The Attitudes and Adjustments of Recipients of Old Age Assistance in Upstate and Metropolitan New York

BY

CHRISTINE MARGARET MORGAN
Fellow Vassal College, IES0 Fund for Old Age Welfare

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FOREWORD

This study was financed by Vassar College from the 1880 Fund for Old Age "Welfare, a gift to the college by the class of 1880 in honor of one of the members of the class, Dr. Lillien J. Martin, and her distinguished psychotherapeutic work with the aged at the Old Age Center in San Francisco, California."

I am indebted to a number of people for help in preparing this report. I take pleasure here in expressing my gratitude to Dr. David C. Adie, Commissioner of Social "Welfare of the State of New York, and to Mr. Richard "Wallace, Assistant Commissioner, for their courtesy in facilitating my interviews with recipients of old age grants in Tompkins County and their cooperation in collecting additional data from Buffalo, Albany, and New York City. My thanks also go to Professor Margaret Floy "Washburn and Professor Herbert E. Mills of Vassar College, and Mr. Abraham Epstein, for their assistance in making the original plans, to Professor Gardner Murphy of Columbia and Professor Joseph K. Folsom of Vassar for supervision of the study, and to my mother for many pertinent criticisms and suggestions. Last, but by no means least, I wish to thank the people who contributed the material for the study from the experience of their lives.

1 See Martin, Lillien J., and De Gruchy, Claire, *Salvaging Old Age*, Macmillan, 1930, and *Sweeping the Cobwebs*, Macmillan, 1933. See also publications of the Old Age Center, San Francisco, California. According to the Annual Report for 1936-1937 of the Section on Care of the Aged of the Welfare Council of New York City, a similar "Guidance Center for the Aged" is being contemplated with serious study by representatives of New York City social agencies. At the time of the report funds had not yet been found to demonstrate the project, "the conception of which the group believes is basically sound."
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The majority of studies so far made upon aged people fall into two general classifications: those dealing with the physical changes of senility, and those dealing with the economic status of the aged. While both are valuable and necessary, they leave the mental and social life of old people a terra incognita regarding which one man's guess is as good as another's. Do older people live again in the lives of their children, as is popularly supposed, or do they continue to live real and satisfying lives of their own? When they stop working, do they look forward with pleasure to a quiet life of retirement, or do they look upon this condition as enforced "shelving"? What contacts with young people do they have? What part do organized communal activities play in their lives? The initial purpose of this study was to learn something about the factors which make for happiness or contentment in old age.

The first problem was to obtain access to a large number of "normal" old people. We did not wish to use institutional populations because it has been shown by many studies that they represent special types of the aged. Most of them suffer from serious physical handicaps and general physical debility. Many of them, particularly in county homes, have been paupers or near-paupers most of their lives, and many of the aged in institutions suffer from mental disabilities such as low-grade intelligence or senile dementia. Even in the better types of private homes for the aged, the attitudes of the inmates are bound to be colored by the fact that they live in an institution, surrounded only by other old people, cut off from the normal give-and-take of ordinary community life. What we wanted was a group of mentally normal, self-respecting old people who still lived in the general community and were able to manage their own affairs. This was made possible through the courtesy of the New York State Department of Social Welfare.

Through their cooperation and that of the Tompkins County Board of Social Welfare, 396 persons receiving old age allowances were interviewed. Of these, 200 were residents of Ithaca and Tompkins County, and constituted about half of the persons receiving grants in that county. They were interviewed by the writer,

personally, in 1933. The remaining 196 persons were located as follows: 116 in New York City, 50 in Buffalo, and 30 in Albany. These people were interviewed by three different social workers: Mrs. Marjorie Shearon in New York City, Miss Edith M. MacVeigh in Buffalo, and Mrs. David M. Schneider in Albany. There were 178 men and 218 women. Altogether 15 were negroes: eight men and seven women. The negroes were dropped from the study, leaving a total of 381 cases: 170 men and 211 women. All subjects were, of course, 70 years of age or more, in accordance with the age limit in effect up to 1936. Their age distribution follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at Last Birthday</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 and over</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>170</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They were totally unselected. The cases were merely drawn from the files in consecutive order.

National Origins and Religion

As might be expected in dealing with a group of people receiving state aid, particularly with a heavy percentage of cases from New York City, the national backgrounds were widely varied. There were many of the native stock which has been living in western New York State since the time of its settlement soon after the American Revolution. On the other hand, there were a number of foreign-born, and a still larger number of native-born with one or both parents born in Europe. The stocks from which these came were largely German and Irish, with a sprinkling of other nationalities. The majority were Protestant; there were 95 Catholics and 6 Jews.

Economic Background

An inspection of the occupational backgrounds of the 170 men shows that we are dealing with people drawn mainly from the working class. Their occupational distribution follows. It is based on their chief occupation during their working lives, not on the last position they held, which in some cases was a very insignificant one.

Most of the business men were in small private businesses of their own, such as retail stores, or were clerks, salesmen or contractors. There were very few true professional men. The 21 men who belonged or had belonged to the farming class were all in the Tompkins County group. They constituted about one-fourth of the Tompkins County male cases; the farm population of Tompkins County in 1930 was also about one-fourth of the total population. However, these aged men belong to an earlier generation, of which farming occupied a greater proportion than it does of the present population. Hence we infer that farmers are also under-represented by our sample.

The women were somewhat more difficult to classify. Twenty percent had never been gainfully employed; they had been housewives all of their lives. Thirty-eight percent had been gainfully employed part time, usually at some form of household skill, in order to supplement the earnings of their husbands. They sewed for other people, kept roomers and boarders, "took in" washing, did housework and practical nursing by the day for the richer neighbors. Forty-two percent had been employed full time over a considerable period of their lives. This group included the single women who had supported themselves all of their lives, women who had been widowed early in life and who had supported themselves and their children, and a few cases of women who had earned their own living for 10 or 15 years after their husbands' death. Typical occupations were cook, waitress, nurse and factory worker. Since
many of these women were married to men in the group, and when one keeps in mind the fact that it was not customary for women of the higher classes to be gainfully employed at the time when these women were working, it becomes clear that they too belonged in the more than chance proportion to the working class.

**Educational Background**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No education, illiterate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4 years</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-7 years</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 years, elementary school graduates</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-11 years, high school, academy, prep</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school, not graduated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 years, high school, academy, gymnasium</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or professional school, not graduated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate of college or professional school</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is somewhat difficult to obtain comparative statistics in education for this period of 50 to 60 years ago when these people were attending school, but two references give us some measure of comparison. In *Middletown*, some 6 percent of the average annual group of young people who came to maturity in the nineties were high school graduates. Between 12 and 13 percent of our sample of old people had graduated from some secondary school. Between 60 and 69 percent of the entire population of school age were enrolled in schools in the 40 states and territories of the Union in 1880, and the average attendance was reported to be between 35 and 45 percent. A comment in the report indicates that "the vast majority of those enrolled in the public schools are in the primary and grammar grades," and "it appears that 21 percent of the school population are not under instruction." Since only 6 percent of the men and 4 percent of the women in our group were illiterate, and 66 percent of the men and 65 percent of the women had attended elementary school, it seems safe to say that, while these old people seem poorly educated according to modern standards, they were as well educated as the average of their own generation.

These grantees do not seem to differ greatly from the average population as regards their marital status. Eighty-seven and six-tenths percent of all the men have been married, as compared with 90.4 percent of all males 70-74 years of age in New York State. Eighty-three and eight-tenths percent of our women have been married; the corresponding figure for the general population of New York State is 88.7 percent. It might be expected that unmarried women would be more common in a pensioned group. Fifty-nine and five-tenths percent of the men have a living wife; 29 percent of the women have a living husband. This result is consistent with well-known vital statistics. Of all those who married, 17 percent have had no children. The sterility for the general American population is also about 17 percent; it may have been a little less for the generation of which these people are members. The average number of children ever born per married person was 3.0 in our "Upstate" group and 4.3 for our "Mixed" group. The ratio of children now living to children born is 71 to 100 in the Upstate group. This is approximately the figure for the survivors from a given group of births at the age of 40 years, which age may be taken as the average age of the children of these grantees. In the Mixed group this ratio is 56 to 100, which with the larger average number of children suggests a higher birth rate and also higher death rate in this group.

All of these people live in one way or another in the general community. It is particularly interesting to note that 74 percent of them either live in their own homes or other homes not under the direct supervision of their relatives.

Clearly these men and women are representative of the working population.
class, with about the average amount of education for people of their
generation; they are "normal" old people. By "normal" we do not mean
average in all respects, but only that they represent their own social and
economic class fairly. They left school early in order to go to work, which is
quite common among the children of the working class even today, when the
standards of public education are much higher than they were 50 to 60 years
ago. They were busy, active members of society for many years, doing
laborious work. They married and became parents in about the normal pro-
portion (although they probably had fewer children), and now in their old age
they are still mentally and physically competent enough to manage their own
affairs and live in the general community. It may be argued that the fact that
they have been reduced to penury in old age and have become a public charge
operates to make them "abnormal." This is not true. In their economic de-
pendency in old age they are typical of their class. Many studies have shown
that the dependent aged in modern society come almost exclusively from the
working people and seldom or never from the higher business and professional
groups.¹⁰¹

These same studies have shown that their dependence is not due to a lack
of industry or thrift. The work histories of our group bear this out: many
worked from the age of 12 or 14 till well past 70, and most of them had some
small savings. A fair proportion of the Upstate group owned their own homes.
These studies have shown conclusively that it is not a lack of the homely
virtues which brings the aged working man to poverty and grief, but the very
low wages he has received, wages so small as to make it impossible for him to
provide for his present needs, and, at the same time, to save an adequate
amount for old age. For this class there is no real economic security even while
working, and, for it, the idea of providing for old age is a mockery. If members
of this class die in their

¹⁰ Epstein, Abraham, Insecurity, New York, 1933, Part VII, "Old Age and
Invalidity Pensions," Passim, pp. 491-566.
fifties or sixties while they are still working, or before they have used up their small savings, they avoid a penniless old age. If they live to an advanced age, they become dependent either on their children, or on public or private charity. The only "abnormal" thing about our old people is that they are old, that they have lived too long, past the age when they were physically able to work, or past the age when employers will hire them, and past the age to which their own savings carried them.

"We feel safe, therefore, in saying that these old people are "normal" or typical of the working class who, in their old age, are forced to live at the subsistence level. This study makes no pretense of dealing with aged people of the business class. It would be very interesting to see, using the same set of questions, what attitudes old people at the opposite end of the social scale would show.

**CLASSIFICATION OF CASES**

The 381 cases were classified on a threefold basis: (1) Men versus Women, (2) Upstate native-stock Protestants, hereafter called the "Upstate group," versus all others, hereafter called the "Mixed group," (3) the better adjusted or "Happy" versus the less well adjusted or "Unhappy." The detailed method of this classification is described in the Appendix. The capitalization of the words "Men," "Women," "Upstate," "Mixed," "Happy," "Unhappy," implies that we are talking about all the men in the sample, all the women, and so on.

This study does not claim to have made an adequate definition or measurement of "happiness." The author is fully aware of the scientific and philosophic objections to the use of this term. A numerical scale of from zero to 11 points, called the "adjustment score," was set up, by scoring the answers to five questions, the two most important being: "Do these things (activities which subject reported as occupying his daily time) interest you?"; and "Generally speaking, do you enjoy your life now?" These answers would seem to indicate the subject's own valuations, his feelings, or merely his habits of verbal expression, more directly than they indicate adjustment in an objective sense. Hence it was finally decided to use the term "happiness" as the least cumbersome label for whatever this score measures. The score is internally consistent (B = + .48), and its correlations with other variables are in the directions expected. To split the sample as near as possible, to the median score, persons scoring 7 to 11 points were classified as "happy";
zero to 6 points, "unhappy." To bring out more clearly the differences between the happy and unhappy, a further classification was made as follows. The whole sample was divided on the basis of adjustment score into thirds, as nearly as could be. The upper approximate third, numbering 142 cases, had scores from 8 to 11 points and are hereafter known as the "Happiest." The middle "third," numbering 117 cases, scoring 6 and 7 points, were eliminated whenever this classification was used. The lower "third," numbering 122 cases, had scores of zero to 5 points, and are here after known as the "Unhappiest."

The objections raised by the use of more than one interviewer, and by the fact that the "Upstate group" is only 83 percent identical with the sample interviewed by the writer personally, are discussed fully in the appendix. The writer believes, for the reasons there given, that the "Upstate group" constitutes in most respects the most homogeneous group of adequate size obtainable from these data. The "Mixed group" is frankly heterogeneous. In some characteristics its averages surprisingly approximate those of the Upstate group. "Where it differs from the Upstate, the differences may be due variously to its metropolitanism, its Catholicism, its European background, and the difference between interviewers and their methods.

The Upstate group seemed stamped by a culture much more specific than our general American culture. By definition they were all native-stock Protestants, aged 70 or more. There were striking similarities among them in their clothing, in the hair dress of the women, in their house furnishings, their pictures and "fancy work," in their sense of humor, in their expletives and slang, and even in their grammatical errors. They were friendly, neighborly, and hospitable as in the rural sections and small American country towns of 50 years ago. For them, the social worker was no investigator come to spy upon them, but a resident of the same county or town, hence a friend and neighbor who had "dropped in to see how they were getting along." In the conversations the old people referred to local places and organizations with the full assumption that the social worker would be familiar with them too. Local events of 30 or 40 years ago, fires, floods, elections, were mentioned with the aside, "That was in your granddaddy's day." In spite of their being on public relief, they continued to show personal pride, independence of thought and action, and particularly that quality termed "gumption" in the old New England parlance. A man
should be "up and stirring" early in the morning, whether he had anything particular to do or not. Their social spirit was democratic. Men may not be economically equal, but they are social and political equals. One man is "as good as the nest one," and everyone "has a right to his own opinion," and the "right to speak his mind"; and speak their minds they did. Criticism of the social system was quick and pointed. Religion, the church, and conventional morality were important. Those who no longer attended church spoke of themselves regretfully as "backsliders." These people represent the typical Yankee culture so vividly described by James Mickel Williams in *Our Rural Heritage.*

11 Knopf, 1925.
CHAPTER II
HEALTH

Good health is generally conceded to be a priceless possession and one intimately associated with happiness and social adjustment at any age and in every walk of life. Our information regarding the health of these 381 subjects was obtained entirely from their own statements and obvious appearance; no medical diagnoses were used. Yet for our purposes these interview data were sufficiently valuable, for we sought mainly to learn how the lives of old people were influenced by their health and physical disabilities.

The first question was: "Is your general health at the present time excellent, good, fair, poor, or very poor?" The entire sample (381 cases) answered as follows: excellent 15.0 percent, good 32.6 percent, fair 25.3 percent, poor 20.5 percent, very poor 06.6 percent.

Question 102 asked: "Have you any serious physical handicap?" Of the entire sample, 71.7 percent answered "yes" and 28.3 percent answered "no."

Question 103 inquired as to the nature of the physical handicap, with the following results. Since some people had two or even more handicaps, the base of the percentage is the total number of defects listed, not the number of people afflicted.

### CLASSIFICATION of PHYSICAL HANDICAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Defect</th>
<th>Percent of Total Defects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blind or almost blind</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf or almost deaf</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crippled hands or arms</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crippled legs or feet</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General rheumatic stiffness</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serious internal weakness of any form</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to get a better idea of what these "serious internal weaknesses" were, they were tabulated separately for the 200 old people of the Tompkins County sample.12

12 See appendix for exact definition of the various partial samples used in the study.

Significant was question 104 which asked: "Does this (the physical handicap) keep you from doing the things that you enjoy?" The extent to which this proved to be true for the entire sample is given below.

### Number of Cases Reporting Same

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal Weakness or Disease</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Both Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heart trouble</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardening of the arteries and high blood pressure</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low blood pressure</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stroke and partial paralysis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palsy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung trouble</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asthma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stomach trouble</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidney trouble</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bladder trouble</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liver trouble</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intestinal trouble</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gall stones</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uterine trouble</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incipient cancer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to combine the results from these four health questions, we assigned values to answers and scored each individual on a numerical scale. The assigned values were as follows:

101. "Is your general health at the present time ---?" Excellent 4 points, good 3 points, no answer 3 points, fair 2 points, poor 1 point, very poor 0 points.

102. "Have you any serious physical handicap?" Zero points were given for a "yes" answer, 2 points for a "no" answer, and 1 point for no reply.

103. This question called for the classification of the physical handicap. If no classifications were checked, the subject was given 2 points, if one classification was checked, he was given 1 point, if two or more were checked, he was given 0 points.
104. "Does this keep you from doing the things that you enjoy: not much, 2 points; some, 1 point; entirely, 0 points.

Adding the possible points, we see that a subject might secure anything from 0 to 10 points as a health score, 0 representing the poorest and 10 the best health in the group. A score of 4.67 was found to be the median; 182 people had scores less than 5, and 199 people scores of 5 or more. It is interesting to note that there were 22 men and 15 women who made the top score of 10, and 2 men and 3 women whose scores were zero.

The following table compares the groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Average Health Score</th>
<th>Percent of Cases Scoring 5 or More Points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mixed happy men</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed happy women</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate happy men</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unhappy men</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate unhappy women</td>
<td>5.11</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unhappy women</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate unhappy men</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire sample</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By combining groups it was found that the Mixed group, most of whom live in New York City, were definitely better off so far as their health was concerned than were the Upstate group. Of the Mixed, 12.5 percent more cases reported themselves to have "excellent" or "good" general health than did the Upstate. Serious physical handicaps were less common in the Mixed group than among the Upstate people by 13.2 percent. We also found that 11.1 percent more of the Mixed group reported themselves as having the combination "excellent or good general health" and "no physical handicaps" than did the Upstate. (Upstate 16.5 percent; Mixed 27.6, P.E. of difference 3.6.) The combined health score brings out this fact very clearly, 19.7 percent more people in the Mixed group having health scores of 5 or more than did the people of the Upstate group. Why the Mixed should be more healthy than the Upstate is a question. One explanation considered was that the Upstate group is older. In it, 56.0 percent of the people were seventy-five years of age or older, while only 43.1 percent of the

16 For the four major types of comparison, Upstate-Mixed, Men-Women,' Happy-Unhappy and Happiest-Unhappiest only the difference between them in percent of cases is given in the text. For the percent of cases in each group and the reliability of the difference, see the tables in the Appendix. For important differences between any two minor groups full information is given in the text.
Mixed were seventy-five or over, a difference of 12.9 percent (P.E. 3.0). This suggestion was strengthened by the fact that blindness and deafness, two defects associated with old age, constitute 31.0 percent of the physical handicaps of the Upstate, but only 20.0 percent of the defects of the Mixed. Greater age, however, is apparently not the explanation, for a comparison of the combined health scores of the people aged seventy to seventy-four, omitting those who were seventy-five or over, does not substantially alter the results. The people in the Mixed group are still better off so far as their health is concerned than the Upstaters of the same age. On the combined health scores, 63.0 percent of the Mixed group between the ages of seventy and seventy-four have scores of 5 or more, while only 49.9 percent of the Upstate group of the same ages have scores of 5 or better, a difference of 13.1 percent (P.E. 3.2). In the entire sample of 381 people, the best health was found among the mixed men, 21.7 percent more of the men reporting themselves to be in "excellent" or "good" general health than of all the other groups put together.

The Mixed group tended to be somewhat younger than the Upstate and also to be in somewhat better health. Since one of these facts does not explain the other, it is possible that an economic factor explains both of them. The bulk of the Mixed group were New York City people, and this group included all of the foreign-born and those of foreign parentage. It is probable that immigrants and city people suffer more dependency from purely economic causes, that they are forced out of their jobs and onto public relief at an earlier age than the native-born Upstate people, who, in the more stable jobs of the smaller upstate communities, tend to work until they are physically unable to continue. Support is given this explanation by the fact that 11.6 percent more mixed men than upstate men stopped working before they had reached the age of 70 (35.5 percent versus 23.9 percent). Still more indicative is the fact that 47.7 percent of the mixed men stopped working because they were laid off, not because they were unable to work, while this was true of only 31.6 percent of the upstate men, a difference of 16.1 percent.

The Men had better health than the Women, 11.0 percent more Men having excellent or good general health than did the Women. This result is supported by the fact that 11.7 percent more Men than Women are physically able to do some kind of work at the present time.
As might be expected, we found a positive correlation between good health and happiness. On the combined health score, 26.5 percent more Happiest than Unhappiest people have scores of 5 or more. The Happiest have an average health score of 6.05 points while that of the Unhappiest is 4.07, a difference of 1.98 points. In a like manner 23.0 more percent of the Happiest people have "excellent" or "good" general health than do the Unhappiest, and serious physical handicaps are 22.9 per cent more common among the Unhappiest. A combination of these last two questions shows that 18.2 percent more of the Happy half than of the Unhappy half ’ report themselves to be in excellent or good general health and at the same time free from a serious physical handicap. (Happy 31.2 percent; Unhappy 13.0 percent; P.E. of difference 3.6.) The difference here is almost identical with that found between the Happy and Unhappy halves on the combined health score. Again, as we might expect, the people who are entirely kept from doing the things they enjoy by their physical handicaps constitute only 4.9 percent of the Happiest group versus 24.6 percent of the Unhappiest, a difference of 19.7 percent (P.E. 2.9).

Two definite ways in which physical limitations affect the happiness of these old people are shown by two questions which will be discussed more fully later. "We may note here that 17.0 percent more Happiest people than Unhappiest are physically able to get out to see their friends in the neighborhood, and that there is the large and significant difference of 33.5 percent more Happiest people than Unhappiest who are physically able to do some kind of work at the present time.

Nineteen and four-tenths percent of all the items mentioned by the entire sample as the greatest worries of old age were poor health and physical dependence, while good health and physical activity constituted 16.1 percent of all the items mentioned as being the thing they missed the most from their younger days.

The positive relationship between good health and happiness is shown again by the correlation of the combined health score with the adjustment or happiness score. This was particularly marked in the case of the Men, the Pearson R between these two scores for them being +.43 (P.E. ± .04). For Women the correlation was smaller, but still positive, + .29 (P.E. ± .04). While good health is an important factor in the happiness of aged people, it appears more important to men than to women. The coefficients of association (see Table IV, Appendix) suggest that this contrast between men and women is more sharp in the Upstate group.
Some of the notes made by the interviewers and some of the direct quotations from the old people themselves picture more concretely the relation between health and happiness. There was the woman who was very thin and frail looking who was not allowed to go downstairs and had not been out-of-doors for four years. As she said, "I've just give out." One man had been confined to a wheelchair for the last six years by arthritis. One was completely blind in one eye and partially blind in the other, so that he could no longer read or write or go on the streets alone. Crippled legs and feet, and stomach trouble keep one woman from "things I would love to do, work in the garden and clean." Another woman had neuritis and diabetes. Walking made her feel "as if the flesh were pulling away from the bones." One woman was totally blind and very hard of hearing. One man who had chronic heart trouble, had as stroke last year, and has not been out of his yard since, and, as he says," It gets so monotonous sitting here in-the house." These comments are indeed consistent with the fact that the 16.9 percent of the entire sample who are completely disabled by their physical handicaps tend to rate low on the adjustment or happiness scale.
"How much schooling have you had?" The answers were recorded in years of school attendance and, where possible, in terms of work completed, i.e., whether the person graduated or not. No more accurate classification was possible, for these people received their education long ago in many states, and also in a number of European countries. Education, whether public or private, was by no means so standardized fifty to sixty years ago as it is today, even within the confines of a single state, so that it is impossible to say with certitude just what these people were taught, or how one man’s education might compare with another’s. From the educational data presented in the Introduction we have seen that these old people on the average had as much schooling as did their generation. Sixty-six percent of our men and 65 percent of our women had apparently completed elementary school, and 13 percent of the men and 12 percent of the women had completed secondary school or better.

On the whole, the Upstate people were better educated than the Mixed group, 23.5 percent more of them having had more than an elementary school or eight grade education. The poorer education of the Mixed was especially true of the foreign-born women, only one of these 42 having had more than an elementary school education.

It was found that 40.1 percent of the Happiest people had had more than an elementary school education, while this was true of only 24.0 percent of the Unhappiest, and it is interesting to note that the relation was consistent in all of the four sex-culture groups, in each case the happy being somewhat better educated than the unhappy.

It would seem worth while to investigate further the effects of education.

With their generally meager educational backgrounds we could not expect to find these old people leaning heavily toward intellectual hobbies and interests. In fact, they did not. So often, old people are advised to read, study, interest themselves in art, litera-

14By "sex-culture" groups are meant upstate men, upstate women, mixed men and mixed women.
ture, social service, community interests and other activities which call for a fairly rich educational background. "What are old people going to do for recreations and hobbies who do not have the prerequisites for these activities? In Chapter VIII we shall see what hobbies and recreations these people actually found for themselves. Whether better and more varied leisure activities could be found for old people of this educational level is an important question, in view of the modern tendency toward earlier retirement.
CHAPTER IV
FAMILY RELATIONS

Our questions in this category dealt mainly with the relations and attitudes of the old person toward his children and grandchildren, one basic purpose being to determine to what extent these old people tended to identify themselves with their descendants, to live again in the lives of their children. The plan was to ask a few, almost impersonal, questions which no one could resent, and to see whether these would lead to more intimate disclosures. It was surprising to note the wide range of individual variations of attitude which even the simplest question could call forth. For example, in answer to Question 112, "Would you like to see your children more often?" the answers ranged all the way from that of the man who said of his seven children, "I don't want them to darken my door again," to that of the woman who looked with incredulous wonder at the investigator as if she had asked a very silly question, and said in a tone of amazement, "Are you a mother? You think of them more than anything else."

People who have not come in contact with any of the state-assisted old people of the country are too apt to think of them as lonely and deserted by their relatives. In some cases this is true, of course, but although these people are living on a form of public relief, they are not necessarily estranged from their families nor abandoned by them. Fifteen percent of our group live with their children, and many others are helped by them. Some children pay for their parents' rent; others contribute as much to their support as they are able, the State paying the balance necessary for their maintenance. Even when the children are not able to contribute to their parents any regular fixed sums, they often give them little gifts from time to time, paying a doctor's bill, providing some needed clothing, or bringing them a little treat of some sort. Many old people explained carefully with a sort of desperate earnestness that if it were not for the depression they would not need a pension, that their children had cared for them before, and would do so again as soon as they could.

It will be remembered from material already presented in the Introduction that so far as the statistics on their family relationships go, these old people do not differ greatly from the average population. Eighty-seven and six-tenths percent of the Men and
83.5 percent of the "Women have been married. Of all those who married, 17 percent had no children. The average number of children ever born per married person was 3.0 for the Upstate group and 4.3 for the Mixed. Families of 1 to 3 children, as distinguished from larger families, were 11.3 percent more common in the Upstate group. Smaller families also tended to be more common among the better adjusted people. Families of more than three children were 13.0 percent more common among the Unhappiest than among the Unhappiest, including in the base also those who are unmarried or have no children.

It seems to make little or no difference to adjustment in any of the groups whether one is married or single, or whether or not the husband or wife is still living. In fact, we found a slightly larger proportion (by 8 percent) of widowers than of married men on the happy side. With women the difference was negligible.

There was an interesting relation between childlessness and adjustment. In the whole sample there was no correlation; but among the upstate women, the unhappy ones were more likely to be childless, and among the mixed men, those who were happy were more likely to be childless. Childlessness was found to be 17.0 percent more common among the unhappy women than among the happy, and 18.0 percent more common among the happy mixed men than among the unhappy. The size of the P.E.'s, 6.0 and 6.7, respectively, make these differences not quite statistically reliable, but the tendency deserves further investigation. In the other two sex-culture groups there was no appreciable correlation.

It is also interesting to observe that there is no statistical relation between adjustment and the frequency with which they see their children. There were 304 answers to this question (no. 110) although only 246 people have living children. This disparity is explained by the fact that a number of people gave two answers, living, perhaps, with one of their children, and seeing the rest of them seldom or never. Fifty-four and nine-tenths percent of these replies indicate that children are seen all the time (subject lives with one or more of them) or every few days; 16.1 percent, that they are seen sometimes; 29.0 percent, that they are seldom or never seen. The Mixed group, most of them New York City people, fare better in this respect than the Upstate group, 18.5 percent more of their replies indicating seeing their children all the time or every few days. These figures, together with the explanation of the old people themselves, show fairly clearly that distance and not estrangement
is the main reason for not seeing much of their children. Those who live nearby are seen frequently; those who live at a distance, where the cost of transportation becomes an important element in the visiting, are very rarely seen.

"While talking with a subject about the frequency with which he saw his children, we ventured to ask, if the person was living with a child, "Did you come to live with this child because you wanted to?" Despite its possibility of seeming impertinent, this question was answered with surprising frankness. There were only 57 people in the entire group who lived with a son or daughter; in most cases, a daughter. This was 15.0 percent of the whole group, but it was 23.1 percent of the 246 people who have living children with whom they might make their homes. Thirty-four of these 57 who lived with a child had come there from choice; 23 were there for other reasons. "I couldn't afford to pay rent. It was the only thing to do." "Had no other place to go." "More convenient because they keep the fires burning here." "Well, I was entirely alone, and they didn't think it was safe for me to live entirely alone, and I couldn't support myself entirely alone." "I didn't have any home." "Because we (man and wife) couldn't afford to pay rent along." "They told me I got to live with her." (This woman's husband died in a State Hospital for the Insane, and the daughter with whom she lived was known to be "very queer.").) In the Mixed group, family feeling seems to be stronger, for 33.3 percent more of them live with a child from choice than do the Up-staters. It is interesting to see that even with so few cases, we find a statistically significant relation between this question and adjustment. "Where people feel welcome and come to live with their children from choice we might expect more happiness than where the arrangement has been a forced one. Of the 22 happiest people who live with their children, 16 do so from choice. Of the 19 unhappiest who so live, only 6 do so from choice. In percentages the difference is 41.2 percent with a P.E. of 9.9.

The answers to Question 120, "Do you think it is best for an old person to live with his children, or do you think that he would be happier living alone?" are particularly significant in this connection and will be discussed in detail later.

Question 112 asked, "Would you like to see your children more often?" Naturally this question did not apply to those who live with their children, nor scarcely to the people who see their children every few days. Sorting out the 93 people who reported seeing their
children "sometimes" or less, we found that there was no significant happiness difference between those who answered, that they would like to see more of their children and those who said "no." “Yes” answers were slightly more frequent proportionally among the Upstate group, the Unhappy and the Women, but not enough so to be significant.

Question 113 asked, “Do you miss having them (your children) around you as you did when they were small?” In fiction and poetry old people are so often pictured living over in memory the days of their children's babyhood and young childhood that the writer was interested in seeing to what extent this might occur in real life. Herein also seemed a possible way to discover some of the material of old people's reveries. If we had found many people saying, "Oh, my soul! I lay here and think about the cute things they did when they were little," as one woman said, we might infer that this type of day-dreaming is an important element in the mental life of old people. The results scarcely justify any such conclusion. We found that of the 214 people who answered the question, 65 people, or 30.3 percent, missed having their children as babies and young children "very much." Of these 65 people (17.0 percent of the entire sample) it might perhaps be safely said that their thoughts continue to dwell with the traditional lingering sweetness on the babyhood of their children. These people made comments like the following: "They're babies yet to me." "Well, I guess so. You take most comfort of them when they're little." "I'd like to have 'em back." "Makes me lonesome to look at their pictures." "No one comes closer to you than your children. I still feel as if he were my baby." "I often wish the y were little, here again" (gesture along her knee). "And the little tots I see bring her to my mind."

Of the 214 people who answered this question, 28.0 percent missed their young children "considerably" or "some," and 41.7 percent reported missing them "not much" or "not at all." This last 41.7 percent would seem to spend little time day-dreaming of the past, and their remarks show a natural acceptance of the changes time brings. "I think of mine, but I don't miss them like some folks do," "I hardly ever think of them as they was." "One can't live in the past." "They have been away so long now and I can't bear children's noise now." "I'm perfectly satisfied to have them married and have homes of their own." "I've always had other children to raise too, nephews and grandchildren." While
the answers to this question cannot be considered conclusive, they do indicate that old people are not so absorbed in memories of their children's early lives as fiction writers would have us believe. When the trait occurs, it is apparently more or less independent of other characteristics, for we do not find it particularly associated with either sex or either culture group or with happiness. While talking about their children, the interviewer asked Question 114: "Are they managing to get along all right in these hard times?" So far as the subject was concerned this was only a polite conversational remark. If he showed no inclination to answer, no effort was made to press him. The purpose of the question was to learn indirectly to what extent these old people would identify themselves with their children, being proud when the children were successful and worried when they were in trouble. In some cases the subject answered the question with a "yes" or "no," with a brief modifying statement, but in many cases they launched forth on long stories about their children, and, while these could not be recorded, there was no mistaking the pride and worry that the parents felt. A record of this was made. Of the 246 people who had living children 239 answered the question. Of this group, 23.8 percent indicated that their children were getting along all right and gave some sign of being pleased with this situation; 9.4 percent said "yes," but showed no particular pride or pleasure in the fact; 53.9 percent reported that their children were having a hard time now, and they obviously shared their worry and distress; 12.9 percent reported that their children were not getting along well, but gave no indication of concern. Combining figures, we have 77.7 percent of those answering showing a quick and ready interest in and sympathy for their children, and 22.3 percent who showed no particular interest. It is quite possible, of course, that they felt a deep interest, but felt incommunicative to a stranger. The tendency to worry about their children not getting along well, rather than to report that they are succeeding or to show a lack of worry about them if they are not, was 35.0 percent more common in the Mixed group than among the Upstaters. Within the Mixed group, it is the New York City residents particularly, rather than the Catholics or the foreign born as such, who tend to report this worry. It is likely, therefore, that this difference does not show any closer relation on the part of the Mixed people to their children but only shows that their children, most of whom live in the metropolitan area, have suffered more from the depression. There does, however, seem to
be a genuine difference in this respect between the sexes, 23.0 percent more of the Women than the Men showing a marked tendency to worry about their children.

One of the traditional roles of old people in society is to give advice to the younger members of the community, particularly to those to whom they are related by ties of blood. We do not know how much the old people in this group voluntarily advise their children, nor whether this advice is often followed or not, but we do know by their own statements that in the majority of the cases their children seldom or never ask their advice. Of the 241 people answering Question 115, who are practically all of the people with living children, only 9.1 percent reported that their children asked for their advice and opinion "very often"; 14.5 percent of the people reported such advice seeking "frequently"; 19.9 percent "sometimes"; while 22.4 percent reported it as "rarely," and 34.1 percent as "never." The Women apparently stood in closer relationship to their children in this respect than the Men by a difference of 23.0 percent.

Such advice seeking, contrary to what one might expect, has no statistical relation to adjustment. There was some resentment shown against children who had become too independent, and a touch of asperity in the remarks about them. "They're too independent. When you get old they think you don't know anything." "They've got it in their heads that old folks don't know nothing. They might better ask advice once in a while." "She wouldn't take it if she asked for it." These, however, were more or less unusual cases. The majority of the people seemed to take the more matter-of-fact attitude that their children are grown up now and must solve the problems of life for themselves. "They have to advise themselves same as I always had to." "Sometimes Mary does (ask advice), but the boys never do. Now days children don't do it." "But, of course, he's old enough now to think for himself, and his mind is stronger now than mine. I'm more apt to ask his opinion."

At the close of these questions about their children, came Question 116: "You must be proud of your children. They must be quite a comfort to you." This was made to seem as a remark dropped casually into the conversation, of the polite innocuous variety that calls for no answer but may serve as a stimulus calling forth important differential reactions. Of the people to whom it applied, 22.1 percent let it pass by in silence. It is possible that they thought it was not necessary to answer, but, judging from the enthusiastic re
sponse it brought from most of the group, the more likely interpretation is that these people were not proud of their children and did not want to admit it. Ten and six-tenths percent gave a negative response, many frankly admitting that their children had failed and disappointed them. The rest, 67.3 percent of those who had children, were pleased at this recognition of their children's worth by a stranger, and beamed and expanded with all the additional parental pride. This pride was definitely associated with adjustment, its occurrence being 32.4 percent more common among the Happiest than among the Unhappiest people. It was also more common among the Mixed group than among the Upstate by a difference of 13.8 percent.

Their grandchildren seem to mean much to these old people. Of the subjects who ever had any children, 80.2 percent have grandchildren. Of course, many of the older ones have great grandchildren. Forty-three and three-tenths percent of the answers to Question 118 indicate seeing one's grandchildren very often or every day, the latter answer meaning that one or more of these live in the home with the grandparent. The Mixed group have closer contacts than do the Upstate group, 25.0 more percent of them seeing their grandchildren every day or very often. Conversely, in answer to Question 119, "Would you enjoy seeing them more often?", 30.0 percent more of the Upstaters said "yes" than of the Mixed group. A possible interpretation is that in the upstate areas families are more widely scattered, and the visit of the grandchildren is more of a treat. Among the upstate men, 27.0 more percent of the happy men answered this question with "yes" than did the unhappy (P.E. 7.3). Grandchildren seem to be important in a number of ways. Many people, both men and women, mentioned helping to care for young grandchildren as one of their daily occupations. Others said that playing with them was their main recreation, and still others gave their grandchildren as their chief comfort in old age. A number said that they did not miss having their own children around them as babies and youngsters since they had grandchildren.

For several reasons, Question 120, "Do you think it is best for an old person to live with his children, or do you think he would be happier living alone?" was one of the most important in the entire study. In the first place, it was the one which aroused the greatest interest in the subjects themselves. Their faces brightened up. Their opinions were positive, and they waxed eloquent in defense of them, and in these opinions they revealed attitudes toward their
children which would have been difficult to ascertain by direct questioning. In the second place, the positive stand that the great majority of them took on this issue suggests that living where he wishes is one of the most important factors in an old person's happiness. Out of the 322 who answered this question, 68.0 percent were in favor of living alone; 22.3 percent thought that old people would be happier living with their children; 9.7 percent were undecided, felt that circumstances altered cases, or that it depended on the individuals in question, both parents and children. Omitting the uncertain answers, we have 294 persons who gave a definite "yes" or "no." Among these people, we find the happy ones decidedly in favor of living alone, but even more of the unhappy (10.2 percent more) are certain that this is the most successful way for an old person to live. The Upstate group, with their characteristic preference for the more independent mode of action, also show a greater liking for living alone than the Mixed group, but on closer analysis this difference turns out to be due mainly to the women of the Mixed group, only 54 percent of whom favor living alone. Still more specifically, the responsibility is found to fall especially upon the foreign-born women.

In view of this marked disapproval of living with one's children shown by the majority of all the subjects, it is well to recall here that only 15.0 percent of the entire group of 381 people do live with a child, and that this is only 23.1 percent of the people who have living children with whom they might live. Of the 57 people who live with a child, 23 people, or 40.4 percent, have not come there from choice, but for various other reasons. In other words, only 34, people or 13.8 percent of the 246 people who have living children, have come to live with them of their own free choice. If actions speak louder than words, it is quite obvious that the people in this study mean it when they say that old people are better off living alone. "When we asked Question 120 of the people who do not live with their children, we found, as might be expected, among the people who gave us a definite "yes" or "no" answer, a still larger majority voting for living apart from children, with the Upstate group still topping the Mixed group in this respect by 16.7 percent, and the mixed women coming closer to the other groups but still standing below them (63.0 percent).

Naively one might suppose that if the majority prefer to live in their own homes, then those who do so should be happier than those who do not. As a matter of fact, however, there is no such statistical association (nor its reverse) except among the upstate women.
Unhappy upstate women differ markedly from the happy upstate women and from all the other groups, living only 33 percent in their own homes (difference from remainder of sample 28 percent, P.E. 6). Ten of the 21 unhappiest upstate women live with their children; whereas this is true of only 8 out of 52 (15 percent) of the happiest upstate women, and is true of about 15 percent of the whole sample.

"Why do so many old people prefer to live alone? To put it briefly, old people do not seem to live again in the lives of their children, the popular notion to the contrary. In the homes of their children they feel unwanted, neglected and in the way. They resent the direction and "bossing" of their children and even more so that of the "in-laws." They do not want to be treated as if they were old and feeble and helpless, incapable of doing the smallest task properly. In their own homes they are independent, free to run their households in their own fashion. This last is very important. Over and over again, the difference in the ways of life of the older and the younger generation was mentioned by the subjects. As it was pointed out, the old people cling to their old ways, while to the young people these methods seem old-fashioned, foolish and irritating. Both men and women emphasized the personal freedom and independence that homes of their own gave them, and in addition to this the women were apt to point out that it was better for the younger people also not to have the generations mixed in the same home. Here are some of the men's comments.

(1) "I've taken more comfort since I lived in this shack alone. Nobody dictates to me." (2) "I think they're better alone. When the in-laws come they want something to say, and they say a little too much. It's getting so old people are in the way." (3) "Better off alone. I tried it. Keep away from the children. They snap you up, and they act like I was a disgrace to them." (4) "In most cases they would be happier to live alone. Their ways are not young people's ways. They don't like the same company and things." (5) "You can do exactly as you've a mind to do. After a person has kept house for 50 years, and goes somewhere else he ain't at home." (6) "Happier living alone. I wouldn't go live with one of my children on a bet. I won't have anybody say to me, 'Old man, go to bed.' " (7) "You feel more independent, and no one bosses you around." (8) "Better living alone. Old people are kind a in the way, and the young people slight the old people." Here are some of the women's reasons. (1) "Grandchildren are noisy. It's bothersome when you are
sick." (2) "I don't believe in going to live with your children. No sir, I've tried it. After you have been there awhile you feel right in the way. I'd rather be alone if I didn't have but one crust of bread a day." (3) "Anybody would rather be alone. Anybody that has had a home of their own misses it." (4) "All married couples should be by themselves and not have old people interfere." (5) "Old people can't go back with the young people, and the young people can't put themselves in the place of the old people." (6) "I have lived with my children, but it didn't work. If you live alone you can do things as you please." (7) "I don't think it's a good idea to live with married children. Sometimes we don't have sense enough to mind our own business." (8) "Do as you've a mind to, even though it's awful lonesome, and you have your own things, and do what you've a mind to with them." (9) "The children are boss, and you hate to take it when you are in years and have no home of your own. Home is a home, no matter how poor." (10) "Younger people want to be kind, but they don't understand what older people feel. As long as I have sense enough to keep my hands out of the fire, I'm going to keep house."

As these comments piled up into the hundreds, it became very clear that while it may not be very safe for older people to live alone, it certainly is far more satisfying for the majority of them.

As a close corroboration of the desire for independence shown in the above statements, it was found that the majority of the group wanted no help from their relatives in managing their affairs. (Question 310). Of the total 381 people in the study, 33.3 percent, had relatives who tried to help them in this way, 7.4 percent of the group had no relatives, and the remaining 59.3 percent of the group received no help or advice from their relatives. There was a noticeable difference in this respect between the Upstate and the Mixed groups, 29.2 percent more of the Mixed depending to a certain extent on help from their relatives. In the Mixed group this help bore no relation to adjustment, but in the Upstate group it was decidedly associated with unhappiness, being 17.0 percent more frequent among the unhappy upstaters than among the happy ones (P.E 5.2).

In reply to Question 311, 64.8 percent of those who have relatives prefer to manage their own affairs with no help or hindrance to free action, and the other 32.6 percent appreciate their relatives' help and are glad to have it. Here again, a sharp cultural difference appears, 35.0 more percent of the Mixed group than the Upstate appreciating help from their relatives.
Certainly most old people prefer to manage their own affairs if they can, but in a good many cases health conditions make it impossible. Most of the people in our sample who depended on their relatives and were glad to have their help were found to be people so physically handicapped that they were totally unable to live alone and take care of themselves. Naturally, people who are almost blind or very seriously crippled are grateful for help from their families, but this does not mean that they would not prefer to be independent if it were possible. Poor health is dreaded and feared because it reduces a person almost to the status of a child and forces him to be dependent on relatives. We found that only 3.0 percent of the Upstate group and 15.0 percent of the Mixed were glad to have the help of relatives and yet had no serious physical defects. Since the others who were grateful for help were practically compelled to have it, it is very likely that these figures give a truer picture of the number who were really content to relinquish the reins of authority in their own lives than does the figure of 32.6 percent of the whole sample.

Because people prefer to live alone and manage their own affairs, it must not be supposed that their family connections mean little to them. On the contrary, "family relationships" constituted 29.3 percent of all the items mentioned as the greatest comfort in old age; and 25.7 percent of all the people in the study found personal relations with members of their families the most satisfying thing that old age has offered them.

On the whole the data from the family questions proved rather surprising. The Women seemed to stand in a somewhat closer relationship to their children than did the Men; and the Mixed group, with its European components, laid more stress on family ties than the Yankee Upstate group; but, by and large, family relations do not seem to be so closely connected with happiness as one might expect. The subjects were interested in their children’s welfare, naturally proud of their successes and worried over their failures and troubles, but they did not tend to identify themselves with their children’s lives to the extent commonly supposed, certainly not to the extent of subordinating their own lives to those of their children. Old as they are, they resented direction and guidance, "bossing," from their children, and preferred to live in their own homes where they could do as they pleased. As many of them said, the ideal arrangement was to live in your own home, near enough to your children to see them and the grandchildren frequently; go and make a little visit and then come home again to your own concerns.
CHAPTER V
SOCIALITY

Many data combine to show that the social life of these people is very limited. It is to be expected, of course, that the social life of any group of old people will be limited to a certain extent by poor health and physical handicaps and by the loss of old friends and relatives by death, but it is very likely that this particular group and others like them who are living on relief have less social life than do other people of the same age. The relief situation operates in two ways. The first effect is directly financial. Relief does not provide for enter tainment and social life. These people have no money for "dress-up" clothes, for paid amusements of any sort, for church collections, for club or lodge dues, nor for carfare to visit their friends or relatives who do not live within walking distance. Over and over again, the story was heard of longing to go and visit a son and his family, or a sister or an old friend who lived in another town, and in each case it was entirely out of the question because it would have required bus or train fare. In New York City even street car fare to another part of the city was impossible in many cases, or at best, an infrequent luxury. The second effect is the psychological effect of relief itself, which is perhaps even more influential in limiting their social life. The old age grants are regarded in two ways by their recipients. Some of the old people consider them honorably earned "pensions," but many others look on them as ordinary "relief," and shrink from having their friends know that they have come to charity at last. They have "come down" in the world so much that they are ashamed. This, at least, was very true in the Upstate group where the independent Yankee tradition still prevails. Many an old couple said regretfully: "We never thought we would come to this." They can no longer hold their own socially. They cannot dress as well as they used to. Many of them feel that because they are on relief they should not spend anything except for the barest essentials. One old lady apologized profusely for having entertained an old friend for dinner the previous week. These are all small things, but subtly and quietly they turn people away from the group, back on themselves. Ashamed of being on relief, poorly dressed, feeling that hospitality cannot be returned, people tend to drop even the few old friends they have left and to avoid making new ones. These two effects, the financial
and psychological, must not be forgotten in judging the sociality of this group. Only 48.2 percent of the 381 people have friends who come in to see them, while 51.8 percent declare themselves to be totally or almost entirely without friends. In a few cases this lack of friends is explained by the fact that the old person has come to live with a child in a new neighborhood or has moved to a new locality for the sake of a cheaper rent, but in the large majority of cases, residence in the neighborhood has lasted for many years and the lack of friends cannot be explained in any way but by the death of the old ones and the failure to make new contacts. That the possession of friends is a factor, in the happiness of old people is seen clearly in the fact that 20.9 percent more Happiest than Unhappiest people report having friends. This difference was particularly marked in the Mixed group, where the happy people exceeded the unhappy in the possession of friends by 24.5 percent (P.E. 5.0).

Apparently poor health and physical handicaps are not the chief causes for lack of friends in old age, for 52.3 percent of all the people in the study reported themselves physically able to go and see their friends, and this figure is slightly larger than the percent who have friends who come in to see them. Here again the Happiest people top the Unhappiest by 17.0 percent.

"Keep up your contacts with youth." "Make young friends." This is so often the advice given to middle aged and older people as a recipe for happiness in later life, that one is interested to learn how this particular group fared in this respect. It was found that having young friends was most definitely associated with adjustment, 17.2 more percent of Happiest people than Unhappiest reporting "knowing many young people in the neighborhood." This difference was particularly marked in the Mixed group where 25.5 more percentage of happy than unhappy people reported having young friends (P.E. 4.5). In the Upstate group, the happy exceeded the unhappy in this item by only 12.5 percent, a difference which is not quite statistically reliable (P.E. 4.5). In the Mixed group there are strong European and Roman Catholic influences at work which tend to bind the generations more closely together than in the Upstate group, and it is very likely these influences which make contacts with youth more frequent and also more determinative of happiness and satisfaction. Although having young friends makes for happiness in old age, yet only 28.0 percent of the entire sample report that they "know
many of the young people in the neighborhood." It is particularly significant that
this percentage should be so small when one considers that these people come
from the humble walks of life and live in a very simple style in which social
contacts are usually considered easy to make.

Question 124 inquired how much they saw the young people they knew. Of
the entire 381 cases, 26.6 percent see their young friends "very often," "often," or
"sometimes." The other 73.4 percent either know no young people, or see the few
they do know "seldom" or "never." Seeing young people frequently is another
condition related to adjustment, 14.9 more percent Happiest than Unhappiest
reporting it. Contact with young people was particularly important among the
"Women, 25.0 more percent of happy women reporting such frequent contacts
than did the unhappy women (P.E. 4.4). A difference of 9.0 percent, though not
statistically reliable, ran in the same direction for the happy and the unhappy men
(P.E. 4.5). The Mixed group exceeded the Upstate by 9.5 percent in their contacts
with young people, though it is to be suspected that by "young people" the Mixed
group were often referring to young members of their families rather than to
outsiders in the neighborhood. Even if this were true, it seems to give further
evidence that the Mixed group were in closer touch with the younger generation
than were the Upstaters.

Believing that the seeing of young people was no proof of real friendship
with them, we asked Question 125: "Do they (the young friends) ever come to
you for your advice and help?" While 28.0 percent of the entire sample report
that they "know many of the young people in the neighborhood," only 12.6
percent report that the young people they know come for their advice and help
"often" or "sometimes." This makes many supposed friendships far from intimate.
Indeed, in many cases the old people said they knew many of the young people in
the neighborhood but only "to pass the time of day," or said, "they say 'hello'
when they meet me on the street," or "they speak to me on the stairs." It is likely,
therefore, that this figure of 12.6 percent gives a better picture of the real state of
affairs between the young and the old in this sample than any of the other figures.
These real friendships with young people are more common in the Happiest
group, 10.9 more percent Happiest people having young friends in this intimate
sense than the Unhappiest. The seeking of their advice or help by the young
people in the neighborhood seems to bear a strong relation to the 1
happiness of both groups of women. Twenty percent of the happy women and only 1.0 percent of the unhappy women report such advice seeking as "often" or "sometimes," a difference of 19.0 percent (P.E. 3.5). "With the men of both cultures this circumstance has very little relation to adjustment. In these intimate contacts with young people the Mixed group again fared better than the Upstate, 7.7 more percent of the Mixed reporting such friendships.

Further light is cast upon this lack of contact between these old people and the young people of their home neighborhoods by Question 126 which asked: "Do you think that the young people of today like old people and enjoy being with them as much as young people did when you were young?" This question seems complicated and awkwardly phrased, but it was readily comprehended by the subjects and answered with heartfelt interest. It brought out some interesting figures and a wealth of comments which go far to show how little real contact with youth these old people had. The answers were interpreted as indicating the attitudes and experiences of the subjects and not as reliable evidence concerning the actual difference between today and fifty years ago. The data overwhelmingly corroborated our other evidence of social distance between age and youth. An unqualified "no" was the reply of 69.8 percent of the entire sample. Twenty-one and eight-tenths percent answered "yes," but many of these affirmative answers indicated the same attitude as the "no" answers, differing only in the intellectual rationalization. One would say, for example, "Yes, young people have never liked old people. It's always been that way." Another 8.6 percent of the group were uncertain. They felt that they did not know enough young people or know them well enough to answer the question.

In this respect there was no distinction between the Happy and the Unhappy. Among those who gave a definite "yes" or "no" answer, omitting those who were uncertain, there was a small sex difference, 9.5 percent more Men than Women answering "yes," which may mean that these men have been more fortunate in their young friendships, or it may only mean that they take a more philosophical attitude toward the whole matter and are more willing to admit that there has always been this lack of contact between age and youth.

The indifference shown to them by young people was a source of great bitterness to most of our subjects. As one woman expressed
it, "young people look at me sometimes as if they thought because I've lived a while I ought to die." As one man said, "the old people don't have the same ideas as the young people. Our ideas are obsolete and vague to them. The young people push the elderly people away. They ain't got no use for them. It's like the mercantile end. You get pushed right out. The younger people don't stop to think that they are soon going to be right on the same shelf." There were scores of answers all trying to explain this curious phenomenon. Some made no attempt to explain it, but only answered in the words of one woman, "God only knows why." A few took the blame on themselves, feeling that they were socially unattractive; as another woman put it, "but I can't give a reason why. But I'm no talker. I don't think of interesting things to say." Some, with the rather typical attitude of older people, threw the blame entirely on the young people, criticizing their morals, manners and upbringing. According to them the young people of today were "fast," irreligious and lacking in respect for age. "They think the old people don't know anything and aren't stylish enough and they want to smoke and gad the streets and old people weren't brought up that way." "I think the young people are too fast today." "Brought up to have no respect for age whatsoever. Impudent and sassy." "There's too much frolic and fellow business, too much highy-tighty business. The young people don't look after the old people any more." "With attitudes such as these toward youth, it is perhaps no wonder that many of these old people have been unsuccessful in making and keeping young friends. Some people felt that there was a natural gulf between youth and age that had always existed and always would exist. "Young people have always felt above old people." "They'd rather be with their own class to associate with." "Some do, I will acknowledge, but most don't like elderly people around." "I think young people tire of having old people around too long." "It ain't natural that they should enjoy old people like they would young ones."

The more intelligent and educated people in the group tried to analyze this situation in terms of social change. They believed that the modern machine age, which has wrought so much havoc in so many other departments of our life, has also cut its ruthless swath between the generations. The comments here are rich and full of suggestion. "No sir, because everything is changed. They don't associate with each other the way they did fifty or sixty years ago."
Here his wife laughed. "Well, ain't that the God's truth?" "Things are altogether
different from the way they were fifty years ago. People look more to
themselves and less to others." "Automobiles and parks—all things like that. They'd rather be
out doing things." "Why there's such a difference in the times now. People like to
have parties and be by themselves now." "They have so much going on differ ent
from what they had years ago—places to go." "The automobiles have spoiled that.
People don't visit much." "Oh, Lord, no! The younger generation is much different
from what it used to be fifty or sixty years ago. They don't have time. Too many
other things doing." "Fast life—too much again in automobiles and picture shows.
It takes their attention away from their parents and older people. They don't care
about old people. They want to get out of their way. "They have so many
attractions they didn't used to have." "When we were young it wasn't all dress and
going. They are older than we were when we were young. We used to go to dances
old and young together. There was no partiality, but as the world goes on people
changes."

This testimony of the more thoughtful members of our group corroborates the
view generally held by sociologists: that the social change of the past fifty years
has been more fundamental than the change which every "younger generation"
shows in comparison with its parents; the very relationship between old and young
is not as it used to be.

Modern education as well as modern social life came in for its share of the
blame. "Oh, no. It's the change. Everything is changed. What do young people care
about old people today? Nothing. All they care about is getting an education and
leaving home." "Education—they're not interested in the older generation. They
haven't the patience, and the older people can't adapt themselves to the way things
are done now. They think we are back numbers and we don't realize it." "I don't think they do. I think the children have been learning in an educational way to be
more self-reliant and they don't need to turn to older people for advice." For all
their acerbity, many of these remarks seem to have a good bit of truth in them.
Some support was given these opinions by the fact that in the Mixed group, among
the immigrant stock where the family ties were closer and where the social life was
kept more closely confined within the family circle according to the older
European modes of life, a larger percentage of old people
reported friendships with young people than in the Upstate group where the young people tended to carry their social life out of the home.

For Women there is a positive relationship between having young friends and believing that the young people of today like old people and enjoy being with them as much as young people used to, the association between these two factors being + .56 by Yule's Q formula. For Men the coefficient of association is + .23, hardly more than a chance relationship. This finding strengthens the hypothesis mentioned above, that the men may be more objective in making judgments in this field, judging the question of social change in age-youth relationships independently of their own relations to young people. Such objectivity of judgment, however, might be due merely to their lesser emotional concern with these relationships; the Men's adjustment is less correlated with sociality than is the Women's adjustment (see table IV, Appendix).

For this group of old people at least, friendly social contacts with young people seem to be extremely limited and not too satisfactory, for the very adequate reason that the young people "haven't the time to be bothered." It is very probable that this situation is more acute in this relief group of old men and women from the working class than it would be among the higher classes of society. Poverty stricken old people, whose education and methods of work are outmoded and whose busy careworn lives have given them scant money and leisure to keep up with the march of time, may not have much to offer young people. Whether other old people, who are better off financially and who have had the leisure and the educational background to enable them to change with the times, fare better in their relations with youth, would be well worth a further investigation.

Five questions, 134 through 138, were asked concerning past and present membership in clubs, lodges, and unions. Of the 379 subjects who answered, 205 people, or 53.5 percent, had at some time or other in their lives belonged to some club, lodge or union. The other 46.5 percent of the sample may be classified as "non-joiners," and as such are of no further consideration in this group of questions. The organizations to which these people belonged have not been tabulated, but a general inspection shows that the men belonged principally to unions connected with their work and to lodges which provided sickness and death benefits. Despite the utilitarian purposes of these organizations, they provide considerable social life in their meetings, and most of the men spoke of them as if they had
been of a purely social nature. This was principally true of the lodges. In regard to the unions the men were more divided. In the Mixed group, living for the most part in New York City, the unions were joined almost entirely for protective purposes, and the men were not emotionally attached to them, dropping one and picking up another with a change of job, but in the smaller upstate communities with more continuity of work, the locals of the unions assumed a more social and personal tone, and many of the upstate men spoke of them as warmly as of the lodges. The women for the most part belonged to the same type of lodges as the men and to one or more of the clubs connected with the church. The important social outlet provided for women, especially the upstate women, by these church clubs and societies, is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Twenty-four and five-tenths more percent of Men than of Women had belonged to some organization in the past. This difference was largely due to the men's membership in unions. The Happiest exceeded the Unhappiest by 13.1 percent in past membership in organizations. The happy women of both cultures exceeded the unhappy in the tendency to have belonged to a club or lodge by 21.5 percent (P.E. 5.0). The mixed unhappy women showed the lowest amount of sociality in this respect, only 32.5 percent of them having belonged to a social organization versus 59.2 percent of all the other people in the sample, a difference of 26.7 percent (P.E. 4.0).

Of the 205 people who have belonged to organizations, 72 people, or 35.1 percent, have held some office in them at some time. There is a tendency for office holding to be more common in the Happiest group, 16.7 percent more Happiest people reporting this than Unhappiest. Especially the happy women of both cultures exceed the unhappy in the tendency to have held office in club or lodge, the difference being 14.5 percent (P.E. 4.0); the relation in the case of men seems uncertain and may be non-linear. Office holding was also more common by 10.0 percent among the Upstaters than among the Mixed group. Of the 205 subjects who at one time belonged to some organization, 67, or 32.6 percent, still belonged to one or more of them at the time of interview. Coefficients of association show a distinct

15 This percentage difference is based upon the whole number of Happiest and Unhappiest in the sample; it thus combines the effect of membership with that of office holding. Percentages based upon the total numbers of those who had been members, thus measuring the effect of office holding per se, give smaller differences.

16 Idem.
tendency for the former office holders to continue their membership into old age, and more marked in the Upstate group than in the Mixed, being +.51 and +.29 respectively. Of the 67 people who still belong to some organization, 39 people, or 58.2 percent, are still able to attend the meetings. For these 39 old people the meetings seem to be much anticipated events, and to constitute a very real source of satisfaction.

Fifty-six of the original 205 members who do not attend because they cannot afford the dues, or who are not physically able to, miss the meetings "very much," "considerably," or "some." Putting together the 39 people who still attend clubs of one sort or another and the 56 people who miss them, we have a total of 95 people, or 46.3 percent of the original 205 members who still retain what might be called an interest in club life. For the group as a whole, it is 95 people out of 381, or 24.9 percent, a sizable figure when the age of these people is considered.

The results from the sociality questions were combined by assigning values to answers and scoring each individual on them, the score representing his rank in sociality on a numerical scale. The assigned values were as follows:

121. "You have lived in this neighborhood for quite a number of years, haven you Then you must have quite a number of friends who come in to see you" One point was given for a "yes" answer, zero points for a "no" answer.

123. "Do you know many of the young people in the neighborhood!" One point was given for a "yes" answer, zero points for a "no" answer.

124. "Do you see them (the young friends)!!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very often or often</th>
<th>2 points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>1 point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seldom or never</td>
<td>0 points</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

125. "Do they ever come to you for advice and help!!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very often or often</th>
<th>2 points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>1 point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seldom or never</td>
<td>0 points</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

134. "Did you ever belong to any clubs or lodges or unions!" One point was given for a "yes" answer, zero points for a "no" answer.

135. "Did you ever hold any offices!" One point was given for a "yes" answer, zero points for a "no" answer.

Questions 136, 137 and 138 were scored jointly in the following manner: If the person still belonged to the organization and attended the meetings, he was given one point. If he still belonged and did not attend the meetings, but missed it "very much," "considerable," or "some," he was given one point. The other possible combinations, representing people who showed no interest at all in their former clubs, were given zero points.

The possible scores thus ranged from 0 to 9, 0 representing the least amount
of sociality in the group and 9 the greatest. The average score was 2.35. A score of 1.79 was found to be the median; 174 people had scores of less than 2, and 207 people scores of 2 or more. The position of this median on the scale is worth noting. Only one person, a mixed happy woman, had the top score of 9, while 82 people, or 21.5 percent of the entire sample had 0 scores. The pronounced positive skew of the sociality curve is in keeping with the findings upon college students and other groups where participation or leadership is measured by assigning points for memberships and offices.

The average scores for each of the small groups are found in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sociality Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate happy women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed happy women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed happy men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate happy men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate unhappy men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unhappy men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unhappy women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Sample</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that the average sociality score for the Happiest was 2.97, while for the Unhappiest it was only 1.82.

This table generalizes the results found by treatment of the separate questions, namely that sociality is distinctly related to happiness, particularly in the case of the Women, only 31.0 percent of the unhappy women having sociality scores of 2 or over, while all the rest of the people show this characteristic to the extent of 60.3 percent, a difference of 29.3 percent (P.E. 4.0). This last fact is shown again in a Pearson R of +.35 (P.E. ±.04) for the Women between the adjustment score and the sociality score. The correlation of these scores among the Men was, however, only +.14 (P.E. ±.05). On every sociality question there is a significant difference between Happiest and Unhappiest; these differences are mainly due to the Women and would be much larger if women only were considered. In knowing young people of the neighborhood, however, happy men significantly exceed unhappy men. In the next chapter we shall note a significant relationship between religious activities and social life for the Women and the lack of it in the case of the Men.

Social life undoubtedly contributes to happiness and general
content in old age. Yet it is not an easy matter to create or even to retain such contacts in advanced years. The difficulties in making friends with young people have been discussed, but even contacts with other old people seem to be rather limited. Family homes are broken up, neighborhoods change, old people are frequently transplanted to their children's homes, old friends and members of the family of the same generation die, and, as one old woman trenchantly put it, "That is what old people miss, people of like mind with themselves." This indeed was the reason why many of the people dropped out of the church and out of clubs and lodges. They had lost interest because "the old faces are gone" and "everything is different now." Death breaks up the little circles; the survivors are scattered, and there are no communal means of welding the isolated fragments into a new, if larger circle. New contacts are very hard to make in old age. Poor health and physical handicaps confine many old people largely to their homes. Lack of money curtails their activities. But even when old people are perfectly able to go out, often there is nowhere for them to go, no place where they are needed and made welcome. Many of the men in this group roamed the streets three and four hours a day, just in order to be out and around with other people. In the villages in accordance with the old tradition, the men meet their cronies at the general store, the post office, or nowadays, at the repair shop of the local garage, there to settle the affairs of the nation; but in the big cities, the only place where old people "of like mind" have to foregather is on a park bench. These small havens are not commonly frequented by women, however, and even many old men, who have been busy useful citizens in their day, dislike classifying themselves with idlers and loafers by lounging around public places; so they too sit at home.

This is one aspect of the social life of old people that an intelligent society could do much to improve. There is no reason why large numbers of lonely old people, hungering for the companionship of their own kind, must sit isolated in our communities. Almost any little town could have a club like the Oldster Club of New York City, a social organization whose membership is limited to people over sixty years of age."

17 See also Hertha Kraus, "Present and Proposed Services to the Aged by Voluntary Case Work Agencies and Some Suggestions for Recreational Opportunities," and "Institutional Care of the Aged in Allegheny County." These are mimeographed reports appearing as part of a Social Study of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County (Philip Klein, Director), to be later published.
CHAPTER VI
RELIGION

The religious affiliations of the entire group were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Percent of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>68.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the Upstate group were Protestant by definition. The Mixed group included all of the other religious denominations, the New York City Protestants, and the Protestants of foreign stock who lived in the upstate sections.

Question 128 asked: "Did you used to attend church?" Of the entire 381 cases, 92.7 percent used to attend church and 7.3 percent did not. People who had never had any religion or who had never attended church in their lives, constituted 10.7 percent of the Upstate group, but only 4.5 percent of the Mixed, a difference of 6.2 percent (P.E. 1.8). Such a non-religious life history was also found to be more common among Men than among "Women, 12.7 percent of all men reporting it, and only 2.5 percent of all the women (P.E. of difference 1.8). It was far more common among the upstate men than among any other sex-culture group. Among the upstate men, 18.5 percent reported this complete life-long indifference to the church, while this was found to be true of only 4.0 percent of the remainder of the sample, a difference of 14.5 percent (P.E. 4.0).18

"Do you attend church now?" Of the people who used to attend church, 42.9 percent continue to attend in their old age, and 57.1 percent have ceased to attend for one reason or another. Among the Upstate group, 27.5 percent attend church now, while 54.0 percent of the Mixed group continue to do so, a large and significant difference of 26.5 percent (P.E. 3.5). This cultural difference is due largely to the influence in the Mixed group of the Catholics, 64.3 percent of whom still attend church. Of all Men, 37.0 percent still attend church, while 44.5 percent of all Women

18 Compare Lynd, Middletown, op. cit., pp. 300, 317, 321, for data regarding agnosticism in this generation of native Americana.
continue to do so. This difference of 7.5 percent (P.E. 3.5) is not statistically significant, but it is consistent with our other data indicating that the church is more important to women than to men.

Present church-going has an interesting non-linear relation to adjustment. The middle third of the adjustment scale shows the greatest percentage of church attendance (47.8 percent), the Happiest are intermediate with 37.1 percent, and the Unhappiest are lowest, with 27.3 percent attending church. This same sequence holds for Men, for "Women, for Upstate, and for Mixed. It may be that the low church attendance of the Unhappiest is due largely to their poorer health. "When the "religious score," which indicates attitudes as well as actual present attendance, is used, there is no significant linear correlation, or any other relationship which is uniform in all groups, between religion and adjustment.

Question 130 classified the reasons for not attending church at the present time. This classification follows, 100 percent representing the number of people who used to attend church but no longer do so.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for not Attending Church</th>
<th>Percent of Cases Who Did Attend but No Longer Do So</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physically unable to go</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of interest or belief</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance too great or no means of transportation</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "other reasons" included such things as lack of proper clothing, staying home with a sick or crippled spouse, and the like. The reasons for loss of interest or belief in the church were interesting. For most persons it seemed to be a gradual change. Some gave more specific reasons. One woman said that in middle life she had not had time to go, and got out of touch with church affairs and so lost interest. One woman said she "was a poor hand to be in a crowd." The loss by death of old friends and fellow members was a frequent cause, this tending to emphasize the social aspects of church life. One man did not like the young people in the church today; another disliked the young minister. One man, through reading and study, had developed a philosophy of his own which served as his religion. A considerable number of both men and
women had become definitely antagonistic to what they called the "hypocrisy of the church and church people."

Question 131 inquired how much the person missed going to church. The following table gives this distribution in percentage of cases, based on the number of people who do not attend church now for some reason other than the loss of interest or belief.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miss Attending Church</th>
<th>Percent of Cases Who Fail to Attend for Reason other than Loss of Interest or Belief</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very much</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerably</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the original 356 churchgoers, 153 still attend church, and 90 still regret to some extent that they are not able to go, a total of 243, or 68.2 percent of the original group, for whom church life seems important in old age.

"Have you kept up any contact with the church even if you are not able to attend?" Of the 190 persons who answered this question, 65, or 34.2 percent, have tried to keep in touch with church activities. Most of these had been active workers in the church in their younger days. Most of them had been accustomed to attending more than one service on Sunday. Many of them had come to the regular mid-weekly prayer meetings, had taught in the Sunday Schools and had sung in the choirs. It is they whom we might expect to continue to be interested in church activities and church news. Listening to church services over the radio is one of the favorite methods of keeping in contact. The singing of the old familiar hymns is particularly appreciated. Many of these people read their Bibles daily. A few women belonged to Home Bible Classes. One 87-year-old woman was taking a year's course in Bible Study from her church through material brought to her at home. This was her chief hobby and interest. People who live in the vicinity of their old home church are still made to feel a part of the church by regular calls from the minister and the church members. These social calls mean a great deal to those who receive them, and many an old person spoke resentfully of the lack of them...
from their former pastors. The Catholics appear to he better off in this respect than the Protestants, the priests regularly visiting the members of their congregations who can no longer come to church.

A compound religious score was built up from these questions. The points were assigned in the following manner. If the person denied religion or failed to specify whether Catholic, Protestant, or other creed, he was given a zero. If he listed himself under some religious denomination, he was given 1 point. If he had belonged to some religious body but had never attended church, he was given 1 point. If he did attend, but does not attend now through loss of interest or belief, he was given 2 points. If he did attend but does not attend now for some other reason and misses it "not much" or "not at all," he was given 3 points. If he does not attend but misses it some," "considerably," or "very much," he was given 4 points. If he still attends, he was given 4 points. The possible scores thus range from zero to 4, the highest score being given to a person who still attends church or to one who does not attend, for some reason other than loss of interest or belief, and who feels the deprivation.'

The average religious score for the entire group was 3.25. For each of the smaller groups the average scores were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Average Score</th>
<th>Percent of Cases Scoring 4 Points (the Maximum Score)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unhappy women</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>81.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed happy women</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate happy women</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate unhappy women</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed unhappy men</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed happy men</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate happy men</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upstate unhappy men</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Sample</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.25</strong></td>
<td><strong>63.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the entire 381 cases, 63.8 percent have scores of 4 on the religious scale. This means that for approximately two-thirds of the total group, organized religious life is to some extent important in old age. Here again, the most marked differences lies between the sexes, 22.0 more percent of the "Women than the Men having religious scores of 4. This compound score also showed no significant relationship to adjustment score. The Pearson correlations were +.09 (P.E. ±.053) for Men, and +.15 (P.E. ±.047) for Women.
Religious score is positively correlated with sociality score in all groups except the upstate men, where there is no significant relation. The Protestant church in the upstate section with its Sunday Schools, choirs, Missionary Societies, Ladies Aids, King's Daughters, church suppers, fairs, bazaars, etc., was practically the social world of the small town and rural communities thirty or forty years ago, and offered a very good stage for the exhibition of women's social gifts. There is no wonder, therefore, if we find some correlation between sociality and religion for the upstate women. This social mission of the church was plainly recognized, though rather inarticulately expressed, by some women who had lost interest in the church or who had never had very much when they said, "I was always one to be by myself," or as another woman put it, "I never was a hand to be in a crowd."

The results from all of the religious questions and from the correlations of the religious scores with the other compound scores tend to show: first, that religion, in the sense that we have used it here, is more important to women than to men, possibly because in a large measure it offers them a field for social life; second, that it is more important to the Mixed group, which is largely Catholic, than to the Protestant Upstate group; and third, that there is no statistically valid relationship between adjustment and religious interest for the group as a whole, though, needless to say, there is very definite and positive relationship in individual cases.

Religion constituted 14 percent of the entire 333 items given as the greatest comforts in old age. Upstate Women were much more prone to mention religious comforts (22 percent of all items) than were any of the other sex-culture groups (upstate men 11 percent, mixed women 11 percent, mixed men 7 percent of items). This question, 312, "What do you think is the greatest comfort to you in your old age?" was not asked in connection with the religious questions, but, in fact, came after the intervention of many other questions. Moreover, since the answers were entirely voluntary, in many cases calling forth purely material comforts such as eating, sleeping, and smoking by way of answers, it seems safe to say that in the case of the 46 persons who answered "religion," a genuine emotional attitude is expressed. These 46 people constitute 12.0 percent of the entire 381 cases, and, for this 12.0 percent at least, we can be sure that happiness and contentment are strongly associated with a personal religious life, which may or may not be connected with the church.
CHAPTER VII
EMPLOYMENT

We hardly think of a person as old until it becomes obvious that he is no longer able to keep on with his work. Giving up the paid job or handing over the reins of authority seems to be the decisive step between late middle age and old age. All of the people in this study have taken that step. What have their experiences been? What does it mean to a person to "step out of the harness" at last? Is it with a sense of relief or with one of regret that a man gives up his last job, and what are the subsequent effects upon him of this action?

The questions in Section II on employment deal with the transitional stages of this process. How did these old people meet the problem of employment in later life? What efforts did they make to adjust their work to their waning physical powers? What success did they have? The statistical material for this section is drawn from the group as a whole, but since there are somewhat more specific data on the 200 residents of Ithaca and Tompkins County, in several of the questions we draw upon this material alone in order to make the results clearer. These 200 people coincide largely with the Upstate group, although they are not identical.

Out of the 377 people who answered Question 201, 10 percent still continue to do some kind of work. It is interesting to note that there are no significant sex or regional differences for this question. Ten percent of the Men and 9.9 percent of the Women continue to work. A few more of the Mixed group work than do the Upstate, 12.5 percent versus 7.9 percent. When we compare the Happiest with the Unhappiest, we find a significant difference, 10.7 more percent of the Happiest continuing to work.

What kind of jobs do these people have, and why do they work if they are receiving state aid, or to put it the other way round, why should they receive state aid if they can and do work? These facts can be learned best by a survey of the workers in the Tompkins County group. Of the 82 men in this group, 7 men still work. Two of these are still doing the kind of work they used to do. Both of them used to be painters. One of them is aged 73 and does occasional odd jobs of painting, indoor work only. The other is aged 72, and he also picks up an occasional odd job. At the time of the study he was painting a barn for a neighbor. Five of the 7
workers are not doing the kind of work they used to do. Their ages and what they
are doing are as follows:
1. Aged 72. Gets a email 3-room apartment in the basement of a private home for the care
   of the furnace.
2. Aged 73. Gets a room in the basement of an apartment house in return for the care of
   the furnaces in winter and the lawns in summer.
3. Aged 74. Does chores and takes care of a neighbor's furnace for a small sum.
4. Aged 74. Gets two rooms over a private garage in return for the care of the car and the
   owner's lawn and garden.
5. Aged 80. Gets a few dollars a month in return for opening up and cleaning a lodge hall
   occasionally.
These men receive less state aid than the others because they are still able to bring in
a little for themselves. The four men who earn their living quarters are immensely
proud that they are still partially self-supporting. Economic independence dies very
hard in some of these upstate men.

Of the 118 women in the Tompkins County group, 27 had never been gainfully
employed in their lives. They had always been housewives. Fifty-six of the 118 had
been employed part time, or occasionally full time, in order to supplement the
earnings of their husbands. The remaining 35 women in this group have earned their
living all of their lives like the men, by some form of full-time gainful employment.
Of the 56 women partially employed in the past, 7 still do some work. For 4 of them
it is still the kind of work they used to do, as follows.
1. Aged 70. Does two days' housework a week for a neighbor for a pitance.
2. Aged 70. Does three days' housework a week for a small sum.
3. Aged 73. Keeps house for a still older helpless couple in return for board and room.
Three women of this group have a little employment which is different in kind
from that which they used to do:
1. Aged 72. Occasionally gets odd jobs ironing.
2. Aged 77. Has three roomers and boarders in her apartment.
3. Aged 81. Has two roomers and boarders in her house.
None of this work earns these women a full living. Several of them get their
room and board but no cash for incidental expenses. This makes it necessary for
them to receive state aid to the extent of a few dollars a month. The few who have
large enough apartments or houses rent rooms, and this may pay the rent, but does
not make enough for them to live on. They too must receive state aid in order to
keep going. The woman who does ironing gets a little
change once in a while, enough for church collections, lodge dues, or a bit of clothing. There is no possibility of her earning a living in this way.

Of the 35 women who used to be employed full time, 6 still do some kind of remunerative work. In all of the cases it is the same kind of work they used to do.

1. Aged 70. Formerly a dressmaker, gets occasional odd jobs of sewing.
2. Aged 71. Formerly a cook, and still gets occasional odd jobs of cooking.
3. Aged 71. Formerly a dressmaker, and still gets a little sewing to do from time to time.
4. Aged 70. Formerly a commercial laundry worker. Now occasionally gets a bit of laundry work to do at home.
5. Aged 75. Formerly a cook and practical nurse. Occasionally gets an odd job of cooking, housecleaning or nursing.
6. Aged 76. Formerly a dressmaker, and still gets sewing to do once in a while.

All this work is irregular, intermittent, and at the most brings in an extra 50 cents or 75 cents for each job. In no sense can it be counted upon to earn them enough to live on; it may provide them with car fare or medicines; but it leaves them dependent upon public assistance. The work done by the people in the Mixed group is of similar character.

This material has been presented in considerable detail in order to make clear just what kind of jobs these old people have and what profit they get out of them. It is plain to be seen that these jobs are not lucrative, and that the people who work are no better off financially than those who do not, because their earnings are taken into consideration in determining their grants. Then why do they work? What do they get out of it? From their own words it is clear that they get a mental satisfaction. They enjoy being busy, they like to feel themselves still of some real use in the world; and it is a source of pride and pleasure to them that, by their own efforts, they are avoiding complete financial dependence. As the barn painter said, "if I was worth a million dollars, I'd still want to get out and do something. Everyone would feel better if they'd move around and do something." The woman who takes three roomers and boarders in her apartment says, "I enjoy it better than being cooped up in a room or two. I take comfort in running this—something on my mind."

Question 203 asked: "What did you used to do?" The kinds of work were listed in order from the early jobs to the later. While no attempt has been made to classify these economic histories in detail, several interesting results appear.
It will be remembered that the classification of cases according to former occupations was based upon the last really continuous jobs that these people held (Question 02), but the material from Question 203 shows that this distribution gives a very accurate picture of the economic status of these people throughout their lives. As a group they have tended to "stay put" economically. There was little or no shifting back and forth from one level of work to another. The men classify as farmers, unskilled and skilled laborers, with a very few cases of business and professional men, and maintain their classification throughout life. "With the exception of a few cases of teachers, the women earned their livings by some form of household skill used either at home or commercially. Enough of their past family histories were heard to generalize safely that, as a group, they came from the working class, and an inspection of the economic data gathered by the state investigators on their living children shows that, by and large, their children have followed in their footsteps. It is not a case of three generations from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves, but of every generation in shirtsleeves.

No specific data were gathered on the age of beginning work, but from various stories and remarks made to the interviewers, it was very evident that, as a group, they began to work very young, some as early as eight, nine and ten years of age. This is a further bit of evidence that a lifetime of hard work is by no means a guarantee of economic security in old age. It is also interesting in view of the fact that there is such widespread desire among this group to work still more, as will be seen later.

The next two questions, 201 and 205, inquire at what age and for what specific reason the people in this group stopped working.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Stopping Work</th>
<th>Percent of Men</th>
<th>Percent of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At indefinite age</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still working</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewives only</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100 100
This table shows that 70 percent of the Men and 39 percent of the Women have worked (otherwise than in their own homes) after they were 70 years of age. In this connection it is interesting to note that 78 percent of the men and 41 percent of the women in Tompkins County group worked after the age of 70. From the above table (omitting the people who are still working a little at the present time) it appears that at least 20 percent of the Men and 8 percent of the Women continued work at their regular jobs after the age of 75. This again throws an interesting light on the problem of economic security in old age. Despite the advanced ages at which these people have worked, they have not been able to provide themselves with the basic necessities of life for their extreme old age.

The following table, derived from Question 205, gives the reasons for the Men stopping work. The material was tabulated for the Men only because the data for the Women were incomplete and extremely varied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Stopping Work</th>
<th>Percent of Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laid off or failed in private business</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness, unable to work any more</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired voluntarily for other reasons</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still working</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Season for Stopping Work

It appears that the chief reason for stopping work is the physical inability to continue. This percentage would very likely be larger in more normal business times, as the depression was undoubtedly the cause of many of the layoffs, particularly for the men in the late sixties. Among the Tompkins County group of men, one lost his own mill through the depression, and twenty were laid off. Of these 20, 3 men believed it was due to their age only; 4 men to a combination of age and depression, the older men being let go first; and 13 men believed their layoffs were due to present business conditions only. There was a considerable difference between the mixed men and the upstate men in the matter of layoffs. Forty-seven and seven-tenths percent of the mixed men stopped working because they were laid off, not because they were unable to work, while this was true of only 31.6 percent of the upstate men. The "other reasons" for which men voluntarily retired were varied and personal. One man gave up his work at the age of 74 in order to keep
house and take care of his invalid wife, this arrangement being less expensive than hiring someone to nurse her. Another man gave up active farming at the age of 79, because "fifty-nine years is enough." Although we do not have complete information for all of the Women on Question 205, the data for the Tompkins County women give us some idea why these women stopped working. Of the 118 in this group, 91 have worked at some time, 35 being gainfully employed full time all of their lives, 56 being gainfully employed part time or full time occasionally. Of these 91 women, 53.8 percent quit work because of illness or because they were physically unable to work any longer; 8.7 percent were laid off; 23 percent retired voluntarily; and 14.2 percent are still working. The small percentage of lay-offs among these women is probably due to the domestic character of their work and the intimate personal relationships which it established between them and their employers, who were usually their wealthier neighbors. The large percentage of voluntary retirement is due to the women who worked now and then in order to supplement the family income and who stopped working when the economic pressure lessened or when they were needed more at home. Poor health and the waning of physical energy are the main factors among these women as among the men for giving up their work.

Questions 207, 208 and 209 dealt with attitudes toward work, and were asked of all the people in the sample, even of the women who had never been employed. Of the 365 persons who answered Question 207, "Did you like to work?," 67.9 percent said that they had liked to work "very much" rather than "considerably," "some," "not much" or "not at all." This positive attitude toward work was significantly more frequent among the well adjusted, being found in 24.9 more percent of the Happiest than the Unhappiest cases. There was a considerable sex difference also in this trait, 11.0 percent more Men than Women having liked to work "very much." There was a striking difference between the unhappy women and the rest of the people in the sample. Only 50.0 percent of these women, versus 72.3 percent of all other people, claimed that they used to like to work "very much," a difference of 22.3 percent (P.E. 4.1).

Question 208 asked, "Were you generally happier when you were busy all day?" Of the 351 persons who answered the question, 91.1 percent answered "yes." Here the greatest difference was a regional one, 13.5 percent more of the Upstate answering "yes."
than the Mixed group. The mixed women fell below the other groups in this belief, 77.0 percent of them believing so, versus 94.7 percent of the rest of the people in the study, a difference of 17.7 percent (P.B. 3.6). Of the 349 persons who answered Question 209, "Would you like to work now?," 78.5 percent said "yes?" And 21.5 percent said "no." There were significant sex and regional differences. This idea appealed to 19.0 more percent of Men than of Women. The figures are by coincidence the same for the regional difference, 19.0 more Upstate people than Mixed thinking that they would like to work now. Again the mixed women show themselves less favorable to the idea of "working" than do the other people, only 55.0 percent of them answering "yes" as compared with 85.0 percent of the other groups combined, a difference of 30.0 percent (P.E. 4.0). This tendency is still more characteristic of the unhappy mixed women, only 43.0 percent of them believing that they would like to work at the present time, while 82.4 percent of the other people in the study answered "yes" to this question, a difference of 39.4 percent (P.E. 5.2). Coefficients of association indicate a decidedly more than chance relationship between Questions 207 and 209, those who used to like to work tending to believe that they would like to work now. There was a barely significant correlation of adjustment with this question, 11.4 more percent of the Happiest than the Unhappiest "thinking they would like to work.

Somewhat later in the interview, essentially the same question was asked again, worded a little differently (Question 216), "Do you think you would be happier if you had a job?" Of the 319 people who answered, 69.2 percent said "yes," as compared with the 78.5 percent who said they would "like to work now." Again it is an idea which appeals more to Men than to Women and to the Upstate group than to the Mixed. Twenty and eight-tenths per cent more of the Men than the Women answered "yes." Likewise, 21.2 percent more of the Upstate than the Mixed people think they would be happier if they had jobs. The tendency consistently appears for the mixed women to care less about work than all of the other groups put together, only 44.0 percent of them believing that they would be happier if they could get a job, versus 80.8 percent of the others, a difference of 36.8 percent (P.E. 4.2). This tendency for the mixed women to care less about work than does any other single group or do all of the groups put together, is due more to the influence of the foreign-born women than to the Catholic or metropolitan influences as such. Among these mixed women, a
fourth of the New York City residents answered "yes," but only 5 per cent of the foreign born did so. A closer inspection of these cases uncovers a number of reasons for their antipathy to work for its own sake. For most of these immigrant women, life has been nothing but hard, unremitting work. It is among these women that we find the cases of illiteracy. Only one of the foreign-born women has had more than an elementary school education. Many of them were put to work in the fields when they were children of eight, nine and ten years of age. Child-bearing has helped to wear them out. Many of them had ten or twelve children. The average number of children for them was 6.0. Handicapped in their adult lives by a poor general education, no specific vocational training, and a language difficulty, and living in an alien culture which they had no keys to unlock, it is no wonder that work for them has not meant a satisfying, invigorating experience, but only a long, losing fight against poverty. Perhaps upstate women and all men are more tired of their work than their answers would indicate, but have also acquired from their Yankee or masculine culture, respectively, a conflicting attitude which values work more or less for its own sake, whereas the mixed women are less under the influence of this cultural value and regard work only as a means to an end.

It is easy, of course, to give one reason why the old people in this sample have worked to the advanced years that they have: they were obliged to. They needed the money. Of the 320 items mentioned as the greatest worries of old age, 48.4 percent were financial worries and the fear of economic dependence, and another 6.2 percent classify as "not being able to work," which also amounts to an economic fear. This suggests how intense the economic pressure has been on this group. Their "noses have been kept to the grindstone." Yet the fear of poverty fails to explain why some 60 to 70 percent of the entire group continue to show a marked interest in working. These people have spent their lives in hard work, mostly of kinds not usually regarded as creative and interesting. Now that they are adequately provided for by the State, in a decent way in their own homes with none of the stigma of the poorhouse touching them, why are they not content to rest? "I wish to the Lord I could work now. I wouldn't give a cent for the old age pension then." They fully realize that they are not able to work and that industry has no place for them, but they wish they could work and they believe they would be happier if they could. It is quite certain that, with the exception of a considerable number of the mixed
women, working has involved far more for most of these old people than just the money earned. In addition to a wage, work brings a number of other satisfactions. There were hundreds of comments on Questions 207, 208 and 209, nearly all of which show that these people were happier when they were working and that they would like to work now because work fills up the long days, keeps them from brooding and reflecting on their troubles, gets them out with other people, keeps them in touch with the times, and, in general, makes them feel more like normal people. As one woman said, "Since I can't do nothing, I get kinda nervous and fidgety. I guess it's the way with everyone when they have worked all their lives and then can't. But there's nothing to do but cultivate patience." One man said that since he had quit work, "Sometimes it seems as if a day was a week." Another one said, "You get nervous when you see other people working."

In reply to Question 207, "Did you like to work?", one man said, "My sakes, I missed it something fierce." Another man said with conviction, "I've got to tinker a bit at something." He had quite a collection of broken clocks that he tries to repair.

In reply to Question 208, "Were you generally happier when you were busy all day?", many men emphasized the stable mental life that work provided, as for example, one old man who had been a blacksmith with his own shop for sixty-one years when he said, "Yes, of course, you have your mind off of everything." Others, particularly those who had been engaged in the building trades or road work, spoke of their fellow workers, of friendship, of teamwork, of the adventures with the gang. Others spoke of the outlet for physical energy that work provided and what the loss of it meant, as for example, one man who said, "Oh, my yes, I couldn't sit here all day. I walk around and walk around till I get tired and then I come home." Another man's face lighted up with pleasure as he thought of the lively variety of the working day: "Sure, chewing tobacco and whistle. If I could go to work now I'd be in heaven." Most of the men laid great stress on the emptiness and boredom of the day with no regular work. In the words of one man, "Oh, Lord, this laying around is the worst thing in the world." Another man, "It would be different if a man were used to sitting around all the time, but I never was." And another, "I'd rather work than lay around. I hardly know what to do with myself now."

Question 209, "Would you like to work now?" also brought out some interesting replies. Some, of course, were negative. One man
said, "Sixty-five years is long enough to work, don't you think so?" One Italian-born man sketched a pleasant traditional picture of old age when he summed up his position thus: "I'm a reech-a man now, for me; I gotta mon', food, not'ing to do. I sit in da sun and rest." Complete and total rest, however, did not seem attractive to most of the subjects. "I'd like to be doing something." "When a man's worked all his life he doesn't feel like just fooling around." One man who had been laid off said, "I was able to do the work. Now I don't know how to kill time." The same cry was repeated over and over again, "I can't be contented unless I've got something to do."

The motive in some of these cases was the desire for personal independence or to provide for a dependent wife who is not old enough to qualify for an old age grant. Many also expressed a wish to be able to help children who are having a hard struggle through the depression. "Oh yes, I'd like to have kept on. I'd have been independent then," and, in the words of another man, "it breaks my heart to sit here idle with my hands tied, not able to work and dependent."

Of the 333 people who answered Question 215, 44.1 percent rated themselves as physically able to do some kind of work at the present time. To the interviewers, this appeared a generous estimate, many fragile, worn looking persons, who did not look capable of working, stating that they were able to work and would work if they could get something to do. Thirty-four and seven-tenths percent of the 170 men in the study have looked for work after 70 years of age, and 7.6 percent of them have even hunted for it between the ages of 75 and 84. For the Men, at least, willingness and desire to work is no idle boast. Eleven and seven-tenths more percent of Men than of Women considered themselves able to work, also 11.0 more percent of Men than of Women have excellent or good general health.

It is not surprising to find 33.5 more percent of the Happiest believing themselves capable of working than of the Unhappiest. The better health conditions among the happy would naturally place there the people who are still physically able to work, and then too, with good health and the ability to work there comes that cheerful hope that something in the nature of a job will turn up. Many of these men in their early seventies who are still able-bodied continue to trudge around day after day looking for light labor. They refuse to believe that they cannot get work because of their age. They believe it is due solely to the depression, and that to
morrow or the next day they may find a watchman’s job, be self-supporting once more, give up their allowances and take care of their wives as self-respecting men should. As they go around looking for work they feel themselves no worse off essentially than the younger men of thirty and forty whom they meet job hunting who are also living on public relief in the interim. They are out with other men, trying to solve a common problem. It seems to be this hope and the activity it involves that gives these more fortunate individuals a certain buoyancy lacking in those who know definitely that they can never work again. It may be a false hope, but the belief that they are still good for something in the world tends to create what Thorndike calls “positive self feeling,” which is a part of happiness.

Questions 210 through 214 deal with the last hunt for a job. Of the 170 Men, 34.1 percent were never troubled by their age in hunting for a job. They were the fortunate ones who were in some sort of business for themselves, farmed, owned a small retail store, or were employed steadily over a period of thirty or forty years at their last job. They had been young men when they got the jobs, and they continued to work at them until ill health forced them to quit. Another 13.5 percent have also been fortunate, since because of good health and physical vigor or because of some exceptional skill in their chosen work, they have always been able to find work even after they have become old. Many of these old craftsmen boasted of their skill, saying that employers had come to them, that they had never been idle nor obliged to look for work. They also have worked until they were physically unable to continue. Another 10.0 percent are still working to some extent at the present time. They also have been able to find work despite their age. Another 9.5 percent of the men made no effort to find other work after they left their last job. Some of these were men who realized that the state of their health made it impossible for them to work any longer. Some thought the depression made looking for work at their age a useless and hopeless task. Also in this group were men who had voluntarily given up their jobs for personal reasons other than ill health.

We are especially interested in the remaining 56 (32.9 percent of all the men in the study) who have failed to solve the problem of employment in old age. They have looked for work and been turned away because of their age. They tramp the streets and make the rounds of former employers and possible new ones in the same kinds of work. This is the first step. After they give up
hope of finding anything in their own line, they look for "anything, anything an old man can do," usually light labor. They do not go to employment agencies for they know it would be futile at their age. They are bitterly resentful of the fact that they are willing and able to work and cannot get anything to do because of their age. Workmen's Compensation Laws and private industrial pension plans were blamed for this situation to a great extent. Over and over again it was pointed out that employers do not want to keep in their employ older people who are more apt to be sick or accidently hurt, and hence a source of expense. Therefore, during some convenient lull in the business they are let go. Then begins the search for a job. For this same reason other employers hesitate to take them on. Even when there are jobs to be had, employers do not want to take on men in late middle age or early old age because these men do not have enough working years left to enable them to qualify for pensions under the private industrial pension systems in operation at the present time. Under these private systems employers cannot pension them after five or ten years' service, and do not want to let them go totally unprovided for. Society frowns on this practice. The easiest way to avoid all these difficulties is not to hire older men at all. So the door is firmly closed. To these old men, the Compensation Laws and many industrial pension plans seem boomerangs, weapons forged by labor for its protection but used against it.

For both men and women, finding work in old age is apparently considerably easier in rural or semi-rural sections than in a "big city. Among the Upstate group, where the relation between employer and employee is apt to be more personal, 78.8 percent of the people of both sexes thought that they had received fair treatment when they last looked for a job. This does not necessarily mean that they got the job, but only that they believed that they were not discriminated against because of their age. This was true of only 58.8 percent of the Mixed group, a difference of 20.0 percent (P.E. 6.7). It is certainly true, as other figures have shown, that the mixed men were forced out of work at earlier ages than the upstate men and that greater a percentage of them were laid off. Of the 150 people who answered Question 114, 70.6 percent believed that they received fair treatment when they last looked for a job.

Finding work in middle or old age is also apparently an easier thing for women than for men. Ninety-one percent of the upstate women who answered Question 214 were satisfied with the outcome of their last hunt for work. This large percentage may be ex
plained in several ways. Some of these women were quite young
the last time they looked for work, which naturally made it fairly
easy for them to find it. The most important reason, however, lies
in the nature of the work they were looking for, which was usually
of a domestic character, where age is not very important. Except
perhaps during a period of depression, it seems to be a relatively
easy matter for a woman of any age whatsoever, if she is able-
bodied, to find some sort of domestic employment in hotels, laun-
dries, restaurants, institutions or in a private home. Even rather
old women are often able to find some niche for themselves, keep-
ing house for an invalid or a still older couple, taking care of chil-
dren for part of a day, sewing at home, and so on. This type of
work calls more for general common sense and responsibility than
for speed and volume of output, the two things which are usually
demanded in the industrial work of men. This general situation
may explain in part why the upstate women exceed the upstate men
by 24.5 percent and the mixed men by 35.0 percent (P.E. 5.0) in the
belief that they were fairly treated the last time they tried to
get employment.

With the creeping on of age, nearly all the people in this study
made some effort, successful or otherwise, to adapt their work to
their waning strength and abilities. These attempts were individual,
haphazard, undirected and unaided by society. The results depended
somewhat on the individual's flexibility and ingenuity, but in the
long run principally on luck, "We wanted to know whether these
people, having experienced the trials of hunting work at advanced
ages, would be interested in some more systematic method of
dealing with the problem of employment in old age. We therefore
asked the hypothetical Question 217: "When you first found it hard
to keep up with your job would you have been interested in learning
some new kind of work that would not have been quite so hard, and
that you could do now?" Of the 364 people of whom it was asked,
all those to whom it was applicable, 30.7 percent answered "yes,"
22.8 percent "no," and 46.5 percent did not answer or made no
definite reply.

The interesting aspect of the answers to this question was the
widespread individual and group differences. It was an idea that
appealed to 19.2 more percent of Men than of Women. It also re-
vealed a striking cultural difference, 36.2 more percent of the
Upstate people expressing an interest in learning some new kind of
work for old age than did the Mixed group. The differences between
the smaller groups were still more marked. This idea appealed the
most to the upstate men (61.0 percent), then the upstate women (42.5 percent), then the mixed men (25.5 percent), and finally the mixed women (with the low figure of 5.5 percent). The greatest difference, that between the upstate men and the mixed women, is 55.5 percent. All of the lesser differences are significant, the P.E.'s running from 5.6 to 4.0.

The individual comments on this question were significant. Those who answered "yes" were the ones who valued independence above everything else. Most of these people pointed out that they had found lighter work for themselves in old age or had tried to, though in most cases they had not definitely learned something new, but had simply used some skill or information they already possessed. Those who said "no" were the people, particularly men, who were proud of their particular skills, had enjoyed their work for its own sake and had no wish to change it and learn something new. Almost all of the farmers and the men who had worked for themselves as carpenters, blacksmiths, and so on, felt this way. One farmer said, "No, farming was my life. I never wanted anything else."

Another farmer, expressing the same attitude, boasted with joy of his former skill: "I was a champion at the pitchfork." It is not an easy matter to uproot people from the milieu in which they have embedded themselves for thirty or forty years. Many men who had learned some new and lighter work for their old age did not really approve of the policy nor enjoy the new work, although they had preferred it to economic dependence. One man, for example, who had learned broom-making and earned his living this way for several years said, "I know I was a bar-tender. I couldn't see anything in broom-making." Other men were very dubious about the possibility of getting lighter work even if they had learned to do it. "Them jobs are hard to find."

Still others pointed out the difficulties of the learning process. It is hard, if not impossible, to teach old dogs new tricks. There is nowhere to go to learn a new kind of work when one is middle aged. The general consensus of opinion seemed to be that this was a good idea but far fetched. There never had been anything like this possible and there never could be. Although criticism was quick enough of the economic system which has made older people practically unemployable, and although all of these people were living on public relief, it did not occur to any one of them that society might take a hand earlier in the game and redirect middle aged and older people into suitable work.
A compound work score, aiming to measure the strength of positive attitude toward work, was built up for the Men. This was not done for the Women because their working lives were not comparable to those of the Men, and were hardly comparable among themselves. The questions used in computing this score and values assigned were as follows:

201. "Do you work now!" A "yes" answer was given 1 point. A "no" answer was given zero points.

204. "When did you stop working!" If a man had worked after the age of 70, he was given 1 point, otherwise he was given zero points.

205. "Why did you stop!" If a man had quit voluntarily he was penalized 1 point, given a score of -1. All other reasons counted zero points.

207. "Did you like to work!" Of the five possible answers, the first one, "very much" was given 1 point. The other four answers "considerably," "some," "not much," and "not at all" were given zero points. This was done because of the nature of the frequency distribution of these answers.

208. "Were you generally happier when you were busy all day!" A "yes" answer was given 1 point, a "no" answer zero points.

209. "Would you like to work now!" A "yes" answer was given 1 point, a "no" zero points.

210. "When did you last try to get a job! How many years ago!" If a man were still working or still actively trying to get work at the present time, he was given 2 points. If he had tried to get work within the last five years, he was given 1 point. If the last time he had tried to get work was over five years, he was given zero points.

216. "Do you think you would be happier if you had a job!" A "yes" answer was given 1 point, a "no" zero points.

217. "When you first found it hard to keep up with your job would you have been interested in learning some new kind of work that would not have been quite 50 hard, and that you could do now!" A "yes" answer was given 1 point, a "no" answer zero points.

301. "Do you find that you have plenty to do every day!" A "yes" answer was given zero points, a "no" answer 1 point.

The possible scores range from zero to 10, zero indicating the least and 10 the greatest apparent interest in work. Two men had zero scores. No one had a score of 10, but seven men had scores of 9. The average work score was 5.6. The following table gives the average work scores for each of the four smaller groups of men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Average Score</th>
<th>Percent of Cases Scoring 6 Points or More</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable unhappy elderly men</td>
<td>6.31</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable happy elderly men</td>
<td>5.53</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorable unhappy elderly men</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorable happy elderly men</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>53.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is interesting to note that the averages are slightly higher for the upstate than the mixed men and, within each group, the averages for the unhappy men are larger than for the happy. The average work score for the happiest men was 5.27 and for the unhappiest 5.75. The median was 5.91, 100 men having scores of 6 or more, and 70 men scoring less than 6.

"Work quite obviously means more to the unhappy upstate men than to the others, 16.7 percent more of them scoring 6 points or more than all the other men put together (P.E. 5.2). From their own statements it is clear that a lack of work is the cause of much of their unhappiness.

A correlation of -.17 (P.E. ±.050) between work score and adjustment score indicates a slight negative relation between happiness and the drive toward work. The coefficient of association (Yule's Q), between work score and adjustment score is -.37 for upstate men and -.04 for mixed men. Evidently what correlation there is here is due entirely to the upstate men, and for them it is significant though low. The meaning of this negative correlation is uncertain. "While the happy are much more likely to "have plenty to do every day" and slightly more likely to have a job now, they also seem to have stopped work earlier, to have retired voluntarily in greater number, and to deny that they would be happier with a job or would be interested in a new kind of work. Perhaps high "work score" in the upstate group is partly an index of temperamental restlessness and also of intensity of felt economic need, and associated therefore, somewhat with unhappiness. It is associated positively with health (Q=+.48) although negatively with adjustment (Q=-.37) in the upstate men. Among the mixed men it has little or no association with either health or adjustment.

As we noted in many of the comments on the work questions, a large part of a man's social life is tied up with his working life, and this relationship is suggested by a small positive correlation of +.16 (P.E. ±.050) between work and the sociality scores. This relation is stronger among mixed men (Q=+.30) than among upstate men (Q=+.14). It is relevant to observe here that 49.1 percent of all the people in the study chose "young adulthood," the period from 25 to 45 years of age, as the happiest part of their lives, although they had 65 or more years, divided into five periods, from which to choose. Rather than the protected, carefree days of childhood (5 to 15 years of age), or the gay, adventurous, romantic days of youth (15 to 25 years of age), they chose the years of hardest work and the greatest responsibility. In nearly all of the cases the reason for this choice was a combination of work and family rela
tionships, the man working to support his wife and family, the woman keeping house and bringing up her children.

Here are some men's answers. "I was busy. Had a good farm then." "When I was right in the mud digging ditches." "Good health, able-bodied, worked and now I can't do a thing." "When my wife was alive I had something to do." "When I was a-teaming it. Get a good pair of horses. I took comfort those days. It was natural to me to handle horses, and I just took solid comfort". "When I first went to keeping house, things looked more prospective to me then."

The women also stressed work and family. "The happiest time of my life was when the children were small and I was taking care of them." "Raising your children. It's an enjoyment to any woman." "When my husband was alive and we were working together and getting something ahead." "When I was working hard out in the country with my husband I took pleasure in it, the pigs, cows, dogs. . . . " One woman enjoyed her life most after she took her sister's children to raise, "I really enjoyed their life and living."

Since this question was not asked in conjunction with the work questions, it is all the more significant that so many people stressed work and ordinary social responsibilities as the source of their greatest happiness. Obviously the happiness they felt in those years was not due to the strain and worry of maintaining a home and bringing up a family, but to its positive psychological accompaniment, the feeling they had then of fitting into the social scheme, of being needed and wanted. The answers to all of the questions in Section II on employment show the important part that work, paid or unpaid, has played and continues to play in the lives of these old people. In the quotations given above and in hundreds of similar ones, there seems to lie the clue to the value that they place on work. When one is working with a purpose one feels important and "things look more prospective."
CHAPTER VIII
RECREATIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD LIFE

What does a person do with the time that used to be taken up by his work? We found that this is one of the most acute problems of old age, and, to the writer after her work with these old people, it does not seem exaggerated to say that a large part of the happiness or social adjustment of old people depends on some adequate solution of this problem of leisure time.

Question 301 asked, "Do you find that you have plenty to do every day?" Of a total of 377 answering, 68.1 percent answered "yes" and 31.9 percent answered "no." In itself it is significant that almost one-third of all of these old people find time hanging heavy on their hands, but the differences on this question are still more significant. The Happiest people proved to be the busiest. Thirty-seven more percent of the Happiest group than the Unhappiest find that they "have plenty to do every day." This was the largest difference that we found between the Happiest and the Unhappiest people on any question which was not one of those used to define happiness, and is therefore particularly noteworthy.19

The sex difference on this question was also marked. Women find it easier to occupy themselves. Thirty more percent of them than of the Men report that they had plenty to keep them busy. By and large this seems to be more of a man's problem than a woman's, for most women keep house to a certain extent even in old age. Most of our old women either kept house for themselves, or helped considerably with the housework in the homes of their children. These women have been housewives most of their lives, and even in old age they retain much of their past activity and position. With men it is different. When they finally give up their last job, they suddenly find that they have eight to twelve hours added to their day. Whether it is voluntary leisure or forced shelving, the result is very often the same from the psychological point of view. What promised to be rest proves to be boredom. What looked like freedom and release from the cares and anxieties of life turns out to be a complete shutting away from life altogether, a waiting for death while watching other and younger people live; not a happy and satisfactory way to spend the last days of one's life.

19 Except for the slightly larger difference on Question 111 which applied to a limited number of persons and involved a much larger probable error.
“It's awful torture for me not to have more to do.” “Not much to do now except think.” “I wish I could work.” “Sometimes it seems as if a day was a week.” “I get tired of sitting here.” “Time seems pretty long some days.” “Time hangs heavy when I'm sitting around and can't get out.” These remarks were all made by the men, but the comments of the women who felt the same problem were in much the same vein. “Tain't very pleasant to do nothing.” “Sometimes I get kind of lonesome. Time drags kind of when you haven't anything to do.”

In this matter of "having plenty to do every day," the cultural difference is less than either the adjustment or the sex difference, the Mixed group answering "yes" somewhat more frequently. The groups form an interesting sequence; happy women of both cultures are nearly alike and average 92.5 percent of yes answers; happy men and unhappy women of both cultures range near the middle of the scale with a general average of 67.5 percent; while unhappy men of both cultures stand lowest with 34.5 percent (P.E.'s ranging about 5 percent), which becomes only 22 percent for unhappy upstate men alone. The Upstater's adjustment is more highly correlated with "having plenty to do" than is that of the Mixed group, and the upstate men show the greatest relation of daily activity to happiness.

The next question asked, "How do you spend your days now? "What kind of things do you do?" Each person's daily activities were listed, and then they were classified under certain more general headings as given in the table below. In all, 875 items were mentioned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Daily Activity</th>
<th>Percent of Total Items Mentioned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping, housework, helping with housework and care of</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandchildren, caring for invalid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardening, flowers, pets, livestock, chores</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies, games and intellectual pursuits. Reading, studying,</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing letters, games, music</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking, seeing and calling on friends, club and church</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resting, sitting in the sun, watching out of window, &quot;not</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much of anything&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment, small job</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next question asked each old person how much he enjoyed his daily activities, and this enjoyment was rated on a scale of 5
points. Of the 378 people "who answered the question, 24.0 percent found their daily activities "extremely interesting"; 35.1 percent found them "fairly interesting"; 25.3 percent said their daily activities "kept them from having nothing to do," 9.7 percent "got tired of them quic kly" and 5.9 percent found their activities "very boring." This "was one of the questions used to define happiness so that we naturally find a large and significant difference between the Happy and the Unhappy people in this respect (81.7 percent for the Happy versus 30.5 percent for the Unhappy). There was also a marked difference between the Men and the Women on this question, 25.8 more percent of the Women than the Men finding their daily activities extremely or fairly interesting. Not only do men have more trouble than women in finding things to occupy their time in old age, but the things that they do find are not apt to be so satisfying; they are apt to be makeshift activities which soon become tiring.

Of the 378 people who answered, 35.1 percent have some sort of a hobby at the present time, and 64.9 percent have not. This question was one of those used to define adjustment, but, since it counted only one out of eleven possible points in the score, it is interesting to note the difference of 29.8 percent between the Happy and the Unhappy in this matter of having hobbies in old age. Forty-seven percent of the Happy group have hobbies at the present time, while only 17.2 percent of the Unhappy have them (P.E. of dif f. 3.4). In the past, 49.2 percent of all the people in the study used to have some kind of a hobby or special interest, and 50.8 percent did not. In this respect the happy and the Unhappy people were somewhat more alike, 54.5 percent of the Happy and 41.5 percent of the Unhappy having had hobbies in the past (Diff. 13.0, P.E. 3.6; but for the Happiest it was 61.3 percent, Unhappiest 38.8, Diff. 22.5, P.E. 4.1). Only 6.0 percent of the Happy group had once had hobbies and given them up, but that this was true of 24.5 percent of the Unhappy people (Diff. 18.5 percent, P.E. 2.5).

Both in the past and in the present the Upstate group have been more inclined to have hobbies and special outside interests than have the Mixed group. In the past, 30.0 more percent of the Upstate had hobbies. This difference is not so marked between the two cultures in their old age, but it still exists, 21.3 more percent of the Upstaters having hobbies now. We find that 63.5 percent of the happy upstate men and women have hobbies now as compared with 21.6 percent of all the other people put together, a difference of 41.9 percent (P.E. 4.2). This same relationship with adjustment and cul-
ture held in the past, 74.0 percent of the happy upstate men and women formerly having hobbies compared with 39.3 percent of all the other groups put together, a difference of 34.7 percent (P.E. 4.5). More also of the Upstate people have had hobbies in the past and given them up than of the Mixed (Upstate 19.5 per cent; Mixed 11.0; Diff. 8.5; P.E. 2.5).

The most frequently reported hobbies among the Men of all groups were, in order: first gardening, second cards, third baseball, fourth reading, fishing and participation in music, with equal frequency. The most frequent hobbies among the women of all groups taken together were, first sewing and embroidering, second gardening, third reading, fourth cards, fifth housekeeping, sixth church work and listening to music with equal frequency. The above lists include all hobbies mentioned five times or oftener.

We are particularly interested in learning why people who had once had hobbies had given them up, and whether old age was the main cause. Ninety-eight persons who had dropped some hobby gave us their reasons. They are presented in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Giving up Hobby</th>
<th>Percent of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor health</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too expensive</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old age</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opportunity</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost interest</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No time</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that old age, *per se*, is not the main reason, and also that very few people dropped their hobbies from loss of interest or lack of time. Since poor health, lack of opportunity and the expense involved seem to account for about three-fourths of the cases, it would appear that many hobbies might be saved in a modified form or others of a similar nature substituted for them by intelligent planning and stock-taking in middle life when the impediments first begin to be felt.

Question 307 asked: "What do you do for pleasure and recreation these days?"

All of the items were noted but they have not been tabulated because they tend to be very similar to the items mentioned as hobbies and special interests or with the recreational items listed in the table of general activities. Twenty-one percent of all the people in the sample said they had no recreation at all, and
lack of recreation was very definitely associated with unhappiness. Twenty-two and two-tenths more percent of the Unhappy group than of the Happy reported that they had no recreations. This question brings out almost as large a difference between the Happy and the Unhappy as does the question on hobbies, although it was not one of the questions used to define adjustment as the hobby question was. Just as the Upstate people have more hobbies than the Mixed, so they have more recreation, 12.8 more percent of the Mixed group than the Upstate having 710 recreations or amusements.

"Generally speaking do you enjoy your life now?" After the subject had made some sort of a reply we asked him to be more explicit and to rate himself on a five point scale. The results follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of General Enjoyment</th>
<th>Percent of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very much</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerably</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.0

Since this was one of the questions used to define happiness, we found a large difference between the Happy and the Unhappy in answering it, 72.0 more percent of the Happy people than the Unhappy enjoying their lives "very much" or "considerably" (rather than "somewhat," "slightly" or "not at all"). There was also an interesting sex difference, 11.0 percent more of Men enjoying their lives now "very much" or "considerably" than of Women.

What makes old people happy? One source of light upon this question we have found in the statistical associations between adjustment and other factors. Another is to ask the subjects themselves what made them happy at various times in their lives. All people daydream to a certain extent. Old people, in particular, are supposed to spend a large part of their time in reverie, living over in their minds the outstanding events in their lives. If we could find out what had once made these old people happy, we would have a better idea of what they wish for now, of what they think would make them happy now. Therefore each person was asked what part of his life he had found the happiest (Question 315) and why he had enjoyed this part of his life the most (Question 316).

The first question was answered by 370 people with the following results.
The most significant aspect of this distribution is the fact that about one-half of the entire number report that young adulthood was the happiest period of their lives, in other words, the period of greatest work and responsibility. The eight groups do not differ greatly in this respect. It was interesting to study the tendency to report other periods. We found that the people in the Happy group had a somewhat greater tendency (8.3 percent) to report the later years, 45 to 60, and over 60.

Why did they choose these particular ages? In most cases the reasons were very specific. Those who choose either the period from 5 to 15 or 15 to 25 were apt to give some reason which emphasized gaiety, pleasure, and freedom from responsibility. Such, for example, were those given by two men who remembered their childhood as the happiest part of their lives. "I didn't have nothing to worry about." "I had so much fun when I was little." The women who choose this age were apt to give the same sort of reasons. "Why I never had any care or anything like that and good parents." "Because you haven't any idea of worry ent." "Because I didn't have one care and I was provided for, and everything came along." Here are some typical answers of the men who choose the period of youth (15 to 25). "Before I was married. Riding around with the girls." "You don't take things seriously. You are in for fun all the time." "Going with the girls." The women, too emphasized the romantic, carefree side of life. "When I was about 16. I could go and come and do as I pleased then and dress." "Do as you've a mind to. Was single. Had better times, and you like to go. Had a country party." Seventeen and one-tenth percent of all the people in the sample gave reasons which indicated that freedom from responsibility had been the chief cause of happiness in their lives.

For 53.6 percent of the sample happiness had depended principally on family and personal relationships, and for another 13.3 percent it had been caused by interest in their jobs or work. These

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Happiest Period of Life</th>
<th>Percent of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Childhood (5 to 15 years)</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth (15 to 25 years)</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young adulthood (25 to 45 years)</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age (45 to 60 years)</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Later life (60 and up)</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>200.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two figures should really be combined to give a total of 66.9 percent, for the comments of the subjects themselves show plainly that these two causes were inextricably blended. These were the main reasons given by the people who chose young adulthood (25 to 45) as the happiest time in their lives. The women emphasized their married lives, their relationships to their husbands and children, their housekeeping and the care of the children. "When my children were all small and I kept house." The men, too, stressed their work and the home and family life around which it centered. "I was busy then." "Married. When my wife was alive I had something to do." For about two-thirds of the group, both men and women, happiness had depended on what at might roughly be called "social responsibility," i.e., the feeling of being part of the working world and a necessary unit of a family group.

For 16.0 percent of the sample, happiness had depended on still other things: health, religion, money, travel, independence, and so on. Not enough individuals chose any one specific item to make it stand out conspicuously. Naturally, too, the people whose happiness had depended on these factors did not tend to cluster in any one age period.

The following table presents these classified causes of happiness for each of the eight groups and for the entire group; one notes the bulking of the women under "family and personal relationship:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percent of Causes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freedom from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health, Religion,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Money, Travel,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy upstate men</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy upstate men</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy mixed men</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy mixed men</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy upstate women</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy upstate women</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy mixed women</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy mixed women</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire sample</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 317 asked, "Would you like to live your life over again?" Of 371 answering "yes" or "no," 49.0 percent would like
to try life again, and 51.0 percent would not. From one point of view this would seem to be one of the best tests of happiness, and, as a matter of fact, the Happiest people did give a greater proportion (18.3 percent) of "yes" answers than the Unhappiest. The correlation between a "yes" answer and a high adjustment score is not as high as one might expect, however; and this is probably because a happy old age may give rise to two opposite attitudes on this question, namely, the wish to repeat life, and the feeling that one is satisfied and finished. Unhappiness may be, expressed by a desire to try it again, or a wish to have done with it forever. The comments on these answers, both for the men and the women tended to be of two sorts. Those who answered "yes" said that they had found life interesting and they would like to try it over again, or that, knowing what they do now, they would like to have a chance to improve upon it. "Well I guess I would. I enjoyed it." "Yes, but I'd live it in a different way." "Some things I'd like to do over again." Most of the people who answered "no" have become so completely discouraged with life that they have no interest even in the idea of another one. "It's been an awful long stretch of hard labor." "It's a pretty tough old world." "I don't care for another life even when I'm dead. Too much trouble." "We found a small sex difference on this situation, 11.4 percent more Men than Women feeling that they would like to try life over again.

"What do you miss the most from your younger days?" From the answers to this question it was hoped to find out what old people themselves would like to have kept in their lives had they been able. The 428 individual items given in the replies have been classified as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Things Missed the Most from Younger Days</th>
<th>Percent of Total Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deceased members of family</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and physical activity</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social activities</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased friends</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own home</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer or &quot;hard to say&quot;</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss nothing</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Miscellaneous" included such things as hobbies (11 cases), church (18 cases), traveling (8 cases), and education (6 cases). Good health, work, and personal and family relationships are again emphasized as the important factors in happiness.

"What do you think is the greatest comfort to you in your old age?" The following table classifies the 312 items mentioned as the greatest comforts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greatest Comforts in Old Age</th>
<th>Percent of Total Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family relationships and friends</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material comforts</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own home</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reversie</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good health</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Family relationships and friends are apparently the mainstay of old age, with material comforts a close second. Included among the material comforts were the 6.9 percent of the replies which gave the old age pension as the "greatest comfort." Family relationships and friends were somewhat more important to the "Women than to the Men, 11.0 percent more of the "Women giving them as their main comfort. There was also a small difference on this question between the Upstate group and the Mixed, 10.0 percent more of the Upstaters giving family relationships and friends as their main comforts.

"What has worried you the most in your old age?" The 313 answers to this question are classified in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greatest Wories in Old Age</th>
<th>Percent of Total Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial worries and dependence</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern for spouse or family</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor health and physical dependence</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to work</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family relationships, estrangements, etc.</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The heavy emphasis on financial worries and dependence and
being unable to work is to be expected in an economically dependent group. The other items speak for themselves. A great many men worried about dying and leaving a dependent wife who was too young to be eligible for an allowance. These wives who were below the age of seventy were a considerable problem. The husband's grant does not provide for his wife. Unless there are children or relatives who can and will help the woman, or unless she is able to get some sort of work, both the man and his wife are forced to attempt living on his allowance which is scarcely adequate for one. This results in endless pinching and scraping which is pitiful to behold, but usually the man and wife prefer to do this rather than be separated. Take, for example, a typical case of a man aged 72 who has a 67-year-old wife. His grant for rent, fuel, and light can also serve for her, and, half starving themselves, they make the food allowance for one do for both. Difficult as this situation is, it does provide for both of them after a fashion, so long as the man lives, but in the back of his mind is always this haunting worry: "if I should die tomorrow, what would become of my wife? Where would she go? Who would take care of her for the next three years until she is eligible for a pension?"

With the mixed men, a strong emphasis upon financial worries is a striking symptom of unhappiness, 65.0 percent of the unhappy and only 32.0 percent of the happy showing this worry, a difference of 33.0 percent (P.E. 8.2). This same relationship holds for all men taken together, the happy men reporting financial worries to the extent of 41.0 percent and the unhappy to 60.5 percent, a difference of 19.5 percent (P.E. 5.9).

It was interesting to see how few of these replies, only 1.3 percent, mentioned the fear of death. Aside from this small percentage of cases, all of the people who brought up the subject of death spoke of it in one of two ways: either as a welcome release from pain and care, or, as the more religious ones did, as a long awaited "going home."

Do people over seventy years of age still take enough interest in life to make plans, of whatever kind? Question 309 asked: "Have you any plans that you are interested in carrying out now? What are they?" Of the 377 people who answered the question, 22.0 percent still continue to plan, and 78.0 percent do not. The tendency to organize one's life and to make plans is apparently an individual trait not much correlated with adjustment, sex, or culture. Certain individuals continued to make little plans to fix up their homes, to
make a garden, to move from better living quarters to cheaper, to visit their children, and to "get well and get a job." One man said he planned "all sorts of things I know I can't do" because the planning made him feel better. Curiously enough, the oldest person in the study, a woman of ninety-three, was planning to move from a quiet part of town to one room over a store on the main street because she wanted to be near the shops and where things were going on. She had located the room and was moving the following week. The majority, however, have given up all notion of planning. "It's all gone by, the plans is." "My gosh, what's the use? I can't do nothing." "No, I give that up. I just sit around now." "I've made plans and made plans till I got disgusted." Age is certainly one reason for this scarcity of plans, people feeling that they were too old to plan, that they would have no chance to put them into execution. For this dependent sample of old people, the lack of money is most certainly another cause. Almost any little plan is apt to involve some expense, and these people have almost no money above the bare cost of living. It would be interesting to learn whether planning is more common among a well-to-do group of old people.

"If you had a chance to live your life over again, would you plan for your old age? Of the 376 people who answered this question, 65.0 percent answered "yes," 31.1 percent "no," and 3.9 percent did not know whether they would or not. There was a very marked cultural difference on this question, 40.3 percent of the Upstate than the Mixed group accepting the idea of planning for old age. When all Catholics, all foreign born, and all Irish stock were considered as separate samples, the percentage which favored planning was in each case between forty and fifty. But among New York City subjects, 31 percent of Catholics and foreign born, and only 25 percent of native born Protestants were in favor of planning. The Tompkins County group was 88 percent and the Buffalo and Albany Protestants 77 percent in favor of planning. Here indeed the differentiating factor seemed to be metropolitan versus upstate culture, rather than nationality or religion as such.

Among the people who answered "no" to this question, the futility of planning was the keynote. "Just let it take care of itself. Tain't no use to make plans. They wind up in no thing." "It wouldn't do me any good if I did." One woman said, "I wouldn't know how to make things any different." Another said, "there's no use in planning. It's all in God's hands." "We tried, and I'd
hate to try it again. "I don't see how any one could when it took all you could earn
to keep going."

The people who said "yes" launched forth immediately on long, stories of
how they had tried to prepare for old age and what had caused their plans to fail
and what they would do again. The significant thing about this was that they
nearly all talked in terms of financial preparedness, said that they would plan to
save more money, be financially independent, have homes of their own, and so
on, but with the exception of half a dozen or so people, no one mentioned any
other kind of plan. The question on planning was not intended by the writer to
deal with economic preparation for old age. It was asked in order to see whether
these old people, after having experienced the sorrows, disappointments, boredom
and loneliness of old age, would think it possible to prepare against them if they
had another chance to live. Several people said that they would prepare
themselves with a better education, several more said that if they had a chance to
ty again they would arrange to spend their old age in the country, and two
women said that they would memorize a great deal of poetry in case they should
go blind and not be able to read. Nothing else was suggested. Apparently the idea
that old age was a period requiring any preparation other than financial did not
enter many minds.

It was from the five questions in this section dealing with their greatest
comforts and worries, the possession of hobbies, their general enjoyment of life in
old age, and the interest they took in their daily activities that we built up the
adjustment scores which we distinguished between the Happy and the Unhappy
people. The method of derivation of this score is explained in the Appendix. Its
possible range was from zero to 11 points. The average adjustment scores are
given on page 78.

A question which immediately arises is the relation between happiness and
age. All of the people in our group were seventy or older, but they ranged in age
from seventy to ninety-three, actually spread over an entire generation. "Were the
younger ones the happier ones? This was not the case; there was no significant
relation between age and happiness. The average age of the upper third of the
happiness distribution, the Happiest, was 76.0 years, and that for the lower third
of the distribution, the Unhappiest, was 75.7 years, a difference of only .3 years.
The median age for the Happiest was 74.8 years, and that for the Unhappiest, 74.9
years.
The significant correlations between the adjustment scores and the other compound scores in the study have been discussed throughout the text.
The following case histories are presented in order to show the interrelation of various factors in specific lives. One case is presented from each of the eight groups. Individuals were chosen for these reports whose lives exhibited some marked characteristic or trait which seemed to be representative of a number of other people. Examples are given of people who had high work scores and a marked preference for independence. Other cases show the contrast between those who had no friends or interests and those who have maintained a fairly full social life. A profile at the beginning of each case shows that individual's scores on the adjustment, health, sociality, religious-and work scales, and enables the reader to tell at a glance whether the person was above or below the median in each of these respects.

Mr. M. is a cheerful, pleasant man who lives alone in his own home, a small three-room basement apartment. His general health is good, but he has a number of physical handicaps. He has small cataracts in both eyes, has had a slight stroke, and has a crippled knee. These things hinder him to a certain extent. "They make me work harder and longer to get as much done as other people." He had an elementary education. He was married, but his wife is dead now,
Both of his two children are living, but relations with them are evidently strained. He seldom sees them, and does not care to. They never ask his opinion or advice, and he evinced no interest in them at all. He has no grandchildren. He was very emphatic in his belief that an old person should live alone. "Having with children is the worst thing they can do if there is any way to get around it. I have seen so much of the way they use them. A man gets old and they get in the way, and then they get criticized. Here [in own home] I have it just as I want it."

He has older friends in the neighborhood whom he sees frequently. Although he has little or no contact with young people, he believes that they are much like the youth of his day. He is a Protestant, but has never attended church at any time in his life, nor has he ever belonged to any social organizations.

His work history is quite varied. During the course of his life he has driven an ice wagon, was in the ice business for himself for four years, drove a grocery wagon for ten or twelve years, was a night watchman in a factory, and finally did easy work in a plating room at another factory until he was laid off at the age of seventy because of the depression. He enjoyed working very much and said, "I would have been there yet. The work I did I could do. They give me things I could do sitting down in the plating room. They were well pleased with my work, but it all gave out." He would have liked to have kept on working. "I'd have been independent then." He reverted to this theme again and again. It has been a real source of humiliation to this man to ask for aid in his old age. He has avoided this to a certain extent by earning his rent. He gets his small apartment in return for tending to the furnace in the house. He feels capable of holding an industrial job such as he had before, but he realizes that it is hopeless for a man of his age to look for work during the depression. He was very much interested in the idea of learning a new and lighter kind of work at the beginning of old age and said, "Yes, that would give a man a chance to protect himself in his old age."

His daily activities are varied and he finds them fairly interesting. In addition to his furnace job, he helps an old woman do her washing and his. He does the wringing and hanging up of the clothes and she does his ironing. He takes great pride and pleasure in keeping his apartment immaculate and home-like. He also reads considerably and takes walks, which, with his friends, constitute his recreations. He has never had any hobbies: "always had my nose to the grindstone," and he has no future plans. His relatives do not bother him, and he is glad of it for he prefers to manage his own affairs. He enjoys his life considerably in old age, particularly having a home of his own which is his greatest comfort. He misses his work more than anything else from his younger days, and being dependent has been his chief worry in old age. Consequently he looks back on young adulthood when he could take care of himself as being the happiest part of his life. He would like to live his life over again because "there are things I'd like to do." He would prepare himself for old age; "if I had it to do over again by learning something I could do when my health was giving out." Here is a man for whom independence was the breath of life, and he has made considerable and fairly successful efforts to maintain it, especially considering his many physical handicaps.
Mr. N. rooms and boards in the home of a private family who live over a store in the heart of town.

He has good general health, but he has a double hernia and had a shock about a year ago which left his right leg somewhat paralyzed. This necessarily keeps him from doing many of the things that he used to enjoy.

His wife is dead, and his relations with his three living children and with his grandchildren are not happy. They neglect him, and this is a source of bitterness and grief to him. "They kinda forget their dad; I see a good many lonesome hours." He thinks old people should live alone. "There's always some difficulty when you live with an in-law. I like to have things quiet." He likes young people and has plenty of friends, old and young. He is liked and wanted by these young friends, "if I ain't got it among my own people."

He has no religion. He used to belong to a union and a lodge but gave them up because he "got no benefits," and he has no interest in them at the present time.

After about seven years of schooling he went to work on the railroad, a job which he held until he was thirty. Then he became a carpenter, and continued at his work until he was eighty-two, when the shock forced him to stop working. He was a real old time-craftsman, very proud of his work, and full of stories of buildings he had helped to construct. He was much happier when he was working. "That's one thing that makes me feel so bad now." His last job was helping to remodel the Old Age Security Office in his home town one year ago.

His days are practically empty now. All he does is read, walk, and see his friends. "I get wild sitting here all alone." His hobbies used to be playing the violin, and various forms of athletic sports. He has always enjoyed that sort of thing, playing baseball, football, and claims never to have been outrun in a foot race until he was fifty-five years old. During the War he joined the army.
at the age of sixty-seven by throwing a back somersault before they had a chance to ask him his age. His age and the State of his health have forced him to give up all these hobbies, and "the only thing I'm interested in now is to die and get out of it."

He prefers to manage his own affairs, and has no plans for the future. Old age offers nothing to him in the way of comfort. His physical handicaps are his greatest worry, and what he misses the most from his younger days is "building something and doing things." He was one of the few people who found the years from sixty on up the happiest because he was traveling all over the world at that time. He would like to live his life over again and improve on it. Plans for old age would be financial only. His longing for activity and fullness of life are pathetic.

Case No. 207
Happy New York City man
Age 76
Native stock Catholic
Former occupation iron foundry worker

Mr. Q. is a noteworthy case for he has the highest possible scores for both happiness and health. His health is excellent and he has no physical handicaps. He graduated from high school and had two years at a business college. He was an iron foundry worker for twenty years and followed this with a series of factory and dock jobs requiring considerable strength until he quit voluntarily at the age of sixty-eight. Then he tried to get lighter work as an elevator operator but his age was against him. He grieves for his dead wife, but his two children mean little to him. Relations between them and him are strained and he very seldom sees them. He is quite sure it is better for an old person to live alone. He has very few friends, has dropped out of his old club, and has lost interest in his religion, which was a very unusual thing for any of the Catholics in this group to do, and yet he has a very happy and contented old age. The secret of this lies in his hobby. He boards and rooms in the home of a private family, and aside from taking long walks, he spends his days in the New York Public Library, studying Old and Middle English, and reading anything pertaining to it. This is his daily activity, his hobby, his recreation and his greatest comfort. He misses his wife but nothing worries him. He is happy and well and has an active interest in life. 
Mr. R. completed one year at college. He has excellent health and no physical handicaps. Now that his wife and two children are dead, he lives in a rooming house. He has a few friends in another part of the city and he sees them occasionally. His contacts with young people are very few. He gave up his membership in a social club many years ago, and has never missed it, and he also lost interest in the church when he was quite a young man.

He was an insurance and real estate broker in business for himself all of his working life, and still continues to look over properties and give advice, but gets no salary and has collected no commissions. He keeps on at this kind of thing for he feels that "no man can be happy sitting at home doing nothing." He does this primarily to fill up the emptiness of his days. He has never had any hobbies or special interests and cannot afford now to buy any recreation. He prefers to manage his own affairs, and while he does not enjoy his life much now, he keeps hoping and looking forward to a pick-up in the real estate business which would make him independent again. He used to enjoy life and had many pleasures. "I was happy all my life until these last few years," but having to scrimp and having no margin for clothes or for a comfortable standard of living has clouded his old age. His pension is his greatest comfort for it saves him from the poor house, but he misses his independence and the luxuries of his younger days. Of him the interviewer writes:

"Mr. R. is a cultured educated gentleman, living in a small hall bedroom. He resents being shelved and thinks an older man's only salvation is in a business of his own, like insurance or real estate, and even those fields offer nothing now. He had been quite wealthy and was a big real estate operator, but was cleaned out on Wall Street, and foolishly used his trust fund to try to save his business ventures."
Mrs. O. is a busy, happy woman, one of the most socially active women in the Upstate group. Her health is only fair, and she is somewhat handicapped by varicose veins, incipient cataracts and by being hard of hearing, but the general impression that she gives is that of being a healthy woman of about sixty years of age.

She lives in a comfortable, pleasant apartment with a grandson who is boarding with her while he finishes college. Her husband is dead. She had two children, one of whom is living. She and this daughter are very close to each other, but Mrs. O. feels that it is better for old people to live alone as long as they can take care of themselves. "Old people in the home bother the younger ones."

She has been a home dressmaker all of her life until two years ago, when she was seventy-four. Then work became so scarce that she had to apply for an allowance. She would much prefer to work now if she could get any sewing to do, and then, "I wouldn't ask for any pension."

She has always had and still continues to have a full, rich life. She has a host of friends, both old and young. Her attitude in regard to young people is interesting. She believes that the young people of today are very unlike the young people of her generation, and that they do not really like being with older people, and with this opinion she is in full accord. "Young people like to go among themselves. It's no fun trying to entertain old folks. I have some myself it's hard to go and see." She said that many of the old people she visited in her work as a deaconess were full of glum, depressing stories. She is an active member of many organizations, belonging to the Hard of Hearing Club, the W. C. T. U., the Union Missionary Circle; has been chairman of the Bong's Daughters for sixteen years, and has been a deaconess in her church for the last five years, a job which requires visiting a certain number of sick, shut-ins and aged people every month.
She is busy all the time with her club work, her friends, with odd jobs of sewing when she can get them to do, and with keeping house for herself and her grandson. She says, "I like to feel I'm doing something." Her hobbies are church work, and "dressing up and having some fun." She told with evident pleasure of a large birthday party given for her recently by some of her friends. She enjoys life very much, and says, "I just hope that I pass on before I become a worry and a care." She continues to make a number of small plans for her household and church work. Needless to say, she is independent in nature and prefers to manage her own affairs. Her greatest comfort she gave as "keeping well and keeping my head and not getting queer." Her only worries in old age have been financial, and she misses nothing from her younger days. Young adulthood, "when I was bringing up my children" was the happiest part of her life. She would not want to live her life over again, but if she had a chance to, she would plan "to be more helpful in the world, to live a better Christian life so that people would be better for having known me."

Considering that this woman had only seven years' education in a country school and was widowed early, so that she had not only to make a home for her children, but to support them and herself as well, it seems that she has made a remarkable success of her whole life, including her old age.

Mrs. P. spent five years in a country school. She was married twice and "heard" that her second husband got killed. She had six children, one of whom is living now. Mrs. P. is in poor general health, suffering from rheumatic stiffness, heart trouble and low blood pressure. She has come now to live with her daughter, not from choice, but to be doctored by her old family physician. The home was drab and sloppy looking, and the daughter seemed tired and apathetic. Neither her daughter nor her four grandchildren appear to mean much to Mrs. P. She really believes that old people are happier living alone.

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She has no friends, and concerning young people, she said, "young people have always felt above old people." She has lost interest in the church and does not attend any more, and has never liked or belonged to any clubs or social organizations.

She has never been gainfully employed, but has kept house all of her life, and still helps her daughter with the housework. She enjoys this "somewhat," but gets tired of it quickly. Piecing quilts and playing the victrola are her hobbies and recreation. She enjoys her life only slightly and has no plans for anything. She is glad to have her daughter's help in managing her small affairs. She has found no comfort in old age. "Oh, I don't think there is anything." Nothing has worried her. "Oh, I don't know. There's no use worrying." She found adulthood the best part of her life, "when I was keeping house and had the children with me," but now she misses nothing from her younger days. She did not want to live again, "not and suffer as I have." Planning for old age seems hopeless to her. "I don't know as I'd know enough to." This woman seemed the most indifferent and apathetic of all the Upstate people, with no interests, activities, plans, hopes, or cares.

Mrs. S. has poor health and suffers from a cancer but it does not prevent her from doing many of the things that she enjoys. She finished grade school. Her husband is dead now and she never had any children. Her life has not been very eventful, but she is happy. She lives in her own home back of the shop, in a house built by her father sixty years ago. She has lived there all her life, and though the neighborhood has become Polish now, she still continues to cling to the place and still has a few friends there. She knows some young people but feels that "they don't bother with older people." She has never belonged to any clubs or social organizations except the church, which she still attends.

At the present time she runs a small confectionery shop that her husband used to own and manage. She enjoys this very much and is much happier.
working. "I'd die if I didn't have the store." Her present hobby is gardening. It used to be
dressmaking but she can't do that any more. Her recreations are gardening and reading.

Although she has no particular plans, she likes to manage her own affairs, and is
especially proud of the shop and the few pennies it brings in. Her sister and her home are
her greatest comforts; her greatest worry, how her sister is to be taken care of after she,
herself, is dead. She misses nothing in particular from her younger days. Young adulthood
when she had a good time was the happiest part of her life. She would like to live again,
and would plan "going and visiting more than I did." Of her the social worker writes as
follows:

"This lady was one of the most contented and satisfied yet visited. She is undoubtedly
kept happy by retaining a small confectionery store which keeps her interested in people.
She seems to meet difficult situations, both financial and in matters of health, -with a great
deal of sense. . . . She and her sister are gentle and kindly, with an old-fashioned spirit of
courtesy."

Mrs. T. lives with her husband and two sons in part of a house owned by her and her
daughter. Her health is very poor, diabetes and rheumatism having confined her to the
house for the last twelve years. Her life has been hard. She is completely illiterate, has
never had any advantages, and was put to work in the fields in Italy at seven years of age.
She has spent fifty-seven years of married life working hard, bearing and bringing up ten
children, six of whom are still living. Her life is centered in them and her twelve
grandchildren, all of whom she sees constantly for they live in the other part of the house.
Her children are very good to her, and Mrs. T. could not get along without the help of one
daughter who comes up and cleans her house. Mrs. T. is deeply worried and sits and cries
over the situation of her sons who are unemployed and can get no help from the city.
Although she is wrapped up in her children, she would not want
to live with them. She feels that her own arrangement of having her own home in part of their house is the best one.

She has lived in this neighborhood for many years, but never made any friends, knows no young people except those in her own family group, never belonged to any clubs or social organizations, never had any hobbies, and cannot go to church any more because of her poor health. This latter she misses very much. Her days are empty. Most of her time is spent worrying about her children and the possible loss of their home into which she has sunk the savings of a lifetime. Naturally she finds nothing to make her old age happy. Her greatest comfort was her allowance of $14.00 a month, and her greatest worry its reduction to $9.00. She misses nothing from her younger days, and does not look back on any part of her life as happy. It was too hard, with all hard work and no pleasures, and she would not want to live it over again. Planning for old age is useless in her estimation. The social worker's interpretation follows:

"Mr. and Mrs. T. are a pathetic old Italian couple living in a neat, clean two story house in a good neighborhood. Twelve years ago they put their savings into this house, $1,000, and one of their married daughters contributed an equal amount. Until the depression all went well, and they amortized the mortgage until only a small amount remained to be paid. Total carrying charges are $25.00 a month for old folks and daughter. City will not make a rent allowance of $12.50 for old folks, who now live in constant dread of losing the home they bought for their old age. Their pension covers only a food allowance with nothing for rent, light, clothing, medicines or incidentals. Mrs. T. is perfectly miserable. She has spent fifty-seven years of her married life in the home, cut off from all outside contacts; she speaks poor English. Never had any pleasures, and now is having a sad, worried old age."
CHAPTER X
OPINIONS ABOUT OLD AGE OF FIFTY-FIVE OLDER PERSONS FROM WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

This chapter deals with the results of a supplementary questionnaire which was sent to 150 distinguished older people in the United States. It was devised with three distinct purposes in mind. The first was to test the interest of the intelligent elderly public in the general subject of this study, namely, the welfare and mental hygiene of old age. The second purpose was to learn how far the problems and attitudes characteristic of our sample of 381 recipients of old age allowances would hold true for a well-educated, financially independent sample of aged people. Due to limitations of time and money, it was impossible to study a large group of people of this sort in detail, but it did seem possible, through a written questionnaire, to get some significant opinions. The third purpose was to discover any possible aspects of the problem of old age which we might have overlooked or underemphasized in the other parts of the study. It was thought that a few broad questions permitting long, free, written anonymous answers from very intelligent persons might yield insights not obtainable by our other methods.

The questions, together with a letter explaining the general nature of the study and asking for their cooperation, was sent to 150 people chosen from Who's Who in America. Fifteen of the most prominent people in each of ten different fields, including law, medicine, art, literature, education, business, social work, the church, were selected in order to have as widely representative a group as possible. A few were between the ages of fifty-five and sixty; the majority were between sixty and seventy, and a few were over seventy. We purposely selected a somewhat elderly sample, feeling that they would be more interested in the problem. They are all national leaders in their own fields, and many of them are internationally known people, distinguished for their contributions to modern society.

The response to these questions exceeded our expectations. Ninety-one out of the 150 sent some sort of a reply. Fifty-five answered the questionnaire fully, and many of them sent more personal supplementary material in accompanying letters. Thirty-six people answered with personal letters regretting that they could not take the time to answer the questions fully, and expressing their
belief that the topic was an important one, which deserved consideration, and sometimes indicated briefly certain opinions. A one-third return on a mailed questionnaire is generally considered to be a very fair result. Since this was not a questionnaire which could be answered quickly by check-marks, but which required both time and thought, and since over one-third of these busy people took the trouble to make a full reply, we feel justified in our belief that the subject is of considerable interest to the most secure and successful of our aged population.

Question (I). What do you think the chief causes of discontent and unhappiness in old age are? Some of the group did not consider old age an unhappy time of life. Four of the 55 people definitely said that they did not think of old age as unhappy, and 2 even went so far as to say that they did not know of any unhappy old people. Three other people made somewhat different replies from the majority of the group. While they recognized the fact that many old people are unhappy and discontented, one of them felt that it was entirely a matter of temperament, that people who had been happy in their youth would continue to be happy in old age, and two of them believed that age, per se, had nothing to do with happiness or unhappiness. The causes of discontent in old age "are as varied as are the causes of discontent and unhappiness in middle age and youth. The lists for all periods are identical." The remainder of the group apparently accepted the suggestion implied in the question, and enumerated causes of discontent which we have classified as follows.

Economic Causes. This note was placed at the top of the questionnaire: "These questions are not intended to deal with any of the economic problems of old age. Naturally a man's material needs must be satisfied before he will pay much attention to anything else, but old people do not live by bread alone any more than young people do."

Nevertheless, nearly every one of the fifty-five subjects mentioned the economic problem in one way or another. Most of them stressed the need for adequate pensions for the dependent aged. In addition to this, they pointed out that even for old people who, strictly speaking, are not dependent, money worries are a frequent cause of unhappiness. A very limited income means giving up many of the small pleasures and comforts of living to which they have been accustomed, and, in cases where small incomes force old people to live with their children or some other relatives, it often means unpleasant living conditions and strained family relations.
Physical causes. Poor health and the waning of physical strength were mentioned by nineteen people. They expressed it in various ways. "Loss in energy and general sense of well being." "The realization that strength is declining yet mental ability remains." "All kinds of organic impairments." "Diminished activity." "The feeling of waning powers." "Inefficiency, resulting from decay or decline of the senses, memory, endurance and other powers. Consequent inability to do good work. Often ill health." "Physical infirmities and suffering."

Social causes. About ten people mentioned the loss by death of friends and members of the family. "Failure to keep in touch with young people" was another cause given by four or five persons. "The lack of understanding of the point of view of the younger generation . . ." "and being treated by them as back numbers." Having no active part in the home life of younger people when they live with them was another social cause. This last was mentioned by a woman. A noted geneticist believes that in these days of small families, the lack of descendants makes for a feeling of futility in old age. It was interesting to see that "marital difficulties" were listed by only one person. Somewhat broader statements of the social difficulties were given by four or five people. "The loss out of their lives of social importance, leading to a feeling of slight and neglect." "Loss of prominence or importance they enjoyed in their prime." "Loss of status as a member of the community and of authority in the affairs of the family." "Neglect or fancied neglect by outsiders." "The feeling that they are no longer needed; responsibility is invigorating though we may not enjoy it." "The feeling of waning powers, physical and social; the sense that one is being 'laid on the shelf'; the being regarded as a 'back number'; the turning over of authority to the younger . . . a sense of reputed inferiority in which the individual does not fully concur." In all, about one-third of the group mentioned the loss of social importance and social contacts.

Causes related to religion and social values. Only seven persons gave reasons which for want of a better heading were placed under this one. In general, all of these people felt that there was something wrong with the modern philosophy of living, something distorted about our fundamental values which renders them unfit for the use of older people and causes discontent and unhappiness for those who try to cling to them. "False system of values—the placing of wealth or material possessions above personality, character,
and social service in the scale of values, the consequent tendency to measure everything in life in terms of material instead of spiritual-intellectual standards."

"The idea that everybody must act as if they were young rather than enjoy the privileges of getting older and being treated as an older person. People today so largely dependent on amusement and interest on doing things and being entertained that they have largely lost the ability to occupy their time within themselves by thought, reading, and so forth; and as a result we have developed a restless type of individual always on the go and poorly adapted to the years when physical activity grows increasingly difficult."

Only one man mentioned the need for religion in old age, and he believed that "a vital religious experience" was essential to contentment. The fear of death was not mentioned at all, although one man stated that worry about the future life tended to cloud later life for many people, and another man listed "the wonder what life is all about and what comes next."

Miscellaneous answers. (1) "No one likes to be old and feel that life with its interests is gradually ebbing away." It is curious that no one else in this group put the matter this way; yet this would seem to be a plain statement of a fundamental truth. (2) "Disappointment in life achievement" was listed only once also, although this would seem to be a bitter source of unhappiness for a great many old people, and one that could never be eliminated. Perhaps we should not expect to find this cause given by a group of people from Who's Who since their own life achievements have been so eminently successful. (3) Another cause, given by a woman, must certainly apply to any number of aging women and that is the vain attempt to retain youth or the appearance of youth by means of cosmetics, clothes, and youthful mannerisms. Most of these women realize that their efforts are unsuccessful and that they are ridiculed for their pains, and therein lies the tragedy of age for them. (4) The lack of preparation in youth and middle age for the period of retirement was mentioned by half a dozen or so of the group. "Very many young folk do not expect to live to old age, and make no financial or other preparation for it—and when too late, nothing seems available. Other young people are 'sporty' and willing to take the chance as a gamble." (5) Worry as a cause of unhappiness in old age was mentioned by one man, a psychologist: worry—about economic safety, freedom, independence; about personal health and longevity, not to mention the future life; about the status of children and other close relatives, their attitude
toward and manner of life." This type of worry, indeed, seems to be so characteristic of most old people that it is a question whether it is a source of unhappiness or happiness to them, whether it is not, perhaps, avicarious method of participating in the life around them. (6) A certain inflexibility in old people, a "loss of adaptability to new situations," was considered the basic difficulty by a few. One man expressed it as "a conventional and fixed attitude toward the world that regards new developments as disasters." A psychiatrist puts it so: "the chief difficulty lies in the mental spheres; old people are unable to assert themselves in the same manner as before, they gradually lose interest in the present, and prefer to live in the past when they played leading roles, or at least amounted to something. The course of civilization is inexorable, and brooks no sympathy with those who are unable to keep pace with it.. Most of the active enjoyments of civilization have an erotic tinge, and revolve around aggression and romance, which perforce precludes old age. The mind and body seem less flexible as age advances, and consequently, new views and ideas are rarely accepted, but true progress consists in constant change, which harmonizes with youth and is incompatible with old age."

Lack of activities and interests. Every one in the group, except those few who did not consider old age unhappy or who thought there were no special causes in old age, emphasized as the major source of discontent in later life a certain state of mind which may most concisely be described as a "feeling of uselessness and unimportance" due to "lack of occupation and outside interests." About one-half of the group laid the psychological breakdown of old age definitely at the door of idleness, "the lack of intensely interesting and compelling work which the individual enjoys and considers distinctly worth while, even if not also socially important." "The lack of regular and purposeful occupation." "The absence of a goal in life or some worth while work." "Lack of definite purpose, a feeling of aimlessness." "Lack of congenial, worth while occupation." "The assumption that retirement means loneliness, old age, and nothing to do." The remainder of the group emphasized the lack of avocation. "Lack of a real interest in one or preferably several of the affairs of the world and the universe." "Lack of widespread interest in things in general." "Lack of habits of work, hobbies, and play." Basically, in this connection, vocation and avocation are not two different things. The meaning is clear enough. "What old people need is
something to do, something to fill up their time, something which is of
genuine interest to them, and some thing which needs real effort to
accomplish. For some people, only regular, paid work will fill this need. For
others, a good hobby suffices; a hobby, ridden hard, often amounts to useful,
even if unpaid work. The border line between work and play is often very
hazy.

On the whole, the Who's Who group emphasized the importance of good
health, an adequate social life, and a genuinely interesting vocation or
avocation as the prime requisites for happiness in old age, with the chief
emphasis laid upon the latter factor. In the pensioned group also, we found
happiness definitely associated with good health and pleasant social relations-
ships, but still more closely associated with "having plenty to do every day."* It
is surely significant and worthy of notice when we find this agreement
between people at the very opposite ends of the social scale.

Question 2. Are these causes all inherent in old age itself, or could some of
them be eliminated? If not, why not? If so, how so? "We found only eight
persons who believed that the causes of unhappiness in old age were inherent
and could not be eliminated. For them, growing old is essentially a process of
decline, a slowly progressive loss of adaptability and flexibility which cannot
be stayed and which usually results in unhappiness. The remainder of the
group, with the exception of those who thought age had nothing to do with
happiness, were considerably more optimistic. They differentiated carefully
among the causes they had previously listed as leading to unhappiness in
later life, and pointed out that some of them were inevitable, while others
could be partially controlled, and some could even be eliminated by social,
economic, and political adjustment. "The social and economic ones can be
mitigated and possibly prevented. The emotional and physical difficulties are
less open to control." One man said that the causes were "inherent" only
because they were traditional, and that a process of reeducation would go a
long way toward eliminating them, despite the mastery that habit has over
us.

On one point these people were in complete agreement, namely, that old
age is a period of life with its own peculiar needs, and that plans and
preparation must be made for this span of years as well as for any other
period of life if it is to amount to anything. They also emphasized the point
that the preparation must be begun early, in middle age or even in youth;
that no happy miracles
could remake a person's life in old age. This is a very interesting point and one
that is largely neglected. Most people do try to make financial preparation for old
age. Some succeed; others fail, but it is seldom, if ever, that one hears anyone
mention what he wants to *do or be* when he is old. Children talk freely about
what they are going to do when they "get big"; young people make more definite
plans, mapping out a general course of life for which they may prepare through
education. Part of their education is compulsory, and further education may
follow from the youth's own desire to find his place and work in the world or
from the social pressure brought to bear on him. Anyone who refuses to follow
this general scheme of growing up and assuming his duties in life is soon
classified as a hopeless social misfit and perhaps even labeled "abnormal." But
no one is considered socially "queer" because he fails to plan for the latter part of
his life. In fact, almost the reverse is true." The most common attitude in regard
to old age seems to be the happy-go-lucky, "Oh, well! when I get old I'll soon
die," but fortunately or unfortunately, as one chooses to look at it, a great many
people do not die when they get old but continue to live with all the disabilities
and handicaps of age for five, ten, twenty or more years, a good-sized fraction of
life. The span from the age of sixty-five to seventy-five is, after all, just as real
and as large a part of life as is the span from twenty-five to thirty-five, and is,
therefore, just as deserving of some thought and preparation. Such preparation
there must be, if the last years of life are to be much more than an ante-room to
death.

Waning health and strength were admitted to be inherent in old age and
impossible to eliminate, although a few people thought that even this factor could
be lessened to a certain extent by improved hygiene all through life and by
periodic health examinations, especially during middle age.

The death of friends and relatives and the consequent loss of the old familiar
social group and its activities and pleasures were likewise admitted to be
inevitable, and it was pointed out by a number of people that to avoid a friendless
old age a person must make a definite effort to make new contacts and cultivate
people younger than himself. This is a difficult thing to do, but not impossible.
One woman emphasized this particularly by saying that "social failure is due
more or less to indifference, to indolence, and to allowing one's social life to be
carried by the family which breaks
up and disappears. Loss of social importance results from a habit of dependence on the importance that springs from affection solely, and in the end is lost. These things can be prevented by taking thought."

For the mental causes of unhappiness in old age, the feeling of futility, of uselessness, the lack of a goal or a purpose, most of the group believed there was very little excuse because they are not inherent in old age and can be eliminated. "If one has interests outside oneself and things to do within one's power, there is no need for discontent." The mental causes "can be eliminated by a rational determination to work, to do something which, even if it haps of no recognized utility to the world as such, will nevertheless serve to develop oneself and satisfy the craving for doing something to occupy oneself pleasantly and fruitfully for oneself."

Twenty-seven persons stressed the necessity of cultivating an interest in the larger problems of life all through life and so providing a bulwark against the boredom of old age. Seventeen others definitely specified that outside interests and hobbies were not enough; that old people should have some personal work of their own, some little job, no matter how simple, in order to keep themselves contented. In connection with this point, a distinguished psychologist sent the following pertinent suggestion: "For some types of work and responsibility the aged are still useful. I believe that a scientific study of the assets and liabilities of old age would indicate ways in which a place in the world's work could be reserved for the old. There should then be some training during earlier years for the type of work to be undertaken a little later."

Not every one agreed, however, on the need for work and active interests in old age. Several people deplored the modern philosophy which makes productive activity the measure of success. "There is some inevitable tragedy in old age, but the American attitude which puts preeminence on the acquirement of money and on work adds greatly when work ceases. This can be lessened as other values are accepted as they are likely to be. The sense of uselessness would diminish when its measure is changed. The peculiar status of the aged is the result of the emphasis on the things that strength can produce which overweights the young as to their importance. The Chinese out of long experience put especial social values on the aged, and in China old age is intrinsically esteemed. There is no solution for the difficulty in America except a changed social attitude, and that is not impossible."
Question 3. What preparation would you consider necessary to provide for a contented happy old age? Only four persons believe that no preparation is possible; two, because they feel that happiness and content depend on innate temperamental traits; one, because he thinks old people should not be unhappy, restless, and dissatisfied but should be willing and glad to retire and lead a quiet personal life; and one because he believes that old age cannot be contented, but at the best only resigned.

"I do not believe that you can make any preparation to provide for a contented and happy old age! Only a few old people are contented and happy in their old age. There are some exceptions, which prove the rule, and these belong to a group who were either so disillusioned with life that they are ready to die, or they have learned not to fear death through some philosophy of life—either a religion or a secular philosophy. It would seem that a sensible religion would be the best preparation if a secure financial future would go with it, but that, of course, would only hold true for one class of people. The best preparation is to teach people from the beginning to resign themselves to the inevitable, and not to fear death."

There was a remarkably consistent agreement among the remainder of the group regarding the best preparation for old age. Adequate financial preparation was, of course, mentioned by a number of persons, many of them stressing the need for pensions to care for those who had been unable to provide for themselves. Three or four mentioned the need for periodic health examinations throughout youth and middle age, with particular attention to the conservation of vision. Nine stressed the importance of making new contacts, new friends, particularly among young people, to take the place of the older ones who are lost by death. Most of them frankly said that this was difficult but not impossible. They were not very explicit as to how it should be done.

The point on which nearly all agreed was the necessity of equipping oneself early in life with a wide range of interests and a good hobby. One man even went so far as to say that this mental preparation for old age was more important than the financial. Forty-two people emphasized this need in one way or another. "Have a hobby. If you are fortunate enough to have an artistic gift, keep it up." "A man should keep his interests varied, especially his non-productive activities." "Learning to play while young, using the word play in its largest sense. Leisure time activity can be cultivated." "A development during active life of the uses of leisure and a plan for the leisure which retirement from active service would give." "Have outside interests which can be continued..."
after one's regular work ceases,—avocations, hobbies, the love of reading, the chance to do things for which there has been no time." "A continuous realization of the great value of all sorts of activity other than paid jobs." "Early plans for the adjustment of interests." "Deliberate preparatory training in any one of various fields—social, intellectual, aesthetic, depending upon the native equipment of the individual." One man sends the following interesting bit: "I would suggest the further education of the aged by peripatetic hobbyists. A typewriter would be a great tool to put into the hands of the old-growing fraternity. That is why I am using one now (5 years past 60). I'm just learning now." He adds further in illustration of his point: "My father was moderately unhappy for nearly twenty-five years (after about 60). My mother was very happy and busy for twenty-five years (after about 60). The former read only modern stories and newspapers. My mother studied French, Italian and typewriting, and she was practically blind for twenty years. She was always busy, but he was usually not. She had much handwork she could do." A famous woman novelist also mentioned the importance of handwork. "Learn to make at least one article of use and beauty with your own hands. It is the ease with which women do this that in age gives them the advantage over men." She also suggests, "Learn to make a social contribution, to play cards well, or play a musical instrument, or talk interestingly, if only to ask intelligent questions."

On man, who also points out the necessity "to develop activities in early life that can be a source of satisfaction in old age" brings up an interesting point when he explains that the one-sidedness of early life for most people, and their failure to cultivate general interests, is due principally to fatigue. "A partial cause of this one-sidedness is the over-exertion in daily gainful occupation that leaves no energy to be spent in hours of leisure." This is an important fact which surely applies to the great mass of working class people and which was generally overlooked by this Who's Who group with their greater freedom from onerous labor. It is possible that the shorter working day which is slowly gaining ground in many industries will alleviate this condition.

In addition to leisure time activities, twelve people emphasized the importance of real work for contentment in old age. The president of a technological institute believes that "when men are suddenly cut off from their former duties they droop and die."
"Holding, as I do, the opinion that work until the end of life is essential to human happiness, I have always opposed the operation of an age limit of forty-four years, or any other obstacle of time in the employment of men; and I also believe it to be inimicable to social welfare to retire men from any touch of work when they reach seventy... When we reach the reorganization of our industrial life, which I believe is now under gradual progression, this matter of steady employment for the term of life must have its adequate recognition."

A prominent Socialist leader advocates the retention in industry of the physically capable aged in the easy, light jobs for which child labor is so frequently used, coupled with old age pensions to provide for those who cannot work.

A distinguished psychologist who also holds that real work is the only antidote against being "laid on the shelf," suggests "training for and anticipation of some rather definite function which the old person would perform. Possibly the shift from middle age to old age functions could be made gradually." This last is a very valuable suggestion taken in connection with the former statement that old people are still useful for certain types of work and that a place in the world's work could be reserved for the aged. Certainly the current system of retiring people from work at an age deadline is brutal, wasteful and absurd in the extreme. It is manifestly unreasonable to expect a man to be capable of a full day's work today and incapable of working at all tomorrow, and there is certainly nothing inherent in the nature of either the individual or society that makes this situation inevitable. As a matter of fact, previous to the Industrial Revolution, this was not the case, but a man's work tapered off gradually as his abilities declined, and even today, as we saw in our sample of 381 grantees, most old people make a desperate, unguided effort to adjust their waning powers to the requirements of the working world, trying with pathetic eagerness to find a job suited to their age, strength and ability. Modern society educates, trains, and places its youth in the industrial and professional world, advancing them gradually to positions of greater power and responsibility as their abilities increase. There is no particular reason why society could not reverse the process in late middle age, actually demoting older workers as their strength and skill decline, the demotion process involving both a gradual decrease in the length of the working day and week and a gradual, suitable change in the character of the work. If this were the customary social procedure it would go a long way toward solving the economic problem of old age dependency and also the psychological problem of the havoc wrought in the lives of so many people in late middle age by constant fear of losing their jobs.
Question 4. The aged are generally regarded by the young as a nuisance and a burden to be taken care of and endured as graciously as possible. How much of this is due to the attitude and behavior of the aged themselves? How much to a preconceived idea of the aged on the part of the younger members of society? We had found that the subjects in the old age allowance sample had very little contact with young people in general, and that friction and unhappiness were general the results when an old person went to live with a child. Only thirty-seven people answered this question; the others either left it blank or wrote "don't know." Only four people disagreed with the premise. A typical objection was the following: "I disagree with this question, since in my experience, the aged are generally liked, and, while left out of a good deal of the younger activity, are respected and often loved." Thirty-three people of the thirty-seven who answered, accepted this somewhat exaggerated statement as a true representation of the attitude of youth toward old age, and then attempted to explain it. Their explanations were varied.

Three people believed that youth and age are naturally incompatible and that no fault lies on either side.

"Old age and youth are incompatible. They demand different outlets both physically and mentally. Old age is conservative and forever wishes to restrain youth. Youth is vehement and suffers no restraint. Well bred children graciously endure the burden of old parents, but, as a physician, I have always noticed a sense of relief when the parents finally died. This state of affairs has nothing to do with either the attitude and behavior of either the old people or the young people. It is a part of the natural laws, which must be accepted. Sensible old people know this and do not obtrude themselves upon youth and its ways, and the state should assist them in this effort."

Three people laid the friction between youth and age to temperamental differences, believing that it depended entirely on the individual personalities involved, and that age per se had nothing to do with it.

Six people felt that the cause was split about fifty-fifty between the old people and the young.

"Both are at fault and find difficulty in understanding the point of view of the other. Old people are apt to be critical and express opinions which belong to the past; they cling to such notions, feeling often that morality and Christianity can only thus be served. The younger generation are inclined to think older people are old fashioned and not worthy of attention. The latter too often forget that when they were young they did many things which they concealed from their parents. The present generation are more independent and do not hide their opinions, in fact often like to shock their elders. In truth it is only a group that are extremists."
"With the young, it depends largely upon how they have been brought up. With the old much tact must be shown if they are not to be regarded as a nuisance. The most important thing for the aged to remember is to be willing to 'let go,' and not try to impose too much of their own ideas and beliefs upon the new generation.'

Three persons believed that young people are primarily at fault in their lack of interest in and comprehension of the needs of old people. This condition they attributed principally to a lack of proper training in childhood.

Fifteen persons felt that the cause lay mainly in the attitude and behavior of the old people themselves; that old people, who had failed to keep up with the times, who had not become interested in any of the modern developments and movements and who had failed to cultivate young people, inevitably found themselves disregarded by youth. One man writes of the old people he knew in his youth: "They never understood me or my ideas; they irritated me by senseless criticisms, and so I just stayed away from them, and then they felt lonely and neglected." Sympathetic understanding of youth was emphasized again and again as a necessity for old people who did not want to be ignored by young people. One woman, however, wisely pointed out that old people can carry this matter of "taking an interest in young people" too far. "Old people are often annoying to the young through insisting on sharing their interests and adventures. Nothing is so difficult for the young to accept as 'I'm just as young as I used to be' which is seldom true and frequently ridiculous."

Another woman brings up the interesting question of the health of aged people and its effect on their relations to youth. "You can't answer this without knowing the physical condition of the aged.' If they are (as very great old age often is) feeble physically so that they need material care, of course they are a burden, like any sick person. If they are in ordinary health, they do not need 'care' any more than any grown person, and much of the friction between older and younger generation comes, I think, because of the notion that old people whether in good health or not, somehow need some special kind of care. Left to create a livable life for themselves, which is shared more or less by their younger generation, just like that of any neighbors or friends, there is little friction."

Three persons considered the cause of friction to lie primarily in social and economic conditions rather than in the natures of either the old or young. "The trouble may lie precisely in the superfluity of the aged when no specific provision is made for utilizing their re-
mainling abilities. On the economic side, conditions would be improved, if the aged were not dependent on the younger people. The old, having nothing important of their own to do, are apt to interfere in the activities of their children, etc., and so to be a source of trouble. A former member of the National Research Council writes:

"So far as I am concerned, information is lacking for satisfactory reply to this question. It is my personal opinion that our present social-economic order is more largely responsible for the actual or imagined 'nuisance' and 'burden' of the 'aged' than are either the behavior of the aged themselves or preconceived ideas of young persons concerning the nature and status of the senile. Further, I suspect, that the 'aged' are too prone to become dependent and to assume easily that their children or other relatives owe them support in their declining years; and that on their part young persons similarly are too likely to consider the elderly relative resourceless, helpless, hopelessly out of date and incompetent. It happens to be my personal conviction and philosophy of life that one is no older than he or she feels and acts; that the social-economic relations and values are determined far more largely by the attitude, interests, ambitions, and volitions of the individual than by years of progressive senility."

Like the old age allowance sample, the Who's Who group vary considerably in their analysis of the causes of friction between old and young people, but it is clearly apparent that the indifference of youth to age is found at both ends of the social scale.

Professor H. L. Hollingworth, of Columbia University, suggests the interesting interpretation* that in the course of time a man tends to become his occupation, and his occupation then is a symbol for the aggregate of his major activities and interests, the key to his intellectual level and his social and economic status. Thus when a stranger asks a man who he is, the man will usually respond with the name of his occupation, saying, "I am a doctor," or "a lawyer," or "a grocer." A woman in like circumstances will probably say, "I am Mrs. So-and-So," meaning that she is some man's wife, runs his home, and probably takes care of some children. If not married, she, also, will be apt to reply by giving her occupation. This has an interesting bearing upon the situation of old people who are no longer actively engaged in business and professional life. According to Hollingworth, a man is his job. Are these people nobodies, therefore, who have no regular work? Is the psychological breakdown so common in old age due to the loss of personal identity through loss of the occupation of a lifetime?

* Cited by permission of Professor Hollingworth.
Question 5. It was in connection with the foregoing theory that we asked the fifth question: *Can an old person, who is no longer actively engaged in his life work, remain a member of the modern world, i.e., keep up with the times? If so, how? If not, what factors prevent it?*

There was more agreement on the answers to this question than to any other. Two people felt that they could not answer it. One man gave a negative answer. According to him, "Old persons should continue active in their various pursuits until they are incapacitated. Then, it makes no difference, but any person who is no longer actively engaged in his life work, progressively deteriorates both mentally and physically. I have, as it were, rescued such people from the grave and mental hospitals by putting them back into their life's activity after they had retired because of financial security. As long as a person is physically and mentally able, he should keep, so to speak, 'in the harness,' and society should give him a chance to do so." Coming from an internationally famous psychiatrist, this statement is worthy of attention. He adds that if he had the time, he could give any number of cases "showing that people in good health died soon after retirement or quickly deteriorated mentally as a result of retirement."

Seven persons believed that a man could remain a member of the modern world to a certain extent after he retired by making a definite effort to keep in touch with young people and with current affairs by reading, through the radio and by attending lectures and by taking an active part in some avocational interest. They admitted, however, that this was not an easy task and that a number of factors worked against the hoped for result. "The organization of society discourages activity of old age in affairs; but intellectually and emotionally old age may 'keep up with the times' if it seems worth the while." "To a limited extent depending upon the degree of retention of mental and physical capacity." "Yes, within limits. By taking trouble enough, by reading, participation, self-criticism, etc., etc. A hard job and perhaps not worth the labor." "If he still retains his eyesight, he can do much in this direction by reading. But mainly as a spectator. The radio is a great help also, from this point of view." "The old person can still read and listen, and keep up in a measure; but so long as he has no active share in what is done he is apt to 'cling to the old ways.' Yet he must not be allowed to dominate as that would retard progress."

The remainder of the group believed that old people could keep up with the times if they wanted to, that lack of desire and poor
health were practically the only factors that prevented it. "He can keep up with the modern world by reading, by as much physical activity as circumstances permit, and by keeping alive his interests in people and things outside himself. The factors that prevent it would seem to be ignorance, egotism, laziness mental and physical, and intolerance." "Yes, through reading, through the radio. Through interest in what the young are doing and thinking without being critical. By seeking opportunities to give of one's experience and knowledge. Selfishness, criticism, absorption in one's infirmities and woes are factors which prevent it."

"If they have made a development during active life of the use of leisure which retirement from active service would give." A woman sent a very helpful suggestion for a method of keeping up: "I can't imagine a situation (except desperate poverty or invalidism) in which an old person will not see, on looking around him, some member of the younger generation whom fate has deprived of his rightful protection from the older generation... an orphan, a poor boy or girl, a misunderstood one. To move from the narrow personal position of being parent only to one's flesh-and-blood children into the broader one of feeling responsibility (personal) for any member of the younger generation who needs mothering or fathering, seems to me to ensure a living organic connection with life. To do his parent's duty by the adopted (more or less) younger person, the older one needs to understand the modern world, have a point of view in which to place himself in a natural, sound relation to it, every natural incentive to understand it and master it, just as much as ever." Another thoughtful answer was the following:

"I should say yes, I think so, by keeping in touch with current progress, and especially with the younger generation, through participation in intellectual activities, amusements, crafts, and by sharing, vicariously at least, in the day's work. I should select as especially favorable to 'keeping up with the times' the cultivation and concern with intellectual activities and especially of reading; the cultivation of social service to community, state, nation, or world; the increasing employment of one's leisure in craft activities, which, whether or not economically significant, should yield aesthetic satisfaction and varied social returns. Unquestionably keeping up with the younger generation is primarily a matter of intellectual appreciation and of sympathy with change in ideals and their modes of expression. Those who cling tenaciously and desperately to things as they have been or as they are, are sure to antagonize youth and to support the notion that senility is synonymous with old-fogeyism and non-progressiveness."

Question 6. Do you think that the tendency for retirement earlier in life is a good one, or do you think that people would be happier if they could continue with their work right up to the end?
Eleven people were in favor of early retirement. "Old people in active life clog the pipes and prevent the movement of social life." "At my age (65) a man can be actually in the way of things and better workers, unless he plans his efforts carefully and perhaps under some younger expert in the line. I think we will learn, perhaps under duress, how better to use time in the riper years. Maturity ought to be a fine period." "Yes—Japanese example should be followed. The American incapacity to retire gracefully is a severe commentary on American life generally." "Early retirement good, if some good and useful interest and activity are substituted." According to another contributor, early retirement is good because it should "mark the beginning of the larger liberation and enrichment of personality."

In opposition to this point of view, we find twenty-nine respondents who seemed to feel that an older person's only hope of salvation depended on keeping on with his work as long as possible. "Never stop! The man who retires is lost." "The latter by all means. Work properly adapted is a man's greatest friend, and adequate education would enlarge the range of useful employment among the aged." "Observation leads me to the belief that the quickest road to old age is early retirement, granting, of course, that there are exceptions." "Would favor early retirement only for those who have resources within themselves." One woman who believes that "there should be some way of utilizing the wisdom and experience of older people who have ability," points out the need of a "sort of a vocational guidance into something older people can do." "I feel strongly that persons should not be retired at any fixed period". There are mental tests possible at the present time which determine whether a person is fit for his task or not. Some persons are not fit at fifty-five, and others are thoroughly fit at seventy. It seems to me that it is grossly unjust to set aside a capable person merely because he has reached a certain age. I have no doubt that persons who enjoy their work would be much better if they were allowed to work as long as they proved to be fit." Another expressed this idea as follows:

"Retirement should be based up on reliable measures of mental and physical fitness, which in turn should be evaluated in the light of adequate norms and standards of judgment, and furthermore, that such measures or examination basis of evaluating the status and present worth of an individual should apply alike throughout the range of human abilities and human responsibilities and opportunities. In other words, that from those who are engaged in the simplest of manual occupations to those who deal with the most intricate professional,
economic, and social problems, the same procedure should be applied. It is my conviction that
the 'tendency for retirement earlier in life,' irrespective of individual fitness and needs, is bad,
as measured by its social effects, and further, that barring the physically or mentally unfit,
individuals would be happier during their declining years if they could continue with their
customary work as long as they desired to do so and were reasonably equal to it. The pressure
of youth should, I am sure have no influence on the shelving of the 'aged.' It is largely by virtue
of experience which is spread over the years that man acquires wisdom. Normally he should
acquire also balance and breadth of knowledge and judgment with the years. The wisdom of
age should be made available to and effectively used by the younger generation. Such use is
not advanced by enforced retirement or shelving."

The remainder of the group were more guarded in their statements. They
pointed out that circumstances so altered the case, that no general decision could be
made on this question, that it depended on the individuals' health and their ability
and desire to work, and in a large measure on the character of the work. In certain
types of work retirement was thought to mean a welcome release from monotonous
labor, in which case, of course, the earlier a man could retire, the better, but in the
creative fields of work, the situation was regarded as very different. In the latter
case, a man scarcely begins to reap the fruits of his labors until he is well along in
years, and for him, early retirement is almost a tragedy.

Question 7. Granted that certain highly intellectual people, usually from the
professional classes, will always have enough broad, outside interests, such as politics, volunteer social work, art, literature, etc., to keep them occupied and happy
during the years of retirement, what genuine interests do you think could be found or created for the more average, less intellectual member of society, whose main
interests have always been his daily work and his growing family, when he is cast on
the scrap heap of industry, and his family is broken up by death and the marriage
and departure of his children?

Opinion was sharply divided on this question. A considerable number of the
group felt that there was no use in attempting to do anything for people of this sort;
that unless a man had developed some hobbies or interests of his own accord during
his earlier years, nothing could be done for him in his old age. "In my judgment the
objective of this question is relatively hopeless of realization. Unless the interests
are quickened in childhood, and the fires burn warmly in youth, and the beginnings
of creative interests develop in the twenties and thirties, there is no hope of starting
any very great burning among the embers." "It is not possible to give a
general answer to this question; all depends upon the individual. A non-intellectual person is a problem under any condition, becoming increasingly difficult as age intensifies his purely physical problems. "I doubt if interests can be created." "As to men and women who have grown old without developing inherent interests in the subjects embraced by their activities, and have been merely interested in the earning of wages or the piling up of financial wealth, it seems to me very little of the worth-while sort can be done for them. Just what should be attempted in their behalf, I certainly do not know, except that, in my opinion, there is a rather narrow limit to promising efforts in that direction."

Other people seemed to feel that the distinction made in the question between the highly gifted person and the more average individual did not exist, that the same range of interests applied to both groups, perhaps on somewhat different levels. They pointed out that many people who were neither rich, educated nor cultured had a wide range of interests and were very happy in old age.

Still others pointed out that there were many sorts of things that older people could do even if they were not well equipped with a good educational background. Games and some forms of sport, reading, the radio, gardening, caring for young children, church and club work, calling on the sick and the shut-in were various suggestions offered by a number of people. One woman suggested "semi-intellectual" activities, explaining that, "In nearly every community there are interested societies, historical, antiquary, natural science, folklore, and art, also welfare organizations that provide opportunities graduated to the degree of effort. There are also current events clubs and amusement groups. . . . The research activities are especially recommended because they provide the indispensable feeling of being important and making a contribution."

A Socialist suggested that the state should provide large colonies for older people where there would be moderate, pleasant work, and suitable forms of recreation and cultural activities. Another Socialist made a suggestion that seems to be very practical: "The workers who lack educational advantages or who never had the time or perhaps inclination to inform themselves on public questions, literature, art or music during their best years in the struggle for existence, cannot be expected to find comfort or inspiration in things they know little or nothing about. They do understand games, cards, checkers, baseball, quoiting, races, band concerts if not too
classical. Just as we need playgrounds for children so do we need play centers and recreation places for the aged." Recreation centers of this kind would be a great help, also, in bringing older people in touch with one another.

The importance of the problem raised by this question and also the difficulty of its solution were recognized by most of the people in the group, and quotations like the following were frequent. "The accomplishment of this end would require a good deal of general social-economic reconstruction." "This last is one of the greatest problems of this and the coming generations: a wise use of leisure."
A study of this kind does not lend itself readily to conclusions. It is frankly exploratory, and has aimed to present a broad picture of the social life and attitudes of a sample of aged persons. Only a few generalizations will be attempted.

1. It seems clear that aged people are not all alike, although they are very often treated as if they were. In every-day conversation we seem often to imply that after a man reaches the age of sixty-five or seventy, he ceases to be himself and changes into a mere "old man." The study goes far to show that there are no aged characteristics as such, but that the traits exhibited by the old are as varied as those shown by a group of young people, and that they are determined by the same factors, by cultural, educational and economic backgrounds and sex differences. If the new field of social work with aged people which seems to be opening up is to be anything more than a perfunctory supervision of their economic needs, this individuation must be recognized and studied, as in all other social case work.

2. The factors which are found to be associated with good adjustment and happiness in old age are:
   A. Good health and freedom from physical disabilities. This seems more important to men than to women.
   B. Pleasant social and emotional relations with friends and members of one’s family. Social life and contacts are apparently more important to women than to men.
   C. The possession of hobbies and outside interests. The field of adult education offers large possibilities for the creation of these interests in middle aged and older persons.
   D. The quiet, privacy and independence of action provided by living in their own homes. This is apparently more important to people of American traditions than it is to people of European backgrounds who are more apt to desire closer family solidarity. The Upstate people are frequently helped by their children and their allowances reduced accordingly, but to compel them under present cultural conditions to live with their children or relatives against their will, would aggravate family maladjustment.
   E. Some form of work, or useful, work-like activity, as distinguished from the more recreational activity of a hobby. This is
important. To many old people it is the most important factor in their adjustment. This is especially true of people brought up in the old American or "Yankee" culture.

3. As emphasized at the beginning of this study, the writer makes no claim that the 381 subjects are a representative sample of the entire aged population. They overweight the working class from which they came, and they probably represent, upstate at least, a less fecund than average (although not substantially less-marrying) sample of the working class. Yet, the writer is much inclined to believe that the psychological needs which this sample of old people revealed: the desire for personal independence, the longing to continue exercising a certain small amount of power and authority in the world, and the real craving for some sort of suitable activities to fill up the long empty hours, are fairly typical of old people in other walks of life as well. This surmise is very strongly supported by the reports of the *Who's Who* group.

4. This study gives certain quantitative evidence of the differences in attitudes as between the Upstate, old-American stock and the working class population of the metropolis. These differences suggest certain cultural differences, particularly in the matter of values relating to family life and to economic independence and individualism. It would seem that these differences in cultural values in American society are not entirely a matter of urban-rural differentiation, of unequal rates of change from some original homogeneity, but also largely a matter of the cultural backgrounds of the different groups which have settled here.

If we may assume increased happiness and better social adjustment of the aged as goals of social action, then the writer may express certain attitudes and evaluations, certain tentative recommendations, which seem to follow from this study.

This writer would not overlook or minimize in any way the importance of the health factor in old age welfare. She would call attention especially at this time to the recently published *Study of the Medical Needs of Recipients of Old Age Assistance in New York City in 1934*, made by a committee of which Dr. Ernst P. Boas was Chairman, and published by the New York State Department of Social Welfare. This report contains eleven specific recommendations regarding medical and nursing care in the program of old age assistance. The present study, obviously, has concerned itself more especially with the psychological and social needs.
As a people, we Americans are workers. Take our work away from us and we do not know what to do with ourselves. This is particularly true of the older generations. "With the new leisure, some of us perhaps are learning to play, and when we reach old age we may be better equipped to deal with the problem of the empty hours it brings. But for the older people who have spent their lives in work, the abrupt change from a busy, crowded life to days of complete leisure is fraught with boredom and unhappiness. For these persons some kind of work or work-like activity, paid or unpaid, seems to be the sine qua non of contentment in later life. It is certainly significant that this point was emphasized by both the old age allowance sample and the Who's Who group, persons at opposite ends of the economic and social scale.

It is possible, of course, for many hobbies and recreations to become work in the sense here meant; that is, something continuous, constructive, and useful, and not merely an "activity to fill the time. Where rehabilitation of the aged is carried on, as by Dr. Lillian J. Martin in her Old Age Center in San Francisco, the individual client is studied to discover his actual and possible interests, and these are used in helping him create a new plan for his life, which may or may not lead to paid reemployment. Even if there be little hope of paid work, if the aged person can regain the ability or will to engage in some activity which brings attention, appreciation, or reciprocal services from others, or which gives him a sense of worthwhile achievement within himself, his remaining years of life may be said to have been "salvaged."

A very real need, and one that could be met, perhaps through the local Social Welfare offices, is some kind of informational exchanges for bringing the old people of a community in touch with suitable recreational and vocational opportunities and also with other old people of congenial interests. With the growth of individuation in modern society there is increasing need for clearing-house machinery of various types to "find" the right individual for the right situation and the right situation for the right individual. This applies in the sphere of vocational placement; some persons now see such a need in mate-finding; and applications in the area of recreational interests and personal congeniality increasingly suggest themselves. Social clubs for the aged, based upon common interests, the degree of specialization depending in part upon the amount of aged population within reach of a center, present an interesting possibility.
It is encouraging to note that these social and personality needs of old people are not impossible of fulfillment. In a better organized society they could be much more adequately satisfied. Economic security represents a great advance in the care of the aged, and there should be an unrelenting pressure to make it really adequate. Nevertheless, economic security is not enough. Money payments to the aged, to be used to procure the material minima of subsistence, or even a few additional luxury services which can be obtained through the usual channels of commerce, do not solve the whole problem. Actual creation of new services, new institutions, new patterns for living, by community effort, is called for. The last few years have witnessed community efforts and organization in terms of the special needs of children and youth, and again, of marriage and family life. Similar effort is needed to meet the special needs of old age. This latter effort should be closely related to the others.*

* A recent screen play by Vina Delmar, "Make Way for Tomorrow," dramatizes the pathos of modern old age and its unhappy relation with youth. The possibilities of this and of other motion pictures for developing social attitudes favorable to an adequate program of old age welfare would seem to be enormous.
APPENDIX I

METHODOLOGY

A. Obtaining the Data

The material was gathered by four social workers as reported in the Introduction. Each subject was given a personal interview lasting from an hour to two hours. This interview was private, with the exception of a very few cases where it was impossible to get rid of a spouse or a grandchild; but, since these close relatives would be apt to know the old person's opinions on most subjects, we did not feel that the interview was a failure for that reason. In order to promote rapport, the interview was made as much like a social call as possible. The questions were arranged in natural, conversational order, leading from impersonal questions dealing with health up to the more personal questions dealing with private opinions. That this was a good approach was suggested by the fact that very often, once started on a particular topic, subjects would volunteer nearly all of the material covered by the several questions on that topic. This was particularly true of questions dealing with their children, their past occupations, and their present activities and the attitudes involved therein.

A printed schedule of 76 questions was used, a copy of which is given below. After a few introductory "items the questions are numbered in three series, beginning with 101, 201, and 301 respectively. The classification thus indicated, however, becomes modified in the treatment of the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>02 Birth Date</th>
<th>01 Former Occupation</th>
<th>Present Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Own home</td>
<td>Home of child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03. Lives in (check one)</td>
<td>Home of relative other than child</td>
<td>Home of a private family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Health, Family and Social Relations

101. Is your general health at the present time (check one)
   a. Excellent
   b. Good
   c. Fair
   d. Poor
   e. Very poor.

102. Have you any serious physical handicap (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

103. What is it (classify under)
   a. Blind or almost blind
   b. Deaf or almost deaf
   c. Crippled hands and arms
   d. Crippled legs and feet
   e. General rheumatic stiffness
   f. Serious internal weakness of any form

104. Does this keep you from doing the things you enjoy (check one)
   a. Not much
   b. Some
   c. Entirely

105. How much schooling have you had (State number of grades completed)

106. Are you married (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No
107. Is your husband or wife still living (check one)
   a. Yes  Is this your first husband or wife?
   b. No

108. Did you have any children (check one)
   a. Yes  How many
   b. No

109. How many are living now

110. Do you see them (check one).
   a. All the time (lives with one or more of them).
   b. Very often (sees them every few days)
   c. Sometimes
   d. Seldom
   e. Never

111. Did you come to live with this child because you wanted to (check one)
   a. Yes  Record any unsolicited comments
   b. No

112. Would you like to see your children more often (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

113. Do you miss having them around you as you did when they were small
   a. Very much
   b. Considerably
   c. Some
   d. Not much
   e. Not at all

114. Are they managing to get along all right in these hard times (check one and try to get any unsolicited statement as to whether this is a source of satisfaction or worry to him)
   a. Yes
   b. No

115. Do your children ask for your advice and opinion (check one)
   a. Very often
   b. Frequently
   c. Sometimes
   d. Rarely
   e. Never

116. You must be proud of your children. They must be quite a comfort to you. (Say this in an offhand way and record any response)

117. Have you any grandchildren (check one)
   a. Yes  How many
   b. No

118. Do you see them (check one)
   a. Every day (one or more in the home with him)
   b. Very often
   c. Sometimes
   d. Seldom
   e. Never

119. Would you enjoy seeing them more often (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

120. Do you think it is best for an old person to live with his children, or do you think that he would be happier living alone (check one and get the reason)
   a. Live alone
   b. Live with children
   c. Reason for belief
121. You have lived in this neighborhood for quite a number of years haven’t you? Then you must have quite a number of friends who come in to see you (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

122. Are you able to go and see them (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No.

123. Do you know many of the young people in the neighborhood (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

124. Do you see them (check one)
   a. Very often
   b. Often
   c. Sometimes
   d. Seldom
   e. Never

125. Do they ever come to you for your advice and help (check one)
   a. Often
   b. Sometimes
   c. Never

126. Do you think that the young people of today like old people and enjoy being with them as much as young people did when you were young (check one and get the reason for a negative answer)
   a. Yes
   b. No Reason

127. What is your religion

128. Did you use to attend Church (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

129. Do you attend church now (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

130. Why not (classify answer)
   a. Physically unable to go
   b. Loss of interest or belief
   c. Distance too great, no means of transportation

131. Do you miss being able to go to church (check one)
   a. Very much
   b. Considerably
   c. Some
   d. Not much
   e. Not at all

132. What do you miss the most about not being able to go to church (classify answer)
   a. Religious reasons
   b. Social reasons

133. Have you kept up any contact with the church even if you are not able to attend (check one)
   a. Yes Specify what
   b. No

134. Did you ever belong to any clubs or lodges or unions (check one)
   a. Yes Specify what
   b. No
135. Did you ever hold any offices (check one)
   a. Yes Specify what
   b. No

136. Do you still belong to this organisation (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

137. Are you able to go to the meetings (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

138. Do you miss being able to go (check one)
   a. Very much
   b. Considerably
   c. Some
   d. Not much
   e. Not at all

Employment

201. Do you work now? Have you a job of any kind at all now (check one)
   a. Yes What is it.
   b. No

202. Is this the kind of work you used to do (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

203. What did you use to do (List kinds of work in order from the early jobs to later and last one)

204. When did you stop working? How many years ago?

205. Why did you stop (check one)
   a. Illness, unable to work any more
   b. Retired voluntarily
   c. Laid off
   d. Pensioned

206. Did you like your other or more usual job better (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

207. Did you like to work (check one)
   a. Very much
   b. Considerably
   c. Some
   d. Not much
   e. Not at all

208. Were you generally happier when you were busy all day (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

209. Would you like to work now (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No
   If so, why __________
   If not, why not

210. When did you last try to get a job? How many years ago?

211. What kind of a job?

212. How did you go about it?

213. What were the results?

214. Did you think that you received fair treatment (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No Why not

116
215. Are you able to do any kind of work now at all (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

216. Do you think that you would be happier if you had a job (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

217. When you first found it hard to keep up with your job would you have been interested in learning some new kind of work that would not have been quite so hard, and that you could do now (check one) (record any comments)
   a. Yes
   b. No

General Activities

301. Do you find that you have plenty to do every day (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

302. How do you spend your days now? What kinds of things do you do? (list activities)

303. Do these things interest you? Do you find them (check one)
   a. Extremely interesting
   b. Fairly interesting
   c. Keep you from having nothing to do
   d. Get tired of them quickly
   e. Very boring

304. Do you have any hobbies (check one)
   a. Yes What are they
   b. No

305. Did you ever have any hobbies or special interests (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

306. Why did you give them up?

307. What do you do for pleasure and recreation these days? (list them)

308. Generally speaking do you enjoy your life now (check one)
   a. Very much
   b. Considerably
   c. Somewhat
   d. Slightly
   e. Not at all

309. Have you any plans that you are interested in carrying out now (check one)
   a. Yes What are they
   b. No

310. Do your relatives try to help you manage your affairs (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

311. Are you glad to have their help, or would you rather do it yourself (check one)
   a. Glad to have help
   b. Prefer to manage own affairs (record comments)

312. What do you think is the greatest comfort to you in your old age?

313. What has worried you the most in your old age?

314. What do you miss the most from your younger days?

315. What part of your life did you find the happiest (check one)
   a. Childhood (5 to 15 years)
   b. Youth (15 to 25 years)
   c. Young adulthood (25 to 45 years)
   d. Middle age (45 to 60 years)
   e. Later life (60 on up)
316. Why did you enjoy this part of your life the most? What made it the best and happiest!

317. Would you like to live your life over again (check one)
   a. Yes Why?
   b. No Why not?

318. If you had a chance to live your life over again, would you plan for your old age (check one)
   a. Yes
   b. No

319. What kind of plans would you make?
Most answers were recorded by check marks. The schedules were filled out by the interviewer during the interview, with the exception of a very few cases where the sight of a printed form seemed to fill the old person with uneasiness and the fear that his allowance might be taken from him. In such a case, after recording the answers to some of the first simple questions, the subject was told that the "pension office" was interested in gathering some information about the health of old people. He was thanked for giving us his cooperation in answering these questions. Then the questionnaire would be folded up and put away, and the interviewer would ask the questions from memory, steering the conversation along the desired lines and fitting them in at appropriate intervals. This material was then written up immediately after the interview, before making the next call.

The questionnaire method is very often and very justly criticized as being inadequate. It is held that people will not answer truthfully or fully because of embarrassment, resentment, or lack of time. With this group of old people these difficulties did not exist. They all had plenty of time. As a group, they were all accustomed to interviewing by the Old Age Security workers, and did not fear it. With the exception of the few cases mentioned above, most of the group seemed to enjoy being interviewed. The most important difficulty with the questionnaire method is the type of material dealt with. Many questionnaire studies deal with very intimate subject-matter that no one, old or young, wants to see recorded in black and white concerning himself. We felt that our questions, while personal, were not too intimate. They did not deal with sex or money matters, questions from which all people naturally seek cover.

The technique of the interview, of course, was that of social research rather than a psychometric technique. Every effort was made to make the meaning of the question clear, and the person was given plenty of time to answer in his own way. There was considerable general conversation mixed in with the questions. This was interesting in itself; it served to establish rapport and give a social tone to the interview; and most important, it served to stimulate the old person to the airing of his views. In general, the response to the questions was more than adequate. Quantities of unsolicited verbatim statements were recorded which add immeasurably to the records. Establishment of rapport was simple and easy. For these old people a caller was a treat, particularly one who was willing to listen.

B. CLASSIFICATION OF CASES Using the three main bases of classification, (see Introduction) the principal sample fell into eight "original groups," with their various combinations, as follows.

| 1. Upstate happy men | 38 | upstate men | 89 |
| 2. Upstate unhappy men | 51 | men | 170 |
| 3. Mixed happy men | 45 | mixed men | 81 |
| 4. Mixed unhappy men | 36 | mixed women | 96 |
| 5. Upstate happy women | 70 | women | 211 |
| 6. Upstate unhappy women | 30 |
| 7. Mixed happy women | 48 | upstate women | 115 |
| 8. Mixed unhappy women | 45 | |
| Total | 361 | 381 | 381 |
The Happy were distinguished from the Unhappy through the following five questions.

303. "Do these things (activities which the subject reported as occupying his daily time) interest you?" The five possible answers to this question were allotted points as follows: "very boring," zero points; "get tired of them quickly," 1 point; "keep you from having nothing to do," 2 points; "fairly interesting," 3 points; "extremely interesting," 4 points.

304. "Do you have any hobbies?" Zero points were given for a "no" answer, and 1 point for a "yes" answer.

308. "Generally speaking, do you enjoy your life now?" Zero points were allowed for "not at all," 1 point for "slightly," 2 points for "somewhat," 3 points for "considerably," and 4 points for "very much."

Questions 312 and 313 asked about the subject's greatest comforts and worries in old age. If a subject mentioned only worries and no comforts, he was given zero points on these questions. If he mentioned both comforts and worries or neither, he was given 1 point. If he mentioned only comforts and no worries, he was given 2 points.

Adding up the possible points, a subject might secure anywhere from zero to 11 as an "adjustment score." To split the group as near as possible to the median, persons earning scores from 7 and up were classified as "happy," and those earning below 7 were classified as "unhappy." It will be noted that eight of the possible eleven points come from the answers to two questions, one about general enjoyment of life, and the other about finding daily activities interesting. Before deciding to use this combination of questions to measure adjustment or happiness, a rough test of internal consistency was used. This was done by distributing the six-pair-combinations of the four variables into fourfold correlation tables and calculating the coefficient of association (Yule's Q) for each table. As will be noted from the following table, there were no significant negative associations. The "general enjoyment" question was positively associated with the hobbies and interests questions and also with the "comforts and worries" questions; but the "comforts and worries" appeared to be unassociated with hobbies and interests.

Associations (Yule's Q) of traits making up Adjustment Score (Happiness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Happy</th>
<th>Unhappy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>303. Do these things interest you?</td>
<td>+.42</td>
<td>+.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304. Do you have any hobbies?</td>
<td>+.24</td>
<td>+.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308. Do you enjoy your life now?</td>
<td>+.06</td>
<td>-08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312-313 Tendency to mention comforts rather than worries</td>
<td>+.06</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Pearson correlation between Question 308, "Generally speaking do you enjoy your life now?" (yielding from 0 to 4 points) of the Adjustment Score, and the total score on the remaining 4 questions making up this score (0 to 7 points), was +.48 ±.03.

The "Upstate" was distinguished from the "Mixed" culture group as follows. Preliminary comparisons were made between Tompkins County, New York City, Buffalo, and Albany; between Catholics and Protestants; and between German, Irish and Italian stocks. The comparisons related to certain questions which brought out rather striking differences, such as those about attending church, appreciating the help of relatives, believing that an old person should live alone rather than with his children, liking to work, having hobbies, and believing in planning for old age. It was found that the samples from Buffalo and Albany were in most of these respects much more like the Tompkins County than there were like the New York City sample. It was found furthermore, that the majority of cases in Tompkins County were not from strictly farm backgrounds, but from the working classes of small cities and villages. Again it was found that the Protestants from New York City were more like their Catholic neighbors in the above-mentioned differentiating traits than like the upstate Protestants. It was concluded, therefore, that the greatest cultural dichotomy represented by these 381 persons was not urban versus rural, nor Catholic versus Protestant, but rather something that might better be called "upstate culture" versus "metropolitan culture."

In the final classification of cases the "Upstate" groups were deemed as native-stock Protestants from Tompkins County, Buffalo, and Albany. These made up altogether 204 persons. The remaining 177 persons included all New York City residents, plus the Catholics and foreign-stock individuals in the upstate localities. The latter group may best be called a "Mixed group." For statistical purposes there were not enough cases of any one kind in this Mixed group to establish cultural differences within it. We had to be content therefore with comparison between the homogeneous upstate Protestant group and the heterogeneous remainder, whose characteristics are partly due to metropolitan-ism, partly to Catholicism, and partly to European backgrounds. Ninety-five of the 177 of the Mixed group are Catholics.

It might be objected that some of the differences among groups might have been due to differences in personality and technique among the several interviewers. As noted above, the only important differences which could be thus attributed are the differences of the New York City sample from the upstate samples. To assist in judging this question, let us examine more closely the 18 variables in which the Mixed and the Upstate groups differ by more than 15 per cent in the comparison of percentages. These 18 variables fall into a few logical groups, as follows. Each item is stated in that form (positive or negative) which gives the Upstaters a higher rating than the Mixed group. That is, the Upstaters relatively to the Mixed, tend to have these characteristics:

1. Attitude of economic independence and individualism.
   Question 318. Would plan for old age.
   Question 217. Would have been interested in new kind of work.
   Question 216. Would be happier if had a job.
   Question 209. Would like to work now.
   Question 214. Think they received fair treatment at last job application.

2. Weakness of family solidarity.
   Question 114. Not worried about children's not getting along well.
   Question 311. Not glad to have help of relatives in managing affairs.
   Question 111. Do not live with child because they want to.
   Question 310. Relatives do not help to manage affairs.
   Question 118. Do not see grandchildren every day or very often.
   Question 110. Do not see children all the time or every few days.
   Question 120. Think that an old person would be happier living alone.

   Question 305. Had hobbies in past.
   Question 304. Have hobbies now.
4. Less health.
   Health score less for Upstaters.
5. More education.
   Question 105. Have had more than elementary education.
   Question 129. Less attendance at church now.
7. More wish to see grandchildren.
   Question 119. Would enjoy seeing grandchildren more often.

Questions 318 and 209, representing economic independence, Questions 311 and 111 representing family solidarity, and Question 304 representing hobbies, were tabulated for the Tompkins County sample (the writer's interviewees) and for New York City, apart from other classifications of cases. For each of these five variables, the Tompkins County sample and the New York City sample yielded figures which were more extremely far apart than were figures for the Upstate and Mixed groups respectively, but in each case the Tompkins County group was much nearer to the Upstate group than New York City was to the Mixed group. In all these cases New York City was apparently the chief source of the deviation of the mixed from the Upstate, the really "different" sample.

On church attendance, however (Question 129), the Protestant-Catholic difference proved to be the greatest difference, and the Tompkins County and New York City figures were less far apart than were the Upstate and Mixed figures (remember here that the Mixed group contains all the Catholics, and that the Upstate is entirely a Protestant group). The health difference is discussed elsewhere.

That the Upstaters have a greater wish to see their grandchildren more often is logically consistent with the fact that they actually see them less often.

It is difficult to imagine any bias or difference in technique of interviewers which would account for the above differences, in view of the many similarities of Upstate and Mixed groups which occur, despite different interviewers, in answer to so many other equally "subjective" questions, such as these about "missing their children," children asking their advice, knowing young people, thinking young people like old people, loss of interest or belief in religion, liking for work in the past, having of plans, daily activities interesting, and so on. On the other hand, the statistical differences between Upstate and Mixed, attributable chiefly to New York City, are quite in accord with differences in cultural attitudes and behavior which may be observed through a non-statistical study of community life as such. These differences are in harmony with what we know in general about New York City working people and about upstate communities.

The writer is therefore satisfied that we are dealing here in the main with real cultural differences rather than with differences in interviewers or their methods. There is not space in this study to explore all the possibilities of cultural comparison which these data provide.

C. STATISTICAL TREATMENT

Tables I to III present the results which permit statistical comparison of the various groups of cases. Most of the quantitative data are given as percentages of subjects which answered a question in one or more specified ways. Where possible, these designated ways were chosen so as to split the entire population as nearly as possible on a fifty-fifty basis. For example, Question 308, "Generally speaking, do you enjoy your life now? ", had five possible answers. It was found that by making an arbitrary dividing line between the two more happy and the three less happy answers, the entire group would be split almost into halves. That is, 54.5 percent of the whole 381 cases answered the question in the two happier ways. The remaining 45.5 percent answered in the three less happy ways. However, when we come to observe particular groups, we find that 95 percent of the happy men answer the question in the happy ways, and only 12 percent of the unhappy women answer it in these same ways. In this case, of course, such a result should be expected because the question was one of those used to define happiness.
In the exploratory treatment each variable was considered as having two possible values, 1.00 (yes) or 0.00 (no). Most of the variables were of this sort in the original data, being questions answered by "yes" or "no." In the case of those questions where more than two alternative answers were possible, the several alternatives forming a continuum, a working median was established as near as possible to the true median. Then all values above that working median were considered as 1.00, those below it as 0.00. This method lost the advantages of finer gradation which was available from the original data, but most of the multi-answer questions thus treated were later incorporated into composite variables, or "scores" (A.S., S.S., R.S., W.S., U.S.) and in this incorporation all available answer values in the continuum were given differentiated score values. The mean actual "scores" (in points) are given, as well as the percentages of cases exceeding a given (near-median) score.

The purpose of the exploratory treatment was to determine quickly, though somewhat roughly, the significant differences among the original groups or combined groups. The value of each group in respect to each variable was expressed as a "percentage of cases" in the group which has the value of 1.00 (rather than 0), or in other cases, the percentage of cases exceeding the working median.

In order to test the significances of the differences in percentages, thus found, approximate probable errors were computed graphically as follows.

Let \( K \) = the percent of cases out of any group of \( N \) cases which has the 0 value.

Then \( M = \text{mean value of group} = 100 - K \)

Then \( \sigma = \text{standard derivation of group} = \sqrt{\frac{K (100 - K)}{N}} \)

The standard error of the mean value of the group is \( \sqrt{\frac{K (100 - K)}{N}} \).

If two such groups are compared for which the standard errors of their means are the same, \( \sigma_{\text{diff}} = \text{standard error of the difference between the means of the 2 groups} = 1.41 \sqrt{\frac{K (100 - K)}{N}} \). Probable error (P.E.) of said difference = 0.6745\( \sigma_{\text{diff}} \). Graphs were drawn showing \( K \) values as one coordinate, \( N \) values as the other. Computed figures were then written at various points on the graph to indicate the appropriate values of the Probable Error of the difference of the means for certain limiting and intermediate situations, assuming the two means themselves to have the same P.E. of mean. Since in practice one mean usually has a larger P.E. than the other, because of a different value of \( K \) or \( X \), the true P.E. of the difference was estimated, by visual interpolation, at a point between the two values which would be obtained by considering the one or the other group, but much nearer to the higher P.E. values. Intermediate values were estimated by interpolation between the iso-value curves on the graph. For each estimated P.E. the graph was visually explored to see that inaccuracy through using this method could not be great enough to affect the significance of the results.

In the exploratory treatment, each of the eight adjustment-sex-culture groups, although ranging from 36 to 79 in number of cases, was treated as having the same weight when two or more were combined to make a larger group. Thus the "percentage of Happy people who answer Question xx with a "yes"" means the simple average of the percentages found for the four happy groups, and is not weighted according to the number of persons in the groups. Such an average is called here "average by groups," and is the type used in Table II and III, and wherever "happy" and "unhappy" are designated.

In Table I, however, the values for the Happiest and Unhappiest are the equivalent of weighted averages, that is, they are the actual percentages of individuals, weighting each individual, of course, equally. The probable errors of the differences between Happiest and Unhappiest were calculated individually, by formula, not estimated from graphs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question No.</th>
<th>Characteristic which is true of percentages of subjects given in succeeding columns</th>
<th>Percent of the Happiest</th>
<th>Percent of the Unhappiest</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>P.E. of Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Live with child because they want to. Based on 41 cases (22 happiest + 19 unhappiest)*</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>+41.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>&quot;Have plenty to do every day&quot;</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>+37.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Are able to do some kind of work now. Based on 233 cases</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>+36.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Respond positively to remark &quot;You must be proud of your children—they must be quite a comfort to you.&quot; Based on 139 cases (81+58)</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>+32.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.S. 207</td>
<td>5 points or more on Health Score</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>+26.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>&quot;Did you like to work?&quot; Answer &quot;yes, very much,&quot; rather than &quot;considerably,&quot; &quot;some,&quot; &quot;not much,&quot; &quot;not at all&quot;</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>+24.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Excellent or good general health, rather than fair, poor, or very poor</td>
<td>59.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>+23.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>Has (sometimes) had hobbies or special interests</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>-22.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>2 points or more on sociality scale</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>+21.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Have friends in neighborhood</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>+20.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>&quot;Are entirely (rather than &quot;not much&quot; or &quot;same&quot;) kept from doing things they enjoy by physical handicaps</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>-19.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Would like to live their lives over again</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>+1.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>&quot;Do you know many of the young people of the neighborhood?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>+17.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Are able to go and see their friends</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>+17.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Have held offices in club, lodge, or union</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>+16.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>See the young people they know in neighborhood. &quot;very often,&quot; &quot;often,&quot; or &quot;sometimes,&quot; rather than &quot;seldom&quot; or &quot;never&quot;</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>+14.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Have more than 3 children</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>-13.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Have belonged to clubs, lodges, or unions</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>+13.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>&quot;Would you like to work now?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>+11.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages are based upon at least 238 total cases (i.e., 90 percent of the available cases), unless otherwise specified.
TABLE I—(Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question No.</th>
<th>Characteristic which is true of percentages of subjects given in succeeding columns</th>
<th>Percent* of the Hospital</th>
<th>Percent of the Unhappy</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>P.E. of Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Young people of the neighborhood come to them for advice or help &quot;often&quot; or &quot;sometimes&quot; rather than &quot;never&quot; or no answer</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>+10.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Work or have job of some kind now</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>+10.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE Ia**

**Significant Differences Between the Happy (Half) and Unhappy (Half) of the Adjustment Score Distribution (Not Computed for the Happiest and Unhappiest)**

(Percentages averaged by unweighted groups)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question No.</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Percent* of Happy</th>
<th>Percent of Unhappy</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>P.E. of Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>Has hobbies now. (One of the components of the adjustment score but counting only one out of its eleven possible points)</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>+29.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>Have no recreations</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>-22.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304-305</td>
<td>Once had hobbies but does not now (Base A). Think it is best to live alone rather than with children.</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>-18.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Based on 234 cases who answer yes or no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>Found older years, 45 and up, the happiest period of their lives</td>
<td>-68.5</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>-10.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Percentages based upon at least 370 total cases unless otherwise specified.
TABLE II
CHARACTERISTICS WHICH DISTINGUISH MEN FROM WOMEN (Percentages averaged by unweighted groups)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Percent of Men</th>
<th>Percent of Women</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>P.E. of Difference</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Husband or wife is still living</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>+50.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>&quot;Do you find that you have plenty to do every day?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>+50.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>Find daily activities &quot;extremely&quot; or &quot;fairly interesting&quot; (rather than &quot;keep you from having nothing to do&quot; or &quot;get tired of them quickly,&quot; or &quot;very boring&quot;)</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>-30.6</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>&quot;Did you ever belong to any clubs, lodges, or unions?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>+21.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Second to worry about whose children &quot;not getting along well in those hard times&quot; (rather than to report that children are all right or to show a lack of worry about them if they are not all right)</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>-23.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Based on 229 total cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>&quot;Do your children ask for your advice and opinion?&quot; Answer &quot;very often,&quot; &quot;frequently,&quot; or &quot;sometimes&quot; (rather than &quot;rarely&quot; or &quot;never&quot;)</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>-23.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Based on 241 total cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Fail to attend church now because of loss of interest or belief (rather than physical inability, distance or lack of transportation). Answered by only 237 subjects since it did not apply to all; differences nevertheless significant</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>-23.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.B.</td>
<td>4 points, (the maximum on religious score)</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>-22.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Based on 319 total cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>&quot;Do you think you would be happier if you had a job?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>+20.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE II—(Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Percent of Men</th>
<th>Percent of Women</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>P.E. of Difference</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>&quot;When you first found it hard to keep up with your job, would you have helped your children that would not have been so hard and that you could do now?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.2, 24.0, +19.2, 3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>&quot;Would you like to work now?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>87.0, 68.0, +19.0, 3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>Are able to do some kind of work now</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>59.5, 38.8, +20.7, 3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>&quot;Did you like to work?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55.3, 43.8, +11.4, 3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>308</td>
<td>Generally speaking, enjoy their lives more, very much (rather than considerably, some, not much, or not at all)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72.2, 61.2, +11.0, 3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Percent that &quot;family relationships&quot; and &quot;friends&quot; are of total items mentioned as &quot;greatest comfort&quot; in their old age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60.0, 49.0, +11.0, 3.0</td>
<td>Based on 333 total items</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Have &quot;excellent&quot; or &quot;good&quot; general health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29.0, 40.0, -11.0, 2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127-128</td>
<td>Had no religion or did not attend church in the past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53.7, 42.7, +11.0, 2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>&quot;Do you think that young people of today like old people and enjoy being with them as much as young people did when you were young?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12.7, 2.5, +10.2, 1.5</td>
<td>Based on 342 total cases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III
CHARACTERISTICS WHICH DISTINGUISH THE UPSTATE FROM THE MIXED GROUP
(Percentages averaged by unweighted groups)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Percent of Upstate</th>
<th>Percent of Mixed</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>F.E. of Difference</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>&quot;If you had a chance to live your life over again, would you plan for old age?&quot;</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>+40.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Tompkins Co. 88%, New York City 93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>&quot;When you first found it hard to keep up with your job, would you have helped your children that would not have been so hard and that you could do now?&quot;</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>+36.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Based on 239 total cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Seem to be worried about their children not getting along well in these hard times (rather than reporting that their children are all right or showing lack of worry about them if they are not all right)</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>-45.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Tompkins Co. 69%, New York City 97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td>Are glad to have the help of relatives in managing their affairs (not rather &quot;do it yourself&quot;)</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>-35.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Tompkins Co. 16 out of 27, N.Y.C. 22 out of 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Live with child because they want to (not under necessity). Only 57 answers, but difference significant</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>-33.3</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>&quot;Did you have any hobbies or special interests?&quot;</td>
<td>03.9</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>+30.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Based on 109 total cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Would enjoy seeing their grandchildren more often</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>+30.0</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310</td>
<td>&quot;Do your relatives try to help you manage your affairs?&quot;</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>-20.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE III—(Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Attend church now. This is true of 68.3% of Catholic taken separately.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>See grandchildren every day or very often (rather than sometimes, seldom or not at all)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Have had more than an elementary school or 8th grade education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>&quot;Do you think that you would be happier if you had a job?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>&quot;Did you think that you received fair treatment when you last tried to get a job?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Would you like to work now?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>See their children &quot;all the time&quot; or &quot;very few days&quot; (rather than never, seldom, or sometimes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 (Base B)</td>
<td>Think that an old person would be happier living alone (rather than that it is best to live with one's children or uncertain). Based on all who answer yes or no and are not living with their children.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III—(Concluded)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>&quot;Were you generally happier when you were busy all day?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 (Base A)</td>
<td>Think that an old person would be happier living alone (rather than that it is best to live with his children or uncertain). Based on all who answer yes or no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Have some serious physical handicap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>Have no recreations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Have &quot;excellent&quot; or &quot;good&quot; general health (rather than fair, poor or very poor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Have 1–3 children, rather than none or over 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>&quot;Did you ever hold any offices in club, lodge or union?&quot; Answer &quot;yes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Percent that &quot;friends&quot; and &quot;family&quot; are of total items mentioned as the &quot;greatest comforts&quot; in their old age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>&quot;See young people of the neighborhood &quot;very often, &quot;often&quot; or sometimes&quot; (rather than seldom or never)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304–305</td>
<td>Once had hobbies but do not now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Young people come for advice &quot;often&quot; or &quot;sometimes&quot; (rather than never)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127–128</td>
<td>Had no religion or did not attend church in the past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV shows the intercorrelations of the compound scores. These were calculated for men and women separately. To save time, intercorrelations of the scores for the four groups of next smaller order (upstate men, mixed men, upstate women, mixed women) were computed in terms of Yule's Q, or coefficient of association.* This value, like the Pearson coefficient of correlation, is zero when there is no relation, and rises to a maximum of +1.00 in the case of perfect positive association, or to −1.00 in the case of perfect negative association. In general, however, Q values are higher, both positively and negatively, than would be the corresponding E values. Another short cut method of estimating correlation,

**TABLE IV  INTERCORRELATIONS of COMPOUND "SCORES"**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AS</th>
<th>HS</th>
<th>RS</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>WS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>+.43 ± .04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>+.29 ± .04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>+.09 ± .05</td>
<td>−.06 ± .05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>+.15 ± .04</td>
<td>−.09 ± .04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>+.14 ± .05</td>
<td>+.05 ± .05</td>
<td>+.04 ± .05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>+.35 ± .08</td>
<td>+.02 ± .04</td>
<td>+.20 ± .04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>−.17 ± .05</td>
<td>+.07 ± .05</td>
<td>−.04 ± .05</td>
<td>+.16 ± .05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

namely the ratio of actual to chance frequency of association in a fourfold table, was applied
during the preliminary work. The value of this frequency ratio is 1.00 when there is complete
lack of correlation.* When the working medians however do not split the cases half-and-half on
both variables, two different frequency ratios can be obtained, one for the frequency of like-
signed (positively associated) cases, and another for the frequency of unlike-signed (negatively
associated) cases. The farther the working medians are from the true medians, the greater this
divergence between the two frequency ratios. Where this divergence is small, it was found
empirically by a graph that there is a more or less constant relation between the \( Q \) and the
frequency ratio. Namely, when \( Q \) is between + .60 and - .60, \( Q \) (very approximately) = 2 \times
\left( \text{frequency ratio} - 1 \right).

Both the \( Q \) method and the frequency ratio method involve the condensing of all scale
steps of each variable into two, so that the correlation table becomes a fourfold table. While this
coursens the data from the questions with several-step answers, it was the method of most general
and convenient applicability to the questions as a whole.

* See Yule, \textit{op. cit.}, p 26.