

Exploring intergenerationality and ageing in rural Kibaha Tanzania; methodological innovation through co-investigation with older people.

Abstract

This chapter explores the value of using a co-investigation approach to researching ageing and intergenerationality. In a study focused on mobility and service access among older people in Kibaha district, Tanzania, 12 people aged between 60 and 70 years from one community were recruited and given training in qualitative research. They subsequently conducted interviews and group discussions with their peers in their own community and 9 other local villages. In both the training sessions and subsequent research studies led by older people the vital importance of intergenerational support for older people's access to services - and the difficulties experienced by older people without such support - was a recurrent theme.

The study builds on a small but expanding literature on the methodologies of co-investigation (mostly based on research conducted with children and young people), including positive personal experiences of two of the authors in developing research in this manner. It also builds on concepts and issues arising from the literature on older people and inter-generational relations in Africa, and on HelpAge's substantial practice and policy experience in Tanzania and elsewhere. Our findings from this study enable us to show how co-investigation can illuminate understanding of older people's lives and the role that intergenerational relations play within them. It focuses principally on the processes of developing a co-investigation approach with older people, including careful selection, age appropriate training and subsequent field support, but also considers inter-generational relations within the research team.

Introduction

Increasing attention is being paid to the relationships between generations in Africa, not only among academic researchers but also in the development agencies. This is motivated principally by two interlinked trends: firstly the relatively rapid population ageing being experienced in many developing countries; secondly the prevalence of HIV and AIDS which has left many grandparents and grandchildren supporting and caring for each other as a result of a missing or incapacitated middle generation. This is well exemplified by Tanzania, where with an official HIV infection rate of 5.7% and approximately 2 million orphaned and

vulnerable children (Unicef 2006), around 50% of orphaned children now live in households headed by older people, predominantly grandmothers and other older female family members¹.

Research studies have highlighted the reciprocal and symbiotic nature of such child-elder relationships in Tanzania and elsewhere, drawing on evidence gathered from those older people and children whose lives are so closely entwined together, often in difficult and impoverished circumstances (e.g. Whyte et al. 2004; Whyte & Whyte 2004; Ingstad 2004; Schatz & Ogunmefun 2007; HAI 2007; Kanya, Poindexter 2009; Skovdal 2010). Such marginalized population groups have commonly been engaged through methodologies such as action research and participatory appraisal. Far rarer, however, are studies in which children and older people have themselves played a major role in carrying out the research, through a process of direct co-investigation.

This chapter focuses on co-investigation as a means of exploring intergenerational relations, with particular reference to a research project where academic researchers and NGO staff [of varying ages] collaborated with a team of older people from a community in Kibaha district, Tanzania to jointly investigate issues surrounding older people's access to transport and mobility and its wider implications. Our aim was to develop methods which would help assess not only the direct impact of older people's mobility on their own livelihoods and health seeking behaviour but also the broader impacts on younger generations in their families and communities and related issues of inter-generational poverty transmission. Our investigations in 10 villages in this district demonstrate how intimately the mobility of older people is tied up with that of their children, grandchildren and others in the communities where they reside.

The co-investigation methods employed in this study are documented below in detail. We are aware of only one earlier study where co-investigation has involved the recruitment of older people (a HelpAge study by Ibralieva and Mikkonen-Jeanneret 2009). To our knowledge this is only the second study using co-investigation methods which focuses specifically on inter-generational issues, and the first to consider this from an older people's perspective. (A previous study by Clacherty, 2008, in north west Tanzania worked with children who interviewed their peers living with grandparents). Two of the authors had direct prior field experience of recruiting and working with community members as researchers (Heslop as facilitator with the aforementioned Ibralieva and Mikkonen-Jeanneret older people

study and Porter with young people in their teens: Porter and Abane 2008 and Porter et al. 2010, 2012). We both found the approach remarkably effective in improving outsider-generated research and/or development initiatives.

Background: how the study came about

The researchers who initiated this study came together from quite different but complementary backgrounds, conducive to the development of a co-investigative study focused on older people and intergenerational relations. GP is an academic researcher who has worked on mobility and transport issues in sub Saharan Africa for many years, has a strong interest in developing participatory field methods and had recently piloted and led a large mobility study in Ghana, Malawi and South Africa in which 70 young people aged between 11 and 21 y were recruited as co-researchers. After training, these young people undertook in-depth research with their peers in the villages and towns where they resided or were at school, bringing to the fore issues and questions which the academic research team arguably might not have identified without their prior investigations. These questions formed the base on which the subsequent academic and qualitative and survey research programme was based. The group of young researchers worked so successfully with their peers and the academic team that they built the confidence and enthusiasm to write their own booklet (available at: www.dur.ac.uk/child.mobility/ subsequently disseminated to ministries, schools, libraries and communities across Ghana and Malawi). In the course of that study, many interconnections between youth and older people emerged: in South Africa, Malawi and Ghana respectively, 14%, 9% and 9% of the young people interviewed in our survey lived with grandparents (usually grandmother alone); overall, around 20% in each country lived with other relatives/foster parents, many of whom were older people.

AH is a practitioner and researcher who has facilitated many studies with older people across the world including the work led by Ibraliyeva and Mikkonen-Jeanneret, (2009). She has been involved in numerous studies with older people covering issues such as social protection in Tanzania and with migration and seasonality in Kyrgyzstan & Moldova. Other collaborators [FB, ES, AT, MG] were involved with AH in the development of HelpAge's Cost of Love study in Tanzania (2004), their subsequent 'Building Bridges' project (2007) or related HelpAge projects. These studies focused on the negative impacts of HIV and AIDS on older

people, highlighting the care-giving responsibility for grandchildren that older people must take on after the death of children with AIDS and the importance of integrating older people in HIV and AIDS interventions. The investigations led to the development of an intervention model which is now being utilised by NGOs and government agencies in their work.

GP contacted staff at HelpAge International about a possible joint study because of the linkages between children and older people emphasised by the child mobility study and the wider potential implications for community mobility patterns. The ensuing discussions between us drew attention not only to growing concerns at HelpAge regarding the access constraints faced by older people, but also to our shared interest in co-investigation. Given these overlapping interests, the potential for a new study in which we would join forces to work with older people as co-investigators on a mobility study was evident. On the basis of the discussions we decided that the principal focus should be on older people's mobility and access to health and livelihoods.

Mobility, or lack of it, is implicated in many facets of older people's lives (Schwanen, Paez 2010). The linkage with health is an obvious one, as the need to access health care often increases in old age. However, income poverty is another common characteristic of Africa's older people, especially in societies like Tanzania where government measures do not provide universal social security coverage in old age (Apt 1997; van der Geest 1998; Heslop, Gorman 2002, Barrientos, Gorman, Heslop 2003; Aboderin 2004). Given lack of old age social security, continuing access to livelihoods is frequently vital, not just for the elderly to support themselves, but also to support young orphans and others in their care (Clacherty 2008; Mudege & Ezeh 2009). Obtaining a livelihood also tends to require some degree of mobility.

We decided to base our field investigation in Tanzania, because this is a country where HelpAge already had strong experience of working with older people's groups, and where the in-country office had previously identified mobility issues as of significant concern to older people, especially in rural areas. Following identification of a suitable study area and research team, we planned to utilise a three-strand research methodology, as discussed in the next section.

Developing a field plan: field sites and methodology

Once a full literature review of published and grey literature had been undertaken and funding for the research (eventually) secured, careful planning was needed to select a suitable study area, a team of research assistants, and find a small number of older people prepared to invest time and energy in the project. Kibaha district was selected for the research because HelpAge International Tanzania office had been involved in initiatives in the district for some years and had observed significant transport services issues for older people. In Kibaha district, HelpAge had worked with a local NGO, the Good Samaritan Social Services Tanzania, GSSST, which had established older people's groups in the town: thus GSSTS was recruited to support our project too. We were also able to build on knowledge gained from another HelpAge study in the district with Ifakara Health Institute - a local health institute aimed at enabling health practitioners to assess and understand the burden of non-communicable diseases among older Tanzanians. This work had already pointed to the high cost, unsuitability, scarcity, irregularity and unreliability of means of public transport on routes where transport is available (but not affordable or unsuitable for older persons).

Within the district we elected to work in one core village, Vikuge, where our GSSST collaborator already had links, but also identified a further nine additional settlements with varying access conditions for research. One village was located on the paved road [Kongowe], and nine along poor unsurfaced roads (five with a clinic, four with no clinic). Five research assistants with experience of rural Tanzania and relevant language skills were then recruited through Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA), a Tanzanian research organisation based in Dar es Salaam.

The project methodology was designed to incorporate three key strands in which co-investigation [as in the child mobility study] would occupy the first phase, setting the key issues for further investigation and analysis in the academic research component. The latter components would involve qualitative studies with older people and key informants, and then a survey questionnaire to older people to provide the third element of the triangulation.

The first element, *Co-investigation through older people community peer research* forms the focus of discussion in this chapter and is discussed in some detail below. In brief, twelve older people peer researchers were selected for training as peer researchers. They attended an initial one week training workshop [conducted in Swahili with English-Swahili translation as necessary] to develop some age-adjusted research methods and subsequently conducted

qualitative research in the field with their peers. We had planned that they would work in their own village and use young Research Assistants (henceforth RAs) in the second and third research strands to extend the investigation to the additional nine villages. However, as we note below, the peer research team decided to extend their own research component across the full study area.

In addition to the Older People Peer Researchers' qualitative interviews, *check list qualitative interviews* were also conducted by our five young research assistants [two women, three men, all in their 20s] using check lists prepared by the academic lead researcher. The check lists drew substantially on findings from exercises and discussions during the one week training workshop with the Older People Peer Researchers (together with some additional preliminary field investigation). Following participation in the training workshop with older people and a further training week, the young research assistants interviewed older men and older women in each of the 10 study settlements, some key informants, notably clinic staff and motor-cycle taxi [*boda-boda*] operators, and also some children who lived with their grandparents. Their interviews covered health-related and livelihoods-related transport issues. In total 194 in-depth interviews were conducted.

The third component of the study was the *questionnaire survey of older people* in the ten settlements. This drew on the preliminary qualitative research findings, and was administered by our young research assistants to older people. Our aim was to have a minimum of 30 completed questionnaires per settlement but in some villages this was not possible since the total number of older people present at the time of the survey was under 30: 339 fully complete questionnaires were obtained.

Findings on transport issues from the three research strands are reported in Porter, Tewodros et al. (2013). Here we focus on the research process in the study's most innovative component, co-investigation with older people from the study community, and the role this played in exploring intergenerational issues. We also reflect on inter-generational relations within the research team itself.

Selection of older people peer researchers: issues of inclusion

The participation of older persons as researchers in the initial stages of the study was central to the design of the research. Given the development objective of the project it was important to enable this older person perspective to help shape the methodology. All twelve older researchers were residents of Vikuge, our core study village.

In our selection of older researchers we aimed to include women and men of a range of ages 60 years and over, along the spectrum of able bodied to severely disabled. We subsequently added the criterion of literacy because we decided that it was important that older researchers were able to record their own discussions and field work observations. Although it proved harder to recruit literate older women, an adequate gender representation was achieved with eight men and four women. Age composition ranged from 59 years to 69 years: we were unable to obtain any people older than this willing and able to participate in the work. Most of the older researchers described themselves as farmers and some engaged in additional occupations such as masonry and cattle husbandry. A number of women and men held positions on village committees concerned with water, pastoralists, the local courts and village leadership. When asked about physical considerations, all older researchers highlighted problems with sight (most used spectacles) and four reported mobility difficulties. Despite these conditions, all the older researchers travelled 6 kms twice a day from the village to our one week training workshop on the back of hired motorcycles, known locally as ‘boda-boda’.

The workshop training process with the Older People Peer Researchersⁱⁱ

The central purpose of the training was to build the skills of the older researchers and the research assistants to carry out a series of interviews in the study focus village [trying out a number of research methods], to gather initial information about the transport and mobility problems of older residents [in order to build key research questions for the main research phase] and to agree a code of conduct. The older people’s feedback on both methods and questions during the training week was vital to the design of subsequent research in the ten study settlements. The younger RAs worked with, supported and learned from the older researchers [henceforth OPRs] throughout the training and fieldwork, in preparation for their subsequent role in the research.

The one week workshop included three half days of fieldwork practice in the core village, during which the OPR research teams tested interview methods for generating qualitative information on the following health and livelihoods-related themes: daily livelihood and

health journeys made by older persons; impacts of seasonal changes on transport and mobility; and means of transporting household produce, water and fuel by household members in which older people lived alone or with grandchildren. Four teams of four researchers were formed and team roles agreed (lead and second interviewers, observer and recorder). For the workshop week, each team comprised three OPRs and one RA. (Subsequently, however, the older person research teams operated in four groups of three, since they demonstrated sufficient confidence to undertake the work without any support from the young RAs and were happy to mostly work independently). Initially one team was formed solely of women in order to capture gender dimensions that might be overlooked by mixed gender teams. Feedback from participants after two day's fieldwork suggested this was an unnecessary and potentially unhelpful measure, and teams were re-adjusted.

As well as practicing and testing out the methods, the whole team engaged in regular synthesis and discussion of information gathered: this was of crucial importance in focusing our attention on generational relations in the subsequent field research. On the final day, having expressed their desire to continue with the study and to extend their involvement to research across the ten villages, the OPRs planned further information gathering activities for an additional few weeks. In order to extend their scope beyond their own village, they often travelled in small teams with the RAs to each of the other 9 settlements, using project transport, but worked independently there.

Inter-generational relations within the research team: experiences from the workshop (and beyond)

The one week training workshop, though focused primarily on the OPRs, was enriched by an extraordinary diversity of participant backgrounds, age variation and perceptions. The meeting was led by AH, the lead trainer from HelpAge International, but also included other local and international HAI staff, the lead academic researcher, the GSSST staff member, the five RAs and a national transport engineer, all of whom provided additional perspectives on emerging findings and on possibilities for subsequent practical interventions. Our five young local RAs worked alongside the older researchers during the workshop, at times supporting them, but in common with the rest of the group, mostly learning from the older people's experiences.

One of the interesting elements of this study was the relationship which evolved between generations within the larger research team itself, especially as observed in the workshop training week where the OPR and RA teams first came together. Although many of our wider team members were not much younger than the OPRs, our five young RAs provided a distinctly different generational element. During the training week the young RAs were present for two reasons: firstly to support the lead trainer, but secondly also so that they became familiar with key issues faced by older people and thought through how they would themselves relate in ensuing weeks both to the OPRs and to older people whom they would interview in strands 2 and 3 of the research.

The power dynamics involved in inter-generational research relations can be complex, as earlier work involving academics researching with children has indicated (Porter, Townsend Hampshire 2012). Co-constructed knowledge generated through a cross-generational process must raise questions as to the extent to which older people as social agents are really able to enter the research equation. It is possible that the OPRs initially perceived our young local RAs to be quite powerful, even intimidating, because of their urban, educated status and perhaps also because of their youth and evident physical energy, but over time the relationships between OPRs and RAs appeared to clarify into a seemingly different pattern, as we illustrate below.

We took careful note of how our individual young RA team members worked with older people [both OPRs and other older people in the villages] through the training week and were impressed by their courtesy and care in this respect. We asked the RAs to reflect on their experiences too, since none had worked with older people as colleagues or informants before: they were positive but pointed out the need to make adjustments for *“When you see an older person for interview, it’s different – they get tired.”*

Over the week, the RAs got to know the OPRs better and to understand how to help support them. Our OPR team also began to come forward with their own observations on age-related characteristics. The need for adjustment was noted when they interviewed some of their older and less literate peers in the villages:

“..We had to give her time to speak slowly ...” [male OPR]

“We had to slow down, he was repeating himself.” [male OPR]

At the same time, the RAs also started to learn from, and to be advised by, some of the OPRs, about how to approach and pace interviews with older people in the villages:

'Use your experience – you need to know your respondent – read the facial expressions, responses' [male OPR, advising RAs].

The following conversation took place between a group of OPRs and RAs reflecting on their latest field experience in a feedback session one afternoon. They were reviewing a joint interview with an elderly widow in the village:

Young male RA: *'she didn't want us to rush – it was a slow interview. We did that but the time [it took] was difficult. We had to wait for her to chew it and respond'*

Male OPR in the same team: *'It was difficult for her to understand the issues and she had bad hearing. With older people you may just need to take more time and explain things.'*

Woman OPR in the team: *Yes, many old people are trying to call for support so they may have a lot to say. Some of the women may not be used to being interviewed. They get tired. You can see the fatigue.'*

Both RAs and OPRs accompanied their observations by examples of how they adapted to issues of pace, hearing and understanding. Rather than seeing this as insoluble, both age groups showed the capacity to adjust and to be open to learning from some of the oldest and most vulnerable people in the communities where we worked.

The confidence of the OPR team grew over time, as they built up a strong knowledge of the difficulties and disadvantages faced by their peers in settlements across the district. One [male] member of the team, on the basis of the information the team had collected, had no hesitation in getting up at our final national review workshop in Dar es Salaam and lecturing the meeting – including the young Chief Medical Officer for Tanzania, who had been invited to open the meeting - about the needs of older people. Both male and female OPRs were observed to participate actively in the small group discussions with senior ministry and NGO staff which followed [all in Swahili]. We hope that the confidence they have built through the project will help them to take a stronger role in advocating for change in their own community in the future.

Methods and findings from the training workshop

This final section considers methods in which the OPRs were trained during the one week workshop and some reflections on issues relating to inter-generational relations which were raised through the associated exercises and thus formed the base for subsequent investigation in the main phase of work.

A variety of methods were demonstrated and tried out by the OPRs during the training workshop. These included visual diagramming, interviewing [avoiding closed questions, using ‘helper’ questions, starting interviews with open questions and avoiding leading questions], mobility mapping and mobile interviews [to gather information about daily journeys, including those made for livelihood and health care reasons] and seasonal calendars to further explore accessibility and associated livelihood and health issues. Participants also practised using a timeline to develop a conversation about daily carrying activities, gathering information on the types of loads carried, who carried them, what method they used, and how often various loads were carried during the day or a week. Although pedestrian load-carrying is widespread across Africa, its potentially important implications both for health and livelihoods are little studied (Porter et al. 2012, 2013; Porter, Tewodros et al. 2013).

The OPRs were able to work with most methods, with the exception of the mobile interviews. These proved difficult to arrange at the time of community visits, so instead the OPRs kept a journal for two weeks of their own journeys. The OPRs continued with this work after the workshop, electing to travel with the RAs to all 10 villages, where they worked in their own teams. In total they conducted 74 interviews.

In terms of findings about older people's lives and relations with other generations, the preliminary interviews in the training workshop and associated field trials in Vikuge provided important context and indicated many issues that we would need to explore in depth in the main field research component. The daily timeline interview proved of particular importance in exploring generational relations and indicated the frequency of symbiotic relationships in which older people support children in their care, while their young charges (beyond the age of about six years) are active on behalf of their grandparents and elders, carrying their messages, collecting medicines, going to the grinding mill, helping carry water and firewood and so on. (Though children may not be expected to reciprocate, Skovdal and Campbell 2010 suggest children often reciprocate in a conscious effort to nurture potentially protective social relationships from the wider social recognition these efforts may generate.) Feedback from field exercises, for instance, drew particular attention to problems experienced by older people in fetching water because of the weight of the load and distances involved; some were unable to carry it by head; some used smaller containers, increasing the number of journeys; they had to carry water even when unwell; and many depended on help from family and neighbours and timed their water collection accordingly. Interviews suggested how important help from grandchildren and younger neighbours was in this respect. One woman for instance carried a bucket on her head while her young grandchildren hauled a wheelbarrow with five 20 litre cans twice a day (in this case they need water for their two cows); in another case an old woman carried a 10 litre can on her head three times a day, accompanied by her small granddaughter carrying 3 litres. Grandchildren also participate in carrying firewood; they often walk 2 to 3 kms to collect larger amounts about twice a week (older women reported carrying 2 to 15 kilos – their grandchildren were reported to carry more). Older women without this help had to manage with small amounts of biomass debris collected from the farm or around the home daily. To explore carrying practices further, one of the main interviews was adapted to focus on how older people in 'vulnerable' households [where older people lived alone or lived with grandchildren without younger adults] obtained their water, firewood and food (farm produce) to the home and became a key focus of interviews in the main study.

The mobility mapping also showed how many older people walked up to one hour to their farms every day to cultivate the land and to bring home food - mainly cassava - for family consumption. Older people cultivate a fraction of their land, often just half an acre, due to lack of family labour and ability to pay for labour and other inputs. Some older people with little land or inadequate resources to farm and children too young to help farm in their care also told how they had to undertake paid day work as labourers to obtain sufficient food for the family. The table below shows the range of issues which emerged from the initial co-investigation with the OPRs during the training week.

Findings from the preliminary training workshop with OPRs which helped shape themes for further enquiry

* OP = older people

FINDINGS	THEMES FOR FURTHER INQUIRY
<i>Source: Mobility map interviews: daily / health & livelihood journeys</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fetching water is a problem for OP* - Many OP look after grandchildren with little help (most of the 97 orphans in Vikuge are cared for by OP) - Casual labour is part of livelihood strategy for some OP - Nearest road is generally passable but: potholes & mud in wet season, sand in dry season - High cost of transport affects OP's ability to access health services; health 	<p><u>casual labour</u>: how common is it among OP, which OP do it, who do they labour for, how much do they get?</p> <p><u>Income</u>: how do OP get cash income (pension, remittance, sale of produce); what are their travel needs for this?</p> <p><u>Health insurance</u>: & implementation of free health care for OP. Why do hospitals ask OP for insurance cards?</p> <p><u>Household composition</u>: how are older people in vulnerable/skip generation households supported?</p>

<p>emergencies a big problem</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health insurance (TSh 5,000¹ (US\$3,3 p/HH) often denied to OP even when covered by household insurance. - Journeys on foot, often to farm, very hazardous in wet season; snakes, fallen trees, mud. 	<p><u>Carrying:</u> How do OP transport water, firewood & farm produce to their homes?</p> <p><u>Boda-boda:</u> As the main local transport, how do OP use this form of transport and what are their views on it?</p>
<p><i>Source: Seasonal calendar interviews: seasonality of livelihood journeys</i></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main crops planted: maize, cassava, peas, lentils, cashew, rice, pumpkin.- Most OP grow only for household consumption, larger volumes, when produced, is sold at farm - Farm related carrying often hard for OP as mainly by head-loading. Mainly tools & seeds to the farm and food for household consumption and firewood from the farm - Most OP cultivate a small proportion of their land due to physical decline & lack of cash to hire labour and buy inputs - Few people keep animals 	<p><u>Older farmers:</u> What prevents OP farming all their land; do older farmers receive any government support? What is the definition of a ‘farmer’; what proportion of farmers are older people?</p> <p><u>Transport to market:</u> If OP could get their produce to market would they get a better price than selling at the farm gate? What are the barriers to selling at market?</p> <p><u>Methods:</u> What proportion of farmers use fertilizer; what prevents them?</p> <p><u>Cash income for OP:</u> What are the main sources of cash for OP; of these, which are the most valuable and why?</p>
<p><i>Source: Timeline interview: carrying water, firewood and food</i></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Main water source is wells, most run dry in dry season; some houses have 	<p><u>Alternative haulage:</u> how common is use of hand carts / wheel barrows for</p>

¹ US\$1 = Tsh 1500

<p>piped water to the compound & pay a monthly fee but flow is sporadic – one or two times a week or a month (different views);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family remittances to OP quite common & mainly delivered by hand; some send by phone requiring journey to agent in town - One example of cell phone use for business (ordering tobacco supply from 120 km away) - Grandchildren play key role carrying water & firewood in OP households 	<p>hauling water/firewood?</p> <p><u>Animal keeping</u>: How common for OP</p> <p><u>Care of grandchildren by OP</u>: How do OP ensure children attend & continue in school; how do OP manage (carrying etc) when children leave home?</p> <p><u>Remittances to OP</u>: How common is this; how is money delivered?</p> <p><u>Phone use</u>: What proportion of OP own their own cell phones or have access to one? What do they use them for; how does this affect their transport needs?</p>
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Conclusion

We set out to show in this chapter how co-investigation with older people over a one week training period substantially aided the identification of key issues for further research regarding older people’s lives and mobility patterns - including the extent to which their lives are bound up with other generations. Initial work by and with the OPRs showed how many older people gain access to services indirectly through both adults and children in the community: young people carry their messages, collect medicines, go to the grinding mill and help carry water and firewood. At the same time older people often have to care for and in large part support young grandchildren [sometimes with little or no material or financial support from other family members]. The OPR’s work, and the subsequent qualitative and survey research which built on it, suggest that the symbiotic relationships which develop in these difficult contexts, for the most part, benefit all concerned. However, a complementary study, with young people as co-researchers, focused on exploring inter-generational relations and

associated mobility patterns through the eyes of children resident with grandparents in the same communities, could add substantially to this picture and would form a logical extension of the work presented here.

A subsidiary theme of the chapter was inter-generational relations within the project research teams. The workshop week enabled us to observe the development of relations between our OPRs and a group of young RAs who had been appointed to help support the OPRs in their training week and subsequent studies, but also to then work on the larger scale [qualitative and survey] academic research study. This drew our attention to the power dynamics where research involves different generations and, in particular, to the power relations which may be at play when co-constructed knowledge is generated through a cross-generational process. We observed how, during the training week, there was a subtle change as our village OPRs grew in their confidence as researchers and repositories of significant local age-related knowledge and began to advise their more educated young urban co-investigators: subsequently this translated into interventions beyond the village context at our national workshop.

The involvement of the OPRs as co-investigators has certainly improved knowledge of older people's mobility issues and the extent to which the mobilities of older and younger generations are inter-twined in Kibaha district: the findings are likely to have relevance for much of rural Tanzania. At the same time, the skills the OPRs developed during the research process have the potential to help raise the voice and profile of older people in their community and beyond. Both aspects potentially have important implications for future development interventions: the task now is to take these forward.

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ⁱ Older people comprise 4.66% of Tanzania's 41 million population; 74% of people aged 60+ years live in rural areas. In a recent child mobility study

(www.dur.ac.uk/child.mobility), approximately 20% of the 1000 child respondents surveyed in each of three study countries live with people other than their parents. In South Africa, Malawi and Ghana respectively, 14%, 9% and 9% live with grandparents (usually grandmother alone); the remainder lived with other relatives/foster parents, many of whom are older people

ⁱⁱ The young field RAs for the academic component [strands 2 and 3] were also trained during this workshop week, to ensure they were able to provide adequate support to the older people researchers and to supplement this work with additional research, especially in the 9 additional villages.