THE SUPERIOR OLD PERSON:
CASE STUDIES AND FURTHERING CONDITIONS

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JOHN PATRICK McNULTY, B.S., M.S.

The Ohio State University
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Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
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Only recently has attention centered on the aging portion of the population. The reasons for this attention, albeit delayed, are in part due to the tremendous increase of that population classified as aged. There are twice as many people in the United States today as in 1900, but nearly four times as many persons sixty-five years old and over. Thus in 1900 about three million persons were sixty-five and over, but in 1950 there were over twelve and a half million (38). Also, a great increase in those forty-five to sixty-four years old is shown in the last fifty years; in 1900, 13.7 percent were in the age range, in 1950 this had increased to 20.2 percent, or a net increase from ten and a half million to thirty and a half million. Concomitant with this increase in population has been an increase in the average life span. While in 1900 the expectancy was 48.23 years for males, this has increased to 65.49 in 1948 (32). For females the corresponding figures are from 51.08 years in 1900 to 71.04 in 1948.

The need for additional man power during World War II and the subsequent use of the older worker to partially fill this need, was a further reason for increased societal concern for the aged. During 1945 over 51 percent of the men over sixty-five were in the labor force, while only
10 percent of the older women were employed (38). However, with the war's end this labor source apparently became less needed for in 1952 only 42 percent of the older men and 8 percent of the women were labor force participants.

Other statistics on the older also generated concern. Malamud (89) reports that about one-third of the admittances to state hospitals in 1940 were over sixty. Also the resident population was aged, one-third over sixty years old. Malzberg found similar proportions in first admissions and residences in New York (90). The Veterans Administration is quite concerned with this rise in population of older mentally ill. Dunn (34) reports that in 1940, twenty years after World War I, there were approximately 16,000 veterans in the domiciliary homes of the Veterans Administration. The total number of veterans was approximately 4,000,000. There are now approximately 18,500,000 and he estimates that there will be about 75,000 in domiciliary homes by 1970. The average age of the veteran patient is fifty-five and this should rise.

Increase in longevity has been already achieved; we seem certain to have in our population increasingly large numbers of older people. The question then is as to the characteristics of older persons and their potentialities, and means by which these potentialities may be best realized. The literature on these topics is now extensive. Issues
most relevant to the writer's investigation may be briefly reviewed.*

**Abilities in the Older Years**

Any consideration of abilities in the older years naturally begins with a review of findings with tests of general ability. There seems little doubt that average scores on the usual "intelligence" tests decrease with age. Lorge (87) reviewed the literature until 1947 and came to this conclusion. Conrad and Jones in 1933 (22), Miles and Miles in 1932 (101) and Wechsler in 1941 (152) found the decline to begin in the late teens or early twenties, and to be slow at first but more rapid in the sixties and after. This decline was, however, differential for various areas. Least decrement in performance was on subtests such as information, vocabulary, and similarity test items, and greatest on numerical computations, series completion, digit symbols and analogies. There seems less decline in those areas which make use of the subjects' experiential history, and most on tasks which call for breaking away from old, well established habits, according to Ruch (126, 127), Thorndike (143), Foulds and Raven, (40). Miles and Miles (105) and Lorge (84,86) demonstrated that timed tests which involve a

*For a more comprehensive review of the field of gerontology than will be attempted here, the reader is referred to volumes by Shock (132), Tibbits (145), Kaplan (64), Pressey, Janney and Kuhlen (122), Gilbert (47), Dennis (29), as well as the compendium of Cowdry (26). Thewlis (142) has dealt with problems of health in age.*
speed factor show substantial loss with age. An older person's performance may also suffer because of unfamiliarity of test procedures and materials, anxiety about test taking, low educational level and sensory dysfunctions.

The ability to define words, as measured by the typical vocabulary test, decreases but little with age. This fact has led to the procedure of equating groups on the basis of vocabulary level assuming this measures a "real" potential level of the older, and then noting loss on various other tasks, as evidence of "deterioration." However, Foulds and Raven (40) have shown a decrement in vocabulary ability beyond thirty years of age in the lower 25 percent of a large population, while in the upper 75 percent of the same group there was a slight increment up to the fifty-fifth year. Christian and Patterson (18) found increase with age in vocabulary level of educationally superior persons up to the seventies. Sorenson (138) and Vernon (148) also reported slight increases in vocabulary with age. Fox and Birren (41) have demonstrated the importance of education on vocabulary in later maturity; their institutionalized population showed no correlation between vocabulary size and length of time in institution, or age, but significantly positive correlation of .38 between vocabulary and education.

Sward (141) matched two groups of university professors as to general field, one group aged sixty to eighty and the other twenty-five to thirty-five, and tested them with a high
level and diversified mental test battery. Individual differences were great and more impressive than differences due to age. While the older performed less well on many test sections, other areas held up. Sward felt that the losses demonstrated were due to disuse and were a test artifact, and rate more than quality of performance decreased in later years.

The history of standardized tests of general ability, and the procedures used in their development, should lead to doubt as to their applicability to older people. They have been developed primarily to test children or young people, mostly in school. They contain material natural for such people to consider; thus tests for ten year olds contain material familiar to ten year olds. They call for rapid reading. They are clerical tests. They usually have time limits - call for quickness of response. But older adults are for the most part not so rapid in reaction, and less accustomed to the discipline and quickness of a class test. Most adults are not clerical workers. The contents of most tests seem to them trivial and academic. It seems clear that tests for adults should be made for them; they should be in content and nature indigenous to adult life. There is at present almost no such material available. But several people are working in this direction (efforts in this direction are being made here). Dennis (29) vigorously presented this point of view.
Casual observation of older groups suggests memory loss with age, and formal tests seem to confirm this conclusion; when adults are asked to repeat digits forward or backwards, or give back to the examiner long letter combinations, they do less well than younger people (152). On the other hand, others like Welford (151) indicate that there is continued selectivity in what the older wishes to remember, but little depreciation in meaningful material that is considered worthy of remembering.

Buswell (12) found that junior high and elementary school children progress more slowly in reading than do adult pupils. Thorndike (143) comparing language learning ability of children aged nine to eighteen, to adults (thirty-five or over) found that with less than half as much formal instruction, the latter group gained twice as much as the first. Other studies utilizing much the same methods found quite similar results, as in the study of French (17) and Spanish (19, 20). The greater success of the older was considered probably due to greater power of concentration and sense of responsibility, rather than any greater language-learning ability per se. Lorge (88) reports on experiments carried out in the 1930's where he supervised experiments in learning Russian. He found that in two months, the 300 adults learned as much Russian as Teacher's College gives in a year, with no differences in the amount learned between the young and old of his group. He also
used the same group in a follow-up study, teaching them Pit-
man shorthand. Again the same results were apparent;
increased learning compared with a school population, with
no age group differences.

Sorenson (138) concluded from his studies of adult
learning, that socio-economic differences were less clear-
cut than in the elementary and high school students. He
assessed the learning ability of the adults as about equal
to College of Education juniors and seniors. Also, adult
education was a selective phenomenon, with the better
students wishing to continue with advanced work, and the
general level of ability holding up with age.

**Age and Employment**

Income needs, a desire to continue active, and feeling
that job continuance is important for emotional well being,
all lead many older people to desire to continue work past
usual retirement years. The question then is as to the
satisfactoriness of older workers.

A general finding is that absenteeism tends to decrease
with age but length of absence increases (10, 24, 45, 66,
150). Thus Brundage (10), in a very early study, found that
illness absence in a large company dropped from about 8 per-
cent in the twenty year old group, to 6 percent in the
sixties. However, duration of illness increased from about
5 days per illness at twenty, to 33 days at sixty. Gafafer
(45) also found, in a group of 3,000 employees, fewer
illness absences as age increased, but increased length of absence. Kossoris (70) reported in 1948 the composite findings of absences in four large industrial plants. For all causes, absences decrease with age, regardless of sex, with only a slight rise in absence severity. Stanton (139) study of department store workers included essentially similar findings - fewer absences, but slight increases in severity rate for the older groups.

Related to the absence rates are the findings on industrial accidents as related to age. The older worker has less accidents but those that occur are more serious. The work of Brundage, and Kossoris, cited above included accident data. Hewes (56) in 1921 reported a study of about 3,000 textile mill employees, showing decided drop in accident frequency with increasing age. Newbold (111) found a low negative correlation between age and accidents in factory departments. Kossoris (70) found the largest number of disabling accidents to occur to workers under twenty; in the forty to fifty-four year old group the accident rate was about two-thirds that of the young. However, Vernon and Bedford (147) found in coal mines that those over fifty became more liable to accidents. Here conditions of high temperatures, and damp working conditions, apparently affected the older more adversely.

Production rate for a unit of time is another criteria of effectiveness in industry. However, as piece rate work
involves so much a "gentleman's output per day" as well as being subject to various other unaccountable conditions, it is seldom used as a criteria. As long as each worker produces a certain minimum this is usually enough for job continuance. It is possible, however, to obtain samples of this production, or else ratings which supposedly reflect this production. In this area studies are not as clearly demonstrable as those cited for illness and accident. An early Tiffin study (145), work reported at Ohio State University by Cover and Pressey (23), Stanton (139) Bowers (7), and Smith (136), and a recent New Jersey study by Gadel (44), provide evidence on age and production rating or output.

Various other methods of appraising older workers have been tried. Tiffin found that the age steel workers obtained most merit ratings was thirty-five. Cover and Pressey (23) found that the older sales route driver was more careful with company equipment, and showed more business judgment in dealing with customers but made less sales; physical fatigue in carrying goods, etc., was thought to be a major factor. Bowers (7) found the older workers in a large industry superior in "steadiness" and "conscientiousness," and equal to the younger in over-all ratings. Smith (136) found similarly favorable ratings for the older in both skilled and semi-skilled jobs. Gadel (44) reported that older women in clerical jobs performed as satisfactorily as
the younger, both in terms of supervisors' ratings and actual production.

**Age and Adjustment**

Almost all present instruments to measure personality (usually of the questionnaire or inventory type) have been developed for younger subjects with norms based on them, but have been used also with older populations. Using such instruments, Willoughby (155), and Gundlach (53), found no relationship between age and neurotic scores. Philips and Green (118) and Boynton (8) found that teachers ranging in age from sixteen to fifty showed no evidence of poorer adjustment with increasing age. C. C. Miles (100) reported little relationship between scores and age on the Bernreuter Inventory, Willoughby reported similar findings as regards relations of emotionality scores and age, and Relinger (121) found decrease of neurotic symptoms checked by successive age groups.

Lorge (83) found that scores of adults on Thurstone's Attitude Scale given at one period were more highly correlated with scores obtained on a retest two weeks later, than were younger persons' scores. Marple (91) attempted to alter opinions of different age groups, using majority and expert opinion as the "moving influence," and found greater shifts of opinion on retest among high school pupils than among college students or adults. Evidence of conservatism in attitudes and values was found by Fisher (39) and
Ruch (128). However, Gundlach (53) could demonstrate no relationship between age and opinion liberality. Market research on the acceptance or rejection of new commercial products, and innovations in packaging showed no age differences evidencing conservatism or rejection of the new (119).

A number of inquiries have asked as to the age when one felt most happy. Morgan (109), and Landis (74) concluded that older persons chose the period between twenty-five and forty-five, but Kuhlen's group (72) mentioned an earlier age - twenty to thirty. While happiness was seen as most high in the earlier ages, older persons do not typically judge themselves as now unhappy. Gardiner (46) found that only three percent of his aged people judged themselves as not happy. The primary sources of unhappiness were bereavement and poor health.

Keer, Newman, and Sadewic (65) report changes in worries and anxieties at various ages and in widely differing occupational groups, using mailed questionnaires, with the usual difficulties in evaluating possible differences between those returning the questionnaire versus those failing to return it. "Appearance, and sexual morality" were found of most concern in the twenties, "economic and financial worries" in the thirties, "giving up important hopes and ambitions," and "marital difficulties" in the forties. Cantril and Strunk (14) report a poll conducted
in Hungary in 1946 which included questions on the source of worries. Differences between one group under forty, and the other older, were slight. Older men worried more about nourishment, job relations, and health, older women more about nourishment and health. Making money, and fuel, were of greater concern to younger men. Clothes and shoes, making money, support of family and children were areas of most concern for younger women. Presumably much of these findings were products of the situation in that country.

Probably the most widely used device in evaluating adjustment in age was prepared by Burgess, Cavan, and Havighurst (11). In "Your Attitudes and Activities" 110 statements are to be checked "yes" or "no," or responded to on an intensity continuum of four to seven points. The areas assessed by the schedule include health, family, friends, leisure and recreation, clubs and organizations, employment history, financial security, early life and attitudes. Scores are assigned values on the basis of comparisons of responses of older individuals judged by interviewers to be well or poorly adjusted. Correlations from .53 to .78 between scores and judgment are reported. Cavan and others (16), in a study of 499 men and 759 women aged sixty to ninety-nine using this schedule, found increasing age associated with (1) a decrease in the number of close companions, (2) a decrease in social participation, (3) increased feeling of economic security in spite of
lowered amount of income, (4) increase in physical handicaps, illness, and nervousness, and a decrease in feelings of satisfaction with health, (5) increase in religious activities and dependence on religion, and (6) decrease in feelings of happiness, usefulness, zest and general interest in life. Women had a lower index, poorer adjustment, in area four particularly.

Shanas, et al (129) found members of the Fossils Club (a club for retired men made up mostly of former professional men, and socio-economically above average) better adjusted to old age than the general population. The authors concluded the important reasons for this were economic security, relatively late retirement, and congenial housing and living conditions of these Washington oldsters. Working with older resident groups in Florida, Granick (49) found little difference between two communities, differing in economic status, in psychological problems of aging. While these two communities were at least of middle economic status, differences do appear when quite widely contrasting groups are considered. Shanas (130) found poorer adjustment scores among recipients of old age assistance than among other older population groups such as retired Y.M.C.A. workers or schoolteachers.

Granick (49), Havighurst (54), Shanas (130), and writers of popular articles, find about seven factors important in achieving happiness in old age. These include good health,
financial security, hobbies and interests, friends and acquaintances, living with spouse, age, and sex. Dell (28) using data collected previously by Granick compared two groups who differed in their reported general feelings of happiness when past sixty. She found both groups visited physicians about equal number of times, and also were confined equally long for periods of illness. She concluded that health per se was not a significant factor, although "feelings" about health were. Also, the number of hobbies did not contribute to happiness in old age. More women were significantly less happy than men, and in general the unhappy group was older. For the happy group, financial security was especially important, as were many close friends and visitors. The happier also tended more often to live with spouse, friends, or relatives than did the unhappy, and were usually married rather than widowed.

A few studies have attempted description of cases clearly successful or outstanding in old age: Klopfer (69) and Roe (125) with projective techniques, Gumpert (53), Pressey and Simcoe (123) with case study procedures. Klopfer's interpretation of the oldster's protocols stress constriction, loss of affect, and rigidity. The older had difficulty in forming social relationships. Padros and Fried (113) found on the Rorschach a progressive impoverishment of creativeness with increasing age. Also those between fifty and seventy suffered anxiety with their awareness
of intellectual loss, while those over seventy tended to be resigned to their inadequacy. Roe (125) found similar results in her group of scientific people given the Rorschach.

Pressey and Simcoe (123) compared "successful" as contrasted with "problem" old people, on the basis of case histories prepared by students, in courses considering case study methods. The "successful" older differed from the "problem" group in that they were continuing useful, had many social relationships, maintained various abilities, and had lively and varied interests.

Martin Gumpert (52) recounts his interview findings with a considerable number of Europe's vigorous outstanding people, all over seventy years old. He found some of these outstanding philosophers, statesmen, etc., to have never been seriously ill, and others who had been sick throughout their lives. Some were abstinent, non-smokers, vegetarians; some were hearty eaters, smokers, and regular consumers of wine. Some were underweight, others overweight. However, all seemed to enjoy life, and none showed features of despair or retardation. All were kind and thoughtful and emotionally sensitive. Gumpert also found that these people had used their intelligence unceasingly, and had not narrowed their interests nor willingness to learn.
Counseling

A University of Wisconsin study (5) indicated that the student personnel services available to adult students were primarily extensions of the work carried on with day students. Using the Mooney Checklist, they found that evening students circled problem areas somewhat less than day students. Maturity seemed to bring somewhat different problems; economic security and job potential were the primary areas of difficulty. The authors concluded that the same counseling techniques are applicable to evening and day students. The writer feels that the counselors went beyond their data, and employed instruments not wholly suited to reveal the particular problems of the aged.

An interesting feature in counseling with the aged is the growth of programs involving combinations of counseling and classes on aging. In 1949 the Mariana Adult School and a network of similar adult centers sponsored a course on group guidance for adults. Individual counseling, classes on personal evaluation, information about adjustment, as well as information on vocational and educational opportunities were offered. A follow-up study of the plan reported in 1952 (82) found that 41 percent of those unsatisfactorily employed at the time of taking the course had changed positions, and all expressed satisfaction with the change, and had similar feelings regarding the benefits derived from the experience. The authors felt that "a large
portion of clients appear to have been spurred toward vocational adjustment, or toward new educational or avocational pursuits tending to enlarge horizons and increase life satisfactions."

Courses on "adjustment to aging" have been developed at the University of Michigan by Dr. Wilma Donahue and her associates. These are primarily small group projects classes. The projects are often in the area of adjustment in the older years, and in socialization at maturity (30).

Probably the first psychologist to specialize in counseling of the older person was Lillien Martin. Treatment, according to her, consisted in assessing the reactional history of the client and short-time testing of mental and physical capacities, but a great portion of the therapeutic situation was an endeavor to treat comparatively recent traumatic conditions arising from retirement, loss of friends, etc. She reports outstanding results in returning the older person to a productive role in life (93, 94).

Laverty (76) and Wilson (156) report the effectiveness of counseling in returning many older clients to productive roles in society. Odell (122) noted the effectiveness of vocational counseling in placement of older workers in industry. Phillips (117) has reported that older hospitalized veterans have been vocationally readjusted, and returned to industry.
An interesting finding at a child guidance center using non-directive techniques in counseling is that apparently this method is not as effective with the parents as with the problem children. Maustakas, et al (96) found parents counseled non-directively seemed frustrated and became aggressive toward the counselors. A more directive, information-giving type of approach was more acceptable and effective.

Old age counseling is slowly increasing, but social workers and personnel people seem more interested than psychologists. A recent symposium placed the therapeutic casework with the older client with the social worker (77). Indicative of the psychological unconcern with counseling is Shock's report (132) that of 81 Fellows and 51 Associates of the Division of Maturity on Old Age of the A.P.A. in 1949, 20 reported 40 projects in process, but none of these concerned counseling with the aged.

In the industrial area, two large oil companies have programs to help employees obtain satisfaction in retirement (158), including services such as finding appropriate post-retirement careers, or providing information on clubs or recreation. Courses in aging have been made available to General Motors employees in the United States and Canada; a summary of these services is well presented by Robson (124).
Homes and Clubs for the Older

The majority of oldsters in the United States live in their own homes or in homes of relatives, with only about six percent in institutions. However, in the United States, homes for the aged accommodate approximately 325,000 aged people, and approximately 375,000 oldsters are living in rooming houses or other institutions, according to the 1950 Fact Book. There has been increasing concern as to the crowding, fire hazards, and so on in these homes, which has resulted in legislation aimed at specifying conditions for home licenses. But conditions affecting "mental health" have received comparatively little attention. A few institutions like Moosehaven and Montefiore have research programs (68, 106).

Laverty (75), at the Peabody home in New York, compared two groups applying for residency; one group was admitted and the other given "non-resident" care in their own residences. The latter group had the facilities of the home's medical and nursing staff available. Laverty found that non-residents maintained better health than the control group in the Peabody home. The non-residents were happier and externalization of interests, rather than the excessive self-preoccupation of the residents was noted. The non-residents by far made better personal and social adjustments. An important outcome of this study was a savings in cost. The average cost to the home for each non-resident was about
$16.56 per month, while the per capita cost of each home resident was $125.00 per month.

Pon (115) studied the effects of institutionalization on the old person. He found that in nine areas the institutionalized old were less well adjusted than a comparison group of non-institutionalized, investigated previously by Cavan (16). Donahue (31) demonstrated that a planned activity program could offset some of the debilitating circumstances of institutionalization, and increase the socialization of the members. Introduction of crafts, programs to elicit participation in community affairs, money earning opportunities, as well as other activities designed to make the group feel useful and enhance feelings of independence increased socialization and brought greater integration into group structure of residents. Sociometric analysis, observational studies, and case histories provided evidence of the increased socialization of the experimental group.

Census figures for 1950 reveal that one-fourth of the "households" whose head was sixty-five or over, were composed of single individuals (38). The fact that so many live alone points to the need for companionship and recreation in these later years, and has stimulated the establishment of clubs and day centers for the aged. Most publications describe the establishment of such organizations but few attempt systematically to appraise benefits. Anecdotal observations of club participation or the philosophy
of recreational groupings seems to be the primary concern of writers such as Moore (107) and Griffin (51). Two recent texts by Woods (157) and Kubie and Landau (71) demonstrate insight into the problems of clubs for older people, and make suggestions for others from the authors' close association with such groups.

Relation of the Present Problem to Previous Work

Previous investigations have thus dealt with various somewhat special problems related to age, as changes in abilities, employment adjustment, and certain ways of aiding those needing some help, as through counselling, social recreation, or institutional care. Somewhat a contrast, the present study attempts consideration of old people as total personalities, of superior old people rather than those needing help, and of groups as related to old people considered in these last ways. The next chapter deals with these issues.
CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

It is evident from the historical review already presented that there has in recent years been a great increase in research on age. The present investigation, however, has had certain rather distinctive and special features. They are as follows.

Study of the Superior Rather Than of the Inadequate

In the first place, because of their need, study of older people has centered upon the more inadequate of them. Perhaps most evident and most necessary to deal with have been those physically ill, physically handicapped, or crippled. It is indeed true that physical enfeeblement comes with age; and physicians, welfare workers, relatives and neighbors find these needs sometimes insistent and almost always needing some consideration.

Other old people who must receive attention are the great numbers who are in such financial situation that some financial aid is necessary for them. That many of the older people should be incapable of employment, others lack work even if employable, and many of both these groups lack income to meet needs, is only to be expected. Again public agencies, and those concerned with each old person's welfare because of relationships of some kind, must give such cases consideration.
Another large group which indeed must have aid are those mentally in such state of enfeeblement or derangement that institutional care is called for. Recently there has been much agitation over the mounting proportion of the old in state hospitals for the mentally ill. These cases (and also borderline or incipient cases still remaining in home or community) must receive attention. And again the basis of that need is inadequacy associated with age.

Also operative to form concepts about the old, and often studied, are those old people in homes and institutions for the aged. As "captive" groups they, like school children, are especially likely to be investigated. And they are indeed likely to include many of the less capable aged.

Study of older people has thus tended to emphasize their handicaps and inadequacies, and personality types in age which may not be representative of age as such but rather of the inadequacies above mentioned. The patterning as a result of all of this may be pervasive, and systematized. It may establish stereotypes which not only affect common thinking but influence the old into a discouragement and acceptance of these notions which increases their tendency so to be.

There have been yet other factors tending to emphasize the inadequacies of the older persons. Thus tests devised for use with young people have been used with the old; that older people would average lower might only be expected.
More generally, concepts and standards as to abilities have been in terms of the younger rather than the older person.

In contrast, the present study attempts to break over to a point of view and to types of personalities, which should be in almost all respects opposite to the types of persons and the characteristics above mentioned. That is, the effort has been to seek out those old people who are still essentially not only adequate, but superior. They were to be those individuals who were shown by various evidence to be the most sturdy, capable, and self-sufficient old. Thus abilities might be expected to be good as regards adequacy for dealing with their world. They would certainly in personality be intact and highly integrated. It would be expected that most of them would be economically self-sufficient and well-to-do. Many of them would be physically decidedly above the average for old people. Most would be living in their own homes. Criteria and methods of selection will be discussed shortly. Here it is necessary only to emphasize that effort was to go to the other end of the distribution of traits from those usually dealt with, and find the finest old people in the community.

**Study of the Strengths and Potentialities Rather Than of the Weaknesses of Age**

That the older might be superior in important adjustment areas is likely, particularly where a situation involves bringing to bear past learnings on present problems and
making judgments based on broad experience. Industrial studies have demonstrated superiority of the old person in such traits as carefulness and persistence. Data on age of productivity have shown contributions to science and literature often continuing in old age, and leadership especially then appearing. Also, hazardous as life sometimes is for the older and usually difficult, yet most of them are still living reasonably well and without institutional care, and some emerge as admired fine old people. Such outcomes might be thought of as requiring keener planning and finer character than success in the prime. As the study of the disabled old has at least led to refined classification of them and more understanding of elements involved in deterioration, evidences about the superior might conceivably lead to more adequate differentiation of superior traits and to a more positive program of furthering mental health and procedures for good adjustment regardless of age. And especially this investigation has tried to study very superior older persons as total personalities - not the institutionalized, the indigent, or the passive old person, but the independent, self-sufficient and still active old; and see their traits as in the total gestalt of their matured individualities. It is hoped that from study of them perhaps somewhat new concepts as to abilities and personality patterns might be obtained.
Study of Social and Other Environmental Factors
Making for Success in Age

Any plan furthering adjustment in the old must be based not only upon an understanding of their ongoing personality characteristics, but must also consider those environmental factors which especially affect them. The older live in a society whose mores are largely determined by another group, i.e., the younger adult. Attitudes about aging are essentially negative, and these affect detrimentally those classified as old. Also movement from the approved role of "producer" to one of "consumer" as in retirement for example, affects the person involved and also others in his immediate surroundings. In spite of these many negative circumstances, the outstanding old person finds (or creates when necessary) supporting and furthering situations in the environment. He not only preserves past highly regarded roles, but often gains increased acceptance with age. Any environmental factors which foster and further such outcomes are very relevant in understanding his total continuing personality growth. This study has as a primary objective determining those environmental circumstances leading to success in age.

The circumstances in which a person lives inevitably affect his patterns of adjustment. Demonstrations of this fact are seen in studies of the detrimental effects of institutionalization of the child as well as the adult. The environments of those selected in this study varied in
many details as did the cases themselves, presenting opportunities to study a wide variety of situations, in relation to life as an old person. There should be particular combinations of circumstances which conceivably would be more conducive to continuing good adjustment than others. The emphasis here was upon finding those helpful circumstances which permitted continuing acceptance in the social situation, for example. Also the attempt was to discover any constructive manipulations of the environment by the case, to his own betterment.

For the bulk of the population who have worked, the effect of discontinued employment often leads to deterioration. The possibility was that the better adjusted old person would not so react, and therefore conditions which allowed this more fortunate occurrence would be of great importance. Furthermore, certain occupations might well prove to be especially congenial for the old, especially if they permitted some continuance of vocational usefulness into the older years.

In the personal area, the conditions of an individual's life which give freedom for individual initiative and self-expression in the later years, needs to be understood. If background limiting conditions are in fact conducive to neurotic behavior, then also there are likely to be sets of circumstances which act to bring about fine maturity in the adult and older years. While an individual may well have
certain personal characteristics that make for a good old age, supportive elements in the total society in which he lives in his older years may be of great importance. The often quoted "loneliness" and "time dragging" problems of the aged may be offset, for the well adjusted, by various group memberships or interests which necessarily involve others. More positive findings may well be encountered: certain circumstances or groups may in fact challenge an older individual to even better patterns of adjustment.

This last possibility seemed important enough to give special consideration to it. There is now much interest in Golden Age clubs and other organizations for older people. But the desirability of "social segregation" of them is also questioned. Many older people say that they prefer groups including people younger than they. Mixed groups as to age seem in many respects more natural, and having possible benefits for both older and younger. How successful are these groups?

There is also the question as to what an institution or "home" for the aged does to its "guests." And such institutions differ greatly: how do they differ in their effects on the aged personality? Do they (or do they not) attract superior old people? Does the widow in such congregate living seem more or less happy and alive in personality as compared with another who remains alone in her old residence, or a third who lives with a daughter? What hints may be got
as to ways by which institutions may be made better?

Older people are supposed especially to have religious interests. And there are many older people in the churches. How do the churches seem to be serving their older members? Might older people render more service to their church than is now usual? Do the churches (as would surely be hoped) especially attract and bring out the potentialities of fine old people?

Most fraternal orders make much of the help they give old members who are in need, and feature their institutions for their aged. They may have someone who visits the sick; and they may provide impressive funeral services. But to what extent do they serve their older people who are not in especial need, do not require institutional care, are not ill, not dead?

**Cooperative Nature of the Study**

An attempt at such sympathetic broad understanding of superior and sometimes locally prominent persons made imperative their cooperation and indeed desire to be of service in furthering the investigation. Instead of conventional structured interview procedures, methods were needed which placed primary emphasis on the ability of those studied to contribute almost as participating members of the research team. Such a point of view was expressed to each subject; he was to consider himself as the prime source of information, and in a position to evaluate distinctive characteristics and
important influences. He was asked to help in the selection of other outstanding persons, and was treated as a respected person to whom the interviewer could bring suggestions or hypotheses for evaluation. He likewise could give information about those he nominated, and they later about him.

As the interviewee's cooperation was of utmost importance, conditions were sought which would foster his being at ease, rather than apprehensive, and feeling free to express himself. Instead of interviews in a forbidding office with professional setting apparent, it was desired to see each old person in a more secure non-threatening situation as in his home, at his office, or at lunch. Conditions that would reveal his typical behavior in his own circumstances were deliberately planned, to allow a more adequate understanding of his sphere of activity and its importance to his behavior. But many of these conditions (as an invitation to the home) could hardly be had, without the subject's friendly cooperation.

The friends and family of an individual could obviously give valuable information about him. When rapport and trust had been established, they could not only provide evidence about his emotional assets and areas of difficulty; they might be seen interacting with the subject in a social situation. A dinner where not only the subject and the interviewer were present, but also invited friends, provided splendid opportunities for realistic observations. The
family's primary contacts with a case could be particularly enlightening, and their friendly cooperation was sought. In short, these able old people and their associates were not simply subjects of study; they were participants in the study. And part of the problem was to explore possibilities for psychological research which should be thus cooperative.

Work with groups also needed to be cooperative. Information about their usual operations was sought. Their help was needed in getting such information. For certain purposes, such as testing, time during their meetings was needed.

A Combination of Research and Service

Though the writer's major purpose was the gathering and interpretation of research data, some rendering of needed services was also planned, where possible. To fully exploit findings, interested community groups were involved when possible, and some return to them was attempted. This may be done in industry, for example, by using company records and then submitting an analysis in such terms that they may be transferred to company policy. So the writer tried to be of service to the groups and the individuals he studied. Some situations were arranged so that persons and organizations, both interesting in themselves, were mutually helped by bringing them together; this set up splendid opportunities for observation by the initiator. It was part of the total problem to see whether such inclusion of service with research might perhaps be very useful.
The "Field Study" Nature of Much of the Investigation

As may be inferred from the preceding pages, methods in most of this investigation have been highly informal. Cases have been chosen by means such that it could hardly be said they were either a sampling or were so systematically selected that their relation to any total population could be definite. Certain groups were studied because circumstances made it possible to do so. In short, the approach has been (with the exception of certain supplementary inquiries) largely of a type which has been known in biology and animal psychology as the "field study." The purposes of this informality should be made clear. The feeling was that, regarding the little-investigated superior old, the more subtle functionings of groups of old people, and in certain respects old people generally, so little was known that an inquiry ranging very widely, and without presuppositions and methodological limiting, was desirable. In such a wide open procedure, ideas might be got which were somewhat new. Such informality was more or less inevitable in view of certain of the considerations already mentioned. But the informality was definitely a part of the thinking. The major portion of the inquiry is to be understood as essentially a "field study" in its nature, in consideration of both individuals and groups. And part of the problem was to see whether such an approach was of value.
"Supplemental" Matter

Though most of the research has been highly informal, certain more systematic data were included. But this matter was in supplementation rather than central. In the course of the wide-ranging inquiries bearing on the above mentioned problems, a variety of appraisals being used by a large manufacturing company in selection of supervisory personnel were found available. Analyses of these appraisals in relation to age seemed certainly worthwhile for its own sake, and relevant to some of the issues mentioned in the preceding pages. Results were also found available with a temperament inventory from an older as compared to a younger group of teachers. Again, some analysis of these data seemed worthwhile in its own right, and of some relevance.

Plan of the Total Study

In total, the study has had three parts. The first (chapters four, five and six) deals with case studies of superior and poorly adjusted old people. The second (chapters seven and eight) is concerned with various institutions and organizations which serve older people, or might well do so. The third (chapter nine) has to do with the supplemental matter referred to in the previous paragraph. The final chapter attempts to bring these wide-ranging inquiries together in a very broad interpretation with reference especially to certain needs now believed relatively neglected.
CHAPTER III
METHODS AND MATERIALS

The purposes of the present investigation involved sundry problems of method and material.

Concepts regarding the aging process are inadequate and tentative. The recency of research in gerontology accounts, in part, for this situation. Few universities offer courses dealing with problems of aging, and fewer still have any integrated program for gerontological research. These conditions attract few students. This last fact means that there are few persons ready at hand who already have a background of training for study of older people. Cases willing to be studied are hard to find. The older person has not usually been subjected to psychological testing or other inquiry in the past, as his son or grandson likely has been. Psychology is still viewed by many adults as mystical and strange, and associated with study of "crazy people." Nor are any numbers of older persons in situations like a school class, where testing or similar methods of inquiry are rather easily introduced. A superior old person may have many demands on his time, and therefore be not likely to volunteer, even if he did accept psychological inquiry as legitimate. Further, tests, inquiry forms, or other materials satisfactory for use with older people are largely lacking. Of course, many tests and like instruments are now available. But most have such obvious poor face validity for the older
as to make their worth questionable. The lack of published norms for the older ages is another factor mitigating against use of almost all present tests and inventory forms. "Adult" norms may be given, but the norm group usually is mostly in the twenties and thirties. Also any test taking more than a short time is often a strain on the aged person, many of whom may have sensory handicaps or problems of motor control.

In view of the above difficulties, and the purposes as described in the previous chapter, workers were selected and trained, individuals and groups chosen for study, and methods developed, as follows.

The Investigators

The selection of investigators was regarded as of primary importance. There were in all eight workers plus the research director, four men and five women. The variety of their special qualifications was great. The writer had been specializing in gerontology for the previous two years. A woman investigator had also taken her doctorate in this field with emphasis on industrial aspects of aging; she was teaching at a nearby university, had made studies of old people in the small community where she lived, also was well acquainted with and accepted by the residents in a home for elderly women. Another was a graduate student who was also an ordained minister. His congregation included many older people. And his pastoral relations with them meant that he already knew them and they him, and that their relations
were of a fine sort. The research director had been long active in gerontology and, because he had been a member of the university faculty for over thirty years, could supply much information on the retired professors. Also he was a member of two clubs to which some of the cases also belonged; these connections sometimes facilitated getting certain information, also gave opportunity for observations of these people in such groups.

Four women were selected who were not graduate students but had sundry qualifications for this work. One was a former high school principal now retired, who was a long-time resident of her community and a member of several community and professional groups, and a trustee of a prominent home for aged women. Another interviewer, a grandmother and wife of a labor union officer, lived in a neighborhood populated largely by retired persons and their families, many of whom she had known for years. Her acceptance as wife of a union leader gave her an entree to the confidence of union pensioners and contacts with union officials. A third woman was a retired Y.W.C.A. director. Her knowledge of potential community resources as well as her skill in personal contacts with people from the very affluent to the destitute, made her particularly valuable. A fourth woman was colored, and had been trained in group and individual case methods and worked in this capacity in other countries. She could add to the variety of cases in that she could
acquaint herself readily with Negroes individually and in groups. The study aimed to include a wide variety of superior people, and a variety of groups, and these interviewers seemed sufficiently various in contacts to make this possible.

The research director and the writer held informal meetings with individual interviewers weekly during the first months of the project. While text references in interviewing were given, as well as published materials on aging, the primary concern was with learning and applying a largely non-directive informal case study approach, without seeming to pry or probe for information. Problems of recording, biased observations, halo effects, and other matters relevant to case studies, were discussed.

Weekly meetings of all staff members were held during the first months and continued intermittently throughout the research, at which case studies were presented and suggestions made. In the group meetings the opinions and attitudes of all were sought, in free discussions.

Present at many of the weekly meetings were other persons having interest in the general field of aging. One man, director of a government agency, gave the group first-hand knowledge of problems faced by his agency in dealing with the older person. Also, arrangements were made for members of the group to visit the agency. Another visitor, a woman who was the full-time secretary for work with the aged in a social agency, added greatly to the group's knowledge of
community resources for the older. She, in turn, discussed some of her problems with the staff. Some university faculty persons were also present at some meetings.

**Study of Individuals**

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the larger point of view in the major portion of this investigation was that of the "field study." In consequence, very informal methods of selection and case study were used.

**Selection of cases.** A final pool of cases who were seen as well adjusted by their peers, was the primary objective of the selective procedure used, and this pool to contain representatives from various socio-economic and occupational groups. The selection was therefore adventitious; cases were taken because they were accessible and nominated. The method was essentially that a first case was seen who was well known by at least one member of the research group, and considered clearly well-adjusted. In the course of an early interview with this person, he was asked to suggest other "good older personalities," and (if inquiry at this time indicated that they seemed indeed such) these were later seen. Each case studied thus became the origin of a spreading circle of inquiry. Throughout an interview series, mentions of ill-adjusted older persons also occurred, and these were noted to be seen also, as comparison cases for those better adjusted.
An initial precise definition of "well-adjusted" or "successful" was not attempted; rather, it was hoped that definitions would emerge from the consideration of the total group of outstanding people. The interviewers simply asked the older nominators to decide upon persons who seemed to them to be fine old people - old people who were generally liked, admired, or seemed notable in some respect. Such lack of set definition would, it was felt, bring out the attitudes of the elderly nominators as to good adjustment or success in age. To any question as to what he meant by "success" or "good adjustment," the interviewer might counter by asking the old person's ideas in the matter, or ask him to think of a fine older person and then to describe him. The peer consensus about adjustment was thus gotten, as well as persons representative of this judgment.

This method, while lacking in definition and method of sampling, yet did have the advantage of being empirically representative of a selected population group, namely those who are seen by their peers as adjusting well in old age (plus certain contrasting cases considered ill-adjusted). As of the beginning of this analysis in August, 1953, seven interviewers had, on the basis of these procedures, seen one hundred and nineteen cases, of whom 72 were men and 47 were women. Their ages varied from the fifties to one hundred and one; 39 were professional people, seven sales, eight clerical, 25 housewives, 10 proprietors, and 27 manual
workers. This group included 55 persons who were then married, 20 single, 39 widowed, and five divorced persons.

Obviously these cases are not a systematic sampling of the general population; thus there is a disproportionate number of professional people. But other occupational groups are included. The variety of "success stories" is considerable.

Case Study Procedures. When a case had been nominated as adjusting well in later life, arrangements were made to meet him for interviewing. The attempt was to have the meetings in places where the interviewee would feel at ease. The determination of time and place was left as much as possible with the case. Most often the suggestion was that the interviewer come to the home, but often the place of business was mentioned, or a luncheon date was arranged. Every case was seen in his home at least once. Whenever possible, a third person known to both parties initiated the contact, and was present at the first meeting when this seemed appropriate. Many cases were first seen as members of a group with which the interviewer was acquainted, and interviews would be arranged very informally, perhaps during a game of cards. And the contact in this group contributed to knowledge of the case. While the variety of meeting places was great, the attempt was always to establish a friendly, non-structured, easy interview situation. Most cases were seen many times, and in various situations.
Notes were not taken during the interview. In consequence, some details were forgotten, but it was felt that any loss was more than offset by greater freedom and informality. When others were present at a meeting, a pooling of information from all involved was sought.

Often the first contact included telling the case frankly that he had been suggested as an outstanding old person, and that his ideas were sought as to the problems and potentialities of age. A friendly conversation might thus be started, and the case would bring up various topics of personal concern and interest. Occasionally the interviewer would introduce other topics as leads, or summarize at a topic's closure and then ask verification of his statements. But most of the time the interviewer was a "good listener," and the interview was unstructured, permissive, and largely non-directive. The length of an interview was dependent upon the wishes of the case, or at the discretion of the interviewer. The range of interview time was great; sometimes a person would be seen for half an hour, while other interviews lasted three hours.

For first record, an informal running account, jotted down as soon after the interview as possible, was found most useful. And the general significance of what had been learned in the interview was pondered. Also from time to time a case study outline (included in the appendix) was gone over, as a check-list of topics, to see whether an important ones
still needed to be covered. The case outline was not a required scheme for case study, but rather intended as an exhibit of information which might well be sought if feasible, and a possible help in organizing thinking. The interviewer was instructed not to feel bound to the outline, or feel that all topics there mentioned had to be inquired about, regarding every case.

Information was got in many other ways besides through interviews with the case. Almost always there were contacts with relatives and friends. Observation of home or office might be significant. Newspaper stories about a case, hobby materials, handwriting samples, test results - all such matter was sought, where of possible significance. In keeping with the desired goals of intimacy and friendliness, no attempt was made to have all cases take tests; but if rapport was well established and tests seemed feasible and non-threatening, they were tried. If there were then negative reactions from the subject, no attempt was made to push testing; rather, such materials were mentioned as incidental. Often information obtained by one interviewer could be verified by another who also knew the case, or was found in agreement with what another case had said. There was a good deal of interrelation of cases, common membership in groups, and other ready means of verifying and enriching each case study. And information of such types often drew from acquaintanceships going back many years.
On the basis of all such information, a case report was then prepared, which attempted a systematic description and appraisal of the individual. To date, none of these reports have been thought of as final, however; all remain open, since the total project is continuing and further information is coming in.

**Study of Groups**

The previous section has described the methods used in selection and study of superior older persons. Groups involving older people were selected for study according as contacts with them could be made and other circumstances were favorable. Twenty-four groups were visited and information about them obtained. Most seemed multi-purpose; a variety of interests and activities was evident. Some were primarily educational in nature, some primarily professional, others hobby groups, some fraternal, others religious or at least having their locus in a particular church. A few, as the Golden Age and Grandmothers clubs, were for older persons only.

As in the case interviews, the observations of the groups were as informal as possible. The observers went to the group meetings as interested persons desiring to observe and even participate in typical programs. In a number of instances the observers were also active members of the groups observed, so that information was already available, contacts already made, and there was no problem of rapport. Where the
investigator was initially a stranger to the group, acceptance was sought in every way possible. A friendly demeanor and genuine interest in those in attendance naturally helped greatly; also continued appearance at meetings over a period of many months was possible in some groups, in which the observer often came to be regarded as just another group member. In a recreation group, for example, the writer attended the meetings for two hours every two weeks for about six months. Also, the writer similarly became so accepted in a Grandmothers Club as to be declared an "honorary member." During these visits he would play cards with various members, or chinese checkers, and was present at their luncheons. Again certain groups were known and reported on by more than one research member. The groups were seen in as many different activities as possible.

Some groups, of course, were less often seen, depending upon circumstances of time and content of the meetings. Again it should be mentioned that observers were regular members of certain groups, and so went to meetings, not as investigators from outside the group, but as old friends. A schema for group study was used and is shown in the appendix. Informal notes were made after the visit, and reports submitted by the observer.

Comparisons between groups were also furthered by getting opinions from those who held membership in several groups. It also happened, particularly in some recreational
groups, that an observer was in touch with several of these, and was thus able to appraise each in relation to others.

Not only was much information gathered on the functioning of these groups; service possibilities arose, as where an observer's knowledge was helpful to community agencies. Three members of the research group were also members of committees of a city welfare organization interested in problems of aging, and could offer suggestions as to methods of procedure in initiating new groups, or aid in other planning. One observer (the writer) arranged for a display of library facilities at a hobby show for older people. And all these contacts in turn were of value for the purpose of this study.

Another desired outcome emerged from these informal friendly procedures. Two groups observed for some time became so cooperative that they volunteered for group testing. And one took up a good part of their meeting times for two months to render this service. They also demonstrated interest in continuing as "guinea pigs" for an extended period of time, so that yearly measures might be feasible. Such cooperation seems good evidence that the friendly visiting was effective in building rapport.

Institutions for the Aged

Circumstances in old age may make necessary residence in a place where needs can be met by others. Such institutions as homes for the aged seem to the writer to be
increasingly accepted as possible places for spending a very old age, free of some worries associated with private residence.

Six homes were seen in the course of this study, and all but one by more than one investigator. Three institutions accommodated both sexes, couples and individuals; three were for women. Two were administered by church and the others by lay groups. The attempt was made to appraise these institutions as to their fulfillment of the psychological and social needs of their inmates, as well as to observe the problems of congregate living in relation to personality in the old. In visits to the homes, the matrons or supervisors were first seen and information gotten about the number of inmates, visiting rules, and other such topics, and the purposes of the study were explained. Inmates suggested by the supervisors as being very fine old people and willing to talk to the interviewer were then seen, and from then additional information was gotten. Also, as several visits were made to these homes, the daily activities could be observed, with the schedules of various people recorded as representative. As the interviewer became better known there, more and more information could be got as to various social activities, gatherings in the parlor for television, and so on; and in these groups, further contacts could be made.
Supplementary Studies

While the cases and groups described above were studied informally, more systematic data from an industry and from a teacher-appraisal program were also obtained. These data were not of central concern but rather supplementary, though also dealing with age, and of distinct interest in themselves.

The industry was very large and employed a substantial number of people over forty years of age, an industrially "old". As this defense industry was in a period of expansion, the analysis of potential supervisory personnel in terms of company criteria of effectiveness and in relation to age was of some service to the company, also contributed to the knowledge of the older worker and more generally of older people.

Also in appraisals of teacher characteristics, age would appear to be an important variable, since many teachers are older people. Yet investigations of teachers and teaching often give little or no consideration to the age variable. Test data gathered in a study of teachers were made available in connection with the writer's investigation (due to the kindness of Dr. David Ryans). An analysis of these materials as related to age was therefore carried through, as will be indicated in a later chapter.
CHAPTER IV
SOME REPRESENTATIVE CASES OF SUPERIOR ADJUSTMENT

This chapter and the succeeding one present, in abbreviated form, sample case reports to illustrate different types and varieties of personalities studied in this research, as well as the diversified materials contributing to a case history. The present chapter will consider certain outstanding well-adjusted persons. The variety includes cases of both sexes, a range of ages, and differing educational and vocational backgrounds. The cases presented are not necessarily the best adjusted in the total group, but were chosen by the writer because they were representative of a particular group of similar cases, or they contributed by demonstrating the variety of personalities making good adjustment in age. In these summarized reports, names are not given and some unimportant details have been changed to prevent too obvious identification - though they all were such fine people that their identity could hardly be embarrassing in any way. The following five cases were all continuing long-established lives in their communities; none were in institutions.

**Centenarian Housewife**

An example of outstanding merit in an extremely old woman, Mrs. C., demonstrates retention of personality and abilities into extreme old age - past the century mark.
Far from being withdrawn, cantankerous or difficult, it is apparent that she remains a pleasant, socially sensitive person. While physical infirmities of age curtail her activities, they do not result in morbidity of personality.

Mrs. C. Age: 101 October, 1953

Mrs. C. was met through Dr. B. who is now in his sixties and has known her all his life; also his mother had been a close friend. Contact was thus at once easy and on the basis of mutual friendly relationships. The interview was arranged in the evening, because visitors were more likely in the day time, and therefore perhaps interrupting, and was in Mrs. C.'s living room. Conversation was primarily with the writer of this report but also with Mrs. Pressey and Dr. B. (who is an old friend of the writer and also has often talked with him about problems of aging).

The visit took place about 7:30 and lasted something more than an hour. In spite of the length of the visit, Mrs. C. seemed as alert and ready-spoken at the end as at the beginning though there were perhaps longer occasional pauses toward the end, when she seemed to have a moment of uncertainty or difficulty in speech. The housekeeper stated that such visits do not seem to tire her, rather, she greatly enjoys them.

When asked about her memory of early events as the civil war time, she at once said that she remembered the civil war very well - its beginning, the assassination of Lincoln, and family involvements. Two uncles lost their lives in the South and their places of burial were never known. She also mentioned Morgan's Raid into Ohio, and jokingly said that she wrote him a letter.

Her recollections about events in her youth seemed extraordinarily full and exact. Thus she told anecdotes of first acquaintance with her future husband, quoting conversations. She told of episodes in her middle life in connection with Sunday school work. Check with Dr. B. indicated that throughout she was probably correct, though she remembered events that he had forgotten. Efforts to check on recent events indicated continuing interest as in politics, including a joking critical remark about Truman. Asked about very recent events, she was momentarily bitter: she explained how she could not read because almost blind and had difficulty listening to the radio because of deafness,
and she hesitated to ask people to read to her at length because her deafness meant that the reading must be so loud and slow as to be somewhat of a burden to the reader.

This distress regarding her physical handicap came out again when she was asked whether things seemed much different at 100 than say at 80. Again there was a hint of bitterness as she explained that her poor vision and hearing plus her difficulty in getting about, now greatly limited her existence. Aside from these two episodes (and another to be mentioned shortly) she was uniformly cheerful and vivacious. She joked readily with her old friend Dr. B., joshed him, laid her hand on his arm, and otherwise carried on the conversation in an animated way. Speech was very clearly enunciated, and though deliberate was not slow. Dr. B. stated that for many years she had done much public speaking and that so far as he could remember her rate of speech was not slowed; rather, her deliberate and careful enunciation was her usual speech, probably in part a result of habits in public speaking. However, there were occasional episodes when she paused and seemed to have a little difficulty in speech. Throughout, her train of thought was retained. Thus she told of her experiences in Sunday school work both locally and as a five-state leader with many diversions, but always came back to the main theme. Dr. B. stated that her memory for recent events and ability to converse with regard to them seemed unimpaired. Thus, she knew of his infant grandson and asked about the baby, and at an earlier visit, mentioned that it was the first of the school year and asked about Dr. B.'s work in that connection. In short, she was oriented in time and seemed to keep up with and have memory for recent events so far as they got to her.

She was very proud of her former activities especially in church and Sunday school work. (Dr. B. stated afterwards that she was indeed active and well known.) She was also proud of her family and her long continued residence in town, where she was born across the street from where she now lives: in this town she has lived all her life except for twenty years when her husband was Superintendent of Schools in a nearby small city.

She was socially sensitive, asking once whether certain reminiscence would interest us, and readily shifting topics when the conversation suggested that. Her general mood was animated and interested in all that was going on, with pride in her family status in the community and in her own work, especially in church affairs. She uses a cane and gets up from a chair only with some difficulty. There seemed to be no rheumatism, but she was stooped, and Dr. B. stated that this had been much more marked in recent years.
Facial expression was animated. It could easily be seen that (as Dr. B. stated) she had been known in her youth as very attractive, and that she was popular socially.

The only other time in the interview when she was distressed was when she asked the writer's work and, when told that he was a psychologist, stopped, and tried to make contact in her own background. Then she began to tell of a physician she had at the time of a number of deaths in her family (her daughter and several others). Apparently at this time she was greatly distressed and went to the physician, who sensed that her difficulties were probably psychosomatic, encouraged her, and suggested that her illness was chiefly "psychological". Though the time of these deaths was perhaps fifty years ago, the distress of them still remained such that her voice became rough with emotion and her face very sober. But she came out of this quickly.

When asked about factors which she thought might account for her longevity, she had no prescription but said that her family was long-lived and that her doctor had remarked that she took good care of herself. She also added that she had been active, and implied that she thought her church work and religious background had helped. Though she talked much about herself, that was only natural, since the visit was with reference to herself. And though she did continue on a theme for some time, this seemed more a product of her full memory plus the fact that she could neither see the expressions on other's faces nor readily hear them, and so could not easily take part in frequent give-and-take, than to any tendency to withdraw to her own thoughts. That is, one had the impression that if she could see and hear others as well as formerly, she would be much more responsive to those whom she was with. In short, the impression was of both a personality and a mind almost completely intact; though handicapped by sensory and motor difficulties of age, she still managed to carry on very well.

She was very proud of the fact that she could remember the span of events over her lifetime, and interested in the extraordinary changes that had occurred. She remarked that when she first knew a nearby city it was really only a little crossroads town. And she remarked about buildings which had been erected and other changes. When asked further about changes in way of life she remarked that she thought young people in her day had better times than now. She went on to tell of all that went on in the home - roasting apples in the fireplace and a great variety of
other doings centered around the homestead and apparently especially the hearth.

Dr. B. was able to verify most portions of this report, others also added material. From a variety of sources the same impression of an outstanding personality was gotten. Thus the housekeeper was talked with, before and after the visit. Dr. B. also stated that Mrs. C.'s husband was a fine man and a leader in the community; he had taught school, had been a school superintendent, then a very successful business man. When built, their house was the finest in town.

The following newspaper article appeared in 1951 (two years before).

"Mapleton" is Best Place to Live, Says Mrs. C., 99

After 99 years of living, not only in the same community, but on the same street, Mrs. C., "Mapleton's" oldest resident, finds it is still the nicest community in which to live -- and who should know better?

Mrs. C., who celebrated her 99th birthday Friday at her home, was born September 28, 1852, in a log cabin just across the street from where she now lives.

Among the many, many callers, congratulating Mrs. C. were the members of the Amity Club of which she has been an active member for many years. The group called in the afternoon, bringing refreshments including a special birthday cake. They also presented her with a basket of flowers, to which her response was one of her many poems her friends always enjoy hearing her give when called upon at a group meeting.

In her soft spoken manner she can hold the attention of all around her when she proudly tells of the growth and progress of "Mapleton."

When she was not quite a year old her father, the late Thomas, moved the family from the log cabin to the present location now occupied by Mrs. C., and from here she said: "I have watched every building on State Street erected, I have seen all modes of transportation, the coach, the hack, railroad and automobile come into use. Why, when I was only three years old Saum Hall was built on the 'Laymert' campus."
She is very proud of the fact that she is the oldest living student having attended "Laymert" as well as the oldest member of the Methodist Church in town, having joined the church 83 years ago, and until the past year when her eyes began to fail, was very active in church work.

Mrs. C., the daughter of Thomas and Charlotte ____, was united in marriage to A. G. ____ in 1877 and bore him two daughters, both of whom are now dead.

Her only living relatives are five grandchildren, nine great-grandchildren, a son-in-law, Dr. F., and several nieces and nephews.

She still supervises the care of her large home, and each morning on arising makes her own bed, takes care of a huge potted palm she displays with pride, given her parents fifty years ago on their golden wedding anniversary, greets many callers during the day and in the evening enjoys listening to her friends play the piano and sometimes sing her favorite hymn, "My Faith Looks Up to Thee."

Each year when "Laymert" celebrates homecoming, many friends both old and young stop to chat with Mother C., and reminisce for hours at a time, as many of them have made their home with her while students in college. Her keen sense of humor and very alert mind have endeared her to hundreds.

In short, Mrs. C. appeared almost to "have everything" favorable to a successful old age: a good heredity; a small vigorous physique; economic comfort; an extraordinary wealth of acquaintance and superior status throughout, from the early prominence of her family to her present position as her town's best known and best loved old lady; a good education for her time, and continuing relations with the local college. From her happy early childhood to present relations with great grandchildren, family ties have been strong and affectionate. She has been active and outgoing,
has taken good care of herself, and has found assurance in her church and its beliefs.

Near-centenarian Faculty Member

The second case to be presented is an emeritus professor who, at ninety-seven, still carried on some research and recently published a history of his field. Material about him was obtained from many different sources, including his granddaughter, his secretary, and former associates who have known him for many years, including two other emeritus faculty members included in this study. The long statement about him in Who's Who gave summarizing data. His long list of publications was reviewed and his last book purchased and looked over. The writer visited him three times in his office and once in his son's home over a range of about two years. After an initial contact through a mutual acquaintance, a half-hour interview in his office was summarized as follows:

Dr. A. Age: About 96 July, 1952

This gentleman is cheerful, pleasant looking, and talked easily to the interviewer. He hears poorly in one ear due to a childhood illness. He wears glasses and reads easily with these. His posture is rather stooped, hair a bit unkempt, and clothes somewhat wrinkled. He talked easily and clearly albeit with a rather low voice. His gait is steady although in descending stairs he needs the support of a bannister.

He corresponds with many of his former graduate students. These persons and other friends are a source of comfort and enjoyment to A., particularly since retirement when contemporary contacts dwindle. He now lives at a friend's house where he has companionship, and adequate writing facilities in his room.
Throughout his life he has had 548 articles published, his first in 1879, and four texts. His latest work is a historical treatment of his field which was published this year. Dr. A. discussed at length the problems encountered in writing and publishing this book. He does his own reference research on these undertakings.

He taught classes at the university until the age of seventy-seven; since then he has held a position as research professor. An office has been made available to him at the university and some secretarial service is also supplied.

Dr. A. felt that heredity had played an important role in his longevity, and his activity throughout life. His aunt died at 106, his mother in the 80's, and his father in his late 70's as a result of over-exposure to inclement weather.

He is not very voluble, being rather reticent throughout the interviews. He would speak on any subject broached but did not spontaneously introduce subjects except when referring to his publications. He did not elaborate on retirement as such — he feels he has just slowed down and has not retired. He enjoys writing, and reading in his field. He feels that such a place as Winter Haven, Florida, could be expanded to include groups of older people of similar interests who would have much in common. This he feels would be ideal; older people could have groups of friends of common intellectual or recreational interests and enjoy them in Florida's mild climate.

His habits for the last many years have changed little. He eats less than formerly, and for the past three years has taken naps of two or three hours after lunch. This is in line with his habits of moderation in all things, and has helped him throughout life. He was interested and informed on national politics and current international affairs.

The next report is a summary of a meeting held with A.'s secretary in his office. She has been his secretary for more than fifteen years, as well as proof-reader for many of his manuscripts. While greatly admiring the old gentleman, she was a keen observer and could describe changes that have occurred through the time of her employment.
The following information was gotten from A.'s secretary.

A. is hard of hearing - wears a hearing aid occasionally. Lately his attention has begun to wander; while he is attentive to a conversation he will answer clearly, but often he will not respond even when spoken to directly.

During the past few months he has been confined to a hospital much of the time. His daughter-in-law wrote his secretary that she often felt his life would surely end, but apparently he becomes re-invigorated and appears again active. A cyclic phase of good activity and then regression seems to have occurred throughout the summer. His secretary remarked that on some days he would come in and dictate as easily as a young man, his sentence structure and grammar above criticism, but at other times he would be rather rambling.

He is at present living with his son, also an emeritus professor! This arrangement began after the recent death of the son's mother-in-law, who had stayed with him. He comes to the office, driven by his son, usually once a week to work for a few hours in the morning. A humorous incident occurred on his first visit to the office this spring. His secretary had arranged for friends and associates to drop in while he was there; although he was polite to these visitors, it was apparent that he had come to do some necessary work on a research study, and work he would. He does like company, however, and felt considerably miffed when no one visited him at his next visit to the university. He has not continued further on his autobiography which he had in first draft form some time ago. He feels he will get around to completing it soon.

His secretary stressed his need for independence which has been exhibited often throughout the fifteen years she has worked for him. For example, after his wife's death he sold his home and for years lived at a downtown hotel, not wishing to be an added problem for his sons or daughters. At his hotel he had to cross a major street to get the bus to the university and as this became increasingly hazardous, he moved to an apartment nearer the university. For many years he took his vacation during the winter in Florida, often staying at a friend's home in Washington for a few days during the trip. On one trip the friend, seeing the distance from the station entrance to the train, insisted that A. ride in a wheelchair. This was the last time A. went to Florida; his secretary says he often brings this point up with bitterness, saying that any time he is that dependent he will not
undertake such a journey.

Throughout past years he had spent summers living with a friend near the university. His granddaughter, who lived nearby, would drive him to the campus. The winter months have been spent with his daughter and son-in-law in another Ohio city. His activity there is much more limited since her home is neither close to the center of the city or a library, or near any facility for research, which conditions are at hand during his summer residence.

The final report describes a visit with A. at his son's home in the suburb. He was alone, reading a popular magazine, when the interviewer called.

Dr. A. October 1953

A. was seen at home where he is living with his retired son and daughter-in-law. The meeting lasted from 4:00 to 5:30, and began after he had taken his afternoon nap.

He seems to be less alert and more feeble than a year ago; he has been ill for extended periods of time throughout the past year. Because of his auditory defect, continuing conversation was difficult. He still reads scientific journals as well as the latest popular magazines, although his reading span now is less. He naps in the morning and afternoon, and retires early.

He is still very interested in continuing financial returns from his books, and during the conversation mentioned the increasing costs of publication, which lessen his writing profits. Students still visit him occasionally and he corresponds with many of them. The preceding afternoon a group from the Ohio Retired Teachers Association visited with him.

He has learned to typewrite within the last few years and now almost exclusively types his correspondence, as he felt his handwriting was becoming poor. His memory for past events and persons seems accurate and quick. Thus the conversation got around to a former student he directed in research, who graduated in June of this year. A. knew exactly the number of species this student had covered in his dissertation and where most of the species were collected. He went into details on the man's work at the university as well as in his present position in Florida. He also discussed the man's background, his father's position, location
of his home, and other sundry materials. As the interviewer knew the student as a neighbor, the information thus given by A. could be verified. It proved true in all remembered details.

The overall impression one gets of A. is an energetic albeit physically old person. He is interested in current affairs in general and his profession in particular. He has a keen intellect and even at his advanced age is not given to incoherence. He is friendly if not gregarious. There appears to be a concern with finances - a problem not too uncommon at any age.

Dr. A. was an outstanding person, in both his profession and in his personal traits, according to faculty people who had known him for years. His married life had been happy, and his children had been successful in their chosen professions. His contacts with students and colleagues were amiable; and although somewhat reserved socially, he was highly regarded for his kindness and consideration of others. This continued lively interest in others, as well as his interest in keeping up-to-date professionally, demonstrate continued capacity and eagerness to remain integrated in his environment.

The following two cases represent the possibilities of continuing fine personalities of persons engaged in skilled work and in business. The first man continued into old age as a tailor, and at eighty-four was respected and admired by fellow craftsmen and customers. The pervasiveness of his ideals and moral standards was evidenced not only in his personal life but in that of others.
Tailor

Mr. P. Age: 84 December 1952 Born in Hungary

Mr. P., a widower, rents a room in an apartment building; he has one son living in New York.

A retired professor and a woman customer had both suggested Mr. P. as a fine example of an outstanding older person. Both spoke of his kindness to others, and the esteem in which he was held by fellow tailors as reasons for their selection. A younger tailor seen sometime after the interview also added that the older man's work was indeed expert, and that the suit mentioned in the interview was an award winner at a Philadelphia display. Although P. had done the suit design, the tailor who fashioned the garment got the award. His selflessness in helping others was further amplified by a story the young tailor told of P.'s work with a youthful delinquent who had been paroled in his care.

This interview with Mr. P. took place in his shop where he conducts his tailoring business. He was very willing to talk, and eagerly discussed a variety of topics with the interviewer. He elaborated on the conditions cited by Hungary as necessary for the release of American flyers recently forced down there, and felt that the United States should handle this and similar problems directly and with force, to demonstrate to other countries within the iron curtain, our ability to fight for our way of life. He went on to discuss current political and economic problems in the United States today, and showed a remarkable knowledge of current affairs.

He is a widower and lives alone. The death of his wife was a shock to him; however, he feels that he has as much to live for now as ever. He has more friends and more time to enjoy them. He mentioned people who stop at his shop every day to talk about various matters in business or concerned with the neighborhood. He also has many dinner engagements and friends of all ages with whom he visits frequently. He greatly enjoys good movies, talking with friends, and attending the best concerts in town. He has no other recreation except his work, which he firmly believes is recreation. He attends no sporting events nor does he actively engage in any.

Mr. P. thinks that his philosophy of looking for the better nature of others has been a reason he can enjoy late maturity; moreover, it is his and everyone's duty to be more concerned with the other fellow. It is necessary for others
to be interested in the less fortunate and give help where possible. Rehabilitation of social outcasts, convicts, drunks, etc., is everyone's personal duty.

He feels that his physical condition is as good as ever; he has no habits especially cultivated to preserve his fine condition. He does, however, carry out a definite plan as to proper carriage and posture. He feels that if one neglects these he begins to look old, is considered old by his neighbors, and is, therefore, old. He makes it a habit before he leaves his shop to pause for a moment by the door, put his heels together, his hands loosely by his side, head up straight, and chest out before he proceeds to the street. This has resulted in erect carriage noticed favorably by others. His only major complaint is an asthmatic condition he has had for many years; about five years ago he had an especially severe attack and had to be hospitalized.

Mr. P. admits loving his work, he loves good material and the people who are his customers. He must have a feel for the material on which he is to work or will not accept an assignment; and he must believe that the design wanted on the suit is correct for the customer. When he starts a project he is completely absorbed until finished, and feels that he is creating and contributing to the good of society. His criterion for success in his work is a "feeling in the heart" - this he consults both in accepting a piece of work and in appraising it after completion. His interest in his work is amazing and his feeling of responsibility is great. For example, while he was in the hospital one of his many visitors was a woman whom he had promised a fitting for a suit. She told him that she now had the material but would hold it until he was well enough to make the suit. The day after this, against the doctor's orders, he insisted that his son take him to his shop to work on the woman's garment. He apparently raised so much disturbance that his son did take him to the shop; the suit was completed and he felt splendid.

Retirement, according to P., is for the old (about 100). He sees no reason for not continuing his work and as it is an avocation as well as a vocation, he never feels overworked nor is the time spent unpleasurable. He feels that there are great individual differences as to the best years of production in a trade. He has many friends who are sixty and appear ninety while others are well up in the eighties and look sixty. Many of his friends who are now dead had retained all their skill and vigor until they died. In his trade he finds that the older person is the craftsman and has a skill not taught to apprentices today. The best
tailor of mens' clothes is a friend who is eighty-four. Mr. P. maintains that his hand is as steady today as ever (there is some tremor when at rest) and that his eyes, while not having as much visual acuity as before, are still competent. In his trade one sees with the eyes plus the brain, so that while particularly keen eyesight was once necessary, he is now so familiar with materials and technique that he uses his fine kinesthetic sense to determine the adequacy of his job. His pride in his work was demonstrated to the interviewer by the delight with which Mr. P. displayed examples of his recent products.

He has always felt an educational lack - his formal education was restricted to grade school - but he has read widely and selectively. He remembers being interested in pursuing knowledge even as a youngster, and remembers clearly his first original intellectual theorizing about internationalism, which has been an interest throughout life. At an early age, as now, he felt that peace as a philosophy could be established through an international religion and language. Believing this, he learned Esperanto some years ago, but has let in lapse recently. Religion to him is a way of life, not denominational but "in the heart where we do all our thinking; and intuitive striving should point the correct way for each of us if we will listen."

Mr. P. believes mental telepathy exists between persons. He has often been thinking of a particular person and has had him call or come into the shop. (This phenomenon occurred during the interview - while we were talking about a certain woman she did phone him.)

Mr. P. feels that many of his ideals and way of life might be due to a very stimulating early environment. He recalls that his father often spoke of matters much as P. does today and was always interested that his son become aware of new social concepts, providing the conditions for such learning when possible. Thus, home environment is a much more effective conditioner of behavior than is the school, work place, or a particular religious training. P. has always felt this way and tested it in various ways. For example, a woman came into his establishment and insisted in blaming the world situation on "the Jews" and went on to castigate them for unscrupulousness. This occurred twelve years ago; he has observed that her children grew up to hold these same convictions, in spite of school training and a few sessions with P.

P. believe that he has a bad habit stemming from his friendly approach to people. He feels that no matter if he knows that others are taking advantage of him, he cannot say "no" to a plea for help. He expressed this as a personality
pattern as detrimental to his own economic well being as the habits of the drunkard. In the past he has been disappointed in people. For example, a supposedly reformed convict that he was helping committed another theft and was returned to jail. In spite of this Mr. P. feels that good example plus confidence has the necessary therapeutic effect in almost all cases. His latest project is the building janitor, the neighborhood drunk, who would have lost his job except for Mr. P.'s intervention. P. now has a bet with the man as to how long he can remain sober.

He has always worked in his present occupation and has been self-employed. On his seventy-eighth birthday he felt that he should put his tailoring ability to the test of someone's judgment other than his own and determined to get a job in a tailoring shop for a large manufacturing concern. On applying he was asked to fill out an application which he did, supplying correct information except on age and education. For the latter he claimed Harvard graduation. The employment manager came out and asked about the two items in question. It was very apparent to Mr. P. that this man (by his manner of bearing and speaking) was indeed a Harvard graduate therefore slightly bigoted, and so P. did not get the job! He therefore continued working in his own shop.

Mr. P. took a ten year lease on his present location when he was 78, to the amusement of the landlords, but he firmly believes he will be there when the lease expires. He then might have some time to travel. He plans to return to Europe to visit the places he had worked in as a boy, and see again all the countries through which he traveled plying his trade. After a few years of this he would like to take some classical courses at a university.

He mentioned that last year he had gone to a designing school in New York; not only did he enjoy this experience but learned many modern practices of working that he has profitably employed. He designs many of his customer's suits using as examples designs illustrated in French, Italian, or Spanish journals. He does work that is exhibited in designing competition; he feels that a garment bearing his label might give him pride if it did win awards, but this is not important anymore. He recently designed a suit to be exhibited but allowed a friend to enter it under the friend's name - though this friend had done relatively little work on it.

For happiness, according to P., one must feel useful to society, be independent of any sort of governmental or family restrictions, also be able to support oneself without help from others so that emotional maturity is possible.
Mr. P. died suddenly a few months after the interview and did continue tailoring until his death. Notable was his enthusiastic continuing in his work, and the way in which this work and his general mode of living permitted him a continuing extensive though narrowing circle of friends. Presumably this development could not so readily have taken place if the man had not been self-employed and in a type of work which could be reduced in amount but still maintained, and put little physical burden upon him. Under these circumstances he continued well into the eighties to be not only self-supporting but a stimulating person to his friends and an intriguing and lively personality, as well as a competent worker for those so fortunate to have his services.

Businessman

Mr. R. enjoys fine supportive elements in his environment that lend not only to his personal sufficiency now, but appear likely to continue to prove helpful. His variety of contacts, with a multitude of friends at various ages, contribute to his feelings of continuing participation in society.

Mr. R. Age: 68 April 1953

R. is sixty-eight years old, married, and lives in a lower middle-class section in the suburb. He is in semi-retirement from his dry-goods store but has preferred to live in this section rather than move to a more exclusive area. The home, though old, is large for the area (about eight rooms) and is well painted and substantially furnished. Information for this summary report was secured from three interviews, from working with the subject on community committees, and from information supplied by members of his
Physical. R. is tall and trim, has good posture, greying brown hair, wears glasses, and shows no indication of tremor or aural deficiency. His movements are quick and sure. Stairs present no problem with him and he keeps associations with civic committees, his business and friends. During a conversation in his home he frequently left the room to bring in a magazine or book to illustrate what he was talking about. His speech is clear, his enunciation good. He talks rapidly and occasionally stammers but this does not seem to disturb him. He does not smoke. His habits of eating and sleeping are regular - hold-overs from athletic routines he adopted when young. There were no references to any past illness and no chronic disease. Recently he took out two insurance policies; both required physical examinations.

Intellectual. R. has wide interests but none of a scholarly nature. He belongs to book clubs and had magazines such as American Home and National Geographic in his home. He graduated from high school, completing the requirements at night school. His wife and daughters are college graduates.

He tends to think in rather strict categories. He is a convinced Republican and has little criticism to offer of the party. During a conversation during the national campaign he told of several friends who listened to his candidate once and were convinced he was the man. This sort of intuitive judgment he approved and could not understand those who took a different stand.

Vocational. He is regarded as a very competent businessman. He built his own business from quite small beginnings until now he owns the largest store in the west side of town. He still has a desk there, although the operation of the store has been turned over mainly to his son-in-law and a man who has worked in the store since he was eleven. He dabbles some in real estate and makes money from his trades. He is given responsible committee assignments in the civic groups where he is a member, and carries out his duties with efficiency.

Social. Conversation comes easily with R. When he is talking about his business or sports or any other field of interest he becomes quite talkative. He is cordial but not loud in a group, preferring to talk to one or two people rather than shake hands with everybody present. He has membership in many groups such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, Quarterback Club, Executive Club, Masons,
YMCA and the Methodist Church. These groups mean a great deal to him. He attends almost all their meetings. He has not missed a Rotary meeting in seven years.

His activity is not matched by his wife, but she too is involved in some downtown clubs, and has some leadership responsibilities in their church. They have two daughters, both married. R. is very proud of them and their families. He said they were both "A" students at Ohio Northern. He had in his wallet a card on which he had listed the scholastic and social honors his daughters won. The list was impressive for both. However, his daughters do not advertise their ability, he said. He added they would shoot him if they thought he had their college records in his wallet.

Emotional. R. is emotionally stable and secure. There is apparently nothing threatening on his horizon. He does not face the prospect of having to retire since he is able to keep his hand on the business. In addition, he has enough contacts and prestige so that he will always have worth-while work to do. His financial security is of such a nature that it cannot easily be threatened.

On first acquaintance his manner is a little rotarian but after the first amenities he becomes quite open and unselfconscious in his conversation. He enjoys being with people, as he puts it. He spends some time each week talking to customers as they come into his store; he has several friends on whom he calls for friendly chats, and his luncheon club meetings keep him in contact with associates. During the conversations there were no violent mood swings. The prevailing feeling was warm and sometimes enthusiastic but never critical or cynical.

Recreational. All kinds of sports interest R. He is an avid reader of the sports pages of two local papers, is a member of the Quarterback club, and has a pass to the secret practice sessions of a nearby college football team. He also attends games of the community high school. In addition, he keeps up with all the major sports - even knows what is going on in racing although his Methodist conscience won't let him bet. He has come to know some athletes of the college teams and the city baseball team and remembers scores and players and unusual incidents several years back. He does not have television because he does not believe the programs are worth viewing. If he does buy one it will be for the sports events. But for now he believes he gets enough over the radio. Mr. and Mrs. R. travel some. They went to Florida for a month last year and will make another trip this year. They also take short trips around Ohio. They consider visits with their daughters' families as recreation.
Culturally, R. likes both the Barbershop Quarter Convention and opera. He feels that the Quartet Convention is one of the highlights of his city's cultural life.

Ideational. R. is a gregarious, generous man. He has achieved business success largely through his own thrift and business sense and his love for the work. He takes his success without being overbearing or ostentatious. The fact that he has not built a home "befitting his station" and the contacts he maintains with people from a wide gamut of backgrounds, indicates that he has other values than monetary ones.

R. is a regular attendant at religious services, and considers himself a Christian in the traditional sense of attending church, giving generously, helping people and being fair in his business. Socially and politically he is conservative, endorsing, for instance, a move his church made a few years ago to exclude Negroes.

The above case obviously is not yet into ages when problems of aging become most difficult. But he exhibits circumstances and trends which pretty clearly suggest what he will probably be like ten years from the present -- if catastrophic illness or other extreme circumstances do not intervene. First of all it is to be noticed that he has many continuing activities, some of them taking their point of departure from his continuing connection with his business and others from his many club, church and other affiliations. And all this plus his extrovert nature has brought a continuing active social life. He wife is evidently of the same general type of personality, and apparently so are the two daughters. Finally to be mentioned is the man's ideology which might be considered too rigid, but under current circumstances, maintains him comfortably in his established point of view and activities. Also important as
means and as part of his role in his community is his favorable financial condition--how this man would hold up in the face of sweeping financial loss might be hard to surmise.

**Clerical Worker**

In contrast to the above, L. has had little education and has been less fortunate financially throughout his work life. He has retained remarkable vigor and independence even through his later years. As retirement brought about a drastic contraction of his income, he has been forced to develop other means of support, and in so doing has contributed to the economy as well as his own well being.

Mr. L. Age: 82 January 1953

Two persons already interviewed, and a friend, had suggested Mr. L. as representing fine adjustment.

Two interviews with him were held in his home in a middle class residential section of town, where he lives with his wife and sister. The house is comfortable furnished; the rather high rent is partially paid by the working sister.

He was well dressed in a neat blue suit, white shirt and black tie. He wears bifocals, and is hard of hearing although he wears no hearing aid. His wife, who was present throughout the visit, is approximately ten years younger and was an attentive participant throughout the visit.

**Physical.** L. is a rather large-framed man, earlier weighing 200 pounds. He has apparently been healthy until the last few years. His present trouble with diabetes has brought his weight down to 150 pounds. His speech is not slow, but somewhat low. He has noticeable tremor in his hands which he counters with most times by clasping them on his lap while talking. He follows a rather rigid policy of ample sleep, occasional naps, and careful diet. While he is apt to neglect these needs occasionally, his wife is his continual conscience. Smoking seems to be a problem for L. as he wishes to smoke but his doctor and wife do not
consider it advisable. In 1934 he was hospitalized for seven weeks from an infected carbuncle. He apparently suffered ill affects from this for the next year and a half; his wife maintains that the doctor blamed a gross oversupply of nicotine in the blood stream for this condition. A recent visit to his doctor after a sudden fainting spell revealed a possible heart murmur.

**Intellectual.** It is difficult to assess his general ability. He attended a country school for the equivalent of about four years. His vocabulary is at least average; there is nothing that would indicate other than average ability. There are evidences of some light reading interests in the home.

**Retirement.** He retired from a clerical job about eleven years ago, but went soon thereafter to work in a college pool room for an hourly wage. This he held for about nine years; afterwards he established a small group of customers to whom he sold various small articles. This selling has continued although in diminished fashion and he now receives about four or five dollars per week from renewed orders. Poor weather and some physical failing have curtailed the number of possible work hours and contacts.

**Social.** Throughout the interview, the wife actively participated in the discussion. The greatest regret of the couple is that they have had no children. The wife felt this lack particularly during her sixties; she said she felt so badly about this that she would not go near children's groups for many years - this feeling has lessened with time.

There is some visiting with nearby friends. This enjoyment of others seems to be tempered by a hearty dislike of a close neighboring couple who are about their same age. This dislike arises from the neighbors' continued preoccupation with themselves and their ailments. The L.'s feel that this is somewhat characteristic of the disgruntled older person, of whom there are many.

Their social life for many years was limited while they were taking care of their parents, particularly the wife's family. They cared for her mother and father who lived to be seventy and ninety respectively; the father apparently lived with them for many years. The wife mentioned emotionally the great tenderness shown by L. to her father. They did not feel that the support of the parents was a sacrifice but rather a natural result of their religious beliefs.
Daily Schedule. Mrs. L. arises at seven and has breakfast ready for Mr. L. when he gets up at eight. He usually goes for a walk or delivers to a customer, then returns to read a little, take a short nap, and have lunch. After lunch he naps for an hour, goes for a walk, or calls on nearby customers. After dinner he reads the paper thoroughly, often plays solitaire, and retires early. Mrs. L. does all the work about the house and enjoys listening to the radio after dinner.

Ideology. Both are religious, and are active church members. Their concept, reiterated often, was that "things will work out somehow" if one trusts in God. One gets the impression that they do indeed live the tenets of their religion and are better for it. It provides a haven for them in times of tribulation which have been rather frequent in their lives. Their religion seems to be a means of accepting others, and also is a strong bond between husband and wife.

Needs in Retirement. The point was raised during the visit as to the needs, in general, of older persons. L. responded rather concretely in terms of his own needs, especially economic, and mentioned for example the pleasure they get from their radio which Mrs. L. won some years ago, and the further enjoyment they could get from a television set if they could afford it. They had also won a record player and enjoyed it, but sold it and used the money for other purposes. They both expressed their enjoyment of the beauty of the outdoors and, moreover, it was free. There was no attempt to prescribe for other olders, in terms of their past.

No detailed arrangements, other than a phone call which confirmed that L. would be at home the next few mornings, were made for the following interview. The interviewer deliberately attempted to drop in "unexpectedly" to see what L.'s typical reaction and demeanor would be.

Mr. L. October 1953

L. greeted the interviewer warmly, remembered him and his first but not last name. He was again well dressed, wearing a neat, well pressed suit, clean shirt, and attractive tie. He spoke clearly; his vocabulary was adequate.
He was about to deliver sales samples to a customer but readily sat down with the interviewer for about forty-five minutes, after which the two went to the customer's home. L. had planned to go by bus which meant a walk of about six blocks to the bus stop and a similar walk after alighting from it; however, the use of the interviewer's car made this walk unnecessary. Mr. L. travels throughout the northern suburb most often by foot, using commercial vehicles when needed. This getting about is economically gratifying to L. but one gets the distinct impression that it is also psychologically most important. He made frequent mention that "one has to get out" or "get around again." While the doctor said to take it easy climbing steps, L. commented "I've enjoyed this work and it helps me." He thus continues social contacts and gets to talk to persons outside the home, which he clearly enjoys.

He spoke again at length about his enjoyable and protracted stay in his former job, and the great enjoyment working part time in the poolroom in a college building game him. It supplemented his pension, and until he was eighty-one he spent four or five hours each day on this job, seeing his beloved "boys." He and his wife have evidently been financially hard put all their married life, and this need is a pervasive concern which has proven valuable in prolonging his life and health. He has a diabetic condition and is troubled by partial deafness, but his general health seems excellent for a man of his age. He is active and sure in his movements, but admits having a fear of falling when out after dark. Thus he tends more and more to confine his activities to daylight hours when the weather is not inclement.

Mrs. L. apparently still does all the housework, and maneuvers about the house well for a woman in her seventies. The day of the interview she was in the kitchen scrubbing the woodwork and was embarrassed upon meeting the interviewer in some disarray. She is not troubled with auditory difficulties, and while wearing glasses apparently sees well with their aid. She appears more robust than Mr. L. and inclined to stoutness. She did not recall the interviewer's last visit nine months ago, which was somewhat surprising as she had talked as much as L. and seemed even more alert than he.

Social. There has been a further decrease in their social contacts. L.'s are primarily connected with his selling while Mrs. L. is more often at home but does occasionally meet with her church group.
Impressions. The definite impression is gained that this man and his wife are outstanding in their healthy psychological outlook. While deficient educationally and financially, L. is a contributing member of society, worthy of emulation by others ten to twenty years his junior. There is independence, and a conscious attempt to obtain social recognition, but not any suggestion that this should come through others' sympathy.

While selling is a necessity for L. to maintain his home, he is always a gentleman in manner and does not attempt to "push" his products. The way was left open in this interview for him to attempt to "sell" the interviewer but while he demonstrated materials, there was not any time that he breached the friendship line to pursue a sale. The most striking comparison between this person and others his age seen in homes for the aged, is his vigorous vitality, a will to live and enjoyment of life in spite of continuing economic stress.

The above case is obviously in several interesting ways a contrast to the previous one. Financial circumstances are straitened, acquaintanceships are relatively limited, health has for many years been a problem. Nevertheless this man has continued active in his efforts to supplement his pension, has maintained a friendly, cheerful philosophy, and a happy life with his wife and earlier with a now-deceased parent. Positive elements would seem to be first of all a sturdy self-sufficient philosophy of life, sustaining religious beliefs with also certain contacts involved in the church, and a wife who has been indeed essential for his current way of life. Without her a room in a boarding house or home for the aged might have been necessary, where less positive attitudes might have been retained. His activities seem to be good for him both physically and socially as well as the support to his morale which comes from his partial
independence.

Summary

The above cases illustrate the wide range of problems besetting the old, and the variety of circumstances under which good adjustment has been achieved, often in spite of difficulties. The uniqueness of problem patterns and solutions is easily seen; these persons utilized methods peculiar to their situations and worked out solutions comfortable for themselves. All are actively participating in their environments and thus are not burdens to others, and concomitantly are more actively seeking self-actualization of those assets they possess.

In the cases of this chapter, the following common characteristics might well be identified. They are listed in accordance with their judged importance. In the first place, it seems that (although not always explicit) there has always been in the background a sustaining sturdy vigorous philosophy on the basis of which they carried on, and in accordance with which they lived. Each one seemed essentially at peace with himself or herself. The philosophy was not in all cases religious. But there was involved an attitude of courage, indeed cheerfulness, and interest in what was going on, with efforts to be a participant so far as circumstances permitted.

This last mention leads to the second characteristic which is felt also of great importance. So far as they
could, all these people were indeed active in undertakings or relationships which had been established long ago and now had continuing life for them. The centenarian could now do little with her church or community work, but had long done so much that church and community now came to her. The scientist stubbornly continued his professional activities, the tailor his tailoring. The two businessmen continued their business activities to some extent.
CHAPTER V
SOME REPRESENTATIVE CASES OF POOR ADJUSTMENT

While the preceding chapter aimed to suggest something as to the variety of the superior older persons, this chapter will present five cases illustrative of the poorly adjusted, from those getting along somewhat inadequately to the very emotionally unstable individual. However, all are living in a non-institutional setting. Inclusion of cases here became more delicate than in the former chapter because of possible harm should the identity of the case become known. Where any chance of this detection seemed possible, in the writer's judgment, the case was excluded. The variety is not thus as great as the files actually show. For those included, sundry details have been changed or omitted so as to make identification difficult.

Mother-dominated Housewife

The following case illustrates not only a rather extreme personality disorder, precipitated by a traumatic event so marked as to require institutionalization, but also the deleterious effect upon the life of the husband and family. The problem of reorientation into society after treatment is illustrated, and some light is thrown on the role of others in this integration.
Mrs. J. Age: 62

Mr. and Mrs. J. live in a frame home in a working-class neighborhood. The home badly needs painting outside, and the furniture is old but adequate. Mr. and Mrs. J. have been married about forty years. Information was secured through interviews, conversations with the son and daughter-in-law, visits to the hospital, and conversations with friends of the couple.

Physical. Mr. J. is about 6' tall, weighs near 200 pounds, has light grey hair, wears glasses occasionally, does not have good posture, has a slightly paunchy appearance, has no difficulty hearing and has no hand tremor. His speech is clear. He has a job which requires him to be on his feet most of the time and to do some lifting. He rarely misses a day of work and the work has no visible adverse effect on him. His general health has been good until a time of crisis which will be described later.

Mrs. J. is about 5'5" tall, weighs about 120 pounds. Skin in the arms and face has begun to sag. She does not wear glasses and has no trouble hearing. There is no tremor or unsteadiness although she says that she does not have the strength now to do the normal household chores as she felt they should be done. Speech is soft and clear but often whining. Her appetite is poor. She has been frequently in bed for colds or headaches, although these symptoms have lessened.

Intellectual. In the past both have been leaders in the church, with Mr. J. taking the more aggressive role and Mrs. J. doing the service jobs that required work but not decisions. Reading is limited to the daily paper. Since Mrs. J.’s confinement in the hospital, however, she has shown interest in magazines and has borrowed back issues from some friends. They have a radio but apparently use it little. Mr. J. is respected in the lodge and church as a leader whose advice has been sought, but in the past year his position in this respect has diminished.

Social. There has been a great change in their social lives during the past two years. Prior to that time both were active in fraternal and church life, attending the social functions, singing in the choir, and participating in discussion groups. Mr. J. has had close relations with his fellow-workers which became evident during their illness the past year. The employees sent cards, visited, and raised a cash gift to help J. The only time when Mrs. J. took a position of leadership was when other women in her lodge pressured her into so doing. Although she was quite
anxious about her ability to carry the job, she did quite well and enjoyed the prestige that went with the office.

Mr. J. is friendly and easy in conversation in meeting people. He has several close friends, most his own age, although he has become quite close to the interviewer who is younger. Mr. J. has gained quite a bit of security from his friendships, many of which are long-standing. He has also been associated with a fraternal order for twenty-five years and has formed some close friendships there.

Mrs. J., on the other hand, has never developed any social confidence. All her life she has lived in her mother's shadow. Her mother took the view that a person should not try something if she could not do it well, and since the mother had almost all the experience in every realm, Mrs. J. never had a chance to grow socially. In talking to strangers Mrs. J. is quite uncomfortable and finds conversation very hard. In groups she tended to let others do the talking.

The J.'s have only one son who is now married, has three children, and lives nearby. They are quite close to the son and his family. The daughter-in-law apparently gets along well with them.

Emotional. Because the emotional history is involved, this report will attempt but to summarize. The emotional problems the J.'s face are in part due to the relations Mrs. J. had with her mother, father and step-father. When the J.'s married, Mrs. J.'s mother and step-father moved in with them. The mother continued the authoritarian pattern she had established in her home. She did not teach Mrs. J. how to cook, for instance, because she could do it better and had no patience with the efforts of the daughter. Soon the incentive to learn was greatly lessened. The mother was the one who set the pace for Mrs. J.'s participation in church and lodge and even somewhat dictated the ways in which the son was to be reared.

Apparently Mrs. J. resented this for many years, but it was not until about two years before the death of the mother, that she expressed this resentment. This brought on feelings of guilt. When the mother became ill about a year before her death and had to be sent to a rest home, Mrs. J. became quite despondent, feeling that perhaps she had not done enough for the mother and fearful of what other people would say. The mother died in the rest home and a few months later the step-father died in a mental hospital where he had
been for about two years.

The dependency feeling Mrs. J. had toward her mother was a major hindrance to a close relationship with Mr. J. The response he made to this was to become more involved in his lodge. Friends said that he was in the lodge hall whenever possible. This restricted relation with the husband made it especially hard on Mrs. J. at the time of her mother's death two years ago, but when this crisis came, the husband moved back into a very close relationship with his wife.

The despondency continued. She did not return to her church groups or lodge, but became ill and finally had to be sent to a mental institution. Prior to her commitment, she spent about four weeks in a general hospital under the care of a psychiatrist and received electric shock treatment which did not improve her condition.

Also, in the few weeks before she went to the mental hospital, Mr. J. became emotionally upset and although he did not have psychiatric aid, the doctor realized that something would have to be done or he would need attention. This condition made the move to the hospital imperative.

When Mrs. J. first went to the hospital, she did not cooperate and took no interest in the therapy, the other patients, or in the games. Finally, she was given electric shock therapy and this was successful enough that in three months, a week-end home visit was allowed, and a month later she was discharged.

Since returning home she has started to assume some of the housekeeping responsibilities. She seems more at ease than she has been in the past three years, and her friends confirm this apparent change. She does not go out in groups yet, but does not have fears of returning to church and lodge associations. Her reason is that she wants some time to rest.

Mr. J. is also in much better physical and mental health. He is back on his job and feels that the hospital did an exceptional job with his wife.

Recreation. Aside from the social elements mentioned above, there are few items that can be mentioned. Since Mrs. J. was dismissed from the hospital, they have taken frequent rides during the weekends. Neither Mr. or Mrs. J. has a hobby, nor are they regular radio listeners. Their recreation is mainly through the church and lodge but they are not participating in these groups right now.
Vocational. Mr. J. for twenty-five years has done clerical work for the firm where he is now employed. Mrs. J. has had no work outside the home and does not plan any. In the past, Mr. J. has been quite active in volunteer work in the lodge and school. These jobs were usually elective posts. This same applies to Mrs. J. but on a lesser scale.

Ideational. Although both have been active in church and the so-called religious fraternal organizations, there seemed to be little active personal religious life. The church and lodge were seen primarily as places where social needs could be met. However, the impression one gets from knowing them is that they are kind, generous people who are not concerned very much with material things. The main thrust of their religion seemed to be in the expression of tolerance toward other people, and helpfulness and cooperativeness.

An overdependency upon the mother, plus the unfortunate circumstance of her dominance until well into Mrs. J.'s later married life, apparently resulted in frustration of attempts at self-sufficiency. A continual source of friction was her parents' presence in the home, which may well have been the basic cause of her feelings of extreme tiredness, lack of appetite, general apathy, and restricted interest range. Not only were guilt feelings aroused by these circumstances, but overtly the husband made his feelings known by spending more time away from the home, thus increasing the wife's feelings of inadequacy. Supportive influences in the church and social groups became less helpful and perhaps even objects for her hostility. The culmination of the whole unfortunate situation was such despondency as to necessitate psychiatric treatment.

With the removal of some of the more frustrating circumstances plus an attempt to foster conditions leading to
support by the husband and church groups, there seems a reasonable chance of the wife's becoming a more adjusted and social person. A relearning of more mature behaviors will have to occur, which will involve a recognition and acceptance of her reactions to the mother's behavior, if her self-confidence is to become such as to support further plans for a more enjoyable life.

**Emotionally Disturbed Housewife**

This case also illustrates a rather marked emotional maladjustment, again precipitated by a traumatic occurrence, the tragic death of a son. The effects of aging are overemphasized and blamed for lack of vigor, which seems to be a result of emotional distress.

Mrs. G. Age: About 64 April 1953

Mr. and Mrs. G. live in part of a double house on one of the busier cross streets in the suburb. The house is frame construction and is a little below average in appearance for the neighborhood, which is lower middle class. Both Mr. and Mrs. G. are between sixty and sixty-five. Five interviews were held at their home and Mrs. G. was also seen during a church visit.

Mrs. G. is about 5'6" and is overweight. She has no hearing difficulty, wears glasses, and is bothered with rheumatism, finding on occasion that she cannot walk the block to the bus line. Mrs. G. usually looks tired and complains that her house is getting to be too much for her. She has "good" days and "bad" days, but she never feels as well as she used to. Her "bad" days are caused not so much by physical illness as nervousness.

Mr. G. is about 5'9", and stocky - weighing about two hundred pounds. He has no aural deficiency, does not wear glasses, has thin grey hair. His job requires continual standing but he has not missed more than four or five days work in the six years he has been employed in this position. Mr. G.'s movements show the slowness that overweight brings.
He has regular habits of sleeping and eating. He must be at work by six o'clock in the morning therefore he arises and retires early. He sleeps soundly. On two visits to the home in the evening he was napping on the sofa.

**Emotional.** Mrs. G.'s nervous condition appears to have started ten years ago when their son was killed in the war. George was on a bomber that was shot down overseas erroneously by American forces. After the war the son's body was returned to the United States for burial. The G.'s went to the out-of-state shrine for the funeral. When Mrs. G. asked that her son's casket be pointed out, a guard told her that she could take her pick because nobody knew for sure whether more than a part of the designated person's body was in one casket. This upset Mrs. G. very much; she did not believe there was a body in the casket.

The experience at the cemetery and the circumstances under which her son was killed were the immediate cause of a nervous breakdown. She was a patient in a State Hospital for about two months but even now she has not recovered. She still feels tense in her stomach at times and often becomes upset during a phone call or conversation so that she begins sobbing. Her uncertainty about her emotions has made her hesitant to attend any group meetings, and her lack of social contacts has in turn made her think more about herself, she says. In conversation Mrs. G. is sometimes ill at ease. She looks out the window, wrings her hands or lets the conversation lag, with long silent gaps. Only one interview was relaxed and free.

Mr. G., on the other hand, is stable. He listened to Mrs. G. tell about her nervous condition and made no remarks, except to say, when the interviewer asked if Mrs. G. would like to attend a meeting of women her age, that she should do this. He feels that if Mrs. G. would get out more, she would forget her emotional troubles. However, Mrs. G. seldom goes out and never has attended a group meeting. Apparently a new group would be threatening enough to upset her, or at least she fears it would.

**Intellectual.** Mrs. G. finished high school but showed little evidence of intellectual activity. There were a few magazines of the Look and Woman's Day variety as well as the local evening newspaper in the home. Television and radio furnish the other channels of information. Both Mr. and Mrs. G. seem to be satisfied with the intellectual fare they receive through the mass media. There was no conversation which indicated that they had done much consistent thinking on any problem other than personal matters.
Social. Mr. G. apparently has good relations with fellow employees, and seems to find the relations on the job adequate social outlets. He does not belong to clubs, lodges, or church. Mrs. G. depends on telephone conversations to keep her informed. She attends church very infrequently. During one interview she expressed interest in a sewing group and indicated that she would like to attend a meeting but she failed to keep the date. She did not express much concern about her lack of social relations. Her husband seemed more aware of her need than she.

They have a son now living in a nearby city with his family. They go there for holidays each year, also spend part of their vacation with this family. They feel quite close to their son's family, and have pictures of the son, his wife and children on the mantle and radio.

Recreational. Occasional drives and short walks are about the only outdoor activities of the couple. Both enjoy television and radio. Their TV preference leans toward give-away shows and variety programs. They like shows that star "good" people, that is, people who are generous or who have come from humble beginnings, like Perry Como.

Occasionally Mrs. G. crochets rugs, a skill she learned in the mental hospital. She showed the interviewer two beautiful samples of her work. She also does some fancy sewing. However, it seems that these avocations were rather on the fringe of her interests. She had to take the crocheted rugs out of a drawer where they were wrapped in paper and stored. She had not done any rug making lately. At the time of the interviews she was not engaged in a sewing project.

Ideational. It is difficult to understand the G.'s ideationally. The impression was that they had a rather personal system of values. Mrs. G. for instance, is impressed with the goodness of television shows which give away many presents to deserving people. There were very few indications of positive values which appealed to her. She seemed to be preoccupied most of the time with her own problems: the loss of her son, the loneliness of the home, her mediocre health. Her outlook tended to be rather pessimistic, and positive only when she forced herself to forget these contemporary problems.

Throughout this case study, the barrenness of these two lives is apparent. Apart from their close relationship as a married couple and the occasional visits to another son,
they participate little in social events or recreation. The effects of aging are overly apparent. While the husband has interests - his job and associates with others outside the home - the woman is almost entirely self-preoccupied. The death of the son seems to be the major causative factor. But the first case in the previous chapter came through several deaths in the family, all occurring within a short time, with no such collapse of morale. Clearly the case report is inadequate as to this woman's early history. A long-time inadequacy is to be inferred. Certainly the complete background of this ill-adjustment is not established. It is obvious that past psychiatric care has not remedied her difficulties.

Retirement Problems

Problems occurring at retirement are particularly worthy of study because they are typical of age. The following case illustrates such a problem, also the possible rehabilitation effect of some vocational continuance in retirement. Also involved is the emptiness in a home when an only child leaves a home, and the disturbance in an older person's life when an accustomed religious affiliation threatens to disintegrate. The following summaries, of three interviews over a ten month period, illustrate a problem in process.
Mr. E. Age 67 November 1952

Mr. E. is married with spouse living. The home is a middle class residence in an older part of the city. He had been employed for many years by a large industrial firm, as photographer, but has been retired about two months due to company policy and not because he wanted to. He was seen by the interviewer often at church affairs, as well as at his home.

Physical. He is a large man and weighs about two hundred pounds, is well groomed, not very gray, wears bifocals, has no hearing defect, and still has his own teeth. His speech is clear and he acts like a younger man.

Intellectual. He is a reasonably wide reader, but does no writing or studying, is a college graduate whose hobby eventually became his vocation. He had planned to go into teaching while in college.

Social. Mr. E. is a friendly person; he and his wife are both active in their church, in fraternal activities, and in various small social groups. He is an officer in one organization, a trustee of his church, and an officer in the regional organization of his denomination. They have one child, a married daughter, who is a source of great pride to them. The daughter is a college graduate who was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and other honoraries. She was also state president of a Christian youth group. Mr. E. mentioned that with the marriage of their daughter, they have lost contact with the "hordes" of young people who used to come to their home, and they miss them.

Emotional. He is cheerful but not entirely adjusted to his retirement. He spoke freely of the fact that he could not seem to get used to retirement. He says he enjoys the leisure but the very fact that there is no pressure upon him to do anything means that he doesn't do things around the house which need doing. He cited a number of repairs about the house to be done but says he just feels no desire to do anything. He mentioned a large regional church meeting which he was to attend in "Melville" and at first he declined, saying he could not get away. On second thought, however, he said there was no real reason why they shouldn't go, so they finally did. In September they were invited to go to another state and the same thing occurred. Obviously it bothered him that he could not seem to make decisions promptly.

Recreational. Most of his recreation comes from visiting with friends and doing church work and club activities. He said he does not want to play with photography now. He
mentioned that many friends envied him his hobby, but since his work for forty years has been photography he did not regard it as a hobby. As a farewell gift the people at the office gave him a fairly generous cash gift which he has not yet used. He said he thought he would use it to fix up a dark room sometime but not yet - he just isn't ready for it.

Ideational. He is a deeply religious person. For years, the E.'s have had elderly relatives living in their home whom they supported and provided for until their deaths. Both Mr. and Mrs. E. have a very deeply developed sense of responsibility for the welfare of others.

Interview with Mr. E. March 1953

At the earlier visit, Mr. E. was just trying to get used to being retired and was finding it difficult. In his words he was "not making a good adjustment to being on the shelf." He was willing to admit that his restlessness was something he had to deal with himself, and that he had plenty of things to do around the home if he could make up his mind to do them. He mentioned that they had a barn to be cleared out, wood to be piled, etc., but that he just could not get settled enough to get at these jobs.

At the time of his retirement he seemed to resent the suggestion of friends that photography could be a hobby which he could enjoy. He mentioned heatedly again that it was his profession and no hobby and that so far as he was concerned, he was sick of photography.

At this interview, four months later, it appeared that his attitude was markedly changed. He has been invited to several weddings, anniversary parties, etc. of friends, to take pictures. He enjoyed the social aspects of these affairs and was pleased to be paid for the pictures. He has earned enough from these jobs to pay for dark room equipment and this money, with the retirement gift from his co-workers, has made it possible for him to set up a small business.

He seems quite pleased with this development, and appears much more relaxed and less restless than formerly.

He has for years worked at a collection of campaign buttons which he is now sorting and mounting. He has a surprising collection, which he is really enjoying now that he has some time to spend on it.

This period of a few months has shown a surprising change for the better in Mr. E.'s attitude toward the idea of retirement.
Interview with Mr. E. September 1953

Mr. E. has failed in the past few months quite conspicuously.

As mentioned in the former interview, Mr. E. had several requests to take wedding pictures from friends of his daughter so he decided to fix a dark room to take little jobs of this sort. While in the process of fixing this room, he had a mild heart attack. He was ill only for a short time, but since that illness he has a noticeable tremor of his right hand and forearm. He now says that taking pictures makes him too nervous and he cannot stand it to take wedding pictures.

The minister of the church to which he belongs has left and the church is at present without a pastor. Mr. E. is a deacon and one of the founders of the church; and he is emotionally upset by the loss of the minister and the possibility that the church may close. In the last visit with him, it was difficult at times to know when he was talking about events in the immediate past, or when he was discussing events of thirty years ago. He appears now to get much enjoyment in talking of past events, and this plus his lack of continuity in conversation makes communicating with him difficult.

The case appears to be first of all an instance of "retirement shock" and of the need of some preparation for retirement - or argument against retirement when both capacity for work and desire to continue it both seem strong. The deterioration apparent in the last interview might be attributed to physical conditions related to overweight, or to failure to maintain integration of personality after the initial difficulties of retirement plus the uncertainties about the church which had so long been a center of his life. In fact, it might be said that his life had, especially after his daughter's marriage, centered around his work and his church. And coincident difficulty regarding both was indeed distressing.
Neurotic Musician

The following case illustrates the effects of an old woman's narrow, cold, spoiled childhood and youth on her personality development in the adult and older years on her daughter and grandchild. Reduced income and later chronic "invalidism" encumbered her and resulted in great narrowing of social contacts and interests and deterioration of character. This case report has been drastically shortened, and many important details changed to avoid any conceivable identification.

Mrs. B. Age 86 March 1953

The interviewer had known this woman for many years, and also her daughter. This report is based on this long-time acquaintance and other information supplied from the family and friends.

For about 15 years Mrs. B. has lived with her divorced daughter in a middle class neighborhood. The two-story frame house has been kept in good condition on the outside; however, not much money has been spent in the interior because of financial stringency, also because there was no desire to keep it up-to-date. There are many antiques, in good condition, but not arranged to display them to advantage.

Physical. On the above date this woman was bedfast, in her last illness. She has needed constant care for nine months, but would not consent to stay in bed until the last two. She has been so stiffened by arthritis that any movement was difficult. And she has been almost blind for approximately two years. However, she comes from a hardy and vigorous family, and until her last years seems to have been well, except for her "nerves". Her last illness seems to have been an intestinal cancer. She died about six months after the above date.

Intellectual. This woman has had a keen mind. She attended college, has always read widely, has been much interested in politics. As a child and young woman she had much musical training, and became an excellent pianist.
News broadcasts and the best music have been her choices on radio. Until the latter months of her illness, her mind has shown no signs of deterioration. She has been quick to apprehend and to retort.

**Social.** Mrs. B. was the only child of very reserved, proud, conservative, well-to-do parents. The family was prominent in the small city where she was born. The mother was hypochondriacal, and from childhood Mrs. B. had been a "nervous" person, would startle at any sudden noise. She either liked something immensely or disliked it violently; there was the same reaction to people, they were either all wrong or all right. These were sudden judgments, based often on one act or remark. She seemed extremely self-centered and jealous if others received attention. She married a man much older than herself, who was rigid, cold and little liked. He died when she was a young woman. There was one daughter. Any objection that she had to her daughter's way of life was expressed vigorously. Her daughter married perhaps in part to escape the mother -- and not as well as the mother had hoped. Then came the depression; the family lost heavily and both parents died. The daughter's marriage ended in divorce. And mother, daughter, and granddaughter moved to another community.

In the town to which they moved, Mrs. B. held herself aloof, or was overbearing. She came from a first family in the church in the first town. In this new situation, she tended to sever connections with church people because she and her daughter could not maintain that status. All the neighbors were criticized. When they moved to this city, her granddaughter was in the sixth grade. No girl that she brought home was acceptable to the grandmother; after several disagreeable experiences, the child ceased to bring anyone home. The granddaughter, as a result, made few friends and this continued through high school.

The elderly woman made it very difficult for her daughter to attend any social function. At first this seemed to arise from the desire not to be left alone or left out of things. There came a time when the mother claimed to be afraid of falling when the daughter was away. Later there seemed to be deliberate malice in her plans to keep the daughter nearby. Once, when old friends were in town, the daughter planned to go out to tea, and arranged everything for the mother's comfort while she was gone. The mother waited until a half hour after the daughter left, then summoned the paper boy by tapping on the window; he called the police who entered by an unlocked window, and found the mother in her chair. She said that she had smelled smoke and seen flames, had tried to get help but fallen, and
could not get up. But when questioned by the daughter, who had been called home, the elderly woman changed her story. It seemed obvious that she had deliberately staged this whole scene, to get attention and create a situation where the daughter would feel under obligation to stay with her.

Vocation and Avocations. She had never been employed—had never earned a penny. But she had had certain interests which she took very seriously. As a girl and young woman her music was a means to status, and she was active in musical circles. But as her fingers grew stiff with arthritis she gave up even touching the piano. She became much interested in needle-work, learned many types of fancy work, took lessons in special types of needle-craft. During the first world war, she taught knitting for the Red Cross.

She did no housework—in her earlier years was waited on by servants, and later by her daughter. Increasingly she simply sat by the window, watching the neighbors, keeping up surprisingly well with the gossip, and becoming more and more demanding of her daughter’s attention.

A proud, strict, narrow home, wealth then financial reverses and loss of social status, all seemed to have played a part in making this case a neurotic old woman. Her earlier evident talents and abilities brought her little satisfaction, but rather led to further dissatisfaction when she was not able in the second community to use them to obtain recognition. And she made her difficulties an increasing burden on her daughter and grandchild.

Restricted Old Age

The final case illustrative of the less successful older person follows. While the problems of this man are not acute, he is becoming increasingly narrow, complaining and discontented, and might develop into a condition of mild senile querulousness.
Mr. J. Age: 81 February 1953

Mr. and Mrs. J. live in their own home in one of the older residential sections of town. They have rented the upstairs and have made over their dining room into a bedroom. Four interviews were held in the home during a period of about five months.

Physical. Mr. J. is short, wears glasses, has thinning white hair and good posture. He has difficulty hearing and often lets his wife carry the conversation rather than ask that a speaker repeat what he has said. He has good health. He does the shopping for the home and manages to buy all they need at neighboring groceries. When it is necessary to make trips further away, they take a cab.

Mrs. J. is rather short and plump, has gray hair, wears glasses and has no hearing difficulty, but has a rheumatic condition which makes her more confined to the house than her husband. Four months ago she had a rather severe and prolonged illness but at this writing she feels quite well. Because of his deafness and her poor health, they have cut off most of their social activities. For instance, they do not attend lodge meetings or church services. Most of their time is spent at home except when friends call to take them for a ride.

Intellectual. Newspapers, Colliers and Reader's Digest, and religious literature were noted. They are currently reading a religious best seller. In speaking of foreign affairs, the typical stereotypes were used in thinking of international problems, such as, "we are sending too much money overseas."

Mr. J. is a regular contributor to the Letters to the Editor column of the community paper. These letters are generally critical of waste and corruption in government or of modern methods of education. One recent letter criticized churches whose pastors do not visit older people who are shut-ins. The letters seem to indicate loneliness and exasperation with the complexity of current problems. In conversation, Mr. J. especially talks about the way in which educational problems were met when he was a teacher and the muddled approach of today's teachers. It seems that the stimulus to intellectual pursuits was dulled considerably when Mr. J. retired some twelve years ago. The interviewer suspected that really Mr. J. had never been a very satisfactory teacher.

Social. They mentioned visitors they had from out of town for one week, and several calls from local friends.
The letters to the editor indicate that they do not have as many callers as they wish, however. They have made friends with adjacent neighbors and Mrs. J. especially is quite friendly with the people who have rented the upstairs of their home. They have maintained one group relation—the monthly social functions of a Sunday school class. They feel especially close to this group because they joined after they decided to leave their church because the minister became "too over-bearing." Members of the class take them to and from the meetings.

Relations with their two daughters are very good. Both have invited the couple to live with them if they wish but the J.'s refuse. However, they do go for visits to the daughters' homes quite often. They are especially close to one daughter whose husband died recently.

Emotional. They feel very much the limitations which age has brought, and speak often of the difficulty they have in getting about, the tasks that should be done about the home but which they will not be able to do, and the care they must take of their health.

By temperament, Mr. J. is a strict disciplinarian. For thirty years he was a school teacher. He said he resigned when he saw new methods coming into vogue. He felt, for instance, that a teacher's "character" should be the main criterion for selection. He feels that a teacher should be free to spank a child if occasion demands. When superintendents began reprimanding teachers who used discipline, and new teaching methods began to be accepted, he quit his profession. He still has strict views of morality. He enjoys television but laments the beer and cigarette ads and feels that no Christian could possibly use either. When Mr. J. speaks of what he terms "present day morals" he becomes indignant that the things which he opposes have been accepted as right by many people.

Recreational. Mr. J. does some putting around the house. He has set up a workshop in the basement. When they moved to their present home they installed linoleum on some floors and did all their painting. They also enjoy television. Their favorite shows are the give-aways. They also read to each other. They have a garden plot in the rear of their lot but are reducing the size of the garden a little each year.

Vocational. Mr. J. has been retired twelve years. For thirty years he was a secondary school teacher and for seven years he worked in a state office. Prior to his wife's ill health, four years ago, both were active in fraternal
work. Both have, in the past, been teachers in Sunday school classes.

Ideational. Mr. J. interprets his religion in a strict manner and in a negative way - as abstinence from certain things and activities. He was a trouble-maker in the church to which he had belonged, criticizing the minister as too liberal and insistent upon his point of view. He is becoming increasingly complaining and irritable. He projects difficulties he has because of his age and his narrow conservatism into "the church," the "low moral standards of the present day," and so on.

This man's deafness, his wife's poor health, financial limitations, and a lurking feeling that he had not been favorably regarded either as a teacher or in his office job, have all combined to make him increasingly unhappy and irritable. He has tended to be a trouble-maker. To a considerable extent he is an example of what is supposed to be a common type of querulous old age.

Summary

The preceding cases are all obviously less successful in age than those in the chapter before. A variety of causes for poor adjustment are illustrated. The difficulties of two cases seem to stem quite largely from a major crisis in the older years: from the death of the son of the "emotionally disturbed housewife" and the "retirement shock" of the photographer. The woman first described was a victim of mother-domination, while the fourth case was an instance of such a possessive parent. All cases show involvement of their families in their difficulties.
Are there common causative elements? None seemed to have planned for age, or have knowledge of the problems of age. All seemed disturbed or irritable in mood; there seemed to be little effort at cheerful facing of their difficulties. The tendency was for self-centered attitudes. On the whole, they seemed less able than the cases in the previous chapter, or at least less wise and understanding. But the differentia must be more systematically studied. This task is attempted in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VI
CHARACTERISTICS OF A SUPERIOR GROUP AND OF
CONTRASTING SUPERIOR AND POORLY ADJUSTED CASES

Two primary topics will be considered in this chapter: the first is an analysis of a substantial group of superior old people; the second is a comparison of a group of twelve cases selected as especially superior and a similar number selected as ill-adjusted in their old age.

The Larger Group of Superior Old People

As will be recalled from the statement of methods, the initial selection of the successful older people was primarily carried out by nominations from peers. Another method, used less often, was to have presidents of clubs, or others in positions especially favorable for so doing, name the outstanding persons in their groups. Or again, an investigator who had held such a position and knew the attitude of the group through long acquaintance with them, would select the superior members to interview. As has already been mentioned, these methods of initial selection were loose, and made no attempt at any systematic sampling.

Because of the socio-economic and occupational backgrounds of the interviewers and the cases studied earlier, a probable disproportionate number of cases of similar backgrounds tended to be studied. This situation was an accepted difficulty of the methodology of this portion of the
in\textit{\textdegree}vestigation. Fine personalities in other socio-economic groups were missed, and characteristics of them not adequately recognized. But there is some reason for believing that good adjustment in age is rather more likely in these social and economic circumstances than others. At least, successful old age in these groups is worth studying. It might be expected that at least in part and within a wide range, success in age would be independent of social class. But anyhow, gross characteristics of the group studied should be indicated. There were 119 in all: 72 men and 47 women; 7 in their fifties, 37 in the sixties, 47 in the seventies, 28 over eighty, and the 101 year old woman. Professional people totaled 39, sales 7, clerical 8, carpenters 10, laborers 27 - this last group \textit{was} included - 38 were still working. As to marital status 55 were married and spouse living, 20 single, 39 widowed, and 5 divorced.

This total group included some persons seen only once and those regarding whom little information was available. Further case selection according to three criteria was therefore undertaken. The first requirement was that more than first cursory interviews were made and that interviews had been spread over a period of time. Secondly, it was required that each case should be known by at least two interviewers, and that there had been contacts with other persons who could supply verifying information. Thirdly, cases were removed who were living in an institutional environment.
Some such cases will be considered in the chapter on groups. Sixty-six cases satisfied the above three criteria.

Method. For these 66 cases, an analysis of the interview reports was first made. As may be seen from Appendix I, topics covered included identification data such as age, sex, marital status, occupation; present activities and interests, health, and so on; information as to past history of the case in these various respects; a variety of comments and possibly significant bits of information bearing on present and past personality traits. For certain topics, special bits of method were used.

Thus health appeared early to be of major import. Therefore, throughout the case histories, evidence on this topic was carefully noted. Issues of health were summarized under seven categories. And regarding them a simple three-point scheme of appraisal was used. This is shown in an appendix. For example, a vision rating of excellent denoted that a person could read a paper without the aid of glasses, or that a woman could do fine needlework. Normal vision referred to reading newspapers and other desired materials with the aid of glasses, without undue strain. Poor vision was such as required great magnification for reading, or inability to read at all. To facilitate handling, "3" was used to denote excellence, "2" average, and "1" poor. Estimates of this sort are obviously not based on medical examinations (though medical diagnoses may be reported to
an interviewer by a case or other source) and do not pretend to be precise. But it was felt that a lay person's appraisal of the health condition, based on all the information in the case report and the judgments of the interviewers, would permit at least such rough differentiations.

Other characteristics which emerged from study of the case material were also considered. Thirteen areas of appraisal, evolved from a comparison of small groups of superior and ill-adjusted older persons, were used in description of the larger group. For each area, a three point "scale" like that mentioned for health, described the extent to which a case seemed to have each trait. The last section of this chapter, and Appendix 2, indicate more fully the nature of these traits.

Where comparisons are made between these findings and those of the general population, the reference is to the Fact Book on Aging, Federal Security Agency, U. S. Printing Office, 1952 (38) which contains data from the Bureau of Census figures for 1950.

Findings. Ages of the 66 cases ranged from sixty to one hundred and one. The 40 men to 26 women (though women are more frequent in the older population and four of the seven interviewers were women) is a proportion probably due to happenstance; but it might mean that males are more likely to engage in activities which get attention as somewhat exceptional. Table 1 indicates that professional
people were selected as being outstanding more often than persons in any other occupational group. This finding also may come simply from the locus and circumstances of the investigation. But the writer believes it results from greater possibilities in most of the professions for an active and stimulating age, and greater resourcefulness of most professional men in meeting problems of age, as well.

Table 1

Occupations and Ages:
Sixty-Six Superior Old People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>60-69 M</th>
<th>60-69 F</th>
<th>70-79 M</th>
<th>70-79 F</th>
<th>80-89 M</th>
<th>80-89 F</th>
<th>90 up M</th>
<th>90 up F</th>
<th>Total M</th>
<th>Total F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Earner</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Professional" includes university faculty members, physicians, lawyers, etc. "Business" includes salesmen, proprietors, farm owners. "Wage Earner" includes clerical workers, farm workers, hourly laborers.

Table 2 shows that 54 percent of the total group were married with the spouse living, 35 percent were widowed, and 11 percent single. No divorced cases were included by the nominators in this superior group. The proportions are quite similar to those found in the population over sixty-
Table 2
Marital Status, Living Arrangement, and Age for the Superior Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70-79</th>
<th>80 up</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Home w. Spouse</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Home Alone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or with Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Family or Friends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Home Alone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Home w. Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Friends</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
five as a whole: 67 percent of this sample of males were married as compared with 64 percent in the general population; 32 percent of the men were widowers compared to the national figure of 27 percent. Of the superior women 30 percent were married and living with their husbands which corresponds to the 30 percent for women sixty-five and over in the general population. Of the total group, 77 percent were living in their own homes, as compared with 69 percent for the general population sixty-five and over. Such security in residency, and probably continued living in the same neighborhood, might be a factor making for, or at least supporting, superior adjustment in age.

None of this superior group were obese and the majority were judged rather of lighter build than average. The present health of these old people appeared to be very good for their ages. Table 3 indicates that only 8 percent rated as in poor health, but 32 percent were considered in excellent general physical condition. The past had been relatively free from crippling diseases, long sickness, or major operations. While 12 percent of the group had poor vision, none were blind and the majority were not handicapped. Hearing loss sufficient to make conversation difficult was apparent in about 8 percent of the group. This seems appreciably lower than the 17 percent indicated by the National Health Survey as likely to be partially deaf. The great majority (88 percent) of these people were able to get
### Table 5

**Physical Condition and Age for the Superior Group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Characteristics</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70-79</th>
<th>80-89</th>
<th>90 up</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Build</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stocky</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vision</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe Loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesitant Impediment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unlimited</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House only</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health History</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
about as they wished. In contrast, the National Health Survey reported 14 percent of those sixty-five and over to be disabled as compared to one percent so classified in this study. In total, the four persons ninety years of age or over were rated lower in physique, and had approximately 30 percent more characteristics rated as poor as compared with an average of about eight percent so classified for all other ages. But that these oldest remained in such good health, is the feature to be noted.

More than half of the men continued some work (Table 4), for which renumeration was given. A physician over ninety continued to see some of his former patients, and a tailor, eighty-four years old, still worked full time in his own establishment. In general the professions apparently offered more possibilities for vocational continuance, while wage earners often took jobs unlike those held previously, and often on a part-time basis. Some 38 percent of the women were employed. Though two-thirds of them had earlier been housewives, almost half of these in their later years took part-time jobs outside the home. Most of the women did the domestic chores around the home efficiently. As already mentioned, the 101 year old woman still cleaned and tidied her room. The census of 1950 reports 39 percent of the men and eight percent of the women aged sixty-five and over as employed full or part time. More of this superior group were working; over half of the men eighty years of age and
### Table 4

**Remunerative Activities of the Successful Group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Males 60-69</th>
<th>Minister, Insurance Sales, Tutor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>Research Social Studies, Chemical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Research and Consulting, Summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teaching.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>Minister, Lawyer, Biological Research, Chemical Research,* Text Writer, Engineering Research.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90 up</td>
<td>Limited Medical Practice*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females 60-69</td>
<td>Sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Males 60-69</td>
<td>Proprietor and Real Estate Sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>Apiarist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>Tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Earner</td>
<td>Males 60-69</td>
<td>Stock Clerk, Railroad Guard, Truck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Driver, Bookkeeper*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>Sexton, Tool Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>Sales,* Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females 70-79</td>
<td>Nurse and Sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>Bookkeeper,* Baby sitter,* Farmer*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>Baby sitter,* Housemother, Baby sitter,* Teacher*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Part time
over were still doing some work at least part time, whereas national figures for this group are less than two in ten so engaged (38, Table 6).

Table 5 indicates the wide diversity of this groups' interests and activities having worth, for which they receive no renumeration. Over half did necessary work about the home including repair of furniture, or sewing. Hobbies were often such that the products could be put to use in the home, or involved real contributions to society or science. For example, a former museum curator's collection of shells was begun at retirement. The women worked about home and garden, and also belonged to groups of some seriousness of purpose.

Table 6 lists the prominent recreations of this superior group. The modern inventions of radio and television, bringing varied entertainment into the home, evidently do much for some of the old people; perhaps it is surprising that more of them do not mention these ways of passing time. It is the men who have active recreations, and the women who are more social.

Table 7 summarized an attempt at very rough appraisals by the writer of various characteristics of these 66 superior old persons. Though obviously rough and the judgment of one person, it is a judgment made after very careful study of the case reports, and personal acquaintance with many of these old persons. Thus there was evidence to indicate that two-thirds of the men in their eighties still had some
Table 5

Non-remunerative Activities of the Superior Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70-79</th>
<th>80-89</th>
<th>90 up</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home (not including routine housework)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collections</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Serious&quot; reading</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Univ. class</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6

Recreations of the Superior Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70-79</th>
<th>80-89</th>
<th>90 up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theater</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** These are the predominant recreational activities which occupy the group.
potential for worthwhile work. Only three percent of the total group were financially dependent on supplementation from other sources than their own, but over half had financial resources or income quite clearly adequate for security in their old age. And 80 percent of the people were so self-sufficient that they were not only financially, but in their way of life generally, clearly independent. Further, half of the total group - half even of the eighty year olds - are recognized by their associates as indeed personalities, and individuals of worth. A third are seen as in some respect having leadership status.

A very high proportion of these old people seemed happy or cheerful and with positive feelings about themselves. This mood seemed to be pervasive and a form of life philosophy with them - they "looked on the brighter side" and generally were calm and free from worrisome problems. This optimism led them to make plans for the future which were reasonable in light of their present prospects. Thus (as already mentioned) a tailor at eighty took a ten-year lease on his establishment. Three-fourths of these oldsters had many friends, and these were usually not confined to their occupational group, or age. Only 10 percent had few friends, seen infrequently. Another probable reason for their having friendships was their considerate feelings about others less fortunate; some 80 percent often gave to charitable causes and 40 percent did much to help others, usually at some
Table 7

Decade Comparisons on Various Characteristics of 66 Superior Cases (Percents Judged "Excellent" and "Poor"; Percents Rated "Average" Omitted)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>60-69</th>
<th>70-79</th>
<th>80-89</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocational Potential</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Plans</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Ability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Excellent</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Poor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The four cases 90 and over were not included in any decade comparison, but are included in Total.
expense of their own personal comfort.

A frequent comment in the interview reports was amaze­ment at the "vast energy" of these superior old people. They could and did work long and hard at those activities of interest to them. Only a small number complained of "tiredness" or gave lack of vigor as a reason for restricting their activities. And almost all seemed to maintain adequate intellectual functioning, in the judgment of the interviewers and others who knew them. About half of the cases stated that they felt no decrease in abilities. The major complaint was some tendency to forget details, as a name or place. One eighty-year old sagely remarked that perhaps he noticed his forgetfulness more now, because of the expectation that older people would be forgetful.

Comparison Between Twelve Cases Selected as Superior and Twelve Ill-adjusted Older People

To make important elements and factors in superiority clearer, a group of twelve ill-adjusted cases was selected to be compared with a similar number of the superior. In selecting the ill-adjusted, the effort was to keep in the same general socio-economic group and have persons in other similar respects like those who were "successful" in age. Each interviewer had a few "problem" cases that had been suggested for study, and it was from this group that the final selection was made. Each of the four interviewers who had seen the majority of cases, was asked to select four
cases, from his group of ill-adjusted, whom he considered typical or especially interesting. Each interviewer ranked his quartet from most to least ill-adjusted, in terms of his own criteria. This group of sixteen was then submitted to three other graduate students working in this field, who ranked them, and twelve were selected as the most complete cases and most ill-adjusted.

For the very superior group, essentially the same procedure was followed. From sixteen cases submitted as most successful, those twelve with the highest ranking were chosen. For this comparison, duplication of such obvious characteristics of the poor group as age, sex and occupation, was attempted so far as possible.

Results. The mean age of the superior group was 77 with a range from 65 to 101; for the ill-adjusted the mean was 74 and the range from 63 to 86. That is, the superior were older. This may very likely be a happenstance of selection, but perhaps the older have mellowed to relaxed fine old age - to a mellowing more often achieved in the eighties and nineties than earlier. Or perhaps advanced age per se, but with a lack of stereotyped behavior imputed to the "usual oldster," is in itself an important element in social acceptance. Seven of the superior cases were men and five women, but this proportion was reversed in the ill-adjusted, of whom there were five males and seven females. Of course, with the small number of cases, this presumably means
Table 8
Comparisons on Physical Characteristics of
Superior and Ill-adjusted Older Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Superior</th>
<th>Ill-adjusted</th>
<th>Wt. Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Health</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vision</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Health</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wt. Total</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Weighted Scores are gotten by multiplying 3, 2, and 1 for tallies of Excellent, Average, or Poor, respectively.
nothing. But with the demonstrated longer span of life for the female, this predominance in the ill-adjusted is interesting.

Six of the best adjusted were married, four were widowed and two single. Of the ill-adjusted five were married, five widowed, one single, and one divorced. The living conditions of the two groups differed little. Of those now married, all of the superior and four of the five ill-adjusted were living in their own homes with spouses. One couple rented an apartment. Of those widowed, two of the successful group lived in their own homes, as did three of the ill-adjusted. One case in each group lived in a son or daughter's home. There seems nothing differential in all this. Seven of the twelve outstanding old people continued useful employment of some sort, at least part-time, but only four of the unadjusted so continued.

Health seemed a topic so important that it seemed worthwhile to try a tabular summary. Table 8 shows that five of the ill-adjusted were considered to have poor health, but none of the superior, and so on. The weighted scores to the right show most difference between the two groups in health history or past health (19 versus 30 for the superior), next general health now (21 and 31), and next freedom of movement. Weighted totals at the bottom are most different as to the category "excellent" (78 versus 138). The superior
old are clearly superior in health and physique. Whether this good health is to be thought of a major factor contributing to their superiority of personality, a psychosomatic product thereof, or simply one phase of a total all-round superior whole, is still a question.

In an effort further to systematize comparisons, each case was appraised as regards thirteen characteristics, on the rough scale ("3" to indicate superiority in the trait, "2" average, and "1" inferiority or poorness in the characteristic) already used, as above regarding health. The material is summarized in the next table, the traits being arranged in order as they differentiated the two groups, as indicated by the right hand column.

As might well be expected in view of the basis of selection, the single most differentiating characteristic of the superior group was the respect with which they were regarded by those who knew them. Repeatedly they were so spoken of, widely known and highly regarded. The inadequate groups were less well known and not so regarded, even rejected.

Substantially as differential was feeling tone or mood. Eight of the superior were seen by others as cheerful, philosophical in accepting their limitations, having a sense of humor, able to take a joke on themselves. Only one of the inadequate was so characterized; but six of them were considered blue, complaining, even bitter, showing much
Table 9

Comparison Between Twelve Superior and Twelve Inadequate Cases as to Certain Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Weighted Totals</th>
<th>Difference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sup.</td>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>Poor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Recognition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Superior</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vitality</td>
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<td>Superior</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inadequate</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inadequate</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mental Ability</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
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Three characteristics, all favorable to the superior group, are not included in the above table because the differences were six or less. They were "altruistic", "flexibility" and "attractiveness" with differences of 6, 5, and 4 respectively.
self-concern - as contrasted to the superior, who regarded themselves in a detached often humorous fashion and were outgoing and interested in other people.

Equally differential (showing a difference of 13 between weighted totals) was the tendency of the superior to plan for the future. None of the superior group bemoaned their old age except as a feeling sometimes expressed, "There was just not enough time" to do all the things they would like. Eight had made future realistic plans that were judged excellent on the basis of their demonstrated interests or abilities. But only three had so done, of the ill-adjusted group. In contrast, eight of the ill-adjusted, but none of the superior, never mentioned positive plans for the future. All of the superior had some future goals and present projects, ranging from completion of manuscripts or exhibiting dress designs, to taking courses in French and dramatic writing even when over seventy years old.

Not only did the superior group make realistic future plans; they apparently had the necessary vitality to make the plans possible of completion. Eleven of the superior group were rated high in this respect. In contrast, five of the poorer group complained of "tiredness," and "lack of strength." None of the superior group were lethargic; rather they showed, in many little incidents as well as in larger trends, an energy that was surprising to the interviewer. In fact, several reports spoke of an old person
continuing an interview with an enthusiasm that finally wore out the interviewer.

The superior group tended to be rich in friends—long time acquaintances, much liked relatives, also younger persons, and this even in the very latest years. The most important groups were usually those related to past vocation; so the businessman belonged to trade groups and perhaps Rotary, the professional man to professional associations or faculty groups. Church associates might be important. Nine of the better adjusted but only three of the inadequate had a variety of friends, in varied groups. Seven of the poorly adjusted mentioned being lonely or having very few friends and these visited very infrequently. All but two of the superior held membership in more than three organizations. But nine of the inadequate mentioned no association with any group. Not only did the superior oldsters belong to groups; they were respected sufficiently by other members to be elected to positions in their groups. Four of the superior group held office, but none were so elected in the inadequate group.

The next three items in the table may well be considered together. Nine of the superior (but only one of the inadequate) had dependable income or financial resources, adequate for their standard of living. They were financially secure, at a level not merely of need but of comfort. Moreover, eight of the superior were or had been in fields of
work where some continuance of work was possible if they so desired - and some were continuing so to do. Five of the inadequate also had this vocational potential; but six of this group (as compared to only one of the superior) had been in work which offered no present possibility for them, had no hobbies or other interests of possible economic worth, and would have been very much at a loss as to what to do, if money-earning were to become necessary. A further trait was in part based on the above circumstances but went further; eleven of the superior were noticeable for their sturdy independence. In contrast, three of the inferior group were so dependent on others - not so much for care or help as for emotional support, decision-making, and morale - as to make them burdens.

Finally six of the superior group were often remarked upon for their continuing alertness and wide-ranging minds. Retirement seemed sometimes even to bring a certain "release of intelligence" from confinement to a vocation, and increased flexibility of mind. They ventured into new fields of interest, learned new things, were ready spoken and interesting conversationalists in a variety of topics. In contrast, three of the inadequate group seemed increasingly to settle back intellectually, had nothing much to say except the same old things, mostly about the past.
Summary

In brief summary, the contrasts between the superior and the ill-adjusted older person support the characteristic elements found in the larger superior group. Thus the superior oldsters were not only active and useful but regarded highly for thus being. And health circumstances being good, they continued association with friends and membership in groups. In contrast, self-preoccupation, withdrawal, and few friendly associations typified those judged ill-adjusted; which characteristics were not part of the superior's personality.

While similar in age, the ill-adjusted had less vitality; were less able to get about without dependence upon others; conversely the more successful could, and did, continue able to work and be relatively independent of others.

Contributing factors in the good adjustment of the superior typically included not only the support of a spouse and financial security; usually they long had lived in their own homes in the same community, and were fortunate in the conditions already mentioned. And the superior were getting enjoyment in old age; were happy and cheerful in their continued activity; and optimistic that these supportive conditions would continue.
CHAPTER VII
GROUPS SERVING OLDER PEOPLE

The number and variety of clubs devoted to the interests of the older has increased rapidly within the last few years. There has been a persisting demand from the older to have facilities for group meetings. The opinions of those now members of such groups of the older seem to be favorable, and the value of social contacts is often mentioned. A study of certain of these groups was therefore undertaken to gain an understanding of their membership and activities. A Golden Age Club intended for persons over sixty was intensively studied by the writer. Observations were made on the average of two per month in May and June of 1952, and were continued from October through February in 1953. In total, the group was seen on fifteen occasions. Another group of Golden Agers, in an economically poorer neighborhood, was visited by two workers on ten occasions and the results of their observations are also included. A final group of women studied was the Grandmothers Club, which exhibits interesting contrasts to the other two. Twice monthly meetings of this group were attended by the writer over a period of four months in 1952, and again in 1953 over a period of six months he visited them on the average of once a month. Also briefly described are certain other groups which serve older people in part, or could do so.
A Golden Age Club

Initial contact with the first Golden Age Club mentioned above was made through a club member, who introduced the writer to the club president. The intention expressed was to get to know the club members well and to see their usual activities. It was stressed that the visits were primarily for the friendly understanding of an interesting group. The writer was introduced by the president as a university student interested in "finding out about old folks." The members at first were cordial but reserved; they later became much less concerned about his presence. He became an active participant, playing cards with the members and being a good listener. Obviously, no notes were taken until after the meetings, and where interviews with members occurred, these were friendly "chats" during a game of cards or over a cup of coffee. While the writer often was present at the meetings and in time was accepted as a "young" member, he was but one of the sources of information about the group. At least two others of the research staff attended various meetings and wrote reports of their observations.

Nature of the Group. The club is made up of people roughly sixty years of age or older, of both sexes. The only requirement for admission is old age, with an unwritten requirement limiting membership to whites. The group is sponsored by the city recreation department. It does not belong to the national organization of Golden Age Clubs but
did previously. The members meet from one o'clock until four each Tuesday at a Community House in a rundown neighborhood. Their meeting room is the basketball court, on which chairs and tables are arranged; the room is bare of any furnishings to give it a more homey appearance and there are no facilities for lounging except the folding chairs. The group's total membership is over one hundred, but only about thirty attend the weekly meetings. There is one short business meeting each month, and a monthly pot-luck dinner; the meetings are otherwise devoted primarily to card playing.

The club was organized about twelve years ago through the efforts of two persons, one of whom is now the president, on the assumption that there were older persons in the community who would like to meet for social recreation. As the members now view it they are not politically oriented and do not intend that they should be so. Initially some wanted a group similar to the Townsend Clubs and politically active. However, the majority, led by the president, decided against any political orientation. The size of the group has changed little - new members merely replace those who drop out; attendance at meetings has been fairly constant.

**General Activities.** The most apparent commonality of interest appears to be card playing and mere contact with persons of similar age. Various sub-groups within the organization form tables for playing bridge, pinochle, euchre, canasta, chinese checkers, and bingo. This last is the most
variable group, composed often of members who cannot make up a table of cards, and who then join the six "regular" bingo players. Largely the same games and partners continue each week except when interrupted by the monthly pot-luck dinner, a rare business meeting, and sometimes a movie. The movie is well attended even though it is shown on the second floor which is accessible only by a steep staircase. Each week coffee and sometimes cake or cookies is furnished; the money for this is contributed by the members. Attempts by the Community House staff to get the members interested in other games such as deck shuffleboard have been unsuccessful. At rare intervals through the summer, when the club does not meet regularly, picnics along the river are arranged and well attended.

The activities of the group will be more specifically considered in two situations: the business meeting, and the more usual days spent playing cards or other games. Some observations presented will be a composite of as many as six meetings, while in other instances, one day will be used to exemplify the usual. This latter method seems justified since the stereotype can be gotten from one meeting and succeeding observations showed little variation.

**Business Meeting.** The groups playing cards were summoned into the kitchen by the president for a business meeting. A prayer was said, then the secretary read the minutes of the last meeting. This was followed by the
treasurer's report of a cash balance of thirty dollars. The vice president reported that three members were confined to the hospital, and that one member had died. A motion was then made to send flowers for the deceased, as was the usual custom. This stirred up discussion as to whether the club should spend the limited funds to send flowers for the deceased or rather to sick members. The majority felt that it would be more practical to ease the pain of the sick with flowers, rather than to honor the dead with a floral tribute, that instead a card sent to the family of the deceased member would be as appropriate. The motion to send the flowers as usual was agreed upon, but with the provision that in the future the new ruling of flowers to the sick would be carried out. The president went on to remark that he had spent some time visiting one of the sick members and encouraged others to do more of this, as the patient was so grateful for the diversion. Throughout the meeting, members in small sub-groups talked among themselves; many listened very little to the proceedings. A younger member who made the flower amendment argued loudly and vigorously with other members who did not like her proposal. In general, she dominated the small gatherings with the assistance of three friends who play canasta with her. The president went along rather reluctantly and was not decisive in favor of one group or the other.
Throughout the meeting there was little formal recognition of a member who wished to speak; comments or suggestions were made spontaneously from the floor. The apathy of most members made it possible for anyone making a suggestion, or the president sponsoring a motion, to have it carried.

Election of new officers occurred at one meeting. There was no competition for any office. The president, who has held the position for more than ten years, was nominated and re-elected. The other two officers were also retained in their positions.

At the close of the business meetings the members formed small groups and filed past the tables for coffee and cake. They remained standing in the kitchen eating their refreshments, then returned to their card games.

A Social Game-playing Meeting. The following is a description of the usual meeting, given over chiefly to card games. The group meets at one o'clock and a half hour later all are occupied with their games. These continue until coffee time when all gather in the kitchen for about half an hour, after which they return to their cards. At about four o'clock the meeting is ended by children entering the room for their own noisy games. The old people then put on their wraps and leave; about half are driven to and from the meeting by friends or relatives, while the others travel by bus or walk from nearby homes.
A few years ago a vigorous worker at the Community House sponsored singing, dancing and other like activities, but since she left these have not been continued. Instead certain games are played, the same people playing together every week. These little sub-groups are autonomous and there is some in-group feeling against the rest of the members. For example, one woman playing Chinese checkers remarked: "Our table always has more fun than the others, we laugh more here than the rest do." There is little interaction between the bingo group, for example, and those playing canasta. Typically there would be only three or four people who would come from one table to speak to members at another table. One would be the secretary of the club, a woman in the seventies who is lively, cheerful, and well liked by the others. A woman in her early sixties who is apparently the most aggressive in the organization, as well as the youngest, also circulated about.

Five members usually played Chinese Checkers. Two are in the eighties, two in the late seventies, and the other in the sixties. There is competition to get the marbles into the proper goal first, but this very often is accompanied by joshing about turns for moving and teasing by the various players. The woman who is secretary plays with this group and in an afternoon she may win three or four of the six games played. The oldest person in the group will frequently make very inefficient moves with her marbles and often will
be helped jokingly by the secretary. She also often places the marble incorrectly causing it to roll, perhaps drop to the floor. The second oldest does not have this difficulty, nor does she ever mistake her proper turn. The conversation is usually concerned with the moves possible in the game, with very little gossip or self-reference statements noted. This appears to be the most congenial and cohesive of all the sub-groups; rarely is one of the players absent. They sit close about the table and often two women hold hands or pat the hand of another player. They are affectionate towards one another and seem to enjoy the physical proximity throughout the game.

A bingo game has more players than any other, also the group's composition is variable. Each player has a card on which he places little squares corresponding to the numbers called. The players are very intent on the game and much interested in the outcome, evidencing displeasure or disappointment if they do not win. Most of the players are among the eldest in the club, and the tempo of the game depends on the speed of the caller - the caller is rotated after each "card." Of about ten persons usually playing, one will not "call" because he can not "see well enough" or for similar reasons. The interviewer sat in with this group several times and there seems to be very little difficulty discerning the cards or making the correct play.
Three women and one man play pinochle. There has been trouble getting a fourth for this table; three people are usually available but the fourth has to be picked up. The man is a former dance instructor while the women are housewives. He carries on quite a lively discussion throughout the games, usually on how smart he was to make a particular play, and how poor the opponents were. He expressed a wish at one meeting to have more activities and had one woman play the piano while he danced with another. While some of the non-players enjoyed his demonstration, the others hardly looked up from their games. It was only a short time before he gave up (coffee was ready) and after refreshments, all went back to their games. He has no patience with beginners trying to learn pinochle, as he evidenced one afternoon when in want of a fourth an older woman joined the group. He criticized her playing continually, giving post-mortems as to where she should have played a particular card, and was not adverse to having her change a card as the game progressed. He often chews a cigar while he plays, and makes biting comments on the rules that prevent smoking in the shelter house. A few times the interviewer attempted to get him to talk about his activities throughout the week, but he was reticent, mentioning only that he could usually pick up a few dollars doing odd jobs for neighbors, gardening, or fixing furniture. He did mention that more men should show up for the meetings, and that the women talked too much.
There is one man who "kibitzes" at this pinochle group. He is from Tennessee, has been a transient worker in many states, was divorced from his first wife, remarried, and is now a widower. At any time he is quite willing to reminisce about old times while he was traveling about. The subject is usually about fishing or jobs that he worked at, particularly the years he worked on a railroad. It is difficult to carry on an extended conversation with him as he has difficulty hearing even a rather loud-spoken word. He was one of the few who played shuffleboard when provisions were set up at the Center, but he didn't seem to be able to interest any one else in the game. The interviewer played with him a few times, and while all rules of the game were violated, the running chatter that the man kept up was enjoyed. He does not seem to be accepted in any group. He sits at various tables, is usually alone, and most times speaks to no one throughout the meetings.

Four persons earlier played bridge but lately have switched to canasta, often using two or three other members to make a larger game. They come from the same section of town and are friends who belong to other organizations also - the Eastern Star, and the Rebeccas (a women's auxiliary of the Odd Fellows). One woman is married and her husband, a laborer in town, often stops at the club in the late afternoon to play cards. There is some condescending towards the other members in the club evident in this group. It is
apparent that they are among the youngest, probably three are in the late fifties or early sixties, while the fourth is not much older. The fourth player at this table is often a man who has retired from the railroad. The conversation in the group often involves the latest meetings of church groups or local news items. There is some joking about the ability of various members to play bridge, and also gossip about marriage difficulties they have experienced. The husband who joins the group is a younger, boisterous person who often smokes a cigar, which is against club rules. He is loud in conversation and often arouses anger from others in the group by his continual use of the term "pop." This is perhaps indicative of the usual attitude of this table toward the rest of the persons in the club. They speak disparagingly about the ability of the rest of the group to play cards, and when coffee or a dinner is served, they sit together at the end of a table, well separated from the rest of the club members.

**Another Golden Age Club**

Some of the problems encountered in these older groups are exhibited in the following excerpts from two interviewers' reports of another Golden Age Club which meets in a Community House in a more deteriorated section of the city. Some twelve visits were made to club meetings over a period of fourteen months. The two observers, both women, attempted to establish themselves in a friendly, non-obtrusive way
with the members. One, a young negress, lived in the immediate neighborhood and had previously participated in the club as a volunteer staff member; her husband was associated as a professional person with the younger groups in the same Community House. The second, a mature woman, gained contact with the group through a woman previously interested; she easily became active in preparing foods, setting tables, etc., along with the regular membership. The women made their observations independently of each other, one during 1952, the other during 1953. While the second observer understood the group had already been visited, she was not aware of the reports already filed. Nevertheless, the two sets of observations are so similar as to make them appear part of the same series of reports.

**General Nature of Group.** The Club has been organized and active since 1944, and all this time under the supervision of the same staff member who herself is aged. The group is held together primarily by her personality. The main activity of the group is to lunch together. Dues of twenty-five cents help pay for the food. While most members arrive thirty minutes before lunch is served to sit and chat, a few women come as early as eight o'clock to help the staff member prepare the food. The majority of the members leave immediately after the lunch with two or three remaining to help with the dishes. The responsibility for planning and preparing the lunch rests primarily with the staff member,
who tends to be over-protective in her attitude toward the group.

The approximately sixty members are all on old age pension or assistance. Most are white; however, in recent years the group has included some six or more Negro men and one Negro woman. The men have been accepted (a Negro of 93 is the pet of the group) but the woman is not liked. There are about three times as many women as men, and the meeting is dominated by the women's chatter, while the men sit at a table near the door waiting to be served. They seldom come any further into the room, and they are not encouraged to do so by the women.

Leadership, and Nature of the Meetings. Mrs. S., as president of the group, gives the impression of coming from a higher economic and educational background than the others; she is, however, on pension. Her attitude is generally condescending when agreed with and dominating when provoked. Her attitude is one of doing for rather than with; there is much hostility toward her and many would welcome her withdrawal.

The vitality of the group seems to reside in the staff member, who knows the neighborhood and all the people and their problems, takes an active interest in their lives, and makes long and patient home visits with them after the meeting. She encourages them to come to the meetings and they respect and love her for her kindness and attention. However, it is always apparent she does for the group and
certainly what is done is not a product of the initiative or choice of the group. Rather, the leadership is inspired by a feeling of wanting to do something for the "underprivileged" and as such seems thinly disguised charity. As there is little or no group program (although the director has experimented with showing films and they were well received) it might be concluded that what vitality the group has is derived from the food, and the friendship of the staff member. The group suffers from lack of any activity or program, but perhaps this lack is countered by the warmth and kindness of the staff member and the association with people of like ages and problems.

The extremely limited content of the "program" and apathy of the group is suggested by a summary of one meeting reported by the first observer; essentially the same appraisal was made by the second worker. Conversation dragged. Practically everyone complained of a cold or some other illness or discomfort. The president asked each woman by way of conversation whether her rent had been raised. None had been, within the last few weeks. The other prime subject of talk was as to when the old-age assistance checks would arrive. It was said that they were never put in the mail over week-ends, so Monday delivery was not expected.

The staff member suggested some singing about noon, and the president went to the piano and searched in vain for some song books which the group was said to have bought and
which had disappeared. She was able to play a few of the old-type evangelistic hymns and sang them all - every verse - in an off-key which discouraged general participation. Much of the time she performed solo. One man was present during the singing, but his voice was not heard.

The staff member asked everyone to meet after lunch to plan the Christmas party. A question about a Thanksgiving party was ignored. When someone mentioned movies, she said last time too few remained to see them to justify continuing them; privately she told the observer she thought lack of interest was due to poor eyesight. A holiday tea on New Year's Day was decided on, and a Christmas dinner at the regular Monday meeting. With these dates settled the staff member said she would turn them in to "the office" which had been asking for them. Someone asked about food for both events, and she said not to worry, that it would be provided. An exchange of gifts was suggested, but scotched by her because it would cost them money and she didn't want them to have to spend. Some asked for games such as they have at another club but she said some disapprove so they are out, unless at the tea. Several opportunities to initiate group projects were not taken. A query about officers brought mention of their existence but no one officiated except the president.

The staff member also brought in a paper carton filled with pieces of burlap and a few partly-finished burlap shopping
bags, and asked the women if they would care to make any for themselves. They showed slight interest, asked about linings, etc., so she said next week she would provide the materials needed. The domination by the president and the staff member, and lack of opportunity for planning or participation by the group, is evident.

**Grandmothers Club**

This group was observed about twenty times by the writer over a period of two years. It was first seen early in one year when meeting in a park recreation building; somewhat later, additional observations were made when the meetings were in a church basement; final observations occurred after the club had returned to its original meeting place. These changes illustrate a problem often confronting these older groups, of finding suitable places for meeting. The recreation building offered space, but the room was chill and bare and was used by an adolescent group also. The church room was much enjoyed because it was much more comfortable, and because a television set, a radio, and comfortable lounges were available. However, the group lost members whose religious scruples would not permit enjoying the facilities of a denomination other than their own. Then the church changed pastors and the new man was opposed to having this group, not part of the church activities, meeting in the church building. A return to the recreation building became necessary.
This group was also observed by two others in the research group who attended various meetings and reported these. First contacts were suggested by members who were already known. The writer was described to the group as a student who was interested in seeing what the grandmothers were doing, and acceptance was readily gotten, for they were proud of their active program.

The observer usually took a seat in the back row during the business portions of the meetings and could make jottings on happenings unobtrusively. At other times it was possible to hear what occurred by sitting in a nearby anteroom and yet be unobserved. During the refreshment period there was so much visiting and bustling that it was possible to circulate easily and attract little attention. After several visits to the group it was felt that the observer's presence was so accepted as to not cause any change in the usual procedures during the meeting. The observer often got to meetings early and helped set up tables and otherwise prove helpful. This sincere interest was reciprocated by a warm and friendly response from most of the membership. Another demonstration of good rapport was the group's overwhelming secret vote to initiate a test series during the last observations and their good attendance during this voluntary period. At the termination of the testing, many expressed their liking for the series, and volunteered to continue other tests if this was desired.
Nature of the Group. The group is composed of women whose average age is about seventy, but some of the grandmothers are as young as thirty-eight; the oldest now is ninety. The only qualification for membership is that of being a grandmother; however, a requirement of "good manners and good moral conduct" is part of their acceptance procedures. Negroes are not included. Total membership is about eighty-five and about two-thirds of these attend the four-hour weekly meetings. Also, there is quite a variation in socio-economic circumstances in the group. Some are widows of former railroad conductors, for example, while others are married to professional people. They are in general well dressed, and of good appearance. There is some sub-group cohesion within the larger unit; these women typically sit and converse during the meetings and leave together. Dues of $1.50 per year are assessed each member. The meeting room in the recreation building is large, and bare of furnishings except folding chairs, a long buffet table and their own piano. Besides this room they have the use of a small kitchen where they prepare their luncheons.

This group was activated in 1948 by a man who had seen such a program in Chicago and desired to establish a chapter in Ohio. It had been affiliated with the national organization of grandmothers groups but has allowed this membership to lapse. Its primary reason for being, as stated in the "Grandmothers Creed" written by a member, is to perform
charitable and civic services, as well as to elevate grandmotherhood to its true level of recognition. The officers are elected by the membership, and include a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and historian; all the officers are held in respect by the membership.

**Activities.** The programs are occasionally varied but 90 percent of the meetings are of two types; a business and social affair, and a monthly, drill team meeting. The group has participated in local radio and television shows, and lately has had square dances and evening dinners. Hostesses for affairs such as the Hobby show for old people have come from this group. The drill team has given demonstrations during State Fair Week. While it is not a sponsored activity of the club, a good percentage of the membership are volunteer visitors to persons confined to the home, and also many have been accepted as volunteers at local homes for the aged.

The business and social meetings occur twice monthly. The following report is typical. The five delegated committee members arrived at noon to prepare the room for the meeting. Chairs were set up and the officers' center table was erected. Preparations were then begun in the kitchen for the refreshments. All dishes were re-washed, and paper plates, napkins, spoons, etc. were got ready. Two women came about 12:30 o'clock with ice cream and three large cakes they had baked for the group. After about fifty persons were present, the business meeting was called to order by the president. A
flag salute initiated the meeting, followed by the recitation by the group of a short prayer. The minutes of the last meeting were read and the treasurer's report of $150 in her account was accepted. The president continued to new business which involved a motion to support a local charity. The motion was carried because obviously that was the intention of several prominent members, as well as the president. There was little discussion of the motion. Another point was discussed as to the need for more correspondence with sick members. This dissolved in an impasse as the former president felt that more materials should be supplied to members to write cards at the close of the meeting, yet no one could suggest how this could easily be arranged. The motion was tabled for further discussion by the officers.

A plaque given to a local hospital was shown; it is a recognition of donations made by the club. The former president explained that five dollars was given by the Grandmothers Club to the hospital whenever a member died. The suggestion that the group again visit the hospital was agreed upon.

After this portion of the business meeting was completed, visitors, new members, and their sponsors were asked to come to the front of the group. These persons were introduced by the sponsors, and were warmly applauded. Each was asked to tell a little about herself, her residence, etc. At this meeting there were about twelve women introduced; the group
was applauded and all went back to their seats.

The women then sang six or seven songs, led by a former music teacher. Most joined the singing, and all were exhorted often by the director to sing louder. All apparently enjoyed this song period which lasted about a half hour. The members had many suggestions for selections from their song books.

At about 3:00 o'clock the business section of the meeting was brought to a close by a march played on the piano, which signaled the payment of dues. Each woman filed past the president's table and deposited coins in three receptacles placed there. Those members whose birthday fell within the month placed a penny for each year in a large fish bowl; another container was for contributions for aid to an organization helping crippled children; the third was for the cancer fund.

At the return to their chairs the refreshments were ready and everyone received generous helpings of cake, ice cream and coffee. They gathered in small groups talking amicably, and there was much good-natured bantering in the groups. At about 4:00 o'clock most of the members left, with a "clean-up" detail remaining.

About twenty persons belong to the drill team that meets once monthly. The members are very earnest in getting the patterns of drill correct; the drill instructor is also the music teacher for the group. The group proceeds directly -
to their two hours of practice, broken by about fifteen minutes for rest period. The majority of the women are in their fifties or sixties, but one is eighty-five. They appeared to have no difficulty following the rhythm of the music and created designs of some intricacy. The director was patient but expressed displeasure if mistakes were made often. While the group took the drill seriously, yet there was good-natured joking and laughter when confusion occurred, not infrequently.

The drill team members wear white ornate dresses and sashes when presenting their drill. They perform at some meetings and are always warmly applauded by the Grandmothers group. There is prestige gotten from the others for the participation in this activity.

The following recent report was made by an observer who is continuing contact with this group. This meeting celebrated the fifth anniversary of the founding of the local Grandmothers Club and was a very special occasion. About seventy were present. The room is not well heated but the chilliness did not seem to affect the enthusiasm of the members. The observer was greatly impressed with the vitality and cordiality of the group and the wide variations in age and background. The meeting itself included salute to the flag, group singing from their own books, drill team, stunts and games, square dancing, birthday cake and refreshments. The president and most of those responsible
for the program were the younger members, though the registrar is eighty-four years old and very actively on the job. Some of the program stunts were clever, original and humorous, and the participation was amazing for such a mixed group. The leader of the singing and the drill team is a part-time teacher; her voice is poor for group work but she got results.

The six "teen-agers" present (those past eighty) wore large gold ribbon bows, and were singled out for special recognition. One of them is past ninety. The drill team wore white dresses with lavender tissue-paper ribbons; and the birthday guests for the month wore gold cardboard crowns. Leading the square dancing was a member of the Recreation Department staff who used a new caller record and a new player of which he was very proud. Everyone who could participated. Judging by the difficulties most of them had with the steps and calls they were not used to a square dance program, but they loved it. The treasurer was collecting dues and kept very busy receiving them; the refreshments are paid for out of the club treasury. There were collections of change for special charity needs.

Their historical scrapbook, put together by a previous president, was shown with much pride. Apparently she was a very vigorous executive who took entirely too much initiative to suit the others; she went to the national meetings of the Grandmothers Federation, and in several ways caused much dissension in the group. She no longer attends regularly.
The present president is charming and cooperative and seems to encourage much group participation.

**Appraisals**

The groups described are clearly different in the ways they operate and presumably the extent to which they meet the needs of old people. The Golden Age group first mentioned, illustrated a limited program. The over-emphasis of card playing often was cited by those who were potential members as reasons for not joining. Many in the group disliked the rigidity of the typical program but their own inertia led to passive acceptance. This passiveness easily led to domination of the group by a few members. Little was done spontaneously by the membership, there was little interest in election of officers and withdrawal by most members from any positive attempts at initiating new activities.

This passivity and dependency seems to the writer particularly deleterious since it tends to reinforce these old folks in a societal role they are already too much accepting - that of the neglected, peripheral oldster, who had long since served their usefulness. Instead of becoming active in a group of their peers, their feelings of inadequacy are continued.

The group reaction to new members is further evidence of passivity and social irresponsibility. Instead of receiving recognition and friendliness, the newcomer is allowed to make himself known as best he can, and often
merely wanders about the hall, never really establishing acquaintance with anyone. This situation is obviously demoralizing to those who join the group with the hope of finding others aware of and sympathetic to their feelings of loneliness. Instead of exhibiting hospitality, the members scarcely even nod to a newcomer, then return to their own areas of interest, their games.

The physical circumstances of the meeting place may have much to do with the lack of wider socialization and group interaction. The group has no room of its own, only use of the basketball court a few hours once a week. The lack of table arrangement for easy social intercourse, the barrenness of the furnishings, the knowledge of the need for leaving promptly when children come in from school, all add to a rather barren, cold, limited social atmosphere.

With all these weaknesses the group does serve several purposes, as evidenced by the good attendance of certain members. It does allow personal contact with others at least for a few hours. For many, this is the primary social opportunity of the week. Confinement most of the time to an apartment or room with no friends or relatives present is not uncommon. This gathering at the Community House offers relief from loneliness, and opportunities to talk to others.

The refreshments seem of decided value for these old folks. Not only do they enjoy the coffee and dessert but gathering with others over such a repast is very satisfying.
for them. For many it appears that this eating is a psychological mechanism which often serves as some release from frustrations. This behavior has had ill effects on some; while getting overly stout from overeating, they are continuously hungry.

Also, these people do get satisfaction and a sense of security from identification with the group. If sick, they can expect cards and visits from members, also if accidents befall them they can get help from the sponsors through their own officers. The total value of the club is a complex thing involving all the above; it appears in the statement made frankly by a member: "It gives me a reason for living."

It appears that this was not an understatement, for the speaker had just spent two months in a hospital with multiple fractures brought about by a fall. This woman was confined only about half the usual time necessary for recovering from such injuries, and returned to the group on crutches her first week at home. So while there are obvious functions the group does not perform, it does serve a real function for many.

The paucity of the program and the extreme lack of leadership from within the group was even more noticeable in the second Golden Age Club, in the very poor district. A condescending "charity" attitude seems to develop easily in a slum area and with individuals on old age assistance. The over-solicitous leadership not only stifles initiative but
again develops feelings of inadequacy and ends in disinterest and apathy. The meetings become periods where food is gotten after a necessary period of attendance.

Even with such weakness, the club does serve these people, however. Some acquaintanceship is established; just the fact of being with people is appreciated by many of these oldsters. Also, affection, though smothering, is obviously given to the members by the sponsor, and the members are grateful.

The third group of older people (the Grandmothers Club) seems a much more dynamic organization and apparently meets more adequately membership needs. Yet even in this lively group there is evidence of an overdependency upon the leaders. Little use is made of committees, for example; rather, a small number of leaders typically carry all responsibilities. The usual long "passive" program also is not conducive to all the general participation that is desirable; most often half the time is spent sitting listening to others.

Here also the lack of professional guidance from group workers who understand the elderly is particularly evident. While professional personnel are available at the community center, they have been trained to work with younger groups, and seem sometimes not aware of age differences in interests and potentialities. For example, at one time provisions were made to have table tennis facilities available for these old people; their reaction was very negative and further
reinforced their feelings of the "professionals" inadequacy.

In spite of certain difficulties such as mentioned above, this Grandmothers group had the most interested and active membership of all the groups seen. The participation by members, although not all that might be wished for, was much more general than in any of the other groups. The activities and programs were more varied with obvious enjoyment resulting. Outlets for release of activity in singing, dancing, and marching were more in line with the membership need than any other group. This exercise not only had possible benefits as a health measure, but was keenly enjoyed.

Overdominance by the leadership was mentioned above. Yet facilities were available to give members some small responsibility such as setting tables, and these activities were readily accepted. And the group recognized and showed appreciation of such services. Also recognition for aging, while somewhat overdone (as in the to-do for those over eighty) was given and respect for the older in the group was noticeable.

The effectiveness and vitality of the group, it appeared to the writer, came in considerable part from their real concern for the needs of others. They dedicated the club in part to concern for the welfare of others and interest in civic services. This helpfulness has placed their emphasis upon others, and so self-reference to sickness and troubles
are less in this group than in any of the others observed. They also have feelings of identification with accepted social goals, which are often verbalized with great pride. There is a kindliness and tact which shows itself in many ways, as in their recognition of new members, for example; not only are such persons introduced by a friend and applauded by the group, but provisions are made to seat them at tables with the club officers, where they are the center of attention.

Values of the club, as seen by its members, were often mentioned to the writer. One woman expressed a frequently mentioned feeling: "My children are all grown up; I've been terribly lonely lately ever since they married and moved away, until I joined this club." A vigorous and attractive woman in her sixties said: "My son (a physician) wants me always to stay at home, but won't let me do any of the housework. He's gotten a girl in for that, so I feel useless. But here I get away from the house and really enjoy doing things with these ladies." A third woman said: "Coming here gives me companionship I couldn't get anywhere else." A fourth remarked that "Everyone is so nice and friendly" and also, "I get to know so many new people." All these statements suggest something of the values of these groups to the members, and the contributions to their mental hygiene.
Other Programs Serving Older People

The previous pages have dealt with groups serving older people only. There remain to be considered certain church and fraternal programs and other groups which have been of importance for the cases studied or for other reasons were inquired into. Contacts were sometimes slight but results nevertheless seemed of some value as exhibiting some of the resources available to old people.

In some instances, one of the investigators was a member of the group reported upon, and thus had continuing and intimate understanding of its nature and activities. Regarding others, the writer or other of the investigators talked with one or more of those closely concerned. Regarding several groups, information was available from several sources.

A Church Group Made Up Primarily of Older Women. A long established women's group in a protestant church was reported in a series of statements by one of the investigators, who was a member. The group has been in existence as long as the church and a majority of the present members of the club have belonged for some 40 years and most are now widowed, or spinsters. The static membership seems to have come about largely because the neighborhood has changed from family residences to many rooming houses with few new church members coming in; there has been little alteration or growth. Since the group is long established, it is highly homogenous,
set in its ways, and relatively lacking in any out-going friendliness to strangers. The following are very brief descriptions of certain meetings. The first was typical of most. The next two show possibilities of enlivenment and suggest that even such a relatively limited and almost dead organization might do much for its older members.

January meeting. This gathering was in the church parlors. Attendance was about 20, with the usual group. First was a speaker and rather stiff devotional service with one member carrying most of the burden. Interest flagged. Then there was a tea and social hour with little spontaneity. As usual, one of the oldest members, and most wealthy, held court at one end of the room and dealt at long length with her physical ailments.

Meeting in February. A Valentine tea at the home of one of the members drew a larger crowd than usual with a few younger women guests. Following a short business meeting and a devotional service, a reporter from a local newspaper talked on hobbies. After this, tea and cookies were served from a beautifully decorated table. In the social hour there was much more general mingling, and evident enjoyment than usual. The observer member thought these gains due probably to meeting in a home rather than the rather drab church room, the attractive refreshments, the speaker, and the larger group with some younger women.

Meeting in March. The group staged a cafeteria supper and hobby show which was open to the public. This was quite an undertaking for so small and predominantly elderly a group. But younger women helped with the kitchen work. And the hobby displays aroused much interest, even though most of them were collections of buttons, stamps, and other like items and showed little imagination. However, one exhibitor had become something of a neighborhood expert about African violets. And a 72 year old woman with no art training showed intricate soap carvings and watercolors. This meeting was regarded as interesting and successful. There was no formal program. Each member had a chance to show and chat about her special interest. The hobby display tables were the center of attention.

June meeting. Attendance was 20, of whom only four were under fifty. The meeting after the pot-luck luncheon was apathetic and there was little interest shown in the
election of officers. During the discussion of plans for the next year, the observer-member suggested more meetings in homes. At first this idea was received negatively; everyone seemed to have a physical ailment, or other reasons why it would be difficult. But finally, after the observer offered to have a meeting in her home, the idea was agreed to.

The observer felt, after working with the group all winter, that it had no feeling of accomplishment, and that the usual meetings in the church were so much alike and so familiar in the topic talked about - usually some phase of church work - that they could hardly stimulate much interest. But meetings like the second and third mentioned, which were different, did seem to have possibilities. Most of the older women do not go out much, have creative hobbies, or any variety of friends. It was felt that the church might, through this group and otherwise, do much for these women - and that they could contribute appreciably to the church, if some constructive leadership were given.

Another protestant women's group was somewhat similarly observed by the pastor who was also a member of the research staff, and with largely similar conclusions. And the Christmas party of a third group was somewhat similar, with too much done for the old people, and almost no participation by them.

The Older Person and Fraternal or Similar Organizations. It might be hoped that fraternal groups, many of which stress providing institutional care for elderly members needing it, would do much for the older in their local membership; but
the contrary was for the most part found. Thus a religious
d fraternal order has a large building about forty years old
in a somewhat deteriorated area near the center of town.
The residential secretary was interested in the investigator's
visit, and very cooperative. He said the membership seemed
bi-modal. There was a large group of younger men who made
use of the big swimming pool, ballroom, bowling alley, lounge,
and cafeteria. An older group (mostly over sixty) largely
residual from the early days of the building, now came there
little. Many of them have moved to other parts of town.
And public transportation to the building is not convenient.
There is no program for older people.

An organization for young women with a downtown building
was also visited by the writer, initially to see whether a
room might there be had for meetings of the Grandmothers
Club. A rule that refreshments could not be served in the
meeting room prevented this group from meeting there. The
secretary went on to remark that older women presented
sundry problems. They often want advice. Since the organi-
ization is for young women, any special effort to serve the
older would have to be cleared with the national organization.
Making living accommodations available to them would bring
sundry complications. They might wish to prepare food in
their rooms, and would want their own bathrooms. A class on
investments was visited with about 50 people mostly middle
aged to elderly, and with good discussion. But apparently
little by way of educational programs for older people was provided.

The buildings of four fraternal orders were visited. Three have featured their institutions for elderly members. But none of them had any program for local old people, nor was there any adjustment of dues for retired members. Interest seemed entirely in the active younger membership. However the fourth building was in a blighted part of town in which many old men lived, was open to them all day every day, served very inexpensive meals, and seemed to be a real club house for elderly pensioners of the working class.

**Recommendations**

The following recommendations emerge from a mental hygiene point of view that envisions not alone continuance but furtherance of personality development in the later years of life, and concern first of all the groups entirely of old people. The recommendations are not details for program change, but rather attitudes for a frame of reference from which details may emerge as they are congruent with the broader view.

Very important here, according to this viewpoint, is more opportunity for the emergence of leadership from within the group. Opportunities for leadership should be accessible to more of the membership of most groups. Participation of the membership in the activities of the group should be accentuated. And programs oriented toward empirically determined
needs and interests of members are more likely to bring about such participation.

Outgoingness, rather than self-preoccupation, and continued learning in old age, should be stressed. Frequently such a program might mean going beyond demonstrated interests or perhaps even involve conflict with their present attitudes; but new goal-setting as well as fulfillment of present interests seems desirable for successful old age. Moreover it is vital to overcome the present inertia of many, and stimulation to previously unrecognized levels of attainment can do much for such arousal. The possibilities of service to others more unfortunate, for example, could thus be a challenge to activity as well as a blow to self-preoccupation, and usefulness to oneself and society could be relearned. Initiating projects for specified useful reasons, which require group activity, could well implement a learning process as well as philanthropic attitudes; and a more flexible outlook, and more congenial and broadly tolerant attitudes could develop.

Every factor should be emphasized which would create a warm, accepting social atmosphere where friendships can be made. Such features as a desirable and comfortable meeting place, facilities for hobbies, arrangement of furniture for social convenience, all make such atmosphere more possible. A meeting place primarily to be used by the group, and available whenever needed, such as an all day center, would be of
great value.

The above recommendations are with reference to groups entirely for older people. That they are needed seems evidenced by the inadequacies of the groups with wider membership as regards age, mentioned in the pages just preceding. These last groups clearly need also more vigorous and wise leadership, and recognition of the needs of their older members.
CHAPTER VIII
INSTITUTIONS SERVING OLDER PEOPLE

Increasing numbers of the aged seek admission into old age homes for protection against future needs. Because of limited facilities only a small number can be accommodated, and accommodations vary, as do their effects on residents. Some assessment of the facilities and activities of four distinctly different homes was attempted. The following descriptions illustrate the variety of homes seen, as well as conditions important to the emotional well being of their guests. From these also dynamics of group living are revealed as well as possibilities for more effective living in the homes.

A Home for Retired Teachers

The "Elmhurst" home for "teachers and aged gentlewomen" is a beautiful, large stone building on about six acres of land in a well-kept suburb. The home was established by money left in the will of a wealthy woman, and began operations about twenty years ago. The house has two floors with ample living quarters for the "guests". The home provides for fourteen guests but there are now three vacancies with no acceptable candidates.

The superintendent has her quarters on the first floor, where there is also a large dining room, an attractive library, two large front parlors, and a large sun porch.

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Each guest has a separate room with adjoining bath on the second floor, with additional facilities of a sitting room and a small visiting room on this same floor.

The writer made three visits to the home, including one when he had arranged an informal talk to be given to the group by a retired faculty person. Extensive information was added by a member of the research staff who was also a long time member of the home's board of trustees. Another member of the research group had also been acquainted with the home for some time. The writer's introduction came through the above mentioned trustee to the matron, and a discussion with her was followed by visits with several of the women.

About half of the members have lived at the home more than ten years. The average age is about seventy-five; the youngest, recently admitted, is in the late sixties, while the oldest is about eighty-six. All were former teachers or held other academic positions.

Activities. While the home is adequately large for recreational facilities, there is a relative dearth of such, and even those supplied are little used. For example, though there are several musicians in the group, the piano is seldom used since the group is so critical of any performance. Television is available but often not enjoyed by all because they cannot agree on a program. Reading, card playing, walking about the grounds, visiting in the sun room,
listening to the radio, crocheting and sewing are the chief diversions. The long trip downtown by taxi or bus is taken rather infrequently. Teas are given occasionally with a few people outside joining the group.

Atmosphere of Home. The predominant feeling about the home is one of individualism and irritability. The women most frequently confine themselves to their rooms with perhaps occasionally another member present for company. When members are together in a larger group, irritation towards another's taste in music is common. They are not a happy group and their enjoyment in the home seems limited to the fact of secure physical existence. There is a very quiet atmosphere, in keeping with the surroundings, and a stillness that suggests limited social interaction or activities.

There is also impatience with the more elderly women, some of whom are deteriorated. A nurse is in attendance for the ailing cases, and there is dread of becoming so incapable as to necessitate removal to a hospital or other institution, as is the procedure for members who become ill or difficult to handle.

These women seem often not to wish to have people come to the home to entertain them, and passively resisted several attempts to initiate some programs by staying in their rooms when entertainers were in the home. They felt this was an attempt at infringement on their privacy.
On one occasion mentioned earlier, a talk on scrapbooks by an emeritus professor (one of those interviewed as a superior oldster) was given better response than other attempts at programs. The matron felt that the nine women present were a good sized group for the home. While they did attend the talk, no questions were asked other than one by a new member in her sixties, and one by the matron. All attempts at banter and informality by the speaker produced no similar reaction from the group. All were apathetic, in fact, the only slight reaction that occurred was brought about by a petit mal attack suffered by an old woman. After her quiet removal, all was as placid as before.

At another visit to the home no one was in sight; all were in their rooms, although it was a pleasant spring day. While the interviewer was greeted cordially, no suggestions were made to see others who were outstanding oldsters, and the cases often closed the interview after only a brief time.

An Institution for Women in a Small City

"Erawledge" home is situated in a college town with 19,000 population, and is an endowed home for retired "gentlewomen." The unpretentious, thirty-five year old building is one and a half blocks from the main street, and faces a busy highway. Admission to the home is granted upon review of applications submitted to the board of directors. An initial application fee of $1,000, formerly $600, is supposed to take care of room and board for the remainder of the "guest's"
stay at the home. Any income the guests receive throughout their stay is kept by themselves for personal expenses.

There are provisions for thirty-two members in the home; two women have recently died and two applicants will now be accepted from the long waiting list. Each woman has her own room on one of the three floors in the home. The matron has a bedroom on the first floor adjoining a waiting room for visitors. Meals are served in a large dining room, the women sitting four at a table.

Three of the thirty women have been bedridden for some time, while three are so deaf that communication with them is difficult. The average age of the group is about eighty, two being ninety-two, and the youngest seventy. The majority are widows of whom one-third have had no children. Their former homes were within a fifty mile radius. The occupations of the husbands included musicians, doctors, farmers, and teachers.

The staff includes a matron, cook, and nurse. The matron is tactful and understanding but professionally untrained. She is well liked by the residents, is particularly admired for her resourcefulness in a crisis, and is looked to for assistance in any trouble, from personal advice to fixing a radiator. One is struck by the apparent investment in her of mother and father qualities by the residents. There is no resident physician but two are on call.
The writer visited this group six times, usually from two o'clock until five in the afternoon. Many of the women were napping when he arrived but others were about the house. Another research worker, who visited the home often, arranged the writer's first visit with the matron. The matron was very interested in the expressed purpose of the visit; to talk to the outstanding persons in the home, and to observe the women in their usual groups. She not only spent many hours talking to the interviewer about the home and guests, but also supported some test procedures initiated with some of the women.

The observer would typically sit in the visitors' room where he could watch those leaving or entering, and also view the dining room, parlor, and much-used open porch. When others would gather to watch television or just chat, the observer would join them. While most were frank and seemingly accepting of him, he felt that because of the living arrangements and real "home like" conditions, a woman observer would be more satisfactory.

During the period of contact with the home, four or five women were away to visit relatives, usually staying about a week, and occasionally longer. There are fourteen women who visit the nearby downtown stores daily, and two who go once or twice a week. These visits and walks are much enjoyed and provide source of conversation for the women at their mealtimes.
When a woman is admitted to the home, so far as possible she is allowed to bring her personal belongings. The rooms thus are individual in style, each person arranging her room as she likes. Laundry facilities are used by each resident to do her personal things, although linens are cleaned by the home. The residents and matron often mentioned the need for the older person to feel wanted and secure in her acceptance by others in the home. The "psychological" atmosphere of independence and strength through the fact of a real "home" was often noticeable. Many of these women dread leaving the home for hospital treatment of an illness; any good from medical treatment would be clearly offset by the trauma resulting from going to the hospital. Some residents have stipulated in writing that in no case should they be removed from the home for any hospital treatment, no matter how warranted such treatment should be. All efforts are made to have a physician come to the home when needed, and nursing care given there, even though this arrangement may be a burden to the matron and resident nurse.

Three deaf women are seen by others as having a very difficult time adjusting to the home; they seem to become somewhat paranoid. They speak of others talking about them, and generalize this to include persons outside the home who "spy" or otherwise disturb them. One woman is a confirmed hypochondriac. A former nurse, she now insists on laxatives and drugs, particularly barbituates. She is a solitary
person, staying in her room much of the time, with shades drawn to keep out the sunlight. Her meals are taken to her and she eats reclining on the bed. The rest of the women appear to be in reasonably good health; complaining about their physical difficulties does not seem to be habitual. It is possible that their security in the home, respect for the matron, and awareness of adequate nearby medical facilities in case of sickness or accident, makes health less a subject for preoccupation.

**Activities.** The women have a variety of interests; the two most common are reading and listening to the radio. They usually read popular magazines such as Cosmopolitan, and Ladies Home Journal. Each woman has a radio in her room; many have them on for great lengths of time, others infrequently. Radio seems to provide much enjoyment since they can listen in the privacy of their own rooms to their preferred programs. There is a wide variety in tastes; many of the women enjoy "soap operas" while others feel such programs are silly and prefer listening to classical music. Television plays a lesser role; after supper about ten women gather in the large front room to watch the local news commentator. Variety shows are well liked (Arthur Godfrey is a big favorite), also the "give away" programs. Sports, particularly wrestling, are watched often by some of the group.

There are no games, such as cards, in the home.
Attendance is good at Sunday evening services led by different local ministers. Movies at a neighboring theater, where admission is free for these women, are well attended. A nearby church invites the group to plays and concerts given by the school children. Two women spend much time weaving; one contracts to sell bags and rugs to townspeople and college students. All take interest and enjoyment in sewing or crocheting. A former artist still paints occasionally, and another member spends time composing poetry which she sometimes reads to the group.

The matron and three residents are particularly interested in caring for a small flower and vegetable garden at the home. Window-shopping in nearby stores is a great pleasure for more than half of the women. The interviewer has met many of them having ice cream or coffee at a nearby restaurant on their return from shopping. Fourteen of the women walk to various points of interest; the nearby college campus is a favorite spot. Relevant here is the difficulty they have with traffic. One woman recently broke both her wrists and suffered minor injuries when she walked into a moving car at an intersection. The matron has not attempted to stop the women from taking these "dangerous" trips. An attempt by a traffic control officer to teach them caution was looked upon as impertinence by the women. Some do have difficulty distinguishing between red and green lights and mention often waiting until the light has changed twice
before venturing across the street. Seldom, if ever, is aid asked of other pedestrians.

Atmosphere. The need for most of these women to live where they would not be burdened with care of a house, and where attention could be got in case of accident, comes about for various reasons and at widely different ages. Their acceptance of the home is affected by the conditions which led to their applying for admission. In the majority of cases, where the decision was made relatively independently and without pressure, the acceptance of the home communal conditions seems most favorable. A few women, who feel that ungratefulness on the part of their families was the primary reason for their not being cared for by them, are somewhat resentful at being in an institution, or critical of it. Typical complaints are the lack of variety of food or proper seasoning, lack of enough privacy, not enough spending money, and the monotony of their existence, also petty complaints about others in the home, as too talkative.

Most residents seem to enjoy the home; few cases exhibit the mere "sitting" often seen in old age institutions. Whenever the interviewer asked their feelings about the home, there were more constructive expressions than critical. Most criticisms were such as result from the change from individual to communal housing. They spoke favorably of their independence, the nearness of city facilities, the numerous possibilities for recreation, and time to read.
Death of a member seems to affect these women little. The matron commented upon this seeming lack of affection and referred to a time when she had to break the news of one death at the evening meal - all seemed interested but there was relatively little of the usual response generally associated with death of a group member. The interviewer was at the home a short while after a death, and also got the impression of apparent slight concern on the part of even the closest friends of the deceased. The feeling of passivity is demonstrated by the comment of one member: "It is too bad; she would have liked this warmer weather we're having now." There seems to be a feeling that no one will be affected by a person's death, so there is no great need for concern, as it is inevitable.

The accumulation of unnecessary items, often in fact dangerous to health, is a concern of the home's administrators. Semi-annually they go to all rooms and try to eliminate these extras. Some of the women, apparently functioning efficiently most of the time, will take portions of their meals to their rooms and hide them in drawers, under the bed, or other "safe" places. Several have been found keeping large amounts of staples, such as sugar, with no apparent reason. This excess material is particularly disturbing when it creates a fire hazard, such as piles of newspaper clippings.
Home Administered by a Religious Group

As sundry mentions had been made of the fine facilities in certain homes administered by church groups, one was visited. The following is a report of it, with an instance of the resistance often encountered in attempting research regarding such groups.

This church home for the aged is a large three story building, occupied by eighty-eight "guests", including widows, widowers, and some married couples. There are individual rooms plus semi-private accommodations. The home is well designed, with elevators and facilities for eating easily available, including "snack" facilities in each wing. Large grounds surround the home.

The matron in charge does not have any organized recreation or activity programs. The guests are allowed almost unlimited freedom in activities, including the prerogative of arising any hour they please; bed time is not stipulated. The guests apparently make close friends among themselves; they go for walks and to town when they wish, and visitors are welcome at any time as there are no rigid visiting hours. The matron feels the group would not be interested in planned recreation in the evening as many retire early. At one time movies were shown that lasted after nine o'clock and many of the audience left before the show was over. She is very interested in efforts the church is making to train religious groups in work with the older, particularly in the training
institutions in New York.

Activities. There are no planned recreational or vocational activities. A few people voluntarily help in the institution kitchen and laundry. Five persons were doing such work when the interviewer visited the home. A woman in her eighties was at the switchboard. The help rendered by these people is valuable for the home, and the matron feels that they do render service. None are employed outside the home. A barber shop and beauty parlor are also operated by members of the home. There is a television set, with easy chairs nearby. Card games occur throughout the week in a large lounge at the home, and on the large sun porch.

The matron states that there seems to be very little organizing in cliques, or social outcasts within the home. They are all (she said) happy and enjoy themselves in their group activities. There have been only three persons in the last five years who were problems; these became senile and showed marked behavior disturbances, and were later committed to the state hospital.

The attitude of those in authority suggests that contact with individuals at the home would not be easily made. As the matron put it: "The older person has been studied too much." It is her contention that it would infringe upon the residents' privacy to interview them. At the close of the discussion, however, she extended an invitation to return.
Home for Aged Negroes

The home covers two average lots and has three floors with approximately fifty rooms. It is one of two private homes for Negroes in the city. The matron calls it one of the most "pretentious homes for colored in the state," and cites experiences with other homes in Ohio. It was organized in 1912 by four young women who, seeing the plight of the aged colored, pooled their money and bought a house in which to care for them. In the beginning a flat fee was charged each boarder which would guarantee his maintenance for the remainder of his life. Recently this policy was changed "since old people are living longer they outlive the initial fee." The maintenance is now paid in rent fashion; each boarder pays $52 a month for room, board and laundry. The building, a former asylum for dope addicts, is more than adequate for the thirty-one boarders (twenty-five women and six men), and is staffed by a matron, a house nurse, two cooks, and a janitor. The boarders are not asked to do any work in the home. "They are paying boarders and pay for the service." They are asked to clean up their personal belongings if they are able but if this is impossible, the rooms are cleaned for them.

There is a rising bell at 7:00 o'clock, with breakfast at 8:00. From 9:00 until dinner at 1:00 the boarder usually cleans his room, listens to the radio or television, or rests. After dinner is also free time for visitors, radio
or television, or dozing. Supper is served at 5:00. On Wednesday evenings there is "Sunday school" conducted by members of a nearby church. Other evenings are open to any offer of entertainment by various clubs or organizations.

Most of the boarders are either bedridden or not interested in others in the home. When asked why they did not play games such as cards or checkers, the matron suggested that they had been brought up in the days of slavery or immediately following that period where there were few opportunities to pursue such interests. The matron feels that perhaps ten years from now the activity of the aged colored will be quite different; they will have more recreational games and interests. About five of the women had outside interests in the form of clubs and church groups, but the rest of the boarders were too old to do much outside the home. The few exceptions to a general apathy were the women who had been recommended as superior aged persons; all enjoyed living at the home but admittedly had many outside interests. Generally the boarders seem to lack spirit and interest in life and to be waiting quietly for the end.

The interviewer felt that perhaps the observations were a bit influenced by her group work orientation which seeks to get everyone "doing something." The matron felt that the old people were happy, and did not desire to learn or participate in any activity.
Appraisals and Recommendations
Regarding Institutions for the Aged

The lack of trained administrators is noticeable throughout. Even in the best homes, where there seems a real devotion to and respect for the older, those in management positions seem to operate in terms of their own experiences with little understanding of the basic needs and possibilities of the elderly adult.

The differences in comforts and conveniences are apparent. While the homes visited illustrate that attractiveness of the physical plant is not by itself conducive to an enjoyable atmosphere, yet lack of such attractiveness makes enjoyment much more difficult. However, too meticulous care of the home and surroundings seems to impose a confining condition on the residents. Somewhat similar to the lack of freedom given the child in the too neat home, where ornamentation is overly valued by the adult to the detriment of a child's mobility, is a certain restriction on old people which may be sensed in institutions.

Those homes close to the center of a city, or near cheap transportation, appear to supply the needs of their residents more effectively than those removed from the city. There is more activity in homes thus more advantageously situated. The inmates speak of their feelings of wishing to see groups of people, and go window-shopping. They get a vicarious pleasure in seeing others at work. Identification
with a normal ongoing society seems more readily accomplished where business areas are not too distant. And the second home seemed to profit by the frequent visitors from the local church and college, and neighborhood.

Homes where there is variety in personality and background seem to have more interest and alertness. Too great homogeneity of personalities (as in the home for retired teachers) seems not desirable. Self-preoccupation, isolation, and criticism of others often results. This seems particularly clear in a home where members have been of the same profession and perhaps have been of a somewhat dominating character. Variety seems more conducive to membership enjoyment.

Lack of planned programs or activities seems particularly debilitating in residency homes, where past interest outlets are no longer available because of increased age and change from the home community. It may be simpler, administratively, to confine guests to the house and grounds, and safer physically for the aged residents. But hypochondriacal reactions, feelings of ill treatment, and a general lowering of the total enjoyment of life may follow. Little hope is held for enjoyment of the future, and planfulness is at a minimum. Often as a result, the residents exhibit more selfishness, less consideration of others, and a progressive withdrawal to contemplating past enjoyments, ending often in regression to rather infantile modes of behavior.
It appears to the writer that self-respect, continued feelings of acceptance, and better emotional well being is provided by those homes where the activities and way of life are most nearly like that habitual before institutionalization occurred. As much independence of the resident as possible is important, and forced submission to a vastly different communal style of living brings about loss of individual decision and independence. Homes should make provisions not only for the widow or widower but for married couples also. Conditions for maintaining a family unit seems desirable. It is believed usually desirable that those able to participate in the work of a home should do so.
CHAPTER IX
SUPPLEMENTARY STUDIES

In line with the dual purpose throughout this project to study the older person as he is performing in his usual environment, and to render service when possible, two supplementary studies were undertaken. The first was an analysis of certain data in a large defense industry in the community and the second, an analysis of test data from a study of the teaching profession. While the ages covered in both analyses were very different from those in the previous case and group studies, yet the efficiency of the older person in industry and education was the major consideration.

Appraisals of Candidates for Supervisory Positions in a Large Defense Industry, as Related to Age

This industry employed approximately 18,000 at the time of the investigation reported here. The workers were primarily skilled or semi-skilled and jobs included the usual wide range of most modern industrial plants. The records to be analyzed were made available for this study by the personnel office which was cooperative throughout. Moreover, the results of the study were considered in their personnel procedures.

Methods and Materials. The immediate data were approximately 3,400 card files regarding workers who had been suggested by supervisors or other persons who knew them, as
candidates for advancement to supervisory positions. These cards had rather complete information of various types, and were "active" in the sense that the information was being continually recorded and used for advancement. The potential supervisors included levels of supervision such as "leading men" or "snappers," that is, floor supervisors or department managers rather than junior executives or positions of similar importance. However, the cards included data on persons who were now supervisors and potential candidates for higher supervisory positions as well as the most skilled workers who were not now supervisors. This combination was somewhat unfortunate, but because the investigators did not know all the possible job codes in the industry -- much time would have been necessary to sort on this basis -- all cards were taken. However, the population is essentially those skilled workers who were candidates for supervisory positions.

The following information was copied from the cards onto large data sheets, from which the tables shortly to be presented were made.

1. **Age and sex.** The few females were omitted from the tables as drawn up for this study.

2. **Education.** A weighted score represented the number of years of education reported.

3. **Purdue Industrial Classification Test Scores.** Weighted scores of 0, 5, 10 points were recorded representing raw scores of 0-7, 8-11, and 12-23 respectively. The test is primarily a timed practical arithmetic test.

4. **Absence or lateness.** The raw scores as entered on the records were the actual number of times the person was
reported late or absent in a year.

5. Supervisors' Ratings. Ratings on nine character-istics such as drive, initiative, etc., were given by two supervisors of the worker, and these summed.

6. Peers' Ratings. A similar composite rating was given by two persons in the same department as the workers.

7. Over-all Rating. This was a composite of all the above measures and some others. It was gotten by summing all the variables.

While all cards were recorded, information was not complete in the original records on some employees. However, it was judged best to include data on all cards, for the seven variables.

The records were copied from the cards (which were in the files alphabetically according to the worker's last name) to large 18 x 24 sheets, each sheet containing information on as many variables as were included on each card. Two weeks were required to copy the data, as this could be done only when the plant office staff was not at work. The analysis to be presented was then obtained by simply tallying the entries on the several variables, as related to age. In perusing the materials, however, it was apparent that the bulk of the population was below forty years old and these ages could be sampled for comparison with the older. All cases forty and over on ten large summary sheets were therefore included, but cases under forty on the first three sheets only. The following tables thus do not show the total number of younger employees in the original data, and
Table 10

Educational Attainment of Different Age Groups in X Company

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Index</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60 up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70 up</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>208*</td>
<td>200*</td>
<td>71*</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9*</td>
<td>4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Education Index is the total points given for amount of education according to a company schedule.

* Position of Median each age group.
the cards did not include information for all cases on all variables. In dealing with absenteeism and lateness, entries recorded as "0 days late or absent" were recorded as such, but when this card entry was blank, "no record" was the entry. In other tables "no record" was not so tabulated; the case was thus simply omitted in the analysis. The different tables then vary somewhat in numbers of cases shown.

Results. First, it is of interest to note that of these potential supervisors, more than 150 were fifty years old or more, and some 35 were sixty or over. In light of the company's recent location in the city, it may be inferred that many were over forty when first hired. Apparently they learned a new job in a comparatively short time, and were being regarded as worth promoting, even at these ages.

As may be seen from the table showing the educational index distributions, the older workers averaged less education than the younger. This conforms to the statistics for education in the total population; the younger typically have had more schooling and on the average are high school graduates, while the older have had only elementary school education. That many of these older men are seen worth considering as supervisors (as indicated especially in the final "total" table) even when competing with workers who have the educational advantage, seems indicative of continued competence.
Table 11
Purdue Industrial Classification Test: Percent in Each Age Group Scoring at Each Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60 up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Cases</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12

Days Absent or Late by Age Groups in X Company

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days Absent or Late</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60 up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 up</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17#</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21#</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16#</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8#</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Record</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% 1 Day or More Late or Absent

| N                   | 549   | 560   | 463   | 153   | 38    |

* Upper 10%
The older also did less well on the 23 relatively simple problems primarily of practical arithmetic included in the 12 minute Purdue test. The table shows that 54 percent of those aged forty through forty-nine, 57 percent of those fifty through fifty-nine, and 83 percent of those over sixty scored in the bottom third according to the simple norms used by the company. This is the usual findings on timed tests; the older are slower. But even here, while the young do decidedly better, still 15 percent of the group between forty and fifty-nine score in the upper third on the test, and 6 percent of the oldest so score. Even on such timed materials, some of the oldest score well.

The table on absenteeism shows the actual number of days late or absent, for workers of different ages. The fact that these two variables are combined by this company indicated that management felt lateness to be serious. If a worker was not there when his department began work, reassignment within the department was initiated. Because of the loss in time, as well as lowered efficiency of the larger work group, the effects of lateness and absence were somewhat similar. Also indicative of the company's attitude was the fact that certain office personnel were always available merely to receive word that a worker would not be present, to inquire as to reasons, and also to make "check" calls when personnel did not report.
Absence and lateness decreases decidedly with age. The youngest age group had most absent or late, and there is a progressive constriction of the range of days absent or late as age increases. Thus none of those fifty years of age or older had been late or absent over seven days, while all ages below this had persons who had twelve or more days so recorded. A further indication of the superiority of the old is in terms of the number who were late or absent even one day. Twice the number of workers aged twenty to twenty-nine (41 percent) fall in this class compared to those forty to forty-nine years old (19 percent) and three times more than the number of persons aged fifty to fifty-nine (12 percent).

Supervisors' ratings indicate the judgments and feelings they have for the employees under their direction. The figures shown are composites covering several worker characteristics. Median ratings are essentially the same for the twenties and thirties, fall off slowly in the forties and fifties. The biggest drop in ratings is in the group over sixty. But the very wide range of scores (over 200 points) is to be noted, plus the fact that some of the older as well as the younger have very high ratings. It would appear that a substantial number of the older are in fact performing satisfactorily according to their supervisors' ratings, and while some are not, this is true at all ages.
Table 13

Male Employees in X Industry Selected as Potential Supervisors; Peer Ratings Related to Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60 up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>240-249</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230-239</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220-229</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210-219</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-210</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190-199</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180-189</td>
<td>39*</td>
<td>42*</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170-179</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37*</td>
<td>21*</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160-169</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150-159</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140-149</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130-139</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120-129</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110-119</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-109</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-99</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: 369 390 456 137 35
Median: 182 184 175 173 163

* Denotes median
Table 14

Male Employees in X Industry Selected as Potential Supervisors; Supervisors Ratings Related to Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>20-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60 up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>250-up</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240-249</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230-239</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>193</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>139</td>
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</table>

* Denotes median
Peer ratings show similar distributions, but age
differences are not as great as for supervisors' ratings.
The difference between the medians of highest rated group
(thirty to thirty-nine) and the fifty to fifty-nine group is
only 11 points. Also the oldest group's median is only 21
points less than that of the highest group, out of the 250
points possible. And again some older workers are rated
high, up with the best younger workers. It is well to note
that fellow workers apparently do not judge the older men
as severely as the supervisors. In light of the work done
by Wherry and Fryer (153) on the validity of peer versus
supervisor ratings, indicating that peer ratings have proven
usually more valid in terms of performance, these findings
are especially interesting. In any case, the older workers
are apparently holding up reasonably well in industrial
employment according to peer and supervisor ratings.

The summation of all the scores on the above variables,
plus others seeming not worth separate tabulation here, are
shown in the "Total rating score" table, analyzed by five
year age intervals. There is some decline from fifty on in
median scores. But here, even more than in the previous
tables, this decline is relatively slight. A total of 82
points separates the median of the sixty and older group
from the highest median (for the thirty-five through thirty-
nine group) and this difference in proportion to the total
great range of over 500 points seems relatively small.
### Table 15

Total Rating Score and Age in X Company

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<th>30-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40-44</th>
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<td>591</td>
<td>575</td>
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</table>
Again high total scores were gotten by the old as well as the young, and most of the workers with low ratings were under forty years old.

**Discussion.** In this study in a newly relocated industry, two variables especially show the older persons to disadvantage: educational attainment, and a speeded arithmetic test. These findings are to be expected and indicate that this industry's older population is not different in these respects from the general population. The other variables indicate the older to be little less industrially satisfactory than the younger. And these differences seem less apparent to the workers than to supervisors. This fact, coupled with the older workers' superior absence and lateness record, points to the usefulness of older persons in industry, and seems to justify this company's policy of hiring persons over forty.

It is interesting to conjecture which age group is more representative of its total population, the youngest or the oldest. The company is attractive to younger workers because of its high wage rates and merit promotion system. Older workers are more industrially stable, and thus less likely to "jump" to a new company such as this was. In view of the above, the writer cannot help but feel that the older group in this company contains less of the "better" workers, of all workers of these ages, while the younger contained more. If this is true, the slight differences between groups in the
above results mitigates even more strongly against the common industrial disinclination to hire oldsters.

A Comparison of Younger and Older Women Teachers on the Thurstone Temperament Scale

This study was undertaken as a service for an education council, and because it was felt it would contribute to understanding of the older person. The instrument employed was but one of a series used in research on teacher characteristics; age factors had not been of concern in the methodology of the long-range study. The very fine cooperation of the research director (Dr. Ryan, who was most helpful) made available the detailed records of a younger and an older group of women teachers on the Thurstone Temperament Scale, which is essentially a questionnaire of 140 items, sample materials from which will be presented shortly.

Methods and Materials. The following analysis was based on the completed Thurstone Blanks of 96 women teachers, 48 aged thirty or younger, and an equal number over fifty-five years old, this last being all women of these ages tested, and the younger being picked at random to give an equal number under thirty years old.

The two groups were handled separately, and the processing of the data involved two major steps. First, each answer pad was gone over to obtain total raw scores, by areas. The mean was then found for each group on each sub-scale, and the percentile position of that score on the Thurstone norms
was located on his Table 7, and plotted. Secondly, an item analysis was made for each of the 140 items to show what each group did, on each item. A number of items were found showing differences between the two groups of 5 points or more. These were arranged in areas, by number as they appear on the schedule. A nomograph was established for the 5 percent and 1 percent level of significance between percentages, and critical ratios computed.

Results and Discussion. It may be noted from the chart that in five of seven areas the older group has a percentile score lower than the younger; that is, the older teachers show less of the trait than the younger. On only the "reflective" area do the older score higher, that is, seem to possess more of the trait, and this by 20 percentiles. The younger teachers scored higher on the "vigorous" area by 33 percentiles, and by 22 percentiles on the "active" area.

The chart gives the results of the first analysis and the succeeding two pages a list of items differing by 5 or more points. The following discussion is based on an overall analysis of the tables.

First to be noted is the probable inappropriateness of published norms for an older age group; second, the emerging gestalt of trait configuration of the older female teacher. Of the 140 questions in the Thurstone scale, by chance, one would expect about seven to differentiate between the older and younger teachers at the 5 percent or better level of
Chart 1

Areas of Temperament

Percentile Scores on the Thurstone Temperament Scale of 48 Teachers: 30 Years Old or Younger and 48 Who Were 55 Years or Older.

Younger

Older
Thurstone Temperament Scale:

Questions on which 48 teachers 30 years old or younger score at least 8 points higher than 48 teachers 55 years old or more. (N 22-14 shows that 22 of the younger answered "no" and 14 of the older so answered.) Percents give level of significance.

Area I  Active
Do people consider you to be rather quiet. N 22-14
Do you like to drive a car rather fast when there is no speed limit. Y 29-21
Do you often try to persuade others to your points of view. Y 25-14 .05

Area II  Vigorous
Do you often participate in physical sports. Y 27-7 .01
Do you like work that requires physical exertion. Y 35-27
Have you played on a baseball team. Y 34-12 .01
Have you ever been captain of a team. Y 31-14 .01
Do you like work in which there is vigorous activity. Y 32-24
Have you done horseback riding as a sport. Y 31-21 .05
Have you ever done any racing. Y 12-4 .05

Area III  Impulsive
Do you like to be where there is something doing all the time. Y 32-9 .01
Do you let yourself go and have a gay time at a party. Y 32-24
Do you like work that has a lot of excitement. Y 35-17 .01
Do you like work in which you must change often from one task to another. Y 44-25 .01
In watching a game, do you yell along with the others. Y 40-32

Area IV  Dominant
Do you like to be the chairman of a meeting. Y 21-10 .05
Do you like work in which you must influence others. Y 38-27 .05
Do you avoid public speaking. N 26-17 .05

Area V  Stable
Can you relax in a noisy room. Y 23-14 .05
Can you study with the radio on. Y 28-16

Area VI  Sociable
Do you spend many evenings with friends. Y 30-15 .01
Do you like work that puts you in contact with a lot of people. Y 43-33 .05
Thurstone Temperament Scale:

Questions on which 48 teachers 55 years old or older score at least 8 points higher than 48 teachers 30 years old or less. (H22-12 shows that 22 of the older answered "no" and 12 of the younger so answered.) Percents give level of significance.

Area I Active
Do you prefer to linger over a meal and enjoy it. N 22-12 .05
Is your handwriting rather fast. Y 41-30 .05

Area II Impulsive
In the morning, do you usually bound out of bed energetically. Y 26-9 .01
Do you make up your mind easily. Y 29-16 .01
Do you usually make up your mind quickly. Y 35-21 .01

Area III Dominant
Do you find it easy to give instructions to servants. Y 26-17 .05

Area IV Stable
Is your mood easily influenced by people around you. N 26-14 .05
Does it take a long time in the morning before you are fully awake. N 43-32 .05
Are you usually cool and composed in a dangerous situation. Y 33-29 .05
Do you remain calm when a friend is in pain. Y 37-29

Area V Sociable
Can you put strangers at ease. Y 41-32 .05

Area VI Reflective
Do you often prefer to spend an evening alone. Y 23-12 .01
When you have an important problem, do you prefer to think it through alone. Y 36-17 .01
Do you like working alone. Y 38-24 .01
Are you often bored with people. Y 19-6 .01
Do you often find books more interesting than people. Y 29-7 .01
Do you like work that requires accuracy in fine detail. Y 26-17 .05
Do you like work that requires much reading. Y 34-26
significance. In this empirical analysis, however, 16 were found on which the older scored greater than the younger, and 15 where the younger scored higher, at the 5 percent level or better. These findings indicate that, at least for this sample, age per se does have an effect on those traits Thurstone calls "stable and unchanging." It is quite possible that cultural changes occurring during the lifetime of the older group account for some of these differences. Thus in the "vigorous" sub-scale, the younger score at least 5 points higher on 8 of the 20 questions, 5 differences being of a magnitude that reach the 5 percent or better significance level. Such questions as relate to "participation in physical sports, playing on a baseball team, being captain of a team, going horseback riding and racing" are probably more part of the young females' repertoire of today than some twenty or thirty years ago. However, more active interests in the younger years may be primarily a product of greater physical vigor then.

Thurstone's scale offers an interesting picture of the older group and supports other findings regarding the personality structure of the older female. As already mentioned, reflectiveness is the trait where the older score higher more often than the younger, on 8 questions of 20 by at least 6 points. Of these 8, 5 reach the 1 percent or greater level of significance. The items suggest such tendencies as withdrawal to ones' own resources and dependency on self
rather than others.

The first trait which Thurstone categorizes as "impulsive," appears from this analysis to contain perhaps more trait heterogeneity than any other. The older teacher appears to be able to make decisions quickly and easily (questions 40, 122). On the other hand, she scores lower on questions that concern interaction with others, excitement in these activities, and job changing requiring work flexibility. Again in the "dominance" category one sees evidence of the more "self-sustainment" of the older as against the more outgoing socialization of the younger. The younger more often indicate that they enjoy being "chairman of a meeting," "doing work that influences others," and "public speaking." On the "sociable" category this outgoing tendency is shown again where the younger more often than the older indicate that they like contact with others and conferences with new people, and tend to spend more evenings with friends.

This brief analysis raises questions as to the homogeneity of Thurstone's scales when age is a variable. If one considers the Thurstone as a possible predictor of teaching success, efforts at profile interpretations in relation to teaching presumably should take account of age. Any job analysis of teaching should recognize age as an independent variable. Desirable characteristics of a criterion group of "good" teachers might vary with increasing age.
CHAPTER X

SUMMARIZING DISCUSSIONS

In overview, the following issues and inferences seem of importance.

The Need for Personnel Research to Take Account of Age — And Constructively, With Reference to the Merits of the Older, and the Superior Old

As illustrated by the materials just reported from the large manufacturing company and from the teacher selection study, problems of age changes are indeed ubiquitous and pervasive. The data above mentioned would appear to make clear that in both instances the age variable needs to be taken account of, in any personnel practice. From these two diverse groups certain further evidence, which was on the whole consistent with other published research, was obtained regarding the characteristics of older people — for instance, their dependability, as shown by minimal absenteeism. Regarding the more specific issue which was central in the larger portion of this study — the location and differentiation of the superior old — these two bits of investigation could not be considered more than suggestive. In the manufacturing study it was obvious that some of the older workers were distinctly superior to others, in the traits considered. No older were turned up there who could be thought of as very superior, so far as evidence from the personnel files was concerned. But it seems a reasonable assumption that
any very superior old people, from the total population from which these workers came, would not be still in this group of workers. Rather, they would be in higher administrative positions not included in this data, or comfortably established in some other occupation. There might possibly be an occasional unfortunate superior individual who would still be residual in this labor pool. But such a person might not be clearly differentiated by the procedures used. It seems more likely that he would have emerged earlier (in view of the fact that most of these people had been with the company at least a year, and that the search for supervisory personnel had been so very inclusive) and been transferred to more important work not covered by the personnel files used.

The study of the teachers was sufficiently special that any emergence of a very superior person might not readily occur. Again, it might be expected that in the older group, the superior would tend to be in administrative positions, or otherwise not included in this population. Regarding both groups, it might be said that if circumstances had permitted, efforts more adequate to find superior older people would have seemed well worthwhile. In personnel practice, to try to find the best young people is usual. The contention is that there should be similar efforts in dealing with older individuals. Particularly it would be desirable to know more regarding the superior individual who is in mass industry -
and possibly lost there. And the use of these people should take account of both the limitations and the strengths of the older person.

The Need for Systematic Study of the Effectiveness of Groups Serving the Aged, and Improvement of These Groups

In recent years there has been much interest in groups which have often been called Golden Age Clubs, and more generally in efforts to provide social opportunities for older people. It was the writer's first thought that such groups might be places where superior old people would be found and that these groups could be a major means for fostering their superiority. Instead, with the partial exception of the "Grandmothers Club," the groups serving old people seemed largely disappointing. This might be simply a local phenomenon; but some little observation of such groups in other places leads to the suspicion that these local organizations are fairly typical. That there should be some initial misconceptions, in attempts to develop groups for the older, was inevitable. The findings suggest that social groups for the old should not be set up on the pattern of recreational groups for the young. Nor must certain early special clubs, often serving rather highly special groups (as of pensioners in a blighted district) or in a special circumstance (as a public library), too widely set patterns. Empirical studies as to what various old people like to do, can do, and readily do together, seem a desirable basis for
It would seem that groups not simply recreational, but rather having service or perhaps wage-earning potentialities, so as to appeal to old people as having a serious intrinsic worth, might well be tried more. The activities of old fashioned quilting bees or missionary societies seemed, in the recollection of some, to have had a vitality which some of the current "Golden Age Clubs" lack. And evidently there is a need for leadership which takes account of such considerations. Presumably in time there will be trained leaders for older groups as there are now for city playgrounds, summer camps, and boy scouts. It would surely be hoped that in major part these leaders might themselves be older people. In fact, it is urged that there should be, in educational programs for the older, not simply courses on sketching, the history of the Renaissance, or music appreciation, but also courses in effective group work or counselling, for middle-aged or older people, who might perhaps even find a late-coming career in such activities.

The findings have been also that church groups serving at least in part the older have been often flat and dully repetitious and that fraternal orders (even those that make much of their institutions for elderly members) seem usually to neglect the elderly member in their midst - or do something for him only when illness, financial loss, or other crises creates a situation which might have been prevented.
It would seem fairly obvious that here again there should be careful explicit study of the service needed by older members of congregations, or fraternal organizations. And policies regarding these matters should be matters of explicit and careful consideration by the leaders of these organizations. Again it is suggested that valuable potentialities may here be found, rather than simply needs. Devoted older people may well become a major resource for these organizations. And as that happens, increasingly it might be expected that older leaders would emerge. That indeed the church has been very important for some of them, and some of them devoted workers for the church, has already been evidenced.

The Need for Very Broad Study of the Years of Aging, As There Has Been of the Growth Years of Childhood and Youth, With Stress on Potentialities Rather Than Liabilities, and Opportunity Rather Than Simply Security

As the case reports were studied, and the cases themselves talked to, little by little it usually emerged that, much more than they would explicitly admit, aging and all the changes that went with it had been a problem experience. More than any other one time in life, often there were changes and problems - of stopping work, of changing associates, perhaps of changing living arrangements, possibly losses of friends or members of the family. And all this happened in situations not (as in youth) with the stimulating forward looking orientation, but rather with relatively little by
way of possible recuperation of what was lost. Moreover, in contrast to the situation in the younger years where, to a certain extent, the steps one takes in the development of a career are well known, what positively to do with a substantial period of old age is something which society has not yet worked out.

On the positive side, many cases indicate or at least give glimpses of potentialities of decided interest. The oldest cases indicated something of a distinctive quality of personality in age which has been described, though inadequately, as mellowing. The finest old people described had range and maturity of understanding, a relaxed tolerance of attitude, a certain selflessness and a cosmopolitanism, which in total gave an integrated personality of great worth. These cases suggested that, if medical advances can bring it about that more old people have a healthy age, and there is a reasonable economic security, a somewhat new and distinctive element may be added to the population.

The preceding paragraph has mentioned health and economic security. The cases suggest that these two factors might be considered as somewhat prerequisite for successful age. The prerequisites are not absolutely required; a few cases seen in the total investigation showed emergence of vigorous personality in spite of illness and poverty. But these handicaps were serious. Once these prerequisites are somewhat met, other factors seem of distinct importance. One
is such possibility either of work or of unpaid usefulness or service that the individual can feel that he has worth. Another is such a place in his society that he has friends, occasions for seeing them, and opportunities for social contacts to develop.

Some are so fortunate as to be in types of work, and types of neighborhood or community, where some of these favoring circumstances come to them almost as a matter of course. But even in these situations, some effort and planning is usually necessary. Other occupations and circumstances not merely lack such favoring factors; there is an abruptness with which such a change as retirement comes about, which at least needs cushioning, and should be unnecessary. The individual indeed needs to plan to meet this situation. And the situation should be changed. In short, more or less it seems clear that every person needs to be informed about problems of the older years, not infrequently needs counsel, and certainly needs a positive philosophy, as compared to the relatively negative or recreational point of view which many people have toward the later years. And quite clearly the problem here is not merely personal or individual. Industry, communities, and society at large - the total culture - need to take an explicit, positive constructive attitude toward all the problems presented by the older segment of the population.
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APPENDIX I

GENERAL PLAN AND SCHEDULES FOR STUDY
OF SUPERIOR OLD PEOPLE
The large total purpose is to determine those types of personality and personality traits, and those conditions and circumstances, which make for a satisfactory old age. By "satisfactory" is not meant simply that the old person himself is leading an existence which is satisfactory to him (though this may be usually expected); the selfish old man or woman, who lives as he or she desires, but at the cost of serious sacrifices on the part of relatives, would be rejected. Rather, the concept is social; the person having a satisfactory old age is one who is highly regarded, in his older years, by those who know him well. Presumably he will usually be relaxed, cheerful, philosophic in his acceptance of the limitations and handicaps of age, and resourceful in the maintenance and satisfaction of such interests as may be feasible. But he will also fit in well with the other people with whom he associates, and his attitudes and activities will be such as they respect and admire. However, no set definition should at this time be attempted. Different individuals, and different socio-economic (and cultural) groups will differ in their concepts regarding a satisfactory old age, and what can be expected will differ according to an olderster's health and circumstances. It is hoped that this investigation may both enrich and clarify concepts as to what a satisfactory old age can and should be. To give freedom for this to happen, it is believed that the initial definition should be left broad, the essence being only that a desirable old age is one so regarded by those knowing the old person well, and of some competence for appraisal.

Similarly, the case investigations should not be confined within a set schedule of topics. Interviews should be primarily nondirective. It may be hoped that topics not anticipated may be discovered as of significance. And the total gestalt of personality, rather than any particular traits or circumstances, may be found most significant.

SELECTION OF CASES AND GENERAL METHOD

Selection. The method calls initially for neither systematic sampling nor any rigid scheme of appraisal. Rather, each investigator should make a brief preliminary list of known cases who seem worth study, and study of whom seems feasible. This should be discussed with the supervisor (Dr. Pressey) and informally checked by the judgments of others within the group in which the investigator is working--it is assumed that usually each will work in a neighborhood, church, fraternal, or occupational group with which he is already or soon becomes well acquainted and accepted. Study of those most interesting and accessible should then begin, and from these cases, suggestions as to other cases worth studying should be obtained. Regarding these, the nominator presumably can give information--and they about him. Each group thus becomes something of a self-enlarging, self-enriching unit.

Unobtrusively, a list should also be made up of persons within each group who are considered to have an unsatisfactory old age, for supple
mental contrasting study in ways to be mentioned shortly.

Approach. As already mentioned, the approach to each case should be nondirective and highly permissive. In certain respects it should be more than that; it should seek his highly interested cooperation in what he sees as something of a joint undertaking. Usually it is believed these fine old people can be told quite frankly the purpose of the undertaking; it seeks better understanding of the problems and possibilities of age by inquiring regarding those old folks who have best met these problems and realized their potentialities. An old person so selected is almost sure to be pleased, and a few questions regarding his ideas about the topics should get the friendly conversation going (it should be that, and not an "investigation" or "interview"). Usually there will be several contacts—often, the person will have been known before. Usually, at least one visit will be made in his home, and acquaintance will be made with relatives or associates. And contacts with them will fill out the picture of the total personality. Seeing the individual with others will give further indications as to adjustment.

Though not a necessary part of the plan, it is hoped that some investigators will find it possible to be of service to a case, as by extending acquaintanceship, helping find a hobby or part-time occupation, or reaching a better understanding of some problem. Possibly one or more investigators may try a get-together of several old people; perhaps a church or settlement house club for old folks might result. Continuing contacts may show change. Though not an essential part of the program, some cases may be willing to take certain inquiry forms or tests. Conceivably, an able interested case might develop into a cooperating investigator.

The above is general. In the weekly staff meetings, methods are being clarified and problems considered. In particular it is important that methods be such as maintain the cooperation and interest of the person studied. There must be no hint of prying, pushing for information, or critically appraising, no note-taking during the interview.

Some General Topics. The first interview may well begin with very informal and broad inquiry as to how the person feels about age and about retirement if there has been such. As conversation proceeds, topics like the following should be touched, if possible:

Present interests and activities. Are these in the nature of work, service activities, hobbies, recreation or other types: How were these interests and activities come to? Were they started before retirement? Have special circumstances furthered or hampered them? Have any new interests or activities been started since retirement?

Are interests and activities primarily personal, in the family or home, in the neighborhood or community, in work or profession?

Are associations now primarily with family, neighbors, friends, associates in work or hobby or other recreation? What change in recent years—associates not now seen? New associates?

Any suggestions as to things which might be done by individuals, neighborhoods, committees, churches or other institutions, which would be of value to older people? Any problem or need often neglected? Any advantages, strengths or gains in personality which are felt to have come
with age?

Any suggestions as to what old people might do, for a more satisfactory old age? Suggestions as to what might be done before old age, in preparation therefor?

What about present health, energy, capacity for doing things. What changes? When? How has health been in past? How about hearing, vision, strength, and quickness?

What is a typical day now like? When get up and when retire? Any naps or rest periods? When are meals? What about diet? What activities, where, and for how long?

Any ideas as to other fine old people with whom it might be worth while to talk?

The above is only suggestive; each interview will proceed in its own way. And later interviews will attempt to supplement those earlier, and touch on topics, in the outlines which follow, that need further elucidation.
First notes. An initial record should be made as soon after every contact as possible, indicating the nature of that contact and its yield of information. A sample record might begin somewhat as follows:

"Saw Mrs. Y at her home Monday, December 1, 1952, about 4 o'clock, upon arrangement made by telephone the day before. Her home is old but well kept house at 244 Y Street. Mrs. X herself opened the door, was cordial and brisk in manner. She is short and slight, erect, seems to hear conversation without difficulty, wears glasses, looks nearer 65 than her actual 78, is simply but attractively dressed. Livingroom furniture worn but comfortable. Conversation begins with remarks about hominess of the house, she mentioned she had lived there 30 years. She had been knitting; when asked about her interests, she showed other things she had done."

The record need not be as detailed as the above, but should give something of physical appearance and manner, nature of the place where the contact was made, the nature of conversation, and so on. There should also be any impressions or judgments the interviewer felt warranted—but clearly differentiated from more objective features of the record.

Usually there should be several contacts with the individual being studied, also with others who supply supplementary information. Presumably these contacts also will be first recorded in a running account. Some of these may be very brief, as a sentence comment by the woman next door that Mrs. X was a fine neighbor who sometimes came in with cookies for the youngsters.

Final report. From the running accounts a final summary statement should be made up; this should be systematic rather than narrative and might well follow a comparatively definite outline.

TOPIC CHECK LIST AND FINAL REPORT OUTLINE

The following is intended both as suggested display of topics and outline for report, but to be used as an aid only; each case will be unique as to available and significant information and pattern for best presentation.

A. Classifying Data

Case number (real name need not be given, but kept on confidential reference file), sex, age, marital status, residence (the address need not be given but the area of town and the nature of dwelling should be). Sources of information. Date of the report.

B. Present Condition

1. Physical; general size and body build, posture and grooming, condition of skin, baldness or grayness of hair, adequacy of vision and hearing, nature of movements as slowing with age, tremor or unsteadiness, apparent strength or weakness. Speech slow or rapid, distinct or slurred, low, average or loud. Any indication as to sex life? Energy and activity.
Appetite, diet, sleep, present condition of health; any disease or disability? Habits such as smoking?

2. Intellectual: present status, as indicated by current activities and accomplishments such as vocational or service activities, hobbies, reading; impressions gained from interviews as to alertness and keenness of mind; judgments of others who know the case well. In a few instances, some tests may be possible.

3. Social: is the individual when meeting people shy, easy and tactful, or perhaps aggressive and possessive of the conversation? Does he now have many or few friends of his own or other ages? Of long standing or recent? What are the bases of those social contacts? Are they simply with neighbors or on the basis of hobby, church, or other groups? To what groups does the individual belong? What seems to be the relationship with other members of the family or other individuals with whom he is living? With members of the family living elsewhere. Does he seem liked, tolerated or rejected by those who know him? Does he dislike or like living alone?

4. Emotional: does the individual seem cheerful, apathetic, or depressed? Relaxed or tense? Shifting or stable in emotional tone? Is there vivacity or slowness in emotional reaction, nervousness in manner? Is he secure or uncertain? What seems to be the prevailing mood? Are there outbursts of irritation? Complaints?

5. Recreational: what recreations or amusements were mentioned when visits were made? Was the individual reading, knitting, listening to the radio, watching television? Is there mention of handicraft, gardening, other hobbies? Do the recreations seem primarily individual and solitary or social? Long standing or recent in origin? Eagerly or perfunctorily entered into? Any games played?

6. Vocational: is the individual working full or part-time? If so, nature of this work? Is he engaged in any unpaid service activity of any type around home or in a church or other group?

7. Ideational: what seems in general the individual's philosophy of life? Does he have religious interest? Is he unselfish, or anxious about his rights or privileges? Tolerant or dogmatic? Liberal or conservative? Prejudiced or open-minded? Are these attitudes promptly apparent or only after questioning?

8. Future Plans: Vocational - Economic - Social - are these in terms of probable future success or past difficulties. Or are there no plans, because age seems to make plans futile?

C. History of the Individual

Physique and Health: Was development unusual in any way? So far as known was development in childhood and youth rapid or slow, as to walking? Talking? Age of puberty, menopause? Did hair gray early or late? In his elder years did he seem older or younger than he was?

Anything unusual in the health history as in diseases in childhood, youth or adolescence? Any chronic condition, as malnutrition or obesity? Habits as smoking? Any evidence of chronic disease in the middle or older years? Any hearing or visual difficulty? Serious accidents? If needing care, who gave it?

Education: How much formal education? Where? Any academic honors won?
Any later programs of night school, vocational, adult education? When was formal education completed? Any interest in educational programs in the older years?

**Vocation:** What is the individual's work history? This should include not only the major vocation but other work, as odd jobs while in school? Any important changes in work? Any down-grading or tapering in the later years? Any complete job changes? Times idle? What vocational success? Financially? In the regard others have for him? Has the individual engaged in unpaid work for church, community or agencies or persons? Aided in Red Cross drives? Have such interests increased or decreased in his older years?

**Social Life:** What was the nature of the individual's social experience in childhood and adolescence? So far as known, were there many or few friends? Did he move about or stay mostly in one or two places during childhood and adolescence?

What is the marital history? Age of marriage? Any children? Any deaths in the family. General tone of family life?

To what groups has the individual belonged: religious, fraternal, others? Was he active in these groups, a leader, or follower? Have memberships and social contacts been maintained in older years? If not, why? Any new group contacts made?

**Recreation:** In childhood and youth was the individual fond of sports? What sports or hobbies during adult life? Were such interests maintained, or changed in later years? Other interests as reading, bridge, chess, travel? How has age modified recreational interests?

**Ideals and Philosophy of Life:** What have seemed to be prevailing points of view? Has individual been cheerful, unstable, cynical; or any changes in moods in childhood, youth and adulthood? Is he considered idealistic, aggressive, conservative, liberal, religious, agnostic, selfish or generous? Any changes in these respects during his life, especially in the later years?

**History of the Family:** Presumably, it is most logical to consider first the parents and grandparents and siblings, and then children and grandchildren if any. The data may be meager; but something should be sought about the nature of the home in which the individual grew up, and about the health, education, vocation, social life and so on of the parents. Something also should be said about any children as indicative of the type of home the individual being studied brought about.

D. **Appraisals and Interpretations**

Topics to be covered in appraisals and interpretations will, presumably, be gradually enlarged as the program progresses. In some cases, certain factors will emerge rather clearly. For instance, an old person will be recognized as now having exceptionally good health; the history will indicate health and vigor throughout life; both parents lived to a good old age—and the conclusion thus strongly is suggested that good health and a sound physical constitution were important factor in a
satisfactory adjustment to age. However, equally interesting in regard to this factor are cases who showed good adjustment but poor health, the question then being as to factors bringing good adjustment in spite of handicap. Especially the effort should be to locate factors fostering good adjustment (or particularly likely to make poor adjustment) with respect to possible constructive programs. Thus it might be found that these who continued vocational activity seemed in total best adjusted. This would then argue for flexible retirement according to desire and capacity, opportunities for transfer or down-grading rather than retirement or discharge in some cases, and the possibility of taking on new part-time jobs in other instances.

It is also becoming increasingly clear that certain groups of cases should be considered together. Thus the university faculty group and the group of retired public school teachers are in sundry characteristics and circumstances different from a group also being studied in a county infirmary, and a church group is again in certain respects a unit. It has therefore seemed best to prepare a plan for group study—which follows. An appraisal of an individual will often relate to his group.

SUPPLEMENTARY FORM REGARDING ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS OF OLDER PEOPLE

In connection with the study of older persons and factors involved in good adjustment to age it appears that groups serving them are important, and the nature of these groups thus desirable somewhat to investigate. It is suggested that information of the following sort may well be obtained. Of course that certain items may not be available.

A. Nature of Group

General Character. What is group called? Who are the officers? The sponsors, if any. What is its size? The average attendance? Place, time and frequency of meetings? Qualifications for membership? Age, range, approximate socio-economic level? The nature of the meeting place? Arrangement of chairs, etc?

History. How long has the group been in existence? How did it come into being? History to date? Probable future?

B. Activities and Social Structure

Activities. What is done at meetings? Is there a program; if so what? Who determines it? Are activities recreational; if so, what amusements? Any supplementary activities as excursions, movies, picnics, other special events? Does the organization sponsor individual activities or services such as friendly visiting? Are there dues?

Social Structure. Nature of the leadership? What is the participation? Are there small cliques or are acquaintanceships and participations general? Does the membership seem to be homogenous? What is the general nature of the membership? Is the attitude friendly or reserved?

C. General Appraisal

What seems to be the vitality or the organization? Its services to members? Its relationship to community or neighborhood?
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATIONS REGARDING CRISSES
AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE OLDER YEARS

Crisis. At any age, an individual's reaction to a crisis may often be revelatory of him. Since a crisis may overwhelm him, it becomes especially important that reactions to crisis be understood. In the older years, when strength and resources are lessened, crises are especially likely to appear. It is therefore very important that, in the case studies, the reactions to crises be carefully noted, understood as adequately as possible, and considered especially with reference to suggestions of possible help in such situations. Though crises may be of a great variety, the following seem worth mention.

Illness, disability, and accident become increasingly likely in age and perhaps may be considered ultimately inevitable. Freedom from such handicaps thus becomes worthy of note as a possible major factor in successful age. Clearly it is important, in considering physical difficulties, to look back into the middle and early years for possible early beginnings and also for habits of reaction to physical difficulties. As the individual becomes more dependent or possibly a burden because of physical injury or handicaps, he may impose upon others, and social repercussions may become distressing. But some old people have splendid capacity for adapting to such handicaps, and sturdily (like Lillian Martin) stand straighter because they find themselves tending to stoop, or work out ingenious means by which a physical handicap is minimized. Since the effort of this study is to show a group of individuals over a period of time, the development of diseases or handicaps, and tendencies to succumb to or to overcome such difficulties, should be carefully noted.

Close study is especially important where there is psychosis or other marked personality change. Beginnings as to personality type even in childhood should be sought, though it is perhaps too often assumed that they will be found there. A crisis of vocation, a death in the family, or a crisis initially physical, may so figure.

The death of the spouse, or a parent or sibling, may be a major crisis, and should be as clearly examined as tact and circumstances will permit. It may be a very involved situation emotionally. Thus the death of a sister long dependent and a burden resulted in a crisis of remorse, due to a feeling after the event that perhaps hostility had led to some neglect in care. In another sister situation, mutual dependence was a product of certain mutual inadequacies which were almost overwhelming when the older sister was left alone.

But a crisis may also occur in a woman's existence when all the children are grown and a life hitherto devoted to the family comes to lack that purpose. Again backgrounds of early undue confinement of interests and activities to the family, possible complications with physiological and psychological changes of the menopause, and coincident illness in retirement, or death of husband, must be watched for.
That retirement may present crises is generally recognized. But again earlier backgrounds of limited interest, possible increasing difficulty in maintaining pace in work, and rivalry or conflict with younger workers, must all be watched for — and will usually not be explicitly mentioned.

At last special possibility should be kept in mind. Though every historical period seems at that time regarded as presenting problems especially alarming, it might perhaps be considered that this epoch of the atomic bomb, and conflict of ideologies of east and west, in total presented more disturbing influences (and presented them more insistently by modern methods of mass communication) than in the past. Such extraordinary happenings might especially disturb old people, perhaps because in strength and resources they are more marginal than younger persons, and change from conditions of their youth is more marked.

Distinctive Opportunities. Crises in age are well recognized and in fact expected. But the present investigation has special reason for centering whenever possible on the neglected alternative that there may also be special opportunities. Sample instances may best suggest the fact and the range of such possible opportunities. The late arriving development and recognition of Grandma Moses' artistic talent is much publicized. But less well known examples of the same sort of thing are perhaps rather common, as for instance the widow who turned to hand-weaving after her husband's death, developed distinctive talent, and obtained recognition in her community which she had never had before. A bankrupt elderly storekeeper made a community reputation as head of the welfare activities of his lodge. A retired farmer became known throughout the state for his shrewd ferreting out of financial carelessness in the state and local government. A little-known retired businessman became widely known as a leader in community projects. Presumably these cases also usually have their early backgrounds and long progressive development, but also sometimes may be brought about because of a stimulating circumstance in the older years. It is especially the purpose of the current study to investigate as adequately as possible these instances not of decline but of growth in the older years.
APPENDIX II

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS
Physical Conditions

Body build
3. Thin, "tall and lanky"
2. Average
1. Stocky

Health
3. Excellent. No present illness, or disabling condition.
2. Average. "Good health"
1. Poor. Varied health complaints, or hospitalized, or generally complaining.

Vision
3. Excellent. Reads a newspaper, or in the case of a woman, sews without the aid of glasses.
2. Normal. No apparent vision problem - reads with glasses.
1. Poor. Magnification needed to read or sew.

Hearing
3. Good. Converses with others in normal tones. Interview carried out without raising the voice.
2. Some loss. Most be spoken to directly and with raised voice.
1. Severe loss. Some deafness, uses a hearing aid or needs one.

Speech
2. Hesitant. Has some impediment or stumbles over pronunciation -- slow of speech.
1. Impediment. Difficult to understand in conversation. Lapse or incoherencies in speech.

Movement
3. Unlimited. Gets about by himself as he wishes. Takes trips to other cities unaided.
2. Limited. Locomotion confined to the immediate neighborhood, or has need of others in getting about.
1. House only. Is confined to the home. Doesn't go outside except very rarely.

Health History
3. Excellent. No past illness, or very minor.
1. Poor. Many periods of illness.
DESCRIPTIONS OF PRESENT TRAITS AND CIRCUMSTANCES

Circumstances

Vocational Potential. This may be in business or a profession - involves characteristics of the job as well as the attitude of the administrator.

Weights

3. Job does not have to be discontinued at any given age - provisions can be made for full or part-time continuance into old age - as practice of medicine.

2. Usually a set retirement age, but possibilities of continued hobby interest - as mechanic can have home shop.

1. Set retirement, no leads after, as factory worker.


3. Insured very adequate income; no foreseeable need.

2. Income sufficient for basic needs but inadequate for accustomed way of life.

1. Inadequate income. Dependent on other sources for maintenance - Old Age pensioner.

Residency. Length of time living in the neighborhood, also involves "stabilized" neighborhood.

3. Long time resident in a stabilized neighborhood.

2. Long time resident, but changing neighborhood.

1. Moved recently (within last four or five years).

Personality Traits

Independence. Depends on one's own abilities where feasible. Where one is crippled, for example, a low score would not be given if he were dependent on others for help in walking, but only if he utilized others where he was
physically able to perform alone.

3. Self-sufficient. May decline support from others when it is offered.

2. Others help with support.

1. Overdependent on others for decisions, advice or care. Often seen as lacking ability to make decisions.

Recognition. Respect from others - roles imputed to them by others.

3. Outstanding so that his opinions are sought and accepted - authority in the field - or source of decisions in the home.

2. Tolerated but seen as past his prime.

1. Rejected by others - advice disregarded.

Acceptance of Change. Flexibility in acceptance of new methods or ideas.

3. Flexible - approves and utilizes modern methods.

2. Reluctant - acceptance with reservations.

1. Clings to past habits and methods; rigid; "older way is best."

Positive Mood. Primary feelings expressed about self or environment.

3. Cheerful; acceptance of limitations; has humor - jokes about self.

2. Cordial but somewhat tense. Some "poor" other conditions in the environment. Example, worried about wife's poor health.

1. Frustrated by limitations. "Bitter" - "blue" - "cantankerous."

Altruistic. Charitable. Not so much any emphasis on "general charity" but rather on considerateness, and doing
for others.


2. Contributes to charities, no evidence of personal involvement.

1. Selfish demands on others, egotist, misanthropic.

**Vitality.** Energy, vigor, liveliness.

3. Takes initiative in starting things. Is the life of groups or undertakings.

2. Curtailment in some activities.

1. "Tiredness."

**Future Plans.** Tendency to a forward look.

3. Realistic planning in terms of possibilities denoted and verbalized.

2. Little planning - daily continuance or no defined plan.

1. No future plans - very pessimistic outlook.

**Mental Ability.** Impressions: or clues gotten from vocabulary or present performance.

3. No apparent changes or feelings of change in abilities. Very adequate performance on intellectual materials. Continued productivity to present, for example.

2. Mentions some lessening of ability - memory loss, etc.

1. Obvious and drastic loss. Feels much less capable than formerly. Wandering of attention, confabulation, etc.

**Leadership**

3. Is officer or elected to responsible position in many clubs or organizations (three to five).

2. Few positions of responsibility.
1. No such positions noted, or simply "good worker."

**Attractiveness - Grooming.**

3. Well dressed, neat, posture good, etc.
2. Not much concern with appearance.
1. Unkempt, untidy, slovenly.

**Friends**

3. Many close friends. Visits among these. Friends in many groups.
2. Few friends. Seen only occasionally, such as during holidays.
1. Very few friends - or sees few persons other than the family.
AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, John Patrick McNulty, was born in Carfin, Scotland, November 27, 1921. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of South Orange, New Jersey. My undergraduate training was obtained at Utah State College from which I received the degree Bachelor of Science in 1949. From Utah State College I received the Master of Science degree in 1950. While in residence at Utah State I was an instructor in Psychology during 1950. At Ohio State University I served in the capacity of Research Assistant to Dr. Sidney L. Pressey during the year 1951-52. In 1952 I received an appointment as Research Associate in the Department of Psychology. I held this position for two years while completing the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.