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EMPOWERMENT AND D&EMPOWERMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN, ASIAN AND WHITE BRITISH WOMEN IN THEIR THIRD AGE

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1. BACKGROUND

Our research had three main points of departure. First, there has been criticism of the overly problematizing and welfarist approach to the study of ageing generally (Phillipson, 1998). While there is a research obligation not to minimize the real social and economic difficulties which face significant numbers of older people, there is also a need to explore more positive aspects of later life and particularly those strategies and policies which might support 'successful' ageing. Rather than treating older people, and older women in particular, as the sources of social and policy problems, we need also to investigate the circumstances which enhance their ability to pursue satisfying lives.

Second, there is a need to counter the invisibility of Britain's Black and Asian older people in social and policy research. Until recently, minority ethnic people have tended to have a younger demographic profile than the rest of the population, resulting in a lack of research. The situation is now changing as the early post-second world war migrants reach later life, although minority ethnic groups still have a much smaller proportion of their population over 60 years (DSS, 2000). However, there is relatively little understanding of the needs and social position of such groups. Issues around the meaning and quality of life, in particular, tend not to have been addressed.

Third, it is now widely accepted that the experiences of later life become progressively feminized (Arber and Ginn, 1991). The proportion of the older women to men increases with age and more women than ever reach older age. Figures suggest that not all ethnic groups age at the same pace and with similar sex ratios. However, commentators expect the current situation, where generally there are more ethnic men than women in the elderly population, to be reversed in the near future (Owen, 1996). Additionally, the gendered nature of, and inequalities associated with, the life course also have consequences for the significance and meaning of the ageing process. Yet, there has been little systematic primary research or analysis of the constellation of factors involved and their interrelationship. Further, what exists is almost entirely about the white population, with the lives of ethnic group women again being largely absent from the literature.

In the original proposal we signalled our intention to undertake qualitative research with African-Caribbean, Asian and White British women in their third age in order to identify what older able-bodied women from differing ethnic groups prioritize in terms of quality of life and successful ageing and the implications of this for policy practice. Further on in this report we present a summary of some of our key findings and their implications for a range of policy issues. However, it was always intended that, in addition to its substantive findings, the research would contribute to both conceptual/theoretical and methodological concerns. In recent years theories about empowerment and disempowerment have had significant currency in research on socially disadvantaged groups, both in the industrialized and developing countries. Using Layder's (1998) idea of adaptive theory, which acknowledges both the prior existence of theoretical understanding and its modification in the context of particular projects, this research has developed and extended ideas about empowerment, generated in a development studies context, in relation to gender and ethnicity in later life (Rowlands, 1998). This has also prompted us to problematize the dichotomizing of 'structure' versus 'agency', which seems to be a feature of work on older people and to begin to develop a post-gerontological theoretical position.

The original proposal stated that 'the research will contribute to methodological debates concerning the ethics and practice of researching both differing ethnic groups and older people' (p 5). Later on in the report we address some of the problems and questions that have arisen as a result of conducting the fieldwork and which relate not just to the specifics of this project but to researching 'difference' more generally. Our thinking on these matters has greatly benefited from discussions with other GO researchers working with ethnic diversity and, particularly, from the three workshops which were organized, in addition to the main GO meetings, in order to focus specifically on ethnicity.

2. OBJECTIVES

The research focussed on the later life experiences of older women across a diverse range of ethnic groups. The concern was with what the women prioritized in terms of quality of life, differences and similarities across ethnicities, the influences of a range of cultural and life course contexts on these and the policy implications. The central research questions remain those outlined on page 4 of the original proposal but were organized in such a way as to allow the women themselves to set part of the research agenda by offering additional information. The research objectives were:

- To explore what is rewarding, what is debilitating and why in relation to ageing, gender and ethnicity

- To analyse coping strategies, how these might be enhanced and the role of enablers and enabling practices

- To contribute to the development of theorizing about ageing by locating the process within the critical framework of theories of **empowerment/disempowerment**

- To develop methodological awareness of the role of ethnicity and age as part of the research process

- To provide policy recommendations in the context of shared needs or differentiation across groups.

3. METHODS

The original proposal indicated that the research would be located in West and North Yorkshire, drawing on the co-applicants' existing contacts and networks (especially workers in the voluntary sector, drop in centres, clubs and black and minority ethnic elders groups) in order to find suitable participants and this is what occurred. It was intended to conduct 120 semi-structured interviews with African Caribbean, Asian (Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani) and white women aged between 60 and 75 years of age. During the process of the research our methods changed from a blanket approach of one-to-one interviews to a mixture of interviews, focus groups and some small group interviews.   This was for three reasons:

- Ethnically specific focus groups were a way of allowing participants their own ethnic space in relation to the researchers who were not of the same ethnic background. This meant that participants were not extracted from their cultural milieu and triggered reminiscence of shared experiences, as well as relating accounts of racism and

cultural difference. This would not have occurred in individual interview (see Phoenix (1994) on the black and white effect in interviews)

- Some prospective participants, who were happy to participate in groups, expressed concern about being interviewed individually.

- There was an issue for some minority ethnic participants with regard to being over-researched

The total number of participants in the research is, therefore, 150, broken down as follows:

FOCUS GROUP DETAILS

Ethnicity	Numbers involved
African Caribbean	34
Asian	43
White non-migrant	18
Polish	26
TOTAL	121

INDIVIDUAL AND SMALL GROUP INTERVIEWS

Ethnicity	Numbers involved
African-Caribbean	14
Asian	21
White non-migrant	18
Polish	6
Irish	1
TOTAL	60

It should be noted that the ethnic groupings consisted of the following subgroups:
African-Caribbean included first generation migrants from the Commonwealth of Dominica, Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad. Those from Dominica were mainly Catholic, while the others were mainly Protestant. Asian included first generation migrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Some of the Indian and Pakistani women had come to the UK via East Africa. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi participants were all Muslims, whilst the Indians who were Gujarati or Punjabi were Hindus and Sikhs. The Polish women were all Catholics and non-migrant white women came from both Catholic and different kinds of Protestant backgrounds. The Irish participant was Catholic.

3 1 of the individual interviewees also participated in focus groups. This gives a total of 150 participants.

All the minority ethnic women had at some time been married, although some were now widowed or divorced. The only never married women were in the white non-migrant group. A range of occupations and economic participation rates is represented, although a majority of the Asian women had never been in paid employment. The research covered rural, suburban and inner-city areas.

Atlas t/i was used to analyse interview transcripts using a number of codes relating to repeated themes.

It had always been our intention to give feedback to our participants. We issued two interim reports in January and June 2001, which went to all involved in the research. A Final Report will be sent at the beginning of May 2002. Due to our fieldwork experiences, we modified plans for the end of project seminar. Although agencies and gate-keepers were involved, we invited the participants to attend a day meeting in York in July 2001. 140 people attended, a significant proportion of whom were research participants brought to York in hired coaches. Preliminary findings were presented, together with an opportunity for them to have further input and discussion of these issues collectively, which some of them did through interpreters. A tour of the City of York was arranged during the afternoon. All of this raises the matter of how properly to provide recompense for those who take part in research ▪ itself an under-researched area.

4. RESULTS

Given the qualitative and reflexive nature of our work, no claims can be made about representativeness. Nevertheless, our data contains many insights and has been very useful in generating analytic themes and agendas for future investigation.

4.1 Quality of Life: Issues for Older Women

Broadly speaking, the women in the research focussed on eight major aspects of their lives and experiences to reach conclusions about quality of life:

- **physical and material factors:** leisure/work opportunities and activities; access to resources, such as housing and transport; environmental issues, for example accumulations of rubbish, fear of crime and lack of safety; and matters of embodiment relating to health, mobility and fitness

- **emotional issues, psychological well-being and social support** relating to: shared identity, especially language, culture and tradition; social networks of family, friends and community; faith and spirituality; and changing meanings and dimensions of time and space.

The following emphasizes some of the most significance aspects emerging from the analysis so far:

- **Health** is *the* most important issue in relation to quality of life for our participants, supporting other research data (Sidell, 1995). Despite having a range of health-related issues, the majority reported getting on with their lives and feeling positive about themselves. When interests were under threat due to health problems, participants spoke of their attempts to maintain those interests and remain active at all costs. This was across the board and many participants were active contributors to their neighbourhoods and communities.

- **Income,** although an issue, did not emerge as the most central in terms of quality of life. A range of income levels was represented. Although some women worried about their ability to pay bills and were unable to afford many luxuries or holidays, they did not

report this in terms of preventing them from following locally and domestically based interests, leisure activities or hobbies. Extra money was seen as offering the potential for more trips out and travel further afield, particularly for those with kin overseas. Although income may be enabling, and more of it would have been welcomed, generally the women did not put money on top of their agenda in terms of significance.

- **Mobility,** however, was seen as important in relation to quality of life. There is a huge range of mobility among our participants, partly related to the variation in ages but also because of differing resources and abilities. Some of our participants own cars or go walking in the Dales, while others are dependent on Access buses which need to be booked in advance. Regular bus services do not always meet the needs of older people and are often too expensive. There was a lack of city buses on Sundays to take some participants to church, making them reliant on expensive taxis. Others rely on **friends** or family to take them to the shops. In general, however, the women in this research saw mobility issues as challenges to be overcome rather than inevitable hindrances. While a small number spoke about problems of access and marginalization, for example from places of worship, even here ingenious solutions had been devised, through developing personalized rituals of praying etc.

- Many of the women's views about quality of life were linked, to perceptions of 'purpose' and, **second,** to that of 'being'.

- **'Purpose'** refers to having a clear set of roles or functions to perform. For example, participants divided into those who have kin near at hand and those who have relocated. The former tended to be the first generation migrants and white non-migrants who had lived in the same vicinity all their lives. The latter were usually the white non-migrant women who were among the financially better off respondents, and had moved, living in the suburban and rural areas. This meant they were rebuilding new networks, sense of purpose and mutual support, for which church, clubs and shared leisure interests frequently offered a basis. For women whose family was more geographically proximate, **'purpose'** is more likely to be related to them and to the **'moral economy of kin',** that is the agreed tasks, obligations and reciprocities which bind family members together. For instance, many of the migrant and white non-migrant women offered a service to their children by looking after grandchildren, often stepping in when parents were at work. This was seen as both rewarding and as making a contribution to socio-economic relations. However, there were also indications that grandmothers did not want to be locked completely into a grandparenting role, with some making it clear that they needed time off to do other things. For those whose family lived further away, the telephone was an important link. Face-to-face contact varied from yearly to once every two or three years. The high cost of travel was a determining factor in this for some and the busy lifestyles of their children for others.

- It is also clear that, in terms of **'purpose',** friendships and social networks, **community centres** were of particular importance to the minority ethnic women. In many cases they are crucial in offering a meeting point for sharing language, culture and, in some cases, seeing satellite TV from their country of origin. Centres based on ethnicity are important in terms of sharing identity, ethnic food, history, experiences and communal celebrations. This is especially significant to women who are isolated by their inability to speak English. Most of the centres which featured in this research are under-funded and feel they are in competition with each other for money.

- **Religion** is largely ignored as a resource for older people. However, it is highly correlated with our participants' sense of **'being'.** The majority of them have been brought up in cultures where religious practice is the norm and, for some, the migration process has reinforced their faith. A wide variety of beliefs is represented but basically there are two kinds of believers: **'traditional',** who do not move in the mainstream of society, and who either do not speak English as a first language or who do not speak it at all; and those who have a more **liberal** and **personalized** approach to their faith, who are more **reflexive** in their practices and beliefs.

- Most of the first generation migrants are devout and say that their **faith** has remained a constant and important presence throughout their lives. It is also very important to some of the white non-migrants. Even those who did not regard their faith as being particularly important described residual beliefs and religious practices and were reluctant to state categorically that they did not believe in God. The churches had an important social role as a well as a spiritual one for many women, especially those who were internal migrants within Britain and who had formed new friendship networks through their association with the church. For the widowed and never married, places of worship (apart from the Mosque) are among the few locations women can visit on their own to make social connections.

- For some minority ethnic women, especially Indian and Polish participants, there was a connection made between empowerment and being respected and valued by others.

- There was a connection between **life course events** and experiences of ageing and later life. For instance, many of our participants had had their education curtailed. The war experience was significant for many. For the Polish women, for example, it meant extreme hardship and loss, including deportation as teenagers to forced labour, loss of their families and a changed geography of their homeland. Other migrant women had training which they were not able to use when they arrived in Britain, for instance as nurses and teachers in the case of Polish and African-Caribbean women, with the latter, especially, describing horrific racism. This has effected their quality of life today in that they feel they have been unable to fulfil their potential, with employment history as crucial to current financial circumstances, especially in respect of pension entitlement.

- Many of the participants who had worked in the paid labour force saw **retirement** as a time of release from hard work, as 'my time to play'. For a few who had had careers, it was a period of adjustment to a loss of status. Some mentioned how time had shrunk in retirement and that they did not have the time they had expected for leisurely pursuits. This was due to increased commitments in other areas, for example child care and supporting community activities. Five non-migrant white women continue in paid employment into their retirement years.

- There are also **differences** in how participants felt at different stages of their lives in relation to **ageing.** Some Pakistani and Bangladeshi women reported feeling older at an earlier age than other participants, suggesting that women were old at 40 or 50. This was in contrast to the Indian and Polish participants who said they did not regard themselves as old until they were no longer able to do anything. Some Pakistani participants were mothers by the age of fourteen, with household, familial and parental responsibilities.

Some felt that the responsibilities they had at an early age meant they felt old even though they were young. It may also be that the perception of age changes with workload and responsibility. For instance, an African-Caribbean participant, who gave birth to four children in four years, said she felt younger now she was over sixty than she did previously. The majority of the first generation migrant women felt that they were not treated differently in later life, with many pointing out that there is respect for elders in their cultures. Interestingly, it was only the white non-migrant women who brought up the issue of the invisibility of women in later life, of being ignored or dismissed because of their perceived age.

4.2 Policy Implications

The previous section outlined initial findings in relation to older women's experience of quality of life. This section extends these findings by focusing on what interviewees and researchers regard as issues that are important for policy development. They are divided into those with national and those with local implications.

The national implications:

- Because of different perceptions of age in later life, services to older people need to be flexible enough to incorporate the retired and the 'unretired' retired.

- Since quality of life depends significantly on health, services need to be ethnically, religiously and linguistically sensitive.

- Interviewees suggested that residential services needed to be sensitive to multi-faith needs. These include quiet space, prayer mats, plumbing requirements, understanding the need for many of these older women to have a devotional life, the need to attend temples, Mass and so on.

- Lifts in communal buildings are important for mobility, otherwise elders can be marooned, as in the case of a sheltered housing complex, or excluded from worship, as in the case of a Hindu Temple.

- South Asian participants expressed a desire to get out and about and to have new experiences. For those of Pakistani and East African origin there was an emphasis on the importance of 'trips'. This was a need partially answered by their centres. Some of them had previously spent hours alone and were identified by professionals as depressed. There is an educational and social skills function to trips, including self-esteem and independence building. The practice of mobility makes people more mobile.

- In multicultural settings disadvantaged non-migrant white people can be excluded from the consultation process if it is assumed that all white people are homogenous. The project identified a group of white inner city non-migrant women who feel they are never consulted in relation to planning and services. This makes them prey to right wing propaganda. They need to be informed and involved in the development of existing and new service provisions. This would help them to feel less marginalized and alienated.

- This research has identified that some groups are over-researched, feel that they give information and see no tangible results. This has also been found by other GO projects. There is, therefore, a need for debate and collaboration between researchers and, where appropriate, working in partnership with community action.

The local implications:

- Within the multicultural city, services to the wider community need to be sensitive to difference and this includes minorities within minorities, provision for whom is **often** severely under-funded. For instance, in Bradford it is necessary to recognise that there are minorities other than Muslims to be catered for – for instance, in terms of sheltered housing used by Indian Hindu people.

- Because the centres for minority ethnic and non-migrant elders are so important they need to be adequately funded and, preferably, through a process which is not, as presently perceived, based upon competition.

- Some minority ethnic women felt there should be some shared facilities that could be used by all groups. Others were strongly against this. There need to be opportunities to meet in ethnically specific groups but also opportunities for learning English and cross fertilisation of ideas.

- In relation to the influential older women we interviewed, who mediate and offer support within their neighbourhoods and ethnic communities, planners need to create environments where these women have a voice. They should be included in strategic planning of services and those meetings have to make allowances for difference and have structures of support for the participation of powerful women, who may have conflicting agendas. There should be all-women groups for such consultation. It also should be accepted that real consultation requires outreach.

4.3 Conceptual and Theoretical Developments

Via the use of 'adaptive theory' (Layder, 1998), we have been developing Rowland's paradigm of empowerment, with its elements of 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power within' more fully to understand the experiences of the women in our study. The research indicates that older women are not necessarily disempowered by later life. They are also in different ways empowered and empowering, sometimes in similar and sometimes in culturally specific ways. To emphasize the vigour of our participants is not to dismiss their need for adequate support and services. However, empowerment and disempowerment are not set in binary opposition. Good policy and practice would build on what is empowering and not cause dependency and division. Empowerment is a difficult term to define but finding an alternative is equally problematic. Empowerment is not merely about giving services nor is it purely associated with 'doing' or agency. Feeling powerful or empowered has an ontological nature as well, a sense of self-worth, which may indeed derive from cultural input and personal output, but which embraces a sense of value that enables a person to act and to receive. What is empowering or enabling for one person/group is not necessarily so for another and will vary according to life-stages.

- First there are different kinds of empowerment. Access to resources alone does not necessarily translate into empowerment but is also related to perceptions of their value. In this context, differences of culture are highly important.

- Second, empowerment and disempowerment are relational concepts which have to be considered in the context of extent or degree. They are neither monolithic nor for all time, articulating a process, rather than a definitive state which fluctuates and changes over time.

- Third, older women located in different cultural and geographical spaces can be simultaneously empowered and disempowered in different ways. Not only is this emphasis on contextuality important but people can be empowered in some areas of their lives and disempowered in others at the same point in time.

- Fourth, life course events, as well as current experiences, can have both empowering and disempowering outcomes. Our women's different war-time and, for many, migratory experiences still effect their views of themselves and their lives today.

Using the above differentiated framework, we are developing a post-gerontological approach in order to reconceptualize later life. This term is borrowed by analogy from Bracken and Thomas in their development of post-psychiatry (2001), where social and cultural contexts are central to deconstructing psychiatry's Eurocentric construction of madness. The parallels here with social gerontology in respect of its Eurocentrism and assumptions of cultural neutrality are marked. We build upon post-psychiatry and upon critical gerontology, not only to centralise ethnicity but also to point out that the position of older women varies across cultures and, in some, contexts they are not as marginal as might appear. Post-gerontology looks for ways to affirm and learn from different cultural understandings of age and ageing.

4.4. Methodological Issues

Operationalising Difference

The original proposal named three ethnic categories of able bodied, older women between the ages of 60 and 75 for inclusion in the research. Immediately the process of accessing potential participants began, it became apparent that these formulations were problematic. Firstly, the ethnic groupings broke down into a number of subcategories which encompassed a range of cultural, religious and language differences. This raises questions about how far it is possible to go, within one research project, with regard to exposing the differences which exist within difference. Second, our interviewees, from a researcher' perspective, experienced varying degrees of disability, whilst still seeing themselves as ablebodied. This raises questions as to what exactly is meant by the term. The third issue relates to the meaning of age and how women from different cultures measure life stages differently, with some using elders' centres at a younger age than 60. Further, some women offered interviews who were older than the proposed group and problems arose in explaining why they did not meet the criteria for inclusion.

Non-matching of interviewer and interviewee

In social research it has generally been accepted that matching interviewer/ee is desirable. With a team of four and a project with a wide range of ethnicities, this was not possible. This raises the question as to how far *any* project committed to taking ethnicity seriously could ever undertake matching completely, unless it employs the services of a professional agency. The latter has implications for researchers' loss of accountability and control. This issue requires further researching.

Translators and rapport

Another issue which arose for us is in relation to language and the construction of meaning. Interpreters were used on a number of occasions and women were also interviewed in their second language, which raises different concerns, since this puts pressure on the interviewee. With interpreters, there may be discrepancies between the length of the interview, because of the translating, and the amount of information gained. Further, some interpreters insisted on speaking about the interviewee in the third person, thereby impeding access to direct quotes. There are also matters in relation to the translation process, for instance the Christianization of terms by the interpreter in order to make the researcher understand. An example of such a process was when an interpreter declared that an interviewee was 'baptised a Sikh'. There are also issues of power in working through male interpreters, through interpreters who know the interviewees or through professionals or volunteers associated with local communities. These people have their own particular political agendas, which may not be apparent to an incomer. They might use the interview as an opportunity for ventriloquism. One suggestion to combat the possibility of interpreter bias is to have the whole interview transcribed by a translator. However, this raises ethical and budgetary issues and, at the end of the day, there can be no linguistically absolute translation.

Lack of time and trade-offs

This kind of research really requires a partial ethnographic approach in order to build up participant trust and confidence. The short duration of the project meant that we had to find alternative ways of winning participant co-operation without being exploitative. For us this raises the question about the role of incentives in research, together with the little discussed issue of how trade-offs between researcher and researched seem often to be part of field work.

5. ACTIVITIES

The research team has been involved in a large number of activities of which only a selection can be recorded here:

Reports and action:

Haleh Afshar: Meeting about Muslim Women in Britain with Minister for Women Patricia Hewitt, December 200 1

Haleh Afshar: Home Office Gender Awareness Raising Day, January 2002

Special day meeting for 140 participants held at the University of York, July 2001

Network established between Professor Fatima Ah-Khan, Osmania University, India and the South Asian older women's Group 'Khushbu'. The group leader, one of our participants, has since visited Osmania University, July 2001

Papers presented at conferences:

Haleh Afshar

"Women, Age and Empowerment: Concepts, Concerns and Realities" keynote lecture at the inauguration of the International Seminar on Women, Ageing and Empowerment, Osmania University, India, February 200 1

"Age and empowerment: a cross cultural perspective", Ageing and Development Study Group Workshop held at Help Age International, May 2001

"Age and empowerment" DSA, Birmingham University, September 2001

"Old age and empowerment; a gendered perspective across ethnic and cultural divides" DSA Conference, University of York, May 200 1

Myfanwy Franks:

'Doing Cross-cultural Research in Bradford International Seminar on Women, Ageing and Empowerment, Osmania University,India, February 200 1

'Cross-cultural social research with older women in Bradford UK', Faculty of Letters, University of Rabat, Morocco, March 200 1.

'Identity and Ethnicities', Faculty of Letters, University of Kenitra, Morocco, March 2001

'Shouting at God: Some Older Dominican (West Indies)Women and Empowerment' DSA Conference, University of York, May 200 1

'You can speak to God in your own language: Some older minority ethnic women and faith in Bradford' BASR & EASRC in conjunction with the Faculty of Divinity Cambridge, September 200 1

Mary Maynard:

'Studying Older Women' Keynote Lecture, International Seminar on Women, Ageing and Empowerment, Osmania University, India, February 2001

'Studying Age, Race and Gender: Attempting Practical Theorizing, Keynote Speech, Conference on Knowing the Social World, University of Salford, July 2001

Sharon Wray

'Reconceptualising later life: women, agency and resistance'
DSA Conference, University of York, May 200 1

'What constitutes Agency and Empowerment for Women in Later Life? Towards the
Development of a Culturally Sensitive Theoretical Framework'
BSA conference, April 2002

In addition, papers have been given at the following seminars at the University of York:
Centre for Women's Studies; The Later Life Research Group; Centre for Housing Policy.

6. OUTPUTS

3 articles have been published in the GO newsletter. In addition:

Franks, M and Wray, S (2001) *Report to the Bradford Federation of Caribbean Elders*

Afshar, H., Franks, M., Maynard, M. and Wray, S. (2001) *older Minority Ethnic and Non-Migrant Women: Empowerment and Disempowerment in Later Life. Report to Bradford Joint Planning Team for Older People*

Franks, M and Wray, S (2001) *Interim Reports 1 and 2* (for participants and agencies)

Afshar, H., Franks, M., Maynard, M. and Wray, S. (2001) Empowerment, Disempowerment
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Afshar, H., Franks, M., Maynard, M. and Wray, S. (2002) Gender, Ethnicity and
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Wray, S. (in press) Women Growing Older: Ageing, Ethnicity and Culture, *Sociology*

The qualitative interview tapes and transcripts are being offered to Qualidata

7. IMPACTS

The results have already begun to feed in to the policy process via Afshar's meeting with
Patricia Hewitt and her participation in the Home Office Gender Awareness Raising Day. We
remain in contact with the networks of our participants and agencies that work with them.

8. FUTURE RESEARCH PRIORITIES

As a direct result of this research an application has been made to the ESRC under its
research methodology initiative. Focussing on an exploration of participatory research, this
has been short-listed and the full proposal is currently being considered.

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