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Spiritual perspectives of Black Caribbean and White British older adults: development of a spiritual typology in later life

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ABSTRACT

Spirituality is positively linked to health and well-being in later life, particularly among older adults of black ethnic groups. However, definitions of spirituality in the literature have largely been theoretically informed, rather than based on the views of older people themselves. We examined the spiritual perspectives of Black Caribbean and White British older adults based on in-depth interviews with 34 individuals aged between 60 and 95 years. Our aim was to develop a spiritual typology to add to an understanding of the process of spirituality in later life. Findings showed that Black Caribbean older individuals mostly defined spirituality in relation to their belief in a transcendent God, whereas White British older individuals tended to draw upon a wider range of spiritual, religious or secular notions. A spirituality typology in later life captured four categories of relationship, between 'God to self', 'self to God', 'self to universe' and 'self to life'. The typology highlights the central role of ethnicity in shaping spiritual perspectives in later life, and identifies the multidimensional nature of spirituality among older adults, reflecting in part a developmental process, although a process which is socially and culturally constructed.

KEY WORDS – spirituality, older adults, spiritual typology, ethnicity.

Introduction

There is a growing interest in the role of spirituality among older adults as positive links have been found between spirituality, health and well-being in later life (Kirby Coleman and Daley 2004; Koenig, McCullough and Larson 2001; Wink and Dillon 2003). Spiritual and religious beliefs have also been found to be part of a process of successful coping with chronic illness in later

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life, particularly among older individuals from black ethnic groups (Harvey and Silverman 2007). However, definitions of spirituality in the literature have largely been theoretically informed. Little focus has been given to investigating the meanings of spirituality from the point of older people themselves. Furthermore, little consideration has also been given to the extent to which older people consider their spiritual perspectives may change over time. Studies, largely based on North American survey data, have found gender and ethnic group differences in the importance of religious beliefs and practices, with older women and those from black and ethnic minority groups reporting higher levels of both (Chatters *et al.* 2009; Levin, Taylor and Chatters 1994; Taylor, Chatters and Jackson 2007). However, little is known about how gender and ethnicity may shape spiritual perspectives from the point of view of older people in the United Kingdom (UK).

We conducted in-depth interviews with 34 individuals aged between 60 and 95 years to explore the spiritual perspectives of Black Caribbean and White British older adults who identified themselves as having a Christian religious education, at least to some extent. We chose to focus on these two subgroups of older people because they represent the two largest ethnic groups in inner London (Office for National Statistics 2009), and the largest religious group, in the UK (Office for National Statistics 2005). Our aim was to develop a spiritual typology which would add to an understanding of the process of spirituality in later life.

Defining spirituality

Spirituality is a complex multi-faceted construct and definitions have been subject to considerable debate (Hill and Pargament 2003; Marcoen 2005). Moberg (2002) argued that a common assumption underlying most research on spirituality is that it is a human universal characteristic. Common components of spirituality in the literature include: a transcendent power or force beyond life (Elkins *et al.* 1988); values related to meaning and purpose (Tanyi 2002); relationships between self/others/God (Dyson, Cobb and Forman 1997); inner resources such as peace, hope and strength (Tanyi 2002); motivational drives (Frankl 1962); and emotional responses to meaning in life (McFadden 1996). However, such components of spirituality are based on general theoretical notions. It is unclear how these relate to older people's own understandings of spirituality, and how definitions of spirituality may vary in later life by ethnic group.

Difficulties defining spirituality have been influenced by debates in the literature about the relationship between spirituality and religion.

Spirituality tends to be viewed as a broader, overlapping construct with religion (Koenig, McCullough and Larson 2001; Marcoen 2005), with both constructs concerned with the human search for meaning and purpose in relation to that which is sacred (Pargament 1997). However, recent attempts have been made to separate dimensions of spirituality that are distinct from religion, with the former mostly portrayed as private, informal, and experiential, and the latter as public, formal and institutionalised, involving an organised set of beliefs, codes and practices (Koenig, McCullough and Larson 2001; Ridge *et al.* 2008). We define spirituality as reflecting beliefs and values pertaining to the personal search for meaning and purpose in or beyond life (Sadler and Biggs 2006). We consider spirituality to be a broader construct than religion and that individuals' spiritual perspectives may or may not be currently shaped within an institutionalised religious context.

Meanings of spirituality among older adults

To our knowledge, there have been no studies in the UK that have investigated the meanings of spirituality from the perspective of older adults themselves. A limited number of studies in the United States of America (USA) with Christian or Judeo-Christian groups of older people have confirmed the importance of religious beliefs and practices in everyday life (Cohen, Thomas and Williamson 2008; Lowry 2002). Nevertheless, few studies have compared the spiritual perspectives of older adults from white and black ethnic groups. In one study from the USA, Cohen, Thomas and Williamson (2008) used focus groups to examine personal definitions of spirituality and religion among Jewish, African American and White Protestant older adults. Study participants defined spirituality mostly in terms of Christian theistic attitudes, commonly in relation to a belief in a transcendent God. A view of God as a benevolent force, acting as a protector in life, in terms of coping with 'daily struggles and difficult times' (Cohen, Thomas and Williamson 2008: 294), was particularly evident among older African Americans. One explanation for the continued significance of spirituality and religion in the lives of older African Americans may be the historical role of the Black Church in providing support in times of discrimination and hardship (Armstrong and Crowther 2002). However, such findings cannot be presumed to translate to a British context, where overall lower levels of formal religious involvement have been reported in the general population compared to the USA (Howse 2004).

Furthermore, in an Australian study, MacKinlay (2002) found that older individuals drew on Christian and non-Christian religious notions of belief when constructing spiritual perspectives. Based on interviews with older

adults in the community and those in an institutional care setting, MacKinlay found spirituality to encompass a number of 'spiritual tasks' in later life. Two core spiritual tasks were: (a) finding ultimate meaning in relationship to God and/or other people in life; and (b) different ways of responding to meaning (through prayer, meditation, art or music). Linked to these core tasks were four 'sub-tasks' related to: (a) transcending loss or disability; (b) seeking 'final meanings' (related to wisdom and life review); (c) seeking intimacy with God/others; and (d) the search for hope in life. MacKinlay's study points to the interpersonal nature of spirituality in later life, between the individual, God and/or others, and the significance for some of broader notions of spirituality. However, the extent to which spiritual perspectives in later life may be shaped by ethnicity and gender was not examined.

Theoretical perspectives on spirituality

In this section we discuss two theoretical perspectives to spirituality that have relevance for understanding the process of spirituality in later life. The first approach views spirituality as a social and cultural construction, while the second approach considers spirituality to be a developmental process.

Spirituality as a social and cultural construction

This perspective considers human spirituality to be shaped by a number of social and cultural contexts. Although current cohorts of older adults in Britain were more likely to have received a Christian religious upbringing compared to successive generations (Coleman 2011), it has been suggested that social changes in Britain over the last century (such as the growth in technology, the rise in education and the development of the welfare state) have led to the lessening significance of Christian religious beliefs and practices among the general population (De Graaf and Need 2000), including across all age groups (Voas and Crockett 2005). Moreover, differences in the importance of religious beliefs and practices have been reported across different subgroups of older adults in the UK, with women and older adults from black and minority ethnic groups attributing greater importance to their religious beliefs and practices in later life (Howse 1999).

In Britain and in other industrialised societies, there has also been a rise in alternative spiritual movements, such as 'New Age' spiritual traditions influenced, in particular, by the liberal and political attitudes of the baby-boomer generation born between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s (Wink and Dillon 2002). European contemporary discourses on spirituality have

further shifted towards considering the significance of 'Post-Christian' spiritualities, which are largely unrelated to the tenets of Christianity. This includes discourses on the 'sacralisation of the self' whereby sacred forces dwell within the individual (Houtman and Aupers 2007), and the 'subjective turn', in which spirituality represents a range of spiritual traditions which individuals draw upon as a matter of choice (Heelas *et al.* 2005). However, to what extent this newer contemporary spiritual climate has shaped the spiritual attitudes of current cohorts of older adults in Britain is largely unknown.

Spiritual development

In contrast, theories of spiritual development posit a direct link between spirituality and the ageing process. Fowler (1981) proposed a cognitive model of faith development, involving six sequential stages across the life-course. The fifth and six stages of the model relate to mid-life and later life, respectively. Stage five – 'conjunctive faith' – is when the individual in mid-life becomes increasingly aware of the ambiguity behind the transcendent symbols associated with religious traditions. This contrasts with the final stage six – 'universalising faith' – in which the person in later life comes to completely embrace and live out a spiritual way of life. However, Fowler (1981) found little empirical support that older individuals reach this last stage of faith development. Subsequently, it has been proposed that later life may also involve both cognitive and emotional changes (Labouvie-Vief, DeVoe and Bulka 1989) or a process of spiritual quests (Alexander *et al.* 1990).

In one further developmental theory, Tornstam (1994, 2005) proposes in his theory of gerotranscendence that growing older brings with it a shift from worldly to 'transcendent' concerns. Although not explicitly stated by Tornstam as a spiritual process, similarities with the development of a spiritual worldview in later life are apparent. Tornstam posits that individuals from mid-life (around 50 years of age) onwards experience a change in perspective on three levels: the self, the individual/social, and the 'cosmic' (Tornstam 1996). Changes at the level of the self include a decreased sense of self-centredness and 'ego-integrity' (*i.e.* accepting the totality of life). Changes on the individual/social level include a greater need for solitude and the experience of wisdom (*i.e.* difficulty in separating right from wrong). Finally, on the cosmic level the individual experiences a new perception of life and death, time and space, a feeling of being connected to past and future generations and with a broader transcendent reality beyond life, for example, with nature or the universe. Evidence for the development of transcendent traits in later life is, however, limited, with different patterns of

gerotranscendence being mediated by factors, such as gender, culture and previous life events (Ahmadi-Lewin 2001; Braam *et al.* 1998; Tornstam 1994, 1997*a*, 1997*b*).

Patterns of continuity or change in spirituality among older adults

To date, few studies have explored personal narratives of patterns of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives among older individuals. Two studies highlight the importance of life events and changing personal circumstances in shaping Christian religious beliefs and practices, rather than spirituality more broadly among older adults. In an American study, Ingersoll-Dayton, Krause and Morgan (2002) interviewed White and African American older adults, all of whom held a Christian faith. Four trajectories emerged from participants' personal narratives: stable, increasing, decreasing and 'curvilinear' (*i.e.* fluctuating) patterns of religiosity (measured in terms of affiliation, beliefs, and practices). Life events, such as the onset of illness or the death of family and friends, were particularly significant in shaping such trajectories. However, although this was an ethnically diverse sample of older adults, differences and similarities in patterns of religiosity in terms of gender and ethnic background were not discussed.

In a further study conducted in the UK, changing life events were found to influence patterns of Christian religious beliefs and practices in later life. Based on analysis of longitudinal data from the Southampton Ageing Study, Coleman, Ivani-Chalian and Robinson (2004) found that around one-quarter of older respondents (*i.e.* aged 65 years and over at the start of the study) reported a decrease in the meaning of their religious faith and church membership over a ten-year period. Qualitative case studies further revealed that such a decline was particularly evident among those who were widowed, and notably among women, influenced by the lack of perceived support from the Church following the loss of their spouse.

A review study by Dalby (2006) examined the extent to which spirituality in later life represented a developmental process. Dalby found evidence of six broad spiritual themes in later life: 'integrity, humanistic concern, changing relationships with others and concern for younger generations, relationship with a transcendent being or power, self-transcendence, and coming to terms with death' (Dalby 2006: 11). However, the empirical evidence provided little support for spirituality as primarily a developmental process. Instead, Dalby found patterns of both continuity and change in older people's spiritual perspectives, influenced to some extent by age, but mainly by changing personal circumstances, such as ill-health, and other contexts such as gender and different cultural contexts. No UK studies,

however, were included in the review, so it is not possible to conclude that such findings would be applicable to older adults in Britain.

In summary, little attention has been given to investigating older people's own understandings of spirituality. Studies, largely outside the UK, have suggested that spirituality in later life is shaped by a combination of developmental, socio-cultural and life-course factors. However, little is known about what spirituality means to older adults in the UK, including the extent to which spiritual perspectives may change over time, or vary by ethnicity and gender. In this paper we address these gaps in the literature by drawing on in-depth interviews which investigated the meanings and personal narratives of spirituality among Black Caribbean and White British older individuals. Our research addresses the following questions:

1. What do such older adults understand by spirituality?
2. How do spiritual perspectives change over time?
3. How might ethnicity and gender shape spiritual perspectives in later life?

Our aim was to develop a spiritual typology which would add to an understanding of the process of spirituality in later life.

Methods

Design and recruitment

This study was conducted as part of a larger mixed-methods study investigating the role of spirituality in successful ageing. The wider project was based on an analysis of nationally representative survey data, and on in-depth repeat interviews with a purposive sample of older adults in South London. The first interview focused on participants' spiritual perspectives, and changes in these over time, whereas the follow-up interview, which took place around two weeks later, explored participants' views on the role of spirituality in successful ageing, so there was a direct link between the two interviews. In this paper we focus on participants' responses to questions asked about spirituality in the first interview in order to develop our spiritual typology in later life. Due to the exploratory nature of our study, and a theoretical focus on how spiritual perspectives may vary by ethnicity and gender in later life, we used the principles of theoretical sampling within a grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin 1998) to intentionally recruit a purposive sample of men and women from Black Caribbean and White British ethnic groups. All participants had received a Christian religious education, at least to some extent, and included those from different Christian denominations.

A range of recruitment strategies were used. These included: (a) placing an advertisement in a local Age UK Lambeth[1] newsletter (N=3);

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(b) contacting managers and co-ordinators of secular and church-based community groups, extra-care housing schemes and one day centre which had links with Age UK Lambeth (N=18); (c) snowball techniques (N=9); and (d) personal contacts (N=4). Among participants recruited from the above community group organisations, the lead author contacted by telephone managers and co-ordinators of these organisations to discuss the nature and inclusion criteria of the study. Potential participants from White British or Black Caribbean ethnic groups, who stated that they had received a Christian religious education, were then identified. The lead author then discussed the study individually or in small groups with potentially interested participants, who were also provided with an information sheet about the study. A follow-up visit ensued one week later to establish if individuals wanted to take part in the study and to seek their written informed consent. An explanation of the study was provided over the telephone to participants who responded to the advertisement, or were recruited through personal contacts or snowball methods. Eligibility criteria were checked and the participants were sent an information sheet and consent form, followed by a follow-up telephone call one week later to establish whether they would like to take part.

Data collection

All interviews were conducted by the lead author. Most of these (20 out of 34) took place in the participant's own home; 11 in a social club (N=9) or day centre (N=2) setting; two at the university; and one at a participant's workplace setting. Ethical approval for this study was given by King's College London's Research Ethics Committee.

Prior to the start of the first interview, participants were asked to fill in a self-completion screening form, which asked them to record their age and gender, and to respond to a series of closed-ended questions, with predefined responses, which included: marital status, self-rated health and ethnic background, level of education, and current religious affiliation. Individuals' spiritual perspectives were then explored, using an interview topic guide constructed from a review of the largely theoretical literature on spirituality. To begin with, participants were asked general questions about important features in their lives and what religious upbringing they had experienced. Then individuals were asked to define spirituality for themselves in response to the question 'What do you understand by the term spirituality?' They were also asked to talk about their spiritual beliefs and values, and whether these had changed or not over time, in response to the question 'Is there anything about your life nowadays that you would describe as spiritual? If, so, have any of these aspects changed or not as you

have grown older?' Finally, participants were asked to answer questions about their beliefs in God or a higher power, their views about death and an afterlife, and whether these had changed or not over time. Interviews lasted between 40 and 90 minutes, were digitally recorded and transcribed in full.

Data analysis

In analysing our data, we undertook a thematic analysis of the data, drawing on the principles of 'the constant comparative method' (Strauss and Corbin 1998) within a grounded theory approach, until data saturation was reached (*i.e.* no new themes emerged from the data). All interview transcripts were managed and analysed in QSR NVivo7 computer software. First, we compared across responses to participants' understandings of spirituality, to look for emerging themes. Second, we compared across responses to questions enquiring about participants' personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives (*i.e.* their spiritual beliefs and values, and whether these had changed over time), again to look for emerging themes. To aid analysis, 'memos' or theoretical ideas and relationships (Miles and Huberman 1994) were written and examined for each participant using NVivo. In addition, we used the integrated (matrix) searching facility in NVivo (Richards 1999) to look for similarities and differences in spiritual perspectives by ethnicity and gender. At this point in the analysis, the first author conducted clarification interviews with ten study participants in order to clarify emerging themes. Finally, we compared within and across the above themes: participants' understandings of spirituality and personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives. This resulted in the emergence of a spiritual typology in later life, which captured four different categories of relationships.

In the next section, we discuss the findings from our study. First, we describe the key characteristics of our participants. Second, we discuss themes related to older adults' understandings of spirituality, and personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives, as well as differences by ethnicity and gender. Finally, we discuss our typology of spirituality in later life. In reporting the findings, pseudonyms are used to safeguard participant anonymity.

Findings

Participant characteristics

Table 1 shows the key characteristics of participants taking part in the study (age range 60–95 years).

TABLE 1. *Key characteristics of participants in the study*

Participants	Age	Ethnicity[1]	Marital status[2]	Level of education (year left school)	Self-rated health	Religious affiliation[3]
Men:						
Mr Adams	75	W	M	19+	Excellent	CoE
Mr Green	86	W	W	19+	Good	No religion
Mr Edmondson	81	W	W	14–16	Good	RC
Mr Davidson	77	W	NM	19+	Good	RC
Mr Edwards	76	B	M	14–16	Fair	Pentecostal
Mr Fisher	84	B	M	17–18	Poor	Baptist
Mr Samuels	80	B	M	17–18	Good	CoE
Mr Young	82	W	W	19+	Good	RC
Mr Bolton	79	W	NM	19+	Good	Presbyterian
Mr Johnson	75	W	D	19+	Very good	CoE
Mr Kenyon	69	B	D	17–18	Good	CoE
Mr Stevenson	65	W	M	19+	Very good	CoE
Mr Morton	80	B	M	14–16	Very good	Methodist
Mr Fanton	60	B	M	19+	Good	No religion
Women:						
Miss More	79	W	NM	19+	Very good	CoE
Mrs Vernon	77	B	W	19+	Good	Baptist
Mrs Adams	70	W	M	19+	Very good	CoE
Mrs O'Sullivan	88	W	W	14–16	Fair	No religion
Mrs Smith	71	B	M	17–18	Excellent	CoE
Mrs Cook	80	W	W	<14	Very good	CoE
Mrs Forton	88	W	W	14–16	Very good	CoE
Mrs Doors	95	W	D	19+	Poor	CoE
Mrs Woodward	93	W	W	14–16	Very good	CoE
Miss Ashton	75	B	NM	14–16	Poor	CoE
Mrs Reed	72	B	D	17–18	Fair	RC
Mrs Perkins	82	W	D	17–18	Very good	No religion
Mrs Lindon	83	B	W	14–16	Very good	CoE
Mrs Quinn	75	B	W	<14	Good	RC
Mrs Lawson	66	B	S	14–16	Fair	Pentecostal
Miss Taylor	80	W	D	14–16	Poor	CoE
Mrs Ball	83	W	W	14–16	Good	CoE
Miss Nelson	68	W	M	19+	Very good	Other
Mrs Underwood	69	W	M	17–18	Very good	No religion
Mrs Miller	86	B	W	14–16	Excellent	CoE

Notes: 1. W: White British, B: Black Caribbean. 2. M: married, W: widowed, D: divorced, S: separated, NM: never married. 3. CoE: Church of England, RC: Roman Catholic.

Thirty-four individuals took part in the interviews, of which two-thirds were women (N=20) and one-third were men (N=14). Likewise, two-thirds of participants were from White British (N=20) and one-third were from Black Caribbean backgrounds (N=14). In terms of marital status, the majority were widowed (N=14), but a significant minority were married (N=9) or

divorced/separated (N=7). There were differences in educational level between the two subgroups, in that 11 out of 20 White British participants reported a level of education of 19 years or over, compared to only two out of 14 Black Caribbean participants. The majority were in good health, rating their current health as 'excellent' (N=3), 'very good' (N=12) or 'good' (N=11), while only a minority rated it as fair (N=4) or poor (N=4). Participants' current religious affiliation also varied, but largely reflected a Church of England denomination (N=17), with a minority identifying as Roman Catholic (N=5), Baptist (N=2), Pentecostal (N=2), Methodist (N=1), Presbyterian/Church of Scotland (N=1) and 'other' (N=1). In addition, five participants reported no current religious affiliation in later life.

Understandings of spirituality

In this section, we discuss themes related to older adults' understandings of spirituality. We discuss five main themes: (a) difficulties defining spirituality; (b) a belief and relationship with God; (c) broader notions of the transcendent; (d) moral or ethical attitudes; and (e) spirituality as a human universal.

Difficulties defining spirituality

Just over two-thirds of participants (22 of 34) voiced difficulties defining spirituality, mostly because they considered the term to be abstract and hard to pin down. Problems defining spirituality were particularly evident among the oldest participants of White British origin, suggesting it is a relatively novel concept in their lives. Some understood spirituality to mean 'spiritualism' – a term more commonly used in the past. For others, like Mr Davidson, who had been brought up as Roman Catholic, spirituality was still a vague and imprecise term, and something that he had seldom thought about:

> Well, I haven't really given it [spirituality] very much thought (long pause). It's a very sort of elastic concept. It's like Humpty Dumpty. When I use the word it means what I choose it to mean, nothing more, nothing less. (Mr Davidson, 77 years, Roman Catholic)

Difficulties defining spirituality among participants appeared not to be related to current religious beliefs. For example, Mr Green, despite having had a religious upbringing, identified himself currently as an atheist:

> (Long pause) To me it's such a vague term, if you asked me I would go and get out my dictionary and look it up, and see what the dictionary says. (Mr Green, 86 years, no religion)

A belief and relationship with God

Just under half of participants (16 of 34) defined spirituality as a belief and relationship with a transcendent God (*cf.* Cohen, Thomas and Williamson 2008). Nearly all Black Caribbean individuals (12 of 14) defined spirituality in such theistic terms compared to only just over a quarter of their White British counterparts (six of 20). Such a definition of spirituality was typically voiced by Mrs Vernon, a Black Caribbean woman in good health, who regularly communicated with God through prayer:

> Well I think it [spirituality] is putting your trust in God, believing that there is a God who you can pray to. I believe that He answers. (Mrs Vernon, 77 years, Baptist)

A minority of Black Caribbean participants also understood spirituality to be the indwelling spirit of God. For example, Mr Fisher, who reported holding a strong Christian religious faith in old age, defined spirituality as the immanent nature of God's spirit within him which guided him in his everyday life:

> Spirituality is the gift given to you by God. No one can give that, only God can give it. And it's an indwelling thing inside of you. Your inner thoughts . . . And the spirit that dwells in you teaches you how to live your life. (Mr Fisher, 84 years, Baptist)

In addition, two Black Caribbean women and one man considered that spirituality represented 'spiritualists', or individuals involved in healing practices, the preaching of ideas related to the afterlife, and to leading a righteous life in the eyes of God.

Broader notions of the transcendent

A minority of participants, including two White British women and one Black Caribbean man, defined spirituality in terms of broader notions of the transcendent (*cf.* Kirby, Coleman and Daley 2004; Tornstam 1997*c*). They mostly perceived spirituality as a general awareness of a metaphysical existence beyond life, or more specifically in terms of transcendent notions related to justice, humanity and nature. Such participants were well-educated, and their level of Christian religious upbringing varied. For example, one White British woman, Mrs Adams, despite reporting having had a strict religious upbringing, recounted how she had gradually come to embrace more liberal spiritual attitudes in later life. Inherent in her definition of spirituality were notions of 'justice' and 'truth', shaped by her previous role as a magistrate and involvement in political campaigns throughout her life:

> I believe that there is a reality out there, in the sense that there are things which are true. I do believe in truth, and there is something like justice, and it's bigger than all of us. So, spirituality is about making sense of my life in relation to those things. (Mrs Adams, 70 years, Church of England)

Broader notions of the transcendent were virtually absent from definitions of spirituality among the oldest participants, suggesting that such contemporary discourses on spirituality were largely not part of their vocabulary. One exception was Mrs Cook, a White British woman in her eighties, who currently reported a Church of England affiliation. She defined spirituality as a relationship between herself and the transcendent beauty of nature, which appeared to resemble a cosmic worldview in Tornstam's theory of gerotranscendence (Tornstam 1994, 2005):

(Long pause) Spirituality is that you look above everything. I appreciate nature. I love to look at the sky, see the sunset, and when I see that full moon I just stand and stare at it. (Mrs Cook, 80 years, Church of England)

Moral or ethical attitudes

Just over a quarter of participants (nine of 34) understood spirituality to comprise moral or ethical attitudes of a person. Four Black Caribbean participants defined spirituality in terms of moral attitudes within a Christian religious framework. For example, such a viewpoint was articulated by Miss Ashton, who lived in an extra-care housing scheme due to her poor health and mobility:

Well the term spirituality. I don't do evil things again. I never used to do evil, but I don't do any evil things. And I put my trust in Jesus. And He lead me to everything that I want . . . And He give me strength to keep up with my illness. (Miss Ashton, 75 years, Church of England)

Three men and two women of White British origin also defined spirituality in terms of non-theistic moral or ethical attitudes. For example, Mrs Perkins defined spirituality as the moral essence of a person's character, which determined their ethical conduct towards others. She currently rejected all organised forms of religion as a result of the lack of support she had received from her local Anglican Church following the death of her father; a theme which similarly emerged in Coleman, Ivani-Chalian and Robinson's (2004) British study among older widowed individuals:

I think that spirituality is the standard you live by; the moral standard you live by . . . I don't see why you have to have a religious base to be good, or to try to be good. (Mrs Perkins, 82 years, no religion)

Spirituality as a human universal

As argued by Moberg (2002), contrary to a common assumption in the literature that spirituality is a universal characteristic common to all human beings, only a minority of participants (five of 34) defined spirituality in this way. Two Black Caribbean men and two White British women, all

of whom currently held a strong Christian religious faith, defined spirituality as the spiritual nature of all human beings. Only one well-educated White British man, Mr Adams, who was the husband of Mrs Adams previously, defined spirituality as something accessible to everyone, in relation to the spectrum of ordinary experiences and practices people engage in as part of everyday life. His understanding of spirituality was shaped in the context of his coming to question a belief in a supernatural or interventionist God over time, particularly since retiring as a parish vicar:

> I think everybody's got a spirituality of some sort. I don't use the word spirituality as if it's some kind of airy-fairy specialist thing. Everybody, it seems to me, has a spirituality of some sort. For some people it can be an extremely debased form . . . Spirituality is on a kind of spectrum, a continuum. You could say that debauchery of either a sexual or a physical – food or drink – sort is on a continuum. But underneath it is an attitude to life which you could describe in kind of, you know, a spiritual or failed spiritual term. (Mr Adams, 75 years, Church of England)

In summary, differing understandings of spirituality were apparent among Black Caribbean and White British older adults. The majority of Black Caribbean participants, compared to only a minority of their White British counterparts, defined spirituality in terms of theistic beliefs in a transcendent God. White British participants were more likely to draw on a wider range of spiritual meanings (*i.e.* religious, spiritual or secular notions) when defining spirituality, compared to their Black Caribbean counterparts. In addition, the oldest participants, notably those from a White British background, had particular difficulties defining the term, or in offering an alternative term they were more familiar with, suggesting that spirituality is largely a relatively novel concept in their lives. Difficulties in defining spirituality were apparent across all educational levels. In the following section, we move on to examine personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives in later life.

Personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives

In this section, three main themes emerged from participants' personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives. These were: (a) a belief and relationship with God; (b) death and the afterlife; and (c) transcendent spiritual experiences with nature, music or art.

A belief and relationship with God

Eight participants, predominantly individuals of Black Caribbean background, but also a minority of White British women, constructed personal

narratives reflecting an increase in personal significance of a belief and relationship with God. Such participants articulated that their relationship with God and Christian faith had strengthened since experiencing a religious 'calling' or 'conversion' earlier in life. They reported that their stronger faith in later life was also nurtured by frequent engagement in religious practices, such as prayer, reading the Bible and attending church services. For example, this was the case for Mr Edwards below, a Black Caribbean man in his mid-seventies:

> When you commit yourself it's a part of, it's a conversion. And when you convert that means it's a change in your life, and that change, believing in Christ bring that change . . . But the Spirit of God that comes in you will make that change within you . . . And that Spirit will direct you or guide you from doing things that is unrighteous. (Mr Edwards, 76 years, Pentecostal)

Black Caribbean participants (nine of 12) also more often than White British participants (three of 20) constructed personal narratives of spirituality reflecting patterns of continuity in a belief in a transcendent God. This was particularly the case among eight Black Caribbean women (compared to one Black Caribbean man) whose stability of theistic beliefs in a God throughout their lives had been shaped by their strong Christian religious upbringing, in which attending Sunday school and church, reading the Bible and prayer had been regularly encouraged by their parents. As a result, God had remained a benevolent guiding force (*cf.* Cohen, Thomas and Williamson 2008), helping them to cope with changing circumstances in life, such as ill-health:

> Because every day you wake up and you are still alive, and you remember that there's a God up in heaven. And you think on Him, and He delivers you out of all your trouble, and all your illness and everything.
> Interviewer (I): Did you believe in God when you were younger?
> Of course I do, because I knew that my father used to take his Bible and go in front of his doorway and read it and pray when I was a child. (Miss Ashton, 75 years, Church of England)

Conversely, 12 White British men and women reported personal narratives reflecting patterns of decrease in importance of Christian theistic beliefs in later life, while such patterns of belief were only evident among two Black Caribbean men and one woman. A number of life contexts appeared to shape the decreased importance of a belief in God, including competing family and work commitments in life, and having access to information about other spiritual traditions. For example, Mrs Underwood, a White British married woman in her late sixties, reported that her current lack of belief in a God had been a gradual process, influenced by reading

books on Eastern spiritual traditions, particularly Buddhism, already as a teenager:

I can't believe in somebody pulling the strings. I certainly don't believe in some bewhiskered old man sitting up there directing the world . . . that is something that's definitely changed, because as I child I certainly did believe in a God.
I: When did it change?
Well this, I think, this has been a gradual change. I say, when I was a teenager, when I was sort of 17, 18, 19, I did look around and question and I read several books on Hindu philosophy and Buddhism and things like that.
I: How did it influence you?
Well I suppose . . . I suppose I came to prefer the ideas and ideals of Buddhism in that we were all responsible for our own actions, for our own paths that we followed. (Mrs Underwood, 69 years, no religion)

Death and the afterlife

The majority of participants (23 of 34) voiced an acceptance of death in later life, which supports a recurrent theme in Dalby's (2006) review. A similar proportion reported a belief in heaven or an afterlife, ranging from tentative or hopeful speculation to a firm belief in the existence of life-after-death. Differences and similarities in life experiences shaped a lessening fear of death among Black Caribbean and White British older individuals. Five Black Caribbean participants (three men and two women), compared to only two White British women, voiced that their lessening fear of death was directly related to a firm belief in an afterlife with God. Such personal narratives were expressed within the context of their stronger Christian faith in later life, which had gradually increased since experiencing a religious turning point earlier in life. Their firm belief in an afterlife had been further nurtured by daily reading of the Bible as the 'Word of God'. Their lessening fear of death was typically couched in terms of literal biblical interpretations of the afterlife. For example, such a viewpoint was articulated by Mrs Lawson, a Black Caribbean woman affiliated to the Pentecostal tradition:

But as you get older and you read the Word and you know that well you have to die one day, sooner or later . . . the Bible tells you precious is the death of the saints, with the Lord . . . Because the angel of God escorts you home to be with Him. And so, He said, when you walk through the valley of the shadow of death, you feel no evil, for He is with you. (Mrs Lawson, 66 years, Pentecostal)

Ten of the oldest White British men and women articulated a stoical acceptance of the inevitability of death, in the context of a tentative or lack of belief in an afterlife; a viewpoint which was only reported by two Black Caribbean men and one woman. This attitude towards death was

constructed among such participants in the context of personal narratives reflecting changing life circumstances in later life, which included a growing awareness of a limited future time-span or the death or illness of a spouse or fellow age peers. For example, in the case of the latter, such a fatalistic viewpoint was voiced by Mr Adams, a White British man in good health:

> The older you get the more it's like you're advancing across a battlefield, and the shells are exploding, and friends die, and you have to go on . . . What you cannot avoid is the fact that friends are getting older, sometimes sicker, iller and you know, dying. (Mr Adams, 75 years, Church of England)

Transcendent spiritual experiences with nature, music or art

Over one-third of participants (14 of 34) articulated a greater awareness of transcendent spiritual experiences with nature, music or art in later life. Such spiritual experiences appeared to resemble developmental cognitive and emotional changes in later life (*cf.* Labouvie-Vief, DeVoe and Bulka 1989). However, there were differences in meanings and contexts shaping such patterns of spiritual experiences among Black Caribbean and White British older individuals. Five Black Caribbean participants (three men and two women), compared to only two White British women, expressed a greater sense of spiritual meaning with nature as part of their stronger Christian faith in later life, whereby God was seen as the creator of all human life. As in Fowler's (1981) model of faith development, such participants seemed to completely embrace a spiritual and religious way of life. In addition, one Black Caribbean man and woman affiliated to the Pentecostal tradition voiced a greater sense of spiritual meaning with gospel music, which also served to strengthen their Christian faith in later life.

Seven participants, mostly comprising White British men and women, voiced to varying degrees a sense of spiritual transcendent meaning, and feeling of being increasingly moved by classical music, paintings, poetry and literature in later life. Furthermore, nine participants, again mainly White British men and women, recognised an increased sense of emotionality or connection with the awe and beauty of nature. Such broader transcendent spiritual experiences were unrelated to Christian theistic attitudes, and were shaped by changing circumstances related to growing older, such as having more time, and for some, like Mrs Doors, the awareness of a slower pace of life in old age:

> [A]ll the things we haven't noticed while we're busy living, we notice again, much more strongly now . . . Well take nature as an example. You can look at it [nature], you know, if it's spectacular in autumn . . . you look at it again. Aware of it again, as if you've become almost, not a marvellous person on your own, but a part of the, of nature and the universe. (Mrs Doors, 95 years, Church of England)

In addition, two Black Caribbean men expressed a similar increased sense of spiritual and emotional connection with the awe and beauty of nature in later life. Such transcendent spiritual experiences were not so much related to theistic Christian attitudes, but again to the changing circumstances related to growing older. For example, one married Black Caribbean man, Mr Morton reported becoming increasingly aware of the emotional impact nature had on him in old age. This was also related to having more time and space to appreciate nature now compared to when he was younger:

> [Twilight] does affect me because I get the feeling of these things more, I suppose, than . . . when you're younger you have other things on your mind, you know, and you're so intent on your plans and what you've got to do, and taking up with certain things, that these things, you take it in your stride, when you're young. But as you grow old you have more time to think about it, and I suppose from your very nature . . . you can really feel these things more. (Mr Morton, 80 years, Church of England)

To summarise personal narratives of spirituality among older adults reflected patterns of both continuity and change in spiritual perspectives in later life. Accounts showed differences, and to a lesser extent similarities, in the meanings related to, and contexts shaping, such spiritual perspectives among Black Caribbean and White British participants. The majority of Black Caribbean older adults constructed personal narratives of spirituality reflecting patterns of continuity and increase in importance of theistic beliefs and a relationship with God in later life. The former pattern of continuity of belief was particularly evident among Black Caribbean women, shaped by their strong religious upbringing. The latter pattern of increase in importance of belief was more often influenced by experiencing a religious turning point earlier in life, but also having more time to devote to religious practices to nurture their Christian faith in later life. Conversely, White British older adults, including men and women, more often constructed personal narratives of spirituality which reflected a pattern of decrease in importance, or lack of Christian religious attitudes, but for some an increased awareness of a broader transcendent reality in later life. Such patterns were mostly shaped by earlier life events and changing circumstances related to growing older.

A spirituality typology in later life

In this section, we propose a spiritual typology in later life, which emerged from a process of comparing and contrasting within and across the above themes related to understandings of spirituality and personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives in later life. The typology highlights four different categories of religious, spiritual or existential

relationships: between 'God to self', 'self to God', 'self to universe' and 'self to life', capturing the interpersonal nature of spirituality in later life. These represent analytical categories which provide a greater understanding of spirituality in later life in relation to the theoretical perspectives previously outlined in the introduction of our paper. They are intended to be inter-related rather than mutually exclusive categories. Table 2 shows the main features of each category.

'*God to self*'

Eight participants constructed personal narratives reflecting a 'God to self' religious relationship, which involved an increasingly close and personal relationship with God in life. Individuals who constructed a 'God to self' religious relationship were the most deeply religious and spiritual in the group. They comprised predominantly Black Caribbean older adults, and a minority of White British women, supporting the higher reported levels of religious and spiritual involvement among such subgroups in the literature (Levin, Taylor and Chatters 1994; Taylor, Chatters and Jackson 2007; Wink and Dillon 2002). The direction of this relationship was from 'God to self', because God, as a transcendent and indwelling spirit, directed their everyday actions and conduct with others in life. The defining life-course event shaping patterns of increase in importance in their faith and belief in God was a religious 'conversion' or 'calling' experience earlier in life. Frequent engagement in religious practices and a strong belief in an afterlife served to deepen their faith in later life. Such participants appeared to live *inside* their cognitive faith framework, which shaped the meaning and purpose of all other aspects of their lives (*i.e.* their relationships, behaviour and outlook).

For such participants, growing older engendered a greater sense of spiritual wisdom in later life, which appears to resemble a religious manifestation of Fowler's sixth and final 'universalizing faith' stage of spiritual development (Fowler 1981), characterised by the older individual completely embracing a spiritual way of life. However, compared to Fowler's model, our findings suggest that this process did not follow a sequential pattern of cognitive development over the life-course, but was constructed, in particular, by earlier religious events (*i.e.* a conversion experience) and having the opportunities and time to nurture their Christian faith in later life.

'*Self to God*'

The personal narratives of 12 older individuals reflected a 'self to God' religious relationship in later life. Such participants reported a belief in the

TABLE 2. *Defining features of four categories of relationship as part of a spiritual typology of later life*

God to self religious relationship (N=8)	Self to God religious relationship (N=12)
• Defines spirituality in terms of theistic attitudes relating to a transcendent or indwelling relationship with God. • Personal narratives reflecting the construction of a personal relationship with God in the direction from 'God to self'. • Personal narratives reflecting an increase in faith shaped by earlier religious 'conversion' or 'calling' experience. • Lives *inside* faith framework which determines the meaning of all aspects of a person's life. • Greater involvement in religious practices. • Acceptance of death shaped by a strong belief in an afterlife. • Mainly Black Caribbean older adults and a minority of White British women (range of ages).	• Defines spirituality in terms of theistic attitudes relating to a transcendent relationship with God. • Personal narratives reflecting the construction of a belief and relationship with God in the direction from 'self to God'. • Personal narratives reflecting a continuity of belief or relationship with God shaped by religious upbringing. • Draws on a belief in a transcendent/benevolent God throughout life. • Continued engagement in religious practices. • Mixed views on death: some reported an acceptance of death shaped by a belief in an afterlife; some reported a stoical acceptance of the inevitability of death; a minority preferred not to dwell on death. • Mainly Black Caribbean women; a minority of White British women and one man at the oldest ages.
Self to universe spiritual relationship (N=9)	**Self to life existential relationship (N=5)**
• Defines spirituality in terms of spiritual meanings in relation to attitudes from self to others and occasionally broader notions of the transcendent. • Personal narratives reflecting the construction of a relationship with a broader transcendent reality in the direction from 'self to universe'. • Personal narratives reflecting a decrease in importance of religious beliefs shaped by earlier life events, but a greater awareness of a broader transcendent reality (*e.g.* with nature/universe) influenced by changing circumstances in later life. • Largely not involved in religious practices in later life. • Mixed views on death: minority preferred not to dwell on death, most reported a stoical acceptance of the inevitability of death and a lack of belief in an afterlife. • Mostly White British men and women and a minority of Black Caribbean men (range of ages).	• Defines spirituality in terms of existential meanings relating to attitudes from self to others. • Personal narratives reflecting the construction of a relationship with other people in the direction from 'self to others' in life. • Personal narratives reflecting a lack in importance of religious beliefs shaped by earlier life events, but an increase in importance of existential philosophies related to values of meaning and purpose in life. • Not involved in religious practices. • Stoical acceptance of the inevitability of death. Mostly rejected the idea of a belief in an afterlife. • White British men and women at the oldest ages.

image of God which had remained stable over time, with this pattern of continuity of belief having been shaped by a strong religious upbringing, supporting the socially constructed nature of spirituality in later life.

This subgroup was comprised mainly of Black Caribbean women at the oldest ages. The direction of this relationship was from 'self to God' because such participants drew upon their relationship and faith in a transcendent God in times of need. God represented a benevolent guiding force for these older women (*cf.* Cohen, Thomas and Williamson 2008), to cope with changes throughout their lives, such as ill-health or the death of a spouse or adult child. Such women also continued to engage in religious practices (prayer, church attendance, Bible reading), which largely stemmed out of tradition from their religious upbringing.

'*Self to universe*'

Nine older individuals constructed personal narratives reflecting a 'self to universe' spiritual relationship, which involved a growing awareness of a broader transcendent reality (with nature, music or art) in later life. The direction of this relationship was from 'self to universe' because such participants drew upon a broader transcendent reality in response to changing circumstances (*e.g.* having more time) in later life. This broader spiritual relationship was more evident among White British men and women, which supports the findings of other studies conducted in predominantly secular societies (Kirby, Coleman and Daley 2004; Tornstam 1997*c*).

A 'self to universe' relationship would appear to resemble, to some extent, a spiritual manifestation of Fowler's model, but more so a process of spiritual development paralleling Tornstam's 'cosmic transcendence' dimension within his theory of gerotranscendence (Tornstam 1994, 2005), or a process of cognitive and emotional development in old age (Labouvie-Vief, DeVoe and Bulka 1989). The constructed nature of this relationship was also evident, shaped by such participants' more varied levels of religious upbringing, previous secular life events and changing circumstances related to growing older.

'*Self to life*'

Finally, the personal narratives of five participants reflected a 'self to life' existential relationship in later life. Such participants carried existential philosophies in terms of values related to meaning and purpose in life, and not in relation to a transcendent dimension beyond life. The direction of this relationship was from 'self to life' because the self in later life determined meaning and purpose in life (in terms of roles and relationships) within the

context of a stoical attitude to life and death. The socially constructed nature of beliefs and attitudes were apparent among such participants, with this existential relationship being mostly shaped by earlier life events (*e.g.* education, work and family commitments, the death of a family member), which influenced their current lack of belief in a God or other transcendent reality beyond life, as well as a lack of engagement in religious practices in later life. In particular, ethnic background influenced the construction of this existential relationship in later life, which was evident only among White British men and women at the oldest ages.

Discussion

In this paper we examined understandings of spirituality and personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives among a group of Black Caribbean and White British older men and women. Our aim was to develop a spiritual typology which would add to an understanding of the process of spirituality in later life. First, we found that ethnicity was central to shaping participants' understandings of spirituality in later life. Our findings suggest differences in meanings of spirituality among Black Caribbean and White British older adults. We found that Black Caribbean older men and women mostly defined spirituality in terms of Christian theistic attitudes related to a belief and relationship with a transcendent God. This is similar to personal definitions of spirituality among older African Americans identified in Cohen, Thomas and Williamson's (2008) study. White British older individuals in our study, on the other hand, drew on a range of religious, spiritual or secular notions when constructing personal definitions of spirituality, which tends to support MacKinlay's (2002) study which examined spiritual perspectives among older Australian adults.

One explanation for differences in the meanings of spirituality among participants relate to differences in religious socialisation patterns between Black Caribbean and White British older individuals, with the former often reporting a stronger religious Christian upbringing than the latter. Christian religious ideas and spiritual notions of belief are a key part of the religious socialisation and life experiences of current cohorts of Black Caribbean older adults (Bashi 2007; Chatters *et al.* 2009) compared to that of their White British counterparts. Another explanation could lie in the differences in the educational levels between the two ethnic groups; however, difficulties in defining spirituality among participants did not appear to be related to educational background. A lack of clarity about the meaning of spirituality was apparent among all participants, including some of the most well-educated.

Second, we examined personal narratives of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives among older adults. In line with other studies (Dalby 2006; Ingersoll-Dayton, Krause and Morgan 2002), we also found patterns of continuity and change in spiritual perspectives in later life. Again, we found that ethnicity was central to shaping patterns of continuity or change in spiritual perspectives. The majority of Black Caribbean older adults constructed personal narratives of spirituality reflecting patterns of continuity or an increase in importance of a belief, and a relationship with, God. Previous religious life experiences among Black Caribbean older individuals (religious upbringing; experiencing a religious turning point) and having more time to nurture their Christian faith in later life, seemed to reaffirm a sense of religious identity and provided such participants with a religious framework with which to cope with various changes in later life, such as ill-health, loss and an acceptance of death.

In contrast, the majority of White British older adults mostly constructed personal narratives of spirituality reflecting a decrease in importance, or a lack of Christian theistic beliefs in later life, but for some an increased awareness of a broader transcendent reality in later life. Similar broader notions of the transcendent among older adults of White ethnic groups have also been found in other European and Australian studies (Kirby, Coleman and Daley 2004; MacKinlay 2002; Tornstam 1997*c*). Patterns of spiritual and existential beliefs and values among White British older adults in our study were mostly shaped by earlier life events and changing circumstances related to growing older. These changes included those related to ill-health, loss and an awareness of a limited future, but also other contexts including having more time and a slower pace of life at older ages, as well as the lack of belief in an afterlife. For most White British men and women, albeit not all, religious ideas tended to become less important in later life, appearing to shape a search for alternative meaning frameworks (existential, or broader transcendent) in order to cope with such changes when growing older. The nature of the spiritual narrative among the white ethnic group as described showed no consistent pattern across different levels of education.

Gender also shaped personal narratives of spirituality in later life. However, unlike the literature in which older women have been found to attribute higher importance to their religious beliefs and practices than older men (Coleman 2005), we found a more mixed pattern, but again influenced by ethnic background. In our study, gender was particularly important in shaping continuity of belief in a God among Black Caribbean women, influenced by a strong Christian religious upbringing. However, both men and women of White British origin were more likely to report a decrease in importance of Christian theistic beliefs, but also an increase in

importance of either broader transcendent spiritual experiences or existential philosophies in later life.

Analysis of the personal narratives of spirituality among Black Caribbean and White British older adults led to the emergence of a spiritual typology in later life. This is a novel finding of our study and adds to our understanding of the process of spirituality in later life in two key ways. First, the typology captures the interpersonal nature of spirituality among older adults, in terms of four categories of religious, spiritual or existential relationships. It contributes to a call in the literature for studies to focus on the social contexts in which personal beliefs and meaning frameworks are differentially constructed among older adults (McFadden 2008), especially among those from different ethnic groups. Second, our spiritual typology highlights the multidimensional nature of spirituality in later life. The typology identifies spirituality as partly representing a developmental process (*i.e.* spiritual or religious) among some older adults, but mostly a socially and culturally constructed process, shaped in particular by ethnicity, but also by gender, and changing life events and circumstances related to growing older.

In the context of discussing the contribution of our spiritual typology, we acknowledge several possible limitations which could have influenced the level and diversity of response. Problems of disclosure of personal beliefs may have occurred due to spirituality being a potentially taboo topic in Britain (Hay and Hunt 2000). Another limitation relates to possible recall bias among participants when asked to provide retrospective accounts of personal narratives on continuity or change in spiritual perspectives over time. Our sample also only focused on the views of White British and Black Caribbean older adults who reported they had a Christian religious education, at least to some extent, and living within a defined geographical location. Due to the scope and exploratory nature of this study, it was also not possible to include the views of older individuals from other ethnic and religious backgrounds. Furthermore, it was not possible to examine within-ethnic group differences and similarities in spiritual perspectives by denominational group, because of the small numbers of participants within each ethnic group outside of a Church of England affiliation. We acknowledge this could have masked some diversity of spiritual perspectives, particularly given the reported diversity of Black Caribbean religious and spiritual traditions in the literature (Chatters *et al.* 2009).

Future research would benefit from a focus on studies which examine the spiritual perspectives of older adults from diverse spiritual or religious backgrounds (as well as among those from non-spiritual backgrounds), in order to further enhance our understanding of the process of spirituality in later life. In addition, given the reported positive links between spirituality,

health and well-being in later life (Kirby, Coleman and Daley 2004; Koenig, McCullough and Larson 2001; Wink and Dillon 2003), future studies examining the role of spirituality in successful ageing are warranted.

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NOTE

1 Age UK Lambeth (formally Age Concern Lambeth) is a local branch of Age UK (formally Age Concern England), a national charity supporting and advocating on behalf of older people. On 1 April 2009 Age Concern England joined together with another national charity for older people, Help the Aged, to form Age UK.

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