. It is a shift in the sense of body ownership, agency or embodied self-possession that comes from the participants' lived experience of physicality or life of the body. It is at the core of interviewees' discussions of their embodied experiences throughout their lifetimes.

A deepened sense of body habitation, or a more conscious awareness of embodiment, was demonstrated through participants' interest in exercise and fitness. As noted in the data, participants did not approach exercise as a regime or duty (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000) but, instead, as a pleasurable activity. Most interviewees clearly enjoyed the physicality of using their bodies in active ways. This pleasurable activity can be framed as part of a fuller awareness of the life of the body. Lifelong or more recent engagement with self-motivated fitness and exercise was an abiding feature within the data. Again, this underlined the identification with embodied life that comes with a sense of body ownership and control. Interviewees described bodily activity as enjoyable and a means to an end. That end being, a more comfortable habitation in their bodies rather than 'successful ageing.' They liked the feeling of more flexibility, stamina, vitality, and the like. Though there were a number of gardeners, golfers, cyclists, and walkers in the group, there were also many people who engaged in

running or gym routines/classes, which are activities that have become prominent during their lifetimes. It is important to note that the participant group engaged in a range of new and old ways of using their bodies throughout their lifespans. A focus on exercise and fitness is not new, but rather woven into the fabric of their embodied lives. Many participants expressed a sentiment that, as Gill stated, *I want to feel good in my body….*

Feeling good about one's ageing body was expressed as part of the paradox of ageing. Much has been written about ageing body and the biomedical gaze (Powell et al, 2006; Powell and Biggs, 2003; Gilleard and Higgs, 2000; Katz, 2000), but the biomedical gaze connotes a relationship of power-holder and disempowered. Within the interview group, there were a number of indications (as stated above) that they did not feel trapped under the biomedical gaze or, at the least, that gaze was mitigated. Instead, as Margaret stated, *I'm mapping my own course* that included a strongly defined sense of embodied self, an acceptance of ageing body, and a wistfulness or sadness for the bodies of their youth. The steady, ongoing movement of time that carries us all was discussed directly and indirectly throughout the interviews. Participants discussed their sense of their physicality with a dual vision – that of control and ownership and the feeling of their embodied selves caught within time. There was the recognition that the movement of time was marking their bodies with age. As Grace stated, *It is a paradox, it's a paradox. Live with the paradox*. Despite the paradox of ageing body, there was no sense that the changes were, in a psychological sense, ego dystonic or at odds with their self-identities. In other words, the acceptance of ageing body changes in tandem with a positive perception of self – a positive body image. That participants were able and very willing to share with friends and family member's intimate conversations about their changing corporeal ageing selves is an expression of a lack of shame. It also speaks directly to the theme of generationality and the more open stance to the physicality of life. Non-competitive body talk, sharing rather than comparing ageing body changes, was the norm throughout the data. The generation that would not trust anyone over 30 has about doubled that age. The paradox of ageing for the participants was a multilayered interlacing of time and embodiment.

Clothing and fashion have a direct relationship to body (Wilson, 2003; Twigg, 2007). Changes in body shape also bear a direct relationship to clothing choices (Twigg, 2007). Though clothing and fashion were not included in any of the questions, the subject came up frequently during the course of the interviews. Both men and women discussed clothing and fashion in the interviews, though more women spoke about their fashion choices and choice of looks/identity than did men. Significantly, men and women both described the way they had dressed in the sixties in equal detail and frequency. Up until the sixties, adolescent clothing was just smaller adult clothing (Rawlings, 2000), with the exception subcultural styles. The most ubiquitous item of clothing to come out of this period is jeans (Miller and Woodward, 2012). Many people started wearing jeans all the time; for many, throughout their lives, it became their everyday choice of clothing. I noticed many people were wearing jeans in

the interviews – designer jeans, comfort jeans, loose jeans, tight jeans – there was the whole gamut. Gilleard and Higgs state that designer jeans are associated with youth and anti-ageing tactics (2000). Alternatively, a well-fitting, distinctive pair of jeans has occupied a particular place in the fashion lexicon for the postwar cohort going back to the days when they dried jeans on their bodies to ensure just the right fit (Rawlings, 2000; Potter, 2012). The regularity of jeans aside, people (of both genders) used words like experimental and quirky to describe their sense of style or presentation of self. The discussion of clothing and personal style was a frequent topic during the interviews, which connotes a concern with self-presentation. That said, much of the discussion revolved around creating ones' own sense of style, wearing what you liked, you felt comfortable in, and was comfortable to wear. The moral imperative of dressing appropriately for one's age was part of the discussion, but appeared to play a more minor role than described in some of the literature (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000; Clarke et al, 2009; Clarke and Korochenko, 2012). The sixties, as described by participants, marked a break from the previous generations in multiple ways. Clothing was described as part of this break or generation gap. Within the participant group, people from all classes and genders described the differences they perceived in their interest in, and enactment of, self-presentation, compared to that of previous generations. Participants did not describe reaching for a look of agelessness or something that was strictly age ordered. Instead, in the case of a number of women, they were creating their own sense of style. This is an echo of the *Advanced Style* project. Started in New York City, this photo project, book, and soon to be film centres around images of older women (mostly) and their quirky clothing. Images and articles have appeared in newspapers here (Guardian and Telegraph), blogs, and other media outlets. The earlier images tended to focus on expensive accessories and clothing but that has shifted. Several interviews described it as an admirable look/style. Other participants discussed choosing their own style and dressing unconventionally. Put within the context of the fashion choices of their youth, it is an interesting mix of self-expression and identity, an expression of agency, and consumerism. It is the quirkiness and, for some participants, the desire to create their own look that was a departure. This unconventionality was largely a gendered phenomenon, but there were a few men in my research who did discuss their current fashion choices and wardrobe.

Embodied identities

Self-presentation, body image, chronology, generation, intergenerationality, reflection, the interpenetration of personal and public, past, present, and future, and cultural and personal mythologies are all elements that make up our identities. In many of the life 'tellings' participants conveyed to me, there was a certainty that they held multiple identities. The notion of multiple identities is not a new one in systemic psychological thinking (White and Epston, 1990; Freedman and Combs, 1996). Gullette discusses the notion of age identities as a cultural construction (1997). This is counter to the notion of a consistent core identity that is stable and, sometimes referred to as

the sovereign self (Biggs, 1999, 2004; Hall, 2000). Featherstone and Hepworth's *Mask of Ageing* (1991) theory describes a younger self living in an old body. Instead, our interior selves can be described as a map of identities - young and older, public and private, professional and personal - that all live inside us and move back and forth from foreground to background. These shifting identities are not a measure of instability, but, instead, of the flexibility and agency of our humanness (Epston and White, 1992; White, 2007; Freedman and Combs, 1996). Participants described not just their younger selves in memory, but in materiality, as well as older selves. Their acceptance of the course of life and time as their bodies changed, and the realization that they had, indeed, lived more years than they had left to live, were clearly constitutive forces, shaping the development of an ageing identity. There are both cultural and embodied aspects to the description of multi-identitied beings. It is the nature of our changing bodies throughout our lifetimes, within the temporal dimension, that integrates with cultural and personal experiences to form identity. This is demonstrated throughout the data in the embodied descriptions of participants' development of ageing identities. When Bruce states, *It is difficult to say that, because you don't know what 25 felt like*, he is contemplating the movement of time, embodiment, and identity. How can we possibly know who or what that 25-year-old self was in the context of a sixty-year-old self, and all the life in between those two ages? Age is only one factor in storied identities.

The many references to 'our generations' and 'we' indicates that, in part, interviewees' identity was formed by a reflexive and reflective process as part of the social matrix of their generation. Participants identified as part of a mnemonic community through music, women's liberation, the Pill, and the NHS, among a myriad of shared experiences and history. Of course, each person I interviewed had their own identities and stories that exemplified who they were. But what of the collective experiences and commonality of stories? This too, influenced identity and left its mark on who they were becoming as older people. The many stories I heard in the interviews were 'counter-stories' (White and Epston, 1990) to the cultural mythology of ageing. It is not about a collective resistance to oldness, but part of the collective embodied experience of time and the times that have influenced the meaning of ageing and who the participant group were and are becoming.

Repeatedly, while reviewing the data, it was striking the comparisons made between 'us', this generation, and previous generations in terms of ageing embodied identities. There were many personal stories of family members, godparents, or older family friends. The stories were, in many ways consistent with the preferred cultural narrative or mythology (the culturally accepted story of ageing). The question loomed: was this simply a matter of internalised ageism? The research group did not want to become that old person that lived in their memory. From the perspective of the data, it is not possible to say definitively that internalised ageism was not in the mix of the discourse. What can be stated clearly and definitively is that the myriad of aspects discussed in this and previous chapters point to a shift in the embodied sense of self experienced by the participant group. That shift

is a departure point from previous generations. There is a tension between those old cultural narratives and the lived experience of the participant group. I emphasize here the notion of lived experience rather than ideas of resistance to past ideas or ways of ageing. We all live with current cultural narratives of beauty or gender or athleticism that reflect back to us who we are in relationship to those narratives. What was striking within the interview group was the resistance to those reflections and the noncompetitive generational stance taken by participants. There was almost no talk of "that is other people but not me" or "people tell me I don't look my age" or "staying young at heart," as stated in some literature. Instead, there was the opposite stance: *I look my years*. Though many women disclosed that they used some kind of skin creams, many people stated unequivocally that they would not do any invasive procedures. Ageing was part of becoming. Becoming was a word frequently used in the interviews, meaning unfolding or evolving – taking on another layer of embodied identity.

During the course of this research, I interviewed my sister. That interview was not included in the body of this work, but I am including the following story because it so powerfully captures this notion of identities. She was at the public library and began a conversation about a book with a young man dressed in biker leathers. It was a comfortable conversation between two people who like books. At one point in their talk, she had, what she called, an existential moment – she thought*, he only sees that he is speaking with an ageing woman, I am, to him, just old*. This moment of taking on and accepting the identity of an 'older person' (as my sister described it) is defined by interaction and is relational. As with all identity development, it is interactional (Bamberg, 2011). My sister's story makes blatant what underpinned the narrative content in many of the interviews. This is the conundrum of ageing body and time – we are ageing but also there is so much more to us. We have, in chronological years, a long-time of embodied experience through which our identities have evolved. Perhaps, this is why the participants in my research had so much to say about so much of their lives – they were creating a picture that included their multiple identities. Interviewees discussed activities, relationships, likes and dislikes, and ways of being that did not fit into any age ordered schema. They described a sense of liberation that allowed those multi-storied embodied identities to come to the foreground, and how they enacted those identities in their daily lives.

Universality and difference
I see people in the park, forgettin' their troubles and woes
They're drinkin' and dancin', wearin' bright colored clothes

All the young men with the young women lookin' so good
Well I'd trade places with any of 'em, in a minute if I could

I'm crossin' the street to get away from a mangy dog
talkin' to myself in a monologue
I think what I need might be a full length leather coat
Somebody just asked me if I'm registered to vote

The sun is beginnin' to shine on me
But it's not like the sun that used to be
The party's over and there's less and less to say
I got new eyes, everything looks far away (Dylan, 1997)

These lyrics might have been written, at a pensive moment, by an ageing person from any time, but they were written by the troubadour of the postwar generation. There is something universal about ageing. It is the physicality of ageing and the embodied sense that death is closer rather than something in the far distant future that structures the universality of getting older or old. Though, ageing does not necessarily mean corporeal decline but, instead change. It is time marked in body. That said, the experience of embodied ageing is universal in its physicality and, also, culturally constructed. The interplay of time and embodiment is part of the human experience of ageing. Participants discussed what they had learned about ageing from observing previous generations. Some participants described direct knowledge and, in a few cases, wisdom that was passed on to them and that they felt had been useful and/or valuable. Many other interviewees said that they had learned something about ageing from previous generations by default – in other words, they did not want to approach ageing in the same ways. Regardless, of where participants fell between these two groups, most people described differences between their generation and previous ones.

 A number of participants described grandparents, parents, other family members, and other older people they had known as more passive and confined to 'set' roles than they currently were or intended to be, as they got older. Interviewees, across the spectrum, stated that they were not willing to be 'old' in the same ways that previous generations had been. Whether these were the passivity or the kind of "fun, fun, fun" that some people described as their parent's retirement, this was not what people wanted out of this last phase of their lives. A number of people expressed frustration that there were no "role models" for them in terms of ageing.

It is obvious that the much-ballyhooed generation gap that had led to an emotional sense of fracture (Marwick, 1989) has long since ended. What has remained is a strong sense of the flow of embodied time, of inter-generationality. The discussion of generational difference in so many of the interviews

exemplified the profound understanding that the postwar cohort was but one small grouping in the long embodied continuum of humanity within the temporal dimension. On the individual level, it was the stories that described family genes, longevity, hair colour, or some material mark that was passed on from previous generations, and passed on again to participants' children. There were descriptions from some interviewees about what had been bequeathed to them as a generation. The depth of concern about what the postwar cohort was preparing to bequeath to those after them was an emotional topic for many interviewees. Many people were concerned about the future and where the world is headed, whether they had children or not, or whether they would be around to see the future or not. Connecting to younger generations, and not just through family ties, was an important value for many participants. All of this amounted to a conscious inter-generationality. The postwar generation, from the beginning, held a strong sense of itself as a generation. This conscious sense of "us" came to be through multiple factors, from media preoccupation (Twigg, 2012) to intragenerational connectedness that was built over a lifetime. There is something about this quote from The Who lead guitarist, Peter Townsend, that sums it up in sixties style, *There was a bulge, that was England's bulge. All the war babies, all the old soldiers coming back from the war and screwing until they were blue in the face – this was the result* (quoted in Szatmary, 1996 p 102). This generational consciousness has given rise, throughout the cohort's lifetime, to a kind of loudness, a kind of, *this is the way we do things*. Thus, there is a critique from the participant group describing how past generations have behaved through the last segment of their lives and an intention to do things differently.

Deep time and dynamic legacy

One of the most, if not the most, important factors that allows the participant group to imagine a different ageing is longevity. The notion of 'deep time' was a theme that ran throughout the interviews. Age standardized mortality rates were the lowest ever recorded in England in 2011 (ONS, 2012). This has been a trend throughout the lifetime of the postwar generation (Bytheway, 2011; Gilleard and Higgs, 2005; Wilson, 2000). There were a number of direct and indirect indicators within the interviews, that standing as witness to a changing mortality demographic has profoundly shaped the postwar generations' definitions of ageing. Deep time is the embodied knowledge that they may live to be around for a century or, at least, an extended period of time well beyond the traditional three score and ten. Deep time is durational; it is the possible length of a lifetime. That sense of longevity is a conscious embodied awareness of timespan. Participants discussed it in their chronological reckonings and in their sense of the future. At the same time, interviewees experienced the evidence of their own biological ageing and bore witness to the body changes of their peers. That is not to say that participants drew a straight line from ageing body changes to mortality. A number of interviews contained descriptions of healthy people who had died suddenly or more slowly of

diseases like cancer. Death, the end of their time, was on the minds of many participants. There was a matter-of-fact quality to the discussions, as if to say, this is what happens, it happens to all of us and it will happen to me.

It is of interest to note that there did not appear to be a tension between the possibilities of extended longevity and their ageing bodies. Instead, there was an acceptance of biological ageing that included *aches and pains*, a change of pace or *slowing down*, and/or changes in short-term memory and the like. Paradoxically, even though many people discussed extended lifespans, they also openly discussed death and their fears about possible futures that included physical infirmity and frailty. The knowing of deep time and the acceptance of the ageing process have led a number of interviewees to imagine a generative future. It is important to consider the psychological aspects of deep time. There has been some discourse within gerontology that there is a segment of the ageing population that is behaving inappropriately – younger and/or hipper (Gilleard and Higgs, 2000, 2005; Andrews, 1999). Within the context of an extended number of years or deep time, this is not a faux-play at youth, but instead a psychological shift to account for deep time. The vast majority of people within the participant group could be put in that category. Their sense of futurity coupled with their acknowledgement and ongoing process of acceptance of body changes were psychologically aligned with the possibility of a longer lifespan. Consider that twenty years ago, one would retire at 65 with the expectation that there were a very limited number of years left. Now, at 65, it is realistic to consider a future of, at least, another twenty years. The shift is not just chronological but has deep psychological implications that were evident in the participant group. In the data, there was much discussion of chronological reckoning and a strong sense of agency when discussing the future. It is important to note that this sense of agency was coupled with normative fears of the future, in terms of finances and health. Acknowledgement of the physicality of ageing was not limited to a vision of the Third Age, but extended forward into reflections of deep old age and frailty. The sense of life extension was not a taken-for-granted concept, but more one that interviewees viewed with a sense of gratitude and appreciation. The internal development of deep time has enabled people to imagine and plan for a future that is both productive and satisfying.

Finitude is time's most defining feature (Elias, 1985). The sure knowing of death structures our society and individual lives. Interviewees held a double vision; they were consciously aware of finitude but, at the same time, they discussed beginning a new phase of their lives, which they described in generative terms. This was not the same idea as 'living everyday as if it were your last.' It is a wider definition of acceptance of life's transience, ageing embodiment, and many of the values and/or ideas that were developed during the sixties discussed in this chapter.

A reading of some of the most popular song lyrics of the sixties points to world problems and social change (Szatmary, 1996; Breen, 2004). There is an agreement among social theorists that trends in popular culture reflect public sentiment (Tucker, 2010). In this case, there was an interchange between musicians and their public as they reflected each other's desires for social change. Utopian imaginings and action happen at times of social rupture or turbulence (Winter, 2006). The sixties were no exception to this. The rhetoric and, in some cases, actions that were predicated on the notion of social change were part of the sixties cultural landscape. It came in the form of liberation movements, anti-war organizing and the CND, and the like. While only a minority of young people were directly involved in these movements, the concerns of the day and a focus on a better world were part of the sixties, and reflected in the music. Regardless of where participants sat on the political spectrum, the majority of people I spoke with expressed a concern for the state of the world. They spoke of worries about the world as it would exist after their death, for their children, grandchildren, and future generations in general. Their concerns spanned the economy, climate change, the great disparity of wealth distribution, corporate and banking sectors exerting inordinate societal influence, and other issues. Their projection into the future was more than just talk. Many people spoke about spending the last phase of their lives doing generative work or undertaking a 'dynamic legacy' that addressed their concerns. The internalisation of an extended lifespan or deep time, coupled with the utopian rumblings of the sixties, was evident in the participants' current and future planning. Some people discussed larger projects, like a sustainable business or NGO, others articulated a more personal focus on volunteer work for a cause that was meaningful to them and jibed with their values, or a dedication to making sure that their grandchildren were loved, sustained, and infused with values that they believed were important. The knowledge of finitude was present as an undercurrent in the discussions about dynamic legacy. This was a counterpoint to many of the descriptions of ageing that they had witnessed in older family members and family friends. It should be noted that several participants discussed older people they had known as the inspiration of their own future plans and imaginings.

Body, embodiment, and time revisited

Bodies, specifically ageing bodies, are not entirely natural, nor are they entirely a product of culture and society (Twigg, 2004; 2007). Bodies live within the temporal dimension and temporality lives very much within the body. Time and body inhabit both the natural and the constructed. Together they are an integrated whole, playing off each other and completing each other. Bodies age in a long continuum of ways, which is an entanglement of culture, society, and biology. By the addition of temporality to the continuum, we begin to see how the old formulas, the fixed ways that age has been conceived of, are fraying or, perhaps, are more fluid than they have been imagined in the past. In some academic and public policy spheres, as well as in our cultural mythologies, ageing, for the most part, has been assumed to be a constant predictable process. There have, in the past been societal

moral strictures, appropriate ways of being an ageing person. Participants described dress, behaviours, attitudes, or what some called "decorum" that, as ageing people, they have transgressed and expect to continue to transgress. Interviewees, in defining who they are and how they want to construct their own ageing, stated that those strictures were no longer applicable. Gerontology has described stepping outside those boundaries as either resistance or denial. Several interviewees stated that they were ageing 'disgracefully' juxtaposed to gracefully. If ageing embodiment is, in part, a construction then, at this point in time, there is a changing construction of ageing embodied identity. It is not the proverbial, 'you are only as young as you feel' or 'young at heart' (which, was only said by one participant; the same man who stated his body had not changed). The lived experience of ageing embodiment is so profoundly intertwined with time, and the times, that it is not a fixed construction. The reality is bodies age and die which is fixed and immutable. This position is not straddling an ill-defined place, but is, instead, acknowledging that our bodies age and die but those corporeal events happen within a rich and varied context that includes the whole of temporality, culture, and society. This is not successful ageing, or ageing disgracefully, or a change in the definition of ageing gracefully, but a need to review the parameters of ageing itself. The concept of ageing is not a fixed state, and yet it is. This is the paradox.

Conclusion

Because of the confluence of events, the sixties era constituted a social rupture that was the collision of time and culture. It was, as described earlier, the end of the Victorian Era, an Era marked by its moral prescriptions. Many of those societal binders were loosened during the sixties, and continued to be throughout the lives of the postwar generation, who were at the centre of that rupture. Now that that same group is ageing, they are continuing on the path that was initiated around the time of their birth: loosening the moral bindings that had been part of the cultural construction of ageing. Like the sixties, some of it is of their own making and some of it is a result of what was bequeathed to them. Longevity is a gift from previous generations, being the result of the NHS, higher nutritional standards, labour saving devices at home and at work, and a relative affluence. The Pill, the Cold War and the Bomb, and Earthrise were embedded in time and informed the corporeal sense of the generation when they were young adults. The possible finitude of personal body and annihilation of the body during the Cuban Missile Crisis left its mark on the generation. The liberation movements added to this whole as another facet of the postwar cohorts' relationship to their embodied selves. Living through the liberation movements (and in some cases being engaged in them), as well as the changes these movements wrought, is posited in the postwar mnemonic community. Music and dance were important as the past and present interpenetrated each other. Paul McCarthy and Mick Jagger strut and swagger still. Participants described these antics with a mix of ridicule and admiration. For my own part, I throw in Patti Smith, with her obviously 'grandma' body, talking about her grandchildren in between songs but still spitting on stage. She is not a relic of the sixties but an

evolving personality. Her audiences, like those of the Rolling Stones, are filled with fans from teenagers through postwar admirers. The music and the lived experience of coming of age in the sixties, all of it, created a sense of common bond – an "us." Interviewees' shared talk of ageing body, whether through formal groups or informal friendships, was a core feature in the data. This sharing or comparing of notes is a marked shift from past accounts in the literature, which describe competitive ageing talk. The intimacy with which participants discussed their bodies, lives, and times was notable. Participants defined their ageing embodiment as different from previous generations they had witnessed, though they were aware of their place in the flow or continuum of time. This does not mean stopping or slowing the ageing process or cosmeticizing it through invasive procedure; it is more an embodied redefining of the process. Through redefining the process they are adding new layers to their embodied identities. Their sense of time moves more quickly as their inner pace seems to slow, but there is still so much left to do and the awareness of finitude lives in the shadows of consciousness.

If I could find the spot where truth echoes
I would stand there and whisper memories of my children's future
I would let their future dwell in my past
So that I might live a brighter now
Now is the essence of my domain and it contains
All that was and will be. (American hip hop poet, Williams, 1997 p 36)

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

The postwar generation had initiated cultural changes in the ways we think about gender, sexuality, and work. Would the postwar generation initiate a cultural shift in our notions of ageing? As I stated in Chapter 2, my original research question was somewhat naïve, and indicated a limited understanding of ageing. Instead, through my chosen methodology, I found myself following a more interesting and nuanced direction. In addressing the principle of generalization, Charmaz states that theorizing can result in "connections between local worlds and larger social structures" (2006, p 133). Because I followed the stages of grounded theory through inductive analysis and I am confident in the sampling and the validity of my participants' accounts, I can state a generalizable theory from this study, given certain parameters. The concept that of time and ageing embodiment are profoundly intertwined is a generalizable theory within the Post-Industrial Western population. Other more specific findings are confined to the UK postwar cohort. Because there were differences in both cultural and historical events throughout the Western societies, further study would be needed to establish a generalizable theory that extended to other countries which experienced the social rupture of the 60s. The study is replicable, given a researcher is trained in the theory and use of CMM.

Previous Knowledge on the Subject of Ageing Embodiment and Time

As delineated in Chapter 2, there is a body of literature that focusses on various aspects of time and ageing, for example generation or history. Lifecourse theory does explore time and ageing but from a developmental perspective. Elder's work, particularly his study, *Children of the Great Depression* (1999), looks at the cohort who grew up during that pivotal time in history and the specific influence of that time on their lives and sense of self. I review a number of authors who make a linkage between history and body - most notably, Foucault and Elias. Though Adam's work is deeply influence by the chronobiology, body is not an issue she explores in any depth. Adam's bodies are activity-driven in time. This is certainly not to fault her; her primary concern is an exploration of the temporal dimension and the workings of time. As far as I am able to ascertain, this study is breaking new ground by linking multiple aspects of time and ageing embodiment.

Findings

The findings from this study indicate that, within the postwar cohort, ageing embodiment and temporality are profoundly intertwined. The chiasm of time and ageing body influences the development of ageing identities. This connection between temporality and embodiment is not specific to the postwar cohort but instead may be applicable to other cohorts. Though there is a universality of the experience of ageing embodiment, there is also a specificity that is the manifestation of the interplay between time and body. For the postwar cohort, the configuration of

temporality, embodiment, and identity is situated in tandem with the universality of ageing. A heightened sense of body habitation and a recognition of embodied self-possession, or body ownership, are manifest within the interview group, and this is indicative of the experience of the larger postwar mnemonic community. Ageing body is intensely interknitted with the knowing that one is ageing, but also an understanding, a framing of what it means to be old is not a fixed idea or identity. It is fluid and that fluidity is time dependent. Chronology is not just a statement of numbers; it becomes a linguistic symbol for mean-making, especially when it is coupled with relative time. As I began to notice the perspectives of my interviewees were spoken from that and they told me their ideas had changed… relative time began to coalesce. The concepts of relative time and deep time are new concepts to gerontology. Relative Time (the knowing that there is less time left to life than has been lived coupled with a sense of finitude) influences the postwar cohorts' understanding of time. Bearing witness to previous generations' longevity triggers a shift in an internal sense of duration or lifetime. Deep Time is the expanded sense of longevity that colors life expectations and experiences of ageing.

The Study's Contribution

The theoretical results of this study make an original contribution to gerontology. This theory extends the work of the authors reviewed in Chapter 3, but most particularly Elias (1939/1978, 1992) and Merleau-Ponty (1962), as their work made linkages to time between body. Both Elias and Merleau-Ponty discuss time in their work though the specific connections between temporality and its many aspects and body are not explored in the work of either writers. The study specifies a range of aspects of temporality and explains how those aspects and ageing body/embodiment are intertwined. This research maps a conceptual framework that may be used by other researchers as a methodology tool or framework. Though the research is specific to the Industrial West, this methodological framework could be transposed to other cultures. The conceptual/experiential framework explored in this research contributes another layer to the body of gerontological literature that explores the many specific differences in the ageing experience.

I have also made a methodological contribution with this study. CMM is not a new theory, but it is a new methodology as I applied it to data collection. I was unaware at the beginning of the study that I was piloting a new translation of a qualitative interview method. I know from using CMM in non-research contexts, the method provided a pathway for people to discuss potentially difficult or embarrassing subjects. I was committed to employing this methodology because I was confident it would allow my interviewees to speak more freely about themselves than if I had asked questions that were either strategic or lineal which might have been interpreted by participants as 'leading' questions.' CMM is different than conventional open interviews in that: 1) the questions are carefully crafted prior to the

interview though new questions may be introduced that fall within the methodology, 2) all interviewees are asked the same initial questions and, 3) the interview is time-limited. The results are thick descriptions, rich data that opened the doors to the insights/key findings of this research. A further advantage is that CMM offers strong procedural transparency that is increasingly demanded by ethics committees.

Limitations of the Study

That said, it is important to point out the limitations within this study. Though the sample group was diverse, it was small. The sampling was diverse by design, which was both a strength and a limitation. The mix of class, geographical location, ethnicity, and race necessarily meant that there are a small number of representative interviewees in each category. In hindsight, it might have been helpful to conduct second interviews that asked about specific areas that came through in the analysis. As stated above, further study in other Post-Industrial societies, in terms of specific findings, would be of interest.

Further Study

During the time I was engaged in this research, I became aware of other periods of change that effected our sense of time. The invention of the telegraph and telephone or the invention of writing are two such time periods. I wonder what those changes must have meant to the human experience of ageing embodiment and time. Jenkins points out the postmodernist "conceit" of destabilizing identities, wondering about the changing times of the Renaissance period (1996). The sixties was my starting point, but it is not the end point. Researching this participant group, who came of age in the sixties, is of interest because the sixties social rupture highlighted a cultural shift. As I pointed out earlier, it could be seen as both an ending (of the Victorian Age) and a beginning (the postmodern era). Body was central to many of the changes during this period. By using the sixties in this study, I was able to place in sharp relief changes in a sense of ageing embodiment and time that might be more subtle in other cohorts, or, then again, maybe it would be equally marked. Further research of other populations and slices of time would provide more depth of understanding to the interrelationship between temporality and embodiment. The profound entanglement of body and time certainly does not belong to any one era or period. There is much to explore about the interconnection of embodiment and temporality, but also the meaning and experience of time and ageing.

Concluding Thoughts

I found the many references to 'us' and 'our generation' interesting and, at one point, wondered where the media accounts ended and my interviewees began. I realized that it is all context; there is not

'pure' experience. Was the sixties really the way I remember it from the present, and does that effect the meaning and validity of my current memories? No, it is all contextual. Did my memories of the sixties experience colour this study? Of course, but it is also part of the context, along with the subtle changes in my facial expression, etc, that were part of the interview process.

I thoroughly enjoyed the last three-plus years focused on this research. There were times that I had a visceral sense that I was not alone in my office. Instead, it was inhabited by my interviewees, Merleau-Ponty, Elias, Twigg, Adam, White and Epston, Kuhn and others, which has reminded me that I am not the sole producer of this work. It, like all things in this life, is an interpenetration, an entanglement with the past, present, and future. It is the work of authors who have bequeathed their knowledge and the generosity of my participant group that have collectively made this research possible.

Key to Research Participants

Arthur grew up in a working class family. The men in his family had worked on the docks in Bristol for generations. Arthur proudly followed the family tradition until the docks closed under the Thatcher government. After that he worked several menial jobs but is now retired. He is married with grown children.

Bill grew up in an upper class family. He settled in rural Somerset where he could maintain his passion for horses. He is self-employed as an equestrian advisor. Up until recently, he did much of the heavy work of building the courses himself. He now primarily work as a designer and advisor. He is married with adolescent children.

Bruce's family are middle class. He has been in education for 30+ years and is now retired. He now volunteers in the education sector. He lives in London with his long-term partner. They have no children.

Candice comes from a middle class background. She lives in London and works as an educational psychologist. She is married with grown children.

Charles stated that his family were "below working class." He worked in London as a counselor and a teacher. He has been a part of the co-counseling community for many years and acts as a mentor. He lives with his long-term partner and they have no children.

Elaine's family are working class. She and her husband ran their own business for many years. She lives in a small village in Somerset and works as a domestic cleaner. She is married with grown children.

George grew up in an upper class family. He is titled, but, like his father before him has chosen not to use his title. He is a retired engineer who currently works part-time as a fire alarm tester. He actively involved in union politics. He lives in Manchester with his wife and adolescent child.

Geri comes from a middle class family. She lives in London and works as a marketing and engagement director. She is part of an alternative community. She is single with two grown children.

Gill's family are working class. She moved to the UK when she was a very young child and spent most of her childhood living with her aunt. She lives in Bristol and works as a trainer and is actively engaged in community work. She is separated and lives with her two children who attend university.

Grace grew up in a middle class family. She lives in rural Hampshire where she is co-owner and company director of a thriving business. She is single with grown children.

Gregory comes from an upper class family. He is the company director in an investment firm. He lives in London but spends his weekend at his country home. Gregory is single with no children. He has a wide circle of friends who act as extended family.

Jack's family are middle class. He lives in London where he is the manager of a charity that works with older and disabled people. He and his wife have an adult child.

John grew up in an upper class family. He is a retired auctioneer who currently works part-time as a tennis coach. He lives in London with his wife. They have no children.

Judith's parents' were working class immigrants. She is a full-time activist, working as both a volunteer and in paid employment. She is single with a grown child. She lives in Bristol.

Julia comes from a working class family. She is retired but had been a legal secretary. She lives in rural West Yorkshire. She and her husband have grown children.

Lisa's family are middle class. She and her husband have their own business buying and selling antiques. They live in London and have no children.

Maggie's family is upper class. She works as a wife and mother/grandmother and runs a large house. Additionally, she stated she worked in the voluntary sector. She and her husband live in a small village in Gloucester.

Margaret comes from a working class family. She is the first woman to have not worked in the textile mills in many generations. She currently works as a care service director. She lives with her husband in Halifax. They have grown children.

Mary grew up in a working class family. She is a retired university senior lecturer. She works doing test marking. She is active in her community as well as engaging in the voluntary sector. She and her long-term partner live in a town in West Yorkshire. They have no children.

Mike's family are working class. He was mostly raised by his sister. He lives in London and works as a media director. He lives with his partner in London. He does not have any children.

Nick comes from a working class family. He works as a community social worker and he is also a professional musician. He and his wife have one grown child.

Patricia grew up in a working class family. She has worked in shops on and off since her children have left home. She says she is retired now and acts as a surrogate grandmother to a young family in her neighborhood. She lives in a village in Somerset and is a widow with grown children.

Paul's family are middle class. He was working as an executive in an international company when he was offered a generous early retirement package. He is currently completing a PhD. He is single, living in London with no children.

Rich grew up in a working class family. He is a well-established, non-fiction author and journalist. Rich lost both his son and long-term partner some years ago. He lives alone, dividing his time between rural France and Gloucester.

Roy comes from a lower middle class family. He is currently a university research fellow but had worked in the corporate sector up until recently. He lives in a village outside of Bristol with his wife. They have adult children.

Sally's family were working class. She took over raising her siblings after the death of her mother. She has always worked as a domestic cleaner. She is active in her community and the voluntary sector. She and her husband have a grown child.

Sarah's family were working class refugees but during her pre-adolescence they moved into the middle class. She is a poet and spoken word artist and has side businesses to support her work in the arts. She is actively engaged in political activism. She lives with her long-term partner in London. They have no children.

Stephan comes from an upper class family. He is the company director of a business in the forestry sector. Stephan is engaged in politics and does informal mentoring. He divides his time between London and his home in Scotland. He and his wife have grown children.

Suzanne grew up in an upper class family. She is a well-established journalist who currently works for a weekly news magazine. She is single with no children.

Val comes from a working class family. She has retired from her career as a head teacher. She is very active in her church and is in training to take a lay position. Val lives in a town in Somerset. She is single with no children.

Did you ever imagine turning __ would be the way it is now?

When you think about that time, the sixties and who you were – that whole period of your life - has it an influence in your life?

In what ways have you been surprised about changes in your body?

In what ways are the body changes you are experiencing different than you imagined? The same? (this question was asked if people discussed any body changes in the question above)

Who out of your past would be the least surprised at how you look now?

What do you imagine them knowing about you?

In what way has the ageing experience of people you have known been useful to you?

What would you like people to know about who you are now?

Who you might be in the future?

What is most satisfying about who you are now and in what ways?

Is there something I should have asked you that I didn't ask you?

In the past, have you ever put together the thought and ideas you are expressing to me today or is this a new experience of thinking about ageing and your body altogether?

APPENDIX C

Timeline and Research Tools

TIMELINE

Year of birth of oldest interviewees – 1945

Date of first interview – 11 October 2011

Date of last interview – 9 October 2012

Submission date – 4 April 2014

Below is a copy of the email I sent out to people who said they would be willing to disseminate. The copy below was sent to everyone who I contacted through email e.g. Bristol Scooter Club. I also used the same wording in notices I left at a natural health clinic

Hi,

As some of you know, I am doing a PhD and am ready to start my research phase. I would like to interview people who were born between 1945 – 1955 and who grew up in the UK. I would really appreciate it if you could disseminate the email below to anyone who you think might be willing to participate in the study. Participation involves a one-hour face-to-face interview. I am willing to travel to wherever to conduct the interviews.

Thanks much,

Naomi

Hello,

I am a PhD student at the University of the West of England. I am doing research on ageing and the post-war generation.

Whether you participated in the sixties (Mods, Hippies, GLF, CND, etc.) or not, I am interested in discussing your thoughts on ageing for my research project.

If this interests you and you would like more information, please contact me at when.im_sixtyfour@yahoo.co.uk or 07955 054 598.

Best Regards,

Naomi Woodspring

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Research Participant Information Sheet (*When I'm 64*: Baby boomers and ageing project)

When I'm 64: Baby boomers and ageing project

You are invited to take part in a research study about people born between 1945 – 1955 and their ideas about ageing. The following information tells you about the project. Please read this and then consider whether you want to take part. Please feel free to contact me with any questions you might have, or discuss it with others if you wish.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to find out about what baby boomers born between 1945 – 1955 think about the body changes they may be going through as a result of getting older and who they are becoming as they age.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you choose to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep, and you will be asked to sign a consent form. Once you have chosen to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I decide to take part?

If you choose to take part in the research you will be interviewed about your thoughts about ageing by a researcher from the University of the West of England, Bristol. The interview will last up to one hour. You may be asked to participate in a second

interview which **will be conducted through correspondence, either through email or by post**. With your consent the interview will be audio-taped. Once we have transcribed the audio-tape, the tape will be destroyed.

What do I have to do?

To take part in this research you are being asked to answer a brief questionnaire. If you match the needs of the research, you will be asked to speak with an interviewer, individually. The interview location will be decided upon by you and the interviewer.

Will what I say be kept confidential?

The views you express to the researcher are confidential. The only time your confidence can be breached is if you express an intent to harm yourself or others. When the research is published no one will be able to link the views expressed with you personally. Direct quotes may be used (with your prior consent) when we present the research findings of our research, but no on will know who said them.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

Possible disadvantages of taking part are that you will need to set aside the time to talk to the researcher.

What are the possible advantages of taking part?

This is your chance to have discuss your ideas about ageing and what it means to you to be a member of the baby boomer generation entering a new phase of life.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the research study will be presented to as a final thesis as a PhD project. In addition the research may be published in academic journals concerned with ageing and society and the findings may be presented at conferences. The results may be published in book form or be discussed in the media or other forums. Summary of the research findings will be made to available to participants and will be sent to you when the research is completed.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is being organised and carried out by a PhD candidate based at the University of the West of England, Bristol. The student/researcher and the University faculty are paying for it to be carried out.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has been reviewed to make sure that it is being carried out in an ethical and scientific manner, which will not put participants at risk. The research has been reviewed by the researcher's supervisory team at the University of the West of England, and University of the West of England Research Ethics Committee.

Contact for further information

You can contact the researcher at the University of the West of England. The researcher can be contacted at 07955 054 598 or when_im.sixtyfour@yahoo.co.uk

WHEN I'M SIXTY-FOUR RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____

Contact information (email or phone number):   _____

Gender: M   F

1. Were you born between 1945 and 1955?

2. Where were you born?

3. If you were born outside of Britain, do you feel British or more like you belong to your country of origin?

4. Did you grow up in a 1) working class family 2) middle class family
   3) upper class *family (please indicate the one class group that best describes your growing up)*

5. What is your current work?

6. If retired, what kind of work did you do?

Participant Number:

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

Title of Project: *When I'm 64*: **Baby boomers and ageing project**

Name of Researcher: Naomi Woodspring

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated ....

   ☐ (version ....) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time,

   ☐ without giving any reason

3. <u>I understand that direct quotes may be used when the project is written up, although</u>

   <u>they will be anonimized</u> ☐

4. I agree to my interview being audio-taped ☐

5. I agree to take part in the above study ☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____

Researcher   Date

                                        Signature

1 copy for participant; 1 copy for researcher

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