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A Study of the Pre-Aged Factors Affecting Adjustment to the Aged Status.

James Arthur Kitchens
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
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by
James A. Kitchens
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Among the most pleasurable, and sometimes most difficult, tasks in writing is acknowledging the debt of gratitude which one owes to those who have helped him. Such a task demands that one realize how much of that which he has written is made possible by the contribution of others. The pages which follow are no exception to this rule.

To all those former teachers and colleagues who have offered intellectual stimulus to this writer, a word of thanks is due. They have imparted to him a sense of the joy of learning and the pride necessary to learning well.

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J.A.K.
To Peggy and Jeff who knew what it meant, and to Ginger who was not here last time.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER**

I. INTRODUCTION .............................................................. 1
   - Introductory Statements ......................................... 1
   - The Questions ..................................................... 3
   - The Significance of the Study ................................... 6
   - Major Divisions of the Research Report ....................... 10

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE .................................................. 12
   - Introduction ..................................................... 12
   - Background and General Gerontological Theory ................ 12
   - Aging and Adjustment ............................................ 23
   - Aging and Social Class .......................................... 33
   - Summary ........................................................... 38

III. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND ............................................... 40
   - Introduction ..................................................... 40
   - Theoretical Frame of Reference ................................ 40
   - Major Concepts .................................................. 49
   - Aged Status ...................................................... 49
CHAPTER PAGE

Social Class ............................................. 50
Socialization ............................................. 51
Adjustment ............................................... 52
Dependence-Independence ............................ 53
Modes of Accommodation ............................. 54

Formal Statement of the Theoretical Perspective ............................................. 54

IV. METHODOLOGY ........................................ 56
Introduction ............................................. 56
The Sample ............................................... 56
Techniques of Data Collection ....................... 64
Techniques of Data Analysis ......................... 66
Summary ................................................... 73

V. FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS .................... 74
Introduction ............................................. 74
Description of the Sample Population ............... 76
Age, Sex, and Racial Composition .................... 76
Educational Attainment .................................. 76
Place of Residence ...................................... 78
Occupational Composition ............................. 79
Church Membership and Attendance .................. 81
Marital Status and Living Arrangements ............... 83
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hypotheses</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis I</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis II</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis III</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation of Findings</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class and Independence-Dependence</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class and Adjustment</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class and Modes of Adjustment</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Total Population, Per Cent 65 and Over, and Per Cent Non-White of Parishes With no Urban Place Exceeding 2,500.</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Total Population, Number 65 and Over, and Number Non-White by Selected Ward in East Feliciana Parish.</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Total Population, Number 60 and Above, Race, and Median Income by Selected Census Tract in Orleans Parish.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Educational Attainment of the Sample Population by Race and Sex.</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Place of Residence of the Sample Population by Race and Sex.</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Occupational Description of the Sample Population by Race and Sex.</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Employment Status of the Sample Population by Race and Sex.</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Church Attendance of the Sample Population by Race and Sex.</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Organizational Membership and Attendance of the Sample by Race and Sex.</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE PAGE

X. Living Arrangements of the Sample Population by Race and Sex ................... 84

XI. Data Related to Social Class and Degree of Independence-Dependence According to Place of Residence, Sex, and Race........ 86

XII. Data Related to Social Class and Degree of Independence-Dependence According to Race and Sex and Place of Residence ...... 87

XIII. Data Related to Social Class, Degree of Independence-Dependence, and Adjustment According to Place of Residence, Sex, and Race ..................... 89

XIV. Data Related to Social Class, Degree of Independence-Dependence, and Adjustment According to Race and Sex, and Place of Residence ................................. 90

XV. Data Related to Social Class and Mode of Accommodation According to Place of Residence, Sex, and Race .................. 92

XVI. Data Related to Social Class and Mode of Accommodation According to Race and Sex and Place of Residence .................. 94

ix
XVII. Adjustment to the Aged Status According to Degree of Independence-Dependence and Social Class

............... 97
ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this study was to determine the effect of social class, seen as an intervening variable, on the process of growing old. Theoretically, the social systems in which the actor participates in the pre-aged status would appear to have an effect upon his adjustment to becoming old. Old age, according to this perspective, is seen as a distinct stage of the life cycle with its own normative structure and adjustment is viewed as the actor's response to confrontation with the aged status.

Three hypotheses were formulated to test empirically the theorized relationship of social class and adjustment to the aging process:

Hypothesis 1. The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the higher his degree of independence.

Hypothesis 2. The greater the degree of correlation of the actor's attitudes and behavior with social class aged status values, the greater his degree of positive adjustment.

Hypothesis 3. The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the greater the degree of his active modes of accommodation to the aged status.
The methodological procedure included interviews of a random sample of 294 persons over sixty years of age living in East Feliciana and Orleans parishes (counties) of Louisiana. Information useful in classifying respondents according to social class, degree of independence-dependence to which the actor aspired, type adjustment to the aged status, and the actor's mode of accommodation to the aged status was obtained in the course of the interviews.

Each hypothesis was tested empirically, using partial and multiple correlation techniques. Race, rural or urban place of residence, and sex were other variables by which the data were analyzed. Statistical significance was obtained for the data related to each hypothesis and it was concluded that social class is a significant variable affecting the type response of the actor to becoming old.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS

Dennis H. Wrong has reminded the student of social relations that it is necessary always to keep in mind the questions which one's answers purport to unravel. A group of answers not related to appropriate questions is little more than a body of tangled and formless statements. Wrong avers that only as the questions concerning human societies are kept consciously in mind can a body of sociological theory be built. For, according to Wrong, sociology is a special way of answering questions which man has always asked. And these questions, existential as well as intellectual, are the raison d'etre of social theory.¹

Writing in the same vein, Ralf Dahrendorf decries the tendency of sociologists to lose the impulse of curiosity and the desire to solve riddles of the human situation. There must be, says Dahrendorf, a "concern with problems."²


²Wrong introduces the word "problem" but rejects it in favor of the word "questions," fearing that "reference to 'problems' may seem to suggest too close a linkage with social criticism or reform." Ibid., p. 183.
At the outset of every scientific investigation there must be "a fact or set of facts that is puzzling the investigator." He notes:

Problems require explanation; explanations require assumptions or models and hypotheses derived from such models; hypotheses, which are always, by implication, predictions as well as explanatory propositions, require testing by further facts; testing often generates new problems.³

In such a manner, Dahrendorf asserts, a compact and consistent body of sociological theory is made possible. Additionally, according to Dahrendorf, such an approach tends to obviate the divorce of theory and research.⁴

Both men, in essence, have averred that empirical research as well as sociological theorizing must not only be bound together but must proceed from concrete situations of human experience. The guiding questions (or problems, to use Dahrendorf's word) of the social scientist must be both "how?" and "why?" And while the search for answers is going on and when the answers are reported, the questions must be

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kept consciously in mind. The purpose of this chapter is to set forth explicitly those questions which are at the heart of this dissertation as well as the stimuli that gave rise to them.

II. THE QUESTIONS

The three English words "adolescent," "adult," and "old" all stem from a common source. Behind all three stands the Latin word, alere, which means "to feed or nourish." From this basic stem came the word alescere to which was prefixed ad, thus creating the word adolescere, meaning "to be mature." The three English words, despite their common source, have come to refer to three distinct aspects of chronological life, each possessing unique properties. The adolescent is commonly understood to be approaching maturity. He is in a kind of apprenticeship to adulthood. The adult is one having come to maturity with reference to physical and mental capabilities. And the old person, while still looked upon as an adult, is generally seen as having lived a long time and in the waning years of his life.

The exact juncture of life when one ceases to be an adolescent and becomes an adult or makes the transition from

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adulthood to old adulthood is a matter of more than physiological change or chronological age. One may experience physical and mental maturity prior to being considered an adult. Also, the beginning stages of the decline in physical strength may occur prior to one being considered old. On the other hand, full mental faculties may not begin to fade until years after one has begun to think of himself as old.

Beyond this, the physiological changes occurring in the process of growing older are not the only changes which occur. Legitimate claims to certain kinds of prestige, specific ways of behaving, and overall patterns of behavior are also changes which occur along the way.

The last few decades have seen developed a body of studies dedicated to the scientific consideration of the sociological aspects of both the transition from adult to old adult and the attitudes and behavior of the old in general. This body of studies has been given the general title of gerontology. Gerontologists have given consideration to questions which range from a comparison of aging in

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6To continue with the word study, the word gerontology is derived from the Greek word transliterated geron and meaning "an old man." Ibid. A concise history of the development of gerontology may be found in Godron F. Streib and Harold L. Orbach, "Aging" in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, William H. Sewell, and Harold L. Wilensky (eds.), The Uses of Sociology (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967), pp. 612-642.
the major societies of the Western hemisphere to the process of aging in small isolated communities of the United States. They have investigated such varied questions as: 1) What are the components and causes of successful adjustment to getting old? 2) What are the factors involved in happiness or unhappiness in old age? 3) What have been the effects of social security on the financial status of older citizens of the United States?

This particular research falls into the context of gerontology, i.e., this study is concerned with specific aspects of old age. It is an investigation into factors associated with adjustment, both successful and unsuccessful, to the fact of agedness. The specific strata of society to which the individual belongs often dictates the number and type of social groups in which the person participates. Thus, this research will investigate the possible relationship between social class and old age. To that extent, this study is concerned with anticipatory socialization, i.e., to what degree have differences in social class determined the kind of preparation for old age which the individual experienced prior to "becoming old"? What are some possible class differences in the content of that preparation? And what relationship exists between adjustment and the social strata characteristics of preaged socialization? These are the questions which lie at the base of this study.
III. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Previous study in the area of gerontology has shown the significance of pre-aged conditioning in adjustment to confrontation by agedness. Positive, or more successful, adjustment to old age appears to be dependent to a great degree upon the socialization an individual undergoes prior to becoming old. A host of studies concerned with the entire life cycle and its various stages may be cited to show the importance of anticipatory socialization in preparing the incumbent for the new positions he must acquire as he progresses through the various stages of life.  


One serious limitation in gerontological studies, and in studying the life cycle in general, is a relative lack of concern with the significance of socio-economic status as a variable in anticipatory socialization. Clarity of definition of norms may vary according to the stratum of society in which the individual participates. In the pre-aged status the possession (or lack of possession) of specific institutional roles associated with various social systems may be significant determinants of adjustment to old age.

Upon surveying the salient literature one is struck, as mentioned, with the paucity of studies relating social class and problems associated with old age. Bracey notes the tendency to make sweeping generalizations about old people as a whole. This approach, according to Bracey, overlooks individual differences and tends to create blanket solutions to the problems of old age. He might have added such an approach overlooks certain cultural and social aggregates of old people and differences which might exist between them. It is hoped that this study will help to illuminate social class distinctions in aging and, to that extent, facilitate a greater understanding of the process of growing old.

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Such an understanding, it seems, is especially important in light of the growing number of old people in the United States. A continued increase in population over age 65 may be expected as life expectancy is extended. There is combined at present in the United States a declining mortality rate and a declining birth rate. The mortality rate declined steadily from 11.6 in 1935 to 9.3 in 1967. The raw birth rate, after an increase from 1940 (19.4) to 1958 (24.5), has decreased to 17.9 in 1967. An increase in the percentage of those age 65 and over will be the result if this trend continues.

Beyond the demographical concern, there is a humanitarian interest in increasing knowledge concerning growing old. This writer concurs with C. P. Snow who, in his monolithic essay *The Two Cultures*, notes that even the scientist

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11 Marvin R. Koller, *Social Gerontology* (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 37-38, mentions a 1964 prediction made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to the effect that those aged 65 and over will stabilize at 9.5 to 10.5 percent of the total population by the year 1980. Koller then notes, "Such projections, of course, are predicated upon the assumption that the birth rate will continue to be fairly high. If the birth rate declines, however, the proportion of aged will make a decided climb."
may be guided by some elemental (he calls them "primal") values.\textsuperscript{12} He says, "It seems to me better that people should live rather than die: that they shouldn't be hungry: that they shouldn't have to watch their children die."\textsuperscript{13} The scientific revolution, he points out, has extended the length of life. When any of the sciences can isolate those factors which help remove or obviate the possibility of human misery for the occupant of those days of longer life, something more than a scientific curiosity is served. No moral or value judgments on what is good or bad in old life is intended here. However, if perchance factors are revealed which bear on positive or successful adjustment to old age, then some kind of pragmatic motive will have been satisfied.

The significance of this study is found then in its potential for making theoretical contributions in an area of gerontology in which prior studies are somewhat deficient. Additionally, it may be useful in delineating some of the elements of successful aging and, thereby, serve a pragmatic purpose.


\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 78.
IV. MAJOR DIVISIONS OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

This report is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter the writer has sought to set the entire study into the general context of gerontology. An effort was made to isolate the specific problem which initiated this investigation, to give some insight into the researcher's original interest in the problem, and to offer a brief statement on the possible contributions of this research effort.

The second chapter contains a review of the salient literature in the field. An attempt is made to show the background and development of social gerontology. Specific areas, germane to the present study, are isolated and gerontological approaches to these areas are reviewed.

The theoretical considerations which impinge directly on this study are presented in the third chapter. Major terms used in the study are defined and the hypotheses to be tested are elucidated.

Methodological considerations are treated in chapter four. Central to this chapter is the presentation of those methods used in implementing the study as well as an explanation of statistical procedures to be used in analysis of the data. Included also in this chapter is a description of the strategies used in collecting the data.
The report of the findings is presented in chapter five. Descriptive data of the sample as well as the results relative to the specific testing of the hypothesis are given.

The last chapter contains the conclusions of this research as well as areas of further research which are suggested as a result of this study.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to set forth those themes in gerontological literature through which have been made significant contributions to the understanding of the process of aging. An effort will be made to give a brief background of gerontological studies. Next, those areas of general gerontological theorizing which are germane to the study will be summarized. Writings dealing with the subject of adjustment to old age will be considered next. Finally, a survey of studies relating aging to social class will be presented.

II. BACKGROUND AND GENERAL GERONTOLOGICAL THEORY

Following the lead of certain German scholars and a spate of nineteenth century anthropological studies, Van Gennep in his classic, The Rites of Passage, set the stage for the study of human life as a series of stages. He observed that life is composed of "a series of passages from one age to another and one occupation to another" including

such stages as "birth, social puberty, marriage, fatherhood, advancement to higher class, occupational specialization, and death." ² Life is seen as a series of thresholds which the individual crosses and beyond each of which he is to act in a different way. ³ The crossing of these thresholds, according to Van Gennep, is accompanied by ritual or rites of passage. Periodically in the course of life the individual divests himself of one status, takes up membership in another social grouping, and becomes incorporated into the new status. ⁴ The major thresholds mentioned by Van Gennep are birth, adolescence, maturity, old age, death, and (for the faithful) after life. ⁵

Writing in 1942, Ralph Linton sought to revive interest in the scientific use of age-sex categories in the study of personality formation and social structure. ⁶ In what he called "age series," Linton identified seven age-sex statuses as universal: infant, boy, girl, adult man, adult

³Ibid., p. 189.
⁴Ibid., pp. 19-11.
⁵Ibid., p. 190.
woman, old man, old woman. These are classificatory terms bearing little, if any, physiological considerations with reference to specific transition points. Physiological transitions are gradual and therefore imperceptible in the short run. About the only exception to this general rule, he notes, are birth, puberty, loss of reproductory powers in the female, and death. For this reason, age-sex classifications are generally divorced from physiological considerations and this fact makes possible "almost any amplification of formal categories and almost any choice of transition points." Some stages, but not all (and those varying according to society), are marked by formal ceremonies or rites of passage. The transfer from adult to the aged status is the transition which receives the least frequent ritual recognition. Linton noted the gradual increase of prestige as the individual progresses from one status to the next. For some societies, the transition from adult to aged status marks a loss of prestige due to diminishing of physical and sexual prowess. In others, however, prestige is enhanced in old age, and still other

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7 Ibid., p. 593.
8 Ibid., p. 592.
9 Ibid., p. 599.
societies carry this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion of ancestor worship. Linton concludes:

In every society, the individual must, in the course of his life cycle, perform many different roles a considerable portion of which are prescribed for him on the basis of his age-sex category membership. The behavior expected of him at one period in his life cycle is often sharply differentiated from that expected at another period.

Further elucidation of these themes is made in the comparative study done by Eisenstadt. Writing to determine the precise social conditions which give rise to age groups and specifically youth groups and youth movements, Eisenstadt makes extensive use of ethnographic, anthropological, and sociological studies of primitive and urbanized societies, both historical and extant. He begins by noting:

Every human being passes through different ages within his lifetime, and at each stage he attains and uses different biological and intellectual capacities. Every stage in this progression constitutes an irrevisible step in the unfolding of his life from its beginning to its end.

That these "steps" are not biologically set (and, therefore, not inescapable) is to be seen by the fact that the span of the various steps, as well as its meaning,

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10 Ibid., p. 597.

11 Ibid., p. 601.

varies from society to society. The biological process of
growing up and growing old is subject to cultural defini-
tions. Despite the variety of these steps and the diver-
sity of their cultural definition, no society exists which
does not differentiate between various ages and which does
not define those ages by norms and values of its own cul-
tural tradition.\textsuperscript{13}

According to Eisenstadt, two factors are significant
with reference to understanding definitions of the various
"age grades." In the first place, the definition is offered
in broad terms of a general "human type." The roles are
defined by means of general diffuse patterns of behavior
which are deemed appropriate for the occupant of a specific
age grade. The definition is always that of broad human
potentials and obligations, not detailed prescriptions of
behavior. However, general though it may be, the definition
is never merely classificatory, it always involves an evalua-
tion of the meaning and importance of the given age, thus
giving the definition normative connotations.

In the second place, the behavioral expectations
involved in an age grade do not stand alone, i.e., the
characteristics of one stage cannot be fully understood
except in their relation to those of other stages. That

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., pp. 21-22.
which is appropriate for one age grade is always contrasted to that deemed appropriate for another. To tell an adult, "Don't act like a child," is to set the normative behavior implicit in each age over against one another.\textsuperscript{14}

The basic functions of establishing age grades, according to Eisenstadt, is two fold: a) the transmission of the social heritage, which effects societal continuity and thereby makes age grading a matter of crucial importance for the whole social system and b) the giving of a sense of attachment and identification to the individual by providing meaningful social roles which he is to play at each juncture of life. For the individual, the awareness of his own age becomes an important integrative element as a basis for one's self-perception and self identification.\textsuperscript{15}

Using these and corresponding studies,\textsuperscript{16} gerontologists were able to approach the study of aging with the conception of old age as a socially defined status. They

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., pp. 22-24.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., pp. 24-35. It should be noted that with reference to youth groups, Eisenstadt's main concern, the author points out a further function, i.e., the age group may serve as a kind of interlinking sphere in the transition from a strong dependence on kinship groups to other institutions of society. See pp. 270-272.

\textsuperscript{16}Space does not allow for a survey of the contributions of such men as C. G. Jung, \textit{The Stages of Life}
were able to look for the meaning of agedness, to search for norms and values associated with aged behavior, and to study the roles a given society ascribes to its aged members. In this context, Cumming and Henry and their associates developed a comprehensive conceptualization of the process of growing old which is termed the theory of disengagement. 17 This theory was developed out of the mammoth five year study of aging individuals in Kansas City, Missouri.

Put at its basis the theory of disengagement postulates a withdrawing of the individual from the social systems to which he belongs and reciprocal lessening of obligations incumbent on the individual by those systems. The equilibrium which exists between the individual and

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society in middle life gives way to new relationships as age increases. These new relationships are characterized by greater distance and lessened interpenetration. In middle life the individual plays out a number of roles characterized by intimate involvement of the individual and society. Disengagement implies a decreasing amount and variety of interaction.19

Along with the declining rate of interaction, the proponents of this theory assert a concomitant decreasing of perception of life space which may even precede advancing age.20 This they attribute to anticipatory socialization and "withdrawal of object cathexis." The aging, it seems, experience interactions as less important and less intense which is both the result of disengagement and causative of continued disengagement.

Further, Cumming and her associates found a change in the quality of interaction from absorption with others to an increasing attentiveness to one's self. Love and approval as sought rewards appear to diminish with advancing


20Ibid., p. 31.
age and are replaced by an intensifying desire for responsiveness and esteem.\[^{21}\]

Disengagement then, as a theory of the aging process, postulates a lessening of amount and changing quality of interaction of the individual and society with advancing age. As they prepare for the inevitable disengagement (death), aging individuals willingly relinquish social roles they have played and in reciprocity society reduces the obligations they are expected to bear.

The theory of disengagement has by no means received total acceptance. Arnold M. Rose has raised serious objection to the suggestion that the disengagement process is a universal phenomenon.\[^{22}\] He cites such factors as developments in medical science which allows continued good health and vigor, social security, private pensions, and annuities which make for the economic independence of increasing numbers of the old, and social movements and action oriented groups seeking to better the position of the aged as evidence that old people do not willingly disengage. To the extent that disengagement occurs in this country, it is a product

\[^{21}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 32.}\]

of a utilitarian youth oriented society. Forced disengagement in such areas as occupation does lead to withdrawal from auxiliary groupings, e.g., trade associations and service clubs that have a membership based on economic activity.

Rose then attacks the disengagement theory on two fronts: 1) It overlooks social trends that tend to negate the basic tenet of the theory and 2) the disengagement theorists have failed to see disengagement not only as partial but as a product of the recent cultural history of this nation.

Beyond this, Rose presents a cogent argument for the possible future formation of a kind of subculture of the aged which would be similar to other subcultural groups in this population. In connection with this, he notes specific influences which keep the elderly in contact with the larger society: 1) familial contacts which experience no reduction with increasing parental age, 2) the mass media in which the elderly continue to participate and which cut across all subcultural variations, 3) continued employment which keeps the oldster in contact with the work group, 4) the increasing contact with social welfare agencies, and 5) an attitude of active resistance toward aging.  

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Although Rose does not explicitly set forth a theory of aging, he does seem to lean toward viewing old age as but an extension of middle age. The elderly individual continues to perform the same roles, in so far as physical and mental facilities will allow, and to maintain the same values and to be guided by the same norms as were operative for him as a younger adult. All features of life are qualitatively the same as in middle age.  

In summary, it may be pointed out that a broad base was laid for gerontological studies by various considerations of the life cycle. Forerunners in the study of human life as divided into divergent stages or grades or spans have allowed gerontology to transcend mere biological and demographical considerations. Old age came to be viewed as one of the distinct life stages recognized by societies and the broad qualities of old age came to be seen as culturally established.

Theorizing on the general scope and limits of growing old has developed two basic approaches. The one suggests that growing old is the process of withdrawing from society.

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by severely changing some roles and relinquishing others. Both psychologically and physically the individual disengages from society, drawing more and more into himself. The other perspective sees aging as a process in which qualitatively, if not quantitatively, the aging person maintains or finds adequate substitutes for the roles he played in middle age. The proponents of this position view disengagement as forced in some areas and as only one of several possible avenues open to the individual as he grows older.

III. AGING AND ADJUSTMENT

Gerontological literature dealing with the general subject of adjustment to old age is both plentiful and diverse. Havighurst notes that the science of gerontology has been guided, at least in part, by the practical purpose of "adding life to the years" of the latter part of the human lifespan. As such, gerontologists have been concerned with what he calls "successful aging." Measurements of successful aging have been hampered by the variations of definition of that quality to be measured. Havighurst mentions the following definitions of successful aging as having been used by investigators: maintenance of middle age activities, feelings of satisfaction with one's present

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25 Ibid., p. 66.
status and activities, and feelings of happiness and satisfaction with one's life. Havighurst opts for the last of these referring to it as "life satisfaction."

The elements of satisfaction and happiness and the variables which constitute these characteristics are delineated carefully by Pick and Berkowitz. They list seven psychological attributes which enable the individual to resolve successfully the developments which accompany increasing age:

1) "Cathetic flexibility" refers to the individual's ability to invest meaningful emotion into new activities. As age increases and the individual's cathexis objects disappear, he is able to reinvest his emotions in other people and in other pursuits.

2) "Mental flexibility" implies open-mindedness rather than increasing inflexibility in opinion and problem solving procedures.

3) "Ego differentiation" is the capacity to pursue and to enjoy a varied set of major activities in life.

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26 Ibid., pp. 70-75.
4) "Body transcendence" implies the ability to feel whole, worthwhile, and happy because of one's social and mental powers and activities whether or not one's physical health is good.

5) "Ego transcendence" is the capacity to engage in a strong concern for others' well-being and not to be mainly preoccupied with one's own self-centered interests.

6) "Body satisfaction" is the degree of satisfaction one feels with one's body.

7) "Sexual integration" refers to one's ability to mesh sexual desires with other aspects of life.

To these psychological characteristics the authors add an estimate of the net effectiveness and satisfaction with which the individual is adapting to his present situation. Taken together these factors measure the adjustment of the individual to the aging process.\(^27\)

Pollak has defined adjustment in terms of need satisfaction:

Speaking most generally, the well adjusted person is one who is able to satisfy his needs quickly and adequately as they arise; a poorly adjusted person, on the other hand, is unable to satisfy certain of his needs and remains in a condition of unadjustment or maladjustment which is more or less severe depending on the nature and strength of his unsatisfied needs.\textsuperscript{28}

He goes on to note that three avenues are open as measurement of adjustment. 1) The investigator may measure the degree of need satisfaction or "satisfaction" level. 2) One may determine the individual's intensity or manner of participation in various activities. 3) Finally, the investigator may devise techniques to measure the individual's success in meeting social expectations.\textsuperscript{29}

Writing with reference to adjustment in retirement, Ruth Shonle Cavan makes use of the concepts of self image and role as major factors in the adjusting process. The worker, she avers, maintains a satisfactory self image by social approval of his position as a worker. He internalizes these satisfying group reflections and thus forms a kind of independent self-conception by carrying out his role


\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p. 66. Pollak's definition of adjustment fits only the first of his methods of measurement. His second and third suggestions imply an entirely different definition of adjustment.
in the specific social groups to which he belongs. At retirement he may no longer play the role and relations with the group are severed. If no socially approved substitutes are provided, or if the individual finds the substitutes to be distasteful or unrewarding, his reactions are likely to be negative. For a more positive adjustment to retirement, there must be a socially approved set of values for old age through which the old person may find in others an evaluation of himself as a retired person which he may internalize. Beyond this, new roles must be found through which the old person may find expression for his new self image.  

The concept of role is used by Phillips in his consideration of adjustment to aging. He notes that changes in role and corresponding changes in self-conception occur in areas other than retirement. The aged person in certain circumstances experiences withdrawal from active and community leadership, death of one's spouse, loss of independent household, loss of interest in distant goals and plans, acceptance of dependence on others for support and advice, taking up membership in groups made up largely of old people, 

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acceptance of subordinate position to adult offspring or social workers, and limiting plans to immediate goals. Beyond this there is increased probability of illness and the inevitability of death. In each of these areas the old person is asked to relinquish certain social relationships and to accept other roles and relationships typical of later years.  

Wayne Thompson has shown that role transition, specifically in the change from employment to retirement, is made easier if the individual has been prepared for it. He says, "It may be hypothesized that adjustment in retirement is conditioned by pre-retirement anticipation of the retired status." Thompson uses data gathered by the Cornell Study of Occupational Retirement and shows that the worker's pre-conception of retirement, pre-retirement attitude toward retirement, and plans for retirement are related to his adjustment after retirement. According to Thompson the

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33 Ibid., p. 35.

34 Ibid., pp. 36ff. It should be noted that most studies of retirement are based on the presupposition that retirement is an event. Margaret S. Gordon, "Changing Patterns of Retirement," in Clyde B. Vedder (ed.), Gerontology.
worker who experiences anticipatory socialization prior to entrance into new social relations and roles makes the transition with less difficulty.\textsuperscript{35}

Strauss adds another dimension to the consideration of anticipatory socialization. His discussion is concerned with status transition in all parts of the life cycle and is limited to the change from middle to old age. A neces-

\textit{A Book of Readings} (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1963), p. 235, has shown that formal retirement is but one of a number of patterns of work cessation. A worker, for example, may be retired from stable employment without formal retirement, in which case he must depend on unstable employment. Or a worker may have been employed in casual or short-term employment and finds it increasingly difficult to get work as he grows older. For either, retirement is a series of events, a process, and neither sudden or formal.

\textsuperscript{35} An interesting approach to the problems of retirement (and other problems involved in growing old) is seen in the idea of "social confrontation." See Alvin L. Bertrand, \textit{Basic Sociology: An Introduction to Theory and Method} (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), pp. 219-221; and Alvin L. Bertrand "The Emerging Rural South: A Region Under 'Confrontation' by Mass Society," \textit{Rural Sociology} 31:449-457, December, 1966. Bertrand has defined confrontation as "a situation where an individual or group is faced with a consistent and strong pressure by another individual or group to change his or their values or ways of behaving." Two types of confrontation are delineated: 1) Formal confrontation - face to face confrontation occurs in this type and an immediate adjustment reaction is required. 2) Informal confrontation - this type of confrontation is experienced through use of impersonal means of communication, e.g., mass media, and adjustment reaction is more gradual. The fact of agedness may involve both types of confrontation and pre-aged socialization may be one factor which helps the individual in the adjustment process.
sary element, he avers, in the orderly development from one role to another in life sequence is definitional clarity. "If conflicting rationales leave a person in definitional confusion...the regulated chain of status progression is threatened." 36 Ralph Linton had earlier pointed out the necessity of adequate role preparation for successful transition from one status to another in the process of life.

He notes:

The participation of any given individual in the culture of his society is not a matter of chance. It is determined primarily, and almost completely as far as overt culture is concerned, by his place in the society and by the training which he has received in anticipation of his occupying this place. 37

The concepts of role transition and socialization are utilized by Payne in his discussion of adjustment. He defines socialization as "the process by which a person acquires as a member of society the understandings, attitudes, 


and skills with which and upon which to construct his behavior in the situations (statuses) in which he finds himself or expects to find himself." According to Payne, the process of socialization involves two elements: 1) The individual takes on new information, knowledge (definition of role) and 2) he integrates the new material into his personality organization in the form of new or altered responses. This process is an achievement of learning and integration, not an automatic emergence of inherent psychological or innate faculties. Payne appears to be saying that the individual is fitted to specific roles and types of responses by this socialization process.

38 Raymond Payne, "Some Theoretical Approaches to the Sociology of Aging," Social Forces, 38-360, 1960. Linton, Ibid., notes that this process is life long. He says, "As the individual matures and then ages, he constantly has to unlearn patterns of response which have ceased to be effective and to learn new ones more appropriate to his current place in society," pp. 143-144. See also, Cain, op. cit., pp. 290-292 and pp. 282-283.

39 A body of anthropological literature has been developed in the culture and personality area which avers that personality is predictable behavior and is culturally influenced. See, Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1945); Anthony F. C. Wallace, Culture and Personality (New York: Random House, 1964); and Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968), pp. 422 ff. Linton postulates the existence of what he calls basic personality types in each society and even suggests "status personalities," i.e., in various classes, castes, or subcultures of a society, there exists a kind of basic personality or ideal type personality, pp. 129-130.
In summary, it may be pointed out that adjustment is viewed in the literature in at least three different ways. In the first place, adjustment is defined with reference to the individual's happiness and satisfaction with his present life. How the individual feels about himself, his environment, others, his past life, and his general mood appear most significant. Psychological factors such as emotions, mental processes, and general outlook on life are given prominence. The individual's morale or mental state or disposition is crucial in measuring his adjustment to the aged status.

The second approach to adjustment has to do with need satisfaction. Central to this approach is the individual's perception of his ability to meet the needs--psychic, social, and physical--which accrue to him as a person.

Finally, adjustment is seen as the degree to which an individual has been able to inculcate and incorporate into his behavioral patterns the various roles to which he is assigned as an old person. Integral to this approach to adjustment are the sociological concepts of socialization, roles, values, and status transition. According to this view an individual is well adjusted when provided by society with appropriate behavior patterns and values which he has internalized and which serve as guides to his activities and attitudes as an old person.
IV. AGING AND SOCIAL CLASS

It is unfortunate that the concept of social class has been used so sparingly in sociological consideration of the aging process. Simpson notes that between 1936 and 1956 some 18,000 articles were published on the subject of old age. Yet few of these articles treat the relationship between old age and social class, and where this relationship is dealt with, it is decidedly tangent to some more central issue.

Pollak, in 1948, called attention to sociological interest in social class and notes that social classes represent special ways of life which may be viewed as a kind of subculture within the framework of a general culture. For him, this fact implies that roles and statuses assigned to the aged in different institutional fields may vary from class to class. At a later juncture of his book he mentions economics, occupation, education, and cultural factors (e.g., membership in organizations, social contacts, and living arrangements) as variables associated with atti-

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41 Pollak, op. cit., p. 38.
tudes toward old age. Each of these is a function of social class and this fact leads to the conclusion that social class is itself an important factor in adjustment to the aged status.

Friedman and Havighurst reported on class differences in occupational interpretation by persons between 60 and 70 years of age. People engaged in lower class occupations were more likely to see their work as having no other meaning than earning money. Skilled craftsmen and salespersons (classified as middle class by the authors) were found to view their occupations as avenues of self-expression, purposeful activity, and new experience. Physicians, who were representatives of the upper class in this study, saw their vocation primarily as an opportunity to serve others.

In a descriptive study of 510 persons 65 years of age or older in Pennsylvania, James Montgomery made use of the concept of socio-economic status. He found significant differences in the following areas: 1) The higher the socio-economic status the higher the score on mental health. 2) The lower the socio-economic score the greater the willingness to accept aid from children and close relatives.

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42 Ibid., pp. 120-123.
43 Friedman and Havighurst studies are surveyed in Simpson, op. cit., pp. 88-89.
3) The lower the socio-economic status the lower the morale ratings.  

In an interesting article on familial relationships and attitudes, Alan Kirckhoff has offered some suggestions with reference to aging and social class. His study was done in 1961-62 and his respondents were retirees or imminent retirees and their spouses in Virginia and North Carolina. In all, 337 couples were interviewed.

Kirckhoff's thesis is that there is a strain toward consistency in couples toward certain norms and values. Two basic ideas from Talcott Parsons are used as a theoretical spring board to this thesis: 1) The nucleated family system with attenuated relationships between the adult and his parents is most consistent with the occupational-technical

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46 Respondents were chosen at random from lists supplied by several large industries and YMCA's in the area. Such lists are biased in favor of certain members of the working class and white collar employees and leave out an important segment of the population, namely, those with irregular employment patterns and the habitually unemployed.
aspects of the American social system. 2) The idea of a nucleated intergenerational system is most clearly associated with "joint conjugal role relationship" and an extended intergenerational system is clearly associated with a "segregated conjugal role relationship."

To test these concepts four variables involving sets of norm-like statements were devised. The first variable had to do with parent adult-child relationship. Primary at this point was the extent of dependency the parent should exhibit with regard to the child. Next, measurements of "task sharing" and togetherness between spouses were delineated. The third variable had to do with basic values with regard to acceptance of change and, finally, a group of statements were delineated to measure "perceived conflict" between spouses concerning patterns of child residence.

Kirckhoff hypothesized that the sets of norm-like statements would cluster and the four variables would be related. The findings substantiated his hypothesis. Three familial types emerged: an extended family type, a modified extended type, and a nucleated family type. When the couples were ranked according to socio-economic status, Kirckhoff found:

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47 Occupation, education, and statements of economic well being were used as major criteria for determining socio-economic status, Ibid., p. 154.
Those couples who agree on an extended normative definition of parent-child relationship are from lower socio-economic levels than those who agree on a modified definition, and the latter are from lower levels than those who agree on a nucleated definition. 48

He concludes:

The nucleated normative type couples are much more likely to be white collar, to be highly educated, to have fewer children, to have husbands belonging to organizations, and to have been reared...in towns or cities rather than on farms. 49

By way of conclusion, it may be pointed out that, although socio-economic standing should be seen as significant in influencing the norms and values inherent in the aging process, gerontologists in general have overlooked the concept almost entirely. Some isolated studies have been done with reference to occupational interpretation, but these appear to be more useful to the sociology of work than to gerontological theory. Other studies have used social class as a means of offering analysis of data. Descriptive use is made of the social class of aging individuals to show the relative rates of mental health, mobility, and morale.

Kirchkoff, it seems, has made a significant contribution in demonstrating the differences in parental dependence on children by social class. Lower class aged indivi-

48 Ibid., pp. 154-155.
49 Ibid., pp. 155-156.
duals appear to be more dependent on extended family relationship than are those characterized by a higher social class.

V. SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to trace the background and development of gerontological literature and to survey selected areas of that literature deemed salient to this study. It was shown that the body of studies subsumed loosely under the concept of "life course" literature prepared a base for the view of aging as one of the culturally defined stages of life. Macroscopic theorizing on the process of aging produced two divergent approaches to growing old. One view of the latter stage of life saw it as a gradual constriction of social space in which the individual willingly surrenders his roles as society willingly relinquishes its demands on him. The other perspective saw aging as the continuation, insofar as possible, of the roles and values of middle age. According to this theory, the aging individual may be forced to give up specific roles, but basic values do not change in the transition from middle to old age.

Literature dealing with adjustment to advancing age was considered next. Three basic views of adjustment emerged. According to the first, successful aging is
involved with happiness, satisfaction, and a sense of well being. Psychological measures of morale stand at the core of this approach to adjustment. According to the second perspective, successful adjustment is measured by the individuals perception of need fulfillment. The degree of adjustment - maladjustment is contingent upon the needs of the individual and the seriousness and intensity of those needs which are unfulfilled. The third view of adjustment is concerned with the individual's perception of the social roles he is asked to play as an aged person and his ability to order his life according to these roles. That person who is able to internalize the norms and values which his society espouses as appropriate for the oldster is the properly adjusted person. He may be viewed as maladjusted to the extent that he is unable to perceive or unwilling to inculcate these norms and values into his behavior patterns.

Finally, those studies dealing with social class and aging were perused. The paucity of such studies was noted along with the suggestion that because social groups associated with social class play such an influential role in the area of norms and values, social class cannot be overlooked in the investigation of the process of aging.
CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate the theoretical frame of reference which served as guidance for this research. Basic terms which were used in the study are defined and the major hypothetical propositions which were tested are presented.

II. THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

The basic question inspiring the research done, as was noted earlier, is what effect does social class have on preparation for and adjustment to agedness. Writers in gerontology have suggested that the aged status may be studied from the perspective of various roles which the aged person plays. This is the specific frame of reference adopted for the analysis of the findings arising from the investigation. The theoretical conceptualization of the structural properties of roles and the manner in which they are oriented into behavior has already been developed. These conceptualiza-
tions, classifiable under the general title of role theory, are presented below.\(^1\)

The smallest analytical unit of social structure, according to most role theorists, is termed the **social norm**. This term designates a single behavioral expectation and infers a learned response which is held in common by members of a social system. Clusters of norms associated with the performance of a single function form a **social role**. Roles in turn are grouped together to form a **status position**. One's status position is, therefore, made up of the roles which he plays in a single group.\(^2\) The set of status positions, i.e., the combination of positions which an actor occupies in the complex organizations of which he is a part,


\[^2\text{Bates notes two conditions which are necessary to distinguish a group. 1) There must be "...at least two individuals who interact with each other as the occupants of two positions, each of which contains at least one role reciprocal to a role in the other position." 2)"A group is composed of all individuals who occupy positions reciprocal to}
is called a **situs**. Finally, the total collection of situses and positions which an actor has in all systems are termed his **station**.

Use of the concepts of norm, role, and status position appear to be fruitful in analyzing the aging process for two reasons: 1) The transition from middle to old age is gradual and in many aspects of the individual's life, he is neither necessarily nor suddenly cut off from certain positions which he occupied at an earlier age. The interaction may gradually decrease in intensity in some instances or take on new meaning. But normally, the aged individual does not experience the sudden severing of all ties with the groups in which he participated in middle age. The actor continues to function according to some set of norms. These norms guide his behavior as he plays the roles which make up the status positions which he occupies. The role theory conceptual framework allows one to investigate the way in which the normative structure changes for the actor from middle to old age. Further, this approach allows one to study the possible variation in the normative structure according to social class. 2) Successful transition from middle to old

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age would appear to depend, at least in part, on norm perception and the willingness (or ability) of the individual to play the appropriate roles. It appears, therefore, that the concepts of norm, role, and position allow one to investigate from a structural point of view the subject of adjustment to the aged status.

Writing in the George Herbert Mead tradition, Raymond Payne has used the concept of "status sequence socialization" to illuminate an important aspect of the aging process. He notes that independence in decision-making is the result of a process beginning with the total dependence of the infant on others. This dependency continues as long as the growing child, by necessity, "must look outward almost entirely, asking the 'other' to provide bases for deciding to accept or reject...new material." As the child grows older, however, he can provide some of his own value support through the process of having internalized the other. "The person then achieves--theoretically, at least--a condition in which he can make decisions involving value judgment without requiring specific or immediate reinforcement or support from out-


\[4\] Ibid., p. 360.
side himself." This state of relative independence Payne calls "functional self-containment" and wonders at which state of the life cycle the individual is furtherest removed from a socially dependent state. Payne poses the query: Does the individual progress from a fully dependent stage through increasing degrees of independence into the most independent state during the last stage of life? Payne came to the following tentative conclusions through a survey of twenty-six case studies of healthy and financially secure individuals over 70 years of age: 1) Each person in the study experienced after retirement a decreasing confidence in his own decision-making ability. 2) Whereas, youngsters turn to older persons for advice (thus "looking up hill"), the older persons studied by Payne turned to younger persons for advice (thus, "looking down hill"), 3) Functional self-containment, then does not appear to exist to the greatest degree in the last stage of life, but in some stage preceding it.

An interesting question emerges when Payne's conclusions regarding increased dependency in old age are compared with Kirckhoff's findings. Kirckhoff, it will be recalled, 

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5Ibid. 

found that the older person's willingness to be dependent on his adult children varies according to social class. He noted that persons occupying the lower social statuses tended to be involved in a kind of extended family relationship which revealed itself in closer familial ties and greater parental dependence on adult children than is true of persons in the upper social class. In light of these findings, one may ask: To what extent does the kind of dependency described by Payne vary according to social class? And further, what effect does social class have on dependency attitudes with regard to governmental agencies and welfare for the aged?

Such questions would appear to be integrally related to problems of adjustment. If old age may legitimately be viewed as a distinct stage of life in the life cycle, and if individuals are provided with normative expectations and roles which vary according to social class, then modes and degrees of adjustment may be expected to vary according to social class. If members of the lower class are provided with patterns of behavior in old age which are qualitatively different from those of the middle and upper classes, then generalizations about modes of adjustment as well as defini-

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7See above, pp. 12-17.
tive statements about adjustment per se, insofar as they ignore social class, would appear to be severely handicapped.

Further, Robert K. Merton has suggested that a state of anomie is structurally created when the objectives a society sets forth as appropriate do not correspond with socially approved means of achieving these objectives. The five types of individual adaptation he suggests as responses to this anomic situation are not immediately transferable into gerontological considerations. However, the social roles and values inherent in the aged status, i.e., the ideal behavior of the older person, may be thought of as the "socially approved objectives" for the aged individual. Situational and personality factors may be converted roughly to parallel Merton's "socially approved means." When the culturally defined goals, purposes, or interests are not corroborated by the personality or situationally defined means of achieving these goals, a condition of anomic maladjustment is likely to exist.

To continue with Merton's insightful description of means and goals, two types of individual adaptation may be

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9 The parallel is not exact, however, since Merton is concerned with the structural elements of the means to objectives.
seen as emerging with reference to the aging individual:
1) Positive adjustment in which behavior and attitudes
(means) conform with social roles and values (objectives,
goals); 2) Negative adjustment in which there is no corre-
spondence between values and behavior. The latter state
may exist when the individual rejects the values or roles of
his system or when he is unable to perceive them. That is,
for the aging individual in this situation there is a kind
of role ambivalence in which he, for whatever reason, is
unwilling or unable to adjust his attitudes and behavior to
fit the normative scheme considered valid in his social
system.10

It may be argued that such role ambiguity would
reveal itself at the level of norm perception and commit-
ment. William J. Goode has suggested that conformity to
roles inherent in a specific position is dependent on norm

10 Robert K. Merton and Elenor Barber, "Sociological
Ambivalence" in Edward A. Tiryakian (ed.), Sociological
Theory, Values, and Sociocultural Change (New York: The
Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 94-95, define sociol-
ogical ambivalence as "incompatible normative expecta-
tions of attitude, beliefs, and behavior assigned to a
status or to a set of statuses in a society." Cf., also,
Rose Laub Coser, "Role Distance, Sociological Ambivalence,
and Transitional Status Systems," American Journal of
commitment (which implies norm perception). He notes that the concept of socialization implies not only the internalizing of norms but, also, a willingness to apply the norm in a given situation. Goode terms this willingness, "an autonomous emotional commitment to...appropriate role behavior." By way of summary, then, it may be pointed out that the theoretical perspective which gives rise to the major hypothesis of this study includes the following.

1. The last stage of life, the aged status, is a culturally defined bundle of norms and roles which implies a qualitatively distinct transition from the preceding stage.

2. Social class influences the nature and content of the behavioral patterns presented as appropriate for the occupant of the aged status.

3. Adjustment is dependent upon the congruence of the normative values and behavioral patterns of the social system and the actual behavior and attitudes of the aged person.


\[12\] \textit{Ibid.}, p. 315.
Aged status. Ralph Linton has noted that all societies mark at least three distinct stages in the series of statuses which constitute the life cycle: child, adult, old. To posit the existence of an aged status is to suggest that certain rights and obligations accrue to the individual because of his chronological age. The point at which an individual begins to occupy the aged status is dependent upon the specific society of which he is a member. Chronological age, then, functions not as a precise determinant but as an indicator or reference point for assigning or establishing status.

The human life span, it appears, is divided into various stages and each stage is culturally distinct from the others by virtue of the differing role obligations and rights inherent in each. Role transitions are accompanied by identity transformation, and the last of these major transitions in the life cycle begins what is referred to as the aged status.

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Social class. The term social class will be used in this study to describe the relative rank of a person with reference to style of life, prestige, and economic opportunity. Social class in this study is roughly synonymous with Weber's term "status group" and Dahrendorf's term "stratum." Such an approach follows the lead of Gordon who says that the term social class should be applied to the "social status levels of society" which reveal themselves in "intimate friendships, clique life, association membership and participation and marriage." Bates and Kelly have suggested a helpful approach to social class. They advocate a position centered perspec-


16Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. IX. Dahrendorf limits the word "classes" to designate "interest groupings emerging from certain structural conditions which operate as such and effect structure changes." On the other hand "stratum" refers to "a category of persons who occupy a similar position on a hierarchical scale of certain situational characteristics such as income, prestige, style of life. 'Stratum' is a descriptive category."


tive in which consideration is given to the various positions which the individual occupies in the social systems in which he participates. Stratification may then be viewed as the result of two elements in combination: 1) Station composition. This term refers to the various positions combined in the individual's station. This horizontal aspect of status determines the characteristic pattern of positions which make up the behavior associated with the station. That is, each position represents the participation of the actor in a single system and all positions represent his total social participation. 2) Station rank. This term is used to refer to the evaluation of the station in terms of the values of the society in which it exists. Station rank is the vertical dimension of stratification and, according to Bates and Kelly, may be inferred from the network or average ranks of the positions carrying the station.

Socialization. The process by which a person acquires the attitudes and skills necessary for his proper functioning in the social situations in which he finds himself is termed socialization. Anticipatory socialization occurs when the individual is introduced to and internalizes the values associated with a group of which he is not yet a member. The process of socialization involves the transmission of information and the inculcation of this new data into the
personality organization of the individual. It reveals itself in the form of new or altered responses to stimuli. Anticipatory socialization prepares the individual for new statuses and facilitates the transference of identity necessarily inherent in the transition from one status to another. Also, anticipatory socialization insures the continuity of culturally defined values and patterns of behavior.

Adjustment. In this research, adjustment will be used to refer to the ability of the individual to perceive and align himself with the normative expectations accruing to himself as an occupant of the aged status. That individual who is able to ascertain and able to acquiesce to the demands incumbent upon him as an old person will be seen as positively adjusted. Two levels of maladjustment or negative adjustment will be delineated: 1) Role inadequacy

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19See, F. L. Bates and H. L. Nix, "Social Disorganization at the Group Level: A Role Theory Approach," (Paper read at the American Sociological Society, Montreal, Canada, 1964), p. 6. The authors define role inadequacy as "a lack of adjustment between the socio-cultural structure of the group and the personalities of group members. Role inadequacy occurs when the personalities of group members are not adapted to the role requirements contained in the socio-cultural structure of the group." To this they add, "Role inadequacy is of interest to the sociologist only when it applies to a class of actors, as in the case of a failure of socialization to provide large numbers of individuals with training necessary to play (specific roles)," (italics added), p. 15. Cf. Alvin L. Bertrand, Basic Sociology: An Introduction to Theory and Method (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 232, for a discussion of inadequate socialization.
This condition will be seen as existing when the individual exhibits little or no understanding of socially defined behavior patterns for himself as an old person. 2) Role frustration \textsuperscript{20}—When the individual perceives the norms and roles expected of him as an occupant of the aged status, but, for whatever reason, either cannot or will not adhere to these social demands, the condition of role frustration or role blockage will be seen as occurring.

**Dependence-Independence.** Of major importance in this study are the concepts of independence and dependence. Basically, the terms apply to the extent to which the person has been conditioned to accept old age as a time of continued self-sufficiency. The individual who has been socialized to accept responsibility for himself as an aged person in areas of decision-making, financial support, need satisfaction, and housing arrangements will be adjudged to be independent. On the other hand, that person who understands himself as the responsibility of the government and/or his children or other relatives will be seen as dependent.

\textsuperscript{20}Bates and Nix, Ibid., note that role frustration "occurs when the role definitions contained in the socio-cultural structure of the group are out of adjustment with the situation in which they must be performed. This stress amounts to a blockage in role performance due to inadequacies in the situation or inconsistencies between role expectation and the social and physical reality to which they apply."
Modes of accommodation. Individuals may vary with respect to the manner in which they accommodate themselves to the aged status. Participation in politics, interest in personal grooming habits, involvement in community activities, and interest in general activities (e.g., travel) are of major significance at this point. Those individuals who manifest the desire to continue involvement in these activities will be adjudged actively accommodating themselves to the aged status. On the other hand, those persons exhibiting little desire to maintain participation in these affairs may be seen as passively accommodating themselves to the aging process.

IV FORMAL STATEMENT OF THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Those aspects of sociological theory discussed above, when considered with reference to gerontological questions, lead to some general propositions concerning the process of growing old. These propositions give rise to specific hypothesis capable of being tested empirically.

Proposition I. Socialization to a set of socially approved aged status values varies according to social class.

Hypothesis 1. The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the higher his degree of independence.
**Proposition II.** Adjustment to the aged status varies according to the correlation of the individual's behavior and attitudes with social class aged status values.

**Hypothesis 2.** The greater the degree of correlation of the actor's attitudes and behavior with social class aged status values, the greater his degree of positive adjustment.

**Proposition III.** Modes of accommodation to the aged status vary according to social class.

**Hypothesis 3.** The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the greater his degree of active modes of accommodation to the aged status.
CHAPTER IV

 METHODOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION

The general purpose of this research, it has been noted, is to investigate some of the factors in the preaged status which affect adjustment in the aged status. This chapter is concerned with describing the methods used to test certain major hypotheses relevant to the stated purpose of the study. There is included in the chapter brief explanations of some of the techniques of data collection, sample selection, and an elucidation of the statistical procedures which will be used in analysis of the data.

II. THE SAMPLE

Since the major interest of this study was to investigate the effect of specific items of anticipatory socialization upon adjustment in old age, it was determined to limit the units of analysis to persons sixty years of age and older. Selection of the age of sixty as the minimal chronological age limit was not entirely arbitrary. Such a limit insured the interviewing of individuals who have experienced many of the physiological changes accruing to individuals in the latter parts of the life span. At the same time, the
age limit allowed for the contact of persons who still possessed physical stamina and sufficient health to continue in vital life involvement. Further, a study of the subcultural definition of the onset of agedness has revealed that in Louisiana the Negro subculture perceives the age at which most people are old as being 60, the French subculture as 61, and the Non-French as 63. Thus, on the basis of physical as well as socio-cultural factors, the lower age limit was set at sixty years of age.

Approximately sixty per cent of the population of Louisiana, the state in which the investigation was made, live in urban centers of 2,500 population or more. It was decided, therefore, to divide the sample into approximately sixty per cent urban and forty per cent rural. The problem was to discover means to find an acceptable number of persons sixty years of age or over, forty per cent of whom could be classified as rural and the remainder as urban. The procedure finally arrived at could be called a combina-

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tion of simple random sampling, stratified random sampling, and area sampling.\(^3\)

To achieve a rural sample, a sample frame of those parishes (counties) in the State of Louisiana having no urban area with a permanent population exceeding 2,500 was drawn up.\(^4\) This list included 13 parishes. (See Table I) Each parish was assigned a number, one of which was randomly chosen. This procedure resulted in the selection of East Feliciana Parish. The same method was used to select four (4) wards in the parish for inclusion in the sample.\(^5\) (See Table II)

The next step was to designate specific areas in each ward for interviewing. A Department of Highways map of East Feliciana Parish was secured which showed each dwelling...


\(^5\)Four wards were drawn, rather than one, in order to avoid clustering the respondents in one section of the parish. See, Schmid, op. cit., p. 333.
TABLE I
TOTAL POPULATION, PER CENT 65 AND OVER, AND PER CENT NON-WHITE OF PARISHES WITH NO URBAN PLACE EXCEEDING 2,500*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Per Cent 65 and Over</th>
<th>Per Cent Non-White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assumption</td>
<td>17,991</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldwell</td>
<td>9,004</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>6,909</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catahoula</td>
<td>11,421</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>35.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Feliciana</td>
<td>20,198</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant</td>
<td>13,330</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Salle</td>
<td>13,011</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red River</td>
<td>9,978</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Bernard</td>
<td>32,186</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Helena</td>
<td>9,162</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tensas</td>
<td>11,796</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Carroll</td>
<td>14,177</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Feliciana</td>
<td>12,395</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>66.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE II

TOTAL POPULATION, NUMBER 65 AND OVER, AND NUMBER NON-WHITE BY SELECTED WARD IN EAST FELICIANA PARISH*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Number 65 and Over</th>
<th>Number Non-White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,618</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1,232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,092</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1,909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4,654</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>2,631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2,770</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>1,397</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

unit in the parish with the exception of those in the townships of Clinton and Jackson. Each ward was divided into logical areas containing an equal number of dwelling units. Areas in Jackson and Clinton were included by virtue of a house count and a rather crudely drawn map. Two areas from each ward were chosen. Interviewers were supplied with maps of the areas and were instructed to stop at every house and inquire if anyone sixty years of age or older resided in the house. If an affirmative response was received, the interviewer was to seek permission to interview the person.

In all, 116 interviews were conducted in East Feliciana Parish.

The city of New Orleans, which is coextensive with the parish of Orleans, was chosen as the area from which the urban sample would be taken. That city was chosen because it closely approximates the state-wide percentages of non-white population and of persons who are sixty five or over. The state's population contains 7.4 per cent who are sixty five or over and New Orleans has 8.6 per cent falling into

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6Information on the map was corrected and revised as of January 1, 1968.

7It was found that residents of the area were quite willing to grant interviews. Only approximately ten refusals were received.
This category. The percentage of the state's population who are non-white is 32.1. New Orleans has 37.4 per cent non-white. 

It was decided to use census tracts in New Orleans as geographical blocks from which to draw specific areas for interviewing. Census tracts were first divided according to race, and then stratified according to income into high, middle, and low socio-economic ranks. To each census tract was assigned a number and by random selection one census tract from each socio-economic rank was chosen for each race. A total of six census tracts were chosen. Due to the numerical paucity of aged individuals in some of the census tracts, an additional two had to be added.\textsuperscript{10} (See Table III)

Using a city map of New Orleans, the eight census tracts were divided into city blocks, each of which was

\textsuperscript{8}United States Census of the Population, 1960. The city of Baton Rouge was rejected as the urban center because it fell below the state percentages for both non-white and aged sixty-five and over (29.9 per cent non-white and 5.8 per cent aged sixty-five and over).

\textsuperscript{9}A census tract was categorized as non-white when over 50 per cent of its population was non-white.

\textsuperscript{10}Contributing to this numerical paucity may have been what may be called "veiled refusals." Only eight outright refusals were received in New Orleans. However, it may be that interviewers were told that no person sixty years of age or older lived in the house when, in actuality, someone in that age category did.
TABLE III
TOTAL POPULATION, NUMBER 60 AND ABOVE, RACE, AND
MEDIAN INCOME BY SELECTED CENSUS
TRACT IN ORLEANS PARISH*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Tract</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Number 60 and Above</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Median Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0011</td>
<td>4,807</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>$ 4,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0017-A1</td>
<td>3,463</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>5,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0017-A2</td>
<td>6,242</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>7,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0025-A2</td>
<td>4,211</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>6,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0033-A1</td>
<td>3,889</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>11,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0033-B1</td>
<td>3,630</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>6,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0033-C2</td>
<td>8,706</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>1,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0086</td>
<td>4,612</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>3,116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

assigned a number. Five blocks were chosen randomly from each census tract and interviewers were instructed to follow the same procedure outlined for interviewers in East Feliciana Parish. In all, 180 interviews were conducted in New Orleans.

III. TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

An interview schedule was developed to obtain the type of information needed to measure the major variables with which this study was concerned. (See Appendix A) The schedule was divided into five parts;

1. General information and information on social class.

2. Information useful in determining the degree of Independency-Dependency to which the individual had been socialized.

3. Measurements of the individual's perception of aged normative behavior and degree of concurrence with norms perceived.

4. Information on the actual situation in which the individual lives or the aspirations manifested toward certain situational considerations.

After pre-testing, the schedule was altered somewhat. Several questions were simplified and two questions were deleted because of their extreme length. One of the questions dealt with the occupational history of the respondent, and the other was concerned with leisure time activities. The pre-test revealed that these questions added approximately fifteen minutes to interviewing time. As finally developed, the schedule took approximately forty-five minutes to administer. 11

The interviews were conducted by six graduate students in sociology at Louisiana State University and by three professional interviewers. The interviewers were all experienced in field work and little time was necessary, therefore, for general instructions. A period of time was spent in specific instructions and orientations which included the following procedures. Interviewers were instructed to give time for elaborative comments which the interviewee deemed relevant. (Space was provided on the schedule for writing down such comments.) Since some inter-

11 Interviewers reported great variance in the amount of time spent in administering the schedule. In the greatest majority of cases, interviewees were willing not only to answer questions but to expand at length on their answers. Evidences that the interviewee was uncomfortable or felt imposed upon were extremely rare.
viewees might be quite old and perhaps in poor health, the interviewer was to look for signs of weariness and be prepared for allowing a time of rest. Interpretation of questions by the interviewer was to be limited to a minimum. Every house in the designated area was to be visited. If both husband and wife were aged sixty or above and if both were home at the time of the interview, only one was to be interviewed—and that, preferably, the husband.

Eight days were spent in the field, not including time spent in pre-testing.

Local officials, both civic and organizational, who were contacted prior to and during survey work, were extremely cooperative and helpful. No serious problems developed in the field and the interviewing was carried out exactly as planned.

IV. TECHNIQUES OF DATA ANALYSIS

Three hypothetical propositions were listed in Chapter Three which emerged from the theoretical framework giving guidance to this research. Earlier in this chapter, the sections of the schedule were elucidated. In this section

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12 The question arose in the planning stage about the utility of interviewing in homes for the aged. Deliberations about this question proved superfluous since no area was chosen in either East Feliciana or Orleans Parish which included such a home.
those procedures which were used in organizing the data acquired in the schedule and the methods used in testing the hypotheses are described.

Four major scales were generated from the data. First, a social status scale was developed. A combination of Edward's Social-Economic Grouping of Occupations and the Revised Occupational Rating Scale from Warner, Meeker, and Eel's Index of Status Characteristics were used to develop the social class scale. Occupation, house type (and furnishings), and education were the major components of this scale. Income, usually used in determining social class, was not of major significance for two reasons: (1) Since the minimal age limit was 60, many of the respondents were employed full-time, many part-time, and many unemployed or retired. Any comparison based on present income would then be a gross misrepresentation of the differences found. (2) Any attempt to compare incomes over the last few years of one's working life would, likewise, be unjust. Older persons who retired as long as fifteen or twenty years ago would be placed at undue disadvantage if compared with recent retirees.

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14Ibid., pp. 100-105.
The "technique of summated ratings" was used to generate this scale. On each of the major components of the scale, each respondent was assigned a value. The sum of these values was used to determine his score on social class.

The second scale generated had to do with the Independence-Dependency variable. A battery of questions had been developed which sought to measure this aspect of the respondent's outlook on aged life. Three major components were used to rate respondents on this scale: preparation for economic independence in the aged status, attitudes toward dependence on children and other relatives (both in decision making and in economics, as well as in living arrangements), and attitudes toward dependence on the government. Again, the "technique of summated ratings" was used to determine the position of the individual on this scale.

Next, an adjustment scale was developed. The schedule contained eleven "norm-like" statements about which the interviewee was asked whether he felt others agreed or disagreed. Lack of perception of a given norm was registered if the respondent indicated that he did not know how others felt. Whether he felt that others agreed or disagreed was not of significance at this point. The issue was whether he was

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15Young, op. cit., pp. 358-380.
able to perceive a body of socially determined normative behavior patterns for aged persons.

Each respondent was then asked whether he agreed or disagreed with the norm-like statements. Norm agreement and norm commitment was said to exist when his own feeling concurred with the opinion he expressed with reference to others' agreement or disagreement.

A battery of questions were then asked in which the norm-like statements had been converted into a situational or aspirational context. The purpose of this set of questions was to determine whether or not the respondents had transformed these norms into corresponding behavior or aspirations for behavior in his own life.

The adjustment scale was generated from these major components: norm perception, norm agreement, and situational or aspirational congruence. Patterns of response were to the fore at this point. For example, one norm-like statement was: An old folks home is the best place for old folks to live. The corresponding situational question is: Do you think you would be unduly unhappy if you should one day live in a home for old folks? The respondent was asked whether others agree or disagree and then whether he agrees or disagrees with the first statement. He was then asked to respond either "yes," "no," or "I don't know" with reference to the latter question. If he responded to the three
statements "agree," "agree," and "no," his pattern revealed perfect agreement. Each pattern of response to each norm was given a specific score which was summed and used to represent the individual's position on the adjustment scale.

The specific approach toward adjustment taken in this research represents a new departure in gerontological studies. Theorists have suggested investigating adjustment as a function of role-perception, and role-playing, but the writer could find no substantial empirical studies which have taken the approach suggested in this study. However, many studies have used the morale approach to adjustment. The morale approach to aging purports to measure such variables as life satisfaction, happiness, and the respondent's general level of zest for life as an old person.  

The final scale which was developed from the data had to do with modes of accommodation. A major factor at this point was the interviewee's relative degree of interest in activities such as travel, politics, dressing and grooming habits, and general community and church affairs. A battery of questions were designed which asked the inter-

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viewee if he felt that he was more or less interested in these activities than he was when he was younger.

From the four scales described thus far, it was possible to determine the position of the individual with reference to four variables: Social class, degree of independence or dependence to which the respondent has been socialized, degree of adjustment, and mode of accommodation to agedness. Each of the hypotheses was tested using the appropriate statistical analysis as described below.

It appeared that the statistical techniques most useful in testing the hypothesis were multiple and partial correlation since interpretation of the data was enhanced by measurements of co-variation. Partial correlation (abbreviated r) allows for the controlling of one or more variables while determining the degree of correlation which exists between another two variables. The effect of the controlled variables is held constant in such a manner and the correlation of the experimental variables is determined.\(^\text{17}\) Multiple correlation (abbreviated R) may be used to indicate how much of the total variation in the dependent variable can be explained by all of the independent variables taken together.\(^\text{18}\) Recourse is, therefore, made to multiple rather

\(^{17}\text{Blalock, } \textit{op. cit.}, \text{ pp. 337-343.}\)

\(^{18}\text{Ibid., p. 326.}\)
than partial correlation when one's primary interest is in the relationship of all variables taken together rather than the relationship between the dependent variable and each of the independent variables. In the latter case one would use partial correlation tests.\textsuperscript{19}

Both partial and multiple correlation coefficients may be tested for significance by conversion to a z score. Basically, the conversion to a z score allows one to test the degree to which a particular sample deviates from that which may be expected in a normal distribution.\textsuperscript{20}

It should be noted that causal interpretation from correlation tests is, at best, precarious. Correlation analysis merely measures the co-variation or the degree to which several variables vary together. Causal inferences


may be made, however, if the data demonstrates significant co-variation and if there is strong theoretical evidence for causal relations.  \(^{21}\)

V. SUMMARY

This chapter has surveyed the sample design, the methods of data collection, and the strategy for analysis of the data. Using a combination of simple random sampling, stratified sampling, and area sampling, an unbiased sample was drawn from Orleans and East Feliciana parishes which yielded 294 interviews. Data, collected by a structured schedule administered in these interviews, was used to test the hypotheses set forth in an earlier chapter of this work.

From the data, scales were generated by which respondents were positioned according to the following variables: Social class, independency-dependency, adjustment (with the various components of norm perception, norm agreement, and situational or aspirational congruence), and modes of accommodation. The nature and degree of the relationship of the variables was measured by appropriate statistical tests according to the major hypotheses which emerged from the theoretical framework guiding this research.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

The theoretical frame of reference for this study is based upon the fact that pre-aged factors of socialization affect adjustment to the aged status. Studies of retirement, specifically, have shown the significance of anticipatory socialization in positive adjustment to agedness. As was noted earlier, the variable social class has been omitted, for the most part, from these considerations.\(^1\) This study is concerned with the relation of social class, seen as an intervening variable, to the process of becoming old.

Old age may be viewed as a specific stage of life which entails certain behavioral expectations and privileges. Individuals do not ordinarily enter this status completely unprepared. To a greater or lesser degree they are conditioned for becoming old. The question of the significance of social class as an intervening variable in this preparation process is at the heart of the present study. The

\(^1\) See above, pp. 32-38.
theoretical position taken is the following: Members of the higher social classes are prepared by anticipatory socialization for greater independence in old age. Lower class persons are prepared for greater dependence. The latter are prepared for less activity and greater disengagement in old age while the upper classes are prepared for more active modes of accommodation in the waning years of life. Adjustment, which was defined as alignment of the individual with expected behavioral patterns, was seen as dependent upon the individual's perception of and willingness to accede to the normative structures of his specific social class.

The following hypotheses were devised to test the above theoretical assumptions:

Hypothesis 1. The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the higher his degree of independence.

Hypothesis 2. The greater the degree of correlation of the actor's attitudes and behavior with social class aged status values, the greater his degree of positive adjustment.

Hypothesis 3. The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the greater the degree of his active modes of accommodation to the aged status.

This chapter is designed as a report on the findings of the research and is divided into three parts. The first section contains a descriptive analysis of the population
studied. The second part is a report on the testing of the above hypotheses and the third section contains the substantive findings associated with each of the hypotheses.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Age, Sex, and Racial Composition

The sample population was found to contain 106 (36.0 per cent) males and 188 (64.0 per cent) females. Of these, 62 were white males, 116 were white females, 44 were non-white males, and 72 were non-white females. The age range was from 60 to 92 and the mean age was 68.5.

Educational Attainment

White females had the highest mean educational attainment (10.5 years completed in school) and 19.1 per cent of them had completed high school. Next in mean educational attainment were white males with 8.9 years completed in school. High school graduates among white males made up 19.4 per cent of the sample. Non-white females had completed an average of 7.26 years in school and 12.5 per cent of their number were high school graduates. The mean years completed in school was lowest among non-white males (5.09) and it was found that only 6.8 per cent of this segment of the sample population had completed high school.
College graduates were found more frequently among white females (14.8 per cent), next among white males (4.8 per cent), then among non-white females (4.2 per cent), and finally among non-white males (2.3 per cent). (See Table IV) Seventeen white females held masters degrees while only three non-white females and three white males held such a degree. Only one non-white male had earned a masters degree. Ph.D. degrees were found only among the white segment of the sample population. Such degrees were held by two white males and one white female. High school graduates represented 57.8 per cent of the total sample and college graduates made up 26.1 per cent of this group.

TABLE IV

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY RACE AND SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Sex</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Mean Years Completed</th>
<th>Percent 12 Years Completed</th>
<th>Percent 16 Years Completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Males</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0-23</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Females</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>0-18</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white Males</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0-16</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white Females</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0-17</td>
<td>7.26</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>294</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Place of Residence

The sample population was divided between urban and rural place of residence in the following manner: Approximately 40 per cent of those interviewed may be classified as rural and the remaining 60 per cent were urbanites. As expected, slightly more than half of the respondents, both rural and urban, were females. (See Table V)

TABLE V

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY RACE AND SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Sex</th>
<th>Urban N</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
<th>Rural N</th>
<th>Rural %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White Males</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Females</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white Males</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white Females</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Occupational Composition

The occupational characteristics of the sample population can be presented schematically. Table VI serves this purpose.

**TABLE VI**

OCCUPATIONAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY RACE AND SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>White Male (N=62)</th>
<th>White Female (N=115)</th>
<th>Non-white Male (N=44)</th>
<th>Non-white Female (N=72)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>8 12.9 %</td>
<td>30 26.1 %</td>
<td>3 6.8 %</td>
<td>7 9.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner or manager</td>
<td>17 27.4 %</td>
<td>4 3.5 %</td>
<td>4 9.1 %</td>
<td>1 1.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm owner</td>
<td>3 4.8 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>3 6.8 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and sales</td>
<td>2 3.2 %</td>
<td>21 18.1 %</td>
<td>2 4.5 %</td>
<td>2 2.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman or forman</td>
<td>8 12.9 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>4 9.1 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operator</td>
<td>13 21.0 %</td>
<td>4 3.5 %</td>
<td>5 11.4 %</td>
<td>1 1.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private domestic service</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>2 1.7 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>31 43.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public service worker</td>
<td>7 11.3 %</td>
<td>13 11.3 %</td>
<td>7 15.9 %</td>
<td>13 18.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer (except farm)</td>
<td>3 4.8 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>13 29.6 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborer</td>
<td>1 1.6 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>3 6.8 %</td>
<td>5 6.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>41 35.8 %</td>
<td>0 0 %</td>
<td>12 16.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examination of Table VI reveals that the more prestigious occupations are held by white males and white females. The non-whites, on the other hand, work more preponderantly in the manual labor and domestic or public service occupations.

It was expected that the majority of the interviewees would not be employed full-time, since they were all over 60 years of age. Such was found to be the case. Approximately two-thirds of the male respondents of both races were retired. Some 4.8 per cent of the white males and 6.8 per cent of the non-white males were employed part-time. By contrast, fifteen (24.2 per cent) of the white males and seven (15.9 per cent) of the non-white males were employed full-time. Full-time employment among the females was found to be less: 13 per cent for white and 5.6 per cent for non-white. (See Table VII)

### TABLE VII

**EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY SEX AND RACE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>White Male (N=62)</th>
<th>White Female (N=115)</th>
<th>Non-white Male (N=44)</th>
<th>Non-white Female (N=72)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>N (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>15 24.2</td>
<td>15 13.0</td>
<td>7 15.9</td>
<td>4 5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>3 4.8</td>
<td>6 5.2</td>
<td>3 6.8</td>
<td>6 8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>2 3.2</td>
<td>44 38.3</td>
<td>3 6.8</td>
<td>21 29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>42 67.7</td>
<td>50 43.5</td>
<td>31 70.5</td>
<td>41 56.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Church Membership and Attendance

One hundred fifty-five (87.0 per cent) of the white respondents were members of a church. The majority were either Baptist, Catholic, Methodist, Lutheran, or Episcopal. Only twelve of the white interviewees said they were not church members. The non-white segment of the sample contained 112 (96.5 per cent) church members who were primarily Baptists. A few were Methodists and even fewer were Catholics. Four non-white respondents belonged to no church.

Church attendance patterns may be seen in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII
CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF THE SAMPLE
BY RACE AND SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church Attendance</th>
<th>White Male (N=62)</th>
<th>White Female (N=115)</th>
<th>Non-white Male (N=44)</th>
<th>Non-white Female (N=72)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>29 46.8</td>
<td>75 66.0</td>
<td>26 59.1</td>
<td>41 57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally (once a month)</td>
<td>13 21.0</td>
<td>22 19.1</td>
<td>11 25.0</td>
<td>23 31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely (special occasions)</td>
<td>10 16.1</td>
<td>8 7.0</td>
<td>6 13.6</td>
<td>3 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>10 16.1</td>
<td>9 7.8</td>
<td>1 2.3</td>
<td>5 6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One hundred ninety-five of the respondents (66 percent) reported that they belong to no organization (excluding church membership). Of those reporting membership in a formal organization, participation was decidedly poor, with the exception of white females. (See Table IX)

TABLE IX
ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE
OF THE SAMPLE BY RACE AND SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership and Attendance</th>
<th>White</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Non-white</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belong to no organization</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>67.8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>65.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend regularly</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend occasionally</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend rarely</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend never</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The respondents showed great variation in the specific organizations to which they belonged. Men reported belonging to such organizations as the Masons, civic clubs, labor unions, Odd Fellows, American Legion, Urban League, and several others. Female respondents mentioned garden clubs, book clubs, bridge clubs, and sewing clubs along with some humanitarian and religiously oriented organizations. No person in
the rural segment of the sample reported membership in an organization specifically set up for the aged. In contrast, the urban respondents reported membership in such organizations as the Sixty Plus Social Club, Baptist Golden Age Club, Senior Citizens, Retired Teachers' Association, and Eight Plus Sixty Club.

Only five (8.1 per cent) of the white males belonged to more than one formal organization. A larger number, fourteen (12.2 per cent), of white females held such memberships. Of the non-white males, only three (6.8 per cent) fell into this category while four (5.6 per cent) of the non-white females reported membership in more than one organization.

Marital Status and Living Arrangements

The majority of males interviewed were married and had a living spouse. Females, on the other hand, were predominately widowed. Among the white males, 44 (71.0 per cent) had living spouses and 11 (17.7 per cent) were widowed. Four (6.5 per cent) of the respondents said they had never been married and three (4.8 per cent) were now divorced. Sixty (52.2 per cent) of the white females studied were widowed, 42 (36.5 per cent) had a living spouse, 10 (8.7 per cent) had never been married, and 3 (2.6 per cent) were divorced. Twenty-eight (63.6 per cent) of the non-white males said they had a living spouse. Two (4.5 per cent)
were divorced. Over one-fourth, (27.3 per cent) of the non-white males were widowed and two (4.5 per cent) had never been married. The greatest percentage widowed were found among the non-white females (44 or 61.1 per cent). Twenty-one (29.2 per cent) of this group had living spouses, three (4.2 per cent) were divorced, and four (5.6 per cent) had never been married.

Analysis of the data collected revealed that the majority of the survey respondents owned their own home. The figures are slightly less for non-whites who seem to live in rented homes or apartments and to live with relatives more frequently than did white respondents. (See Table X)

TABLE X

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY RACE AND SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Arrangements</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Non-white</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own house</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>72.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live with Relatives</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypothesis I

The first hypothesis to be tested may be restated as follows, "The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the higher the degree of his independence." The interviewees were asked to respond to three sets of questions in order to determine their social class ranking: Questions concerning occupation (of both respondent and spouse), questions concerning educational attainment, and questions concerning house type and furnishings.² A series of questions were asked in order to measure the degree of independence-dependence to which the aged individual aspired. These questions had to do with attitudes toward dependence on family and/or friends and governmental agencies and programs. The questions were based upon the theoretical assumption that attitudes toward and aspirations for independence in old age would increase as socio-economic rank increased.

The test of the hypothesis by simple correlation rendered a correlation coefficient of +.724. When the correlation coefficient was tested for significance, a z score of 12.392 was obtained. The N was 294.

² See above, pp. 49-54 for operationalized definitions of all concepts.
When the data were analyzed according to place of residence, a very interesting phenomenon presented itself. (See Table XI)

**TABLE XI**

DATA RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS AND DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE-DEPENDENCE ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE, SEX AND RACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Sex</th>
<th>Urban Place of Residence</th>
<th>Rural Place of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White males</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.7672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White females</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>.71106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white males</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>.6487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white females</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.7655</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .01 level.

It can be seen by inspection of Table XI that in only two cases was the .01 level of significance not reached: that of rural white males and rural non-white males. In both these
cases, however, the data fell in the direction predicted. Substantively, this means that there is a high correlation between social class ranking and degree of independence among all urbanites and among rural females studied.

Table XII shows the data according to race.

**TABLE XII**

**DATA RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS AND DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE—DEPENDENCE ACCORDING TO RACE AND SEX AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and Place of Residence</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>White</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male - urban</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.7672</td>
<td>4.79*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male - rural</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.3190</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - urban</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>.7110</td>
<td>5.55*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - rural</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>.4998</td>
<td>3.67*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and Place of Residence</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Non-white</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male - urban</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>.6487</td>
<td>3.24*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male - rural</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>.3160</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - urban</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.7655</td>
<td>5.35*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - rural</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.5610</td>
<td>2.73*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .01 level.
The closest correlation between social class and degree of independence is found in the urban place of residence for both sexes and both races. The lowest correlation was found among rural males of both races. Overall the tests produced a significant correlation between the variables (r of .724 and z score of 12.432, both significant at the .001 level). Therefore, there appears to be strong evidence for retaining the hypothesis.

**Hypothesis II**

Hypothesis II represents an effort to bring together three variables: 1) social class ranking, 2) degree of independence-dependence, and 3) adjustment to aging. The multiple correlation technique was used to test this hypothesis.

The hypothesis as stated read: "The greater the correlation of the actor's attitudes and behavior with social class values, the greater his degree of positive adjustment to aging." The theoretical logic underlying this hypothesis may be stated as follows: If the members of the upper classes are expected to behave more independently in old age, then those who aspire to such behavior should be more positively adjusted. Among the members of lower social classes, the reverse should be true, i.e., those who acquiesce to dependence in old age should exhibit characteristics of positive adjustment.
The multiple correlation coefficient was determined to be +.2293, which rendered a z score of 3.924. The N was 294. The differences in race and sex when looked at according to place of residence may be seen by inspection of Table XIII.

**TABLE XIII**

DATA RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS, DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE, DEPENDENCE, AND ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE, SEX AND RACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Sex</th>
<th>Urban Place of Residence</th>
<th>Rural Place of Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White males</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.2290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White females</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>.4613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white males</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>.5707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white females</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.3747</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at the .01 level.
** Significant at the .05 level.
The closest correlation is again seen to be in urban places of residence, with white males living in urban area the only exception. Non-white males and non-white females who were interviewed demonstrated the highest degree of correlation between these variables in rural areas.

Looked at from the perspective of race, the data appear as seen in Table XIV.

**TABLE XIV**

DATA RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS, DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE-DEPENDENCE, AND ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO RACE AND SEX AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and Place of Residence</th>
<th>Sex and Place of Residence</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Non-white</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td><strong>r</strong></td>
<td><strong>r</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male - urban</td>
<td>Male - urban</td>
<td>.2290</td>
<td>.5707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male - rural</td>
<td>Male - rural</td>
<td>.2455</td>
<td>.5521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - urban</td>
<td>Female - urban</td>
<td>.4613</td>
<td>.3747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - rural</td>
<td>Female - rural</td>
<td>.0629</td>
<td>.5167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .01 level.
**Significant at the .05 level.
Table XIV reveals that the highest correlation between social class expectations and adjustment appeared among the non-white segment of the sample population. Non-white males in both the urban and rural places of residence as well as non-white females living in rural areas, were characterized by a higher degree of correlation between the variables. Among the white respondents, the closest correlation was found in the sample of urban females. It should be noted, at this point, that in all cases the data tended to fall in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. The evidence supporting Hypothesis II appears to warrant retaining the hypothesis especially with reference to the non-white segment of the sample population.

Hypothesis III

The last hypothesis is related to the relationship of social class to modes of accommodation to the aged status. "Modes of accommodation" was defined earlier as the degree of activity in which the individual engages or to which he aspires in old age. The hypothesis as stated read,"The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the greater the degree of active modes of accommodation to the aged status."

This third hypothesis is of special interest in the discussion of the two major theories of the aging process:
the disengagement theory and the activist theory.\textsuperscript{3} Theoretically, this hypothesis is based on the assumption that social class enters as an intervening variable and results in members of the lower socio-economic rankings being socialized to disengagement and those of the higher rankings being conditioned to continued activity.

The simple correlation coefficient between the two variables, social class and modes of accommodation, was computed to be +.344, which rendered a $z$ score of 5.88. The $N$ was 294. The following results were obtained when the data were analyzed according to place of residence:

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Data Related to Social Class and Mode of Accommodation According to Place of Residence, Sex, and Race}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
Race and Sex & Urban Place of Residence & & \\
 & N & r & $z$ \\
\hline
White males & 40 & .3140 & 1.96** \\
White females & 61 & .2652 & 2.07** \\
Non-white males & 26 & .5440 & 2.72* \\
Non-white females & 50 & .4066 & 2.84* \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{3}See above, pp. 18-23.
TABLE XV (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Sex</th>
<th>Rural Place of Residence</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White males</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.0290</td>
<td>.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White females</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>.968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white males</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-.1093</td>
<td>-.450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white females</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.338</td>
<td>1.548</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at the .01 level.
** Significant at the .05 level.

Once again, the highest correlations are found among the urban respondents. Non-whites who live in urban places of residence were characterized by a closer correlation between socio-economic rank and type of accommodation. There is little correlation between the variables in the rural area but in three of the four cases the data fell in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

No observable pattern emerges when the data are looked at according to race. (See Table XVI)
TABLE XVI

DATA RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS AND MODE OF ACCOMMODATION
ACCORDING TO RACE AND SEX AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Sex</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>White r</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male - urban</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td>1.96**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male - rural</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>.133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - urban</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>.265</td>
<td>2.071**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - rural</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>.968</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race and Sex</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>White r</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male - urban</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>.544</td>
<td>2.72*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male - rural</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-.1093</td>
<td>-.450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - urban</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.4066</td>
<td>2.84*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female - rural</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>.338</td>
<td>1.548</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at .01 level.
** Significant at .05 level.

This hypothesis, while not insignificant according to the overall data, appears to be valid primarily for the urban segment of the sample.
IV. INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Social Class and Independence-Dependence

Hypothesis I represents an effort to bring together the variables of social class ranking and the degree of independence to which the aged individual has been socialized. Specifically, in this hypothesis the postulation is that as social class rank increases the degree of independence aspired to in old age increases. The data supports this hypothesis.

Substantively, therefore, it may be said that social class and independence are strongly correlated. Those persons who are socialized by systems with upper class characteristics tend to be oriented toward independence in old age. The reverse would be true of those persons having experience in the lower extreme of the social class continuum, i.e., they would exhibit a propensity for dependence in old age. Perhaps some term such as Supportive-Independence should be used to describe those persons who cluster near the mid-point of the continuum. Such a term could be used to refer to a condition in which some familial ties and willingness to be dependent on relatives and government is present, but total dependence is considered inappropriate and to be avoided.
Social Class and Adjustment

Hypothesis II is based upon the assumption that those who make a successful or positive adjustment to aging, from whatever social class level, will be those who are able to perceive and acquiesce to the normative structure in which they have been socialized. Individuals who have been conditioned for independence will be more successfully adjusted to old age if they aspire to and/or are actually able to be behaviorally independent. Those socialized to dependency and actually living dependently will likewise be more positively adjusted. The information drawn from the non-white segment of the sample population supports this hypothesis. By contrast, among the white respondents, females living in urban areas were the only interviewees who gave answers which supported the hypothesis. (It should be noted again that the data did fall in the predicted direction among white respondents although the degree of correlation was not found to be significant except as noted.)

The substantive findings associated with hypothesis II may be shown schematically as follows:
TABLE XVII
ADJUSTMENT TO THE AGED STATUS ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCE-DEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL CLASS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Independence</th>
<th>Supportive-Independence</th>
<th>Dependence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>+*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The + represents positive adjustment; the - represents negative adjustment.

It will be noted that positive adjustment falls along the diagonal axis, and is represented by the place where social class rankings intersect the type of Independence-Dependence found. The latter was described in the discussion relating to Hypothesis I. Supportive-Independence, the second category, is introduced again as a kind of mid-range between the extremes in social class rankings.

Social Class and Modes of Accommodation

The assumption implicit in Hypothesis III was that the higher the social class ranking of the actor, the more active he would be in accommodating himself to the aged
status. The data, especially those relating to the urban respondents, strongly support this hypothesis.

The above finding can be interpreted to mean that persons associated with the higher socio-economic status tend more actively to accommodate to being old. As a result they manifest a greater desire to continue activity associated with middle age. On the other hand, those actors characterized as being in the lower classes appear to be more passive in old age and more willing to cease the activities which characterize their middle age.

Summary

1. Individuals from the higher social class rankings tend to be more directly socialized to independence in old age and to this extent are more positively adjusted to this state. Their aspirations and/or behavior are characteristically independent in nature, and thus they exhibit a proclivity toward an active mode of accommodation in old age.

2. Actors from the lower social classes give evidence of socialization to dependence as old persons. They also adjust positively to dependence in old age and exhibit a propensity for a passive mode of accommodation as occupants of the aged status.

3. Persons who are characterized as falling between the extremes on the social class scale are conditioned to accept a median position regarding independence and likewise fall between the extremes with reference to modes of accommodation.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

I. SUMMARY

Growing old is by no means a simple process and no single factor may be isolated as the most significant in this multifaceted aspect of life. Physiological components as well as psychological factors enter and play their part and individual responses to the awareness of agedness vary on the basis of these factors. The sociologically oriented analysis of the phenomenon of aging must isolate patterns of behavior and offer generalizations based on the study of the social components of the process of growing old.

The sociologist seeks to hold constant the physiological and psychological aspects of aging in order to isolate the socio-cultural factors related to senescence. Agedness is viewed as a stage in the life cycle which places demands upon and offers privileges to the incumbent. That is, the aged status is viewed as a position (or group of positions) which is composed of roles guided by shared behavioral expectations. Adjustment to the confrontation of agedness, whether sudden or gradual, is viewed as dependent upon certain types of social preparation called anticipatory socialization. The authors of a large number of social gerontol-
logical writings have emphasized the importance of this preparation to the adjustment process associated with becoming old.

Unfortunately, socio-economic status has been relatively ignored by those studying individual differences in the preparation for senescence. It is for this reason that the present study has been focused on this variable and its effect on adjustment to old age.

A review of literature and the consideration of theoretical possibilities led to the view that social class enters the adjustment process as an intervening variable and leads to two different patterns of appropriate behavior in old age: (1) Persons enjoying the higher socio-economic levels are conditioned for greater functional self-containment, i.e., a state of relative independence which leads to a more active mode of accommodation to old age. (2) Persons from the lower socio-economic rankings are prepared for less functional self-containment, i.e., a state of relative dependence which leads to a more passive mode of accommodation to old age. These assumptions gave rise to the further proposition that old persons from the higher social classes, who are independent and active, are more likely to adjust successfully to old age. By contrast, successful adjustment to age among lower classed persons would more
likely be accomplished by the more dependent and less active individuals.

The above propositions were reduced to three hypotheses capable of empirical test:

**Hypothesis 1.** The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the higher the degree of his independence.

**Hypothesis 2.** The greater the degree of correlation of the actor's attitudes and behavior with social class aged status values, the greater his degree of positive adjustment.

**Hypothesis 3.** The higher the social class ranking of the actor, the greater the degree of his active modes of accommodation to the aged status.

To test these hypotheses, a rural and urban sample of persons over sixty years of age was drawn from East Feliciana and Orleans Parishes in Louisiana. In all, 294 interviews were conducted.

The data were classified and four scales generated. They were: 1) Social Class Scale, 2) Adjustment Scale, 3) Independence-Dependence Scale, and 4) Modes of Accommodation Scale. Tests of correlation were run using partial and multiple correlation techniques. The data were analyzed by race, sex, and place of residence. All correlation coefficients were tested for significance by conversion to z scores.
Evidence was found which strongly supported Hypothesis I. The correlation coefficient for the relationship of social class and Independence-Dependence was significant at the .001 level. Rural males proved to be the only exception and although the z score test was not significant at the .05 level, the data fell in the direction predicted.

The correlation coefficient associated with the overall data for Hypothesis II was also found to be statistically significant. This means that there is a high degree of correlation between social class ranking of the actor, his degree of independence and his adjustment to agedness. Especially was this true among the non-white segment of the sample population. The data for the white segment of the sample fell in the direction predicted, but only among urban females was the correlation statistically significant.

The data associated with Hypothesis III produced a correlation coefficient significant at the .01 level. Analysis of the sample by place of residence demonstrated that the hypothesized relation among variables was correct especially for the urban section of the sample. Apparently, the social class ranking of the actor is highly correlated with the mode of accommodation which he makes to agedness. Members of the higher social classes tend to lean toward more active accommodation in old age and the actors associated with the lower classes seem to be more passive and less active.
II. CONCLUSIONS

The findings associated with this study lead to the following substantive and theoretical conclusions:

1. Social class, as operationalized in this research, is a significant variable in the process of growing old. Normative expectations differ for aged appropriate behavior according to socio-economic status, with oldsters from the upper ranks of the social class hierarchy being conditioned in earlier age grades to be independent in old age. They are less willing to depend upon their children or other relations, more reticent to live with relatives, and tend to be more unwilling to accept aid from governmental agencies and programs. Apparently, the status positions which they occupy in occupational structures help prepare them for this independence. (E.g., formal retirement from their work is more likely to be a social event. Among lower classes, such would not be as likely to be true. They are more likely to confront informal--and perhaps undesired--retirement in which they merely find it increasingly more difficult to find work as age increases.) Insurance programs and annuities as well as social security benefits are more likely to be a part of the social world of the upper classes. Persons in the lower social classes are more likely to live in anticipation of welfare checks and social security benefits
for economic sustenance in old age. In addition, the economic advantage of the upper classes would allow them to put away money, acquire land and houses, purchase stock, etc., to be used as income in old age. Lower class persons would be more likely to feel day-to-day economic pressures which would obviate economic planning for the future.

Therefore, the research done leads to the following classification of attitudes toward independence by class ranking: Upper class(s)—Independence, lower class(es) Dependence, and middle class(es)—Supportive-Independence. The last mentioned category refers to a condition in which familial ties and willingness to be dependent on relatives are relatively strong, but the proclivity for total dependence either on one's family, friends, or government agencies is absent.

2. The independence of the upper class aged appears to extend into the type of accommodation which they make to being old. They appear to view agedness as the continuance of middle aged activities, with the possible exception of occupational engagements. The lower classes tend to cease participation in middle aged activities more readily. They acknowledge a decreasing interest in travel, in politics, in dressing and grooming habits, and in related activities.

Rural individuals appear to be more passively oriented, regardless of their social class ranking. Perhaps this is
true because rural individuals show a propensity for closer familial ties regardless of their social class. The more extended type family in rural areas appears to affect patterns of aging in that the oldster maintains ties with his close relatives. These ties are more normative in the Gemeinschaft-like rural areas than in the Gesellschaft-like urban context.

Economics may be a significant variable here also, especially with reference to travel. Lower classes would normally have insufficient (or, at least, fewer) funds for travel. However, in dressing and grooming habits, as well as political interests, it does not seem probable that the economic level would be significant. Evidently, prior socialization is such that among the lower classes, aged persons are more passive in their activities and interests.

3. Adjustment to agedness, especially among non-whites, appears to be dependent upon the individual's ability to align himself with the behavioral expectations of his social class. Such does not seem to be true of whites. A partial explanation for this phenomenon may be that the non-white subculture contains a clearer delineation of aged norms. Non-whites are benefited, therefore, by clearer behavioral expectations and tend to exhibit less role inadequacy and role frustration. The only exception to this appears to be white females living in the urban area.
White urban females who were interviewed for this research named a number of organizations specifically for aged persons to which they belonged. Perhaps these organizations play a part in the adjustment of these persons. Also, it should be noted that females of both races do not confront the problems of retirement to the extent that males do.

The element of economic adjustment must not be overlooked at this point. The majority of non-whites in the sample drawn for this research were in the lower socio-economic group and, as such, they would have been socialized to dependency. It may be that for many of these individuals, the receiving of welfare checks represented real economic security and would, therefore, tend to facilitate adjustment to the aged status. White females, the majority of which were widows, may have experienced something of the same security feelings in insurance annuity checks, social security payments, and governmental old age assistance.

4. The research done supports the view that the aged status itself is a kind of subculture which is divided into two general subcultures. The higher social classes represent one grouping which is more active, less inclined to disengagement, and more likely to expect to continue middle aged activities. The other grouping—made up of lower social classes—are more passive and possess the proclivity to disengagement.
Such a view of the aged status appears to offer a theoretical contribution to gerontology, i.e., this theory subsumes two partial and incomplete theories of aging: the disengagement theory and the activist theory. Neither in itself, according to the findings of this study, offers a complete theory of aging. This research opens the door to studies which utilize both theories in an effort to develop a more complete theory of the process of growing old.

III. IMPLICATIONS

Research ordinarily raises more questions than answers and this study is no exception. Some of the areas which might be suggested for further research would include the following:

1. Specific factors might be isolated which are responsible for the propensity toward independence among the upper classes. The interpretations offered earlier in this chapter have suggested some of the possible elements: economic preparation for retirement, participation in occupational and labor organizations, and the effect of positions held in other organizations such as the church and civic clubs.

Such research would appear to be especially productive from a pragmatic point of view. To know the factors which specifically influence patterns of behavior would be
significant in program planning related to gerontology. Governmental agencies designed to work in the general area of geriatrics would benefit greatly by such research.

2. A study might be done which tests the Independence-Dependence Theory in age groups such as the young and middle aged. Such a study would include generational differences in attitudes toward aging. Of major importance in such a study would be to determine the effect of horizontal social mobility on social class attitudes toward Independence-Dependence. Also, an important question in such a study might be: Are the attitudes toward aging exhibited by oldsters corroborated by attitudes of younger members of their specific classes? For example, this study has shown that members of the lower classes tend to view the aged status as a time of dependence. Do the younger members of their class view agedness in the same way and what possible intergenerational conflicts may arise if they do not?

3. Investigation could be made of the flexibility of governmental programs and their sensitivity to the degree of independence which social classes possess. Research could likewise be designed to measure the effect of social class appropriate behavior expectations on such governmental activities as the food stamp program, federally sponsored homes for the aged, and general old age assistance.
4. This study arouses questions related to the changing attitudes toward independence-dependence of individuals over sixty. That is, do persons increase or decrease in functional self-containment after they have entered the aged status? A study could be designed to test the hypotheses of this present investigation from such a perspective. Perhaps a panel of individuals could be selected and interviewed at stated intervals over some specific time span. Failing health, loss of a spouse, as well as increasing age would be additional variables of possible significance in such a study.

5. This research underscores the need for a more inclusive and comprehensive study which would take a cross-national, and perhaps an international, approach to the process of aging. Such a study would provide greater insight into the complex process of growing old and its relation to social class.
A. BOOKS


B. PERIODICALS AND CHAPTERS IN BOOKS


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C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS


APPENDIX A

THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT
A STUDY OF THE PRE-AGED FACTORS AFFECTING
ADJUSTMENT TO THE AGED STATUS

The Department of Sociology and
Rural Sociology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Parish ________________________________
Census Tract or Ward ____________________
Interviewer ____________________________
Date ________________

Respondent Data:
  W. Male ____________
  W. Female ____________
  N. Male ____________
  N. Female ____________
There is an increasing number of older people in Louisiana and the United States. Many of these persons have adjusted well to retirement and the other changes which aging demands. Some have not. The purpose of this study is to determine those experiences which help people face aging realistically and to adjust to the changes involved in growing old. We are interviewing persons sixty years of age and older because we feel they have the experience necessary for answering questions related to this type of research. Your cooperation in answering these questions will be appreciated.

I. (GENERAL INFORMATION)

I have some questions which I would like to ask about your family and background.

1. What is your age? ________

2. How many brothers and sisters do you have (living and dead)?

Brothers_________________Sisters_________________

3. Are you:

   Married___________
   Divorced _________
   Widowed _________
   Never been married _____

   (If never married, skip to 6)

4. How many children do you have? __________
5. Let me ask you some questions about your children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>Years Schooling Completed</th>
<th>Residence (distance in miles from respondent's permanent home)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</table>

6. How many people live in this house (apartment) not including yourself? _________

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THESE PEOPLE. (ASCERTAIN OF ALL IN HOUSEHOLD EXCEPT RESPONDENT.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Relation to Respondent</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Years Schooling Completed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

Do you consider yourself to be the head of this household? Yes____ No____. If no, which of above is _________
Now, let me ask about your occupation.

7. Are you:
   Employed full-time ________________
   Employed part-time ________________
   Not working ________________ Reason ____________________________
   Retired ________________

8. What is (was) your major occupation? _____________________
   What is (was) the major occupation of your husband (wife)? ____________________________

9. Would you tell me about some of your closest friends:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Occupation (or husband's occupation)</th>
<th>How often do you visit with this person? (times per week)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Do you own (or, are you buying) your own home? Yes No __________
    If no, do you:
    Rent ______ approximate monthly amount __________
    Live with relatives __________
    Other ______ Specify __________
11. Let me ask some things about this house (apartment):

Number of bed rooms
Number of bath rooms
Approximate value

Do you have:

T.V. Color
Radio
Air conditioning Central heating
Den
Wall to wall carpeting

Which rooms? __________________________

Telephone
Piano
Stereo or phonograph

What magazines do you read __________________________

12. Do you own your own automobile? Yes No

If yes, could you tell me what make and year?
NOW I HAVE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT ORGANIZATIONS YOU MIGHT BELONG TO AND ABOUT CHURCH.

13. What clubs and organizations do you belong to?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Organization</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regularly*</td>
<td>Occasionally**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Office</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*REGULARLY: Attends practically every meeting.
**OCCASIONALLY: Attends approximately one-half scheduled events.
***RARELY: Attends sporadically.
****NEVER: A member in name only.

14. Are you a member of a church: Yes____ No____
If yes, what denomination? ____________________

Do you attend church:

Regularly (at least once a week) ...............____
Occasionally (at least once a month) ..........____
Rarely (only on special occasions, such as marriages, funerals, christenings, etc.) ......____
Never (not within the last three years) ........____

Do you hold any offices in your church: Yes____ No____
If yes, specify______________
15. How many years of formal schooling did you complete? 
(Note: If respondent completed high school in a system requiring only 11 years, count as 12.)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

16. Which of the following are sources of income for you at the present time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Approx. %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Own earnings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Savings &amp; investments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Rent property</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Social security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Old age assistance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Family or friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Retirement income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Veteran's pension</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>i. Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Could you give me an estimate of your yearly income before taxes and other deductions? ______________

18. (If retired) Could you give me an estimate of your average yearly income the last five years of your working life? ______________
19. Would you say that meeting your living expenses (food, clothing, etc.) is:
   
   Never a problem ________
   Seldom a problem ________
   Often a problem ________
   Always a problem ________

20. Could you tell me the approximate amount of your monthly living expenses? _________

21. Would you say that meeting your medical expenses (doctor, drugs, hospital, etc.) is:
   
   Never a problem ________ Often a problem ________
   Seldom a problem ________ Always a problem ________

22. Could you tell me the approximate amount of your monthly medical expenses? _________

II. (MEASUREMENT OF DEGREE OF INDEPENDENCY-DEPENDENCY TO WHICH RESPONDENT HAS BEEN SOCIALIZED)

   I would like for you to answer a few questions about some of the plans you have made for old age.

23. Did (or do) you pay social security? Yes ___ No ___

   What about your husband (wife)? Yes ___ No ___

24. Did (or do) you participate in any type of retirement fund where you work(ed)? Yes ___ No ___

   What about your husband (wife)? Yes ___ No ___

   If yes, could you tell me a little about the plan.
   
   a. Did you pay for it out of your wages? Yes ___ No ___
   b. Was it compulsory? Yes ___ No ___
   c. About how much are (will be) the monthly benefits? ________
25. Did you (or do you plan to) retire (quit working) before you were (are) eligible for social security benefits (for other than reasons of health)? Yes__No__

26. Do you have any personal insurance which you plan to use (are using) as income? Yes____No____

If yes, would you tell me the face value of the policy(ies)?____________

27. Do you own stocks or bonds which you are using as income (or will use when you retire)? Yes__No__

Now I want to get your ideas about older people and their relation with others and about government and older people.

Do you think it is appropriate:

28. For children to advise aged parents on the use of time (when and where to vacation, etc.)? __________________________________

Comments: ____________________________

_____________________________________

_____________________________________

29. For children to advise aged parents on money matters?____________________________

Comments: ____________________________

_____________________________________

30. For children to advise aged parents on buying clothes? _____________________________

Comments: ____________________________

_____________________________________

31. For children to advise aged parents on where to live (which city, house type, home for aged)? _____________________________

Comments: ____________________________

_____________________________________

Don't

Yes

No

Know
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Do you think it appropriate</th>
<th>Don't</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>For children to give financial aid to aged parents?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>For children to expect their aged parents to pay them rent when they (the parents) live with them (the children)?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>For children to expect their aged parents to buy their own food and cook for themselves when the parents live with the children?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
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<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>For the government (federal, state, local) to provide food supplies for all old people?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Comments:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. For the government to pay all medical expenses of old people?</td>
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<td>Comments:</td>
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<td>37. For the government to make all working people pay social security?</td>
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<td>Comments:</td>
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<td>38. For the government to provide adequate housing for all old people?</td>
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<td>Comments:</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. For the government to provide rent money for all older people?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Comments:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
40. How often do your children visit you?

- More than once a week
- Once a week
- Once or twice a month
- Just on holidays
- D.N.A.

41. How often do you think children should visit with parents?

- More than once a week
- Once a week
- Once a month
- Just on holidays

42. Do you plan to continue (or return) to live in your own home after retirement?

Yes ______ No ______

Would you do so even after the death of your husband (wife)?

Yes ______ No ______

III. MEASUREMENT OF ADJUSTMENT TO AGED STATUS.

Here are some statements about the behavior of older people. Would you tell me whether you agree or disagree with these statements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent's Beliefs</th>
<th>*Others' Beliefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dis-Agree</td>
<td>Don't Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43. Old people should not be allowed to work beyond retirement age
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent's Beliefs</th>
<th>*Others' Beliefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dis-</strong></td>
<td><strong>Don't</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| <strong>44.</strong> Old people should belong to some group just for the elderly, e.g., Golden Age Club, Senior Citizens Club | | | | | | |
| <strong>45.</strong> Old people should stay at home more than they travel, e.g., go on trips to see friends, sightseeing, visit relatives | | | | | | |
| <strong>46.</strong> A home for old folks is the best place for old people to live | | | | | | |
| <strong>47.</strong> Old people should not live with their children | | | | | | |
| <strong>48.</strong> Old people should live close to their children | | | | | | |
| <strong>49.</strong> Old people should not be as interested in politics as they were when younger | | | | | | |
| <strong>50.</strong> Old people should not expect a lot of attention from their children (gifts, visits, etc.) | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent's Beliefs</th>
<th>*Others' Beliefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dis-</td>
<td>Don't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>Know</td>
<td>Know</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

51. Old people should be less interested in dressing and grooming habits than younger people (e.g., proper fashions, concern for hair).

52. Old people no longer have a right to expect their children to take care of them when they are sick.

53. Old people should be less active in general than when they were younger.

*Now I want you to tell me what you think most other people think about these statements. (INTERVIEWER IS TO REPEAT QUESTIONS 43-53.

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT WORKING FULL TIME ASK:

Now would you tell me something about your activities:

54. Did you work beyond retirement age? Yes____No_____

55. Do you belong to some group just for the elderly? Yes____No_____

56. Do you stay at home more than you travel, i.e., go on trips to visit friends, relatives, sight seeing? Yes_____No______ Don't know______
57. Do you think you would be especially unhappy if you had to live in a home for old folks?  
Yes_____No_____Don't Know____

58. Do you think you would be (or are you) especially unhappy if you (because you) had to live with your children or other relatives?  Yes_____No_____Don't Know____

59. Do you think you would be especially unhappy if all your children lived a great distance from you (another parish, or state)?  Yes_____No_____Don't Know____

60. Are you as interested in politics as you were when you were younger?  Yes_____No_____Don't Know____

61. How much attention do you expect from your children (visits, gifts, etc.)?  
Very much____Some____Very little____None____

62. Are you as interested in dressing and grooming habits as when you were younger?  Yes_____No_____Don't Know____

63. When you are sick, do you expect your children to take care of you?  Yes_____No_____Don't Know____

64. In general, do you think you are more active in affairs like community and church organizations than when you were younger?  Yes_____No_____Don't Know____

I have just a few more questions.

65. Are you happy, all things considered?  Yes_____No____

66. In general, are you satisfied with the life you have lived?  Yes______No________

67. How often do you feel that life is just not worth living?  
Often____Sometimes____Not often____Never____

68. Do you feel that you are a burden for others? (Children, friends).  Yes_____No____

69. Do you feel your health problems are a real problem for you?  Yes_____No_____
70. How often do you worry about making ends meet?
Often _____ Not often _____ Never _____

71. How often do you feel lonely?
Often _____ Sometimes _____ Not often _____ Never _____

72. Do you get outdone at yourself for not being able to do the things you once did? Yes _____ No _____

73. Do you think that old age is a difficult time of life?
Yes ______ No ______

74. In which age group do you feel you now belong?
Young ________
Middle aged ______
Elderly ______
Old ______

I appreciate your willingness to answer our questions. Are there any comments which you would like to make?
Comments: _______________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________
VITA

The writer was born in Jackson, Mississippi on October 22, 1936, the first child of J. C. and Dessie Marie Kitchens. He attended the public schools of Jackson, Mississippi; Galveston, Texas; and Biloxi, Mississippi.

The family moved from Biloxi to a small community near Ponchatoula, Louisiana when the author was thirteen years of age. The writer graduated from the local high school in 1954.

In that year, he entered Southeastern Louisiana College in Hammond, Louisiana and received his Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in history in 1958. In the fall of that year, he began study at the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary in preparation for the ministry. He received his Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1961 and immediately began work toward a Doctor of Theology degree, which he completed in 1964.

In June of 1964, he assumed the pastorate of the Gentilly Baptist Church in New Orleans, Louisiana. During his tenure as pastor, he was elected in 1966 to the honor of "Outstanding Young Man of the Year" by the National Junior Chamber of Commerce.
He began study toward the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Louisiana State University in June, 1967. During the spring and summer of 1967, he was employed by Gulf South Research Institute as a research assistant. He was granted a research assistantship with the Commission on Aging of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare during the academic year, 1967, 68 and the following year he received a graduate assistantship from the Louisiana State University Agricultural Experiment Station. During his time of study at Louisiana State University, he was elected to membership in the sociological honor society, Alpha Kappa Delta and the university wide honor society, Phi Kappa Phi.

The writer is married to the former Miss Peggy Ann Brown of Hammond, Louisiana. They have two children; Jeffrey Alan, aged seven, and Ginger Lynn, aged three.
Candidate: James A. Kitchens

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis:
A Study of the Pre-Aged Factors Affecting Adjustment to the Aged Status

Approved:

Alvin L. Bertrand
Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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N. J. Johnson

Date of Examination:

June 18, 1969