Published by Berghahn Books under the auspices of the Association for Anthropology and Gerontology (AAGE) and the American Anthropological Association Interest Group on Aging and the Life Course.

The consequences of aging will influence most areas of contemporary life around the globe: the makeup of households and communities; systems of care; generational exchange and kinship; the cultural construction of the life cycle; symbolic representations of midlife, elderhood, and old age; and attitudes toward health, disability, and life's end. This series will publish monographs and collected works that examine these widespread transformations with a perspective on the entire life course as well as mid/late adulthood, engaging a cross-cultural framework. It will explore the role of older adults in changing cultural spaces and how this evolves in our rapidly globalizing planet.

Volume 1
TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS
Cultural Perspectives on Aging and the Life Course
Edited by Caitrin Lynch and Jason Danely

Titles in preparation:

FOUR DAYS OF LIGHT AND IT'S DARK AGAIN
Dementia Care in India
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WALTZING INTO OLD AGE
Redefining Aging, the Life Course, and Eldercare in China
Hong Zhang
Afterword

ON GENERATIONS AND AGING
“Fresh Contact” of a Different Sort

Jennifer Cole

We leave childhood without knowing what youth is, we marry without knowing what it is to be married, and even when we enter old age, we don’t know what it is we’re heading for: the old are innocent children of their old age. In that sense, man’s world is a planet of inexperience.

—Milan Kundera, The Art of the Novel

The essays in this volume are part of an emergent body of work that illuminates contemporary processes of aging. They explore the different ways in which people recognize aging, the opportunities and problems they associate with it, and the solutions they arrange using the cultural and social resources they have at hand. They also use aging as a prism through which to illuminate more general aspects of social and cultural life. Building on sociology’s traditional concern with how people occupy particular social roles, psychology’s concern with life stages, and anthropology’s concern with cultural difference, the essays consider the process of growing older in the context of culturally shaped intergenerational relations. At the same time, the chapters document the process of aging in the years following the turn of the millennium: they are each located in a specific place and time. They draw attention to the intersection between the individual unfolding of the life course and the way that unfolding intersects with broader cultural and historical processes.

With its accretion of different meanings, the concept of generation is well suited to addressing this double-pronged problematic. In the early half relation between fathers and sons on the one hand, or among peers on the other. In the later half of the nineteenth century, it was used primarily to characterize the relationship among peers (Wohl 1979). Today, “generation” carries both meanings, drawing attention simultaneously to people’s structural positions within families and to shared historical experience. But the term also entails important representational effects, partly shaping the experience of the group to which it is applied, as we shall see.

There are good reasons for contemporary interest in how people grow old and in how aging shapes, and is shaped by, the wider social, cultural, and economic context. These days the question of how to move successfully from youth through adulthood and into old age seems omnipresent. In Europe there is increased public concern about how to care for an aging population given dwindling state resources. Meanwhile, economic malaise and blocked opportunities have both contributed to young people’s participation in the Arab Spring and prompted increased migration out of Africa. In the United States, a new generation of “boomerang” kids is so-called because they move back in with their parents after college rather than establishing independent households of their own as was previously expected. The signs of upheavals in the once-taken-for-granted life course are everywhere.

Although the experience of growing older and the reciprocal bonds that tie children to parents and grandparents are intrinsic to human life, the meanings and practices surrounding these bonds and experiences vary across culture, class, and historical period. So too, the extent to which aging and intergenerational relations become the focus of public attention fluctuates with time and place. The rise of the welfare state in much of Europe and North America may have been a highly contested process, but over the course of the mid-twentieth century, it nevertheless instantiated a vision of the social contract where the state took over many of the tasks associated with social reproduction, whether socializing children or caring for the elderly. It created institutions like schools and social security to attend to the age-specific needs of different groups. It also enabled the growth of specialists like gerontologists and child protection caseworkers who were supposed to administer and care for these age groups. The emergent science of human development, which sought to identify the age-specific needs of different groups, provided the scientific justification for these professions. The institutional arrangement created by many modern states, in turn, reflected underlying conceptions of the relationships among different generations. In the United States, for example, debates around social security focused on the idea that individuals contributed to public institutions during their working life, and hence deserved support as they aged (see Lamb
a *generational* contract in which adults work and contribute to social life, with the expectation that their metaphorical (and real) children care for them in old age through their support of public institutions.

Toward the mid-twentieth century, several aspects of the institutionalization of the life course gradually converged to reify discrete age categories and the normative stages of human development. Among these factors were that large-scale institutions, rather than families, played an important role in socializing the very young or caring for the very old; that public discourse focused on distinct age groups; and that bodies of experts devoted themselves to age-specific suffering. Scientific knowledge, explanatory categories, and policy reciprocally fed off each other. These specialized institutions, and their accompanying ways of knowing, made bureaucratic sense. After all, if one views aging in terms of institutional categories, one can more easily examine and administer to different segments of the population: like a butterfly stuck upon a pin, one can parse out the component parts and perhaps create policies aimed at changing them. But this bureaucratic lens also drew both public and scholarly attention away from the temporal nature of aging and the importance of intergenerational relations.

To be sure, there have been some kinds of analyses that have withstood this pigeonholing. Scholars of the life course, for example, have long argued for a perspective that attends to how large-scale events impact individuals, and how individuals, through their responses and adaptations, shape larger patterns in turn, a perspective that resonates with practice theory (Bourdieu 1977; Elder 1999 [1974]; Kertzer 1983). Historians, too, have traced the emergence of age categories, often illustrating how changes in legal definitions and public policy concerning one phase of life affects others (Fass 2008; Hareven 1995). Family systems theorists have also sought to understand individual health and wellbeing in terms of broader familial contexts. In fact, even as recently as 1996, scholars argued that most care still took place within families, as it had across much of history; despite media representations to the contrary (Pike and Bengston 1996). Nevertheless, the general tendency within academic studies of aging has been to separate and classify, rather than looking at aging as involving the intertwining of generations with each other and with broader historical processes.

In the last thirty years, this distinct bureaucratization and compartmentalization that synchronized movement through the life course has begun to unravel amidst far-flung demographic social, economic, and political transformations. Around the world, and particularly in Europe, the United States, and Japan, low birthrates and higher life expectancy have combined to increase the numbers of elderly. As economic disparities between the

who migrate transnationally (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002; Goldin, Cameron, and Balarajan 2011). Many migrants are women; generally, women's participation in the workforce has grown. Would-be caretakers more frequently live scattered across vast distances, far away from family members they would normally have cared for, or they may have local jobs that prevent them from being able to care for older family members' daily needs. At the same time, social and economic conditions in many places have made it increasingly difficult for youth to obtain jobs or the economic means to support a family—the conventional markers of adulthood in many parts of the world. The two ends of the life course appear to be disintegrating, leaving an ever-smaller proportion of active adults—what Deborah Durham (2012) has ironically referred to as "elusive adulthood."

These social and economic changes have renewed journalists', scholars', and policy-makers' concern with processes of intergenerational transformation. They have also been accompanied by a rich array of cultural narratives seeking to interpret and explain these changes. With respect to aging, for example, policy analysts often frame the current demographic situation in ominous terms. They note that those who are younger than eighteen or older than sixty-five, and hence considered to be dependent, outnumber those between eighteen and sixty-five years old, considered the productive part of the population (Tuliparur, I. and Boe 2000). They see this as creating a so-called crisis of care. As the blurb for the book *Gray Dawn: How the Coming Age Wave Will Transform America—and the World* (Petersen 1999) describes the problem: "There's an iceberg dead ahead. It's called global aging, and it threatens to bankrupt the great powers. But we are woefully unprepared. Now is the time to ring the alarm bell." In this apocalyptic scenario, written by a former chairman of Lehman Brothers just a few years before the financial crisis in 2008, the world's aging population leads ineluctably to an economic and political crisis of global proportions.

Popular representations of youth are no less dire. Whether referring to the United States or Africa, analysts now talk about a "lost generation," a term that was originally coined to capture the predicament of young people after the trauma and disruption brought by World War I (Uchitelle 2010; Wohl 1979; for Africa see Cruise-O'Brien 1996). As one recent commentator remarked: "What is the most dangerous force in the world? Answers that might come to mind are al-Qaeda-inspired terrorism, or the threat posed by Iranian and North Korean nuclear weapons. These are indeed dangerous, but the most pervasive threat is *the large number of unemployed youth throughout the world*" (Morgan 2011, emphasis mine). The growth of digital technology, such as the Internet and social networking, which foregrounds aspects of social life associated with youth and makes visible
heightens the widespread perception that unemployed young people represent a "lost generation" and potential political threat.

If recent social and economic transformations have arguably thwarted youth's aspirations for adulthood and older people's ability to marshal care in their old age, generating widespread media debate, it has provided scholars with an opportunity to rediscover how children, youth, and the aged shape social and cultural life. Nowhere has this rediscovery been more visible than in writing on youth. Whether based in Africa or India, Latin America or Europe, many studies have moved away from older developmental models, which tended to treat young people as set on a path that led automatically toward adulthood. Instead, more recent studies analyze young people as active historical agents whose efforts to achieve social adulthood in difficult circumstances inform wider cultural patterns. They have untangled how young people shape and transform social and cultural life through their engagement of existing cultural resources, including their consumption habits, use of technology, and participation in new religious movements (Cole 2010; Honwana and DeBoeck 2005; Lukose 2009; Mains 2011; Weiss 2009). Anthropologists, in particular, have also become increasingly interested in the role of age in constituting specific kinds of subjects. They have shown how attention to age categories provides a powerful window onto more general cultural processes (Durham 2004).

Curiously, however, this anthropological rediscovery of the generative nature of age-related social differences and perspectives, so powerfully visible amongst those who study youth and children, has been less evident for the topic of old age. This volume makes an important step in that direction by exploring how aging takes place in and through culturally shaped intergenerational relations (for early path-breaking work see Cohen 1998 and Lamb 2000; see also Livingston 2007). Read together, these essays reveal how one might view the process of intergenerational transformation from the point of view of those moving from later adulthood toward old age. In what follows, I draw from my prior work on generational change among youth to make two arguments, one with respect to the process of moving toward old age, the other regarding the scholarship—especially the anthropological scholarship—on aging. I suggest that just as youth moving toward adulthood participate in a process of intergenerational transformation, so too, do older adults moving toward old age, though these processes are not entirely alike. I further argue that the difference between how generational change occurs in youth and how it occurs in old age illuminates why, despite the evident visibility of the elderly in contemporary social life, they have not inspired the same scholarly effervescence. To develop this argument, I start with how generational transformation takes place as youth

Representations and Generational Change. Young and Old

The process of generational change that occurs as one moves from the relative dependence of youth toward the increased autonomy associated with adulthood takes place through a combination of selective acquisition on the one hand and selective rejection on the other. As young people take the many small steps that lead toward social adulthood, they acquire tools from the world around them such as language, gender norms, the ability to negotiate cultural assumptions of various kinds, and so on. Young people are, as anthropologists say, "socialized." Socialization is not a passive process. Rather, it is one of active and selective acquisition as young people seek out and absorb aspects of their environment and what they imagine to be—or are told to be—the tools for adult life. Think, for example, of the ways in which children and even adolescents perceive adult status as desirable because it connotes power and autonomy. Yet because this process of acquisition is not passive, but occurs in the give and take of social life, and because it is cross cut by complex hierarchical relations, it is always uneven. It entails both the active rejection of past practices and their selective forgetting in different measure.

The process of generational transition, as Karl Mannheim (1993 [1927]) noted, is one of “fresh contact,” in which people coming of age reevaluate their social and cultural inventory. It is a process that allows people simultaneously to “forget that which is no longer useful and to covet that which has not been won” (Mannheim 1993 [1927]: 369). Mannheim’s metaphor of “contact” allows us to imagine young people’s movement toward adulthood as comparable to an encounter between different groups. Much as new migrants come armed with prior understandings and tools with which to make sense of their new environment, so too, youth coming into adulthood must navigate a new social and cultural terrain. This is not to say that young people have not been steeped in the practices of the culture in which they live. But when they engage in existing cultural practices with newly acquired status, or from the perspective of actually having to independently negotiate them as opposed to being dependent on others, they gain access to new interpretations and experiences. They draw on old tools or invent new ones. Using these tools to negotiate their present historical circumstances, they selectively reshape the existing social and cultural terrain. Ultimately, they craft partially new ways of being.

Generational formation, however, is always piecemeal. The "Achilles heel of generational theory," Wohl (1979: 208) notes, is that even its proponents have difficulty specifying what a generation actually is. In response, Wohl (1979: 210) argues that “a historical generation [is] not a zone of
of time. It is more like a magnetic field at the center of which lies an experience or a series of experiences." Similarly, building on Wohl, Katherine Newman (1996) suggests that the idea of a "fuzzy set" best characterizes the degree to which members of a given generation actually share common characteristics. Life stages that are always heterogeneous because people never evenly embody iconic characteristics, so, too, with generational formations. While everyone goes through similar processes of biological maturation, not everyone who is born sharing the same time, and even the same place, face exactly the same problems or opportunities. Nor do they find exactly the same solutions. There is no simple correspondence between when people come of age and how they inhabit a particular cultural moment. It is for all of these reasons that generations, whether in terms of predicaments, styles, or values, are always uneven and partial.

This partialness points to the importance of thinking about generations in terms of synoptic illusions, a concept I elaborate in my book _Sex and Salvation_ (Cole 2010). Generational change does not take place in lockstep as armies of contemporaries move into the future. Instead, it is shaped by selective narratives about what an imagined entity called a "generation" is doing. In other words, other people, whether predecessors, contemporaries, or successors observe what a given age group is doing and construct a story about them. Such narratives create a synoptic illusion: they take a great deal of actual heterogeneity and simplify it, making a subset of highly visible practices stand in for a more complex whole, a process common to many domains of social life. The idea of the "millennial generation," the "lost generation," the "baby boomers," or "the hippies"—all these generational monikers never map onto more than a subset of people born in a particular time period. Once we think of generations as representations as well as groupings of people who partly share a common historical experience, we can begin to understand that there is a politics to how representations and perceptions of the life course work. After all, any representation is partial, revealing some dimensions of social life and occluding others.

Selective representations of what it means to belong to a given generation have effects. Representations of generations do not exist separately from the social world: they have consequences for how people experience their lives and how they act. Individual change over time—what it means to be an adult or a child, to belong to the baby-boomer generation, or to move between one life stage and the next—creates a powerful, naturalized link between time and the body. In their everyday lives, actors draw on the metaphors of human growth and change to interpret and transform their historical circumstances and life trajectories. Although such representations oversimplify what is actually taking place, they also create models to some structures of feeling, some ways of interacting with the world, and some ways of confronting dilemmas more visible and available to be taken up by and inhabited by others. In the case of young people seeking adulthood, the synaptic illusion—whatever its content—propels them forward. It becomes a tool through which young people of a roughly similar age can imagine who and what they are, thereby imagining an unknown future. By imagining an unknown future and acting in its terms, they make their futures.

**Generational Change and the Movement toward Old Age**

What happens when we start to consider the process of generational change from the point of view of people moving from later adulthood toward old age? In part, we see the same kinds of processes, both those that ensure continuity and those that contribute to cultural innovation and change. But we see them from a different perspective. Some facets of the process change valence, while others remain relatively stable. Taken together, these transformations reveal how aging and the process of movement toward old age elaborates, perhaps even accentuates, patterns of generational change begun in the movement from youth toward adulthood. Considering generational change from the perspective of old age further reveals the potential negative effects of synoptic illusions, not only for aging people, but also, as I discuss in the conclusion, for the scholars who study them.

If young people engage in an "inventory of experience" as Mannheim puts it, learning to shed that which is not useful and to "covet that which has not been won," then people moving toward old age may often seek to preserve that which they have won. Such conservation is particularly visible at the level of individual identity as people find themselves confronting aging bodies and needing to recalibrate their sense of self in keeping with what are often diminished physical capacities. As Bateson notes in her chapter in this volume, older adults may experience a phase akin to the identity-formation that takes place in adolescence, as they reflect on where they are, where they have come from, and where they want to be (see also Kaufman 1986).

We see acts of conservation and reinterpretation, for example, in the chronic pain patients documented by Martin. These people suffer from the pain caused by accidents as well as difficult life circumstances. In learning to deal with their changing physical circumstances, they also seek to narrate an understanding of who they are and what has happened to them that preserves their prior sense of self. But such processes of preservation
younger Bengalis move abroad, or more women work outside the home, it becomes harder for them to care for their aging parents who move to old age homes instead—in many ways a profoundly new experience, as I address below. Yet despite these changes in where people grow old and who cares for them, the elderly Bengalis studied by Lamb work to maintain certain values of intergenerational reciprocity by likening the forms of care given in the old age home to that which their children provided. In Norwood’s chapter on terminal illness and euthanasia in the Netherlands, we similarly see that people’s use of official euthanasia policy embodies core values of collective decision making, enabling people to strategically manage the otherwise unruly transition toward death. These examples reveal how people seek to retain aspects of how they are in the face of physical change.

This process of preservation is also selective. As aging people adapt to altered physical capacities, they come to experience their interactions with others and the world around them differently. As they do so, they may reorient themselves toward the norms that shaped their prior behavior. The essays in this volume reveal this point especially with respect to gendered norms of masculinity and femininity. For example, Wentzell argues that Mexican men suffering from decreased sexual function develop a critique of gendered norms of machismo that guided their behavior in their youth. Shea demonstrates that in China, women undergoing gengniang (the Mandarin word usually translated as menopause) talk about how they become far more irritable and prone to reacting strongly to situations that they might previously have silently endured. Their bodily reactions become part of how they evaluate both their past suffering and their present social circumstances (see also Kleinman and Kleinman 1994). There is, however, safety in these types of selective rejection and recasting because aging women’s complaints or impotent men’s revisions of machismo can be easily dismissed as sour grapes and thereby emptied of social power.

At the same time, the movement toward old age is a profoundly innovative process. These innovations often occur as people draw on already existing practices and transform them to adapt to new circumstances. We can see such innovation in the older people who continue to work at the Vita Needle factory outside Boston where the median age of the workers is seventy-four. Though it is generally expected that older people in the United States will retire from the workforce. Lynch shows that the employees at Vita Needle have chosen to go back to work, some because they want to, others because they need to. In either case, we see how they actively forge new ways of aging that draw on the importance of work to the creation of self and to the creation of a new stage of life. As they do so, they offer
gals depicted by Lamb). In Sri Lanka, meanwhile, Gamburd demonstrates that young people’s labor migration, paired with a longer life span, have changed the circumstances in which people age. Consequently, as older Sri Lankans try to figure out new ways to honor intergenerational obligations, they debate whether to pass on their inheritance to their children and relatives while they are still living or after their death. Like young people coming of age who meet an existing terrain and transform it, so too old people with their changing personal capacities move across a social and cultural landscape. As they do so, those moving toward old age draw from long-standing ideas about the importance of work and material resources for creating human value. As they deploy them in their new and changing circumstances, they reformulate what it means to be old.

Synoptic illusions of what it means to age centrally shape the movement from adulthood to old age. Arguably, the dominant narrative about old age in many Western contexts is that old people are unable to change and that they epitomize decline. This narrative has deep roots. Mannheim’s theory of generational change, for example, is premised on the idea that the old are less open to change simply because they have lived longer and have more of what he calls “ballast.” Meanwhile, Lawrence Cohen (1994) notes that aging and the inevitable death it signifies threaten cultural meaning. Many societies symbolically associate able adult bodies with the collective social body. Consequently, bodies that age and die represent not just an individual threat, but a threat to cultural meaning and social continuity more generally.

Cultural representations of old age are also closely tied to distinctive ways of figuring the relationship between past, present, and future that emerged in Europe in the nineteenth century. One reason we do not usually think of generational change as occurring as adults move toward old age, even though arguably they do meet new circumstances and have to negotiate them, is because doing so would go against modern conceptions of time that associate progress and youth (Cole and Durham 2008). If our interpretations—whether popular or scholarly—assume that there is no movement or innovation among the elderly, and that we therefore always already know about their experience, then there is no point in attaching a notion of generational change to this group.

Yet clearly dominant representations of loss and decline elide much of the heterogeneity that is as important in old age as it is in any other phase of life. The present essays make clear the importance of such heterogeneity on several different levels. At the broad cultural level, for example, Rodríguez-Galan reveals how Puerto Rican women who immigrate to the United States often continue to raise their grandchildren, thereby continuing to
it normative. They not only take pride in their caring labor, but they also gain emotional and social support for themselves. So too Danely teaches us how in Japan, the process of growing older is not figured as decline or atrophy. Rather people grow older in dialogue with unseen spirits and ancestors. As Gayer and Salami’s analysis of the “life course of indebtedness” in Nigeria shows, people constantly reframe their intergenerational debts and commitments as they age; they remake the ground on which social life can go forward. Such heterogeneity within dominant representations takes place at the more individual level as well. For example, there is diversity in how the elderly have a propensity for creating and redefining social relationships in public retirement homes. This variation rests on how successfully particular individuals recreate a sense of home in the new institutional context. In all these examples, we see both the synoptic illusions at work and the actual variation within them.

What accounts for the marked change of valence that differentiates the transition toward adulthood from the movement into old age? Part of the answer lies in the profoundly different meaning of the set of models that the synoptic illusion of aging provides in many societies across the world, and its possible effects. If the synoptic illusion of youth provides a set of circulating models associating youth and change that many young people use to pull themselves toward the future, the dominant figuration of old age as loss becomes a weight against which those moving toward old age push. We can see the power of this representation and how people work against it in almost every essay in this book. It is there in how the workers at Vito Needle factory go out and find new jobs despite the fact that it is neither expected nor easy. It is there as well in the cultural work Bengalis engage in to cast living in an old age home as a sign of their children’s nurture rather than abandonment. The many different examples of people suffering bodily impairments and struggling to reconfigure their understandings of themselves and prevalent social and cultural norms further reveal how images of loss and decline pervade their efforts. The negative synoptic illusion widely associated with old age acts, above all, to create a drag on older people’s actions. One gets the sense, repeatedly, of the passage of time and the weight of negative social expectation against which the elderly must push to make new futures.

Conclusion: Synoptic Illusions among Age Groups and Scholars

Synoptic illusions, of course, are not limited to the analyses of the young or schematizing the infinite variation around us can we make sense of our social worlds. Such models help people to act; they become ways of imagining oneself into the world. Synoptic illusions also frame narrative possibilities. They help create a sense of narrative tension, as when we want to know the rest of a story because we assume we do not know how it turns out.

Synoptic illusions not only shape social and cultural life; they also reflect what scholars choose to analyze and how they approach their objects of study. Consequently, they encourage the mixing of analytic and popular categories. Such mixing occurs in many domains—think, for example, of Donna Haraway’s (1980) meanders in how conventions of race and gender among humans inform the science of primatology. But slippage between scholarly and popular categories appears to be particularly frequent with respect to topics that are more easily taken to be universal because they are a highly visible part of our physical make up as human beings. After all, we all are born, grow up, and if we are lucky, reach old age. Consequently, because growing up and growing old are phenomena that we think we know well and we take for granted, the line between folk categories and analytic categories easily blurs.

This blurring of popular and scholarly representations encouraged by synoptic illusions applies to the scholarship on youth as well as that on old age. I have argued elsewhere that there is a tendency to over-privilege rupture in many scholarly analyses of youth (Cole 2010), precisely because we are used to thinking of youth as forging a future that differs radically from the past. Yet despite this general scholarly tendency to interpret youth in keeping with popular conceptions of this phase of life, there has also been, as I suggested earlier, an efflorescence of new work examining young people’s constitutive role in social life, more so than for the aged.

To be sure, it is possible that the difference between the two fields reflects a demographic lag—that the numerical presence of youth became visible sooner than that of the elderly, and that scholarly attention simply followed this demographic trend. But I suspect that the different valence of the synoptic illusion relevant to youth and old age may also play a role. The effects of synoptic illusions are arguably as true for the scholarship on youth and aging as they are for the people we study. Perhaps because the valence of the synoptic illusion linked to youth is positive—associating youth with the hope of a new, perhaps better, future—scholars studying youth appear to have more latitude to explore the creative role of youth in social and cultural life. Although this efflorescence does not guarantee that new ideas and ways of conceptualizing youth emerge, the widespread excitement and sense of urgency around the topic may make it easier.

By contrast, scholars working on aging have to work against the nega-
especially so because implicitly the synoptic illusions associated with old age create a sense of foreclosure: because we know that old age leads inexorably toward death, we know the outcome, and we interpret it accordingly. The shift in the balance between past and future transforms the horizon of the possible. Like the elderly, so too scholars must exert more effort to create a sense of narrative possibility—a sense that there is, if you look closely, something to discover. Taking up this implicit challenge, the essays presented here make their contribution by striving to move behind the synoptic illusion to examine the diverse, concrete ways that people grow older in dialogue with their predecessors, contemporaries, and successors.

Acknowledgments

Warm thanks to Sarah Lamb, Caitrin Lynch, and Aaron Seaman for their comments on prior drafts of this Afterword; all remaining shortcomings are my own.

Notes


2. For popular representations of this issue see Achenbach 2011 and Stewart 2010.

3. On the relation of age to specific types of subjects with particular kinds of capacities see Berman 2011; Cole 2010; El Guardani n.d.; Schildkrout 1978.

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