Spring 1969

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THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE ELDERLY

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SPRING 1969

S. REZA AHSAN

THE ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ELDERLY IN THE FLORIDA COUNTIES

During the decade of 1950-1960, Florida had the highest rate of population growth among the states. Population increased seventy-nine percent during this period. During the 1900-1960 period, the population of Florida increased approximately ten-fold. The phenomenal growth rate, however, occurred during the 1940's and 1950's. This is partially explained by improved transportation and communication facilities, high priority use of property for military purposes during World War II, and increased industrialization, especially the citrus industry. The dominant factor effecting the immigration of a large number of persons from the Northeast and the Midwest was the mass media and the tourist commending the climate, the scenery, and the potentialities of Florida living.

The 1960 census reported Florida's total population to be nearly 4.95 million, an increase of seventy-nine percent over the 1950 report. Of the seven and one-half average yearly growth, six percent were immigrants. Ecologically, seventy-four percent of the population was urban; fifty-four percent was living in seven urbanized areas of more than 100,000 people.

The pyramid of comparative relationship between Florida and U. S. population groups for 1960 (Figure 1) indicates the effect of the low birth rate during the Depression in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups. The pyramid also shows a larger concentration of the elderly group in Florida compared with the percentage of the elderly in the total population. By "elderly" is meant sixty-five years and over. In the 65-69 and 70-74 age specifics, there is distinct variation. Florida has a larger percentage of people in these age groups compared with the entire United States. In the 75-Over group, Florida still has the larger percentage but to a lesser degree. The concentration is due to the large-scale immigration of the elderly from other sections of the United States.
FLORIDA-U.S. AGE-SEX PYRAMID (1960)

PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION

U.S. POPULATION
FLORIDA POPULATION

MALE
FEMALE

0-4
5-9
10-14
15-19
20-24
25-29
30-34
35-39
40-44
45-49
50-54
55-59
60-64
65-69
70-74
75+

FIGURE 1
Florida has attracted tourists and settlers since the last decade of the nineteenth century. The large-scale migration and settlement of the elderly began in the 1940's and accelerated in the 1950's. The two major factors accounting for attracting the elderly were (1) climatic conditions and scenic beauty and (2) social and economic potential. The elderly, particularly the retired, preferred the warm climate and the natural beauty to the changeability of weather and scenic restrictions of other sections of the country.

In seeking these preferences, the elderly settled on both coasts of southern Florida where the temperature may dip below $32^\circ F$ only three or four days in the entire year. Prior to the 1930's, most of the elderly visited and settled in the Jacksonville area (Duval County) rather than the Sun Coast and the Gold Coast because of readily accessible communication and transportation facilities.

Certain changes in the socio-economic structure have induced this immigration of the elderly. One, of course, is the introduction of social security and retirement benefits. Another is the mass invasion of the tourist and vacationer. During vacations to Florida, many approaching old age and retirement make their final decisions to return for permanent residence. Investment opportunities in the form of real estate and industry is still another change effecting large-scale immigration, especially of the elderly.

Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 represent the distribution of the elderly population in Florida based on census data for 1960, 1950, 1940, and 1930, respectively. The method of representation is the cartographical technique of millidots, showing the locational changes of the elderly population in the Florida counties. This method equates 1,000 (milli) dots with the total population of the elderly in the State of Florida. Each dot, then, invariably represents one-tenth of one percent of the total elderly population in each of the census. Each dot numerically varies with each census. For 1960, for example, 1,000 dots represent a population of 553,129 elderly persons in the entire State of Florida. One dot, in this case, represents 553 persons. On the 1950 map, 1,000 dots represent 237,474 elderly persons, and one represents 237 persons. For 1940, one dot represents 131 persons; for 1930, seventy-one persons. The four maps specify four areas of concentration of the elderly: (1) Gold Coast, including Dade, Broward, Palm Beach, and Martin Counties; (2) Sun Coast, including Pasco, Pinellas, Hillsborough, Manatee, and Sarasota Counties; (3) Jacksonville and Duval County; and (4) East Coast, including Volusia, Brevard, Indian River, Seminole Lake, Orange, and Oseceola Counties. These latter three constitute the Central Ridge Counties. A fifth area, where a concentration of elderly people is developing, includes the Silver Coast counties of Charlotte, Lee, and DeSoto.
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<td>719</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>12,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminole</td>
<td>54,947</td>
<td>26,883</td>
<td>22,304</td>
<td>1,423</td>
<td>18,735</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>18,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumter</td>
<td>11,869</td>
<td>11,330</td>
<td>11,041</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>10,644</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suwannee</td>
<td>14,961</td>
<td>16,986</td>
<td>17,073</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>15,731</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>15,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>13,168</td>
<td>10,416</td>
<td>11,565</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>13,136</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>13,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>6,043</td>
<td>8,906</td>
<td>7,094</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>7,428</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>7,428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volusia</td>
<td>125,319</td>
<td>74,229</td>
<td>53,710</td>
<td>5,720</td>
<td>42,757</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>42,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Elderly</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Elderly</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1960</td>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakulla</td>
<td>5,257</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>5,258</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5,463</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walton</td>
<td>15,576</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>14,725</td>
<td>1,283</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>14,246</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>11,249</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11,888</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12,302</td>
<td>743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,951,560</strong></td>
<td><strong>553,129</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,771,305</strong></td>
<td><strong>237,474</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,897,414</strong></td>
<td><strong>131,217</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 indicates that twenty-three counties in 1960 had higher percentages of elderly population than the average of the entire state. In 1950, there were twenty-seven counties with higher percentages than the average for the state; in 1940 and 1930, the number of counties with higher percentages were twenty-two and twenty-five, respectively. Of these counties, ten have above-average percentages in all four of the census. Another ten have above-average percentages in three of the four census, Five others have better percentages in two of the census, and ten additional counties have better percentages in one census.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>163,714</td>
<td>55,252</td>
<td>25,512</td>
<td>10,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Coast</td>
<td>168,939</td>
<td>60,718</td>
<td>18,898</td>
<td>14,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Coast &amp; Central Ridge</td>
<td>77,454</td>
<td>33,630</td>
<td>18,680</td>
<td>11,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duval</td>
<td>28,151</td>
<td>17,934</td>
<td>10,561</td>
<td>5,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver Coast</td>
<td>11,291</td>
<td>3,907</td>
<td>2,317</td>
<td>1,334</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows that the Silver Coast counties (Charlotte, DeSoto, & Lee) do not have numerically large populations of the elderly, but the proportion is, nevertheless, above the average for the entire state. The trend for an increase in the population of the elderly in the future will be in the counties of the Sun Coast, the Silver Coast, and the East Coast.

REFERENCES

SYED REZA AHSAN (Ph. D. Florida) extracted the elderly population from his "Millidot Method of Representing Total Population Changes in the Florida Counties," a paper in preparation to be presented at the 1969 Annual Meeting of the National Council of Geographic Education, Houston. At the University of Florida, Mr. Ahsan assisted the late Professor Erwin Raisz on the Florida Atlas Project. He taught at the universities of Dacca (Pakistan), Haile Sellassie I (Ethiopia), and Wisconsin State (Stevens Point). He is currently an associate professor of geography at Western Kentucky University. Among several monographs in preparation for publication is one titled "East Indian Agricultural Settlements in Trinidad, West Indies."
Youth and grace his path declining,
Gloomy thoughts his bosom tear;
Seems the sun, in glory shining,
Now to him no longer fair.
Joys no more his soul engage,
Such the power of dreary age.
Pre-retirement training increased considerably within the last two decades but is still in its infancy, especially when we consider its potential. Corporations, industries, and labor unions have instituted various programs, but these are concentrated mainly in the large industrial centers and cities. The expansion to branch industries and local unions is still to come. This paper points up some of the main concepts, theories, and practices current in the United States.

THE RETIREMENT PICTURE

Men and women move into retirement at a different pace. The pattern depends on the importance attached to their worker roles more than continued status or higher incomes. Of the people aged sixty-five and over:

More women than men retire (95% of women; 83% of men).
Women are more apt to retire for voluntary reasons. They are less apt to give ill health or age as the reason.
Women retire regardless of occupational status or income level. Even professional women and administrators retire at about age sixty-five.
Married women are more apt to retire than non-married women.
Retirement rates for men are increasing but are fairly static for women.

The increasing retirement among men may be due to automation, which renders a job of the worker obsolete, encourages acceptance of retirement by the worker, and increases benefits or pensions making retirement feasible. It is possible that some workers are forced to retire before reaching the age of sixty-five, but there seems to be a trend toward electing earlier retirement, especially among the men.
Compulsory & Voluntary Retirement

Retirement policies are still being set up by new organizations or changed by older ones. Educational plans for pre-retirement may have to be structured around the particular philosophy of the sponsor. R. K. Burns, long associated with this aspect of preparation, gave the following arguments in favor of compulsory retirement:

1. It permits an orderly separation and transition from employment to retirement when declining health and productivity make it timely and appropriate.
2. It provides a practical administrative procedure that is objective, impersonal, and impartial, and which avoids charges of discrimination, favoritism, and bias.
3. It maintains open channels of promotion, insures more upward mobility, and strengthens incentive of younger persons as well as helps make a more efficient, effective, and adaptive organization.
4. It encourages the individual to plan and prepare for his own retirement, and it makes it necessary for the organization to make plans for adequate reserves and replacements for those who have retired.

The case in favor of freedom to act, or against compulsory retirement includes these points:

1. The majority of employees and executives resist the need for retirement while they are still able and willing to work.
2. The sharp reduction in income and the downward adjustment in living standards occasioned by retirement create undue hardships and resentment.
3. Compulsory retirement tends to disregard important differences in capacity as well as differences in job requirements. It ignores the productive potential of people and deprives them of the social and occupational significance which accrues from work.
4. The argument that compulsory retirement is a convenient and practical administrative procedure for separating older employees and for maintaining channels and opportunities for promotion of younger employees overlooks the effective alternatives of flexible retirement and the advantages of selective employment and utilization of older persons.
5. Compulsory retirement is costly and wasteful for the company, the individual, and the economy.

The counselor should have an easier time under the compulsory system since this is objective and neutral in that personalities are not involved. But another aspect has been accepted in this country as a very basic factor and
that is the meaning of work. Residents of the United States have long been achievement-oriented, and work was the core. Research shows that work means mainly the following:

1. Work is basic to self-respect and a sense of worth.
2. Work is a source of prestige and recognition by others. The individual is readily identified by his occupation.
3. Companionship with one's peers or associates is often a major factor in making work attractive.
4. Work is a source of intrinsic enjoyment, of creative self-expression.
5. Work is a way of being of service to others. It helps the individual feel needed and thus enhances self-worth.
6. Work can be a pleasant routine which helps to make time pass. If you have something which has to be done, whether you like it or not, this helps develop character and virtues unknown to the idle.
7. Work is a way of earning a living. The amount earned is not always the index of worth, but the independence associated with earning is important.
8. Work is a heavy and unpleasant burden to some people. Retirement can be a blessing here, and it is doubtful that these people will seek another occupation.

The first four or five meanings can be gained through play or in volunteer service and may be found more often in the higher occupational levels.

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES

The upper status group includes directors of big business, members of professions, and administrators of large concerns. Except for physical or mental problems for which a medical specialist prescribes cessation from work, the reduction of responsibility, or hours of work, there is not much involvement by counselors. Legal or business managers help them get their economic affairs in order, but they do not face the problem of relative poverty. Former chief executives of large corporations do not often retire completely. They become "chairman of the board" or are retained as directors. In this way the company has the benefit of their wisdom and keeps a rival from tapping this source of information. There are also no upper age limits for Supreme Court judges or legislators, so they make their own retirement decisions.

Professional men in private practice may decide on their own or in consultation with peers when it is time to retire. Farm owners or large landholders are in a similar category. But these people usually have many professional and social organization memberships which do not require a
resignation due to retirement. Their higher educational achievement furnishes them contacts with ideas, cultural interests, and with the world at large which are foreign to lower status members. Universities set an age for cessation of work and use this as the main criterion: deans and administrators must step down at sixty-five, professors at age seventy. However, some may then be employed from year to year; one law school has used retired judges and law professors as the main faculty. They may not carry a full load, but that seems to be a characteristic of people in this group; they may shift blocks of work to others, but retain some professional or occupational association and decision-making rights.

The middle stratum people are the ones who really want help in planning their retirement. They do not have the extensive memberships of the higher status groups and are geared more to a structured schedule of time and work. Since they were less involved psychologically in their work, they can give it up, but are apt to be more uncertain about their future roles and welcome advice on how to manage their leisure.

The lower blue collar workers and laborers need the most help in preparation for retirement. Their work carries little prestige or security; but even if they have been on this job for many years, retirement will mean a break in routine. They usually have very few associational connections beside the union and have few sources for advice. When they must retire their greatest dread is the reduced income. They have never been planners for the future and may need sustained help if they are to get along. With the reduction of physical energy, the activities which filled their time will also be diminished. It is obvious that pre-retirement training has to be given at the common-man level; for people who are not educationally advanced need to learn what they can expect in the future and where they can go for help.

**PRE-RETIREMENT COURSES**

The Industrial Relations Department of the University of Chicago prepared a course of study recommended for people about ten years from retirement. The course includes the following lessons:

1. The Challenge of Later Maturity
2. Nutrition & Health in Later Years
3. The Physical Side of Aging
4. Mental Health in Later Life
5. Financial Planning for Retirement
6. The Meaning of Work
7. Getting the Most Out of Leisure
8. Increasing Your Retirement Income
9. Family, Friends, & Living Arrangements in Later Life
10. Where to Live When You Retire
Similar courses are given by various organizations, labor unions, and corporations. Classes are usually limited to about twenty to thirty people. The material is presented by persons who know their field, and discussion is encouraged. In most companies people are invited, but not required, to participate, and there is no charge for the course.

A large department store in one metropolis offers the pre-retirement course to its people but also sets up an annual interview with each employee in his birth month from age sixty to retirement. The interview takes fifteen minutes to an hour, is held in a sound-proof room, and is absolutely confidential. It is held on company time. A review is made of the worker's job performance which is rated by two supervisors. If there are problems such as absenteeism or strain in inter-worker relationships, these are discussed frankly and openly, counselor and worker attempting to resolve them. The retirement plans of each individual are discussed; the worker is helped to prepare himself socially, emotionally, and mentally for the post-work period. He also knows he can continue his employment on reaching age sixty-five if his health permits; he can continue to perform well especially if he is still needed. Following the interview the employee is given a medical examination. The necessity of medical attention is noted. Another examination is sometimes given in three to six months.

This program benefits the employee in being given information about Social Security and company benefits. He can plan ahead knowing what his income will be. The possibility of "retirement-shock" is eliminated, and the employee has a better attitude toward this period and a better chance of living an interesting and rewarding life in retirement.

Though the program operates at the company's expense, it is a morale builder; it further improves public relations because employees talk about it at home and among friends. It has the value of preventing problems becoming serious and of making the employee a more productive worker. The experience convinced the employer that the service should be available beginning at age forty-five, since the worker can be objective about the future and can dream about profitably filling his leisure time by travel and avocational pursuit.

Group counseling tends to be informative and objective. It is better if husband and wife attend the sessions, since retirement affects them both. While there is value in individual interviews, this becomes expensive; and so far, post-retirement training service is rare even though such a program would be valuable.

SOCIAL THEORIES & RETIREMENT

Two theories associated with the aging individual are the Activity
Theory and the Disengagement Theory. The first considers the value of remaining in the mainstream of life, recognizes that stimulation is necessary to remain mentally alert, emotionally balanced, and physically active. Reentry into the working life is important to some people even thought it means going into a new field, volunteer activity, or other functions which keep the individuals involved. They may have selected things to do with their leisure time and enjoy doing as they please. A three-country research study reports that 61% of the white-collar workers enjoy their retirement, and 49% of the blue-collar workers do so compared to only 26% of agricultural workers. The retired men who say they are often or even occasionally lonely are more likely to miss something about their former work, the people there, or the work itself.  

The disengagement concept suggests that a person's interest in his work, friends, organizations, and even in his family changes as he grows older. He tends to disentangle himself from many of the ties which were important to him in middle life. He withdraws from or reduces his involvement in social activities and has less interest in life. There is also an internal change in that he cares less and is less interested in achievement. Middle-aged people, who are making plans for the aged, may not be able to understand the process involved, and that it may affect the blue-collar workers or the laborer more than the middle and upper status person in the latter years. A practical aspect might be that the employer should set aside money, not allow the worker to retire earlier but to keep him employed longer. This becomes a mission to rescue the individual from slipping into loneliness or disenchantment.  

It would be wonderful if the individual could experience self-renewal in retirement. A few do so on their own, but it is still rare. In a research project presently underway, we asked older people to report hobbies, experiences, lessons, and interests they had earlier in life. There seems to be little carry-over of these into retirement activities. Instead, the people who had extensive exposure to a variety of experiences seem to pick up new ones in the later years. It is important to have a life-identity in old age. Married women, especially those with children, seem to have it; and when they retire from work, they still have major roles at home. Men whose major image centered in work-roles may be without an anchor in retirement. They need more help in establishing effective and satisfactory means of using leisure time.
NOTES & REFERENCES


7 U.S. Senate, Retirement & the Individual, 452-58.

RUTH E. ALBRECHT (M.A., Ph.D. Chicago), professor of sociology at the University of Florida since 1960 and fellow of the American Sociological Association, the Gerontology Society, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has published major studies in the sociology of the elderly including Older People (1954) and Aging In A Changing Society (1962). Professor Albrecht has pursued a teaching and research career in human development at the universities of Chicago, Indiana, Kansas, Auburn, and Florida. Prior to her appointment as professor, she was head of the family life department at the University of Florida.
It is neither so easy a thing, nor so agreeable a one, as men commonly expect, to dispose of leisure when they retire from the business of the world. Their old occupations cling to them even when they hope that they have emancipated themselves. Go to any seaport town, and you will see that the sea captain, who has retired upon his well-earned earnings, sets up a weather cock in full view from his window, and watches the variations of the wind as duly as when he was at sea, though no longer with the same anxiety.

Robert Southey
Retirement, THE DOCTOR'S WISE SAYINGS
Material from three studies, though dissimilar in methodology, is assembled to test the hypothesis that people who live to extreme old age have larger than average families. All three studies verify the thesis. When compared with cohort data, size of family is larger than expected and cannot be accounted for by the differentiation between rural and urban living. Age, sex, race, and nativity are correlated with fertility. The most significant phenomenon observed in all three studies is the large number of children living when their parents reached age 100 having far exceeded the life expectation of their cohort. European studies of centenarians also support the longevity-fertility hypothesis.

Almost half a century ago, Alexander Graham Bell called attention to the relation between longevity and fertility in his classic essay, "Who Shall Inherit Long Life?" published in The National Geographic Magazine. He particularly noted that "long-lived people left more descendents behind them in proportion to their numbers than the others, and therefore, on the average, had larger families." (Bell 1919)

This paper aims to test Bell's hypothesis by examining the offspring of centenarians with special reference (1) to number of children born to centenarians and (2) to number of children living when the mother passed her one-hundredth birthday.

SAMPLE

Raw data from three investigations of social and psychological characteristics of centenarians were re-examined to see what light they could throw on the relation between longevity and fertility. Two of these investigations were conducted by the author, and the third was derived from data compiled
by George Gallup. Together they supplied records on more than 800 men and women who have lived a century or more. They constitute a quota-sample representation of the major demographic categories of people born between 1840 and 1860. They comprise more than ten percent of the total universe of persons 100 years of age and over living in the United States at the time these investigations were made.

The exact ages were in most cases obtained. When date of birth could not be obtained, subjects were included only if evidence was available to substantiate an age of at least 100. In one case a woman has a great, great, great grandchild; that is, she heads six generations. In another case, the age of a grandson was verified by the Social Security Agency to be sixty-seven. The sample is somewhat skewed in favor of educational attainment and occupational status. Both factors have been shown in previous studies to be negatively correlated with fertility.

Both Studies Number One and Two which follow are parts of a long-range study of centenarians the methodology of which is reported elsewhere. (Beard 1967)

STUDY NUMBER ONE

Data was obtained from 125 women alleged to be 100 years of age or who had been married at some time in their lives. Single women were excluded. Eight of the 125 never had any children. Nativity and race were proportionate to their age cohort: 25 Negro, 20 foreign born, and 80 native white. The foreign born came from ten European countries; they include no Orientals.

Table 1 gives the number of children in relation to the age of alleged centenarians.

A total of 520 children were reported for one hundred white women, a mean of 5.2. No significant difference in number of children was found between native and foreign born white women. For the twenty-five Negroes the total number of children was 202, a mean of 8.1. Thirty-two percent of the Negro women and fifty-one percent of the white women had four children or less. Twenty-four percent of the Negro and thirty-one percent of the white had five to eight children. The largest difference comes in women with nine or more children, since forty-four percent of the Negroes and only eighteen percent of the whites fall into this category. Two Negro women reported that they had each given birth to sixteen children. The largest family was reported by a white mother who had eighteen children.

The number of children born to centenarians was not always verified. The question asked was, "How many children did you have?" In retrospect
it seems probable that the 100 year olds may have omitted still-births and children who died young. In a few cases, in which 100 year olds were queried about their dead children, it was apparent that this was true. They tended to refer only to those who had survived infancy. In this study, adopted children, step-children, and foster children were not included.

While the number of children born to centenarians was not always verifiable, the number of living children in all instances was ascertained. In this study, therefore, the number of living children is probably a more significant figure than the number of ever-born children. Table 1 summarizes the total number and mean number of living children in relation to the age of Negro and white centenarians.

About three-fourths, or seventy-nine percent of the white centenarians and seventy-two percent of non-white, had four or less children living when they reached 100. At the time they were investigated, only eighteen had no living children. Two of these women were Negro. Since eight had never had children, this means that 107 of 117 women had living offspring when they reached age 100.

Although non-whites reported a much larger total number of children born to them than did the whites, the average number surviving was only slightly larger, 3.1 for non-white and 3.0 for whites. There is a significant difference between native-born and foreign-born women. The foreign-born women had 3.5 living children, on the average, whereas the native-born had only 2.9.
TABLE 2

NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN TO 125 EVER-MARRIED FEMALE CENTENARIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Of Women</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Non-White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number Of Women</td>
<td>Total Number Of Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 To 102</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103 To 105</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106 &amp; Over</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Scientific data on centenarians are almost non-existent. Two studies, though not identical in methodology, are presented for comparison. The first included the coded records used by the author in a study of "Demonstrated Human Abilities After Age One-Hundred." The other is based on the research records of George Gallup (1960).

Unfortunately, two coding devices previously used tend toward partial distortion of the actual number of children. When tabulating the number of children, "None Reported" was combined by the programmer with "None."

On the other hand, another coding device obscured the picture by lumping at the upper end of the continuum ever-born children into the category "Ten & Over" and living children into the category "Seven & Over." Since we know from case studies that the range extended to twenty-four for ever-born children and to thirteen for living children, the actual number of children was considerably curtailed.

STUDY NUMBER TWO

Study Number Two deals with 570 centenarians previously investigated, 447 of whom reported having had children. Of these 207 (46.3%) were males and 240 (53.7%) females. The mean number of children for males (5.5) was
understandably larger than for females, since many of the centenarian men had been married two or more times and had produced offspring at more advanced ages than the women. However, we are chiefly concerned here with the fertility of the women. Tables 3 and 4 summarize the number and percent of children born, and tables 5 and 6 the number and percent of children living when the parent was age 100.

### TABLE 3

**NUMBER OF CENTENARIANS BY SEX WITH REPORTED NUMBER OF CHILDREN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number Of Centenarians</th>
<th>Number Of Children</th>
<th>Total Number Of Children</th>
<th>Mean Number Of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-4 5-6 7-9 10+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>210 82 43 49 36</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>262 148 43 37 34</td>
<td>1328</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>472 230 86 86 70</td>
<td>2631</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(BBB - Study #2)

### TABLE 4

**PERCENTAGE OF CENTENARIANS BY SEX WITH DESIGNATED NUMBER OF CHILDREN REPORTED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Of Children</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7-9</th>
<th>10+</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(BBB - Study #2)
Since seventy people (12.7%) of the centenarians listed "Ten Or More," we have reason to believe that the total number of ever-born children has been considerably understated. However, using this method of calculation, the number of children for 447 centenarians as reported in Table 3 was at least 2,631, a mean of 5.6 children. If the small number of centenarians who never had any children (6% in Study #1) had been included in Table 3, the number reported would have been slightly smaller.

### Table 5

**NUMBER OF CENTENARIANS WITH DESIGNATED NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Number Of Centenarians</th>
<th>Number Of Children</th>
<th>Total Number Of Children</th>
<th>Mean Number Of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>66 64 40 37</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>118 71 38 13</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>184 135 78 50</td>
<td>1508</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(BBB - Study #2)

### Table 6

**PERCENTAGE OF CENTENARIANS WITH DESIGNATED NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage Of Centenarians</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(BBB - Study #2)
The total number of living children recorded using a cut-off point of "Seven Of More" was 1508, a mean of 3.4 children for the 447 centenarians reporting children. This means that at least 56.9 percent of the offspring of these centenarians had survived until after the one-hundredth birthday of the parent.

In addition to the 447 centenarians with known children, 123 said they "had no living children when 100." However, we do not know whether or not they ever had any children. The significant fact is that 78.4 percent of all centenarians in the investigation had children living when they were 100.

Of the 1,508 surviving children, at least 350 (23.2%) had six or more siblings still living; that is, they were in families of seven or more living children. It seems significant that centenarians have at age 100 a larger number of living children ("children" being in most cases fifty years of age or over) than the average fifty-year old mother today. Though we do not have the exact ages of all the living offspring of centenarians, the mean age must far exceed the life expectation of their age cohort.


The expectation of life for whites in the United States in 1850 was 38.3 for males and 40.5 for females. In 1890, when most of the centenarians in this study would have completed their childbearing, the expectation for men was 42.5, and for women 44.46. It appears therefore that the children of centenarians also show unusual longevity. However, it will be another fifty years before we can know their true age span. We do not have expectation of life computations for non-whites until 1900 when it was 32.54 for males and 35.04 for females.

In view of the generally higher mortality of non-whites, the relative number of centenarians, the mean number of their children, and especially the number of offspring are noteworthy.

THE GALLUP STUDY

The only other large scale effort to interview very old people is the study by George Gallup, American Institute of Public Opinion, published as "The Secrets of Long Life." His skilled interviewers gathered data on a representative sample of 402 men and women ninety-five years of age and over. Of these, 238 were from ninety-five to ninety-nine years old and 164 from one-hundred to one-hundred thirteen years old. Only 322 records show clearly the number of children. In many instances, the question was probably not asked. In eighty cases there were "None Reported," but we do not know how many actually never had children.
Table 7 deals only with the size of family of persons known to have had children. As is the case in the study above, the number of children is understated because of the lumping of "Ten & Over." Using this abbreviated scale, the mean number of children for centenarians was 5.5 as compared with a mean number of 4.5 for persons ninety-five to ninety-nine years old. It is possible that the difference in mean number of children reported by the nonogenarians as contrasted with centenarians is partially accounted for by the drop in national fertility rates.

### TABLE 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total Number Of Centenarians</th>
<th>Number Of Children</th>
<th>Total Number Of Children</th>
<th>Mean Number Of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100+</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95-99</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Age 100 & Over group, seventeen (12.0%) had ten or more children, while only fourteen (7.7%) of those in the Age 95-99 group had families this large. (See Table 8) More of the persons in the Age 95-99 group than those in the Age 100 & Over group had from one to four children, 105 (57.7%) in the first group compared to 70 (49.3%) in the centenarian group.

### LONGEVITY & AGE AT BIRTH OF LAST CHILD

Is there a relation between the length of the child-bearing period and longevity? Today only about one-tenth of mothers bear children after age thirty-five. Gallup found that fifty-five percent of the mothers had borne children after age thirty-five, thirteen percent after age forty-five, and three percent after age fifty. One woman gave birth to a child at fifty-nine and another at sixty. The significance of an extended childbearing period and its relation to longevity is not yet known.
COHORT DATA

When cohort figures are checked, it becomes apparent that the family had already undergone a reduction in size from colonial days and that the centenarians reported here were having their children in a transitional period. For example, when women born in 1865-1869 were age 70-74 in 1940, they had had 3,901 children per 1000 women; whereas, those 65-69 years of age had had only 3,700 children per 1000 women, or a 5% decline in fertility.

Data from the 1910 Census indicate that non-white women age 70-74 (born 1840-1845) had an average of 6.6 children ever born compared with 4.4 children for native white women. Between 1910 and 1950, however, the average number of children ever born to white women 45 to 49 years old declined from 5.9 to 2.7. Table 9 gives the number of children ever born per 1000 women ever married from 1910 to 1957.

Whelpton (1954) uses age 47 for calculating gross reproduction rate of actual cohorts and finds that the gross reproductive rate decreased from 174 for the 1875 cohort to 111 for the 1904-1909 group, a decrease of thirty-six percent in thirty-four years or a little more than one percent per year.

Using the cumulative birth rate for all women, Whelpton finds approximately a one percent decline per year in fertility from 1860-1865 to 1903. If this same decline had been in operation for the cohorts from 1840 to 1860, the period when most of the centenarians in this study were born, it would account for part, but not all, of the excessive number of children of the centenarians.
TABLE 9

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN
PER 1000 WOMEN EVER MARRIED, 1910 TO 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>1957</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children Ever Born Per 1000 Women Ever Married (50 Years Of Age &amp; Over)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FERTILITY & PLACE OF LIVING

Knowing that fertility in rural areas is traditionally higher than in urban areas, the question arises whether the unusually large families of the centenarians merely reflected the size of families that were predominantly rural. This does not seem to have been the case.

Grabill, Kiser, and Whelpton (1958) discuss this problem, and conclude that fertility began to decline before there was any appreciable proportion of the population residing in urban areas. Of 521 centenarians about whom "Area Lived Longest" is known, 22.8 percent had lived longest in rural communities, 42.0 percent in towns or villages, 20.1 percent in small cities, and only 14.6 percent in large cities. The 34.7 percent who said they had lived longest in either small or large cities is roughly comparable to the 39.7 percent of the total population who were living in urban communities in 1900. (Taeuber & Taeuber 1958)

Thus it appears that place of living does not account for the larger number of children of centenarians.

EUROPEAN DATA

Very little scientific research has been done on centenarians in other countries. In studies in widely scattered areas, without exception each investigator reports both men and women over age one-hundred to have had an exceptional number of offspring.
The investigations of two physicians who studied intensively small groups of centenarians are worthy of note. George M. Humphry (1889), in his summary on the study of fifty-two British centenarians, wrote: "The average number of children born to each, whether man or woman, was six." In the "Gerontological Study of Hungarian Centenarians," L. Haranghy (1965) reports the size of families as shown in Table 10. The mean number of children of thirty-three centenarians, including those with no children, was 6.1.

TABLE 10

NUMBER & PERCENTAGE OF HUNGARIAN CENTENARIANS WITH DESIGNATED NUMBER OF CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Centenarians With Children</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7-9</th>
<th>10+</th>
<th>Total Number Of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the above studies confirm Alexander Graham Bell's thesis that centenarians have larger than average families, they do not ipso facto establish a causal relationship. Whether or not there is a genetic relationship between longevity and fertility remains to be demonstrated. (Note, page 34)

Or is it possible that longevity appears to be correlated with fertility because of the social factors involved? The person with several children has potentially more people to live for, more persons in whom to have a sustaining interest, and more persons obligated to care for him. The life histories of centenarians are full of stories of sympathetic, self-sacrificing children, relatives, and friends who have devoted their lives to the care of their aged loved ones. How many men and women of age one-hundred and over would have lived without the care of these faithful family members and friends?

Studies of social competence in old age show that those individuals who maintain their mental health are the ones who make successful personal adjustments to others and changing events. Is it possible that the personal-adjustment experience learned in the large family life context provides the best equipment for survival?
This study was supported in part by Grant 5-Rll-MH-02236-02, National Institute of Mental Health, and in part by a grant from the Southern Fellowship Fund. The author gratefully acknowledges her indebtedness to Dr. George Gallup for permission to use fertility data from his research records, and to Professors J. C. Belcher (Georgia) and P. D. Richardson (Lynchburg) for their criticism and suggestions.

ADDENDUM

Thomas H. Roderick & John B. Storer

CORRELATION BETWEEN MEAN LITTER SIZE & MEAN LIFE SPAN AMONG TWELVE INBRED STRAINS OF MICE

Abstract. In twelve inbred strains of mice there was no general correlation between litter size and parental life span within strains, although a significant between-strain correlation of 40.69 was found between mean life span of the dams and the mean size of the litters. When data from AKR/J mice, which characteristically die early from leukemia, were excluded, the correlation was increased to +0.90 for the remaining eleven strains. These findings indicate that the correlation is of genetic origin—that is, that genes affecting a dam's life span also affect the size of her litters.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY


BELLE BOONE BEARD (Ph.D. Bryn Mawr) is a retired professor of sociology from Sweet Briar College, a fellow emeritus of the American Sociological Association, and the 1968 recipient of the Professional Award for distinguished service in gerontology bestowed by the Georgia Gerontological Society. She is currently research professor at the Lynchburg College Research Center, Virginia, conducting a gerontology seminar and pursuing research in the coping mechanisms of centenarians: the relation between twinning, family size, and longevity; and the longevity syndrome. Most recent of her publications is a paper, "Sensory Decline In Very Old Age," which appears in volume II of Gerontologia Clinica, Basel, Switzerland.
The locks once comely in a virgin's sight,
Locks of pure brown, displayed the encroaching white;
The blood, once fervid, now to cool began,
And time's strong pressure to subdue the man.

George Crabbe
THE APPROACH OF OLD AGE
A Link Between Social Structure & Health Among The Elderly

This paper reports research on the development of a measure of morale called the Will to Live scale. Data from a study of retired steelworkers show that the Will to Live concept is related to the socio-cultural concepts of social science and the Giving-up, Helplessness-Hopelessness concepts of psychosomatic medicine. Suggestions are made for the use of this measure in both research and the care of patients.

In the field of psychosomatic medicine much has been said about the relationship between morale variables and illness. In general, low morale has been related to poor health. But the concept Morale has been measured in many and varied ways. The purpose of this paper is to describe a measure of morale known as the Will to Live scale, to indicate some of its social and health correlates, and to discuss the social and medical implications of the findings.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Two medical researchers who assume a morale factor operating in illness are Schmale and Hinkle. Schmale describes the morale factor known as the Helplessness-Hopelessness response as follows:

Helplessness represents a feeling of unreasonable loss resulting from a deprivation perceived as coming from the environment for which the individual feels he can do nothing but must wait for the environment to overcome or replace the lost gratification.
Hopelessness represents a feeling of unresolvable loss resulting from frustration which the individual feels he created for himself and for which he feels neither he nor anyone else can overcome or replace the loss. Thus, helplessness is an other-oriented "giving-up," and hopelessness is a self-oriented "giving-up."

To illustrate the operation of this response, Schmale describes results from several studies. One included fourteen women selected because it was known that their husbands were dying of cancer. After periodically interviewing the women for fifteen months, Schmale concluded: "All those who experienced feelings of "giving-up" became ill in one way or another within six months following the loss of their spouse." Research by Hinkle has emphasized the relationship between adjustment to one's own situation and health:

Those who fit most comfortably into given niches, who by background, temperament, and physical characteristics seem best suited to the situation in life in which they find themselves, seem to do better in terms of their over-all health. It appears that the adaptive demands upon them are less great than upon others whose characteristics fit less readily the situations in which they must live.

This evidence suggests that the psychological state of morale is a significant factor in illness. Also, it describes two loci for phenomena contributing to low morale, namely personal loss and social loss.

Social science has long demonstrated the existence of a relationship between psychological states and social structure. A major postulate in the Durkheim study on suicide states that "suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social group of which the individual forms a part." Though the psychological states are not stressed, Durkheim did characterize suicide, the most extreme rejection of life, as a function of the social group structure and the individual's relationship to it.

Recently, Tuckman and Youngmen found that suicide was higher for persons who were: (1) separated, widowed, or divorced; (2) unemployed or retired; (3) living alone; (4) in poor or chronic health condition; and (5) suffered from a nervous or mental disorder. The two examples from the social sciences suggest a close link between morale and the social structure.

Building on the work in psychosomatic medicine and social science, this writer argues that factors in the social structure contribute to the morale of individuals. Morale is expressed in an individual's will to live, and this in turn is related to his health.
WILL TO LIVE: A MEASURE OF MORALE

The Will to Live scale was designed to discriminate persons who want to live from those for whom continued life is less attractive. The seven items of the scale are:

1. Sometimes I look forward to passing on . . . . . . . Agree
2. You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile anymore . . . . . . . Agree
3. After all our friends & relatives have passed on we might as well be gone too . . . . . . . Agree
4. Sometimes it would be better to be gone & away from it all . . . . . . . Agree
5. At my age continuing to live is not so important . . . . . . . Agree
6. There are times when most of us wish our lives were over
How often do you feel this way? . . . . . . . Often
7. Some people say they want to live very much; others say they would rather be gone
How do you feel about this? . . . . . . . Rather be gone

Item 2 was borrowed from the questionnaire of the Midtown Manhattan Study where it was used as an indicator of "latent suicide tendency." The reproducibility of this cumulative scale is .92.

The three items included to test the construct validity of the Will to Live scale were:

1. Modern doctors are telling us we'll be able to live until we are 110 years old. How do you feel about living that long?
2. About how many more years would you like to live?
3. Interviewer's comments: This man's attitude toward life is:
   Wants to live very much
   Wants to live some
   Doesn't want to live
   Doesn't know

All three items were significantly related (5% Level) to the Will to Live scale, giving some evidence for the construct validity of the scale.

METHODS & SUBJECTS

It was suspected that persons with little desire to live might be rare. It was decided, therefore, to interview persons for whom life and death had
immediate significance. These criteria demanded that the individuals be older and experiencing some critical social changes in their lives. Retired men seemed to fulfill these needs. Secondly, it was necessary to control as many background factors as possible. Thus, instead of selecting retired persons at random, the sample was limited to steelworkers from one mill who were living in a single working class community. This selection contributed to the homogeneity of the respondents and insured their experience of similar crises in adjusting from the routine of heavy mill work to the leisureed life style.

The data were based on structured interviews with 108 retired steelworkers, about half of whom were between the ages of sixty-six and seventy-one and seventy-five percent of whom lived in their present homes ten years or more. Most of the men (75%) resided with their wives. Only half (51%) were American-born; the others came to this country prior to the immigration restrictions of the 1920's. Eighty percent thought they had enough to live on. With social security and a pension from the mill, the retiree's income averaged $200 to $300 per month.

ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

For these retired steelworkers two elements of the social structure were considered crucial. First, a higher proportion of these men were isolated even though seventy-five percent said they were married and lived with their wives. Seventy-four percent admitted that close friends and relatives had died in the last two years. Not only were their work-crew peers dying, but retirement also cut them off from work contacts and the younger members of their crews. This constituted an involuntary disengagement. Two impersonal forces, work rules and death, isolated the retirees from work-crew friends and other friends as well. Therefore, social isolation was considered to be crucial for a retired steelworker's will to live. 14

"Going on a pension" in steel mill language means that the steelworker must leave the closed culture of "the mill" and can no longer perform the job he occupied for many years. He has lost his role as a working man and is forced to find outlets for his interests and energies. Some men transferred their work to their homes, gardens, grandchildren, and neighbors. They reported they "just keep busy." Others could not make this adjustment and were helpless without the structured working life of the mill culture. How the individual accepted his loss of job and the adjustment he made to retirement was the second element deemed important. This element was labeled Loss of Function.

The elements of social isolation and loss of function were measured by use of two cumulative scales. The nine items of the social isolation scale developed by Dwight Dean formed a "quasi-scale" with a .86 reproducibility. 16
The scale measuring loss of function attempted to index the way a man feels about losing his job and how he adjusted to his retired role. Six items comprised the cumulative loss of function scale which had a reproducibility of .90,17

RESULTS

When social isolation and loss of function are cross-tabulated against Will to Live, low Will to Live is related to high social isolation and high loss of function. Forty-eight percent of the social isolates compared to seven percent of those integrated had a low Will to Live.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Will To Live</th>
<th>Social Isolation</th>
<th>Loss Of Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER OF CASES</td>
<td>(42)</td>
<td>(43)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square Value Using Yates' Correction=22.65 Yates' Correction=19.43
4 df, p < .001 4 df, p < .001

The more isolated steelworkers were older, sicker, poorer, and had been cut-off from their usual social ties. The isolate is illustrated by Mr. X. Seated in a wheelchair, he presented the picture of one who had completely given up. With tears in his eyes he talked about the friends he had worked with at the mill. "But now they're all gone." Describing his normal day, Mr. X said: "I just sit. Sometimes I watch TV. I can't get out of this (wheelchair). On a nice day she (wife) puts me out on the porch." In response to the item: When You Get Old & Can't Help, People Don't Want You Around—Mr. X broke into tears and sobbed, "Not even the kids."
Retired steelworkers with great loss of function had a low Will to Live. Among those who had a high loss of function, thirty-five percent had a low Will to Live, while none of those who experienced low loss of function had a low Will to Live.

Nationality and type of occupation were highly related to loss of function. Having little education and unable to speak English, the Hungarian and Pole went to work in a crew of his countrymen. For years he prided himself on being able to work hard in the mill and do his share. But compulsory retirement deprived him of something to do, and his inability to speak English became a greater handicap. When sickness occurred, the retired steelworker experienced further loss of function. Mr. Y illustrated extreme loss of function. He was exceedingly frail with hands crippled by arthritis:

With my hands like this, I just couldn't do the work. All I do to take up time is sit around the house and do nothing. I'm ready to go anytime. I'm no good to anybody on earth now. Too damn much time on my hands.

**HEALTH**

The measure of the retired steelworker's perceived health was the answer to the following question: Would You Say You Are in (1) Good Health, (2) Average Health, or (3) Poor Health? The validity of this index was not established by checking hospital records or by physical examination. Nevertheless, men who said they were in poor health visited a doctor more recently, saw a doctor more times during the last year, had more illness following retirement, and had an illness which bothered them at the time of their interview.18

If following the line of argument presented at the outset, namely that low morale led to illness, then low Will to Live should be related to poor perceived health. Table 2 shows that more people with low Will to Live are in poor health. This evidence would tend to support the judgment of Hinkle and Schmale who argue that low morale leads to illness.

**CONCLUSION**

The above results illustrate the use of the morale concept Will to Live. It is argued that Will to Live taps a vital dimension in the lives of individuals. Low Will to Live reflects "despair" which Nettler said is basic to anomie scales,19 Low Will to Live connotes "giving-up" and the "helplessness and hopelessness" which Schmale found to be related to the onset of illness.7 Low Will to Live implies futility which Kutner and others relate to poor health and social isolation.1
A measure of Will to Live has a variety of research and treatment applications. It could provide an indication of psychological states before death and especially of changes in these states. It could indicate that state in life when persons will no longer cooperate in their care or follow medical regimens. A measure of Will to Live could sensitize care givers to persons who are suicidal. Finally, research investigating relationships between socio-cultural factors and health could find Will to Live a useful concept. It is hoped that future research will employ this concept and continue to perfect it.

A METHODOLOGICAL CAUTION & RESEARCH SUGGESTION

The above description of the Will to Live scale with its social and health correlates implies a causal chain leading from the social structure (isolation and loss of function) to a psychological condition (low Will to Live) to a somatic condition (poor health). While some would argue for this patterning of events, and equally strong case would be made for other patterns such as poor health leads to low Will to Live, for example. In fact, the evidence from the behavior of retired steelworkers tends to support this point of view. Sickness played a critical role in the lives of retired steelworkers, Poor health was a reason given for retiring by forty-nine percent of the men. Sickness not only isolated the men from their friends, it also prevented them from serving some nominal function such as gardening, taking
walks, and working at simple odd jobs around the house which healthier persons could do. One man expressed the feelings of the sick as follows:

Life is a fake. It's got no meaning when you're sick. I'm ready to go anytime. I'm no good to anybody on earth now.

For these men, sickness not only meant pain and discomfort, it meant being unable to work and idleness. Another put it this way: "I wish there was a button I could push to get it over with." What we seem to have here is a "Which came first?" problem that longitudinal studies may help us answer.

Several causal models are possible:

1 Social Change (Isolation, Loss of Function) → Psychological Change (Low Will to Live) → Somatic Change (Illness)
2 Social Change → Somatic Change → Psychological Change
3 Somatic Change → Psychological Change → Social Change
4 Somatic Change → Social Change → Psychological Change
5 Psychological Change → Somatic Change → Social Change
6 Psychological Change → Social Change → Somatic Change
7 Psychological Change → Social Change → Somatic Change

At this point in time, researchers seem to be arguing for one of the above models depending upon their particular discipline. Only longitudinal studies can help decide which model(s) is (are) superior. In fact, a causal chain may not even be appropriate. It may well be that the interrelationships between these three variables are so intimately balanced that a change in any one will result in changes in the others. Clarification of these interrelationships should be a central focus of future research.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Jack A. Wolford, M. D., and the following members of the Community Study Center, Western Psychiatric Institute & Clinic, University of Pittsburgh: John Hitchcock, M. D., Director; Richard Hessler, M. A.; and, Earlene Reavies, M. S. W.


11 George L. Maddox, "Activity & morale: a longitudinal study of


15 Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation scale," mimeographed.

16 An inspection of the items reveals that they appear to measure a person's valuation of social ties and the gratifications received from them. Items on the Dean scale are as follows:

(1) Sometimes I Feel All Alone In The World . . . . Agree
(2) I Don't Get Invited Out By Friends As Often As I'd Really Like . . . . . . . . Agree
(3) Most People Today Seldom Feel Lonely . . . . Disagree
(4) Real Friends Are As Easy As Ever To Find . . . Disagree
(5) One Can Always Find Friends If He Shows Himself Friendly . . . . Disagree
(6) The World In Which We Live Is Basically A Friendly Place . . . . . . . . Disagree
(7) There Are Few Dependable Ties Between People Anymore . . . . . . . . Agree
(8) People Are Naturally Friendly & Helpful . . . . Disagree
(9) I Don't Get To Visit Friends As Often As I'd Really Like . . . . . . . . Agree

The construct validity of this scale was established. For a discussion of the validation procedures for all scales, see David L. Ellison, "Alienation and the will to live" (Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 1965).

17 The six items are:

(1) I Would Rather Have A Job To Do Than Be Without Any Responsibilities . . . . Agree
(2) It's Hard To Retire & Give Up The Work You Did All Your Life . . . . . . . . Agree
(3) The Worst Part About Retirement Is That You Don't Have A Job To Do . . . . . . . . Agree
(4) When You Get Old & Can't Help, People Don't Want You Around . . . . . . . . Agree
(5) If A Man Can't Do His Job,  
There's Not Much Reason For Living . . . . Agree  
(6) I Enjoy Having A Lot Of Spare Time . . . . Disagree

18 These items were significantly correlated (5% Level) with perceived health.


David L. Ellison (M.S., Ph.D. Purdue) received his basic education at Cornell and Union Seminary, New York City, and prepared himself for a career in community and psychiatric sociology. He is presently pursuing that career as an assistant professor in the department of sociology and the department of psychiatry, School of Medicine, University of Pittsburgh, and as a staff sociologist attached to the university's Community Study Center and the medical school's Western Psychiatric Institute. His current research interests include longitudinal studies of illness behavior patterns of Negroes and whites and the life styles of the poor.
Ere I was old? Ah, woeful Ere,
Which tells me, Youth's no longer here!
O Youth! for years so many and sweet,
'Tis known, that Thou and I were one,
I'll think it but a fond conceit —
It cannot be that Thou art gone!

Samuel Taylor Coleridge
YOUTH & AGE
ROBERT M. GRAY & JOSEPHINE M. KASTELER

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTS OF INVOLUNTARY RELOCATION ON THE HEALTH OF OLDER PERSONS

This paper reports an investigation of the health activities and health attitudes of a sample of elderly subjects who were relocated because of interstate highway construction. A second sample of similar elderly subjects residing in the same locality who were not relocated was used for comparative purposes. This study follows the theories of Parsons, Selye, Reichard, and others concerning the detrimental effects of stress on health; it is based upon the a priori assumption that involuntary relocation is stressful for elderly people. Conclusions are that relocation is stressful for the elderly and is reflected in the health activities and health attitudes of such persons.

The problem under investigation in this study is to determine the effects of involuntary relocation because of interstate highway system construction on the health activities, health attitudes, and perceived health status of a sample of older persons in a large western metropolis. The study is based on the premises that social stress is detrimental to health and that older persons are especially vulnerable to stressful situations. An assumption here tested is that involuntary relocation may be a contributing factor of stress leading to poor health among elderly persons.

The results of pressures brought about by the social system in which a person lives often contribute to the ill health of the person. Parsons, for example, writes: "Illness may be treated as one mode of response to social pressures, among other things, as one way of evading social responsibilities." Reichard et al states: "The established link between emotional stress and disease suggests that psychological factors may speed up the rate of physical decline and even play a part in precipitating fatal illness." Selye also has provided considerable evidence to support his thesis that "all disease stems from stress."
Emphasizing the detrimental effects of stress on health are several recent studies which reveal that stress imposed upon the person by the social system in which he lives can contribute to ill health.

Hinkle & Wolff\(^4\) studied long-term patterns of health and illness among a sample of employees in a large organization. They found that over a long period of time the frequency of illness was closely associated with various conditions which placed heavy or conflicting demands upon them. Consequently, the investigators regarded social and interpersonal stresses as major etiological factors in all forms of illness.

Mechanic & Volkart\(^5\) studied Freshman males at a large Western university on the assumption that they would find the college environment stressful because of newly experienced academic and social competitions. Their general conclusion was that there is a high positive correlation between stress and illness.

Lebo\(^6\) studied happiness factors in old age among two populations in Florida where a high concentration of residents aged sixty and over were found. He discovered that happier people with less stress in their lives rated their health as either good or excellent in high proportions, while the opposite was true for people with more stress in their lives. The happier people also showed a fewer number of serious health problems.

In a population survey of illness, Suchman\(^7\) found a close relationship between social factors and health status in that the greater the social pressures, the lower the health status as the individual himself perceived it. Baker, in a study of stress and health among older persons, concluded there was a high relationship between stress and poor health in the positive direction.\(^8\) The association between stress and illness has also been indicated by Hinkle et al,\(^9\) Howkings, Davies, & Holmes,\(^10\) Lipman,\(^11\) and Alvarez.\(^12\)

Older persons are more vulnerable to stressful situations than are the younger. For example, Olsen & Elder\(^13\) and Powell & Ferraro\(^14\) found that increases in anxiety and decreases in ability to deal with stress were functions of advancing age. Rosen & Neugarten noted a "decrease with age in the readiness to perceive or deal with complicated, challenging, or conflictual situations."\(^15\) Wallach & Kogan found older people to be more threatened by their age in a youth-oriented society and thus to have a higher level of anxiety than younger persons.\(^16\)

For the purposes of this study, stress is defined as "situational insecurity,"\(^17\) as "pressures from the outside environment or from within the individual depending on the severity and duration of the stressful situa-
tion, or as the "rate of wear and tear imposed on an individual by the social system in which he lives." 

Health activities were defined as the number of complaints claimed by the subject, health attitudes as the general attitude of the respondent toward his health status as the subject himself perceived it.

As a frame of reference guiding this research, developed from findings of prior investigations, we have used the idea that if an experience such as involuntary relocation is stressful for older persons, it will become apparent in his health activities and health attitudes. The following hypothesis, therefore, is predicated upon this premise:

Older persons who have been involuntarily relocated will have significantly lower health scores than will similar older persons who have not been involuntarily relocated.

METHOD

The experimental sample was made up of forty-eight persons fifty-five years of age and older. The sample was drawn from a total of 1200 families who had relocated because of highway construction during the previous five years within the confines of a large Western city. A two-stage sampling procedure was employed in locating sample subjects. In the first stage, a twenty percent randomly-selected sample was taken of 1200 households whose addresses were on file at the State Highway Department. As a second step, these 240 households were contacted to determine if they contained any members fifty-five years of age and older. This latter procedure yielded forty-seven subjects twenty-four of whom were married couples.

The control sample was made up of 269 persons fifty-five years or older living in the same community who were selected by the use of a stratified two-stage area-probability method. The city was divided into one hundred areas of approximately equal populations. Using a random table of numbers, a sample of ten areas was selected for study. The second sampling stage consisted of randomly selecting every tenth unit in each area. All persons in the selected dwelling units who were fifty-five years of age or older made up a final sample of 267 subjects. The two samples were of similar age, sex, race, marital status, education, and so forth. (See Table 1)

The health activities, health attitudes, and perceived health status of the two groups were compared by utilizing the subjects' responses to the "Your Activities & Attitude Inventory," which measures the three variables being investigated in this study in the sub-scales of the questionnaire,
## Table 1

A Comparison of Two Groups of Older Persons by Demographic Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Present Sample</th>
<th>Previous Sample</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>$\phi$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 60 Years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Years &amp; Over</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Race</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial Situation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfortable Circumstances</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>90.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Difficulties</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment History</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed Or Had Been</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Employed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Or Had Been</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>96.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Living Conditions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Home</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent Or Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Living Conditions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Alone</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living With Others</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All Differences Were Non-Significant
This inventory provides a total personal adjustment score, but it also measures a number of other factors. The "Activities" portion of the inventory contains sub-scales giving the respondents a score in five areas: (1) Health, (2) Leisure, (3) Intimate Contacts, (4) Financial Security, and (5) Religious Activities. The "Attitude" section of the inventory similarly provides a total adjustment score as well as scores on sub-scales evaluating an older person's attitude toward the following: (1) Health, (2) Friends, (3) Work, (4) Economic Security, (5) Religion, (6) Feelings Of Usefulness, (7) Happiness, and (8) Family.

The reliability of the "Attitude" section of the Schedule was determined by a test-retest of the 110 subjects who were interviewed twice in a two-month period. The product-moment correlation between the scores of the first and second interviews was .72. On a split-half reliability test within each category computed for two hundred cases the product-moment correlation was .90. On the "Activities" section of test-retest of 110 respondents over a period of two months showed complete agreement on 82.6 percent of the items answered.

Validity of the questionnaire was established by the use of three methods. One method used ratings of observers who had not seen the Schedule and gave a correlation coefficient of .53. Another method used the ratings of judges who had studied the subjects' self-reports in the Schedule and the reports of an accompanying interview, but had not seen the Inventory and gave a correlation coefficient of .75. A third method compared the "Attitude" score with the "Activity" score of each subject and gave a correlation coefficient of .78. These measures of validity were obtained on 168 subjects who had responded to the questionnaire.21

FINDINGS

Table 1 summarizes pertinent biographical data obtained from the respondents, and as can be seen there were no significant differences between the Experimental and Control Groups on such demographic factors as age, sex, race, marital status, socio-economic status, employment history, and living conditions. The samples were, therefore, assumed to be similar in composition and suitable groups upon which to test the hypothesis.22

A comparison of the health status of those who had been relocated with those who had not clearly shows there were statistically significant differences in the predicted direction between the groups. (See Table 2) Consistent with expectations, the Experimental Group subjects had a greater number of major and minor physical difficulties and had been forced to spend a greater length of time in bed than was true of the Control subjects.

In the first two items of Table 2, it can be noted that subjects who had
TABLE 2
A COMPARISON OF TWO GROUPS OF OLDER PERSONS BY HEALTH STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Present Sample</th>
<th>Previous Sample</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>$\phi$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Worse Now Than Five Years Ago</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Better Now Than Five Years Ago</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Poor</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Fair Or Better</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Or More Serious Physical Problems Less Than Two Serious Physical Problems</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Or More Minor Physical Difficulties Less Than Three Minor Physical Difficulties</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Weeks Or More Spent In Sick Bed During Year Less Than Two Weeks Spent In Sick Bed During Year</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$a$ Indicates Significance Beyond the .01 Level of Confidence

been relocated also perceived their health status as being worse than did subjects in the previous study. This finding reveals a congruence between perceived and actual health status.

A more complete picture of the actual health status of the respondents was provided by computing a total health activity score for each individual based upon scores in the various sub-sections of the questionnaire pertaining to physical problems and complaints.

Comparative analysis of the two samples as shown in the findings
presented in Table 3 clearly demonstrates the superior health status of the Control Group.

TABLE 3
A COMPARISON OF TWO GROUPS OF OLDER PERSONS ON TOTAL HEALTH ACTIVITY & TOTAL HEALTH ATTITUDE SCORES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health Status</th>
<th>Present Sample No.</th>
<th>Present Sample %</th>
<th>Previous Sample No.</th>
<th>Previous Sample %</th>
<th>x^2</th>
<th>(p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor Physical Condition</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Or Better</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Condition</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>14.703</td>
<td>0.216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toward Health</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toward Health</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>57.239</td>
<td>0.426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(a\) Indicates Significance Beyond the .01 Level of Confidence

In a similar manner, the health attitudes of the respondents were further analyzed. The health attitudes section of the questionnaire contained statements with which the subjects were asked to agree or disagree. Examples of attitude items are: "I am perfectly satisfied with my health;" "If I can't feel better soon, I would just as soon die."

The results reported in Table 3 are congruent with other findings of the study since the differences between the samples were significant beyond chance expectation. It will be noted that the differences in attitudes toward health are more remarkable than the differences between the groups in either health activity or health status thus revealing, without any doubt, that the displaced person viewed himself as being in relatively poor health. However, according to reported physical problems, he had justification for doing so. The question as to whether his poor attitudes were reflected in his lower health scores, or whether his actual lower health status resulted in his poorer attitudes remains unanswered.
The present investigation, based upon a conceptual framework inferring that stress is detrimental to health, was a comparative study of older persons involuntarily relocated because of highway construction. Two samples of older persons in a large metropolis were compared and were found to be similar in composition except in length of time at present address. All the subjects in one sample had been relocated within the past three years, while none of the subjects in the other group had changed residence within that period.

Further comparative analysis revealed the relocated subjects had the lower scores on health status, health activities, and health attitudes. These older persons perceived themselves as having poorer health, and indeed they had more symptoms of poor health than those subjects who had not been displaced.

The conclusion of this study, in agreement with studies cited earlier, is that stress imposed upon the individual by the social system in which he lives is detrimental to his health. Involuntary relocation appears to be a stressful experience for older persons, whose roots are generally more firmly established, and who because of their age are assumed to be more resistant to change than younger persons. This contributing stress factor also appears to be reflected in the lower health scores of older relocated persons in this study when compared with similar older persons who had not been relocated, and thus the hypothesis of this study was sustained.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1 Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951) ch. 10.


19 Selye, Stress of Life, 5.


22 All of the Experimental Group subjects had been relocated within the past three years, while none of the Control Group subjects had moved within a three year period prior to the interviews.

ROBERT M. GRAY (Ph. D. Chicago), specialist in medical and psychiatric sociology, is a professor in the department of sociology and both an assistant research professor and chief of the community and social medicine division in the department of preventive medicine, University of Utah College of Medicine. He has published papers on stress and health of the elderly, the sick role and rehabilitation of the disabled elderly, and social class effects on polio vaccination participation. Current research focuses upon the psychosocial factors and utilization of medical services.

JOSEPHINE M. KASTELER (M. A. Utah) is presently engaged in graduate study at the University of Utah. She has published papers on retarded children and the rehabilitation of the disabled, as well as on the elderly.
This essay is concerned with the social position of old people in Eskimo society. More specifically, it views old people as a kind of exploitable resource which has value to those who run Eskimo society, namely the adults. We examine briefly the utilization of the human resource for the benefit of the community. Old age is also seen to be a kind of crisis which adults inevitably face, and an attempt is made to show how the aged cope with the crisis when classification as old becomes inevitable. Perhaps the most interesting fact of aging in Eskimo society is the institutionalized ways Eskimo have of delaying being classified as old people. We examine these usages isolating what are called Delaying Tactics and Renewal Activities. In the summary and conclusions we explore some parallels between the Eskimo treatment of the old and certain features of American practice in an effort to gain insight into the American situation and to see how it compares with the Eskimo's.

Eskimo are not all alike. They are similar in language and in many technological aspects of their culture, but the range of variation in social life is substantial, and so we must be careful to distinguish those subgroups to whom our discussion applies. In this paper we speak in particular of the Qiqiktamiut Eskimo of the Belcher Islands in the southeast corner of Hudson Bay and Labrador. In a more general way, our discussion is relevant to all Inupiaq-speaking Eskimo (Dumont 1965) of the Canadian Arctic, Greenland, and northern Alaska, but is probably not relevant to the Upiaq Eskimo who inhabit the southern part of Alaska, the coastal islands, and the Siberian coast.

Eskimo have no blanket term for "old people" or "the aged." Old people and adults are always identified by terms which differentiate by sex. A mature adult male is called simply angutik, "man," while an adult female is called arngnak, "woman." When a man becomes old, the term angutik is dropped and an individual is characterized by the term ituk, "old man," and the term for a woman is similarly changed to ningiu, "old woman." In address, names or kinship terms are commonly applied to people. Terms
denoting age-grade status are ordinarily used only when referring to people. These terms are occasionally extended. Thus, the term ituk is sometimes used to refer to the leader of a camp, just as in American society the boss of the company may sometimes be called "the old man." Both ituk and ningiu are also applied to children under certain circumstances. All these are special applications, however. Ordinarily, the terms are understood to apply only to old people.

The absolute age at which Eskimo identify themselves as "old" is difficult to determine, both because the Eskimo do not calculate age in years and because no outside birth records were kept by authorities in the Canadian Arctic before the 1940's. The result is that age can be based only on rough estimates. Using such figures as the estimates afford, it can be said that both men and women are reckoned by Eskimo to be on the threshold of old age by forty-seven years, and will be called "old" without exception by age fifty-five. A good dividing line between adulthood and old age is thus approximately fifty years of age.

Eskimo classify an individual as an "adult" when he or she marries, but they have no explicit formula for determining precisely when a person is to be classified as "old." Gubser (1965, 120-22) writes that the North Alaskan Eskimo identify a person as old when he or she begins to show signs of physiological aging, but this does not appear to be a common method of classifying them among the Central Eskimo and is not used by the Qiqiktamiut Eskimo. Numerous Qiqiktamiut are physically old without being classified as such, and several who are physiologically youthful are called old by most Belcher Islanders.

Qiqiktamiut use two methods to determine when a person is old. One is based on the birth cycle, the second on physical capability (not physical appearance). Eskimo reckon that a person is old when he has grandchildren, and most call an individual "old" by the time that person's grandchildren are of an age when they begin to learn basic work skills in earnest, in other words by age eight years.

The second method is probably the most important, however, and is based on the individual's work status. Work is very demanding in the Arctic in terms of strength and endurance, and there is a relatively rapid reduction in the efficiency of adults after they reach a peak at about thirty years of age. The division of labor in Eskimo society is based primarily on sex, with the result that there is no major work area in the task structure that is specifically allocated to old people; the old people are expected to do the work of any normal adult. Men of any age are expected to hunt if they are able, and the women are required to pursue routine household work for as long as they are capable. Both men and women receive help in work in the later years, as their families mature, and they can eventually look forward to a time when most arduous work and all outdoor work will be per-
formed by younger people. Thus, a man can rely on his sons and sons-in-law to hunt with him in his later years. As the father becomes senile, the sons can be expected to hunt for him. The woman relies on her mature daughters and daughters-in-law to fetch water, chop wood, scrape skins, and perform all the arduous tasks in the household; while she does the more sedentary tasks such as sewing, preparing sinew thread, softening skins, cooking, and the other tasks which do not take her far from the sleeping platform at the back of the igloo. These are normal expectations.

Men and women alike are identified as old when their working status becomes marginal, in other words when they can no longer do the work of fully efficient adults. A man is "old" when he can no longer hunt regularly. Spring and summer hunting is not particularly demanding, and it is not beyond the capability of a man of even sixty years to hunt seal in a kayak in open water season. When a man cannot hunt in mid-winter, when the work is most rigorous, and when the need for food is most pressing, then he will be called old by his fellows. Old age comes to a man of a sudden, for the transformation can take place in a single year.

The transformation of a woman to ningiu is more subtle. Because women's work is less demanding and is ordinarily performed collectively, the decreasing physical capability of a woman does not appear so obviously or so dramatically as it does in man's work. Women, then, are not labeled "old" until they are well beyond the ability to do a full round of work.

The application of the old age label is hastened by debilitating and crippling diseases and by incapacitating injuries. Typical diseases are arthritis causing loss of agility and trachoma causing loss of sight. Both sexes appear to be equally prone to arthritis, but the women suffer more from trachoma. In the total population of 168 Belcher Islanders, the four who are seriously affected by trachoma are women. Men suffer more from crippling accidents such as loss of digits or limbs while hunting, or impairment of functioning due to freezing or gun shot wounds, which occur at the rate of one or two yearly in many communities. A major cause of incapacity in the modern era is tuberculosis, which necessitates an operation. The loss of a lung or the removal of an important portion of diseased bone has caused premature "retirement" for several hunters and mature women. All these impairments result in a loss of efficiency; and if a person is prematurely incapacitated, he will be designated "old" at a comparatively early age.

Eskimo are extremely practical. They highly esteem those who make the greatest contribution to the welfare of family and community. This is true for the old and the young as well as the adults. Sentiment is not absent in Eskimo life. Although they are not demonstrative, Eskimo do feel very strongly about family and relatives, and will go to great lengths to be hospitable even to a stranger. But the margin for sentiment in the Arctic is
very narrow; the pragmatic business of making a living takes precedence over sentiment. People, then, are judged in terms of their worth as producers. If we are to evaluate the position of the old in Eskimo society, it is best to consider them as do the Eskimo themselves, namely as a special kind of resource. Viewed in this light, the old make two important contributions: (1) a source of extra labor for the camp, and (2) a source of knowledge and wisdom essential for order and continuity in the society.

The typical domestic unit in Eskimo society consists of a nuclear family, that is, the man, his wife, and their unmarried offspring (Murdock 1949). The family is founded at marriage when the couple go to live with the wife's family until the first child is born. They are then free to establish their own household neolocally or independent of others. There they raise their children. Eventually, the children mature, marry, and move away, leaving only the aged parents alone in the household.

Old people without children to care for and without hunting obligations have considerable spare time on their hands; thus, they are available to help others with their routine work. There are numerous occasions when their help is needed. The routine chores of the woman in the household are suspended during the birth of a child, sickness, or an emergency sewing job such as repairing a kayak. At such a time, old women are called in to supply the needed labor. During the making of an umiak (whale boat) or a kayak, special tasks are sometimes assigned to old women. For the men, it is much the same. Old men can assist in the building of a sled or in butchering. Occasionally there is special remuneration for this work, but ordinarily it is enough that they receive the customary share of food when game is distributed after the hunt.

More than their labor, old people are respected for their knowledge and experience. Societies without a literate tradition usually assign a special role to their old people. The old provide continuity by acting as repositories of conventional knowledge. Thus, an old man will be called on to advise on the making of some item of equipment, to judge the effect of weather and ice conditions on hunting prospects for the day, to instruct on the proper method of building a snow house, or to decide when it is time to erect tents in the spring. The advice of the old is also sought on questions of customary behavior or on the remedy for an ailment. More often than not, the advice of the old is well-received, since there is no one else who can provide any answers or suggest a better course. The old man is thus respected, even revered, for providing knowledge which the society requires in order to carry on the business of life.

Women play a humbler if no less indispensible role. They advise on sewing and the proper way of curing, preparing, cutting, and sewing skins. Since the women are generally more familiar about the social relationships in Eskimo society, it is the old women who provide information to those in-
quiring or puzzled about kinship connections. Women provide what autochthonous knowledge of medicine the Eskimo possess; they instruct on child care, food preparation, and so forth.

Both the old men and women play an important role in the maintenance of social control and in reinforcing concepts of ideal behavior. It is the old people who are permitted to comment publicly on the social impropriety of one of its members, and they do not hesitate to do so. Making such comments is not permissible for adults. Old people are the keepers of the sacred and secular lore of the society, and so play a crucial role in maintaining the traditional models of appropriate conduct. Oral tradition in the form of folk tale and myth provides for the Eskimo the only models for normative action. The old people are the story tellers. They play the key role in maintaining and perpetuating the models which serve as ideal guides to socially approved behavior.

Eskimo cannot easily express their feelings about old people. Adults sometime say they indulge their children as a form of old-age insurance, that their children will treat them well when they as parents have grown old. It is not unusual for a child to point out that this is the reason he is so attached to his parents. Apart from this indirect statement of sentiment, the Eskimo find no words to express their views on the treatment of the aged.

It is not difficult to find indices of respect paid the old people, however. The imperative form of address, for example, is a command adults use when addressing children and, good-naturedly and sometimes angrily, when addressing other adults. Men especially address younger people and women in this manner, and women often address younger girls and children using the mode of speech. Use of the imperative form of address, then, is evidence of a rough status hierarchy, a pecking order, in which men stand above women and women above the young. Hardly ever is the form used in addressing old people, which suggests they stand at the head of the hierarchy in esteem if not in authority.

The behavioral indices of shaming, household etiquette, and the order of precedence during eating also indicate the highly esteemed position of the elderly.

The aged do not want for attention in other respects as well. Children leave the natal household at marriage, but kinship is the sole basis for social affiliation. Kinship exercises a more profound influence on the relations between parents and children when the latter have matured. In the ideal situation, parents raise a house full of children to maturity and marriage, and then "retire" in their old age to be supported by the children. The ideal is best exemplified where several married children set up households in the same locality of their parents and thus become the basic nucleus of a localized hunting camp. Organized into a series of joint households
focusing on the aging parents, the family will consist of parents and married children, their spouses and offspring, occasional collateral relatives and their families, and even affinally-connected families, adopted children and strangers. The camp will thus consist of a collection of relatives all linked together omnilaterally (Bohannan 1963, 126-29), and centered on the old couple. The aged parents in such a situation will never want for food or other necessities and their household will continually be filled with children and relatives who come to visit, learn the news of the camp, and listen to the old stories which the parents tell with great delight and definitive skill.

These old people will have social ties of another sort which stretch throughout the community. Successful Eskimo begin to accumulate ritual relations of various kinds when they are quite young (Guemple 1966a). At first, these involve obligations they incur toward others for economic and ritual support and for intimate social interaction. In old age, the direction of the relationships is reversed, and the young people have special obligations to the old people in caring for them and in providing them with necessities and luxuries, also. The man or woman who has been successful in life may have a dozen or more such connections with members of his own camp or other camps in the community. In times of need, these persons can be relied on for help. On this account, also, the old people are not wanting for close, intimate connections and economic support.

Because old people are thought to be "near death," they enjoy an unusual ritual status in the Eskimo community. Eskimo believe that when a person dies, part of his "soul" returns to the underworld to reside in the land of the dead. When a child is born in the community from which he came, the soul returns to the community there to take up residence in the body of the child. Adults, anxious to please the soul and assure its return to inhabit a new body, will be respectful of the old people. For this reason, a certain sanctity clings to people in old age.

This same belief helps to rationalize death to old people. As one Eskimo put it: "Life is like an endless string that goes on and on without beginning or end." Believing that the old can be reborn in the young, they have no real fear of dying. There is an aura of serenity about old people, then, even as they await death.

The portrait we have so far painted has been an idyllic image of old age at its best in Eskimo society. This is the image Eskimo themselves like to stress in discussing the situation of the old walrus hunter and his aged, toothless wife. Yet adult men and women invariably resist becoming old in this society, even when their life situation is ideal. Reasons for this spring in part from the situation of old people in the total status system and in part from negative elements in the treatment of the old by adults. We may, then, introduce a more realistic examination of the position of the old people in the status system.
In spite of what was previously said about the respect and attention afforded the aged, Eskimo elderly suffer a reduction of status in their society. The Social Cynosure concept (LaBarre 1956) helps to show why this is so. The idea of social synosure encompasses the notion that in every society specific social roles are considered prestigious and thereby hold the focus of social attention. Most everyone in the role position becomes an object of prestige and honor. In Chinese society, for example, it is the patriarch and his aged wife who occupy the most prestigious positions both within the family and the society at large. A Chinese looks forward eagerly to his later years as the best time of his life. It is during old age when he receives the most attention and is most admired, respected, and cared for. In American society the young nubile female occupies center stage; one important motif governing the American's social life is the virtue of "youth" and "being young." Adulthood signifies that the best stage of life is passed. The rest of life is anticlimax. In Eskimo society the cynosure is the adult, particularly the adult male. The powerful hunter is the focus of attention. It is the man who receives most attention, is most admired, is most readily accepted. To be old is to step out of the really prestigious position of life, and so both men and women resist being identified as old with every means at their disposal.

There are also many negative elements in the treatment afforded the old by the adults. These come from many quarters. First, the old people maintain their positive position, as we have described it, only so long as they are productive. They suffer a marked reduction in both respect and affection when they are no longer able to make a useful contribution. As they grow older and are increasingly immobilized by age, disease, and the like, they are transformed into neglected dependents without influence and without consideration. In short, old age becomes a crisis.

The loss in status may take the form of indifference or cruel hazing. Children will taunt an old man because he can no longer hunt but only eat. Girls will make a cruel remark to a struggling old woman because her gait is slow and her limbs are crippled. At first, adults control the sharp tongues of the children; but after awhile, the adults no longer bother and may themselves become impatient and disrespectful of the elderly. Impatient and cruel treatment of the non-productive members is not reserved for the old, however. All unproductive persons, be it a lazy girl or a crippled adult male, are targets for a continual barrage of criticism and jokes. In this respect, the treatment of the old is equitable. But the elderly are most often the object of ridicule because they are most uniformly unproductive.

An economic squeeze is also put on the old people by virtue of the prevailing value system. Eskimo never deny food stuffs or other traditional goods to others. The ethic is that "Eskimo share everything," and the fact mirrors the conviction in most cases. Even so, there are two elements of
unequal treatment afforded the old. The Eskimo ideal specifies that each family is to receive an equal share of the traditional goods, but shares vary in quality. The shoulder of the seal is preferred to the hind flipper, for example, in the distribution of meat. The rules of sharing dictate that if a person receives a poor cut of meat one time, he is entitled to a choice cut the next; but in fact, the old people with households and entitled to a full share always receive the poorer cuts. The reason is that they make little contribution to the subsistence base themselves.

The really difficult economic hardship is related not to traditional foodstuffs but to trade goods. Traditional goods are viewed as essentials and are shared as a matter of right. Trade goods, on the other hand, are viewed as luxuries and for these one must fend for himself. The main source of these goods is the trading post where they can be obtained for barter or cash. The chief source of income in the Arctic has always been derived from fur trapping. This being a form of winter hunting, it is obviously an activity in which the old no longer engage. Old age creates a crisis for the family because it deprives people of money income. They have no means, therefore, to obtain even relatively essential trade goods like tea, tobacco, thread, needles, weapons, ammunition, and especially the ingredients for baking bannock, a fried bread that constitutes their main food staple. In order to procure these items, the old people are reduced to begging money from relatives and friends. Unable to repay the lender, the elderly must ask for charity.

In spite of the fact that the kinship network provides protection for the aged, Arctic living conditions make this kind of insurance extremely unreliable at times. Should one parent die, the other is forced to give up the household and move in with one of the married children. Friction often develops between the parent and the son or daughter-in-law. Parents in this situation are frequently overworked and under-compensated. More critical is the predicament in which both parents survive their children and close relatives. They are accorded respectful treatment as long as they are productive to some degree; otherwise, they are subject to gradual isolation. Though they need not fear starvation, their plight becomes increasingly difficult, they being reduced to abject poverty and isolation from social intercourse with the adult community. The most pitiable situation occurs when only the one parent survives children and close relatives. The survivor is forced to seek shelter in the household of some distant relative. Occasionally, one finds an aged Eskimo living more than a hundred miles from his natal community, living in the household of a virtual stranger. The plight of the aged in these circumstances compares with the plight of the orphan. Occupying a very low status, he remains outside the circle of kinship. Such persons are accorded no respect and are assigned the most odious work tasks in the household. They occupy the very lowest status in the society.

The special ritual status enjoyed by old people can even be a source
of tension. The belief that the aged, especially the women, possess special powers can have positive good, as is the case in the treatment of a sick child by an elderly woman or the selection of a compatible name for a child by the elderly man. But these powers can also be viewed as potentially dangerous (Gubser 1965, 122; Spencer 1959, 251-52). Strange events are attributed to the secret activities of some old woman. This witchcraft-like attribution sometimes protects old people against the cruelty at the hands of adults. More often, however, it becomes a source of hostility and suspicion leading to social isolation and estrangement if not actual violence.

It is little wonder, then, that old people show some resistance to being tagged "old." It is also readily seen why they search for ways to postpone "retirement." Though often only temporary measures, they are effective in delaying or cushioning the transition from adulthood to old age. The two main strategies employed are: (1) an economic participation in the community, and (2) the manipulation of social relations.

If an old man attempts to resist becoming old, he operates within these two spheres to keep himself young. He can delay retirement by masking his inadequacy. The stratagem to compensate for his inability to hunt in winter, for example, is to increase production during the latter part of winter and early spring or during those mid-winter days when the weather permits. In the spring the aging hunter, whose powers are obviously on the wane, will launch a flurry of hunting activity, struggling to out-produce the younger men by skill or sheer exertion. Further, he takes pains to liberally distribute his kill in the form of gifts even when food is not needed. Other times, gifts of seal skin, sinew thread, or handmade tools are distributed to remind the community the aged man is still productive.

Another delaying tactic is to exploit others. One form is simply maintaining a productive household. The old person assiduously controls the productive output and sees to a careful distribution of it. He will struggle to keep his daughters and their husbands closely tied to the house to utilize their labor. He attempts to control his sons and their wives as well. He may even collect distant relatives, orphans, or strangers to maintain a labor force. In this manner he gives the appearance of being a powerful producer and hopes to forestall retirement.

The other stratagem an old person can employ is to "renew" himself through social transformation. The term Renewal Activity used here refers to the use of a social maneuver which creates a new social relationship. In this particular, a member of the senior age stratum effects a relationship with a member of the junior stratum so that they share the same activity. Engaging in similar activity expresses the older person's wish to be restored to youth. Parties to the relationship permit him to think himself restored to youth symbolically.
The principal stratagem a man employs to "renew" himself is to take a young wife. A man approaching old age with a family of mature or nearly mature children has need of additional labor in his household. This additional labor is usually a young woman or an older orphaned girl. She is introduced into the household as a nominally "adopted daughter." Usually she replaces the wife in performing the household chores. On occasion, she eventually replaces the wife in sexual obligations as well and thus becomes a second wife to the household head. This marriage has the effect of realigning the husband generationally with the younger members of the society who in turn become his "peers." The husband's involvement in the activities and concerns of the maturing children, the concerns of courtship, marriage, and childbearing, provides him with a sense of renewal and restoration of youth. This maneuver is common in Eskimo society.

For the older women there is no opportunity for delaying the attribution of old age through intensified economic activity. No work that women customarily perform is counted so important economically that delaying activity will enhance her social position. A woman can manipulate the value system satisfactorily by being generous with gifts and by helping with the work in other households at every opportunity. These methods, however, have very limited usefulness as delaying tactics.

The woman has no recourse to the renewal tactics of the man. Remarriage to a younger man is improbable ostensibly because old age makes the woman sexually unattractive. Her main strategy to demonstrate continual productivity and usefulness is the adoption of children.

The prevailing pattern of adoption is for the child to pass from its parents to its parent's siblings. The majority of adoptions take this form (Dunning 1962). Another significant adoption pattern gives the child to a grandparent or great aunt. Old women adopt their grandchildren because "it makes one feel young again to have a child to care for." Adoption has the dual effect of placing the grandparent on the generational level of her own children vis-a-vis the adopted child, and of restoring the grandparent's usefulness to the community in rearing a potential producer. The old women readily recognize the significance of this, for it is said that "when an old woman has no child to care for, she feels old and useless and comes close to death." Generally, male children are preferred to female. Male children are thought to be more "valuable" than the female, and the aging woman fulfills her usefulness by striving to care for a valuable social object. If no male child is available, the woman consents to adopt a female to meet the requirements of usefulness even though rearing a female child is less significant.

These delaying tactics are merely temporary, of course. Sooner or later the old become too incapacitated to perform adult duties. An old woman becomes so infirm she can no longer care for her adopted child. The
parents reassert their rights and reclaim the child. An old man can no longer obviate the attentions of a younger hunter paid to his young wife. She will soon be appropriated by the younger man. The old man must shift for himself. The position of the aged in both these cases is desperate; they are abandoned and their uselessness is exposed to the community at large.

At the point when the elderly become a drain on the resources of the community, the practical bent of the Eskimo asserts itself forcefully. To alleviate the burden of infirmity, the old people are done away with. As Hawkes (1916, 117) points out, this is done "when life has become a burden to them, but the act is usually done in accordance with the wishes of the persons concerned and is thought to be a proof of the devotion of the children."

The matter can be initiated by either party. The children may take the initiative by abandoning the aged parent on the trail during a trek to a new settlement. They may break camp, load the sled, and send the aged parent back to the snow house to fetch an item supposedly left behind. The family then drives off, leaving the old to their fate.

More often it is the parent who initiates the process. During a storm or when the family is busily occupied, the aged parent will quietly slip off into the tundra to die from exhaustion and exposure. Or the parent simply takes a stroll never to return.

Most poignant of methods is that of death by the hand of the aged child. The parent invokes the son's obligation to obey, then commands him to assist in strangling the parent or to stab him with a knife. The incidence of death by this means is minimal; few live to such a state of utter helplessness. Nevertheless, the event is memorialized in folklore and provides a model for resolution when the circumstances warrant such a remedy.

This brief account of Eskimo aging has described the uses made of old people in a society where the efficient use of human resources is mandatory. We have shown how the later years constitute something of a crisis for the aged, and how both men and women resist old age by economic and social maneuvers. We have also seen how the crisis of infirmity is resolved.

There are major differences between Eskimo and Americans in handling the problem of old age. But old age is a universal phenomenon, so that many problems and remedies encountered by the Eskimo have analogies in our own way of life. We turn now to review a few significant points of comparison between the two.

A first point of comparison concerns the use of the aged as economic and social resources. Eskimo have a very practical attitude toward old people. They are valued according to their productive contribution to the
community. They are respected for their labor and knowledge. Americans also have a practical bent in their evaluation of the social contribution of persons, but little value is placed on the aged as such. Little importance is attached to their labor potential or output and virtually none is given their expertise in conventional wisdom. Advanced technology and labor specialization make the labor of the aged superfluous. Advanced and specialized media serve as information and knowledge purveyors in lieu of the oral tradition of wise old men and women. Scientific and technological advance has left the old people far behind; current graduates of engineering and medical schools are sometimes accused of being obsolete before even commencing their professional occupations. Knowledge possessed by "anyone over thirty" is out of date, say the young scholars.

Though Eskimo and Americans are practical in their use of human resources, an important difference exists in their treatment of old people. Eskimo maximize the potentialities of the aged; Americans view their aged as obsolete and consign them to the productive graveyard of compulsory retirement. The American tragedy should not be judged in terms of the waste in human labor alone, since all human labor is close to becoming obsolete in the post-industrial state. Rather, it should be judged in terms of the social and sentimental waste of old people. Perhaps the Eskimo solution is not palatable to the American, except in an occasional anti-Utopian novel. But some other non-Western civilization may well provide an answer. The problem is to find social merit in people no longer productively significant. The problem is not unique to Americans respecting their old people; a solution applicable to them might well solve problems in other social segments.

A second point of comparison between Eskimo and American societies concerns the role assigned to the family in maintaining the social position of old people. The structure of the family (nuclear) and the type of residence rule (neolocal) is the same for both societies. In regard to the articulation of old people into the ongoing family unit, however, the societies are essentially different. Eskimo continue to support their old parents socially and economically after the children have grown, married, and set up new domestic units. This support is binding on both the immediate family and the wider range of relatives. Admittedly, old people in Eskimo society are sometimes isolated from relatives because of the vagaries of the environment, but the old are rarely completely cut-off from close kinsmen. American family organization tends to produce the opposite effect. When children mature, marry, and establish their own domiciles, they usually do so at the expense of kinship relations. There is a strong impulse to establish social ties without reference to the family relations after marriage. The most significant social connections generally flow from occupational contacts and non-kinship associations which husband and wife establish with peer groupings before and after marriage. When the family matures, the parents are socially separated from their children; at retirement, the parents lose most occupationally related social connections previously main-
tained. There remain only a few peer group contacts, and these are increasingly disrupted by the death of the members. The old are gradually cut-off from the mainstream of American social life (Cavan 1962).

Probably the only broadly applicable solution to the American problem of the increasing isolation of the aged lies in their reintegration into the family organization, the solution of the Eskimo and most other "primitive" societies. This could be done by providing incentives to the children to retain the elder parents within the family. This would initiate the extended family structure and the bilocal form of residence. The benefits to both the elderly and the children would be considerable. Incentives could be in the form of transfer payments or tax deductions. Current social security payments and tax incentives affect only a reduction of the financial burden old people face due to lowered incomes. The problem of social isolation remains untouched, however.

A final and most significant point of comparison relates to the problem of renewal activity. Eskimo renew themselves through the institutionalized forms of marriage and adoption to maintain intimate contact and involvement with the younger social stratum.

Though not compelling, there is evidence of this type of activity in American society; further, no clear-cut institutionalized pattern has appeared. Women in America attempt to renew themselves by means of cosmetics, weight-control programs, and other "maintenance" activities. Older men marry young women to continue their "youth." In recent years, persons in the middle years have been increasingly active in "youth" activity as well as the elderly. The May-December marriage pattern is not likely to become a major device, however. The prohibition against plural marriage limits opportunities to acquire younger women without rejecting the older wife; also, the costs involved in this process are prohibitive for most men of any age. Were this system to prevail in a monogamous marriage society, the social isolation of the rejected women would only compound the dilemma of social isolation among the old people.

The marriage of two aged persons is substantially increasing now that the barriers to such unions set in the social security laws have been eliminated. On the whole, this type of marriage is a less satisfactory form of renewal activity than the May-December type, since it does not permit access to younger people and the activity of their social life. This activity, conducted within the peer group, is "horizontal" in character; it does not foster renewal activity which has at least some "vertical" elements associated with it.

Other kinds of restorative activity are also in evidence among old people. Many enter new careers in retirement. Others travel. Renewed interest in education is probably the single best evidence of restorative
activity on the part of old people, and one that best exemplifies the intent of renewal activity. It appears that the increase of old people returning to school to complete formal education disrupted by the assumption of occupational careers is substantial. Many are engaging in college level educational activity for the first time. Obviously, preparation for a career cannot be the motive for the elderly returning to the schools; we must presume that the activity represents a form of symbolic renewal.

Renewal activity is not confined to the aged. The motif characterizes the activities of many "adults" as well. Divorce and remarriage among persons in their late thirties and early forties is increasing, suggesting that renewal activity is an important factor in the transition from "young adulthood" to "middle age." Increased exercising in the form of jogging and increased use of health clubs indicate a striving for renewal.

The form of adoption as practiced by the Eskimo is not a typical renewal activity among American old people. Adoption regulations presents a barrier. Until recently, single persons were denied the right to adopt children, with the result that widows and spinsters had access to children only as guardians of children of close relatives. Adoption agencies permitted placement of children in "normal" homes only, homes in which the prospective parents were of proper age. The regulation is being relaxed. Single persons with adequate monetary resources and acceptable social and cultural backgrounds may now adopt children. The age criteria may also be relaxed in the near future. Adoption by older persons, then, could become an important form of renewal activity in America.

This essay was an attempt to describe the social position of old people in Eskimo society and to use insights gained from the inquiry to throw light on the problems of the aged in American society. Emphasis was given to the traditional life of the Eskimo, not unmindful of the fact that administrators, educators, and missionaries are diligently introducing the benefits of the modern industrial state and effecting major changes in this hunting society. Eskimo are rapidly becoming Americanized. The position of the Eskimo aged will soon approximate that of the American. It would be a point of irony, indeed, if in attempting to find a resolution to the problem of the aged in American society through recourse to Eskimo behavior patterns, we discover that the American "dilemma" is being imposed upon the Eskimo hunting culture and eradicating those very same patterns.

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1 An individual becomes an adult at marriage, so it is little wonder that these terms also carry the meaning of "husband" and "wife," at least in the eastern Arctic.

2 Robert Flaherty visited the Belcher Islands in 1917 to become the second white man ever to land there, and the first to make any lasting impression on the people. Most adults reckon their births from his arrival, so that their absolute ages can be calculated with some accuracy.

3 Thus when women aid in childbirth, it is customary to give them a small gift (Jenness 1922, 165-67) and men and women receive a gift of tobacco when they help in recovering a kayak (Guemple 1966a, 18).

4 This is one reason why children are sometimes called "old man" or "old woman" as mentioned on page above. See Carpenter 1954 and Guemple 1965.

5 The reticence of young people to go into "business" and have families may be related to the cynosure, where going to work means accepting adult status and thus "growing old."

6 In the modern era an increase in various transfer payments such as old age pensions has somewhat alleviated this burden. But modernization has also meant that fewer men hunt regularly. Recently, old couples have suffered more for want of traditional food because of a shortage of hunters and this shortage can only partly be relieved through purchases at the store.

7 The object of name-choosing is to find the appropriate name of the soul that inhabits the child. If the child then becomes ill, it is assumed either that the wrong name has been chosen or that the soul is incompatible with the body of the child. In both cases, a new name is selected and the change is accomplished in a ritual.

8 Eskimo traditionally practice female infanticide in order to reduce the population size and alleviate the burden of feeding the members of the community. Male offspring are always kept even when they are not particularly wanted for they will become hunters and thus producers.
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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Intergenerational relationships, treated as indicative of family solidarity or cohesiveness, have been investigated employing primarily four measures: (1) Helping Patterns, such as providing transportation, housework, yardwork, proffering advice (Sussman 1953; Albrecht 1953, 1954; MacDonald 1966); (2) Lineage Type, such as same sex and cross-sex relationships (Sweetser 1963; Aldous & Hill 1965); (3) Mobility Patterns of offspring (Litwak 1960a, 1960b); and (4) Interaction Styles, such as dominance or power relations within tri-generational households (Scott 1962; Knox 1965). Few studies have examined comparatively the impact of propinquity of residency, but have assumed it to be an important variable. Instead, previous research has employed measures which provide insight into other structural characteristics and behavioral correlates of intergenerational relationships.

There seems to be consensus on the validity of visiting and helping patterns as measures of intergenerational solidarity. Little attention, however, has been devoted to variations in these patterns among ethnico-cultural groupings. Instead, the generational structure of family has implicitly been treated as the major causal variable of variations in intergenerational family solidarity.

The purpose here will be to examine the relationship between variation in family generational structure and family solidarity, and to assess more precisely this relationship by introducing ethnic-cultural identification as a test variable. The need for more knowledge concerning variations in this relationship by ethnico-cultural identification is vividly demonstrated by the paucity of research in this area. Furthermore, while social gerontologists are correct in seeking general principles which describe aspects of the aging process, it would seem fruitful to seek explanations for variations that occur in this process.
In the present research, family structure is defined in terms of the presence or absence of offspring in the home. Age of respondent is introduced as a factor in family structure in order to differentiate four empirical family types: (1) Respondents under sixty with offspring present (N=245), (2) Respondents under sixty with offspring absent (N=118), (3) Respondents over sixty with offspring present (N=30), and (4) Respondents over sixty with offspring absent (N=175). By differentiating along these dimensions, propinquity becomes for respondents under sixty a measure indicative of involvement in the family of procreation. Therefore, it is hypothesized that solidarity will vary with distance from the family of orientation for younger respondents and the distance of offspring from the family of the older respondents. In this connection, respondents over sixty were asked to respond in terms of their perception of their relations with their children. Conversely, respondents under sixty were asked to respond to their perception of their relations with their parents at the present time or while they were still living. The situations of respondents below sixty with children in the home is hypothesized as the most distant, and the situation of respondents above sixty with children in the home is hypothesized as the least distant.

The choice of age sixty as a chronological distinction between aged and non-aged categories is not arbitrary. Previous research indicates that for this particular population, sixty years of age is more appropriate for the onset of agedness than the conventional age sixty-five. Also, age sixty tends to eliminate the possibility of any other than adult offspring appearing in the household of the older respondents.

Intergenerational solidarity in this report is defined as the extent to which the respondents engage in visiting, advice-giving, and helping patterns. Measures of solidarity from the point of view of respondents under sixty include questions pertaining to: (1) frequency of visitation with parents, (2) regularity of services performed for parents, and (3) advice given to parents on difficult problems. For respondents over sixty, essentially the same data were elicited but in slightly altered form. That constituted the following: (1) frequency of visitation by children, (2) frequency with which they visited their children, (3) whether or not they received help from their children, and (4) advice received from children.

Previous research has provided the clue that the Negro, French, and non-French represent distinguishable ethnico-cultural groups (Parenton & Pellegrin 1950; Jones & Parenton 1951; Bertrand 1955; Bertrand & Beale 1965; Harper 1967a, 1967b, 1967c). Assignment of respondents to a category was by observations of racial characteristics, in less obvious cases by self-identification, and by language use.
THE SETTING & THE SAMPLE

The State of Louisiana provides the setting for the present research. A sampling frame of parishes in Louisiana was established on the basis of the following criteria: (1) parishes with at least ten percent of the population over sixty-five years of age, (2) parishes that were at least twenty-five percent Negro, and (3) parishes with an urban population. The application of these criteria yielded a twelve parish sampling frame.

The parishes selected were stratified into those characterized by a French-speaking population and those that were predominately non-French. The parishes were then assigned weights based on their total number of households. Each parish had a known probability of being selected. One parish was drawn at random from each stratum. The parishes drawn were then stratified into Urban Places (Incorporated, 2500 or more), Villages (Incorporated, Less than 2500), and Rural Wards (Non-Incorporated). This procedure ensured that the final sample drawn would be representative of all major residential patterns found in the parishes.

The next step was the determination of sample size. This was accomplished by applying a formula suggested by Blalock, using the variance of the Negro population in each parish. This formula yielded a sample size of 296 for the French parish and 310 for the non-French. The sample for each parish was then divided proportionally into its sub-strata.

The final methodological step was to determine the households and individuals within households that would be interviewed. Since the total number and the location of dwelling units in each stratum were known, it became a relatively easy task to draw a random sample from each. It was not deemed necessary to interview everyone in a household. Therefore, the interviewers were instructed to adhere to the following priorities: (1) the oldest resident in the household, or (2) the head of the house, or (3) the spouse, or (4) anyone permanently residing in the house who was eighteen years of age or over. If no one qualified under these priorities, the interviewer was directed to move to the first house to the left, continuing in a clockwise fashion around blocks in the case of urban places and villages. Following this procedure, 577 completed interview schedules were obtained. In the analysis only heads of households or their spouses were used (N=568).

The data to test the hypotheses presented above are summarized in the accompanying table.

FAMILY STRUCTURE & FAMILY SOLIDARITY

Family solidarity as conceptualized here focuses upon three dimensions, namely (1) frequency of visiting, (2) advice-giving, and (3) perform-
SUMMARY OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INTERGENERATIONAL FAMILY SOLIDARITY & FAMILY GENERATIONAL STRUCTURE BY ETHNICO-CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intergenerational Family Solidarity</th>
<th>Family Structure</th>
<th>Negro (N=185)</th>
<th>French (N=157)</th>
<th>Non-French (N=226)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>.60&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advice-Giving</td>
<td>.39&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance Of Services</td>
<td>.21&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Z=6.46  P < .01  <sup>b</sup> Z=4.63  P < .01  <sup>c</sup> Z=2.63  P < .01

In each instance the observed relationship between structure and solidarity is significant. The observed degree of association is greatest between family structure and visiting (G=.60), followed by advice-giving (.39), and lowest for performance of services (.21).

What the data show is that as involvement in family or orientation increases, frequency of visiting, advice-giving, and performance of services increase. But it is equally clear that the dimensions of visiting is more significantly related to generational structure than are the other two dimensions. This observation deserves some comment.

Unlike advice-giving and performance of services, visiting is simply easier to engage in. Secondly, it is not as likely to meet with resistance as would advice-giving, simply because it would seem that aged respondents do not wish to be viewed as unable to cope with the exigencies of life. However, this rationale is based upon values implicit in dominant American culture. The question thus arises as to the extent to which variations exist by ethnico-cultural identification.

ETHNICO-CULTURAL VARIATIONS

When ethnico-cultural identification is introduced as a test variable, the relationship between family generational structure and frequency of visiting (.60) increases among Negroes (.72), remains basically the same among the French (.58), and decreases markedly among non-French (.33). Similarly, the observed relationship between family generational structure and advice-giving (.39) increases among Negroes (.42) and among French
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(.56), and decreases among non-French (.24). Finally, the observed relationship between family generational structure and performance of services (.21) increases among Negroes (.52) and decreases among French (.17) and non-French (.05).

Summarizing briefly, family generational structure is significantly related to family solidarity, as measured by frequency of visiting, advice-giving, and performance of services. When ethno-cultural identification is controlled, the observed relationships are increased among Negroes and are decreased among non-French. The associations between family generational structure and frequency of visiting and performance of services decrease among the French, also, but between family generational structure and advice-giving the observed association is intensified.

A closer examination of the observed relationship between family structure and (1) visiting and (2) performance of services (See Table) among the subcultures reveals the inference that an appreciable amount of visiting among Negroes is for the purpose of providing services. This may be interpreted in light of the relative social and economic condition of the ethno-cultural groupings under study.

For example, seventy percent of Negro respondents were employed in menial occupations (unskilled, semi-skilled, farm laborers, domestics), and eighty-four percent earned less than $3,000 annually per family unit. It would seem that the nature of his activity in this labor force, coupled with minimum monetary rewards, provides an incentive to engage in intergenerational mutual aid activities.

By contrast, fifteen percent of the French respondents were employed in menial occupations. Although there were many low-income French interviewees, fifty-six percent revealed family earnings exceeding $3,000 annually. Thus, it may be inferred that a need to engage in intergenerational helping patterns is less strongly felt among the French.

Only one-tenth of non-French respondents stated that they were employed in a menial occupation. By contrast, the non-French tended to dominate the more prestigious occupations even in the predominantly French communities. Twenty-seven percent were employed in professional, managerial, and proprietary occupations as contrasted to twenty-four percent for French and four percent for Negro. Seventeen percent of non-French family units earned more than $9,000 annually as contrasted to six percent of the French respondents and less than two percent of the Negro family units. Only approximately one-fourth of the non-French reported earnings of less than $3,000 annually. These findings seem to suggest that there is a degree of economic independence which seems to negate the necessity for intergenerational helping patterns.
Thus, it may be interpreted that Negroes are more likely to visit their parents because of the need to perform some particular form of service; whereas, among French and non-French, visiting is more likely to be motivated by a desire to visit or symbolically show some concern for parents, thus suggesting that lip-service is being paid to a culturally prescribed norm.

What these data suggest is that relationships between family generational structure and family solidarity are better understood by taking into consideration the influence of ethnico-cultural identification. Stated differently, ethnico-cultural identification is specified as a condition which more precisely describes the relationship between family generational structure and intergenerational family solidarity.

**IMPLICATIONS**

Insofar as these measures of family relationships treated as indicative of intergenerational solidarity are variable among the ethnic groups examined, it would seem useful to extend this study to examine the extent to which ethnico-cultural variations have implications for adjustment to old age. That is to say, if the aged are more integrated into the extended family in certain ethnico-cultural groupings, to what extent does this affect the aging process? Does it make it more desirable thereby leading to more favorable adjustment?

From the point of view of those interested in the welfare of the aged, it would seem useful to examine further the family situation, or more broadly, the social and cultural circumstances of the aged in diverse cultural settings.

A word of caution is necessary in reference to the validity of the measures employed to assess family generational solidarity. The present study investigated the frequency of such behaviors, while ignoring the possibility of variable meaning attached to such behaviors. However, it seems safe to assume that the importance of or meaning attached to such behaviors may be inferred from their frequencies.

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It has long been observed that one of the more unique characteristics of American society is the presence of a great number and variety of voluntary associations. ¹ Alexis de Tocqueville early noted this when in Democracy in America he argued that the proliferation of voluntary associations, particularly those of a political nature, was essential for the maintenance and continuation of the democratic order. The voluntary association was seen by him as a vital element in checking the persistent trend in advanced societies toward the unbridled extension of the state's political power. Without the organization of minor associations, men would fall into almost a complete dependence upon the state, a situation undesirable in individual as well as societal terms. Through the voluntary associations alone, he argued, variety and diversity of opinions flourish, for it is there where every kind of opinion and grievance can be stressed. In addition, associations crystallize interests and provide men with purposes extending beyond their own concerns.²

The large mass of published material on voluntary associations that has emerged since de Tocqueville's analysis reflects both the importance and complexity of this phenomenon. The kinds of concerns evidenced can be placed under two broad categories: the social structural and the social psychological. Simply stated, the concern in the former instance is with why voluntary association exist and what functions they serve. In the latter instance, the concern is with who joins, the motivations for joining, and the rewards from participation.

Pervading the literature on the social structural level is the perceived inevitability of the rise of such groups within democratic states and the diversity of functions which they serve. For example, in his analysis, Arnold Rose specifies three ways in which voluntary associations may support political democracy:

1 They allow for power to be distributed over a proportion of the citizenry larger than would be the case if it were concen-
trated in the elected representatives alone.

2. They allow the ordinary citizen to see how democratic processes function in restricted circumstances of some direct interest to himself.

3. They provide social mechanisms for continually instituting social changes.

Thus, there is a constant attempt to solve long-standing problems and to satisfy new needs of groups of citizens as these needs arise and organized support can be mobilized for them. 3

A TYPOLOGY OF ASSOCIATIONS

Relatively recently, scholars have been concerned with dealing with the variety of associational forms which have emerged in urban societies. While the de Tocquevillean school stresses the integrative function of associations, it would be erroneous to characterize all associations as directing their efforts toward supporting or modifying the social order. Social, recreational, hobby, and sports clubs exist for quite different reasons than do unions and professional associations. They in turn differ from social, political, and civic action groups.

This third grouping, which serves causes and communal purposes, has been termed the "instrumental" association, and it is this associational type which de Tocqueville saw as the mainstay of the democratic order. Activities of associations directly related to occupational roles are directed toward somewhat different goals. There the emphasis is on representing the occupational members to the wider society. The leisure or expressive association, in contrast, emphasizes the provision of companionship and entertainment for the acquiring and development of some skill within a formally-structured group. In this instance the goals are directed inward; consequently, whatever benefits accrue to the wider community are by default rather than design. 4

While the concepts of expressive, instrumental, and occupationally-linked groups provide information on the kinds of goals an association is likely to have, they do not indicate how these goals fit into the context in which they are implemented. That is, given the probable heterogeneity of associations in a given community, some hierarchy of associations is likely to emerge. It is relevant to know how a given association is viewed by the community at large; for if the association has status and yields influence, those involved in it are likely to be drawn into activities affecting the wider community. In contrast, those involved in associations which are obscure or lack community sanction, may be almost as removed from the mainstream of community life as non-participants.
Investigations of voluntary associations and community structure suggest two major conclusions: (1) there is a definite hierarchy of voluntary associations within communities; (2) the criteria for rating are complex. The hierarchy of associations which is present tends to reflect the association's goals, the comparative vitality of the group, and the composition of its membership.  

THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE

Given the significant and divergent roles played by voluntary associations, a crucial question to raise is the distribution of participants within the population. If all Americans were affiliated with associations, this would not be an issue. The commonplace characterization of the majority of the Americans as "joiners," however, lacks empirical verification. Somewhere between thirty and forty-five percent of the adult population hold one or more voluntary associational memberships. While this is undoubtedly a higher rate than in most societies, it hardly represents the bulk of the population.

Significant relationships between age, educational, sex, religious, marital, and residential differences and associational membership rates have been reported, and it is apparent that there are a great number of dimensions by which one could differentiate membership rates. A crucial criterion to utilize in selecting an independent variable is the extent to which it is defined as important, both from a social and individual perspective, as a determinant of integrative social behavior. In our society the occupational role adequately fulfills this criterion; it is the work role which is one of our basic cultural themes. The productive system, of which the job is an element, stands at the very root of the society, providing workers with both the means and the ends through which they orient their behavior.

The importance placed on occupational role and the presence of stable, persistent differences in occupational prestige suggest that how one stands in relation to the work world may well indicate how one stands in the wider society. This argument is identical to the Durkheimian thesis that in complex societies it is the work experience that is primarily responsible for drawing persons into the mainstream of social life.

The importance our society places on occupational achievement, the accompanying valuation and hierarchical ordering of the role players, the differential distribution of the skills and insights needed for dealing with issues confronting the social order, and their accompanying attitudinal factors, all suggest that the probability of associational participation varies among occupations. In this sense, one can speak of an "associational involvement potential" which is a function of occupational niche; the workers at the top of a prestige hierarchy will have the highest associational involve-
ment potential, those at the bottom, the lowest, and those in the middle will fall somewhere in between.

**CAREER PATTERN**

Although important, the relative ranking of the position one holds in the occupational structure, and its accompanying attitudinal correlates have a limited utility as predictors of social participation. While those workers at the extreme ends of the occupational ladder can be expected to possess associational involvement potentials as outlined above, occupational rank per se loses much of its explanatory power when applied to the remainder of the work force, the group that has been termed the "middle mass."10

It is within this broad category that one has to look with more specificity at such aspects of work as the individual's cumulative experience in the work force. The predictive power of the cumulative occupational experience has been proposed and analyzed by Harold Wilensky.11 Wilensky's guiding assumption is that participation in community life is a natural extension of participation in the labor market; orderly and pleasant experiences in the latter provide both motive and opportunity for participation in the former. Thus, when occupational niche ceases to be a predictor of extra-occupational behavior, the career pattern of the person confronted is likely to provide the additional information needed.

In Wilensky's terms, "career" is considered an "orderly career" and the absence of a career becomes a "disorderly work history." In the former instance, the skills and experience gained in one job are directly functional in a hierarchy of prestige. The latter instance is characterized by an absence of cumulative experience as applied from one job to the next as well as a hierarchical ordering of jobs.12

In effect, the concept of orderly career is an evaluated aspect of one dimension of the worker's experience in the labor force. It is especially useful in constructing the associational involvement potential of the occupational structure's "middle mass." Just as occupants of high positions in the occupational hierarchy are very likely to identify with the occupational role, it is probable that the middle mass members who have experienced orderly careers will identify with the work experience and derive rewards from it. The movement through the employment maze in a deliberate and orderly manner suggests, among other things, the presence of commitment to one's occupation and the development of an identification with it. If membership in a high occupational prestige group is accompanied by sundry rewards, such as high status and income and a sense of importance, some of these rewards should accrue to their less prestigious counterparts who have coped successfully with their segment of the system.
Conversely, those individuals with disorderly work histories are similar to members of low prestige occupational groups. Jobs may be held for varying time periods and are quite interchangeable. In place of purposive movement, job changes appear random, and the reasons behind shifts often seem somewhat whimsical. Dissatisfaction with salary, discord with the supervisor, diffuse dissatisfaction with the work setting may provide enough of an incentive to search for another job, one which allows for the transfer of comparatively few of the skills developed previously. The presence of an orderly career pattern suggests, then, both a style of relating to the occupational sphere, and the probability of participating in other spheres, particularly the political and the social.

THE IMPACT OF RETIREMENT

Retirement occurs when ascriptive criterion, such as age, comes to dominate an achieved criterion, such as occupation, and the actor relinquishes the worker role, held over a period of time, to the alternative role of retiree. This phenomenon is a product of modern industrial society. Other societies have aged persons who remain integrated through work and kinship mechanisms; they have few retired persons. We have created and maintained this economically non-productive role because we are capable of supporting large numbers of persons whose labor is no longer needed; their occupational positions persist, but they are filled by others.

The effects of retirement on individuals are varied. On the one hand, there is freedom from long-time career involvement which may have been routine and confining in nature, there is relief from job stresses, and there is a chance to develop new interests and activities. On the other hand, retirement generally brings on a loss of routine concerning the utilization of waking hours, a reduced income, a lessened challenge to the physiological performance potential, some loss of status as a contributor to the economy, and severed contacts with work associates.

There is little doubt that the retirement role is a definite departure from the work role for many if not most workers. However, while the work roles are clearly defined and culturally sanctioned, retirement carries an ambiguous status. Consequently, the worker is likely to carry into retirement a label as well as those insights and skills he acquired and developed during his work life. The pressures of conforming to the work role are reduced, but the effects of long term involvement in a select occupation may persist. Thus the associational involvement potential among retirees is, in part, a function of their long term occupational experience.

Our discussion of the relationships between occupation involvement, retirement, and associational participation suggests the following argument:
Proposition One: Both occupational prestige and orderliness of career pattern will be related to level of participation in voluntary associations.

Hypothesis 1A: Workers in high prestige occupations will exhibit the highest associational participation levels.

Hypothesis 1B: Workers in middle prestige occupations who have experienced orderly career patterns will exhibit associational participation levels below that of the high prestige workers but above that of their counterparts who have experienced disorderly work histories.

Hypothesis 1C: Workers in the lowest occupational prestige level will exhibit virtually no associational ties.

Proposition Two: Retirement from full time employment effects the level of participation in voluntary associations differentially by occupational prestige level and patterning of work history.

Hypothesis 2A: Upon retiring, former workers will reduce their level of associational participation.

Hypothesis 2B: Among retirees, the comparative level of associational participation will parallel that of the pre-retirement period with retirees from high prestige jobs being the most active, and those from low prestige jobs, the least active.

Proposition Three: Occupational variables are related to the form the associational participation assumes.

Hypothesis 3A: Participation in prestigious instrumental associations will be reported primarily among high prestige workers and middle prestige workers with orderly career patterns.

Those few retirees who do participate will be within these occupational categories.

Hypothesis 3B: Participation in prestigious expressive associations will be reported primarily among high prestige workers.

Those few retirees who do participate will be within this occupational category.
Hypothesis 3C: Participation in non-prestigious instrumental associations will be reported primarily among high prestige workers and retirees, middle prestige workers and retirees with orderly career patterns, and workers with disorderly work histories.

Hypothesis 3D: Participation in non-prestigious expressive associations will be reported in all occupational categories.

Hypothesis 3E: Participation in occupationally-linked groups will be reported among workers in all occupational categories.

PROCEDURE

The data employed in testing our hypotheses were drawn from two independent studies conducted at Duke University during the early and mid-1960's under grants from the Ford Foundation. The first of these, the Community & Retirement Study (C & R), focused on the impact of aging and retirement on integration and participation in the local community. The second, the Work & Retirement Study (W & R), focused on the impact of the work experience on adjustment in retirement. Aside from the rather pedestrian advantage of the addition of cases, both samples rather than one were selected for this analysis because of their differing composition, the differing manner in which they were obtained, and the overlap of variables which allowed for some replication.16

All of the Community & Retirement Study interviews were conducted in Durham, North Carolina, in 1961. A randomly selected sample of adults twenty-one to sixty-four years of age residing at a randomly selected set of addresses was interviewed. These 221 households represented a cross-section of all but the low status segment of the city's white population. One person from each household was interviewed, and the interviews took two to four hours to complete.

Persons over sixty-five were interviewed in a separate sampling process in order to have a reasonable assurance of securing 150 interviews with older persons. The unit chosen for sampling was a street segment running from corner to corner and including both sides. All households in the randomly selected street segments were canvassed and all persons sixty-five and over, but no more than one person per household, were eligible for the sample. A total of 140 persons sixty-five and over were interviewed.17

Of the total number of persons interviewed, 104 persons twenty-one to sixty-four years of age and thirty-one persons sixty-five and over were
fully employed or retired and could therefore be utilized in the analysis. The remaining cases were either students presently unemployed or housewives and were thus excluded.

The Work & Retirement Study sample consisted of 195 men who in 1960 were at work, but within five years of normal retirement and living in the Piedmont area of North Carolina and Virginia. In constructing the sample, a concerted effort was made to obtain occupations of widely varying status. Respondents were selected from lists provided by employers and professional associations. All sample members were white and long-time residents of the area. In the Spring of 1966 an attempt was made to re-interview the former pre-retirees in order to ascertain the impact of retirement on selected social and social psychological variables. Death, migration, a refusal to be re-interviewed, and the continuation of work caused a loss of forty percent of the original sample. There was a proportionally high loss of professionals with high educational level. The distribution of work history patterns, in contrast, remained the same. Despite the large attrition rate, there remained enough of a variety in occupational types to permit analysis on our occupational dimensions. As there were a large number of respondents in the Community & Retirement sample who had held one job for their entire work life, some decision had to be made for this group. Since the category could either reflect immobility or suggest a prelude to an orderly or chaotic work experience for younger workers, it was hypothesized that the participation scores of these respondents would fall somewhere between those of the orderly and disorderly groupings.

RESULTS

The results summarized in Table 1 indicate that the patterning of the associational participation is as predicted in Hypotheses 1A-2B and that the between group differences are statistically significant. Among retirees the patterning is less clear-cut. While the overall scores for retirees are lower than those of workers (Hypothesis 2A), the middle prestige one-job-only category exhibits a higher average score than was anticipated in Hypothesis 2B. While the mean score for the disorderly category is markedly lower than that of the orderly and one-job-only categories, the variation around the mean is apparently large enough to preclude the emergence of statistically significant differences.

In the Work & Retirement sample, the patterning was as anticipated. The vertical expansion into high and low occupational prestige categories contributes to the more consistently marked between group differences for this sample.

Hypotheses 3A and 3B posit relationships between the occupational experience and membership in prestigious instrumental and expressive as-
### Table 1

**Occupational Categories & Associational Involvement Score**

#### A. Workers (C & R Sample)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Prestige</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Orderly)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (One-Job-Only)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Disorderly)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>3.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$F = 3.69$ with 3, 104 df. $p < .01$

#### B. Retirees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>C &amp; R Sample</th>
<th>W &amp; R Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Prestige</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Orderly)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (One-Job-Only)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Disorderly)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prestige</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$F = 1.47$ with 2, 30 df. $p = .001$

---

<sup>a</sup>One Point Each For Memberships Held, Regular Meeting Attendance, Committee Posts, & Offices.

<sup>b</sup>Because Directionality Was Predicted, A One-Tailed Rather Than Two-Tailed Test Of Significance Was Employed.
sociations. Prestigious instrumental association affiliations, it is argued, will be reported among high prestige retirees and middle prestige retirees with orderly career patterns. Membership in prestigious expressive associations will be confined to the high prestige retirees.

The high prestige instrumental association represents a combination of status and influence which characterizes relatively few groups. Thus the finding reported in Table 2 that twelve percent of retired respondents hold memberships in this associational type seems rather high. The vast majority of membership holders are in the high prestige and middle prestige orderly categories, a patterning which was anticipated among workers but not among retirees. The fact that some members of this sample are semi-retired and retain some ties to the work world may explain some of this participation. But for the most part, these data suggest that the pattern predicted for workers is present among retirees also.

**TABLE 2**

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS HOLDING MEMBERSHIPS IN PRESTIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Instrumental Associations</th>
<th>Expressive Associations</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Prestige</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Orderly)</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Disorderly)</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prestige</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X^2$</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The patterning of memberships in prestigious expressive associations bears little resemblance to that expected. For the Work & Retirement sam-
ple, neither orderliness of career pattern nor prestige of the former job is predictive of the relative participation rates for this associational type. This seems surprising in light of the earlier discussion of differential recruiting and motivation. The reporting of memberships by low prestige retirees is particularly mysterious.

As the evaluations of the community's associations were made by the respondents, the possibility of inaccurate ratings comes to mind. An examination of responses revealed that a comparatively large proportion of respondents reporting low membership rates also are members of high prestige expressive associations. One explanation of this finding is that these respondents may be overrating their own associations. That is, membership holders may be realistically viewing their association as highly regarded in their segment of the community, but their linkage to the association may preclude their objectivity. They may believe that since they and their peers think well of each other and their association, then the rest of the community must. The fact may well be, however, that the bulk of the community is quite neutral toward their group.

Relationships between occupational dimensions and membership in non-prestigious associations (Hypotheses 3C-3E) were expected to assume the following form: For instrumental associations, all occupational groups, except the low prestige workers and retirees and retirees with disorderly work histories, will report holding memberships. All occupational categories will report memberships in expressive associations, while only workers are expected to report memberships in occupationally-linked groups.

In the case of instrumental associations, the majority of the membership holders who are employed are in high prestige and middle prestige orderly career categories. Among retirees in the Work & Retirement sample, an almost identical pattern is present; while for the Community & Retirement sample, there is an unexpectedly low percentage of memberships reported in the middle prestige orderly category. The one-job-only retirees have a moderately high percentage reporting memberships which reflects the generally high participation level of the women in the category. From these data, the hypothesis relating occupational categories to non-prestigious instrumental associations is partially confirmed: As anticipated, the high and middle prestige orderly career pattern workers report memberships as do the high prestige retirees. Workers with disorderly work histories have low membership rates, while the percentates for the retirees with orderly career patterns are not conclusive.

For expressive associations, it was anticipated that all occupational categories would report memberships. With the exception of the Community & Retirement sample's middle prestige disorderly work history category, in all categories over ten percent of respondents report one or more memberships in this associational type. As anticipated, memberships in
expressive associations are the most widespread of all associational types.

For the occupationally-linked groups, it was expected that memberships would be reported only among workers. The percentages in Table 3 suggest that membership in these associations are more widespread than anticipated. For both workers and retirees, executives and professionals emerge as the grouping most frequently reporting memberships. By virtue of the absence of local chapters, many professional associations were excluded from the Community & Retirement data, thereby deflating the percentage of membership in the high prestige category. In all probability, the high prestige workers have the highest membership rates in the sample for this associational type.

The presence of several semi-retired men in the Work & Retirement sample partly explains the memberships in this sample. The reporting of memberships among retirees in the Community & Retirement sample, however, is contrary to the expected pattern. Apparently there is some, albeit limited, retention of memberships in occupational associations into retirement.

CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

The demonstration of a relationship between positional placement in a social system and integrative social behavior was the central task of this study. Elements of the occupational role were relied upon as indicators of structural position while participation in voluntary associations was the index of integration. The rationale for emphasizing associational participation was twofold: first, scholars have pointed to this phenomenon as the mainstay of the democratic order; and second, unlike many other forms of leisure activity, the skills and knowledge gained from the occupational role can be directly applied to associational activity. It was argued that the form the participation assumed, as well as the type of associations aligned with, could be traced to the occupational experience.

Involvement in a high prestige occupation tended to be accompanied by the highest participation rates for both working and retired members of our samples. Middle prestige workers who had experienced an orderly career pattern exhibited the second highest participation rates. There was a tendency for persons who had held one middle prestige job for their entire work life to be between the orderly career grouping and the middle prestige working and retired respondents whose work histories were characterized by disorderly movement. Involvement in a low prestige occupation was generally accompanied by non-participation.

In addition to variations in the overall amount of participation, the type of associations aligned with also varied. High prestige and the "suc-
### TABLE 3
PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS HOLDING MEMBERSHIPS IN NON-PRESTIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

#### A. Workers (C & R Study)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Instrumental Associations</th>
<th>Expressive Associations</th>
<th>Occupationally Linked Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Prestige</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Orderly)</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (One-Job-Only)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Prestige (Disorderly)</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>39.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>26.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
x^2 = 11.0, \quad \text{dF} = 3, \quad P = .01, \quad \text{n.s.}
\]

#### B. Retirees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>C &amp; R Sample</th>
<th>W &amp; R Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Expressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi Prestige</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Pres (Ord)</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Pres (O-J-O)</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Pres (Disord)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Prestige</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>25.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
x^2 = 1.67, \quad \text{dF} = 2, \quad P = .01, \quad \text{n.s.}
\]
cessful middle prestige respondents were the sample members who participated in prestigious instrumental associations. For the retirees, the differences were not quite as consistent, but again those who had experienced chaotic careers or had held low prestige jobs did not participate. For the expressive associations virtually all occupational categories reported memberships. All categories of workers reported membership in occupationally-linked groups, but there was a greater reporting of such memberships among retired persons than had been predicted.

Neither of our samples evidenced hyperactivity in the voluntary associational arena. The typical respondent reported holding one or two memberships, attending meetings intermittently, and holding neither a committee post nor office. The variation around the typical respondent was wide, ranging from non-alignment to the simultaneous holding of several committee posts and offices. As our central thesis suggests, occupational variables have considerable utility for differentiating the participants from non-participants.

Participation, however, is the outcome of a dialogue. One does not simply opt to join; associations, to varying degrees, recruit members. As Etzioni suggests, participants are recruited from a number of potential candidates larger than that of the actual participants but smaller than that of all members of all the collectivities from which the organization is recruiting. The extent to which occupation enters in as a criterion for recruitment is an open question; given its great status-conferring capacity, it is at least one of several criteria.

It was demonstrated here that for the samples examined, the high prestige and middle prestige retirees, and presumably workers, who do hold memberships tend to participate across and downward. That is, they hold memberships in prestigious instrumental and expressive associations as well as non-prestigious ones. For the disorderly and low prestige workers and retirees, their memberships tend to be confined to the non-prestigious variety. From the membership holder's perspective, this reflects the wider range of interests and talents. To the voluntary associational network, this pattern may reflect the prestigious association's conscious recruitment of persons who would contribute to the goals of their association. It would be of considerable importance to know something of the dynamics of the recruiting process. To what extent, for example, is membership a function of motivation (alignment by virtue of desire to attain goals favored by the individual) or of selection (conscious recruitment by an association accompanied by clearly defined membership criteria).

In ideal terms, access to channels of power is most clearly in the province of the prestigious voluntary associations; if it consciously excludes the less successful, non-upwardly mobile segment of the occupational order, their impact on community affairs is lessened. The apparent under-repre-
sensation of the occupationally non-successful portion of the sample in non-prestigious associations only augments the problem. Even the more constrained channels for effecting change appear largely closed to them. In this case, the less stringent membership criteria suggest it is largely by default.

Issues of this order could not be explored in this analysis, but the data have suggested that by virtue of either differential motivation, selection, or both, workers and persons experiencing disorderly career patterns tend to be removed from a critical aspect of contemporary social life, namely, the instrumental voluntary association.

This article is a revised version of "Occupational Involvement, Retirement, & Associational Participation," a paper delivered at the Annual Sociological Research Institute of the District of Columbia Sociological Society, Washington, D.C., May 11, 1968.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1 This term refers to groups with the following characteristics: (1) voluntary membership, (2) regular set of elected leaders, (3) holding meetings regularly, (4) specific interests or stated purposes recognized by members which bind them together, and (5) an official name.


3 Arnold M. Rose, Theory & Method in the Social Sciences (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954) 77-80.


11 Ibid., 521-23.
12 Ibid., 525.
14 Friedmann & Havighurst, Meaning of Work, 67-78.
16 For a detailed account of composition of samples and of the nature of the instrument and indexes employed see, Charles S. Harris, "Occupational involvement, retirement, & associational participation (Ph. D. diss., Duke University, 1967).

CHARLES S. HARRIS (Ph. D. Duke), assistant professor of sociology at The George Washington University, teaches courses in the sociology of occupations, complex organizations, leisure, and social gerontology. Current research interests focus on leisure time activities.
Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success.

Francis Bacon

Number Forty-Two, Of Youth & Age, THE ESSAYS
Within the general concern of understanding aging, some gaps emerge. One such gap is about aging Negroes. If one seeks information on the Negro aged especially, few data exist. By and large, a trend of systematic exclusion of Negro aged has characterized most socio-cultural and psychological studies of the aged, probably for a variety of reasons. Two important ones are (1) assumptions made regarding the differential intrinsic characteristics of the Negro aged; and (2) the greater prevalence of (or greater significance attached to) associations and causal linkages between problems and conditions of Negro aged and their racial (rather than aged) role identifications. Beattie (1964) observed that "in reviewing the research about the aged in American society, one cannot but be struck by its holistic approach." He suggested, in effect, that greater attention be given to the identification of significant characteristics of aging subgroups.

Recently, the direction of the trend stated above seems to have been slowly shifting toward a proliferating research interest in Negro aged, again (without further elaboration) for a number of reasons. It also seems apparent that there are some differences which distinguish aged Negroes from other contemporary racial and ethnic aged groups. Yet, the present literature provides no clear-cut answers.

The purpose of this paper is to set forth the present status of social gerontology and the Negro aged (1) by providing a collection of socio-cultural and psychological references on the Negro aged; and (2) by sharing impressions about the conclusions of such references, focusing predominantly on certain emergent issues, including several research suggestions. The major purpose is to review available data on Negro aged.

COLLECTION OF REFERENCES

Multiple techniques were employed in the bibliographic collection. The two criteria established for the collection of references were (1) that
the central theme of each reference dealt with aging in the later age cycles (that is, middle-age or beyond) of non-institutionalized persons; and (2) that the reference contained a stated use of Negro Ss, or in the case of several discussions without benefit of research, the dominant focus was on Negro aged. The collection references were subdivided tripartitely by the criterion of racial emphasis: (a) those using both Negro and white Ss without describing or analyzing the sample by race, (b) those using both Negro and white Ss where racial variables were employed in data analysis, and (c) those using Negro Ss only. No systematic bibliographic search prior to 1950 was done.

These collected references are listed at the end of the paper. Those cited under categories (a) and (b) are only typical references characteristic of their grouping. Those cited under (c) included the majority of available references focusing solely, or nearly so, upon Negro aged. Although some of the references are not referred to explicitly in the text (for example, Antenor 1961; Boggs 1957, 1958; Bohanon c1958; Himes & Hamlett 1962; House & Home Finance Agency 1963; Jackson & Davis 1965; King & Howell 1965; Stone 1962; Youmans 1966, 1967), the text content is also based upon them.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE DATA & EMERGENT ISSUES

Although the conclusions of several or more studies converged at some point, such factors as the uncertain validity and reliability of some of the data, the widespread usage of non-random samples, and the dearth of directly comparable studies necessitated caution in forming generalizations. More often, however, the conclusions of the various studies diverged. For example, in considering some variable directly affecting aging adjustment, socio-economic status stood out as a causal linkage, race as a negligible variable. Yet, it may be unwise to dismiss the significance of race as a social concept. When "race" is equated with "ethnic subculture," than it may be that, while the condition of being Negro in the present American social system does indeed produce traits negatively associated with "successful" adjustment to aging, it may also contain positive traits as well. The available studies do not make such an exploration possible. Lipman (1966), however, has suggested that:

Regarding the racial attribute in the United States, belonging to the majority or white race is defined as a resource, since it is generally accepted that the American Negro has felt lower expectations for control of his environment than his white counterpart.

The most valid generalization which could be formed from reviewing the studies was, of course, that a significantly higher proportion of Negro than white aged persons occupy the lowest socio-economic positions, a fact
already apparent from existing data on comparative socio-economic positions of Negroes and whites. Hence, when judged by the usual objective indices of social adjustment to aging, the corresponding rank position of aged Negroes as compared with aged whites was also lower (National Urban League 1964; Orshansky 1964; Smith 1966). Further, the studies definitely demonstrated that aged Negroes, as other aged groups, do not constitute a homogeneous entity. Health status and socio-environmental conditions, including their previous and present life styles, also affected and were affected by their adjustment to aging.

Beyond the above general statements, as already noted, the review of the collected references revealed much greater divergence than convergence. Certain of these emergent issues were isolated for examination. They were dichotomized broadly as (a) theoretical and methodological, and (b) goal orientation of the studies and social gerontological background. Among the former were those of the relevancy of race to aging (the most pervasive of all the issues), appropriate methodological instruments and techniques, and inadequate knowledge and understanding of the subcultural environments of the Negro aged. Among the latter were the social gerontological versus the demonstration-of-discrimination approach orientations, and training in social gerontology.

The Relevancy Of Race To Aging

A major problem is the need for greater clarification of the effects of being Negro upon aging, including the specification of the conditions which necessitate establishing controls for ethnic subcultural variables.

None of the studies reviewed assumed that Negro aged were completely different from other aged groups. Apparently, a connection exists between the stated results of the studies and at least (1) divergent orientation factors of the investigators (for example, their attitudes toward Negroes, their social class and status positions, and their disciplinary backgrounds); (2) the nature of the specific problems of aging under investigation; and/or (3) the nature of their funding sources. In most (but not all) cases, problems of subjectivity were further compounded by the use of Negro Ss. The tendency of increased problems of subjectivity was more explicitly pronounced among Negro, rather than white, investigators.

At the risk of oversimplification, illustrations of the treatment of the relevancy of race to aging can be shown by isolating roughly three broad patterns: (a) race is irrelevant; (b) race is relevant, due chiefly to racial discrimination; and (c) specification of conditions under which race may be associated with aging.

Only one study (Hamlett 1959) categorically rejected any association between race and aging. Without an appropriate methodology and sufficient
empirical evidence she simply threw the baby out with the bath. For others, as illustrated by Eisdorfer (1963), Gruen (1964), Neugarten & Gutmann (1964), Peck & Berkowitz (1964), Maddox (1962), and Shanas (1962), no sample differentiation by race occurred on, one has to suppose, the presumption of no relevant racial differences, insofar as their specific investigative problems were concerned.

Previous findings placed Maddox (1962), in his investigation of the relationships between Ss' medical health ratings, and self-assessment of health, and Eisdorfer (1963), in his study of the effects of age and measured intelligence upon Rorschach performances, among those who had considered relevant issue which might affect their results, although one might quibble about culture-laden measures of intelligence and subjective Rorschach interpretations. Shanas (1962) may also have considered carefully the possible effects of racial variables upon her results, but she did not justify the usage of a racially undifferentiated sample within the published work. A racial breakdown of the Shanas (1962) data, in particular, may have been extremely useful in depicting certain patterns of and attitudes toward health and family relationships among Negroes, especially since she utilized a nationwide area-probability sample.

Although the first three studies reported in Neugarten et al (1964) were based upon Ss drawn from their Sample One of the Kansas City studies, a sample containing some Negro Ss, the specification of the racial composition of the actual Ss utilized was not given. Hence, it was not possible to determine the extent to which the findings were applicable only for a single racial group, or if the possible inclusion of Negro Ss may have affected the female age-related dominance trait, for example, or if Negro and white Ss showed no significant difference on such a trait.

Several studies which stressed the relevancy of race to aging tended toward overgeneralization and generally failed to consider within-group variation, overappings between racial groupings, and the fact that racial differences, according to present scientific evidence, are usually differences of degree, rather than of kind. Their most glaring omission was the lack of established controls for socio-economic status. Apparently on the basis of impressions rather than on data presented, Stone (1959) concluded that "there is some evidence to indicate that personal adjustment in aging varies by race." Based largely upon group disparities found between white and Negro aged in such areas as housing, education, income, occupation, family structure, access to communication and transportation media and facilities, and extent of material possession, the National Urban League (1964) concluded: "Today's aged Negro is different from today's aged white because he is Negro." Probably in response to Tally and Kaplan's (1956) inquiry as to whether or not the aged Negro was in "double jeopardy," the National Urban League (1964) stated that the "double jeopardy" label did apply, for the plight of the aged Negro was the most desperate of any American
Henderson (1965) suggested that more attention be given to factors possibly "unique to the aged Negro" (for example, apparently implicitly including forced retirement). Smith (1966,1967) felt that Southern rural aged Negroes were in "multiple jeopardy."

While all of the latter four studies may be useful in depicting selected group conditions and social patterns of some aging Negroes, they stop too soon. Most of their conclusions are highly impressionistic, and the majority are not based on representative samples of Negro aged. A tendency to view Negro aged homogeneously prevents the emergence of discernible subgroup patterns. The dynamic effects of their findings (with their indications, for example, of the Negro's greater proneness to poor health, larger household size, greater forced retirement, more anomia, and more restricted formal social participation, compared with white aged) upon aging within Negro subcultures received scant attention, and individual adaptation was ignored.

Some investigators utilizing a racial variable exhibited a primary concern with processes of aging and the identification of the specific effects of possible subcultural differences upon aging. Busse, Jeffers & Obrist (1957), for example, found a significant relationship between age identification and race. Subsequently, Jeffers, Eisdorfer & Busse (1962) evaluated the self-age category placement technique used in the Busse et al (1957) study; and, finding idiosyncratic meanings attached to its age terms, concluded that its justified usage required validation for "each subject in a given population." They did not, however, indicate if this finding affected the earlier one of Negro Ss tending to perceive themselves as being "old" with greater frequency and at relatively earlier temporal points (for example, in relationship to average life expectancy for their respective racial and sex groups) than did the white Ss.

Youmans' (1963) comparison of urban Negro and white aging Ss was particularly useful in that his study design provided for the testing of significant differences between the two groups on selected socio-environmental factors, living conditions, and behavior patterns. No significant age-linked racial differences were obtained, although Youmans (1963) did isolate empirically, using Srole's anomia scale, a significant subcultural variation. The Negro Ss were decidedly more pessimistic. Interestingly, his white and Negro Ss were not racially distinguishable by their reporting of one or more health ailments. The latter two findings were also reported by Roberts (1964) in his comparison of aging Negroes and whites in two Louisiana parishes.

Perhaps these findings of no significant subjective health differences point toward the need for re-examination of the fact that "everyone knows Negroes are in poorer health than whites." Kadushin (1966) has contended that "lower class persons do not have more diseases or conditions. They
are, however, more concerned about illness." But because of such factors as reluctance or inability to utilize medical assistance, lower class persons may have "more 'serious' illnesses and a higher death rate." There may be a possibility that aged Negroes do not differ significantly in health status from white aged groups (depending, of course, upon how aged is defined operationally). Present data neither provide substantiation of the fact nor refutation of what may be a myth at least for persons seventy years of age or over.

Lipman, Sterne & Smith, in their "Miami Concerted Services Baseline Study" designed to "measure the ability of social services to reverse dependent behavior among the aged," found some significant differences between their Negro and white Ss, most of whom were residing in public housing units. The Negroes exhibited a higher deprivation, especially "in the areas of primary, psychogenic, and financial needs," but were similar to the whites in interpersonal and security needs. Although they also scored lower on the scales, the authors used to measure responsibility, morale, and faith in people and higher on anxiety and willingness to accept the norms of disengagement than did whites, two-thirds of the Negroes, compared with only one-third of the whites, were found to be "engaged" rather than "disengaged" and hence tended toward greater activity than the whites. When subjects seventy-five years of age and over were compared, however, the relationship between morale and disengagement for the Negroes approximated more nearly that of the whites. These investigators concluded that the higher level of engagement for the aged Negro might be explained partially by extended family patterns, whereas the lower morale might indicate the engagement alone fails to "compensate for psychic effects resulting from" prejudice and discrimination or for "old age, inadequate income, and poor health." Their data provide further refutation of the universality of the disengagement theory in its original formulation.

Lipman and Marden (1966), in their analysis of aged Ss' preparation for death, pinpointed the significance of the present being ever pregnant with the future in theorizing that the quality of early education received by persons and their perceptions of expectations for controlling or influencing one's environment may affect heavily attitudinal and behavioral patterns exhibited in old age. Specifically, they found that preparation for death was related to race, income, source, and education. Even when education was held constant, Negro Ss' preparation for death (as measured by such objective criteria, apparently, as will-making, secure of funeral director and grave site, and provision of funds for burial was lower than that of the whites. Insofar as could be determined, however, source of income and race were not held constant simultaneously. An even more relevant concern than controlling for income source may be the degree to which the criteria utilized by Lipman & Marden were directly comparable for both the Negro and white Ss or, to state it another way, the degree to which cultural relativism might be operative. The conclusion of less preparation for death by
Negro Ss may need some qualification, in other words, less preparation as judged by the criteria employed. Since white America has played an insignificant role in burial of Negro dead, aged, or otherwise, perhaps their Ss' preparation for death, while alive, might be better judged by the dominant "preparation for death" norms within the specific subgroups of the Negro subculture. Then, white and Negro comparisons could be made by analyzing deviations from each set of norms.

Heyman & Jeffers (1964) found that their non-random sample of Negro manual Ss obtained significantly higher scores on the religious activity and attitude sub-items (Chicago Activities & Attitudes Inventory) than did the manual whites, a finding not true of their Negro and white non-manual groups. Stone's (1959) data revealed that her lower-class Negro and white Ss showed little variation by religious activity sub-item scores but that the lower-class Negroes scored significantly higher than both the lower and the middle-class whites on the religious attitude sub-item. She felt that the religious institution was the most important one for aging Negroes. Smith (1966, 1967) stated that the rural aged Negro "usually derives the greatest source of satisfaction from his religion, not from activities involving his family and relatives, as does his white counterpart."

Sherman (1955) found that only 17% of his male aged Negroes had increased their church attendance since they were fifty years of age, whereas almost seventy percent of the female group did indicate such an increase. Most of his males attributed their decreased church attendance to "lack of interest," whereas the females whose church attendance had decreased were more likely to cite "poor health" as their rationale. All of the sample, however, displayed very high positive attitudes toward religion, as measured by the Chicago Attitudes Inventory's religious sub-item. Furthermore, church attendance is not an adequate index of religious attitude.

What about the significance of religion for aged Ss? Taken in juxtaposition, the Ball (1966), David (1966), and Dhaliwal (1966) studies revealed a pattern of decreasing religious participation, attachment, and importance (whatever that means) with increasing urbanization for at least their predominantly lower-class Negro aged Ss. Their Ss with children also tended to report greater satisfaction derived from children and friends than from the church. These and other findings indicate that Smith's (1966) data, for example, may bear more refined analysis, including at least sample separation of aged Negroes with and without primary group-type family ties. Roberts (1964) found that his Negro aged Ss, compared with the white Ss, felt generally more accepted by their children, considered themselves "better off living with children," and a significantly larger proportion of them received assistance from their children.

Further, when the present writer re-analyzed the data used by Heyman & Jeffers (1964), using three, rather than their two, occupational groupings...
(for example, Non-Manual, Skilled & Semi-Skilled, and Private Household Workers & Laborers), no significant differences on the religious activity and attitude sub-items were found between the Negro and white Ss within each occupational subgrouping. Although data were not available to retest the validity of Stone's (1959) and Smith's (1966) findings on the religious variable, an examination of their data did reveal inadequate control of the socio-economic variable.

Although there is a problem in comparing behavioral patterns characteristic of groups differing in socio-economic statuses, some comparisons can be made, with extreme caution, between these findings cited immediately above and those of Cumming & Henry (1961). The latter's findings of loosened involvement with the church and more concentration on involvement with generational friends and children appear to be applicable to the Ball (1966), Davis (1966), and Dhaliwal (1966) suggested data tendencies. There is also a possibility that greater sibling involvement may also occur among aged Negroes as well, but no data were available for comparison.

In any case, none of the studies dealing with a religious factor among their aged Negro Ss considered the individual life-time religious patterns of their Ss. Thus, at the present time, data are too sparse to generalize about the relationships of religious activity and attitudes, old age, and race. Further, in comparing satisfaction derived from religion and from family, much more refinement of the data is desirable, including the establishment of controls for the extent to which religious activity constitutes also a family activity, and the presence and proximity of family and relatives to the aging S, including the quality and content of the familial interactional process. Finally, some attention ought to be devoted to defining precisely what is meant by "religious satisfaction" and the various factors (including its status and power-conferring attributes) which lead a S to impute satisfaction, or lack thereof, to religion.

Appropriate Methodological Instruments & Techniques

Probably the most important issue here involves the conditions under which data pertaining to Negro aged should be analyzed separately, included within larger samples, or compared with other aged groups. A particular danger may be that when Negro Ss constitute a small proportion of larger samples, and the relevancy of race or subcultural background for the investigative problem in unknown, the findings may not be directly applicable to a majority of them. In other words, specific trends or patterns characteristic of the Negro aged Ss may be obscured by such inclusion, and, if analyzed separately, may even, on occasion, result in a shift in the opposite direction of the racially undifferentiated group finding.

A second issue: the influence of the color of the data-collecting agent upon the Negro Ss (for example, Neugarten et al, 1964, and Shanas, 1962,
specifically employed Negro interviewers for their Negro Ss, whereas Eis-
dorfer, 1963, and Maddox, 1962, did not). Sherman (1955) found that some
of his Negro Ss refused to cooperate with white investigators but raised no
objection when he, himself a Negro, carried out the interview task. Gener-
ally, the present writer has observed, over a period of years, that when
Negroes are approached for cooperation in research studies undertaken by
other Negroes seeking a degree (as was Sherman), the refusal rate is very
minimal--far below the normal refusal rates reported in the literature.
Perhaps such cooperation reflects a prime value placed upon education by
Negroes or at least some degree of group identification. The extent to which
such cooperation persists when the Negro interviewer is professionally em-
ployed or no longer in the degree-seeking state is unknown, but it is possi-
ble that additional factors then may affect the refusal rate.

Perhaps an experiment might be devised whereby aged Ss are shown
a film of an aged person (same sex as the S) being interviewed, in succes-
sive scenes by young, middle-age, and older male and female interviewers.
Each such scene could be identical, except for the age and sex of the inter-
viewer. Analyses of the aged Ss' response preferences might yield further
insight into the problem of intervening data-collecting agent effect.

A third issue: one difficulty which Henderson (1965) emphasized was
a tendency of investigators to use a "white, middle-class adjustment model
(Hamlett 1959; National Urban League 1964; Smith 1966) in evaluating Ne-
gro aged. This tendency, along with the use of a "ratio-standards" model
(in other words, characteristics of Negro aged should approximate those of
white aged) perhaps trapped the National Urban League (1964) to imply, in
their "Double Jeopardy: The Older Negro in America Today," that since
10.5% of white old-age-assistance recipients in a national study were found
to be institutionalized, then 10.5% of the Negro recipients, rather than 2.4%
as was the case, should also have been institutionalized. Such an implication
undermines such subcultural differences as may be present in family struc-
tures and values.

A fourth issue, directly related to the third: those studies concerned
with adjustment to aging tended to dichotomize personal and social adjust-
ment and to minimize their interaction. Especially did the National Urban
League (1964) over-emphasize social aspects by inferring that successful
personal adjustment could not be achieved unless middle-class standards of
living were present. For example, while that study suggested that aged
Negro Ss were more often "forced to" share housing with other persons, an
unsatisfactory condition by their judgment, Sherman (1955) suggested, from
his data, that older Ss living with others had much higher adjustment scores
than those who lived alone. Neither of these two studies ascertained the
older Ss' own preferences.

Most often, the investigators' evaluations of the Ss' adjustments were
based upon their own individualistic criteria of "successful adjustment." Some studies (Ball 1966; Dhaliwal 1966; Davis 1966; Lloyd 1954, 1955; Stone 1959) tended to be much more optimistic on this score than were others (Henderson 1965; National Urban League 1964; Smith 1966).

A fifth issue: the tendency to exclude comparisons of Negro aged groups. This tendency cannot be accounted for by the obvious lack of data. Relatively homogeneous subgroups within the total sample could be compared, as for example did Jackson & Ball (1966) in their largely descriptive article of urban and rural Georgia Negro aged Ss. It is here contended that homogeneous aged Negro subgroups can only be identified by comparisons where race is held constant. Perhaps, at the present time, insofar as social gerontology is concerned, such types of comparisons may have higher priority value over biracial comparisons. When a racial variable is the chief or sole determinant of homogeneity, valuable data may be lost, for interpretations of findings may be contaminated by extra-research factors. After the significant homogeneous groupings of Negro aged (probably a substantial number) have been identified, these groups might well be compared with other homogeneous subgroups of other racial and ethnic aged samples.

In an attempt to resolve, in some measure, the latter three issues cited above, some research effort should be devoted to the development of adjustment-to-aging models realistically suitable for the various Negro aged subgroups. Taves & Hansen (1962) have already indicated a need for the "development of measures less class oriented than those now on hand," with such new measures being broadly standardized and tested for validity and reliability. The definition of a well-adjusted person as "one who is living a life which is reasonably satisfactory to himself and which meets the expectations of society" (Britton 1963) may be useful as a building foundation for the proposed models, for both the psychological and the social aspects of adjustment would then be considered.

Inadequate Knowledge & Understanding Of Negro Aged Subcultures

As is well known, there exist too few data on actual behavioral patterns of Negro aged subgroups and behavioral patterns to which they and others feel they ought to conform. Hence, although impressionistic judgments abounded, valid and reliable data on aging within the Negro subcultures were fragmented. Perhaps analyses of Negro families, and their religious and other institutions, in the classic E. Franklin Frazier (1939, 1949) vein, could be extended to include greater emphasis upon normative and functional analyses of Negro aging persons. Beattie's (1960) proposed research questions also remain largely unanswered but might be fruitfully answered.

Lewis (1955) provided us with a brief glimpse of what it was like to
be old and Negro in the Southern community of Kent. Apparently, it was relatively pleasant, and certainly not a harsh experience. Rohrer & Edmondson (1960) observed that the Negro matriarchy tended to include among its cardinal mores a guarantee that "daughters will care for their aged mothers." Rosow's (1962) description of conditions fostering the social integration of older persons suggests that today's Negro subculture, although transitional, may still provide for greater social integration of its aged than, perhaps, the middle-class white subculture. Particularly relevant are his indications that "the greater the poverty and the struggle to survive, the relatively better off old people are in terms of the standards of their group," and that their position "improves to the extent that there is high mutual dependence among the members of a group." Also relevant is Florrea's (1964) observation that "the active and passive role that old people are playing inside the family is directly proportional to the economic depression of the family itself," an observation based upon a survey of elderly Italian peasants and industrial workers. In industrialized areas, "the prestige of old people within the family unit diminishes in proportion to his reduced financial straits and consequent state of dependence." If a similar pattern is present for urban and rural aged Negroes in the United States, then additional social problems may be forthcoming for America's "central cities."

Also directly related to the above observations and to preferred living arrangements of aged Negroes and persons with whom they might reside are the findings of Morgan, David, Cohen, Brazer, and assistants (1962) and those of others which lend tentative support to an hypothesis that certain aged Negro subgroups may be much more integrated into and wanted by their family groups than is commonly believed. Thus, to re-emphasize a previous assertion, one of the most significant gaps in our knowledge regarding social aspects of Negro aging might be lessened by the development of normative and behavioral studies of the Negro aging in their immediate and larger communities, focusing especially on family, religious, economic, health, and recreational (or leisure) patterns. Such studies should identify patterns and processes of aging for the significant subgroups within the category of Negro aged, as well, and use stratified random samples, since biased sampling may have affected much of the divergence found in the references reviewed. Whenever racial comparisons are made, socio-economic controls, where appropriate, ought to be established.

Social Gerontology Versus Demonstration-Of-Discrimination Approach

This position, stated in the extreme, can be polarized as a dominant emphasis on processes and patterns of aging or further demonstration of some of the effects of racial discrimination. Crucial to the latter approach is the extent to which economic and economically related indices attain paramountcy. Such a statement in no way denies the significance of economic factors nor negates the obvious fact that Negro aged do tend to occupy pre-
dominantly low socio-economic statuses. But given this, what else? It may be that even when socio-economic controls are established in studies of Negro and white aged, a need may yet remain to explain particularistic aspects of behavioral and attitudinal patterns, best explicable, in all probability, by subcultural patterns. On the other hand, no such need may exist. The chief point here is that we do not yet know. It seems reasonable to assume that racial comparisons of aged Ss based on indices of objective social conditions (for example, household composition and size, retirement income, number of employed persons) alone yield little, if any, useful data on the processes of aging.

Perhaps some resolution of this issue might be obtained, in obverse ways, by building upon the frameworks of Long (1966) and Runciman (1966). For those whose interest in the Negro aged approaches the demonstration-of-discrimination pole, Long's observation that, possibly excepting minorities "barred by discrimination from living elsewhere," the poor, the aged, and the minorities in central cities and some older suburbs are "in reality one--the poor," may be useful. The same forces and factors available for alleviating the conditions of the minorities, could, simultaneously, alleviate the conditions of the aged poor, contended Long.

On the other hand, for those more oriented toward the gerontology pole, Runciman's (1966) usage of what Turner (1967) has described as "reference group theory as a central analytic device" and his "effort to show that people react differentially to inequalities in the economic, social, and power spheres" may be useful, as might his conceptions, with some further modification, of normative, membership, and comparative reference groups; egoistic and fraternalistic dissatisfaction; and egoistic relative deprivation of status, class, and power. In any case, certainly more data are needed on the cause-effect relationships and interactions between social deprivation and psychological factors, and psychological deprivation and social factors.

Training In Social Gerontology

A volatile question might well be, "Who can best study the Negro aged?" Earlier, it was noted that racial identification of the investigator may affect S cooperation. Greater qualification of this point now follows. Generally, the best executed studies reviewed were those of white investigators, who also happened to be trained and knowledgable social gerontologists. Occasionally, however, a few of their interpretations may have varied had they had greater knowledge of and sensitivity toward aging Negro subgroups. On the other hand, where such greater knowledge and sensitivity might be presumed, some investigators tended to display weaknesses in social gerontology, less knowledge and sensitivity than might have been presumed, and/or an orientation towards the demonstration-of-discrimination pole. The latter weakness was strikingly apparent in only three cases. A
few of these investigators may also have been too far removed by age and/or social class position from the bulk of the Negro aged, or they may have equated their own degree of relative deprivation with that of their Ss, without prior empirical validation of such an equation. Thus, a problem.

While this problem, as well, cannot be resolved herein, several suggestions already evident might be emphasized. The Negro aged, as other aged, can best be studied by persons who are skilled gerontologists (and geriatricians) with some interdisciplinary depth, and who possess an adequate knowledge and understanding of their Ss. One solution may be increased participation of Negro social and behavioral scientists in social gerontology training programs and the recruitment of students to undergraduate and graduate social gerontology curricula. Such an action may contribute toward the production of basic and applied research studies involving or pertaining to Negro aged. Another solution may involve increased interest in and knowledge and understanding of Negro aged groups and their sociocultural and psychological environments by non-Negro social gerontologists, a task facilitated, perhaps, by the types of insights and contacts with aged Negroes such as found in the Duke Geriatrics Longitudinal Project.

In any case, however, the above issue is resolved, investigators might well consider such questions as the following, all of which arose from the certain emergent issues scattered throughout this paper, but which in no way exhaust the list of relevant questions in need of answers:

1 What are the effects of Negro subculture membership upon the aging processes, and in turn, how do the products of the aging processes affect Negro subcultures?

2 What are the significant subgroups of the Negro aged, and what are the differential effects of socio-environmental and psychological conditions upon them?

Perhaps one significant subgroup may be composed of poverty-level, forcibly unemployed, poor health, unattached (in other words, no family ties) males residing in highly urbanized areas. Such a group may in fact occupy the lowest hierarchial position among aged persons. Another inquiry might measure changes, if any, in degrees of pessimism held by subgroups of Negroes as they age, or contrast the longevity spans of the most and the least pessimistic groups.

3 What is the social system of the Negro aged and how is this social system related to the larger American social system (emphasizing both the statuses and roles and norms pertaining to the aged as well as the family, economic, health, religious, and recreational institutions)?
4 What are the most appropriate methodological techniques for studying the Negro aged, and which types of personnel can best undertake such tasks?

One might, for example, undertake the development of adequate adjustment models, or investigate causal relationships between social deprivation and psychological adjustment and psychological deprivation and social adjustment within the Negro community and within the larger community with which they interact.

5 What types of goals, within the immediate future, have higher priority value in focuses upon Negro aged? Should greater attention center upon a description of the differential conditions in their life-spaces (compared with white aged) or should other goals dominate?

6 How will changes taking place in various segments of Negro institutions (for example, the family, education), in urbanization and cybernation, and in both increased segregation and increased desegregation affect the conditions of the next several generations of the Negro aged?

A more specific proposal, as suggested by Calloway,\(^1\) is in essence the search for valid explanations of the higher life expectancy older Negroes, compared with older whites, now have. He suspects that the answers do not lie in genetic patterns but in social and cultural adjustment patterns. Additionally, Fillenbaum's\(^2\) discussion of some of her findings in an on-going project involving white, retired males focused the present writer's attention on retirement patterns of Negro aged and the lack of available data. Using Fillenbaum's orientation of a comparison of Ss who work "after retirement" and those who cease work, such a study, in dealing with aged Negro male and female retired persons, might fruitfully extend her framework by including a measure of "access to work" in the analysis.

Quite probably, those retired persons most involved in the community activities are the ones who have preferred changes of work after retirement. Relevant, then, would be an investigation of psychological and social factors affecting Ss who do work after retirement but not for financial motivation (or for minimal financial motives) and especially those who do not work because they, themselves, really choose to (and who do not need or desire any additional financial resources), and who are in good health. In other words, which types of retired, aged Negroes, male or female, are not

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1 Personal communication from Dr. N. O. Calloway, April, 1967.
2 Seminar discussion by Dr. Gerda Fillenbaum on "Work & Retirement," Duke University, April, 1967.
"permitted" to become community dropouts? Which ones do not permit themselves to become community dropouts? What traits and techniques do these persons employ in maintaining community involvement? Such a study might well reveal some of the pertinent social characteristics Negro communities value for their aged members.

Finally, it may be relevant to document empirically the extent, if any, to which the health status of elderly Negro Ss is significantly different from that of elderly white groups. It may also be useful to obtain their own and their families' reactions to illnesses and assumptions of care-taking roles.

Steps taken toward an increase in knowledge about Negro aged can have both theoretical and practical value for social gerontology and the American society. Wershow (1964) indicated that the delineation of aging experiential commonalities depended upon the isolation of generic factors of aging from specific subcultural experiences. Harper's (1966) observation that "a closer examination by social planners of aging within subcultural where the aged status is not devaluated would provide clues to ways and means by which the situation of all older people could be improved" may also be useful, in that greater valuation may still be placed upon an aged status in the Negro subculture than in the larger American culture.

Beattie (1960) raised questions about the meaning of the emerging patterns of health, welfare, and leisure-time activities for the American population in terms of their relevancy for the aging Negro and his family and stated "the need for further basic research if we are to plan effectively." Valid and reliable studies of the Negro aged may contribute to the specification of generic factors of aging. They can certainly provide essential data for social planning. Two such studies, not reviewed here, are presently in process in Pennsylvania and Tennessee. Both are oriented toward aspects of social services but may well provide useful theoretical knowledge as well.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this paper was to provide a collection of socio-cultural and psychological references on the Negro aged and to share impressions about such references, focusing predominantly on certain emergent issues. One of the present gaps in social gerontology is empirical research on the Negro aged; and, therefore, few data are available. Although such existing data do show some convergence, more often their findings diverge. Hence, few valid generalizations beyond the objective socio-economic statuses of aged Negroes are possible at the present time.

Emergent issues isolated included those of the relevancy of race to
aging (a problem often increased by the lack of established socio-economic controls), appropriate methodological instruments and techniques for studying Negro aged, inadequate knowledge and understanding of Negro aged subcultures, the social gerontology versus the demonstration-of-discrimination approach (where the latter tends to ignore processes of aging), and relationships between research output and the researchers' training background in social gerontology.

Several research suggestions were made, including the re-examination of the health status of elderly Negroes. Generally, the review indicated a need for further empirically validated and reliable knowledge of Negro aged in order to (1) identify their significant homogeneous subgroups, (2) assist in the delineation of commonalities of aging, and (3) provide data for social planning for these aged persons and their future counterparts.

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He hath taken out as many lessons of the world as days, and learned the best thing in it: the vanity of it. He looks o'er his former life as a danger well past, and would not hazard himself to begin again.

John Earle
Number Sixty-Five, On The Honorable Old Man
MICROCOSMOGRAPHY
Demographic evidence is presented to indicate that retirement is becoming an increasingly prevalent and significant societal phenomenon. It is asserted that among the socially and psychologically meaningful activities in which elderly persons may engage, remunerative work is losing ground in relative importance. In the light of long-run labor force trends, it is clear that retirement is a life-situation of an increasingly large number of people for increasingly long periods of time. This requires a view of retirement as a "normal" phase of the life-cycle and an aspect of societal life generally. This suggests that traditional theoretical perspectives of sociology be applied to the phenomenon. "Symbolic-interactionism" and "structural-functionalism" are briefly explicated and their potential relevance cited. This is accomplished through an analysis of the implication of retirement in the self and social structure.

While age inexorably advances, one's self-conception does not necessarily keep pace with it. Similarly, as the demographic characteristics of a society change, the prevailing attitudes and practices in the society do not adapt in perfect coordination to those changes. It may be assumed that attitudes of and toward the aged, hence definitions of their roles and ascription of their statuses, will vary with respect to several sub-systems within a diversified community. It has been amply demonstrated that such sub-systems as age-groups, racial groups, religious groups, and occupational and social classes vary in terms of their beliefs, sentiments, and values. Presumably then, the treatment accorded the aged as expressed in role-expectations and status ascription will vary extensively within a community. We do not know the precise nature of this variance, however. Nor do we know how the social and interpersonal relations of the aged are complicated by these factors. Moreover, we do not know the functional consequences for either self-structure or social-structure of current patterns of role and status allocation with respect to aging.
The demographic situation

It must be made clear that in discussing the elderly, we are discussing an increasingly large number of people who comprise an increasingly significant component of American society. In 1900, there were 3.1 million persons aged sixty-five and over in the United States, which at that time constituted only 4.1 percent of the population. For the next thirty years, the increase of persons in this age category only slightly more than kept pace with the growth of the population in general. Even so, the 1930 census enumerated 6.7 million persons, or 5.4 percent of the population, as sixty-five years of age or over. After 1930, the rise in both the absolute and relative importance of the aged became noteworthy. In 1940, an estimated 9.0 million persons were sixty-five and over, and in 1963, there were about 17.6 million; these figures represent an annual increase of 367,000 persons of this age group, and a near doubling of the aged population in twenty-three years. The combined effects of the post-Civil War rise in the birthrate, a slight increase in the expectation of life at age sixty-five, the precipitous drop in the birthrate from 1900 to 1936, and the gradual aging of millions of migrants who flocked to the United States just prior to World War I, have fundamentally changed the society's age structure. This demographic change is presently receiving widespread attention, not only in scholarly inquiry but also in the spheres of policy development and politics.

The following facts illustrate further the magnitude of the change that has drawn this increased attention. Between 1900 and 1950, the number of persons aged sixty-five and over increased 297 percent, whereas the population as a whole gained by only 98 percent. At the start of the century, only one person in twenty-four was in the aged category; at present, one person out of every eleven has passed his sixty-fifth birthday. Continued substantial increases in the elderly population are indicated by the Bureau of the Census' projections to 1985, but the rate of growth is expected to diminish. The projections show an increase of 7.4 million during the twenty-two year period after 1963, with an average annual gain of roughly 378,000 persons over sixty-five. The proportion of aged persons in the society may rise or fall from its present level, however, depending on future changes in fertility. At present, about 9.3 percent of the population is sixty-five or over. Projections assuming high fertility for the future suggest that the proportion would fall to 9.1 percent by 1985, but projections based upon the assumption of low fertility predict that the proportion will rise to 10.1 percent. In any event, the total number of people over sixty-five now (1969) is 19.5 million and will rise to 25.0 million by 1985.1

Work & Retirement

Among the socially and psychologically meaningful activities in which elderly persons may engage, remunerative work is losing ground in relative
importance as the proportion of men aged sixty-five and over in the labor force declines and simultaneously the proportion of men sixty-five and over in the population increases. In 1900, a white male aged forty had an average life expectancy of slightly under twenty-eight years, or to age 67.7; he could expect, on the average, to remain in the labor force for 24.5 years, or to age 64.5. He could anticipate, therefore, slightly over three years in retirement. By 1940, the forty-year old white male could expect to live for an additional thirty years, or to age seventy. His working-life expectancy had declined slightly, however, so that he could anticipate nearly six years in retirement. Hence the span of retirement had nearly doubled between 1900 and 1940. Projecting into the future, a continued widening of the gap between the total life span and the working-life span seems likely. By 1975, the average retirement-life expectancy of a forty-year old male worker will have risen to nearly nine and one-half years, assuming a continuation of the 1920-1940 trends in labor force participation rates.²

It is clear despite probable variation from current projections, that retirement is becoming an increasingly prevalent and significant societal phenomenon.³ The nub of a great practical problem of our era resides in this "added time" made available to both the individual and the society outside of the work context. It is the thesis of this paper that this is also a problem of theoretical significance.

As an obviously important age-related phenomenon, retirement has attracted considerable research attention in recent years. To date, however, it has been approached primarily through the concepts of either "labor force" or "adjustment." The labor force definition refers to a formal release or withdrawal from a job in the labor force, generally at a specific age. There is no question about the utility of the labor force definition with respect to certain important problems, particularly in labor economics, but it contributes little to the understanding of the consequences of retirement for either the individual or society.

Similarly, the concept of adjustment, although fruitful in certain ways, has grave limitations for the sociologist. It has been used primarily by psychologists, but also by some sociologists, and hence has two modal characteristics. When used by the psychologists, adjustment generally refers to the processes by which an individual seeks to secure satisfaction of his wants and needs. This typically implies a concern with personality attributes and their articulation in the meeting of certain criteria of adequacy as established by the researcher. When the concept is used by the sociologist, it generally focuses on roles and relations between roles. Role adjustment is typically defined as the agreement between actual roles and some ideal set of roles perceived as desirable by the researcher, but not necessarily by the person involved and his significant others. In either usage, there are at least two drawbacks for the sociologist; first, it contributes to the preconceived notion that the retiree is a problem-ridden social
isolate, and secondly, it does not come to grips with the problems of social structure.

Although each of these concepts, labor force and adjustment, is useful in its own way, the fact remains that the former focuses on aggregates and the latter on individuals. In neither case is there a direct focus upon what is clearly social. It is here that the discipline of sociology is in a very strategic position. It is in a position to contribute heavily to our knowledge of retirement and the problem complex related to it; and on the other hand, it is in a position to add materially to its own corpus of knowledge through the appropriate adaptation of certain of its traditional perspectives to the phenomenon of retirement.

Today it is a sociological commonplace that work has values other than purely financial ones in the lives of people. Particularly for the male, the occupational role is viewed as a central life activity, and it is around this role that his "life style" is organized. Viewed historically or cross-culturally, work has had and continues to have multiple functions within all societies. Much has been written about the adverse and harmful effects of occupational retirement upon persons living in a society with a strong achievement orientation such as ours. As yet, however, relatively little has been done with respect to determining the differential impact of retirement on various occupational groups. The function and meaning of work varies with such occupational categories as professional, managerial, skilled craftsmen, unskilled industrial, white collar clerical, farm laborer, and so forth. The extra-economic meanings of work vary with such categories, and hence the loss of that work must mean different things to people differently placed in the division of labor. It is reasonable to suppose that to the extent that an individual's expectations are fulfilled in areas of activity other than work, work will not be an essential condition for his life situation. Its role will surely become less significant generally as other spheres of activity provide greater amounts of motivational gratification. An important consideration here is that society offers only limited opportunities to fulfill one's expectations other than through work. Much of the physical and social machinery of society is geared toward the goal of getting work done. Thus, there are limited social mechanisms for fulfilling desires other than through work.

In the light of long-run labor force trends, it is clear that retirement is a life-situation of an increasingly large number of people for increasingly long periods of time. Therefore, it is no longer feasible to think of retirement as a merely a termination or as a source of personal problems. On the contrary, retirement must be viewed as constituting a significant portion of a man's life. This requires a view of retirement as a stage in life, comparable to the stages denoted by entering school, entering the labor force, getting married, raising children, and so forth. Leaving the labor force can be seen as an entry into a stage, not necessarily for the better or
the worse, but as related to the whole process of self-development and maintenance and to the social structure within which this takes place. In effect, this means that the retirement years are a part of "normal" life and hence must be accounted for in the general theoretical formulations pertaining to the individual and society.

Among the various theoretical orientations extant in sociology, there are two perspectives that seem to be peculiarly relevant to retirement. These are: symbolic-interactionism and structural-functionalism. The former is relevant by virtue of its emphasis on the development and modification of the self as related to the on-going social process. The latter is relevant due to its focus on the differential consequences of alterations in the social structure. Such alterations are necessarily implied by current demographic trends. A brief exposition of the standard perspectives of symbolic-interactionism and structural-functionalism is required in order to establish their relevance to retirement, and in turn to establish the relevance of retirement to sociologic theory.

SYMBOLIC-INTERACTIONISM: RELEVANT VIEWS

Symbolic interaction is the fundamental datum in the approach of sociology to human conduct. It is the process from which all socio-cultural behavior patterns emerge; therefore, it is the focal point of analysis. The individual as a human personality is inevitably implicated in a social order. The individual biologic organism attains a state of selfhood by participation in the social process of interaction. The individual, then, is an integral part of a social system, and it is only through interaction with other members of the system that he rises above the animal level and assumes the roles characteristic of a human personality.

From the sociological viewpoint, interaction is a complex organic process, a dynamic and continuing whole, sustained but not constituted by the stimuli and responses involved in it. The act of the individual is a unit act, comprehensible in terms of interaction and best viewed as being a part of a complex social behavior pattern. Interaction is cooperatively sustained and hence has meaning at its own level rather than merely at the level of the unit acts involved.

Seen from this perspective, the self is not primarily a content but an activity which is a part of the social process. The self is a development; it is not initially present, but arises as a result of the experiential relations of the individual to the social process as a continuity and to the other individuals involved in that process. Mead contends that the social process pre-exists, both temporally and logically, the self-conscious individual who is emergent in it. Selves, then, are not psychical, but belong to an objective phase of experience.
In this view, the self is generated in interaction, and language is the mechanism that is essential to its development. The characteristic that primarily distinguishes the self from the body and from other objects is that it is an object to itself. Possession of this capacity and ability to become an object to one's self is one of the fundamental elements of difference between human behavior and animal behavior. The "reflexive" character of the self is of primary importance, and it is this characteristic that makes the self sociologically relevant. As seen in this fashion, the self has no significance unless it can turn back upon itself as an object and thereby distinguish itself in a plurality of other selves.

The individual becomes an object to himself, and thus a self, only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself, by assuming the roles of others, and regarding himself from their perspective. He becomes an object to himself in that he becomes aware of himself as others are. This is accomplished through utilization of the mechanism of communication which is essential to the emergence and maintenance of social organization. The individual does not at first experience himself directly as subject, but only indirectly from the particular standpoints of individual members of the group, and later from the generalized standpoint of the group as a whole to which he belongs. He then can develop only a sense of selfhood within the context of social relatives and the experience they involve. The importance of communication here is paramount in that it provides the form of behavior that enables the individual to become an object to himself in such a social environment. The self, then, is firmly fixed in experience. Evidence of this is the achievement of the reflexive form in languages, the form that recognizes the self as both subject and object. Communication is not something that can go on by itself, but rather must always involve something that can be communicated. It is a medium for such basic cooperative activities as exchange and assistance and thereby always serves the social function of enabling what is communicated to be socially utilized.

As viewed in this tradition of thought, the self is really a plurality of selves. An individual carries on a whole series of different relationships to different people. We are one thing to one person and another thing to another. A variety of selves exist for a variety of associates in traditionally differentiated situations. There are different sorts of selves answering to different sorts of reactions. What determines the amount or sort of self that will get into communication is the social experience itself. The self cannot appear apart from experience. In effect, this means that the various elementary or component selves which are organized into a complete or unitary self answer to various aspects of the social structure. In turn this means that the self appears as the result of the assumption of various specific and general roles. Roles are objective material for the investigation of the sociologist, and moreover are the key structural units of the social system.
The central notion of what is commonly referred to as structural-functional theory is that of the social system. Parsons has defined the social system in bare essentials as consisting of "a plurality of actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, actors who are motivated in terms of a tendency to the optimization of gratification" and whose relations to their situations, including each other, is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols.8

For most purposes the most significant analytical unit of the social system is the role, of which role expectations are the primary ingredient. Role may be defined as that organized sector of an actor's orientation which constitutes and defines his participation in an interactive process. Each individual is involved as a participant in a plurality of patterned interactive relationships. This participation revolves around the two reciprocal perspectives inherent in interaction. Each participating individual is an object of orientation, and insofar as this object significance derives from the individual's position in the social relationship, it is a status significance. Each individual is also oriented toward other actors and in this capacity is not an object, but is acting and is therefore enacting a role. The structure of the social system is constituted by a network of reciprocal role relationships.

Roles, of course, vary in their degree of institutionalization and in the degree to which they are common to members of the society at large. A pattern governing action in a social system may be considered institutionalized insofar as it defines the main modes of the legitimately expected behavior of the persons acting in the relevant social roles, and insofar as conformity with these expectations is of structural significance to the social system. Parsons conceives of institutions as constituting the main link between social structure and the actor, in that they are at the same time related to the functional needs of actors and to those of the system.9 The link evolves around the normative-voluntaristic aspect of the structure of action. The roles that individuals play in a social system are defined in terms of goals and standards. From the point of view of the actor, then, his role is defined by the normative expectations of the members of the group as they are formulated in the cultural tradition.

These expectations are always an aspect of any situation within which an actor is acting. His conformity or deviation brings consequences in the form of approval and reward or condemnation and punishment. These expectations are not only aspects of culture, they are internalized as aspects of the actor's personality. In the process of socialization, the actor internalizes, to varying degrees, the standards of the group, so that they become motivating forces in his own conduct independent of external sanctions. The relations between role-expectations and sanctions is a reciprocal one.
Sanctions to the actor are role-expectations to alter and vice-versa. Their institutionalization is always a matter of degree based upon variables affecting the actual degree of sharing values and standards and those determining the motivational commitment to the fulfillment of expectations. Institutional behavior cannot be conceived of in terms of a rational model or self-interest terms, but it can be said that any individual can seek his own self-interest only by conforming to some degree to the institutionalized expectations. In social structure, then, one has a system of patterned expectations defining the proper behavior of actors in specified roles. This system is positively enforced both by the individual's own motives for conformity and by the sanctions of others. These well-established patterns of expectations in the perspective of a social system are our institutions. These institutions constitute the structurally stable element of social systems, and their prime function lies in defining the roles of the constituent individuals. Viewed functionally, institutionalized roles constitute the mechanisms by which varied human tendencies become integrated into a system capable of dealing with the problems of a society and its members.

RETIEMENT AS IMPLICATED IN THE SELF & SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A statement by Becker & Strauss in quite a different context epitomizes the perspective suggested here as being of direct relevance to retirement:

Central to any account of adult identity is the relation of changes in identity to changes in social position; for it is characteristic of adult life to afford and force frequent and momentous passage from status to status. . . . Identity 'is never gained once and for all.' Stabilities in the organization of behavior and of self regard are inextricably dependent upon stabilities of social structure. Likewise, change ('development') is shaped by those patterned transactions which accompany career movement. 11

This statement is representative of the tradition of thought being presented here and may serve to put the preceding analysis in focus. The elaboration of symbolic-interaction and structural-functional theory has been made for the primary purpose of establishing two points with the ultimate intention of linking up the phenomenon of retirement with sociological theory.

First, personality and role-structure cannot vary randomly with each other. The existence of a social system depends upon the extent to which it can keep the personality systems of its members from varying beyond certain limits. Conversely, the attainment of selfhood is contingent upon membership in a social system. In either case the process involved is that of the socialization of individuals into institutionalized roles.
Second, the self and social structure are composed of the same ingredients. Since "role" is the primary analytic element in both, and since the elderly, including retirees, still obviously are role incumbents, their activities, then, are relevant to both the maintenance and change of the social system and to the maintenance and change of their self identity.

These two principles underlie the whole theoretical orientation. When the demographic situation is added in, then the background is complete. The demographic facts indicate that retirement is a life situation of an ever increasing number of people for longer periods of time. Increasingly, then, retirement is becoming a "way of life" in Western societies rather than a "way of death."

The combination of these three points creates a position that has manifold implications for (1) sociological theory of the middle range, (2) the expansion of substantive sociological knowledge, and (3) the broadening and deepening of understanding of retirement as a phenomenon in its own right. A crude mapping would include implications for at least the following areas of inquiry, and in all likelihood many more which are not so readily evident.

1 SOCIALIZATION

The processes of socialization have attracted considerable interest, theoretical concern, and research attention for a great many years. Most of this attention has been directed toward primary socialization; that is, the socialization of the child. The early years and the formation of the basic personality constitute the most dramatic type of socialization; hence, limited attention has been paid to socialization in other phases of the life cycle. In recent years, however, increased attention has been given to secondary or adult socialization. This followed recognition of the fact that differences in the socialization process occur in connection with the major differentiating elements of the social system. At the adult level, the occupational sphere presented the most dramatic cases of differential socialization; thus "occupation" socialization and adult socialization have become almost synonymous by virtue of the fact that most of the research conducted has been focused on socialization into the occupational role. Moreover, these studies have in the main concentrated on the professions rather than the range of occupations and hence "professionalization" has become the baseline for much of our understanding of adult socialization.

Given the assumptions of the theoretical orientation spelled-out here, however, it is clear that the socialization process continues throughout life. Retirement, therefore, may well present an especially significant case of adult socialization. It may be comparable, in reverse, to occupational socialization. Focus on socialization in the later years quite possibly will throw additional light on the processes of both primary and occupa-
tional socialization. In particular, it may modify some of our conceptions based upon the heavy emphasis on childhood. Systematic extension of the study of socialization to cover the entire life cycle would conceivably greatly amplify our knowledge of the general learning process.

2 WORK

The differentiation and specialization of occupations implies differences in the nature of work. Since the division of labor is a fundamental role structure in our society, it is obvious that work provides one of the primary bonds that unites a man with other members of that society. Of course, these bonds vary with the nature of the work performed and the locus within the division of labor. Kinds of work differ not only in a functional sense, but also in a qualitative sense. Work means different things to people differentially placed in the division of labor. It is clear that this meaning varies not only with individuals but also in terms of occupational categories. Commitment, involvement, and gratification are among the important variables. Although the sociology of occupations has greatly increased our understanding of the function and meaning of work in recent decades, it is quite clear that we are still a long way from any adequate understanding of the consequences of work for man and society. It is suggested that the study of retirement offers an important vantage point for the further study of the meaning and consequences of work. Since retirement involves giving up the work role, at least formally, it perhaps offers the most dramatic view of what work has meant to a person since one can then see him without it. What may turn out to be an even more complex problem, however, is posed by the very real possibility that since socialization into the occupational role varies with many factors, all effects of this socialization may not be lost with the formal act of retirement. In brief, aspects of the work role may be carried over into retirement, and this carry-over will very likely vary by occupational category as well as individually. The anatomy and meaning of work and retirement would seem to be intimately related, and hence any increase in knowledge about the one will contribute to a greater understanding of the other.

3 STRUCTURAL STABILITIES & INSTABILITIES

Little has been done with respect to the assessment of the non-economic consequences for society of retirement of an ever increasing number of people for longer periods of time. The functional problems of allocation and integration, traditional major problems of society, may be seriously aggravated by the expanded practice of retirement. The presence in society of more and more people outside of the work force may put severe pressure upon our present economy of roles and statuses. Although the elderly are normally thought of as constituting a conservative component of
society and as a force for the maintenance of the status quo, it is entirely possible that the elderly as an aggregate may, as a latent function, constitute a powerful force for change. This is due to the fact that it is they who are the "newcomers" to an institutionalized role system which historically evolved in terms of an age-structured population skewed toward youth.

The expanding retirement years may create a rising demand within our economy of roles and statuses for which there is no ready supply. This would mean a lowering of the coordination of role patterns which in turn would contribute to the inconsistency and ambiguity of role patterns and hence to a decrease in stability of social interaction. On the other hand, complex social systems with elaborate divisions of labor are characteristically quite flexible. This flexibility may under certain conditions permit the acceleration of role development and institutionalization. In either case it would appear that the retirement period offers a promising arena for the study of both role continuities and discontinuities and status consistencies and inconsistencies. It would also seem to be an opportune place for the investigation of the mechanisms of equilibration and change of social systems.

4 AGING & THE AGED

The emphasis on youth and the development of a discernible "youth culture" in America as well as in other societies appears to have grown stronger along with general shifts in the age structure, including dramatic increases in the number of aged people. The consequences for society of having rapidly increasing numbers of older people while the predominant value orientation favors youth and things youthful needs extensive examination. Paradoxically, the increased propensity of youth to revolt against adult authority and values takes place in an epoch in which they seem to be more advantaged and rewarded than ever before. This revolt is expressed in such diversified forms as the passive "hippie" movement, and the active indeed revolutionary movement evident on many university campuses. The "generational gap" appears to be one of the most emotionally-loaded phenomena in societal life. Conversely, the achievement of a long life for larger numbers of people is often accompanied by lessened social rewards and reduced gratifications. The phenomenon of intergenerational relationships needs serious study against the backdrop of the changing age structure in society. One must hasten to point out that this is not merely an American phenomenon but is occurring in varying degrees in many parts of the world.

Age per se is of only secondary interest to the sociologist. However, retirement as an age-related phenomenon may constitute a major resource for the investigation of numerous problems relative to the self and social structure. Additional knowledge of this basic order will indirectly add considerably to our knowledge of the situations of the aged in society. When
conceived of as a "normal" phase of life, the retirement period must be viewed from the same theoretical perspectives as other periods in the life cycle, rather than merely in terms of its "pathologies." To date, the concentration has been upon the "problems" characteristic of the later years. It is suggested here that the general approach must be broadened to include the traditional sociological perspectives. The advantages of such an approach are multiple, since this would offer the opportunity of advancing both sociological theory and substantive sociological knowledge, and in the long run add to our knowledge of aging and the aged.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1 Based upon figures contained in various Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports.

2 Based upon various Bulletins of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.


6 Some gerontological literature sees retirement as undercutting the
social supports provided by work. See, for example, E. W. Burgess, Preface to "Adjustment in retirement," Journal of Social Issues 14 (1958).

7 Symbolic-Interactionism as a style of thought has long been a part of the sociological tradition and a very sizable literature has developed reflecting this orientation in the past four decades. See, especially, G. H. Mead, Mind, Self, & Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); idem, Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century, ibid. 1934.


9 The Social System, 5-6.


12 See Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951); E. C. Hughes, "Personality types & the division of labor," American Journal of Sociology 33 (1928) 754-68; idem, Men & Their Work.


15 In his discussion of "the orderly career" Wilensky provides additional insight into the importance of focusing on the work role within, not apart from, its larger social context, in "Orderly careers & social participation," American Sociological Review 26 (August 1961) 521-39.

16 See J. J. Spengler, "The Aging of individuals & populations: its macroeconomic aspects," in Social Aspects of Aging, eds. Simpson & McKinney, 42-76. Using American society as a focal point, this essay considers, from a macroeconomic perspective, the impact on the economy of an increase in the number of aged persons and the effect of prospective technological and socio-economic changes on the economic situation of aged persons.

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The purpose of this paper is to present an hypothesis relating certain aspects of aging with senile psychosis, to describe the background considerations underlying its derivation, and to array available evidence in its support.

In positive and unqualified form, the hypothesis is stated as follows: A significant portion of cases presently being diagnosed or assumed to be organic senile psychoses are, indeed, functional in origin and nature.1

DEFINITIONS & CONCEPTS

It would probably be trite to say that definitions and conceptions of senility and its larger framework are currently lacking in precision. In fact, many authors and researchers simply utilize a set of terms and labels without stating intended meanings or referring to earlier specific usages. As a result, one is usually confronted with a cumulative literature employing largely such operational terms as Senility, Senile Brain Disease, Senile Mental Disease, Senile Deterioration, or Senile Dementia.

Aside from technical usages, it is obvious that senility is a term which has come to apply generally to a condition in an older person in whom behavioral changes have been noted. That these behaviors can differ widely goes without saying. In fact, one so-called senile person may have become garrulous, yet another quiet and withdrawn. One may have become belligerent and aggressive, yet another submissive and passive. While it is true that certain patterns tend to emerge in most cases, such as loss of memory, for example, the distinguishing point here is not the form the behavior takes but the fact that the person, at some advanced stage in the life cycle, undergoes behavioral change, tending in the direction of decreased social effectiveness.

ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-SEVEN
The senile person is, then, mentally abnormal, inasmuch as he "has lost the sense of appropriateness in his social behavior to the extent that those around him suspect his deficiency." Note in this description of mental abnormality by Landis the essential presence of the social factor, namely the "others" who observe, judge, and react to the person.

It is at this point that the meaning of mental disease and the particular question of whether senility per se is mental disease must be examined. Regarding the legal aspect of mental diseases, one is mentally diseased when he is declared so. Since the legal definition is customarily based on medical advice, however, the legal and medical interpretations are closely interrelated.

ORGANIC BASIS FOR SENILITY

In senility as in other stages of life, malfunctioning of the personality may be induced by such physiological factors as imbalance of glandular functions or the destruction of parts of the central nervous system, caused by disease or accident. The more common mental disorders, however, are believed to be due to functional causes in the form of complexes and patterns resulting from faulty social relations. These patterns throw the personality out of balance and put him out of gear with social life.

The two possible causal types of mental disease, then, are organic and functional. Mental disease of physiological origin are medical in nature and are readily assigned physiological causes. Senile dementia in the aged, for example, is commonly due to the deterioration of the cell structure in the aging process.

One major breakthrough in the study of mental illness was the discovery of the relationship between symptoms of senility and circulatory disorders. Arteriosclerosis, for instance, in reducing the flow of blood to the brain, agitates disturbances in motor activity, speech, hearing, and other similar functions and causes headache, dizziness, and emotional outburst. Thus, the interpretation that interference with blood flow leads to brain deterioration and behavior alterations is appropriate for a significant proportion of older persons. However, probably a somewhat larger proportion of individuals who need hospitalization for mental illness are not covered by this explanation; they are more appropriately diagnosed as having senile brain disease. Cerebral atrophy, changes in blood vessels, senile plaque formation, and other structural changes have been found to be related to behavioral patterns.

All this adds up to the important fact that older people are subject to organic changes which have been found to be significantly related to senile behavior patterns and psychosis.
FUNCTIONAL BASIS OF SENILITY

It has been stated that functional disorders occur in old age, the emphasis which reiterates our hypothesis. Birren recently concluded that "the appearance of mental illness in an elderly person is a complex function of a number of factors, including declining physical health, psychological and social isolation (particularly in the disintegrating cultural pattern), and a predisposition (perhaps genetic) to mental illness."15

The application of some traditional aspects of status and role theory can help at this point.6 For instance, it is generally accepted that a person as a member of society must progress through a series of more or less sequentially compatible and harmonious social statuses. That is, a person must move, socially as well as physically, from the status of infancy through childhood, adolescence, and adulthood into the aged with some degree of consistency. To do this appropriately, the society must provide the means to learn what the statuses are that the person anticipates filling and what the expectations are that are attached to these statuses. Further, the society must provide the motivation that is necessary to guarantee that the statuses will be adequately filled and the expectations adequately performed.7

In a rapidly changing society such as ours, the role requirements for the age-sex statuses are subject to such dynamic modification and redefinition that much of what is previously learned about a future status becomes inadequate at the resumption of that status. The fact is that the age-sex statuses in American society are poorly defined. Linton characterized the life-cycle in our society as a cord which gradually thickens at several points without any clear lines of demarkation along its length.8

In addition, it has been sufficiently demonstrated that a sizeable portion of the elderly in American society resist the move from adulthood into the aged status for the following reasons: possible loss of prestige and power, loss of regularized patterns, the admission of approaching death, the fear of an unknown future, the general fear of developing "old folks" behavior, and the admission of decreasing significance and usefulness in the society. Research has amply demonstrated the presence of these and other adverse reactions in persons assuming the aged status. Further evidence of this resistance is indicated in refusing to retire, in hesitating to change recreational patterns, and in attempting to maintain the appearance of youth by the application of cosmetics and the like.

Eventually, the person must decide when to abandon the adult or mature status in favor of the aged. Most do so appropriately and surprisingly reap ample rewards for doing so. The process is social, not merely an individual one, constituting a balanced relationship between person and the cultural framework, as described in the Disengagement Theory.9
However explained, each person has a choice; the action at this point is "choice" behavior. In effect, the person has four choices: to move from the mature to the aged status; to commit suicide; to encourage the possibility of death through loss of appetite, accident, substandard sanitation and health practice; or, succumb to a psychotic state to avoid decision-making and its consequences. We know that suicides increase at this stage, but the increase has not been examined in relation to this particular hypothesis. This state of decline is most frequently explained as some organic manifestation of aging. We assert, however, that many elderly become functionally psychotic as a result of choice, and that this explanation is more accurate for the many cases which are presently being diagnosed as organic disorder. 10

Herewith the complete form of the hypothesis: A significant portion of senile psychotic cases now diagnosed as organic in origin and nature are essentially functional, having developed in persons who are unable to accept the aged status and who exhibit psychotic patterns identical to those of organic psychotics similar in age and sub-culture. True for functional psychotics of any type, each sub-culture in a society develops peculiar and institutionalized patterns of psychotic behavior adopted by new functionals. 11

SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Why, it must be asked, are these cases not diagnosed as functionals? The reason is that since senile psychosis is closely associated with such organic conditions as arteriosclerosis, brain shrinkage, and senile plaque, it is readily inferred that the psychosis is organic and that a one-way cause and effect relationship obtains between observed behavior and organic conditions. 12

Respecting some relevant comments and research findings, reconsider Birren's statement concerning the effect of psychological and social factors on mental illness of the aged. 13 One wonders, however, what proportion of the elderly receive adequate diagnostic examinations to determine the presence of an organic base. One wonders, even when examinations are given, to what extent cause-effect relationships are attributed, not otherwise determined. One wonders if the question is ever raised concerning the possibility that observed physical conditions are the result and not the cause of psychological states.

Landis commented that "even for the so-called 'organic diseases,' the psychological concomitants may be of overshadowing importance." 14 Faris makes the point that senile psychoses are in reality late schizophrenia and that they would have to be classified as functional. 15 This, then, leaves us without an adequate explanation of cause, and raises the question on how one should proceed to distinguish and manipulate the different types.
Birren states that interference with blood flow due to arteriosclerosis can develop over a long period of time, allowing for compensations to develop.\(^{16}\) This introduces two possibilities. The presence of well-defined arteriosclerotic conditions in a senile psychotic is not adequate evidence of a causal relationship. We suspect, however, that the typical medical situation includes no provision for going beyond mere detection of organic condition and the imputation of cause. If we are to advance beyond the typical situation, then, it must be in a research context and not a thereapeutie setting.

Birren states that because of the frequency of arteriosclerotic conditions and the relative difficulty in diagnosing them in the brain, there is perhaps a tendency to over-diagnose cerebral arteriosclerosis;\(^{17}\) and the fact that senile brain disease occurs concomitantly with the functional psychosis in the same proportion to what might be expected in the population as a whole, clearly underscores the fact that there are "distinct etiologies" to these diseases. His conclusion is: "It has become apparent that in order to discover relationships between the organic and functional disorders, with their probable antecedents and resultant behavior, more discriminat-ing studies need to be made at the cognitive and personality, as well as at the neuropathological level. . . . Even though there is a high correlation between the individual's cognitive level of functioning and the integrity of his brain, it does not follow that there exists a one-to-one relationship between these two variables and the affective status of the individual or his ability to maintain himself in the community."\(^{18}\)

This is actually only a modern equivalent of a somewhat older appeal from researchers. Arthur Chen, for example, speaking of the social significance of old age in 1939, stated that older people are more or less stereotyped and that "whether certain alleged personality traits of old people are due to the immediate social environment or to advancing years is a point for research."\(^{19}\) Ruth Albrecht wrote that strong relationships exist between social role performance and the development of senile symptoms, as popularly defined, and those in her study who appeared to have been appropriately socialized for all of life's stages seemed less subject to the development of senile symptoms. Nothing was said about the physio-biological conditions of the persons being studied.\(^{20}\)

Several recent studies dealing with the rehabilitation of senile and geriatric mentally ill patients have produced data with implications for the question at hand.\(^{21}\) In general, these studies have found that a relatively large portion of the patients will improve rapidly, even without one-to-one therapy, provided the environment provides the patient with the opportunity to work out a new and satisfactory definition for himself in the situation, and if the patient is allowed to respond to a variety of stimulating situations. The implications, not always stated by researchers, is that the old person's world had become too "lean," and that the person perhaps had retreated into
senility as a defense against a relatively featureless environment. When provided with opportunities to react, they can re-enter the real world safely.

SUMMARY & IMPLICATIONS

We have presented the first formal statement of a hypothesis concerning senile psychoses, to the effect that a significant portion of those cases diagnosed as organic are instead functional. The assumption arises from past experience when a large proportion of senile psychotics have been observed to possess physio-biological symptoms. The cause-effect relationship, however, has never been determined as a general phenomenon, and it is certainly not determined in individual cases. The possibility exists that the reverse cause-effect relationship has not even been investigated. We assert, therefore, that the behavioral symptoms are taken as evidence of organic genesis, even though making such conclusions violates the basic principle of science.

We believe that functional cases, in addition to those now explicable in other terms, result from the individual's choice not to enter the aged status, that the individual models his psychotic behavior on the patterns of the subculture, and that the individual's behavior as a functional senile psychotic is indistinguishable from that of the organic. The choice to resist the aged status is based on the person's fear of that status or on his reluctance to surrender the perquisites of the mature or adult status.

The implications of this hypothesis for research and the development of theories on aging, should the hypothesis be supported by research, include closer attention to self-definitions and perceptions of the person in relation to his perception of the age-status system of the society, and closer attention to the meanings, interpretations, and expectations the person assigns to the sequential stages and anticipates from the aged status. Research on the specific relationship between selected biological conditions and the several forms of senile disabilities would be especially relevant, so that the nature of and the extent to which compensations develop over a period of time can be understood. Additionally, research on the life-histories of those elderly persons suffering from physical conditions but who are not classified as senile or psychotic would be especially helpful.

Implications for practice are also worthy of note. Society would need to avoid isolating and sensory-depriving situations of aging persons. The socialization process would need to be adjusted to include adequate and appropriate concepts and expectations concerning aging. Early detection of emerging physical conditions which might produce senile psychoses would allow for conscious instruction of subjects in compensating for their effects, provided we can learn more about the compensating process. Treatment would have to include enrichment of the environment, assistance in re-
defining the self-milieu system as less threatening and damaging, and instruction in all stages of life in countering the fears associated with the aged status.

This article is an adapted version of "Social Influences in Senile Psychosis," a paper delivered at the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, April 8, 1965. Dr. Merritt C. Oelke, co-author of the original paper, was killed in an automobile accident in May 1967. He was the department head of counseling education, College of Education, University of Georgia.

NOTES & REFERENCES


3 Ibid.


5 Ibid., 262.

6 See, for example, Alfred R. Lindesmith & Anselm L. Strauss,


10 In a formal discussion of this paper, Dr. Joseph Drake, Davidson College, observed: "The idea presented here is that functional psychosis may develop in a person when he is unable to accept the aged status. This is cited as one of four possible channels of escape, the other three being acceptance, suicide, and piecemeal suicide. The authors have omitted two other channels of escape ordinarily considered available to those who are faced with unpleasant experiences in changing from one status to another. These are: the extensive use of alcohol and drug addiction. We know that relatively few older people become alcoholics or drug addicts only upon reaching old age; that is, few old people seem to choose either of these two channels. My guess is that society condemns the use of these channels so severely to have the effect of denying the aged their use. Could we not say, then, that this denial is society's crowning indignity against the aged in refusing them the avenues of escape which are pleasurable rather than painful?"


12 Dr. Drake again commented: "We have all heard of cases in which the doctor, unable to find an organic base for a physical disease, attributes the disease to psychosomatic causes. Or, the doctor strongly hints that the patient merely imagines his disability or that the patient is mentally ill. In the hypothesis under examination, the reverse of this situation is true.
If while examining a patient suffering from senile psychosis the doctor discovers an organic cause, he then discontinues his search. The discontinuation may be justified for one of several reasons: Why look for multiple causes when one will do? Why look for a functional connection when the organic cause seems quite obvious? Why should medically-trained physicians accept a functional explanation when organic causes are the object of their search? And, finally, it is probably easier to convince patient and family that the causes are organic rather than functional; at least, that is what seems to be more socially acceptable. Since treatment of organic conditions is easier and more regularly established, it would similarly be easier to persuade families to accept and carry-out doctors' recommendations.

13 Birren, Psychology of Aging, 264.

14 Landis, Social Problems, 155.


16 Birren, Psychology of Aging, 263.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 265.


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Man, whose young passion sets the spindrift flying
Is soon too lame to march, too cold for loving.

John Masefield
ON GROWING OLD
For a number of years sociologists interested in the family have debated whether the isolated nuclear family of husband, wife, and unmarried offspring, or the extended kin network of nuclear units interlocked "within a structure of social relationships and mutual aid," is the dominant form of family organization in industrial society. It is not my purpose in this brief paper to review the arguments for or against either of these positions. Instead, I shall present some findings about old people and their families in Britain, Denmark, Poland, Israel, and the United States which tend to support the position of those who argue that the extended kin network is the dominant form of the family in western society.

The findings indicate that in western societies the old are not physically and socially isolated from the middle generation and the young, nor are they isolated from siblings or other relatives. Indeed, the life of old people in all the countries studied is distinguished by the important role played by the family network. The family network is the major source of social contacts of the aged, of care in their illnesses, of help in emergencies, and of protection in extreme old age. The basic social system in the industrial countries of Britain, Denmark, and the United States, as well as in the developing countries of Israel and Poland, appears to be the modified extended family, not the isolated nuclear family.

METHODS OF STUDY

The data came from interviews with nation-wide probability samples of approximately 2500 persons aged sixty-five and over in Britain, Denmark, Poland, and the United States, and with a nation-wide probability sample of 1600 aged Jewish residents of Israel living in towns and cities. About ninety percent of Israel's residents before the 1967 war were Jews living in towns and cities.

The questionnaires used in the five countries were similar in their...
wording and organization, but not identical. What is important here is that all concepts and variables, both in the questionnaires and in the tabulations, were defined in the same way in each country.

The research was limited to old people in private households. In Israel between six and seven percent of the aged are in institutions, in Denmark about five percent, and in Britain, Poland, and the United States between three and four percent. In each of these countries similar kinds of old people are found in institutions--those who are infirm and whose families can no longer take care of them, and those who need some sort of care but lack family members or family substitutes to help them. The British, Danish, and American data were collected in 1962, the Polish data in 1966, and the Israeli data in 1967.

FINDINGS

Full data are now available dealing with the interrelations of old people and their immediate and extended families in Britain, Denmark, Poland, and the United States. Limited data are now available from Israel. From this wealth of material I have selected three topics for discussion: the living arrangements of older people, their proximity to their children, and their contacts with children, siblings, and relatives. I shall try to show that old people with children maintain close contact with at least one of these children, and that persons with no children substitute interaction with siblings and relatives for the absence of children contacts.

If one accepts the definition of the family as a complex of interrelated units, the old person may be visualized as the apex of a pyramid. The base of the pyramid consists of the children, grandchildren, and relatives available to the old person for social interaction. The greater the number of children, grandchildren, and relatives, the broader the base of persons with whom the old person may have intimate associations.

From seventeen percent of all old people (Britain & United States) to twelve percent (Israel) have no living children. On the other hand, thirty-two percent of all old people in the United States, twenty percent in Israel, seventeen percent in Denmark, and sixteen percent in Britain have three generations of descendant. These old people have both grandchildren and great grandchildren. In Poland, reflecting the heavy population losses of World War II, only four percent of all old people are great grandparents.

For old people who have no children or who have never married, siblings and the children of siblings are especially important. Three-fourths of all old people in Denmark, Britain, and the United States have living siblings, and even in Israel and Poland, whose populations suffered heavy losses in the Second World War, roughly two-thirds of all old people have living siblings.
In general, then, most old people have available to them a variety of family members with whom they can associate. The next question must be: Does such association take place? In all the countries studied, most old people live apart from their children and relatives. In western societies, old people want to live independently in their own homes as long as possible. Wherever it is possible, then, married couples maintain their own homes. Where adult children live with an older married couple, the former are either unmarried children or married children unable to secure housing. Britain, Israel, and Poland have critical housing shortages. Among older unmarried persons (the single, widowed, divorced, or separated), from sixty-one percent (Denmark) to thirty percent (Poland) live alone. Older people living alone are found most often in Denmark and least often in Poland. Unmarried older persons who live with adult children are usually either economically dependent on such children or too frail to care for themselves, or some combination of the two factors.

Living apart from children or relatives does not mean that old people are isolated from children or relatives. The relationship between old people and their children is physically close. Between half and two-thirds of all old people in Denmark, Britain, Israel, and the United States either share a household with one of their children or live within ten minutes distance of him. In Poland, as many as four of every five old people either share a household with a child or live within ten minutes distance of him. Perhaps more significant than the fact that so many old people with children live in close proximity to at least one of these children are the findings on the proportion of old people whose nearest child is at least an hour away.

The countries studied are all either industrial or developing countries. Internal migration is frequent in all these countries. Yet, in Britain, Denmark, and Poland only about one in every ten old persons has his nearest child as far as an hour's distance from him. In Israel, ten percent of all people with children have no children in that country, and some additional proportion have their children in Israel but more than an hour away. In the United States, sixteen percent of all persons have their nearest child an hour or more distant from them.

Old people apparently seek "intimacy at a distance." They want to live apart from children and relatives but close enough to see them regularly. The amount of contact between old people and their children and relatives may be surprising to those who consider old people to be socially isolated. The Israeli data is not as yet available, but in the other four countries, from eighty-four percent (Poland) to sixty-two percent (Denmark) of all old people with children saw a child either the day they were interviewed or the day before that. Approximately three of every ten old men and four of every ten old women in Denmark, Britain, Poland, and the United States who have siblings saw a sibling during the previous week.

Table 1 gives the family contacts of older men and women in Britain,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Denmark</th>
<th>Britain</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>All Persons</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw Child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During Previous Week</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Contact With Child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw Sibling, Other Relative During Last Week</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have No Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw Sibling, Other Relative During Last Week</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Family Contacts During Last Week</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have No Children, Siblings Or Relatives</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER</td>
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<td>1086</td>
<td>2021</td>
<td>692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1**

FAMILY CONTACTS OF OLDER MEN & WOMEN, EXCLUDING THOSE WHO SHARE A HOME WITH CHILDREN.
Denmark, Poland, and the United States excluding those persons who share a home with their children. The table summarizes one week's interaction with children, siblings, and other relatives. Obviously, where people have children outside their household, they saw at least one child during the preceding week. Some of those who did not see their children saw siblings or relatives. People without children were far more likely to see siblings or relatives than people with children. Apparently a pattern of interaction has been set up in which visits with siblings or relatives compensate for the lack of social contacts with children. Among persons who live apart from children or who have no children, about one-fifth in Britain, Denmark, and the United States had no family contacts in the previous week. In every country men are more likely than women to have had no family contacts. In Poland, an old person who goes a week without family contacts is most unusual. As the table shows, interaction between parents and children in Poland is very extensive.

CONCLUSIONS

The social relationships of old people reflect variations in family structure. Married couples in western countries live apart from children. Unmarried persons either live alone, with children, or with others. Living apart from children or relatives does not mean that the old person is isolated from children or relatives. The contrary seems to be true.

In this brief analysis I have illustrated two features of family structure and the role of kin. One of the functions of kinship association in industrial society is to provide replacements for intimate kin lost by death or migration. A second function is to compensate for the absence of children or grandchildren by providing substitutes, relatives or the children of relatives, or by preserving into old age the sibling ties of childhood and adolescence. These functions, referred to by the British sociologist Peter Townsend as the principles of compensation and replacement, are apparent in our data. Where old people have children, they maintain close contact with at least one child where old people have no children, or where there is no contact with children, family compensation and replacement takes place.

These unrevised notes were originally presented at the Thursday Luncheon Roundtable Discussion, Susanne Keller, Chairman, at the Sixty-Third Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, 29 August 1968, Boston.

2 A full consideration of the evidence for the existence of the extended kin network is given in the papers in Social Structure & the Family.

3 The role of siblings in the maintenance of the kin network in contemporary society has been generally overlooked. For a valuable paper, see Elaine Cumming & David M. Schneider, "Sibling solidarity: a property of American kinship," American Anthropologist 63 (June 1961) 498-507.

4 The British, Danish, and American data are reported in Ethel Shanas & Others, Old People in Three Industrial Societies (New York: Atherton Press, 1968). The Polish data, as yet unpublished, were collected by Dr. Jerzy Piotrowski, Institute of Social Economy, Warsaw. The Israeli data, also unpublished, were collected by Hanna Weihl, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Uri Avner, Israel Federal Bureau of Statistics; and Thea Nathan-Meyerowitz, Jerusalem.


6 E. Shanas & Others, Old People in Industrial Societies.

ETHEL SHANAS (A. B., A. M., Ph. D. Chicago) has been professor in the department of sociology and anthropology, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, since 1965. She has lectured at Duke, Iowa, Wichita State, and Johns Hopkins universities here in the states; and at the Danish National Institute for Social Research, Copenhagen; University of Essex, Colchester; Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Institute for Social Economy, Warsaw; and the International Conference of Social Work, Bombay. Among her recent publications are Old People in Three Industrial Societies (1968), and as co-editor, Volume Two of Methodological Problems in Cross-National Studies in Aging (1968).
Elaine Cumming & William E. Henry
GROWING OLD: THE PROCESS OF DISENGAGEMENT

Marvin R. Koller
Kent State University

As Talcott Parsons predicted in the forward, "this study will serve as the most important focus of discussion of the problems... for some time." In the eight years since its publication, GROWING OLD has earned its place among the pioneering classics in social gerontology by virtue of its espousal of the inductive theory of disengagement based upon the Kansas City Study of Adult Life in the late 1950's. It's style is lucid, and one that treats both its data and its readership with respect. For the methodologist, there is abundant measurement and delineation of research techniques. For the theorist, there is much to relate. For the social gerontologist, there is solid substance. And, most important of all, for the general public and the professional student, there are provocative materials capable of generating further debate and investigation.

Drawn from admittedly biased samples of healthy, economically stable, white, urban, middle class Americans, who ranged in age from approximately fifty to seventy years, and drawn from the "bush-fire"samples of "the very old" who were over seventy years, the authors conceive of aging as essentially a mutual withdrawal or decreasing interactional pattern between the elderly and the society at large.

Wisely, Cumming & Henry do not promote disengagement as the exclusive pathway to "successful aging;" rather, they see disengagement as an alternative set of testable hypotheses to those advanced by the "implicit" theory of activists, the engaged, and the zestfully involved. Their case studies indicate that high morale can come from adopting either "life style;" Inevitably, however, mortal man must either be "torn" from the fabric of social life or "loosen the strands" that bind him to others.

GROWING OLD is viewed here as the gradual or abrupt severing of social ties. One criticism, then, is that the overall theory of disengagement fails to take into account the total process of aging which begins at
conception and ends at death. The theory is preoccupied with the transition from the middle years to old age itself. Precluded are the relevancies of aging to infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

Only in the final chapters is the disengagement theory formally articulated in terms of nine major postulates with modifying corollaries and interrelated with intergenerational tension, the life span structure, time, and death. From this articulation, one gains the perspective that the theory has no essential quarrel with the other phases of the life cycle and does consider the relevancies of youth and middle age.

No single book, of course, in the burgeoning field of social gerontology can embrace all the facets of this challenging area of inquiry. GROWING OLD was not meant to be the definitive handbook in its substantive field. GROWING OLD does represent, however, one of the earliest and most effective efforts to provide a systematic format for the widely scattered and seemingly diverse studies and research. While the relentless measurements of their panels are instructive, Cumming & Henry provide a greater service in their "public thinking" about the gift of life granted ever so briefly to mankind.

Minna Field
AGING WITH HONOR & DIGNITY

E. Grant Youmans
U. S. Department of Agriculture & University of Kentucky

In recent decades, various professional groups, organizations, and individuals have become involved in dealing with problems which affect older people. As members of the helping professions, social workers have added their contribution to this endeavor. Minna Field points out in AGING WITH HONOR & DIGNITY that the social worker brings her own deeply ingrained attitudes to her work which often affect her effectiveness in relating to older people. Social workers are usually young people, and their attitudes are strongly influenced by their community background and reinforced through mass media information. This attitude may reflect a "fear of aging" a reluctance to work with older people, and a strong preference to work with children and young adults. This preference on the part of social workers may reveal a feeling that time and energy invested in solving problems of older people are less rewarding. In some cases the young social worker may fell uncomfortable in the presence of chronicity which aging brings. As a result, the social workers may be unable to accept the elder individual as a person in need of help, but may see him only as a living
symbol of all that is distasteful and frightening in the aging process.

Today's social worker, according to Minna Field, must be familiar with important and far-reaching social changes. The social worker who works with older people must have knowledge of the meaning of aging to the individual, the demands which it makes of him, the behavior which can be anticipated, and the skill required to cope with such behavior. The social worker must be aware of the realities of the older person's economic situation and his reaction to it, of the changes in social relationships and the meaning which these may have for him. She must know of his past aspirations, achievements, and failures, and the extent to which these might influence his adjustment. She must be able to weigh the extent of his ability to participate in planning and his ability to carry out such plans.

Drawing on her personal experiences as a social worker, Minna Field in AGING WITH HONOR & DIGNITY attempts to provide information which will help orient social workers to the many problems of older people. She has provided readable materials on such topics as the impact of longevity on people, older age and poverty and retirement, aging and health, the aged person and his family, housing and living arrangements, and the challenge of leisure.

In analyzing the many needs of the aged, the author suggests there are three major categories of older people, each having distinct characteristics. The younger generation, aged sixty to seventy-five, are likely to be in better financial circumstances, to be healthier and in a better position to deal with their health problems, to be better housed, to be better educated, and to be more capable of dealing with social and personal problems, than were persons of this age group even so short a time as ten or fifteen years ago. The second group, aged seventy-five to ninety, are less likely to be well-off financially, less well physically and emotionally, less able to make plans for themselves, and less involved in social affairs. The third group, aged ninety and over, are those likely to be the victims of life's difficulties, namely financial, physical, and mental. They are likely to have suffered social isolation by the loss of relationships with those who might care about what happens to them. This age group usually has less opportunity to negotiate with others in the community to obtain what they need.

Minna Field has dedicated her book to the young of today, including young social workers, who have it in their power to create a better world for the aged of tomorrow. On page 187, the author stresses the need to institute a program of education for the young, to instill an understanding that old age does not necessarily imply complete deterioration and uselessness. She warns that unless effort is made to increase the number of enterprises to instill realistic knowledge of the aging process, the same misunderstanding of the older generation as now exists will continue in the future.
AGING WITH HONOR & DIGNITY is an excellent monograph that should be in the personal library of every social worker in the United States. The book might be strengthened by integrating the materials with some of the concepts and theories of the discipline of social gerontology. Actually, I do not find the term "social gerontology" mentioned in the volume, nor do I find any reference to the activities of the Gerontological Society, which contains a vigorous and flourishing section on social welfare for the aged. The young social worker who reads this book might be interested in knowing that there is a thriving discipline concerned with the social aspects of human aging, an item of information apparently omitted from Minna Field's book. Page 9 does refer to the classified bibliography of Nathan Shock, which includes many of the publications in social gerontology. Social workers might also benefit from an orientation to some of the theories emerging in social gerontology, such as "disengagement theory," "theory of the life course," and "the development of an aging subculture." Discussions and publications relative to these represent the frontiers of social gerontology, and these issues and controversies would undoubtedly be valuable to every practicing social worker involved with older people. The lack of such materials in Minna Field's book probably indicates the communication gap existing in American society between researchers and practitioners in the field of human aging.

Juanita M. Kreps, Editor

EMPLOYMENT, INCOME, & RETIREMENT PROBLEMS OF THE AGED

James H. Schulz
University of New Hampshire

This book is a collection of five articles which, with the exception of the contribution of Joseph Spengler, are published for the first time. In the excellent introduction, which highlights the findings and policy recommendations sufficiently enough to provide an alternate for the "busy reader," Juanita Kreps outlines the volume as follows:

The studies which follow, dealing with the various aspects of the problems arising with the changing age structure of the population, comprise five major units: one, a study of the mechanics, the development, and the impact of aging populations; two, a series of three articles dealing with the extent and nature of the retirement problem, particularly as it is related to unemployment; three, an appraisal of the economic consequences of flexible retirement in the United States, and a review of flexible retirement policies abroad; four, an essay setting forth some of the financial dimensions and effects of pension-fund
growth; and fifth, an analysis of the underlying forces which have relegated the aged to an inferior economic status, and a proposal for improving this status. (P. 5)

J. Kreps, C. E. Ferguson, and J. M. Folsom, who author the section on the employment of older workers, clearly recognize that their projections of sectoral outputs and hence labor force requirements, based on "recently observed trends" assumed to continue, are subject to wide margins of error. This is particularly true, in an economy as dynamic as ours, with regard to so-called growth sectors, where the time when growth will slow (if it does) is essentially unpredictable. Likewise, the projects of an eight to ten percent unemployment rate throughout the 1970's illustrates the hazard of relying on a methodology which results in projects found to be "in accord with the post-war trend in the United States, "but which now look bad in light of more recent fiscal policy manipulation applying the "new economics." However, the authors do recognize and discuss the effect such changes in policies have on employment opportunities.

With regard to the earnings and employment trends of older workers, Kreps, Ferguson, and Folsom find that the earnings of older workers fail to keep pace with those of younger workers, partly as a result of (1) the rising proportions older workers represent of total employment in the lowest-paying sectors and (2) the rising numbers of older women in the labor force. For example, "in 1957, older workers had higher average wages in only thirty-three of the eighty-nine industries (studied), and most of these were industries in which total employment was declining or growing less rapidly than the national average." (P. 129)

In two chapters on flexible retirement, Lloyd Saville surveys the general issues involved in giving more control to individual workers with regard to when and how long they will work. He does not seem to recognize, however, that the trend in this area is clearly away from individual control toward greater institutionalization of the retirement process. He does not discuss, for example, the fundamental problem raised by W. Fred Cottrell, namely "the very processes which result in increased productivity themselves dictate just how some sets of people must act. . . . One of the first tasks of those studying proposals for retirement is to examine the way present demands for various kinds of roles affect the likelihood of retirement by those playing them."

In developing and applying a fairly simple macro-economic model, John O. Blackburn forecasts that the accumulation of financial assets in private pension funds will continue into the future. This raises the important question concerning the impact of these pension fund activities on the economy; that is, on total saving, on capital markets, and on corporate ownership concentration (not mentioned by Blackburn).
In the final and perhaps most interesting chapter from a policy standpoint, Spengler and Kreps describe the main threats to the comparative economic security of the aged, and then pose as a possible solution a "social credit" scheme. Since the retired aged have relatively fixed incomes compared to the working population, their economic situation tends to deteriorate in the face of inflation and productivity increasing in the economy. They propose that social security and private pensions be increased by one percent each year, over and above any increase for price level changes. The one percent increase is based upon the somewhat arbitrary assumption "that the advances due to public investment in education, research, invention, and innovation serve to increase income per adult at least 1.0 percent per year."

While the case for inflation index adjustments of public pensions is widely accepted in this country and, in effect, in many foreign social security systems, the idea of real increases in pension benefits is relatively new and has received less public support. For example, Professor Derek Bok has recently argued that "there is little reason to believe that increasing real income is greatly needed during retirement and still less evidence to suggest that employees would prefer to have lower net wages in their family years to obtain such increases." (See the Harvard Law Review (February 1967) 763).

Already a number of foreign countries, notably Germany, Austria, and Sweden, have incorporated into their social insurance system a mechanism to adjust real incomes in retirement. This adjustment index is based explicitly on the recent economic growth experience of the country and hence avoids the arbitrary and inflexible adjustment mechanism proposed by Spengler and Kreps. Clearly, additional research consideration should be given to this aspect of the retirement income maintenance question.

This volume is a very welcomed addition to the very limited number of contributions made thus far by economists to the developing field of social gerontology.

John C. McKinney & Frank T. DeVyner, Editors
AGING & SOCIAL POLICY

Kathleen A. Kalab
Western Kentucky University

The growing number and proportion of the elderly in American society has led to an increasing awareness and interest in this group. As has been frequently pointed out in the recent literature on aging and the aged
demographic changes and early retirement place a significant portion of our population in a relatively undefined position. The problem being a fairly recent phenomenon, no well-defined social policy concerning the aged has as yet evolved or developed.

The editors of AGING & SOCIAL POLICY view their volume as a series of explorations in social policy for the aged. Their definition of policy as "the complex of individual ideas, organizational postures, institutional attitudes, operational realities, temporary working arrangements, and practical or necessary compromises out of which emerge decisions concerning what will be done to, with, and for the aged in society," indicates the variety, scope, and focus of volume's collection. In dealing with so broad a topic as this, it is inevitable that some readers will view certain issues as being of minor importance and that others will view certain issues as not receiving the full attention they deserve.

Policy respecting the aged develops in a variety of directions at once. In the light of this variety and the exploratory nature of the book, it is somewhat misleading to arbitrarily impose uniformity of method and content on a collection of policy proposals when such does not exist. Further, the lack of consensus on the meaning and use of "aging" and "aged" is a bit disconcerting. Again, the wideness and indefinitiveness of the topic readily accounts for this.

The first major division of the book views the process of aged from the larger perspective of the interrelationship of the social, economic, and political systems. The second major division has a narrower focus dealing with problems of health, finance, housing, and general social policy.

In the initial article, Wilbert Moore deals with the biological dimension of aging and states in particular that aging commences at conception. The stages of the life cycle are representative of the biological component of social systems. Status sequence is age-graded. Retirement is affected by demographic changes as well as technological innovation with the older worker being replaced by the younger and better-trained member of the labor force. Moore presents a convincing case of "serial service," suggesting that sociologists pre-occupied with models of self-balancing systems should give more attention to the process of serialization whereby goods and services flow in one direction. The generational obligation is not one of repaying benefactors; rather, it is one of providing services for newcomers.

The individual and collective dimensions of aging are well-presented by Joseph Spengler. Collective aging, or the increase in the relative number of older persons, is associated mainly with reduced reproduction rates. Increasing life expectancy has little effect on collective aging, its major impact is on the individual. The improving economic condition of the aged is still not as good as it should be. Among the socially-created constraints
which limit economic opportunities in the increasing bureaucratization of labor-supplying and labor-employing organizations which leads to limited job mobility and compulsory retirement of older workers. Productivity declines as a result of poor health and the obsolescence of knowledge and skills. Older workers will want to continue to work, however, due to the reduced values of fixed incomes. But despite this, the demand by the younger generation for job opportunities is destined to outweight the want.

Spengler believes that the economic disadvantage of relative poverty and lack of employment opportunities need not accompany aging. These disadvantages result from defective education and non-retraining, both subject to correction. Part of the solution to the economic problems of the aged requires a distinction by the social scientist between transitory problems in need of temporary solution and persistent problems in need of a long-ranged perspective.

The economic condition of the aged leaves much to be desired. Both younger and older Americans, Fred Cottrell says, are questioning the system that allots so little to the elderly. The economic law approach and the power approach are views promising an alteration of this predicament. Existing organizations do not provide roles or resources for so many older people. As their number increases they may seek a stronger power position and attempt to implement values and goals. The elderly are a potentially major voting block; since politicians believe this power cannot be mobilized on a broad level, social policy has been little affected. Politicians need to know what the specific values accompanying aging are and which among them can best be served by government as opposed to other organizations. The resistance of the elderly to what they perceive as "welfare" and its attendant connotations may well be a barrier in serving their needs.

Chief among the specific problems dealt with in this volume is the lack of adequate financial resources. George Maddox advocates scrutinizing investigation of the generalizations pertaining to the aged and their financial needs. Policy makers especially need to review these assumptions. Most questionable are the assumptions bearing on the degree of homogeneity imputed to the elderly and their view on the meaning of retirement. Inadequate retirement incomes, for example, merely continue a condition of meager subsistence. Furthermore, the job is a point of social and personal identity, and differential effects of retirement should be expected by type of job. Variations in personal biography in situational constraints, and in the social consequences of retirement need to be systematically explored. Retirement should be seen as a variable related to the events composing the biography of an individual and not as a social event with a single meaning.

One area in which variations have been taken into account is the area of housing for the elderly. Daniel Wilner and Rosabelle Walkley discuss several alternatives, briefly reviewing existing data and situational factors
which influence the choice of type of housing the aged prefer to reside in. Much of their discussion is based on a 1964 California survey of special housing facilities for the well elderly. Conclusions and implications are stated, but the presentation suffers from an attempt to present too much data in too brief a space.

Juanita Kreps presents several alternatives in the area of employment policy. She points out that the short range situation of economy-wide unemployment which disadvantages the older worker and the long range trend of early retirement which necessitates spreading work earnings over a longer non-working period must both be investigated. The problem might be alleviated by (1) spreading the work differently and apportioning non-working time among all ages preferably through longer vacations, and (2) the policy of "pensioning off" many workers in their pre-retirement decade through special unemployment insurance arrangements. For the long run situations, policies to be devised should guarantee the aged a minimum income and a share in the growth of the national product. Improved retirement benefits with employees, employers and public revenues sharing the cost are suggested as a possible method.

In a brief and readable essay on the cultural and financial aspects of retirement, John Turnbull makes the initial point that the program of income maintenance for the aged in the United States is alleviative rather than procentive in the sense that job separation does occur and some substitute source of income is found. The government provides a "floor of income maintenance protection" and the private sector builds on this floor. All programs are cited; but OASDI, other public programs, group plans, and private individual programs are compared in detail on coverage, qualification, benefits, financing, administration, and operation. Turnbull concludes that a vast and complex arrangement of old-age programs exist with gaps and overlaps in coverage. A Universal pension plan would be economically logical, but our culturally implanted pluralistic approach makes this unlikely. Though not optimal, the present system is improving and will continue to do so.

Donald Kent argues that the past and present approach in the United States is through the income route rather than the service route. Such policies may remedy material discomforts, he agrees, but the serious psychic discomforts seem all too often to be ignored. Welfare policy stems from Hebraic social thought, Greco-Roman philosophy, and Christian ethics. The American experience added the belief in the dignity of work, a distrust of government, and faith in the voluntary group. In the light of this background, Professor Kent offers the four following objectives of social policy for the elderly: (1) security in income, health, and housing; (2) recognition and individuality; (3) response and relatedness; and (4) creativity. He believes that social welfare policies have paid little attention to their psychological implications, and that our most serious fault in dealing with the aged is
the lack of attention devoted to the place of older people in the community and the meaningful use of retirement years.

Drawing on his experience with a large public institution, Jules Henry describes the psychic influences on the aged poor. He suspects, however, that conditions may be worse in the cheap private institution due to the pressure of profit. Depersonalization is the critical consequence, "depriving the individual of the factors that attach him to his social system." The aged unable to care for themselves and the poor in our society have lost the right to personality. Institutions depersonalize their incumbents symbolically through loss of communication and negative handling of the body, and materially through deprivation, poor quality goods, and the distorted use of material objects. Depersonalization if facilitated further by the extinction of protection, and distortion of the human environment. These institutions are staff-centered, not client-centered. Further, the staffs are poorly paid, poorly educated, over-worked; they themselves suffer from depersonalization in the very course of the work. Humane behavior is left to chance.

In his treatment of the care and health of the elderly, Ewald Busse defines health as a relative state that exists when the individual functions at a high level of efficiency in all respects. Chronic illness is the most urgent and frustrating medical problem. The chronically ill person has the dual problem of dealing with social resistance as well as physical disability. This situation is compounded by the patient's disappointment in his lack of progress, a disappointment directed at the physician, as well as the physician's disappointment, even loss of self-esteem, in seeing no improvement in the patient. Regrettably, members of the medical profession share society's negative view toward the aged.

The American view toward old age is partially negative due to its association with death. Durt Back, social psychologist, and Hans Baade, lawyer, state in the concluding essay that death in American society is not only perceived as an intense threat but is also to be denied. They clearly show in their provocative analysis how these ambivalent attitudes are reflected in the social and legal structure.

Undoubtedly, this volume encompasses a wide variety of material and method, of style and judgment. With a minimum of disconcertment, the book fulfills the modest aims of the editors to provide the preliminary step toward developing a national policy on aging. The hope now is that the many important issues the book raises will be followed through.
This volume includes fifteen articles written by different authors. The original drafts of the papers were prepared for a symposium held at Duke University in November 1963. The volume is uniquely interdisciplinary in its thrust, with contributions from authors representing the disciplines of anthropology, economics, law, psychiatry, social psychology, and social work, as well as sociology.

The first thing which strikes the reader anticipating a traditional gerontological treatise is that the focus of attention is not aging or the aged per se. Despite the fact that the title provides a clue, it is a provocative discovery to find that a consistent theme of intergenerational relationships weaves the various independently written articles into a well-integrated fabric. These relationships are seen to extend from the aged to the younger members of the family. Thus, Irving Rosow in a summary chapter can point with some excitement to a definite accomplishment of the writers of the book. His cogent conclusion is that for once and for all time the myth of an all-pervasive isolated nuclear family in America has been exploded. The more typical family pattern is described as one bound by an extensive kinship network, with older members living fairly close to one or more of their adult children. Intergenerational contact and interaction, then, tend to be regularized and frequent. Even when geographic distance separates family members, a vital network of mutual aid, especially in crisis periods, is described as normative.

It can be seen from the above that this volume takes an unusual approach to the problems of aging and the aged. It is not out of order to say it is a long-overdue approach. The reviewer is convinced that studies of family intergenerational relations have been neglected in favor of investigations of economic, housing, health, and mobility problems. The latter are important, indeed, but they do not assume the basic nature of family relations.

Only a brief word can be given on the individual articles, although each one tempted the writer to elaborate. Part I is a preview to the volume and includes a chapter written by the editors. Part II includes two chapters which focus on the individual. Chapter 2 is by Alvin Goldfarb, a psychiatrist. He develops the thesis that most individuals in contemporary Western culture are socialized for dependency rather than independence, and holds that this "psychological" dependency can be and is a cohesive force in family and society. This is an interesting thesis and one worthy of
further study. A Current investigation by the writer and one of his students indicates that there are intervening variables, such as social class, which affect socialization for the aged status. To this extent, upper class aged persons will be less dependent on family and society than lower class persons. Margaret Blenkner, a social work specialist, is the author of the third chapter. She concerns herself with an evaluation of social work theory insofar as it relates to the older members of families. It is her point that social workers use the concept of role reversal in their approach. That is, they see middle age children becoming the "father" to their older parents. She believes this is a mistake and criticizes the theory on the basis that it implies value judgments which blind true understanding of roles. Again, a thought provoking theory is offered. The reviewer is inclined to agree with the writer, despite the heavy accent on youth in the United States.

Part III consists of three papers which are primarily research reports by sociologists. The first by Marvin Sussman draws on extensive data to refute the stereotype that the elderly are rejected and cut-off from their families. He concludes that intergenerational relations must be viewed in terms of kinship networked which are viable and widespread in contemporary America. The second by Alan Kerckhoff draws from data obtained through interviews with older men and their wives. He, too, concludes that extended family relationships are much more complex than previously thought. Reuben Hill calls for more careful study of the cyclical phases of family life. His premise, developed after many investigations, is that the three generations of grandparents, parents, and adult grandchildren respond differently to planning and to change.

Part IV deals with societies other than the United States. Jan Stehouwer, University of Aarhus, Denmark, presents a typology of households in Denmark. He points out that intergenerational families are not typical in his country, and usually result when widowed parents with health problems or handicaps move in with their children. His accounts of household in Denmark. He points out that intergenerational families are not typical in his country, and usually result when widowed parents with health problems or handicaps move in with their children. His accounts of household types and relations between parents and children in Denmark offer interesting comparisons for the American student. Peter Townsend reports on the factors which make for institutionalization of the elderly in Britain, and points out that the aged prefer other forms of residence to the institution. Perhaps his major contribution is to show that intergenerational relations can be fruitfully studied by directing one's attention to a problem area rather than to a problem per se. Robert Le Vine, anthropologist from the University of Chicago, shows how kinship obligations override different social and class strata in African kinship groupings. His special point is that kinship obligations, and the consequence of intergenerational relations, do not change as rapidly as patterns of residential dispersing or other cultural changes coming from Western countries.
Part V is devoted to intergenerational themes related to social welfare, the law, and the economy. Margaret Rosenheim, professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, first reminds the reader that social welfare policies have empirical consequences. Her argument is that the test of a successful welfare system is not only the standard of living it makes possible but also the freedom it confers on families to satisfy their own tastes and needs. Max Rheinstein, professor of law, University of Chicago, emphasizes the relationship of law to aging. His belief is that Western societies have a paucity of legal strictures on the obligations of the adult children to their parents.

Juanita Kreps, professor of economics, Duke University, concludes this section arguing that the middle generation is now supporting both the old and the young in the United States through transfer payments. She raises the important question of generational choice; for example, are those in the labor force willing or able to increase their level of support to both the young and the old? If not, she wonders which cohort should be supported to a lesser degree.

Part VI includes only one theoretical article written by Eugene Litwak, professor in the school of social work, University of Michigan. He responds to a theory of shared functions which can be applied to all areas of life. He illustrates the analytical power of the theory by consideration of the sources and kind of aid the family receives from kinsmen and from formal organizations.

Part VII concludes the symposium with critical comments by Kurt Back and Irving Roscow, professor of sociology, Western Reserve University. Their observations stand out to the writer. They underscore the conclusion that the isolated nuclear family is not the model, functional, optimal type which it has been thought to be in industrial society. They agree on the necessity for new research and theory which recognizes the continuity of family structure under conditions of social change. They suggest that the family, social structure, and intergenerational relations are central problems of social science. Each author outlines an approach for studying such phenomenon, Back using graph theory and Roscow input-output analysis.

The information contained in this volume cannot be overlooked by serious students of gerontology or of the family. It is a hard, sophisticated look which extends beyond mere surface problems. No doubt traditionalists will find some conclusions unsatisfactory. However, by the same token, new programs and research proposals for the aged devised by sociologists cannot ignore a consideration of family social structure. After all, the latter is what sociology is about.
The authors of the present study state in their introduction that "the serious investigator must be increasingly concerned with whether what he has found to be true in one country... occurs under a given set of circumstances in all societies or whether it is relevant for that society only." Their concern has resulted in a pioneer work of cross-national research, achieved through collaboration in planning comparable sampling methods and questionnaires, and agreement on similar methods of tabulation and data analysis.

Comparable questionnaires were used in structured interviews in each of the three countries involved, namely Britain, Denmark, and the United States. Area probability sampling was used in all three countries, and each national sample consisted of about 2,500 persons aged sixty-five and over, living in private households. Even the actual interviewing took place during roughly the same time span in all three countries. This extensive coordination and cooperation eliminated difficulties and errors associated with previous attempts at cross-national studies, and assured a body of data from which valid comparisons could be made.

The authors are to be commended for having presented us with a large body of cross-cultural data whose methodological base is a reliable one; the findings permit the social scientist to generalize beyond his own cultural milieu.

While the authors make a preliminary statement of intent relative to placing the data in a theoretical overview, this appeared to be impossible to implement. That this leaves the study mainly in the realm of the descriptive does not detract from the present and potential value of the monumental amount of data collected. Theoretical systems in gerontology have been so sparse up to now that there has been a tendency to hail any theory primarily because it was an attempt at a theoretical orientation. The present study can make a very meaningful contribution as a reference work for future investigators, and even more so as a basis for social action programs and legislation relating to gerontological populations.

The main focus of the volume concerns the degree to which old people
the sense of loyalty and responsibility which many members of the family feel for each other?" The finding was that the provision of outside services did not undermine self-help, nor did it conflict with the interests of the family. The authors concluded that these services were necessary to older persons, and could not be undertaken by their families alone.

Throughout the book, the authors express the hope that this volume will be of some influence in determining future social policy. The four major misconceptions the book disproves are important assumptions which have, in the past, influenced the type and amount of aid made available to our older population. By substituting for these assumptions a body of methodologically sound data, the authors have made an enormous contribution to the area of social action. And, although, as with all descriptive surveys, changing conditions will cause some of its findings to become outdated, the book serves a related function as a sourcebook and a reference for researchers in the field of old age. Sociologists, economists, social workers, and others will find in it a plethora of material, well-structured, and cogently written. It is not only a landmark in the area of cross-national studies, it is also an easy book to use, with its material readily available in chapter summaries and organized conclusions. OLD PEOPLE IN THREE INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES is an important and welcome addition to gerontological literature.

Ida Harper Simpson & John C. McKinney, Editors,
SOCIAL ASPECTS OF AGING

J. Carroll Simms
Georgia State College

This is a comprehensive volume of broad scope which summarizes some of the research flowing from the five-year program in Socioeconomic Studies of Aging conducted at Duke University and supported by the Ford Foundation. The focus of the research was some problems of old age and the adaptations made by the elderly to these problems.

Typical of such problems is the uncertainty accompanying the relinquishment of adult roles as the aging person moves toward retirement and beyond, as well as the sense of helplessness, bereavement, and anomie which is so frequently the by-product of this transition. The rather abrupt change to the economically dependent status of the aged person requires adjustment to and the acceptance of new roles and relationships replacing the stability and security of the adult status in the middle years. Other problems pertain to retirement, health and illness, loss of leadership, and the inevitable sense of impending death.
The contributors to this volume explore these problems confronting the aged including the stresses, anxieties, and frustrations accompanying the transition. They note in particular the necessity of the elderly to search for new meaning in the role activity that replaces the loss of independence, that restricts participation in social affairs and that relegates the elderly to subordination of either the adult offspring or institutional control.

In the excellent introductory chapter on the institutionalization of retirement, Joseph J. Spengler points out how unemployment among older persons is dependent upon the extent of industrialization in a society and the resultant demographic changes which such industrialization brings about. An industrially advanced society generates an excess of older workers and job-seekers; hence, the emerging process of draining the excess from the employment market through the institution of retirement. Spengler's analysis of the demographic and non-demographic forces underlying this process is astute and persuasive.

The first of four sections, titled "Work & Retirement," examines the problem of retirement in detail, particularly from the standpoint of the work experience of the retiring individual. Some doubt is cast upon the prevailing thesis that retirement removes the individual from the main structural support which provides meaningful and purposeful participation in society. True, reactions to retirement are influenced by factors related to the occupational history of the individual; however, such reactions are also related to self-evaluations in retirement. Simpson, McKinney, and Back submit evidence to validate the fact that the extent of involvement in society during the retirement years is directly related to the status of the retired individual and the orderliness of his work history. These same variables were also found to be directly related to morale, but inversely related to feelings of job deprivation. In a word, the work experience of the retiree determines self-evaluation in retirement and the successful adjustment to retirement.

Succeeding chapters in this section deal with such topics as orientation toward work and retirement, information about retirement, preparation for retirement, continuity of work and retirement activities, and the self-concept of the pre-retiree and the person retired. The two sets of authors, McKinney, Simpson & Back, and Back & Guptill, excellently unravel the major factors associated with the pre-retirement and post-retirement years.

Section II, "Family & Retirement," contains three studies by Alan C. Kerckoff analyzing the internal structure of the family of the aged person. Conjugal and parental role expectations are examined, particularly as these relate to the morale of husband and wife. His examination represents a competent investigation of the quality and intensity of such intergenerational relationships and of the ways in which morale is affected by reactions to
retirement. Kerckhoff identifies two types of retired couples with distinct norm-value clusters which are consistent to two polar type family systems. One is the nucleated family system found most often within the mainstream of advanced technology; the other is the extended family system usually associated with large families located in relatively low occupational and educational levels and often possessing a rural background. Kerckhoff further identifies a strain toward consistency on the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergenerational levels. Since the overall societal trend toward change is consistent with the norm-value cluster associated with the highly nucleated family, he suggests differences in satisfaction between retired persons of different types in their relations with adult offspring.

The extended family system values propinquity, mutual aid, and affection vis-a-vis adult offspring, and views mobility of the children as a form of conflict with the family values. The nucleated family system, on the other hand, tends to reject propinquity, mutual aid, and affection in relation to the offspring, but accepts mobility of the children and change in values. Since the society is moving in the direction of ever greater nucleation of family life, Kerckhoff anticipates less satisfaction on the part of older persons who identify themselves with the extended family system.

Section III, "Community & Retirement," comprises six studies by Professors Joel Smith, Howard Myers, and Herman Turk which focus on the position and social activities of the elderly in the community. Attitudes toward the aged often prevent the elderly from being recognized as a distinct social group within the community. Both the more youthful members as well as the aged themselves are responsible for these negative attitudes. This observation is in agreement with Simpson, Back, & McKinney, that reaction to retirement is influenced by the individual's self-evaluation in retirement. Smith, Myers, & Turk extend this thesis in indicating that the participation of the aged is conditioned by the same kinds of factors that condition the participation of the more youthful members of the community. Their point here is that it is not age as such that affects participation, but rather the attitudes toward participation in combination with other dynamics affecting the participation of any member in the community.

In Section IV, "Aging & Self Orientation," Professors Kurt Back and Kenneth Gergen give consideration to the cognitive and motivational factors in aging and disengagement, the personal orientations of the elderly, and the factors of morale. A comparison between the elderly and younger adults indicates that the aging person tends to be more dogmatic, pessimistic, and indifferent. This outlook is related to the contraction of life space, that reference to the range of the world that is relevant to the conduct of the aged person.

All these studies are impressive for several reasons. The conceptual apparatus and the methodological procedure used in each case are clearly
stated. All are profitably designed to challenge persistent fallacies and misjudgments concerning the aged. All constitute a significant contribution to the literature of social gerontology. There is inestimable value here for lay reader and professional sociologist alike.

E. Grant Youmans
OLDER RURAL AMERICANS

Daniel E. Alleger
University of Florida

The contributions made by research workers to our fund of knowledge regarding the aged are now substantial, but we continue to have a vast flow of materials about the subject. Another addition is OLDER RURAL AMERICANS, recently released by the University of Kentucky. It focuses upon the dynamic yet uncertain quality of rural life for the elderly, and does much to counteract misconceptions about the virtues of retiring in the open countryside. In the performance of this task, sixteen knowledgeable authors participated.

In the opening paragraph under "Acknowledgement," we are led to believe that OLDER RURAL AMERICANS was jointly subsidized by both the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the University of Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station. Are we to believe that there is not enough professional and lay interest in this type of gerontological material to warrant investment risk? This question is not raised to disparage the book's contents. It is prompted by a comment made by the editor, E. Grant Youmans. He states that this book was "written primarily for social gerontologists, for social scientists and other persons interested in rural gerontology, and for organizations and individuals who are developing programs for older rural persons." OLDER RURAL AMERICANS is that kind of book, and the average lay reader may find it too scholarly to pursue from cover to cover.

The conceived functional utility of the publication apparently was to overcome the deficiency of an "extremely small number of reported publications that focus on older Americans who live in rural environments." Nevertheless, the references cited indicate not a paucity but an abundance of research applicable to older rural people, even if not exclusively related to them. Since substantial numbers of these studies remain relatively unknown to interested sociologists, it may be because the research objectives of specific projects were often limited as to scope and geographical location. Their identification by the inclusion of "Notes" at the end of each chapter is one of the valuable contributions made by OLDER RURAL AMERICANS. For this as well as content, the publication should prove inestim—
mable value to both the economists and rural sociologists who are involved in rural gerontology and also to professionals and students concerned with changes in the continua of rural life.

One general theme frequently advanced in the text is that socioeconomic differences between rural and urban families are rapidly disappearing. Arnold M. Rose emphasized that rural life sixty years ago was vastly different from what it is today. This fact, he wrote, "has had a profound effect on the present generation of older people... of almost revolutionary proportions." James E. Montgomery believes that persons who are now sixty-five or over constitute a unique category. They have probably lived through and adjusted to more major economic and social changes, he observed, than any generation in the world's history. He cites, among other things, the mechanization of agriculture, industrialization, urbanization, legislation providing Social Security benefits and medical services as examples of recent historic changes.

Since the beginning of this century, the proportion of the elderly in the total population has been consistently rising, according to Henry H. Sheldon. His view is that this proportion will probably level off at ten percent of the total. In 1951 Warren S. Thompson hypothesized that in the year 2000, in a population of 200 million, we should have 12.5 to 13.0 percent of the old-age group in our midst. A review of the literature on the subject indicates that our foresight regarding future population trends is bounded by severe restrictions. In this reviewer's opinion, Sheldon's 10.0 percent conjecture, derived from U.S. Census reports, is also conditional and subject to change.

It is difficult to pinpoint the strengths and weaknesses of this book, but interest in the chapters on "American Indian" and "Spanish Speaking" will unquestionably be purely sectional. The chapter on "Negro" is directed to a minority group, the rural importance of which is rapidly diminishing. The chapter, "Programs for the Rural Elderly," is clearly designed for all Americans, irrespective of racial composition. Its strength lies in both the description of such important programs as Social Security, Medicare, Old Age Assistance that affect all of us in some measure, and in case-study reviews of specific programs.

Viewed in its entirety, the text leads from perspectives of the rural aged, through work and community roles, disengagement, population distribution, economic status, racial and other characteristics to programs for the rural elderly. It brings together and reports upon a wealth of material accumulated during many man-years of labor by trained scientists. It not only relates their findings to life as it is lived today, but also to the life of the foreseeable future.

In brief, for the years ahead, one is led to expect an increasing exo-
dus of the elderly from rural settings to towns and cities, better rural and urban medical care, increased social participation by the elderly, and changes in outlook and roles with advances in age that are both acceptable and rewarding. In summary, OLDER RURAL AMERICANS deserves unqualified recommendation as a benchmark for an understanding of the rural elderly, as source material, and for guidance in undertaking new lines of gerontological research or for the development of public programs related to the rural aged.

PLEASE NOTE

The COORDINATED & SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY will be published as a Supplement to issue Number Two & will be sent to subscribers, Compliments of the SOCIOLOGICAL SYMPOSIUM.
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