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SATISFACTION WITH RETIREMENT IN TWO PARISHES IN LOUISIANA: A CRITICAL INQUIRY INTO DISENGAGEMENT THEORY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in The Department of Sociology

by

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ABSTRACT

This research falls under the aegis of the Sociology of Aging. Primary objectives were to test the disengagement theory by ascertaining the conditions under which elderly people experienced greater levels of satisfaction as they moved into the retired status. Seven related postulates were developed in order to determine the conditions under which disengagement would lead to a smoother retirement transition and life satisfaction as follows:

1) work gives meaning to life; 2) continuity in the life situation has some value for adjustment in and of itself; 3) retirement is equivalent to discontinuity; 4) in situations of frustration and deprivation, including poor health and unrewarding occupations, discontinuity may be functional or satisfying for the aged individual; 5) in situations in which the aging individual continues to maintain good health and a high level of energy, and for whom the work situation has been relatively rewarding in other than a monetary sense, discontinuity may be dysfunctional or unsatisfying; 6) these latter individuals will desire to maintain a high level of interaction with environment; 7) those individuals who have experienced deprivation, frustration and a lack of gratification in secular society will look to the church as an alternative source of satisfaction.
The methodological procedures followed included interviews from a random sample of 377 retired individuals from two parishes in Louisiana representing French Louisiana and Non-French Louisiana respectively. A structural interview approach was utilized, and data were collected relative to the socio-demographic characteristics of informants, their social participation, their social interaction patterns, their attitudes toward retirement transition and their life satisfaction. Data were utilized to empirically test hypotheses derived from the following propositions:

1. Socioeconomic status, all other independent variables held constant, will be positively related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

2. Level of health, all other independent variables held constant, will have an effect upon retirement transition and life satisfaction.

3. Role loss, all other independent variables held constant will have an effect upon retirement transition and life satisfaction.

4. Cultural milieu, all other independent variables held constant, will have an effect upon retirement and life satisfaction.

5. Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health.

6. Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different degrees of role loss.

7. Different degrees of role loss will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health.
8. Socioeconomic status, level of health and degrees of role loss will affect degree of religious participation.

The empirical test applied, factorial analysis of variance with orthogonal partitioning of sum of squares, revealed that propositions II and III were supported by the data. Propositions IV and VI were not supported as written, but the data indicated that opposite relationships from those proposed would have been supported. Propositions not supported included I, V, VII and VIII.

It was concluded from the study findings that there are conditions in the lives of retired people in which disengagement does not lead to an easy retirement transition and life satisfaction. Hence the cross-cultural, ahistorical, universal nature of disengagement theory was successfully challenged. These findings are deemed to have theoretical and pragmatic implications for the sociological study of human aging.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE SETTING

The Status of the Aged in Contemporary Industrialized Societies

According to the United States Department of Commerce, in 1973 there were more males (roughly 8,272,000) and more females (roughly 11,555,000) in the United States 65 years of age and older than at any time previously in the history of the country (United States Bureau of the Census, 1973). Contemporary medical science has helped to improve the health and increase the longevity of the aged. At the same time there has been an increase in the number of elderly people who have been subjected to mandatory retirement regulations in business, industry and other occupational organizations. Any study that is addressed to adjustment to or satisfaction with aging or retirement in American society ought to recognize this two-fold potential for social problems. That is, in American society, not only are there large numbers of people over the age of 65, but an increasing number of these people are employed by large organizations with mandatory retirement at that age. The proportion of people who have control over the age at which
they retire, for example, professionals, proprietors and farm owners, is decreasing as compared to the numbers of people who are susceptible to mandatory retirement practices.

In earlier cultures and in earlier years in American society, many factors combined to maintain a very small aged population, particularly poor nutritional practices and primitive health practices and medical care. Furthermore, those who did survive to old age were more effectively integrated into positive role sets because families were larger, family members lived closer together and performed as a unit economically.

Several changes have been observed as influencing the position of the elderly in contemporary industrial societies; increasing numbers of elderly people, mandatory retirement ages and smaller families living further apart from extended family members are some of the changes which have influenced the position of the elderly today. Aged people in contemporary societies have in effect assumed positions with roles which are considered functionally unimportant or of lesser import. Burgess first used the term "roleless role" to describe the phenomenon of no cultural prescriptions as to the appropriate forms of behaviour, or expectations, for the elderly, particularly upon retirement (Burgess 1960:20). Anderson noted that since the numbers
of aged have increased so rapidly, society, which could incorporate the few who formerly survived until old age, now has to evolve acceptable cultural prescriptions for the millions who are old today.

We have yet to find a way either to foster the continued incorporation of the older American within the viable body of cultural tradition that shapes the pattern of life for other non-old adults, or to evolve specific cultural guidelines for them as old people (Anderson 1972:212).

Sociologists need to continue the development and testing of systematic sociological and sociopsychological theories of aging for the obvious reasons that the aged status is one to which all of us will belong (if we live that long). The elderly themselves, as they increasingly experience group consciousness (Rose 1965:13-19), will demand that society define what it expects or needs from them, as well as the opportunity to indeed define roles for themselves.

The Meaning of Work and Retirement

The fate of man is to work. Except for that small percentage who are independently wealthy, or the substantial but decreasing population of married women who remain in the home, it is necessary for non-indigenous capable human beings to work at gainful occupations in order to survive. But work has become more than the means by which people obtain the goods necessary to sustain life. Work is the major
pursuit by which the individual confronts and interacts with the larger society of which he is a member.

Beside the purely economic function of work, Friedmann and Havighurst have recognized five other functions: 1) that of organizing and regulating the worker's pattern of life activity; 2) that of an identification by which the individual affiliates himself with a group or by which the group is able to classify or categorize the individual; 3) that of determining the place or status of the individual in the community in terms of rank or hierarchical classification; 4) that of establishing patterns of interaction with other members of his group, not only with his peers but in terms of superordinate-subordinate relationships; and 5) that of providing a set of meaningful life experiences for the worker (Friedmann and Havighurst 1971:303-308).

It would be a mistake, however, to ascribe only positive values to work from the perspective of the worker. For every possible positive function a parallel negative one might be observed, depending upon the type of job one holds. For example, farm laborers might recognize that their work provides a routine by which to live, but might also express dissatisfaction with the routine because it is exhausting and dull and sometimes even dangerous. On the
other hand, college professors might recognize a certain routine in their work, but find satisfaction in the routine because its content is comfortable and sometimes even exciting. Retirement, then, whether mandatory or voluntary, eliminates from the individual's life a web of meanings, behaviour patterns, expectations and rewards.

Disengagement theory as propounded by Cumming and Henry (1961) holds that individuals' satisfaction with retirement will increase as they disengage from life long interaction patterns and behaviour endemic in reciprocal role relationships. Cumming and Henry and other proponents of disengagement theory hold that all elderly people will willingly withdraw emotional energy from role relationships and invest it intrasubjectively. Furthermore, according to the proponents of this theory, disengagement from role relationships is a developmental task and leads to increased satisfaction with retirement.

It is the contention which inspired this research that not all aged people respond willingly to the opportunity to disengage from the responsibilities and expectations of the work-related and other roles. One of the purposes of this research was to ascertain those conditions in which the retired elderly were more or less satisfied under circumstances of disengagement as opposed to continued engagement.
II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Cumming and Henry's use of the discovery of modal behaviour patterns to induce ideal norms or cultural prescriptions (and by implication clinical standards of normalcy) for the aged does not address itself to the problematic nature of satisfaction among the elderly as they move to the retired status. They concluded that satisfaction with the retired status is tantamount to voluntary withdrawal from the major roles and their concomitant expectations, and increased intrasubjective investment of energy. It is assumed by Cumming and Henry that generic statements can be made about old age merely on the basis of modal behaviour patterns. They do not recognize the problematic nature of satisfaction for the elderly as they move to the retired status. That is, they fail to recognize that it might be only under certain specific historical and cultural circumstances that the aged prefer to withdraw, and that for some elderly people the retirement years are going to constitute a broad stretch of time of relatively high energy in which new norms are going to have to be developed.

This research is addressed to the discovery of those circumstances in which satisfaction accrues to disengaged elderly people as they retire, as compared to those elderly people who remain engaged in reciprocal role relationships
as they retire. Consequently, seven related postulates were presented for exploration in this research endeavor:

1. Work gives meaning to life.\(^1\)

2. Continuity in the life situation has some value for adjustment in and of itself.

3. Retirement is equivalent to discontinuity.

4. In situations of frustration and deprivation, including poor health and unrewarding occupations, discontinuity may be functional or satisfying for the aging individual.

5. In situations in which the aging individual continues to maintain good health and a high level of energy, and for whom the work situation has been relatively rewarding in other than a monetary sense, discontinuity may be dysfunctional or unsatisfying.

6. These latter individuals will desire to maintain a high level of interaction with their environment.

7. Those individuals who have experienced deprivation, frustration and a lack of gratification in secular society will look to the church as an alternative source of satisfaction.

These seven postulates indicate those conditions under which people experiencing the transition to the retired status will find greater satisfaction under circumstances of

\(^1\)Meaning is used here in the sense that Friedmann and Havighurst used the term, in recognition that it is the work situation that organizes the individual's participation in and confrontation with his society in both its positive and negative aspects.
disengagement as opposed to circumstances of continued engagement.

The term "satisfaction" is used in the discussion which follows rather than the more commonly utilized concept "adjustment." The latter concept has been the more acceptable term among social scientists who study human aging; studies published by such noted scholars as Cumming and Henry, Rose, Rosow and others utilize the concept "adjustment to aging." The term "adjustment" implies an adaptation of oneself to one's circumstances, and a rearranging of one's emotions, perceptions and motor activities to meet the demands of one's environment. Social scientific literature of the late 1960's and early 1970's has been highly critical of trends in psychotherapy toward adjusting individuals to what may be viewed as pathological social structures. The recent emphasis, particularly in the social work subfield of community organization, has been to advocate the alteration of faulty social structures in order to better meet human needs. Bertrand advocated the alteration of social structures to redefine the status of the aged in American society (1975).

Furthermore, the use of the concept "adjustment to aging" implies that there is a status called "the aged status" in contemporary American society, with its unique
role expectations, duties, obligations, rights and rewards. Many researchers have reported that in contemporary American society there are no commonly accepted criteria for adjustment to aging because there are no generally agreed upon role expectations, duties, obligations, rights or rewards for the aged as such. In fact, Anderson and others conclude that the aged are groomed for total cultural withdrawal (1972), although it may be that they are also socialized to resent this occurrence.

A substitute for the apparently meaningless term "adjustment" might be "satisfaction." The use of this term implies an attempt to view a life situation from the perspective of the individual, an attempt to utilize in survey research the ideographic and unique perceptions and emotions that the respondent himself experiences in evaluating a life situation, rather than utilizing some externally imposed criteria which may or may not be applicable to numbers of potential respondents. The point is that the use of the term "adjustment" is meaningful only if its use implies adjustment to something. However, the current status of literature in the field of gerontology is such that no agreed upon prescriptions to which the aged are expected to adjust can be ascertained.
It is for the above reasons that the concept "satisfaction" is utilized in this study and is considered to be more meaningful in the analysis of elderly peoples' response to their situation.

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The sociology of aging is a relatively young scientific field. Research in this area has failed to resolve the problematic nature of conditions under which elderly people experience satisfaction as they retire. The theoretical significance of this study lies in its attempt to refine existing theory relative to conditions for satisfaction with retirement transition. The study utilized disengagement theory as a guide in order to attempt to specify those conditions. One's situation before retirement is considered to be important for determining the nature of satisfaction experienced as one retires: for example, type of occupation, socioeconomic status and cultural area of residence.

It is conceivable that a large number of people over the age of 65 who are retired are still capable of productive activity or work. Normative statements made about the aged and their adjustment to the retired status will be fruitless unless consideration is given to the notion
that retirement, role loss and other forms of disengagement are not deemed satisfactory from the perspective of many of the aged people in our society. There is empirical evidence to support the notion that under certain conditions elderly workers will want to continue working, which is a major form of engagement. For example, Barfield and Morgan found that satisfaction with work in general and with the job in particular was negatively correlated with plans for retirement (1969). Friedmann and Havighurst concluded that workers at occupations with higher levels of prestige will be more likely to prefer to continue working past the age of 65 than those workers at occupations with lower levels of prestige (1954). Wolfbein found that with advancing age there were important differences in the percentage of men and women employed in different types of occupations. Those differences are salient to the questions to which this research was addressed. For example, Wolfbein found that the decrease in percentage of elderly people employed in blue collar jobs was greater than the decrease in percentage of elderly people employed in white collar jobs (1969). It might be argued that workers with white collar jobs (including professional, managerial, technical and clerical) experienced greater opportunities for continued participation
in the world of work than did workers in industrial occupations before retirement. It might also be argued that white collar workers were more likely to take advantage of such opportunities than were blue collar workers because of the greater nonmonetary rewards intrinsic to white collar occupations as opposed to blue collar occupations (Friedmann and Havighurst 1954).

Another important factor to consider in the study of satisfaction with transition to the retired status is the effect of subregional cultural influences upon retirees' perceptions of their life situations. Subregional cultural areas, for the purposes of this study, are defined as geographic regions whose cultural patterns and forms of social organization differ from those of a larger societal unit of which these areas are considered to be a part. These cultural variations have the potential of providing differential opportunities for satisfaction for individuals as they move through the various stages of their lives.

Those cultural (and social) patterns considered to be important influences upon the perception of and satisfaction with one's situation include religion, family structure, economic organization, family structure, political structure, language and education. Residence in a specific subregional
cultural area might not guarantee similar cultural and social experiences for every inhabitant, but if a preponderance of the population shares these variations, then a random sample of the population of these subregional areas should provide sufficient representation of the variations in order that one might study their effects upon satisfaction with one's situation.

Since the research reported in this dissertation was conducted in the state of Louisiana, the author was concerned that cultural differences between subregions should be recognized and accounted for in the analysis of the findings. Two publications, Bertrand, *The Many Louisianas: Rural Social Areas and Cultural Islands*, 1955, and Harper, *Socialization for the Aged Status Among the Negro, French and Non-French Subcultures in Louisiana*, unpublished dissertation, 1967, offer evidence that there are two major subregions in the state that differ systematically in terms of religion, language, economic organization, patterns of land settlement and racial and ethnic composition. While the latter characteristic, racial and ethnic composition, is not a cultural trait *per se*, cultural variations often occur as a result of a high degree of racial or ethnic homogeneity in a given geographical area. The two subregional cultural areas deemed absolutely necessary to represent in the sample
design were designated, for the purposes of this study, as Non-French Louisiana, generally speaking the northern part of the state, and French Louisiana, generally referring to South Louisiana. The two studies identified indicate that there are greater differences in terms of aging variables between residents of the two subregional cultural areas than between blacks and whites who live in one subregional cultural area.

Non-French Louisiana is characterized by small, one-owner farms, a substantial black population, the Protestant religion (mainly Baptist), with the majority of the non-black population of Anglo-Saxon origin. Family structure tends to be nuclear. This part of the state tends to resemble the nearby surrounding states of Alabama, Arkansas and Mississippi in population type and characteristics.

French Louisiana is characterized by customs, traditions and social organization which evolved as a result of the French and French-Canadian settlers' intermingling with native Americans and Spaniards more than two hundred years ago. Southern Louisiana is not a geographical area as much as it is a cultural area. It is predominately Catholic, of mixed French, Spanish, Indian and in some cases black ancestry, and has been the site of sugar cane, rice, mixed vegetable and fruit growing enterprises. Historically, large
farms and plantations existed in the Delta areas whose owners tended to maintain a feudal-type relationship with their workers. This type of economic organization was also true in the Mississippi and the Red River Deltas of north Louisiana. In French Louisiana, particularly among the elderly, French is frequently the only language spoken (Bertrand 1955).

It is possible that religious difference alone might account for differentials in satisfaction with retirement and perceptions of life opportunities. The population sampled in Non-French Louisiana was 85 per cent Protestant, whereas that sampled in French Louisiana was over 71 per cent Catholic. Because the sample was obtained in a random manner these statistics can be assumed to reflect the proportions in each religious group among the aged populations in the respective sections of the state.

The ramifications of religious differences for satisfaction with retirement transition and life situation are interesting to speculate upon. Since Catholic communities tend to be characterized by greater cohesiveness, according to Durkheim (Suicide, 1951), one might expect retirees in French Louisiana to perceive their retirement as bringing about greater satisfaction than would be perceived by retirees in Non-French Louisiana. Greater cohesiveness
connotes higher levels of integration into the community for the aged. Aged people who are potentially more integrated into their communities might experience less loneliness, isolation and uselessness (Burgess' "roleless role" concept). Protestants, according to Durkheim (1951), profess a credo of extreme individualism and responsibility for themselves and their situations. Perhaps, then, retirees in Non-French Louisiana of the Protestant faith would be more likely to claim satisfaction with their situations after retirement, since to admit dissatisfaction would be tantamount to admitting personal failure.

Because of the above conjecture, in this study it is assumed that residents of Non-French Louisiana will be more likely to indicate greater satisfaction with their situation than members of the French subregional cultural area.

This study is concerned with the relationships between factors relevant to life situations before retirement (including socioeconomic status, health, subregional cultural area and religion), the existence of role loss (represented by retirement, widowhood, loss of contact with friends and relatives, withdrawal from voluntary organizations and changes in church attendance), and retirement transition and life satisfaction. It is proposed that relationships between these variables will be important for prediction
of the circumstances in which discontinuity (role loss, retirement, disengagement) is perceived by elderly people in two parishes in Louisiana as functional for producing satisfaction, as opposed to those circumstances in which discontinuity is perceived as dysfunctional.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESENTATION

The following is an outline of the organization of the discussion presented, including a brief description of the goal of each chapter. Chapter II is designed to present a review of the relevant literature. The state of knowledge about human aging is such that is not possible at this time to offer a new theory about the processes of and satisfaction with aging and retirement. Therefore, it is necessary to review and utilize work done by others in the area of investigation to which this research project is addressed. The focus of Chapter II is upon a review of the three major theoretical perspectives developed by scholars studying aging, and upon some empirical studies which have utilized these perspectives. The emphasis is upon disengagement theory, which was utilized as the theoretical perspective for this study.

Chapter III is devoted to a systematic presentation of the theoretical concepts and the theoretical perspective
developed for this study. It includes as well a delineation of the propositions derived from the theoretical perspective and from which the hypotheses to be tested were drawn.

In Chapter IV, the research procedure is described, including the operationalization of concepts, the sampling design, techniques of instrument construction and data collection, problems encountered in obtaining the data and the techniques followed in presenting and analyzing the data. The procedures by which hypotheses were tested are also given attention.

Chapter V is utilized to describe the general characteristics of the study population, including race, sex, and age composition of the respondents sampled by parish of residence, marital status, family composition, size of household, income, education, occupation levels, religious affiliation, health and role loss scores, income and education.

In Chapter VI, the essence of the findings is described and related to the hypotheses formulated. An analysis of the findings follows.

In Chapter VII, a summary of the study is presented, and some theoretical and pragmatic implications are proposed.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the status of theoretical and empirical literature in the area of the sociology of aging is examined. The initial focus is upon a comparison of two of the three major theoretical perspectives in terms of their explanatory potential for life satisfaction after retirement. A second focus is on disengagement theory, including criticisms offered by both Arnold Rose (1965) and this author, as well as some suggestions whereby disengagement theory might be transformed into a more sociologically informed theory. Finally, a brief review of the literature utilizing variables integral to this study is offered.

II. SOME THEORIES AND CONCEPTUALIZATIONS RELATED TO SATISFACTION WITH AGING AND RETIREMENT

The sociology of aging is a relatively young scientific field, with the first social-psychological investigation of aging appearing in a book by Havighurst and Albrecht in 1953. Since that time there have been numerous attempts by sociologists to systematize research findings in the area of aging under the general theoretical frameworks of "disengagement," "activity" and the "subculture" theories of aging.
Proponents of the "activity" theory of aging propose that the aging process is continuous with and not basically different from other stages in life span of the individual, particularly the middle stage. Just as the young or middle-aged individual is under exhortation to become or remain active instrumentally, so the aging individual is exhortied to remain active, though no longer is he compelled to engage in instrumental activity. Satisfaction obtains from activity. Hence social structures are or should be engineered whose express purpose is to provide activity (Golden Age Clubs, church related programs, community senior citizen activities, for example) irrespective of the meaning, relevance or perceived worth of the activity. (Havighurst and Albrecht, 1953).

Activity theory seems to propose ideal cultural standards of behavior for the elderly, but these standards, which emphasize independence, creativity and a wealth of personal resources do not seem to be realistically applicable to the majority of people over 65 in the United States. Examples of inspirational role models, such as Casals, Toscanini, Schweitzer, Russell, Meir and even Grandma Moses, are used to exhort the elderly to use their retirement years to develop latent talents, take on new community responsibilities and to eagerly anticipate the vaunted "golden years."
But Loeb (1973) and others have found that most older people do not possess the creative personal resources necessary to fulfill the appeals to undertake new activities. Activity theory is also unrealistic in its tendency to ascribe the same value content to play as to work on the part of members of our society. Or, to be more exact, sociologists such as Friedmann and Havighurst seem to assume that by their proposing play and leisure activities as fulfilling the same noneconomic needs that work does, members of our society will follow their proclamations and begin to value play and leisure activities in the same way. (1953). Realistically there is little in our cultural system to lead social scientists to expect this to be the case.

Lemon, Bengtson and Peterson (1973) attempted to draw testable propositions from activity theory and subject them to research. They derived two broad propositions from activity theory: there is a positive relationship between social activity and life satisfaction in old age, and there is an inverse relationship between salient role loss (such as widowhood or retirement) and life satisfaction. The hypotheses tested were not supported by the data, with the exception of the direct relationship between social activity with friends and life satisfaction (1973:37-49).
Ethologists such as Robert Ardrey, (1970) and Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox (1969) proposed that human beings, just as the primates from which they evolved, need peer relationships to satisfy their needs. Lemon, Bengtson and Peterson perhaps shed some enlightenment by their finding that even as we age we maintain the need for intimacy with peers.

A second theoretical perspective, the "subculture" theory of aging, is addressed to members of the aging population who perceive themselves as excluded from interaction with other segments of society and also experience a growing consciousness of the mutual problems they face. (Rose, 1965).

Rose proposes that the aged in the United States possess the characteristics endemic in a potential subculture. For Rose the concept "subculture" refers to a shared consciousness rather than to shared structural or organizational variables. Subcultures can conceivably occur under two sets of circumstances: "1) the members have a positive affinity for each other on some basis.... 2) The members are excluded from interaction with other groups in the population to some significant extent (1965:3)."

Older Americans meet the first condition by virtue of the growing numbers of people over sixty-five, by the
increase in numbers of age-segregated "retirement communities," by their mutual interest in solutions to the problems of transportation, medical care and housing, and by their increased consciousness of themselves as a group rather than as a category.

The elderly meet the second condition by virtue of the fact that they experience rejection by the young.

Retired people—who can no longer earn a living, whose physical abilities to "get around" and engage in sports are limited, and whose prospects for new achievements and success in competition are slim—experience a sharply diminished status. (Rose, 1965:4)

Rose recognizes, however, that although the aging subculture is growing, only a minority yet identify themselves as a group. (1965:13). Hence any social scientist who hopes to make statements about the nature of aging in the United States might not find Rose's theory of the subculture of the aging as salient for his conceptual framework as another perspective might be.

III. DISENGAGEMENT THEORY: A CRITIQUE

Disengagement theory, the third theoretical perspective, holds that as the individual ages he withdraws socially and psychologically from society. The implication is that the withdrawal process is mutually agreeable, since on the one hand the withdrawal brings about a decrease
in societal pressures on the individual to engage in instrumental behavior. The withdrawal is functional for society as well, since as the individual withdraws from his role activities, particularly in the sphere of economic activities, he vacates positions which are subsequently made available to the younger cohort. In this sense disengagement is seen as functional for both society and the aging individual (Cumming and Henry, 1961). For Cumming and Henry, then, satisfaction with life after retirement depends upon a lessening of demands made upon individuals by external sources in order that they may utilize their dwindling amounts of ego energy in introspection and the seeking of physical comfort.

The foundation of disengagement theory rests upon the notion that there is social structural evidence that "the individual and his society become disengaged from each other" (Cumming and Henry, 1961:37). Evidence is offered for social structural changes in four areas: role count (the change in numbers of role relationships engaged in after age 65), interaction index (the change in density of interaction patterns after age 65), social lifespace (the change in spread of role relationships after age 65) and kinship relationships (the change in close relationships with kin members). In the Cumming-Henry sample, there were
consistent decreases in all these areas after the age of 65 (1961:37-74).

That support exists for the contention that individuals and their social worlds tend to disengage as individuals age is not surprising. Most social scientists who study aging in contemporary American society have drawn similar conclusions. The point of divergence between disengagement theorists and other social gerontologists is the notion that there is an "intrinsic change with age—the analogue of maturation in children—which results in a removal of psychological involvement from the environment and which leads the individual to initiate (italics added by Cumming and Henry) the disengagement process" (Cumming and Henry, 1961:104). Furthermore, not only do individuals voluntarily disengage, they also report higher degrees of morale or satisfaction with their situation when they do disengage, according to Cumming and Henry, particularly during the latter stages of disengagement (1961:114-142).

Since 1961 other social scientists have utilized disengagement theory in their studies of aging. Much of the research about aging which draws on disengagement theory for its conceptual framework (see Rose, 1969; Maddox, 1973; and Atchley, 1972) appears to establish a decrease in activity among aged persons but it fails to uphold the position that a decrease in activity in old age is necessarily
related to increased life satisfaction. (See Tobin and Neugarten, 1961; Maddox, 1973; Palmore, 1968; and Poorkaj, 1972 for a discussion of these relationships). Yet there are studies which do seem to indicate, in some circumstances, support for some of the propositions of disengagement theory. Shanas (1970), in a cross-cultural study of elderly respondents in Poland and the United States, found that her respondents in both countries experienced optimism and no increase in anomia among the older respondents (those in their late 70's and 80's), yet along with these positive attitudes she found an increase in self-preoccupation and a generally held perception of decreased or shrinking life space, all of which tend to support the major tenets of disengagement theory. Furthermore, she found no decrease in experienced normative controls, despite the supposition that it is through interaction with others that norms are communicated and upheld.

The research findings are not conclusive. Crawford (1972), on the basis of research findings, suggested that retirement is generally imposed and not wanted, that disengagement is not mutual, and that increased participation is generally found to be associated with positive attitudes toward aging. On the other hand, Kalish (1972) defends disengagement, admonishing proponents of activity theory
to be concerned lest their encouragement of activity for the elderly do harm to the self concepts of those who should be encouraged to believe that they have done all they could and now can die content.

The present state of sociological theory relative to aging is one of infancy, especially in terms of broad, comprehensive, systematic statements which provide meaning to research findings and make predictions about human behavior. Activity theory does not seem to speak to the experiential conditions relevant to older people in our society. This viewpoint does not encourage any but the most nominal changes in the social structure in recognition of the significant increase in the elderly population. It seems to encourage almost a *laissez faire* view of aging. Furthermore, as Lemon, Bengtson and Peterson have demonstrated, there is very little empirical support for the theory when systematically delineated into propositions and hypotheses.

Arnold Rose (1965), in an eloquent challenge to disengagement theory, has developed the notion of the "aging subculture," as discussed in subsequent pages of this study. In his book Rose offers three major criticisms of disengagement theory, which if heeded, might add to the
usefulness of disengagement theory for sociologists who want to study the phenomenon of aging.

One criticism proposes that disengagement is not necessarily a characteristic of the aging process per se. Rose cites research which found that 90 percent of the aged non-participants in a sample were also non-participants five years earlier, and that 90 percent of the aged participants were participants five years earlier. Since this research studied all age groups and found correlations between degrees of participation at the end of the five year period for all the age groups, the authors, Videbeck and Knox, propose that disengagement is not characteristic of only the aged, and that not all the elderly are disengaged (Rose, 1965:362).

The second criticism cited by Rose is addressed to the notion that disengagement is desirable for the elderly. Such a blanket statement is not upheld by the research, as will be noted in subsequent pages of this section.

The third criticism, and the most important for Rose, recognizes that although a large proportion of elderly people in our society experience role loss, this situation is not a universal for all time, as Cumming and Henry, in their book, Growing Old, apparently conclude (1961). Rose holds that obligatory role loss for the elderly is built
into the structure of contemporary American society. He accuses disengagement theorists of ethnocentrism and of the ahistorical view common to functional theory in general. Other social scientists have offered evidence that the aged in some preindustrial societies do not experience disengagement.

Simmons (1945), in his classic work, *The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society*, has described three areas in which the aging in preindustrialized societies are able to maintain a claim on the material and nonmaterial rewards in their societies: 1) assurance of food, 2) property rights, and 3) prestige.

Food sharing, supported by the norms, assures the aged in many societies of food, and furthermore, in some cases, reaches a stage in which the choicest morsels are reserved for the aged. In these latter instances food taboos assure their dispersion only to those advanced in years.

In many past and present "primitive" tribes, the aged were supported at the expense of the community, along with the disabled, the sick, widows and orphans. In fact, in many such societies great honor accrued to the political leaders who saw to it that those not able to care for themselves were cared for.
There has always been a marked difference between growing old with and without property rights, particularly where these rights do not depend upon the physical stamina of the possessor to enforce them. Among the types of property rights which were described by Simmons were fees for important services (for example, magic); personal property, such as clothing, tools, weapons, trinkets, and livestock, which could be willed to the young who cared for the aged before they died; hunting or grazing territory and land (Simmons 1945:49-53).

Prestige for the aged is not the result of a deep-seated instinct but the product of culture. Simmons recognized four categories of prestige for the elderly; general respect for the aged, social taboos favorable to old age, glorification of the aged in legends and stories and deification of the aged in religion.

General respect is accorded usually on the basis of the possession of some specific asset. In many cases "respect for seniority" is kept alive partly by traditions and partly by the fact that the older men have had greater experience (Simmons, 1945:35-58).

It is important to note that in other societies it was not necessarily considered functional to assign to the aged roles which were devoid of meaningful activities and expectations. The aged were, in many cases, well-integrated...
into their social groups and had specific duties to fulfill as long as they were physically capable of performing them.

But disengagement theory is not vulnerable to criticism merely by virtue of its attributes as functional theory. Disengagement theory, as propounded by Cumming and Henry particularly, but also as used by other sociologists as a guide for their research on aging, is almost wholly a developmental or psychological theory. It actually proposes, notwithstanding allusions to social structure, that there are

> elements (in the) personality which may give evidence of reduced cathexis to persons and social events, and those elements suggesting an altered basis in the person (italics added) for the reception and initiation of social events (Cumming and Henry, 1961:107).

The treatment of social-structural variables by Cumming and Henry was inductive in nature, and their conclusions about social structure led to the development of disengagement theory. But the major tenets of disengagement theory rest on ego changes, that is, changes in the extent of ego involvement and the quality of ego energy (italics added by Cumming and Henry, p.109). In other words they used modal behavior patterns to infer clinical standards of normalcy.
As Erik Erikson has postulated universal stages of development from infancy to maturity, with certain developmental tasks to be achieved and immanent personality traits necessary for a healthy personality development, so disengagement theory focuses upon personality attributes endemic in successfully aging human beings. It is proposed that as the individual ages he withdraws cathexis from outside events, objects and persons and invests it in himself. He becomes more and more preoccupied with himself as he ages.

David Gutmann, a psychologist, worked with the Cumming-Henry sample to develop a personality typology in order to be able to make predictions about the nature of personality change as individuals age. His findings (p > .001) supported five personality types, each characteristic of a different age group. Type I, characteristic of the youngest group, reflected mastery, goal directed action and an accurately perceived environment. For each successively older group there was a decrease in mastery and goal directed action and an increase in preoccupation with self. Further, accuracy of perception of environment decreased with each older segment of the sample. Type V, characteristic of the oldest group in the sample, were freest from normative restraint and had a generalized weakening of ego control (pp. 109-118).
Clearly there is some evidence to support the notion that disengagement theory, as it has been propounded by Cumming and Henry, is more psychological in nature than sociological.

But disengagement theory, despite its flaws, has continued to engage sociologists interested in what happens as individuals age. Furthermore, despite its psychological orientation, with some adjustments the theory might be brought more completely under the aegis of sociology.

Jonathan Turner explored the four major sociological perspectives, functional theory, conflict theory, interaction theory and exchange theory, and proposed criteria by which to judge the fruitfulness of what passes for sociological theory for advancing answers to the Hobbesian question of "how is order possible?" (Turner 1974:145-146). For Turner, what is of consequence in theory building is the construction of testable propositions which indicate the specific conditions, the types of structures, and the processes under which certain types of social behavior will take place (Turner, 1974:275-276).

Disengagement theory can, in the opinion of this writer, be transformed from a broad, general, psychologically informed, ethnocentric, functional type theory supportive of the status quo, to a theory more useful in
predicting and explaining human behavior if Turner's admonitions are heeded.

It might be valuable to use Rosow's concepts of discontinuity and continuity and relative deprivation and gain to further the explanatory powers of disengagement theory (Rosow, 1963). Continuity and discontinuity, and relative deprivation and gain are concepts by which to evaluate adjustment potential. High adjustment potential is characterized by continuity and minimum discontinuity between various stages or periods in life. Adjustment potential is considered "poor" if the pattern of life manifests considerable changes, instability and shifts. This is qualified by the subjective meaning of the change or lack of change for the individual in question. "Changes which eliminate previous negative aspects of life (frustrations, onerous burdens and the like) or add new positive features (satisfactions, sought opportunities, etc.) shall be regarded as contributing to 'good' adjustment." (Rosow, 1963:217).

Conversely, continued patterns which maintain or intensify frustrations or which introduce new forms of frustration contribute to what might be characterized as "poor" adjustment potential. Therefore, consideration of continuity-discontinuity viewed in terms of lessening or adding to frustrations leads to evaluation of adjustment
in terms of the individual's deprivation or gain in old age relative to his patterns previous to aging (Rosow, 1963:218).

Rosow offers a schematization of adjustment patterns using various employment-retirement possibilities illustrated in Table I.

TABLE I

ADJUSTMENT TYPOLOGIES: THE OCCUPATIONAL ROLE*

<table>
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<th>Objective change</th>
<th>Subjective impact</th>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>Discontinuity</th>
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<td>Positive</td>
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<td>Negative</td>
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This model differs from that of Cumming and Henry in that the latter model implies that discontinuity increases satisfaction whether it is voluntary or not, for ultimately the adjusted aged person will, according to the contentions of disengagement theorists, seek discontinuity if it is not imposed by the social structures of which they are a part.
This is a weakness in that disengagement theory does not recognize that there may be instances in which it is not functional or satisfying for the aging individual to experience losses in the major roles which have constituted his life experiences.

In drawing forth propositions to be tested the value of Rosow's model may be in its power to differentiate the specific conditions under which disengagement will and will not take place.

IV. VARIABLES INTEGRAL TO THE STUDY

Three interrelated phenomena will be explored in relation to the fruitfulness of disengagement theory: factors relevant to life situations before retirement (including type of occupation, income, education, health and religion), the existence of role loss (utilizing as indicators of changes in role relationships -- retirement, widowhood, loss of contact with friends and relatives, withdrawal from voluntary organizations and changes in church attendance), and satisfaction with life after retirement, with a view toward prediction of the circumstances in which discontinuity (role loss, retirement, disengagement) is perceived by elderly people as functional, or producing satisfaction, as opposed to those conditions or circumstances in which discontinuity is perceived as dysfunctional.
One of the most important variables relevant to life situation before retirement is work, since the retirement status is based upon the sudden (or not so sudden) loss of the work position and its concomitant roles. The meaning of work for the individual is problematic, as Friedmann and Havighurst have shown. It is problematic when viewed historically as well as cross-culturally (1953).

It is commonly accepted that it was not until the industrialization and urbanization of the West that large numbers of people had the opportunity to enjoy what has become known as middle class occupations. In previous years, most people, even in Western society, had to labor very hard most hours of the day nearly every day of the year. People began their working careers as children, whether the family lived on a farm or, as more recently, in the city. Women and men worked equally hard throughout their lives, and if they lived until old age they looked forward to the time when their children (of whom they usually had many, partly for this purpose) could take care of them.

Farming and living close to the soil have been "romanticized" in recent years, especially by young people seeking rural communes as a haven away from the noise, pollution and clamor of the city. But the work of running a farm is a series of never ending, exhausting
chores which are inevitable and inexorable. (See Ronald Roberts, *The New Communes*, 1972).

But even with the advent of industrialization and urbanization the work life of the majority of people was still characterized by gruelling labor, made more odious by the emerging phenomenon of alienation (Bottomore, 1964: 122-124).

Yet there has been an increase in the number of occupations considered satisfying. The growth and development of science and technology in recent years has created a proliferation of white collar occupations in which physical labor is minimal, prestige is medium to high, satisfaction is considerable, and emotional investment is great. But the majority of workers, even in the United States, are still engaged in less rewarding, more tedious and more physically demanding occupations. Wolfbein (1969) noted that in 1959 at least 61 percent of the male workers at the ages of 45-54 were employed at blue collar, service or farm occupations, while only 39 percent were employed at white collar jobs. Even in the white collar occupations, however, only 10 percent of the employed males in the age category of 45-54 were employed in professional occupations.

explored the relationships between meanings of work, and level of skill and SES of occupation for members of five occupations: steelworker, coal miner, retail sales person, skilled craftsman and physician. Their studies were exploratory but their findings suggest three hypotheses similar to those with which this research will be engaged:

1. Workers at the lower skill and socio-economic levels regard their work more frequently as merely a way to earn a living and in general recognize fewer extra-financial meanings in their work than do workers of higher skill and socioeconomic levels.

2. Workers who regard work primarily in terms of its financial meaning will be more favorable toward retirement at age 65 than workers who experience more extra-financial meanings in their work.

3. Those persons who stress meanings of work other than those of earning a living will prefer to continue working past 65 (Friedmann and Havighurst, 1954:132-136).

Health must obviously be a factor in any discussion of aging, particularly since it is the most important factor in the increase in actual numbers of people over sixty-five. Before the recent advances in medical science, including preventive medicine and communicable disease control, very few people lived to reach old age. Those who did were usually weakened by earlier disease or poor health. Such people reached old age exhausted and worn, anticipating
the time when they could look to their children for support, and could find the rest and peace so elusive during their working years. It would not be surprising to find numbers of elderly people today suffering from chronic, debilitating illness, but certainly it would be a gross error not to acknowledge that medical advances and access to good preventive medical care have enabled many elderly people to remain vigorous and healthy long past the age of sixty-five.

That the health status of the aged is related to attitude toward retirement as well as adjustment to the status of retiree was recognized by Tuckman and Lorge in their study, Retirement and the Industrial Worker, published in 1953.

The current health status (of retirees) is also associated with activity in retirement and with the maintenance of social contacts. Those who report better health or no change in health engage less in sedentary activities such as resting, listening to the radio, eating, sleeping, and so on, and more in all other activities such as walking, fishing, working in the garden, travelling, and puttering around the house and yard. Those in better health also tend to see their friends more often than those whose health has remained unchanged or whose health has become worse (Tuckman and Lorge, 1953:84).

Health appears to Tuckman and Lorge to be the major reason for consideration of retirement. That is, those whose health is poor or is declining will seek an earlier retirement than those whose health remains fairly good (Tuckman and Lorge, 1953:87).
Religion may be a salient variable in an investigation of adjustment to the aging status. The sociology of religion offers several theoretical concepts which may be used to investigate the importance of religion to the aging, particularly those elderly people for whom the rewards in the secular world have been minimal. Glock, Riner and Babbie, in their book, To Comfort and to Challenge: A Dilemma of the Contemporary Church (1967), argue that while individuals who continue to experience good health and high levels of energy as they approach old age will continue to desire a high level of interaction with the secular world, those aging individuals who have experienced deprivation, frustration and a lack of gratification in the temporal world will look to the spiritual, or to the church, as an alternative source of reward (Glock, Riner and Babbie, 1967).

Finally, a note about the status of the aged in contemporary Western society might be in order in assessing the explanatory powers of disengagement theory or any propositions to be derived therefrom. In many societies, as Simmons has noted, the aged are ascribed special wisdom, titles of respect and greater political power than when they were young. In our society the aged as a whole are shunted aside for more youthful, vigorous and efficient people. Anderson concluded that the older American is
gradually groomed for total cultural withdrawal. In a research project conducted in conjunction with the University of Southern California, respondents were asked what it was like to be old. Some responded with "being old is like being invisible," or "sexless," or "like having bad breath." (Anderson, 1972:215).

Decreased income, loss of salient roles (widowhood, retirement), decreased health and the so-called cultural lag of a lack of new roles for the increasing aged population all contribute to a decreased status for the elderly. It might be proposed that for those individuals whose jobs are tedious, physically arduous, exhausting or dangerous and nonsatisfying, retirement is anticipated eagerly. Furthermore, those whose health is bad might also look forward to days of peace and rest. Furthermore, for those of low status contact with the larger society, when it occurs, is unpleasant and to be avoided. These might be conditions under which disengagement theory is most predictive. Also these might be conditions under which church attendance may become more significant for the elderly.

But there are also elderly individuals whose occupations have been rewarding (for example, professional people, proprietor, managers), and for whom there is the opportunity to continue working, or, having retired, to produce
in the same field; for example, a retired professor might welcome the chance to retire and do research that he has always wanted to do. There are surely elderly individuals who have managed to maintain good health long past the age of sixty-five. For these individuals disengagement theory might have little predictive value.

V. SUMMARY

In the present chapter the three major paradigms evolved to examine the phenomenon of adjustment to aging have been explored: activity theory, the subculture theory of aging, and disengagement theory, with the latter appearing to be the most fruitful for sociological research given certain interpretations. For example, using Rosow's model of aging it may be seen that there are specific social and cultural circumstances in which discontinuity (disengagement) may be less functional or satisfying for retired individuals than continuity (maintenance of the behavior patterns characteristic of middle age). The task of the sociologist in utilizing disengagement theory as the theoretical framework for his research is to specify those social and cultural conditions under which disengagement leads to increased satisfaction with life after retirement and those conditions under which disengagement leads to decreased satisfaction with life after retirement.
For this study those conditions are specified as follows: In instances of tedious, nonsatisfying occupations, ill health and low status for the aged, propositions derived from disengagement theory will be most productive. Further, there may be a turning toward religion under these circumstances. In instances of satisfying occupations, good health and other indications of gratification from the secular world, propositions derived from disengagement theory will be least predictive.
CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS, PERSPECTIVE AND PROPOSITIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

It is appropriate at this point to set forth in a formal statement the theoretical perspective utilized for this research. This chapter includes first a discussion of the analytical vocabulary of the theoretical perspective, the theoretical perspective itself and the propositions from which the hypotheses to be tested were drawn.

II. DISCUSSION OF THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

I. Work: The meaning of work for Western man is integral to the theoretical premise for this research. Historically work has been a central life interest for the human being (except for those physically unable to work or for the few of independent wealth). Although physical work was held in low esteem by many people throughout early history and is still so considered by people in some societies today (See Banfield, 1958), around the late middle ages in Western Europe the emerging Protestant Ethic began to influence people to value work highly in and of itself. More and more, work came to be viewed as godly and divine, a calling, and ensuring of the worker a place in the Hereafter.
Hence, not only has work been necessary for the survival of man, but in the West at least it has become value-laden and emotionally charged to the extent that radical economists who predict a time when automation and cybernation will make holding a job unnecessary for human survival, also predict that Americans in particular will be willing to pay for such jobs as might still exist (Theobald, 1970).

Work is not only cherished as the means whereby one eats but as an object of cultural value in Western industrial societies. Work is also important as the workers' main source of social interaction throughout his day. The human being is a social creature and even at work he must find fulfillment for his learned dependency upon social interaction. Industrial sociologists and social psychologists have recognized the webs of interaction networks that emerge in the work relationship which are beyond those necessary for the accomplishment of the work itself.

Mandatory or informally expected retirement at an arbitrary age has tended to deprive workers in contemporary industrial societies of this central life interest—their work. A cultural lag has lead to a dearth of cultural prescriptions of sufficient salience for retired individuals to substitute for the gestalt of meanings, activities, patterns of inter-
action and expectations built up through most working peoples' lives and lost at retirement.

2. **Retirement**: If one's central life interest is one's work, then retirement brings about a cessation of involvement with the area that has been most meaningful (in both positive and negative ways) throughout one's life. In industrialized societies the percentage of people over 65 in the work force has declined considerably since the beginning of the twentieth century. In the decade 1950 to 1960 the proportion of people in the United States who retired between the ages of 64 and 65 tripled, from 83 per 1,000 in 1950 to 234 per 1,000 in 1960 (Wolfbein, 1971).

There are two noticeable trends in studies of retirement today: because of the growing trend toward standardization of personnel practices there is an increased tendency to view 65 as the "appropriate" retirement age, but because most aging workers do not want to retire (Talmon, 1968) or have insufficient income at retirement there are pressures which are leading to substitute modes of employment for retirees who want to continue work.

3. **Role loss**: "Role" is commonly used to denote sets of norms or expected behaviors related to one function
endemic to an individual's status position (Bertrand, 1972). As individuals grow up and mature from infancy to childhood and then to adulthood they are absorbed into or seek positions in various social systems. The first of these social systems is usually the family, in which the individual's first roles are those associated with the position of son or daughter. School, friendship groups, courtship and marriage, kinship groups, work and voluntary associations are all sources of positions, and hence of roles.

Many social gerontologists support the notion that as individuals age they experience a decline in role relationships. Most agree that the environment (factors over which individuals have little or no control) is responsible for much role decline; mandatory retirement, widowhood, poverty and illness inevitably contribute to role decline for most aging individuals. Other social gerontologists postulate a withdrawal from external relationships, with a subsequent investment of psychic energy intrasubjectively, as being important in the decline in role relationships. This author postulates that there is ample evidence to conclude that role loss is a sociocultural phenomenon and that there is sufficient evidence about the phenomenon of aging to at
least cast aspersions upon the notion that role loss is a developmental or psychological phenomenon as well (Simmons, 1945; Vogel, 1970). It may well be that the role loss experienced by the aged is more a function of the economic structure of a society that imposes mandatory retirement on the aging individual yet fails to provide adequately for his economic needs during the retirement years.

4. **Disengagement**: The term "disengagement" is used to describe the process of withdrawal by the aged individual from the social systems in which he occupies positions. This, of course, is often made necessary by system rules which force retirement. Used in this sense, disengagement is synonymous with role loss. Cumming and Henry utilize the concept as describing a developmental process similar to those postulated for children as they mature. In a sociological sense disengagement may be described as a process experienced by the aged under specified sociocultural conditions. For example, for those individuals whose health has been poor and whose occupations have been arduous, boring or alienating, disengagement or willing withdrawal from the obligations of reciprocal role relationships will occur. Furthermore, such withdrawal will lead to greater satisfaction with life after retirement. For
the elderly who have maintained good health and whose occupations have been rewarding in a sense other than in monetary terms, disengagement will not occur (that is, they will not willingly withdraw from the obligations of reciprocal role relationships). Furthermore, if role loss is imposed, these individuals will experience less satisfaction with their lives after retirement.

5. Socioeconomic status (SES): This concept refers to the notion that individuals and groups are ranked higher or lower on a social stratification scale in terms of certain characteristics or sets of characteristics in their societies. Marx provided the foundation for many subsequent social stratification theorists when he proposed that an individual or group's ranking depended upon its location in the economic structure. Today, however, social stratification is considered by sociologist to be a multidimensional variable not dependent upon one measure alone. Sociologists have debated over which dimensions are the most valid indicators of a group or individual's position, and how to measure them. Among the dimensions considered in various societies are power, occupational prestige, income or wealth, education and knowledge, religious or ritual purity, and local-community status.
Among these several indicators many contemporary sociologists utilize occupation, income and education as the major indicators of socioeconomic status. Occupational prestige is frequently viewed as the major dimension, and since 1949 much progress has been achieved in its measurement. Occupational prestige scales, which indicate the perceived value of the occupation for society, have been utilized to compare data from twenty-four countries (Hodge et al., 1966) with the results showing a considerable degree of consensus across these societies.

Because there can be tremendous variation within one specific occupation, other measures are needed to add validity to one's measure of SES. Income is valued in industrial societies not only in and of itself but for the advantages (or "life chances") it can buy. Furthermore, it is relatively easy to measure. Education in contemporary Western societies may be utilized as an indicator of SES for several reasons. First, knowledge itself is frequently profitable in contemporary societies. Furthermore, general or specific levels of education are requisite for entering certain occupations in business and the professions. Finally, a "life style" is learned in institutions of higher learning, including use of language, dress and recreational
skills, along with informal network of "contacts," which ease the transition from one stratification level to another for mobile individuals.

A final point about the usefulness of occupational prestige, income and education as indicators of socioeconomic status is their ease of collection and relative reliability over time. For these reasons this set of indicators was used to compute SES for this research project.

6. **Health:** In preindustrial societies the absence of health was taken for granted. Disease, disfigurement, injury, illness and premature death was viewed as manifestations of God's will, which had to be borne. With the advent of contemporary Western medical practices, better health became available to expanding numbers of people. Now good health is sought, poor health is less likely to be tolerated, and increasingly, when one is ill one seeks medical attention. That relative good health in old age provides a sufficient level of energy to support continued participation in an engaged life is supported by Tuckman and Lorge in their study of retirement (1953).

7. **Religious participation:** Durkheim's sociology of religion was concerned with the functions of religion as a social institution. One such function of religion is that it serves to counteract feelings of frustration and deprivation, and to enhance the believer's sense of the rightness of the moral order that actually exists (Durkheim, 1954:47).
Man has been besieged by the erratic, the irrational, the inexplicable, since the beginning of time. Religion serves to incorporate the inexplicable, integrating it into a view of the world, of life, that explains and offers a modicum of seeming control to what would otherwise be an irrational, meaningless, uncontrollable universe. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the more frustrating and unrewarding an individual's life has been as he approaches old age the more likely he will turn toward religion to help him integrate his lifelong experiences in a meaningful way.

8. **Subregional cultural area:** If it can be shown that two or more subregions of a larger region differ systematically in terms of sociocultural variables then it may be proposed that these subregional areas might offer differential opportunities for satisfaction with life after retirement. Evidence has been offered in Chapter I that there are two subregional cultural areas in the state of Louisiana which differ systematically in terms of religion, economic organization, land settlement patterns, language, political structure and family organization. Race and ethnicity, while not sociocultural variables in themselves, tend to influence one's perception of his situation to the extent that racially or ethnically homogeneous settlements
lead to the development of distinct cultural patterns. Evidence was offered in Chapter I that the two subregional cultural areas in Louisiana differ systematically in terms of racial and ethnic composition. A sampling of these two areas would provide a picture reflecting the ethnic and racial composition of each region. Therefore it is possible to examine relationships between subregional cultural area of residence and life satisfaction after retirement.

9. Retirement transition and life satisfaction: As indicated in Chapter I, the dependent variable is designated as satisfaction with life and retirement rather than adjustment to retirement. The rationale for using the term satisfaction was explained in detail in that chapter. This variable is intended to measure one's satisfaction with the change in his life situation since retirement as compared to before retirement. It is assumed that retirement itself will bring about other changes in one's life: less contact with former work colleagues, a lessening of physical demands made upon the retiree, more flexibility in the scheduling of one's day, a decrease in income (substantial in most situations) and a decrease in instrumental goals of the retiree. These are a few of the changes that retirement can bring about. This author is concerned with the retiree's perception of his situation since retirement as he compares his perception of satisfaction with life before retirement.
III. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This section consists of a statement of the theoretical perspective. It includes a discussion of the assumptions made, the unit of analysis used, the level of abstraction employed. Linkages of theoretical concepts with each other are explained to show how the level of predictability for the sociocultural conditions under which disengagement is or is not related to retirement transition and life satisfaction is attained.

Among the assumptions made by the author are the following: 1) the status of the aged in contemporary American society is a reflection of their location at a given point in time and space and is not a universal, transhistorical phenomenon; 2) behavioural scientists are unable to ascertain at this time a developmental process endemic in human aging that leads aging persons to disengage; 3) social and cultural conditions in a person's life will be more meaningful for satisfaction with life after retirement than intrapsychic variables; 4) in contemporary industrialized societies, the life cycle for most people includes education (preparation for employment), employment and retirement and 5) work gives meaning to life.

The unit of analysis is the aggregate of persons falling into the category of 65 years of age and older and
retired, in two parishes (counties) in the state of Louisiana. The level of abstraction may be defined as all persons at the aged status who as such constitute a distinct population group. In addition, levels of socioeconomic status, health and role loss as related to levels of retirement transition and life satisfaction is expressed in this study as a broad, inclusive and general relationship. A high level of abstraction can be valuable in sociological research if the linkages between the theoretical concepts and the "real world entities" to which they refer are sound, for findings of the study can be much more broadly applied and the theoretical perspective much more inclusive in its applicability (Gergen, 1969:5). The linkages between the theoretical concepts and their referents (operational definitions) are explicated in detail in Chapter IV.

The following concepts and their relationships are considered integral to the development of the theoretical perspective which guided this research endeavor: Continuity in the life situation has some value for the satisfaction of the individual with his life situation; change in and of itself has no value, positive or negative, for satisfaction with one's life. Change will be viewed positively if it either decreases or eliminates frustrating or painful aspects
of the individual's life or brings new positive features, such as satisfactions, opportunities or meaningful activities. Change will be viewed negatively if it is not sought, and if it either adds frustration, pain or boredom or eliminates or decreases satisfactions, opportunities or meaningful activities.

Retirement is equivalent to discontinuity. Its value for the individual depends partially upon whether it is unsought or sought change, and partially upon other changes that accompany retirement. For individuals whose work is tedious, arduous, boring, frustrating or alienating, all other conditions being equal, retirement will be eagerly anticipated, whether mandatory or voluntary. For individuals whose work is rewarding, challenging and demanding of a commitment, retirement will be unsought, all other conditions being equal, and if voluntary will be delayed as long as possible.

Socioeconomic status has an effect upon satisfaction with life after retirement given various degrees of role loss. It is agreed that poverty in old age leads inevitably to some degree of role loss. Poor health, which may be a function of a lifetime of hard labor and the inability to pay for adequate medical care; isolation due to a lack of transportation resources and low physical mobility; a lack
of personal resources to maintain networks of social relationships, all characteristic of people at the bottom of the social class structure in contemporary American society, will tend to lead to a decrease in role relationships.

The above factors associated with poverty in America among the aged may also lead to a concomitant desire to be relieved of the arduous responsibilities associated with an engaged life with numerous role relationships which have degrees of social responsibilities. Those people whose work has been satisfying and challenging, who have had sufficient education to equip themselves with the personal resources to use leisure time creatively, whether in continued involvement with their work on less formal basis or wholly in a leisure-or recreational-type manner, and who have sufficient income to provide adequate housing, transportation, medical care and other necessities will be reluctant to be relieved of the responsibilities of an engaged life. For them continued role relationships ease the transition (effect continuity) into retirement.

In situations of frustration and deprivation, including poor health, low income, meager personal resources and unrewarding occupations, discontinuity may be functional or satisfying for the aged. These are the people who will voluntarily
disengage from their other role relationships as they age, for they view the retirement years as a time of earned rest and relief from worldly obligations. Hence role loss for them will tend to be associated with greater satisfaction with retirement.

In situations in which the aging individual continues to maintain good health and a high level of energy, for whom the work situation has been relatively rewarding in other than a monetary sense, whose personal resources enable him or her to engage in creative activities, discontinuity (retirement) may be viewed as dysfunctional or unsatisfying. Such individuals will desire to maintain a high level of interaction within their social environment. They will not seek disengagement (role loss), but in fact will seek to maintain the reciprocal role relationships they incurred throughout the previous years of their lives. For them the inevitable role loss associated with aging in industrialized societies will lead to decreased satisfaction with retirement. In fact, retirement will be viewed as more satisfying if continuity in other areas of life (i.e. other role relationships) is acquired or maintained.

Those individuals who have experienced deprivation, frustration, poor health and a general lack of gratification in secular society will look to the church upon retirement as an alternate source of satisfaction.
The subregional area of one's residence will have an effect upon satisfaction with retirement. Religious denomination, family structure, stratification patterns, educational opportunities, behavioral expectations, among other cultural factors, as well as race and ethnicity influence individuals' perceptions about retirement and the kinds of behavior patterns expected of them, the types of satisfactions available to them as well as their interpretations of these behavior patterns, expectations and satisfactions.

IV. THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

I. 1. **Socioeconomic status**, holding constant the effects of **level of health**, role loss and **cultural milieu** areas of residence, will be directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

2. **Level of health**, holding constant the effects of **socioeconomic status**, role loss and **subregional cultural milieu**, will be directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

3. **Role loss**, holding constant the effects of **socioeconomic status**, **level of health** and **cultural milieu** will be inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.
II. 1. Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health.

2. Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different degrees of role loss.

3. Different degrees of role loss will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health.

III. 1. Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health and different degrees of role loss.

IV. 1. Socioeconomic status, level of health and degree of role loss will affect degree of religious participation.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and elaborate the methodological procedures utilized in this study. It includes a description of the study design, a delineation of the procedures used for determining the parishes (counties) from which the sample was drawn, a description of the sample design, a description of the techniques employed in the collection of the data (including some problems encountered in data collection), and finally a discussion of the analytical techniques whereby the data were interpreted.

II. STUDY DESIGN

This research was designed to study retirement transition and life satisfaction among the aged and to determine the goodness of fit of disengagement theory by testing a relevant theoretical model. This study utilized data taken for a larger research project designed to study adjustment patterns of the aged and retired in two culturally different parishes in the state of Louisiana. Some of the distinguishing characteristics of each subregional area have already been discussed in Chapter I.
Because of financial considerations it was decided that two parishes would be selected from which to draw the sample, one parish representing each of the two major cultural areas in the state. The choice of parish was in part based upon the groundwork laid by the Louisiana Council on Aging. In several parishes in the state, members of the Council had conducted a house-to-house survey of every person 65 years of age and over. A card was completed for each such resident, identifying these persons by name, address, age, sex, race, and in some cases, religion and ward of residence. An important criterion for choice of parish was the existence of a relatively large-sized urbanized area, a number of small towns or villages and open rural countryside, in order to facilitate rural-urban comparisons if any member of the research team should desire to make such comparisons.

Two parishes were selected based upon the foregoing criteria as constituting the universe from which to draw the study sample: Lincoln Parish in North Louisiana and St. Landry Parish in the southern part of the state. The major town in Lincoln Parish was Ruston, the site of Louisiana Tech University and neighbor to Grambling State University, and the major town in St. Landry Parish was Opelousas, adjacent to Lafayette and the University of Southwestern Louisiana.
III. SAMPLE DESIGN

In each of the parishes the Council on Aging had compiled cards for every resident 65 years of age and over. The compilation was begun in late 1973 and was completed in the spring of 1974, hence the information was as up to date as any list of this sort could be. So a major advantage of using these two parishes was the existence of a list which included all members of the universe from which a random sample could be drawn.¹

A random, stratified, proportional sample was utilized with representative proportions of males, females, blacks and whites obtained from each parish. In Lincoln Parish it was determined that selecting every eleventh card from the cards representing the population would yield the requisite number of respondents. This was accomplished by dividing the number of cards in the Council files by the number of cards needed for the sample. The first card was

¹The term "all" must be qualified in that residents of nursing homes, homes for the aged and hospital patients were not included. The motivation of the Council on Aging for limiting their list to non-institutionalized people was the desirability of obtaining names of people who were still potentially active or independent members of their respective communities. A further qualification to the term "all" is the recognition that the list represents a "slice of time" and death, illness, moves from the community and simple human error in noting names or addresses all could conceivably hamper the accuracy of the lists.
selected using a table of random numbers, and every eleventh card thereafter was selected. The cards were divided into four piles, indicating race and sex. The number in each pile was compared with data from the 1970 census data (United States Bureau of the Census) indicating proportions of the population of Lincoln Parish which were male, female, black or white. It was determined how many cards to replace and redraw in order to obtain the most representative sample possible. If a card was replaced, the very next card which yielded the proper combination of traits was selected. This procedure was followed in order to assure a representative proportion of residents in each ward in the parish. The same procedure was followed in St. Landry Parish, but with the selection of every fourteenth card, since St. Landry was the more populous parish. Because of death, illness, moves from the community or, in a few instances, refusals, it was necessary to develop a procedure for obtaining replacements. On several occasions it was necessary to return to the Council on Aging in each parish in order to secure alternates. It was decided that a random procedure was to be used to select the first card for the sample in each parish, and selecting as an alternate the first card thereafter that yielded the appropriate combination of traits. The number of alternate respondents needed was determined after meeting
with the interviewers and reviewing the characteristics of the members of the original sample that they were unable to contact.

A sample of 574 respondents was drawn for the larger study, with half from each parish. Of this number, 27 did not provide complete information and were eliminated, resulting in a total sample of 547 for the larger study. The number of retirees in the sample utilized in this study was determined by responses to the following questions: "Have you enjoyed retirement? Yes [ ] No [ ] Not applicable [ ]" and "Were you more satisfied with your life before you retired? Yes [ ] No [ ] Not applicable [ ]." It was decided to utilize this method of determining who was retired rather than imposing an arbitrary definition, such as considering as retired those working a specified number of months in a year. The method chosen allows the respondent's perception of his own situation as retired or not retired.

Of the larger sample, 409 respondents answered "yes" or "no" to the two questions, thus they were considered to be retired for the purposes of this study. Of that number, 377 usable interview schedules were obtained, and this number constitutes the sample for the study.
IV. TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION

A structured interview schedule (see Appendix) was the primary instrument of data collection. Interviewers were encouraged to observe and make note of any particularly interesting, informative or unusual remarks made by respondents in the margins or on the back of the pages of the interview schedules. A pretest of the interview schedule was undertaken by this writer and a research project colleague. The pretest was undertaken in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in a government-subsidized apartment building which provided housing for needy people 65 years of age and over. Names of respondents willing to participate in the pretest were provided by the Baton Rouge Council on Aging. Six pretest interviews were conducted, with the result that some changes in wording and order of questions were undertaken for the sake of clarity.

Interviewers included both sociology and nonsociology graduate students of Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. In addition, in both parishes, local persons who had some interviewing experience were also employed as interviewers. In Lincoln Parish, a few black residents of the town of Grambling, as well as a few students from Grambling State University were hired in order to try to match race of
interviewer with race of respondent. In St. Landry Parish, two black residents of the town of Opelousas were employed as well as a French speaking woman who was associated with the St. Landry Council on Aging, the latter in order to assist with interviewing respondents who spoke only French. In most cases, however, even for those respondents who spoke only French there was someone in the household who could help with the translations.

For the first group of interviewers hired, a training session was held in which each question on the interview schedule was discussed in detail and its importance for the study as a whole explained. This was done in order to enhance the validity and reliability of the study as well as to provide the interviewers with sufficient knowledge about the project to enhance their confidence in the field. For new interviewers who joined the project while interviewing was in progress, informal training sessions were held. These took place at the daily meetings with the interview staff when new interview assignments were made and interviewing territories assigned. Interviewers were encouraged to practice working with the interview schedule by interviewing a willing friend or relative before going into the field.

The research team for this project designed the interview schedule in order that in-depth information might
be obtained about each respondent in six broad areas:
1) **Demographic Characteristics**, including education, income and occupation (from which SES was determined); 2) **Members of Household**; 3) **Social Activities** (from which the health score was derived); 4) **Social Interaction** (from which church attendance was determined); 5) **Feelings about Retirement** (from which the score for satisfaction with retirement was derived) and 6) **Attitudes About Life** (an attitudinal measurement scale designed to measure alienation).

In preparation for the collection of the data, extensive ground work was done in both parishes about one month before the actual interviewing was begun. The County Extension Agent was called upon in each parish, at which time the project was explained, and the cooperation of the county extension office was enlisted. Both extension agents were cooperative and helpful, volunteering office space for meetings (should this have been necessary for the interviewing staff), and, in some cases, suggesting local persons qualified to be interviewers. An article explaining and publicizing the project was placed in the most widely circulated newspaper in each parish, and in St. Landry Parish the local radio station, which broadcasts in French a few hours a day, offered to publicize the project in both English and French.
Each interviewer was provided with a letter of introduction from the Louisiana State University Department of Rural Sociology, legitimating his or her presence in the parish. Furthermore, letters were sent to each respondent on the lists, explaining the project and enlisting their cooperation.

IV. SOME PROBLEMS WITH DATA COLLECTION

Not every contingency can be foreseen, even in the most rigorous of research designs. Many decisions have to be made in the field when all of the relevant factors are not known. This research project was no exception. One difficulty encountered that seemed at first to threaten the results of the project was the large number of respondents in one of the towns who told interviewers that they had already been interviewed. The interviewers were made aware that students from a local university had conducted interviews in the area as part of a practical exercise. Whereas the impact of this occurrence is not known, it was true that some respondents objected to being interviewed twice. However, when the project was explained most agreed to cooperate. Once the interviewers moved outside the area immediately surrounding the university, progress was no longer jeopardized by previous interview attempts.
One of the objectives of good research design is to control as many sources of error in measurement as possible, so that the differences that appear in the research results correspond as closely as possible to the "true" differences between the respondents, and do not reflect measurement errors. One means of accomplishing such control is to reduce interview bias. As Phillips pointed out, most data collection activities that sociologists perform are instances of social interaction. This suggests that the same types of assessments, judgments, expectations, negotiations and attempts at communication can be expected in a sociological interview as in any other instance of human interaction (Phillips 1972:51).

This being the case, the sociologist must consider how the attributes of the interviewer might affect the outcome (the validity, as it were) of the interview. Galtung, as quoted in Phillips, notes that, "the simplest way of building a relevant factor into a design is by making it irrelevant." (Galtung, 1967:145). In other words, the concern was to lessen the effects of race of respondent upon the validity and reliability of the results of the study. To accomplish that end, a first thought might be to match race of respondent to race of interviewer, for as Williams and others have noted, when the interviewer and respondent are
from quite different backgrounds biases are likely to appear. The most common type of bias arises when the respondent needs the social approval of the interviewer, so he responds in the way he perceives as being most likely to elicit that response of approval (Williams 1968; Phillips, 1973).

Bias in the opposite direction may also occur when people who are considered deviant or members of a so-called out-group in society are interviewed by members of the dominant culture. At such times the so-called deviant group will attempt to conceal their life styles from the prying eyes of "the Man" (sometimes with justification).

But Phillips has noted that even when respondents are most similar to the interviewers in terms of social class, race or ethnic group, sex, and age, another type of bias occurs in which one or both members of the interview situation desire to move the interview in the direction of friendship. In such cases objectivity is unconsciously cast aside while the social consequences of the interview are pursued. In this case both interviewer and respondent attempt to elicit social approval from the other (Phillips, 1972).

Another type of bias seldom considered is that which arises when the interviewer makes certain concessions to an
unwilling or reluctant respondent in order for the interview to take place. Concessions may consist of accepting responses the interviewer has reason to believe are false, not asking questions likely to offend the respondent or giving the respondent cues about which are the more socially approved responses. It is not difficult to imagine this type of exchange taking place when the difference in racial or ethnic group or even social class between interviewer and respondent is the cause for hostility or reluctance on the part of the respondent (or interviewer).

Once the interviewing for this project had begun, however, it was difficult to assign respondents according to race of interviewer as originally planned, in that interviewers were paid a certain rate per completed interview schedule. Thus, contiguous assignments were attempted in order to enable interviewers to earn enough money to pay their expenses. This resulted in the assignment of interviewers without regard to color, race, sex, education, occupation, marital status or socioeconomic status of the interviewer. According to Galtung it is impossible to control for every relevant interview characteristic; therefore, assignment of interviewer without regard to his socio-cultural, psychological or physical characteristics is the
next best means of controlling interviewer bias (1967). The interviewers hired for this project ranged in age from 21 to 50 years old, in education from high school diploma to Ph.D. and in occupation from housewife to salesman to university professor. Most interviewers were from Louisiana, but some were from other regions of the country and two were from outside the United States.

Phillips advocates post hoc factorial analysis after the data have been collected in order to determine the contribution of the interviewer to the results. While this research project did not involve formal post hoc analysis, after every day in the field, meetings were held with the team of interviewers during which time the day's problems were assessed. Every interview schedule was read by this researcher and her colleague on the project, ostensibly to check for completeness of interview schedule. But there was also concern about interviewer contribution, and where it appeared that interviewers were "modeling" or otherwise influencing the data collection the interviewers' procedures

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"Modeling" is the term given to unconscious and unintentional suggestions conveyed to the respondent by the interviewer, which affect the outcome of the experiment. (Phillips, 1972)
were discussed and suggestions were made. When cross-racial interviewing was begun the results were discussed and it was determined that there were no differences in reliability between interviews in which interviewer and respondent were of the same race or of different racial backgrounds. It was a singular source of gratification that among rural white respondents in North Louisiana black interviewers were welcomed cordially, and that among black respondents white interviewers were able to conduct interviews which were meaningful in that respondents were not systematically responding the way they believed the interviewer wanted them to respond.

One possible explanation for the willingness of the respondents to accept cross-racial interviewers is the general loneliness and social isolation experienced by most elderly people in our society. It may have been that these elderly people were so lonely and so eager to talk to someone that they were able to cast aside what prejudices they may have entertained in order to participate in an instance of social interaction. However, it should not be ruled out that racial bias is not as important a factor as some have thought.
V. TECHNICAL STRATEGY

In Chapter III a formal theoretical statement was set forth from which hypotheses could be derived and tested. In the following section the basic analytical model used to test the hypotheses drawn from the theoretical propositions and related hypotheses, and of the procedures by which the operationalization of the theoretical concepts in each proposition was accomplished.

The statistical problem was to choose a technique that was capable of measuring the independent and interactive effects of two or more independent variables on a dependent variable. For this research project the independent variables considered important were health, SES and role loss. Various combinations of these variables were hypothesized to exert unique effects upon the dependent variable, retirement transition and life satisfaction.

In this analysis, it is proposed that the effects of role loss on the other two independent variables are not additive, but are interactive. That is, factorial analysis of variance makes it possible to test independently the effects of each independent variable -- health, SES and role loss -- on the dependent variable -- retirement transition and life satisfaction. But the design also makes it possible
to ascertain the joint effects of two or more of the independent variables on the dependent variable.

There are several types of hypotheses that might be derived using factorial analysis of variance. The first type might be used to propose a relationship between the main effects and the dependent variable. For example, it was hypothesized that health, SES or role loss by itself has an effect upon retirement transition and life satisfaction. The second type of hypothesis was used to propose that first order interaction effects might differ significantly from chance occurrences. That is, it was proposed that there is a relationship between SES and role loss on retirement transition and life satisfaction, SES and health upon retirement transition and life satisfaction and health and role loss upon retirement transition and life satisfaction. The third type of hypothesis might be developed to propose a relationship between second order interaction effects and the dependent variable. That is, it might be hypothesized that role loss, health and SES are found to have a significant effect upon satisfaction with retirement.

The above method of analysis is also referred to as the least squares method (Steel and Torrie, 1960:256).
Some of the data requirements include a random sample, nominal or ordinal level independent variables, an ordinal or interval level dependent variable and a large sample size in order to assure a sufficient number of observations in each cell. The procedure first determines the amount of variation to be explained in retirement transition and life satisfaction scores for each independent variable by holding the other independent variables constant. It is assumed or predicted that there will be less variation within each subcell than between subcells. In other words, it is hoped that a level of retirement transition and life satisfaction can be predicted knowing level of health, SES and score for role loss. But, it might be that different combinations of dependent variables will give unexpected results. Or it might be that each independent variable by itself will not have a significant effect upon the dependent variable. Where it is suspected that only certain combinations of role loss, level of health and SES have an effect upon retirement transition and life satisfaction, then interaction must be dealt with. Factorial analysis of variance is a method of testing for this interaction effect. An F ratio is obtained whereby the estimate of the between groups variance is divided by the estimate of the within groups variance. The results are compared to an F table. If the
between groups variance is significantly larger than the within groups variance the numerator will be larger and will provide evidence to support the experimental hypothesis. This means that an influence other than chance has been operating (Kerlinger, 1973:252-259).

A dummy ANOV table illustrates how the independent variables can be tested for main effects and for interaction effects. See Table II. The variable SES is an ordinal variable divided into three levels: high, medium and low. The variable health is utilized as a dichotomous variable with two levels: good and poor. The variable role loss is utilized as a trichotomous ordinal level variable, arbitrarily ranked as low, medium and high. Retirement transition and life satisfaction, the dependent variable, is a four level ordinal variable.

The most significant comparisons in Table II are between the cells $A_1B_1C_1$ and $A_3B_2C_3$. Because there are unequal numbers in each cell some computational adjustments have to be made. In this instance weighted cell means were used. One justification for using weighted cell means is that for some sets of data the use of weighted means brings out interaction effects more clearly than unweighted means.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A₁ HIGH SES</th>
<th>A₂ MÉD. SES</th>
<th>A₃ LOW SES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEALTH</td>
<td>B₁ Good Health</td>
<td>B₂ Poor Health</td>
<td>B₁ Good Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLE LOSS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₁ Low Role Loss</td>
<td>A₁B₁C₁</td>
<td>A₁B₂C₁</td>
<td>A₂B₁C₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₂ Med. Role Loss</td>
<td>A₁B₁C₂</td>
<td>A₁B₂C₂</td>
<td>A₂B₁C₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C₃ High Role Loss</td>
<td>A₁B₁C₃</td>
<td>A₁B₂C₃</td>
<td>A₂B₁C₃</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following is a discussion of the propositions and related hypotheses, and of the procedures by which the operationalization of the theoretical concepts in each proposition was accomplished.

1. Proposition I: **Socioeconomic status**, all other independent variables held constant, will be directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

The operationalization of the variable socioeconomic status involved the combination of three indicators: occupational prestige, income and education. Occupational prestige was scored according to the North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Ratings, which scores occupations according to the perceived value of the function performed by the holders of the respective occupations. The perceptions of a nationwide cross section of 2,930 Americans sampled by the National Opinion Research Center (1965) were used to develop this rating scale. The scores ranged from 34 for the occupation of shoe shiner to 94 for the occupation of of United States Supreme Court Justice. A score for occupational prestige was derived for the study as follows:

- Occupation scoring 48 and below = score of 1
- Occupation scoring 49 to 77 = score of 2
- Occupation scoring 78 and above = score of 3

This arbitrary division into three categories was accomplished by arraying the individual scores from lowest
to highest and assigning those in the lower third a score of 1, the second third a score of 2 and the upper third a score of 3. Of the 377 respondents in the sample, 145, or approximately 38 per cent, received a score of 1; 190, or approximately 50 per cent, received a score of 2, and 42, or approximately 12 per cent, received a score of 3.

The variable education was operationalized by using actual number of years of school the respondent claimed to have successfully completed. Since 156 of the original 547 respondents had not gone to school at all, these persons were assigned a score of 1. Those completing 1 to 10 years were assigned a score of 2 and those completing 11 (obtaining a high school diploma; in Louisiana during the time that the respondents would have attended school only eleven years were required to complete high school) and more years were assigned a score of 3. Of the 377 respondents retained for this study, 91, or approximately 24 per cent, had no schooling at all, and were assigned a score of 1; 192, or approximately 52 per cent, were assigned a score of 2 and 94, or approximately 25 per cent, were assigned a score of 3.

Income was scored by utilizing the score assigned to reported income before retirement in the interview schedule. Income scores of 0 to 4 (subsistence to $3,999 a year)
received a score of 1. Income scores of 5 to 9 ($4,000 to $8,999 a year) received a score of 2. Income scores of 10 and above ($9,000 to over $19,000 a year) received a score of 3.

Each respondent was thus assigned a score for income, education and occupational prestige respectively. For each respondent these three scores were added together and divided by three to obtain a mean compound score, from which SES was derived. The advantage of this type of computation is that it considers the effect of all three variables on one's socioeconomic status. Thus for a retired worker whose education was minimal but whose income at retirement was high a more representative score is obtained than might have been the case were only income or only education used as the measure of his SES. Any scoring for SES must consider a combination of variables, and while this method may be subject to criticism, it does take three major measures of socioeconomic status into account.

The operationalization of the variable retirement transition and life satisfaction was obtained by using the answers to two questions on the interview schedule and determining four possible outcomes or combinations of responses. The first question was, "Have you enjoyed retirement? yes ☐ no ☐." The second question was, "Were you more
satisfied with your life before you retired? yes ☑ no ☐." A yes answer to #1 and a "no" answer to #2 indicated that the respondent enjoyed his retirement and was more satisfied with life since retirement. This combination of responses was scored as a 4. It was the highest level of retirement transition and life satisfaction. A "no" answer to #1 and a "yes" answer to #2 indicated that the respondent did not enjoy his retirement and was more satisfied with his life before retirement. This combination of responses was scored as 1. A "no" answer to both questions indicated that the respondent might not enjoy his retirement but was satisfied with his life after retirement. This response implied, therefore, a somewhat greater satisfaction with life since retirement. This combination of responses was scored as a 3. A "yes" answer to both questions indicated that, although the respondent might enjoy retirement, he was more satisfied with his life before retirement. This response implied a somewhat greater satisfaction with life before retirement, and was scored as a 2. The scoring procedure developed a four level ordinal type variable.

2. Proposition II: Level of health, all other independent variables held constant, will be directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction. The variable
level of health was operationalized using two questions. The first was, "Do you go to the doctor more now than when you were younger? yes □ no □." The second question was, "If yes, what do you go there for now that you didn't visit for before?" Those respondents who answered "no" to the first question, plus those who answered "yes" to the first question, but responded with "checkups only" to the second, were characterized as having "good" health. The response "checkups" did not necessarily indicate poorer health, but may simply indicate increased concern with maintaining the level of health presently experienced. The respondents who answered "yes" to the first question and responded with the name of an ailment to the second, were characterized as having "poor" health. Good health was scored as a 0 and poor health was scored as 1. This group accounted for the hypothesis derived from proposition 2, level of health is directly related to greater satisfaction with retirement.

3. Proposition III: Role loss, all other independent variable held constant, will be directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

The variable role loss is a variable not ordinarily operationalized in a quantifiable manner. The operationalization utilized in this research was based upon Rosow's
discussion of role loss in "Old People: Their Friends and Neighbors" (1970). According to Rosow, old people shed formal roles first and cling to informal ones, most specifically those reciprocal to children and to other relatives, then to neighbors, and then to friends. Rosow thus presents a claim that those roles least salient to older people will be shed first, "as successive layers of an onion," (Rosow, 1970:60) and those deemed most salient will be held on to as long as possible. According to Rosow, roles will be shed in this order: those reciprocal with voluntary associations, friends, neighbors, relatives and then children.

It should be made clear that the questions from the research instrument that were utilized to ascertain role loss only approximate roles or imply that roles are performed. They are indicators of roles, but not roles in themselves. They are as follows:

1. "Are you in more frequent contact with your children since retirement ... than you were before?"

2. "Are you in more frequent contact with your brothers and sisters since retirement ... than you were before?"

3. "Do you see or hear from (your other relatives) more now, less or about the same since retirement ...?"
4. "Is there a special friend or relative that you feel you can talk to about your problems and cares?"

5. "Do you see (your neighbors) more now, less or about the same since you retired ... ?"

6. "Do you see (other people you consider to be friends) more now, less or about the same since you retired ... ?"

7. "Do you belong to any organization or clubs other than church?"

Respondents had a choice of "more, less or about the same" for questions 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6. Question 4 called for a "yes" or "no" response as did question 7. Respondents were asked to enumerate organizations for which they held membership and indicate whether they attended meetings of these organizations less, more or about the same since retirement. This question appeared on the instrument accordingly:

"If (you belong to any organization) will you please answer the following questions about these organizations?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Do you attend meetings Compared to before retirement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Less now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rosow's statements about the order in which roles are shed tends to lend theoretical support to the formula used
here for scoring respondents' extent of role loss. According to Rosow, the salience of roles to the elderly may be measured along a continuum ranging from voluntary organizations, which have least salience, to friends, to neighbors, to relatives (including siblings), and to children. Scoring for role loss reflects this salience. Weights used to indicate role loss in association with friends, neighbors, relatives, siblings, children and voluntary associations were assigned as follows:

- Children .................... 5
- Siblings ..................... 4
- Other relatives ............. 4
- Neighbors .................... 3
- Friends ......................... 2
- Voluntary organizations...... 1

The weights were allocated on the basis of information received from the following questions:

1. "How many children do you have?" Any numerical response greater than zero was allocated a weight of 5.

2. "How many living brothers and sisters do you have?" Any numerical response greater than zero was allocated a weight of 4.

3. "Are there any other relatives that you visit frequently (at least 5 or 6 times a year)? Yes [ ] No [ ]." A "yes" answer was weighted 4.

4. "How many people do you know in your neighborhood?" Any numerical response greater than zero, or a response of "all" or "most" was weighted 3.
5. A positive response to either or both of the following questions was weighted 2.

"Is there a special friend or relative that you feel you can talk to about your problems and cares? Yes / No / ."

"Are there other people you consider to be friends who have not already been mentioned?" Yes / No / ."

6. Voluntary associations were weighted 1, should the respondent answer favorably to the question, "Do you belong to any clubs or organizations other than church? Yes / No / ."

For role relationships with children, siblings, other relatives, neighbors and friends, loss, no change and gain were measured according to responses to the question, "Do you see ___ more now, less, or about the same since retirement?

More now = 1
Same = 2
Less now = 3

For role relationships in voluntary organizations, loss, no change and gain were measured in the following manner: Number of organizations attended since retirement was multiplied by +1, number of organizations attended less frequently was multiplied by -1, and number of organizations attended about the same frequency was multiplied by zero. A value was obtained by adding the positive and/or negative values for all organizations with which the respondent
associated himself. Totals for attendance having a negative value were considered a loss and were scored +3; totals with a value of zero were considered as reflecting no change and were scored +2; totals with a positive value were considered a gain and were scored +1.

To determine total role loss score the weight for each applicable category was multiplied by the weight for change. Furthermore, to reflect the notion that friends might in some cases function as a reasonable alternative to neighbors, neighbors to siblings or other relatives, and siblings or other relatives to children, if children were interacted with less, but there was more interaction with siblings and/or other relatives, 1 was substracted from the score. If siblings or other relatives were seen less, but there was more interaction with neighbors, 1 was substracted from the score. If there was less interaction with neighbors but more with friends 1 was substracted from the score. If there was less interaction with neighbors but a "yes" response to the question, "Is there a special friend or relative ... ?" 1 was substracted from the score.

The hypothesis related to the above proposition to be tested was: there is an inverse relationship between role loss and retirement transition and life satisfaction.
4. Proposition IV: Cultural milieu, all other independent variables held constant, is inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

Cultural milieu was operationalized in terms of parish of residence, since there is ample evidence that there are two major cultural subregions in the state of Louisiana: French Louisiana and Non-French Louisiana (see Bertrand, 1955 and Harper, 1967). Although selecting a parish representative of French or Non-French Louisiana does not guarantee that every resident of that parish will reflect French or Non-French culture, a resident of that parish will likely be influenced by the cultural milieu therein, and furthermore, the use of random sampling techniques tends to assure statistical representation of the typical individuals residing in that parish. Care was taken to select parishes representative of each of the above cultural areas; Lincoln Parish in Non-French Louisiana was scored as 1 and St. Landry Parish in French Louisiana was scored as 2.

5. Proposition V: Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of role loss. This proposition was tested in two ways: first, by using factorial analysis of variance, testing for interaction effects of SES and role loss on retirement transition and life satisfaction; second,
by comparing four hypotheses using orthogonal partitioning of sums of squares. The four hypotheses are as follows:

a) High SES accompanied by low role loss is directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction;

b) Low SES accompanied by low role loss is inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction;

c) High SES accompanied by high role loss in inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction;

d) Low SES accompanied by high role loss is directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

It was expected that hypotheses a) and d) would demonstrate higher degrees of retirement transition and life satisfaction than would hypotheses b) and c).

6. Proposition VI: Different levels of role loss will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health.

This proposition was also tested in two ways: first, by using factorial analysis of variance and testing for interaction effects of role loss and health on retirement transition and life satisfaction; second by using orthogonal partitioning of sum of squares as in the case of Proposition 5. As with Proposition 5, there were four hypotheses to be tested; hypotheses a) and d) were matched against hypotheses
b) and c). The hypotheses to be tested were:

a) Good health accompanied by low role loss is directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction;

b) Poor health accompanied by low role loss is inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction;

c) Good health accompanied by high role loss is inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction; and

d) Poor health accompanied by high role loss is directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

It was expected that hypotheses a) and d) would demonstrate higher degrees of satisfaction with retirement than would hypotheses b) and c).

7. Proposition VII: **Socioeconomic status** will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different **levels of health** and different degrees of role loss.

This proposition set up a second order interaction problem requiring tests for the interaction effects of the three theoretically important independent variables on the dependent variable. Again, factorial analysis of variance was used in order to test for interaction effects of the relevant independent variables. Also, as was true with Propositions 5 and 6, orthogonal partitioning of sums of squares was used in order to match certain of the derived
hypotheses against others. In this way the effects of the
important variables on the dependent variable could be
tested. In this instance the two hypotheses believed to be
most significant in effects were:

a) High SES, poor health and high role loss are
directly related to retirement transition and
life satisfaction; and

b) Low SES, poor health and high role loss are
directly related to retirement transition and
life satisfaction.

It was expected that the effects of hypotheses a) and
b) would demonstrate higher degrees of satisfaction with
retirement than would the other possible sixteen hypotheses.

8. Proposition VIII. Socioeconomic Status, health
and role loss are related to church attendance.
The dependent variable church attendance was operation­
alized in accordance with the response to the following
question:

1. "Are you a member of a church? yes /  no / /."  
2. "Do you go to church more now, less or about the
same since retirement ...? Less /  about the
same /  more / /."  

Those respondents who either claimed not to be a mem­
ber of a church, or claimed to be members but said they did
not go to church at all were omitted from the analysis.
Only 16 respondents were omitted altogether. The scoring
was accomplished by giving a score of 1 to those persons
who were church members but who went to church less since retirement; a score of 2 to those who were members and who attended about the same since retirement and a score of 3 to those who were members and who attended church more since retirement. A total of 361 respondents remained for this analysis. Factorial analysis of variance was utilized to test hypotheses derived from this proposition. The hypotheses tested were:

a) High SES, good health and role loss are inversely related to church attendance; and

b) Low SES, poor health and high role loss are directly related to church attendance.

The results obtained from the foregoing analytical procedures are discussed in Chapter VI.
CHAPTER V

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a description of the sample population as well as to compare the sample populations drawn from the two culturally distinct areas sampled. The two areas (parishes) are compared in terms of the variables relevant to the analysis. Those variables considered most relevant to the analysis were: income, occupational prestige, health, religion and role loss. Other variables of interest on which comparisons were made are: race, sex, age, marital status, location of residence and members of household.

II. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Race Composition

The population sampled in both parishes was almost equally divided between whites and blacks. The exact percentages can be seen in Table III.

Sex Composition

In Lincoln Parish the aged persons interviewed were more evenly divided between males and females than was true in St. Landry Parish. In Lincoln Parish, 47 per cent
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>RACE</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>59.703</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>47.264</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>51.244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75-84</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34.827</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>52.735</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>48.756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85-101</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.470</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Landry</td>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>61.364</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>55.114</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>53.977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75-84</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>28.809</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>44.886</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>46.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85-110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
male and 45 per cent female. See Table III.

**Age Composition**

The age structure of the study group was found to be similar in both parishes, although there were more people in the middle age ranges (75 to 84) in Lincoln Parish than in St. Landry Parish. In St. Landry Parish, it appeared that more people survived to extreme old age, for over ten per cent of the respondents were over 85, whereas in Lincoln Parish only 5.5 per cent were over 85. The exact percentages can be seen in Table III.

**Marital Status**

In both parishes over half the sample population were married and living with spouse; in Lincoln Parish over 55 per cent, and in St. Landry over 59 per cent of the respondents were so classified. The next largest marital status category in both parishes was comprised of those respondents who were widowed, the percentages being 35 in Lincoln and 30 in St. Landry respectively. More respondents had never married than had either separated or divorced in both parishes (see Table IV) and in Lincoln Parish one respondent, a male, admitted to living in common law union.

**Residence**

The interviewers designated the location of the residence of respondents as: open country farm, open country
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>MARITAL STATUS CATEGORY</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>married</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>55.721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>common law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>35.322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>separated</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Landry</td>
<td>single</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>married</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>59.091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>widowed</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>30.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>separated</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
non-farm, small town, or urban. Urban dwellers were defined as living within the city limits of Ruston, the largest town in Lincoln Parish, or living within the city limits of Opelousas, the largest town in St. Landry Parish (see The Methods and Materials of Demography, 1972, for a detailed discussion on the controversy between the use of size alone and the use of other variables as criteria for the distinction between rural and urban areas). For the purposes of this study, a population center of less than 15,000 was not considered urban.

In Lincoln Parish, over 47 per cent of the interviewees lived in urban places and over 28 per cent lived in a small town. In St. Landry Parish, over 32 per cent of the respondents lived in a city, and over 44 per cent lived in a small town.

Size of Household

In both parishes more one or two member households were found than any other size household group. Percentages in each household size were very close in both parishes, with the percentage of one or two member household in Lincoln Parish being over 81 per cent and the proportion of one or two member households in St. Landry Parish exceeding 78 per cent. The percentages of respondents living with spouses were also very similar in both parishes. In Lincoln Parish,
over 55 per cent of the respondents were living with their spouses, while in St. Landry Parish, 59 per cent of the respondents were living with spouses. Approximately one-fourth of the respondents in both parishes lived alone.

As noted, the respondents living in the two parishes were also compared in terms of other characteristics of relevance to the analysis. Each of these characteristics is described briefly.

**Income Before Retirement**

An important difference was found in the income of the aged in the two parishes. In Lincoln Parish, only 8 respondents claimed to have subsistence incomes before retirement, whereas 26 respondents in St. Landry Parish claimed to have subsistence incomes. The mean annual preretirement income level for the Lincoln Parish respondents was $4,999.50, while the mean annual preretirement income level for St. Landry Parish respondents was only $2,999.70. See Table VI.

**Occupational Prestige**

This measure, as noted earlier, was scored according to the North-Hatt Occupational prestige ratings. The disparity between the occupational prestige scores of the aged in the two parishes was striking. In Lincoln Parish, slightly less than one-fourth of the sample group was characterized by occupations in the lowest prestige
### TABLE V

LOCATION OF DWELLING OF RESPONDENTS
BY PARISH OF RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>LOCATION OF RESIDENCE</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>open country farm</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>open country non-farm</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>small town</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>28.856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urban</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>49.254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Landry</td>
<td>open country farm</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>open country non-farm</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10.227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>small town</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>44.886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urban</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32.386</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
level, while in St. Landry Parish as many as half the sample fell in this low category. The middle prestige categories included over 54 per cent of the Lincoln respondents and over 46 per cent of the St. Landry respondents. One-fourth of the Lincoln Parish residents were included in the highest prestige occupations as compared with only 3.9 per cent of the St. Landry Parish residents.

Educational Level

The parish populations sampled reflected striking disparity in levels of education attained. Almost half of the aged in the sample in St. Landry Parish claimed to have had no education at all; in Lincoln Parish the percentage of those claiming no education was 7.9 per cent. Over half of the sample group in Lincoln Parish said they had between one and ten years of schooling, while over 36 per cent reported a high school degree or better. Only 26 per cent of the respondents in St. Landry Parish responded that they had a high school degree or more advanced schooling. See Table VI.

Religious Affiliation

In Lincoln Parish, over 85 per cent of the interviewees claimed to be Protestant, with over 65 per cent saying they were Baptist. Only 1.5 per cent reported they were Catholics, and there was no person who claimed to be Jewish. Six respondents claimed no religion at all. In St. Landry Parish, only
TABLE VI

INCOME, BEFORE RETIREMENT, EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE RATING OF JOB HELD BEFORE RETIREMENT OF RESIDENTS, BY PARISH OF RESIDENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>INCOME</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE RATING</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>Subsistence to $5,999</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>70.10</td>
<td>0 years of school</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.960</td>
<td>48 and below</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>23.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$6,000 to 12,999</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20.89</td>
<td>1 to 10 years</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>55.447</td>
<td>49 to 77</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>54.228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$13,000 to 19,000+</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.01</td>
<td>11 years and more</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>36.593</td>
<td>78 to 92</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22.439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Landry</td>
<td>Subsistence to $5,999</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>0 years of school</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>42.614</td>
<td>48 and below</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>50.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$6,000 to 12,999</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>1 to 10 years</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>31.071</td>
<td>49 to 77</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>46.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$13,000 to 19,000+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>11 years and more</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26.315</td>
<td>78 to 92</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.918</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X = 2,999.70
one-fourth of the interviewees claimed to be Protestant, while over 71 per cent reported they were Catholic. Only one respondent claimed no religion at all, and there were two who reported that they were Jewish.

Health

The most surprising finding relative to the characteristics of respondents related to health. Respondents from St. Landry Parish reported far better health than did those from Lincoln Parish. In St. Landry, over 80 per cent of the respondents claimed good health, while in Lincoln Parish only 65 per cent gave answers of this nature. Given the overall higher levels of income, education and occupational prestige in Lincoln Parish, one might expect that the health of respondents living there would be better.

Role Loss Scores

Role loss appeared to be generally greater in Lincoln Parish than in St. Landry Parish. In Lincoln Parish, over 45 per cent of the respondents scored high on role loss while only 37 per cent scored high on this variable in St. Landry Parish. Only 17 percent of the respondents scored low on role loss in Lincoln Parish whereas almost 28 per cent of the interviewees in St. Landry Parish scored low on this measure. Role loss score may reflect differential family structure in the two parishes and may also reflect the
greater levels of individualism and self-reliance hypothesized to exist in the non-French areas of Louisiana as compared to the French.

Income and Education by Race

Although race was not considered one of the more important variables for this analysis, some interesting racial comparisons can be made. In Lincoln Parish, the differences between blacks and whites in terms of income are particularly notable in the lower income categories. See Table VII. In St. Landry Parish, discrepancies also show up between blacks and whites, but are exceptionally pronounced only in the lowest income class, i.e. less than $1,000 annual income. See Table VIII.

A comparison of racial differences in educational attainment also revealed obvious differences. The disparity between blacks and whites in Lincoln Parish is greater than that in St. Landry Parish, but the educational level for both blacks and whites is lower in St. Landry Parish. See Table IX.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME LEVEL</th>
<th>RACE (frequency)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>subsistence</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>INCOME LEVEL</td>
<td>RACE (frequency)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>18,000 - $18,999</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>19,000 and over</td>
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<td>8</td>
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TABLE VIII
INCOME PRIOR TO RETIREMENT
REPORTED BY ST. LANDRY PARISH
RESPONDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RACE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME LEVEL</th>
<th>RACE (frequency)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BLACK</td>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subsistence</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than $999</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
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</tr>
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<td>$1,000 - 1,999</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 - 2,999</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 - 3,999</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>4,000 - 4,999</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5,000 - 5,999</td>
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<td>7</td>
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TABLE VIII (Cont'd.)

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<td>PARISH</td>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>RACE</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
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<td>BLACK</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 years of school</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 to 10 years</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>11 years and more</td>
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<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>0 years of school</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 to 10 years</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 years or more</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

This chapter includes a discussion of the findings of the study. The basic analytical technique, as noted previously, is factorial analysis of variance, with orthogonal partitioning of sum of squares utilized in the testing of some of the hypotheses.

I. FINDINGS RELATIVE TO EFFECT OF SES, HEALTH AND ROLE LOSS ON RETIREMENT TRANSITION AND LIFE SATISFACTION

1. Proposition 1: Socioeconomic status, all other independent variables held constant, will be positively related to retirement transition and life satisfaction. The hypothesis derived from Proposition I, that SES, all other independent variables held constant, will be positively related to retirement transition and life satisfaction, was not found to be significant at the .05 level ($F = 1.27059; df = 2; p > 0.2812$).

Discussion:

It was expected that SES would have positive effects upon satisfaction with life after retirement because persons at the upper levels of a stratification system generally have more resources available to them, both personal and material, to help them find meaningful activities after
retirement. It could be argued, however, that people with higher levels of education and income are more aware of their losses after retirement. In fact, Tissue (1970), testing the hypothesis that the middle class lifestyle provided more personal resources for adjustment to retirement, found that the middle class sustained greater losses after retirement, and that the lower classes were more satisfied with their lives after retirement because they retained a higher level of interaction with their families than did the respondents from the middle class. It is possible in the findings of this study that two opposing effects nullified one another and voided any significant differences relative to the hypothesis projected.

2. Proposition II: **Level of Health**, all other independent variables held constant, will have an effect upon retirement transition and life satisfaction. The hypothesis derived from Proposition 2, that health is positively related to retirement transition and life satisfaction, was found to be significant at the .05 level of significance ($F = 14.34213; df = 1; p > 0.0002$).

**Discussion:**

The finding that health is significant in retirement transition and life satisfaction is not surprising, and hardly needs to be commented upon. The fact that the measure of
health utilized in this study showed such significant effects upon the dependent variable indicates that the measure had validity.

3. Proposition III: **Role loss**, all other independent variables held constant, will be inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction. The hypothesis that role loss, all other independent variables held constant, will be inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction, was not found to be significant at the .05 level utilizing a one-tailed test of significance. Had the opposite relationship been hypothesized, that role loss was positively related to retirement transition and role loss, this hypothesis would have been found to be significant ($F = 4.13937; df = 2; p > 0.0164$).

Discussion:

This latter finding seems to uphold the most important contention of disengagement theory, that greater satisfaction will be experienced by aging individuals who withdraw from the obligations of their role relationships. The hypothesis, however, does not account for the differential effects of other independent variables upon elderly people who have experienced disengagement or who have not experienced disengagement.
4. Proposition IV: Cultural milieu, all other independent variables held constant, will be positively related to retirement transition and life satisfaction. The hypothesis derived, that retirees living in Lincoln Parish will experience greater retirement transition and life satisfaction that retirees living in St. Landry Parish, was found to be significant at the .05 level ($F = 5.8995; df = 1; p > 0.0156$).

Discussion:

In Chapter I, arguments were offered for both sub-regional cultural areas to be positively related to satisfaction with retirement, but this author chose to base the above hypothesis upon two notions: that residents of Lincoln Parish, with their generally higher levels of SES, would have greater resources to bring to bear upon their lives after retirement, and that, living in an area in which the Protestant religion is predominant, the individuals sampled would be more likely to claim responsibility for their own fate (see Durkheim, 1954). In other words, since, according to Durkheim, Protestants are encouraged to take responsibility for their own fate, they would be less likely to admit to being dissatisfied, because to do so might be tantamount to admitting to personal failure.
Because respondents from Lincoln Parish, for which Protestants comprised 85 per cent of the sample, claimed greater retirement transition and life satisfaction, it might be speculated that, all other variables held constant, Protestants are more likely to claim satisfaction with life than members of the Catholic religion, because for Protestants to deny satisfaction at any point in their lives might be viewed by them as dissatisfaction with their own ability to control their fate.

5. Proposition V: Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of role loss. This proposition was tested in two ways. First, using factorial analysis of variance, testing for interaction effects of SES and role loss, significance at the .05 level was indicated, but again in the opposite direction from that which was proposed in Chapter III. It was found that for the highest category of SES, retirement transition and life satisfaction increased as measured role loss increased. For respondents in the lowest SES category, satisfaction decreased slightly with an increase in role loss, then increased very slightly with a further increase in role loss \( (F = 2.72092; df = 4; p > 0.0290) \).
The second means of testing this proposition involved comparing four hypotheses derived from the proposition:

a) High SES accompanied by low role loss is directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction;

b) Low SES accompanied by low role loss is inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction;

c) High SES accompanied by high role loss is inversely related to retirement transition and life satisfaction; and

d) Low SES accompanied by high role loss is directly related to retirement transition and life satisfaction.

The proposed result was that hypotheses a) and d) would demonstrate higher levels of retirement transition and life satisfaction than would hypotheses b) and c).

These proposed relationships were tested using orthogonal partitioning of sum of squares. The effects of b) and c) were subtracted from the effects of a) and d). This is a test of "A eliminating B" (Appelbaum and Cramer, 1974:338), in which hypotheses a) and d) comprise group A and hypotheses b) and c) comprise group B. Orthogonal partitioning of sum of squares in this instance tests the significance of the difference between the effects of group A and group B, ignoring the effects of other combinations of variables on the dependent variable. See Table XI for the results of this test.
TABLE X

FACTORIAL ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE VALUES FOR THE INDEPENDENT AND INTERACTION EFFECTS OF SES, HEALTH AND ROLE LOSS ON THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE, RETIREMENT TRANSITION AND LIFE SATISFACTION

<table>
<thead>
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<td>1.27059</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health</td>
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<td>17.29098504</td>
<td>14.34213**</td>
<td>0.0002**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Loss</td>
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<td>9.98092312</td>
<td>4.13937*</td>
<td>0.0164*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.11302274</td>
<td>5.89995*</td>
<td>0.0156*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health*Role Loss</td>
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<td>3.43607177</td>
<td>1.42504</td>
<td>0.2404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES*Role Loss</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.12144642</td>
<td>2.72092*</td>
<td>0.0290*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES<em>Health</em>Role Loss</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.73036825</td>
<td>1.81037</td>
<td>0.1250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

FACTORIAL ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE VALUES
DETERMINED BY UTILIZING ORTHOGONAL PARTITIONING
OF SUM OF SQUARES IN ORDER TO COMPARE HYPOTHESES
a), b), c), and d) DERIVED FROM PROPOSITION V.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.27059</td>
<td>0.2812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.34213</td>
<td>0.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.13937</td>
<td>0.0164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.89995</td>
<td>0.0156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health X Role Loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.42504</td>
<td>0.2494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison of Hypotheses a), b), c), and d)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.11527</td>
<td>0.0243*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES X Role Loss</td>
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<td>0.0714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES X Health X Role Loss</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.81037</td>
<td>0.1250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at .05 level
As Table XI indicates, this test was significant at the .05 level (F = 5.11527; df = 1; p > 0.0243).
Discussion:

That socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially, given different degrees of role loss, was supported. In this research it was proposed that aging individuals with higher socioeconomic status will be more satisfied with retirement with lower levels of role loss. It was also expected that individuals with lower socioeconomic status would find greater satisfaction with retirement if released for some of the responsibilities of reciprocal role relationships. The findings relevant to this postulate indicated that satisfaction with retirement was directly related to increased role loss for those in the highest category of SES. It appears that disengagement theory is given support for people in high SES categories. For those respondents in the lowest SES category satisfaction with retirement was inversely related to role loss. For those in the middle category satisfaction increased with medium levels of role loss and decreased with high role loss.

Interpretations of these data must include speculations about differential family structure and resources available to the aged. Perhaps for those retired people in lower SES categories, satisfaction is greater if they continue to be
included by their families and friends in their activities because for them other more attractive activities or opportunities are not available. For those in the highest SES category economic support and personal resources are available to provide alternative sources of activity or satisfaction than those related to family or friendship obligations. Furthermore, it might be proposed that people in the highest SES category are not as dependent upon friends, neighbors or family members for such services as help with shopping, housekeeping or transportation. The findings relative to the middle SES category are the most puzzling. Satisfaction increases with some role loss; but perhaps because there are not quite enough funds available for this group of people to be totally independent of family, friends and neighbors, high role loss is not conducive to high levels of satisfaction with retirement.

One dimension not explored in the treatment of role loss was intensity of role relationships. While Cumming and Henry found a decrease in intensity of role relationships, particularly for aged people in terms of interaction with family members (1961:56-60), this might not be the case universally. Perhaps greater satisfaction accrues to elderly people for whom intensity of role relationships increases despite the fact that they actually experienced
TABLE XII

FACTORIAL ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE MODEL
VALUES DETERMINED UTILIZING ORTHOGONAL PARTITIONING
OF SUM OF SQUARES IN ORDER TO COMPARE HYPOTHESES
a), b), c), and d) DERIVED FROM PROPOSITION VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>DF</th>
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<th>PROBABILITY OF F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.27059</td>
<td>0.2812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.34213</td>
<td>0.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.13937</td>
<td>0.0164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.89995</td>
<td>0.0156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison of Hypotheses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.14696</td>
<td>0.2849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a), b), c), and d)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health X Role Loss</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.10991</td>
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<td>0.0290</td>
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<tr>
<td>SES X Health X Role Loss</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.81037</td>
<td>0.1250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
loss of numbers of role relationships, this greater intensity leading to higher levels of retirement transition and life satisfaction.

6. Proposition VI: Different degrees of role loss will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health. This proposition was also tested using both factorial analysis of variance, testing for interaction effects of role loss and health on retirement transition and life satisfaction, and orthogonal partitioning of sum of squares. Neither set of findings was significant at the .05 level. For factorial analysis of variance, \( F = 1.42504; \text{df} = 2; p > 0.2404 \). Using orthogonal partitioning, \( F = 1.14696; \text{df} = 1; p > 0.2849 \). Please refer to Table XII.

Discussion:

The interaction effects of role loss and health were not found to be significant using either technique of analysis. While both variables by themselves were found to show significant effects on the dependent variable, there were found to be no interaction effects of role loss with health. It was proposed that people with poor health would find greater satisfaction with their lives after retirement if they were released from role obligations,
and that people with higher levels of energy due to good health would find greater satisfaction if they maintained their role relationships. The findings indicate a lack of support for this notion. Perhaps good health after retirement is so important in and of itself that it affects one's perceptions of his satisfaction with that status regardless of other aspects of one's life situation, such as number and intensity of role relationships. Furthermore, it might be speculated that perhaps enough people experiencing good health and high role loss, and poor health and low role loss, also experienced high levels of satisfaction, thus negating any interaction effects that might be measured, because of intervening variables that this test did not consider.

7. Proposition VII: Socioeconomic status will affect retirement transition and life satisfaction differentially given different levels of health and different degrees of role loss. The interaction hypotheses were not significant at the .05 level \( F = 1.81037; \text{df} = 4; p > 0.1250 \).

As with Propositions 5 and 6 orthogonal partitioning of sum of squares was used to match some of the derived hypotheses against the others in order to test the effects of the important variables on the dependent variable. In
this instance the two hypotheses believed to be significant were:

a) High SES, good health and low role loss are directly related to satisfaction with retirement; and

b) Low SES, poor health and high role loss are directly related to satisfaction with retirement.

The effects of the other possible sixteen hypotheses, using the various combinations of SES, health and role loss, were subtracted from the effects of hypotheses a) and b).

See Table XIII for the results of this analysis. The findings were not found to be significant at the .05 level (F = 0.95311; df = 1; p > 0.3296).

Discussion:

In Chapter III theoretical evidence was offered for the notion that aging individuals with high levels of SES (particularly those with rewarding occupations) and good health would want to maintain the responsibilities entailed in their reciprocal role relationships and would be more satisfied with their lives after retirement. Furthermore, those individuals with lower levels of SES, most particularly those whose work has been arduous, boring or alienating, would look forward to the relief of disengagement and would be more satisfied with their lives after retirement if they
TABLE XIII

FACTORAL ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE MODEL VALUES
DETERMINED BY UTILIZING ORTHOGONAL PARTITIONING
OF SUM OF SQUARES IN ORDER TO TEST HYPOTHESES a)
AND b) DERIVED FROM PROPOSITION VII

<table>
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<td>0.1860</td>
</tr>
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<td>13.16086</td>
<td>0.0003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3.90020</td>
<td>0.0206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.43969</td>
<td>0.0202</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0.95311</td>
<td>0.3296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES X Health X Role Loss</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.01335</td>
<td>0.0910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
disengaged, especially if their health was poor. These contentions are not supported by the data.

It might be speculated that for people in low categories of SES, the isolation experienced due to role loss is compounded by poor health, but mitigated by good health (again, health is proposed to be a salient variable in satisfaction with the transition to the retired status). Similarly, for individuals with access to greater material and personal resources, isolation experienced due to role loss or poor health are exigencies which can be more easily overcome. Furthermore, there is evidence to support the notion that people in the middle and upper classes are more likely to participate in voluntary associations than are lower class individuals, and there is some evidence to support the contention that lower class elderly people maintain interaction patterns with family members to a greater extent than do middle or upper class elderly people (see Tissue, 1970). These speculations are important in view of the method by which role loss was scored. Family role relationships were weighted more heavily than was participation in voluntary associations. Hence, it might have been true that a systematic bias occurred in scoring middle and upper class respondents in terms of role loss.
II. FINDINGS RELATIVE TO EFFECT OF SES, HEALTH AND ROLE LOSS ON CHURCH ATTENDANCE

8. Proposition VIII: Socioeconomic status, health and role loss are related to church attendance. The two hypotheses tested were:

a) High SES, good health and low role loss are inversely related to church attendance; and

b) Low SES, poor health and high role loss are directly related to church attendance.

The interaction effects were not significant at the .05 level (F = 0.85263; p>0.5053). The only relationship that was found to be statistically significant (.05 level) was that between health and church attendance, with those respondents with good health showing a significantly higher level of church attendance (F = 5.85617; p>0.0187).

The effect of parish (subculture) of residence on church attendance provided an F value of 3.69821; p>0.0553. Although technically this relationship is not quite significant at the .05 level, it might be indicative of a trend toward greater church attendance in some areas than in others. St. Landry Parish, the parish representative of French Louisiana, provided respondents with the higher level of church attendance. In St. Landry Parish the proportion of Catholics in the sample was 71 per cent. See Table XIV.
Discussion:

That respondents experiencing poor health, low SES and high levels of role loss will be more likely to attend church more is not supported by the data. In fact, the findings led to the conclusion that higher levels of health are related to increased church attendance.

An hypothesis that health is positively related to church attendance would be found to be significant at the .05 level, although the opposite relationship, not found to be significant, was proposed by the author. In fact, those respondents in the highest category of SES and in good health had the highest level of church attendance. Residents of St. Landry Parish, the seat of Catholic culture, were found to practice higher levels of church attendance than residents of Lincoln Parish, although this finding was not statistically significant; it merely indicated a trend. As Table XIV indicates, probability of F is 0.0553. As noted in Chapter V, Lincoln Parish is over 85 per cent Protestant.

In relating the findings of Proposition 8 to those in Proposition 4 (the effects of subregional cultural area on retirement transition and life satisfaction) one could well have proposed that perhaps residents of the parish with
TABLE XIV

FACTORIAL ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE VALUES FOR THE INDEPENDENT AND INTERACTION EFFECTS OF SES, HEALTH, ROLE LOSS AND PARISH ON THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE, CHURCH ATTENDANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>PARTIAL SS</th>
<th>F VALUE</th>
<th>PROB F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.57392999</td>
<td>0.42174</td>
<td>0.6622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.80097285</td>
<td>5.58617</td>
<td>0.0187*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.08135364</td>
<td>2.26428</td>
<td>0.1033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.51625324</td>
<td>3.69821</td>
<td>0.0553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health*Role Loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.32279120</td>
<td>0.23720</td>
<td>0.7919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES*Role Loss</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.32060191</td>
<td>0.85263</td>
<td>0.5053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES<em>Health</em>Role Loss</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.46921532</td>
<td>0.53982</td>
<td>0.7099</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Significant at the .05 level
the highest church attendance were also those exhibiting the higher level of retirement transition and life satisfaction. Further consideration might lead to the opposite conclusion, however. If church attendance in old age is interpreted to signify the attempts of retirees who are dissatisfied with their lives to explain and provide meaning for their unhappiness then it is reasonable to suppose that those retirees who are less satisfied with their lives after retirement will also attend church more frequently than those who are more satisfied.

Although it has been proposed by some sociologists of religion that those who are poor, in ill health and retired from arduous jobs will turn to religion in old age, hence will conceivably attend church more than other groups of the aged (Glock, Biner and Babbie, 1967), specific sociocultural and historical factors must be considered. Those people who are elderly now grew up in a period of time in which church attendance was an integral part of life. The youngest respondents in the sample were sixty-five years old. These people were children before the advent of World War I, a time of relative simplicity and greater religiosity in American society. Furthermore, people living in the Southern part of the United States, particularly in the rural South, probably tend to place more importance upon church attendance than do those in other areas of the country. Hence high levels of church attendance for the sample could be
indicative of good health and comfortable financial resources rather than the opposite, poor health and meager financial resources.

III. SOME CONCLUSIONS

In this study, a theoretical conceptualization was developed utilizing disengagement theory as its guide. The findings failed to uphold the notion that disengagement, as epitomized by role loss, leads to retirement transition and life satisfaction as a universal phenomenon. That there are instances in which various forms of disengagement, i.e. role loss, are not associated with greater satisfaction with one's life after retirement should lead to a questioning of the desirability of the continuing institution of mandatory retirement practices and of the notion that elderly people would rather sit and reminisce about the past than engage in creative and worthwhile activities. The findings of this study have also led to the conclusion that there are those individuals who desire to disengage as they retire. Further research is needed in order to ascertain the conditions under which people find greater satisfaction with retirement.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

I. SUMMARY

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to attempt to ascertain conditions under which aging individuals experienced greater satisfaction with their lives as they retire. It is recognized by sociologists that there are few prescriptions for behaviour for the elderly, and that many retired people are relegated to a position with "functionless" roles (Anderson, 1972; Burgess, 1960). Retirement may be seen as a time of drastic changes for the individual faced with the prospect of retirement. Of the changes that occur, some may be functional for the transition to the retired status, but some may lead to negative perceptions of the transition.

Three major theoretical perspectives have been developed by sociologists who study human aging: activity theory, the subculture theory of aging and disengagement theory. Neither activity theory nor the subculture theory was found to be fruitful for providing testable propositions which were applicable to most of the aging people in American society. Disengagement theory has challenged many sociologists who study human aging. This theoretical perspective was criticized, as noted in Chapter II, as being psychological in
orientation and proposing universal, transhistoric and cross-cultural conditions for satisfaction with the retired status. It was proposed in this study that disengagement theory might provide testable propositions if the specific socio-cultural conditions under which disengagement, or role loss, would lead to retirement transition and life satisfaction were set forth.

**Objective**

The objective of the study was to utilize disengagement theory to provide a sociological explanation for satisfaction with life as one moves into the retired status, setting forth the conditions under which disengagement is or is not explanatory. A survey of the literature on work, retirement and aging led the writer to develop several related conceptual principles in which disengagement theory could be predictive. The writer proposed that in situations of frustration and deprivation, including poor health and unrewarding occupations, disengagement or role loss may be functional or satisfying for the retired individual. In situations in which the aging individual continues to maintain good health and a high level of energy, and for whom the work situation has been relatively rewarding in other than a monetary sense, discontinuity or disengagement may be viewed as dysfunctional or unsatisfying. Furthermore, it was proposed
that those individuals who have experienced deprivation, frustration and a lack of gratification in secular society will look to the church as an alternative source of satisfaction.

The conceptual vocabulary necessary for the development of the theoretical perspective for the research proposed included: work (the major life activity for most people); retirement (a cessation of the major meaningful activity for most people); role loss (a decline in role relationships); disengagement (the mutual withdrawal of the aging individual and the social systems in which he occupies positions); socioeconomic status (a combination of factors associated with differential ranking of individuals on a social stratification scale); health (relative absence or presence of illness, disease, injury, disfigurement and energy level); religious participation (participation in a social institution one of whose major functions is the counteracting of frustrations and the moral integration of tragedy and the irrational) and cultural milieu (variations in social organization of subregions which may theoretically be considered as characterized by a total shared culture. It is proposed that cultural milieu will affect opportunities for satisfaction with life as one retires).
Methodology

A sample of 547 respondents provided usable and complete interview schedules for the study. The sample was drawn from two parishes representing French Louisiana and Non-French Louisiana. Of this number, 377 were retired and were selected for the study made. An analytical technique was chosen which made possible the measuring of both the independent and interactive effects of two or more independent variables on a dependent variable. The independent variables considered important were health, SES and role loss. Various combinations of these variables were hypothesized to exert unique effects upon the dependent variable, retirement transition and life satisfaction. Cultural milieu was also tested for effect upon retirement transition and life satisfaction and the first three independent variables were also tested for independent and interaction effects upon the dependent variable, religious participation.

Factorial analysis of variance with orthogonal partitioning was used to test the hypotheses derived from the theoretical propositions listed above.

Study Findings

Only four of the eight propositions led to hypotheses which were found to be statistically significant: health on retirement transition and life satisfaction, role loss on retirement transition and life satisfaction, parish of
residence on retirement transition and life satisfaction and the interaction effects of SES and role loss on retirement transition and life satisfaction. Propositions from which hypotheses that were not statistically significant were derived were SES on retirement transition and life satisfaction, the interaction effects of health and role loss on retirement transition and life satisfaction, the interaction effects of SES, health and role loss on retirement transition and life satisfaction and the interaction effects of SES, health and role loss on religious participation.

II. IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Two important levels of implications were derived from the findings of this study: theoretical and applied. **Theoretical Implication**

The research was intended in part to refine disengagement theory and to ascertain the conditions under which it might be predictive as a sociological theory for satisfaction with retirement. Disengagement theory has been criticized by some sociologists for ignoring historical, cultural and social conditions and proposing that as human beings age they will seek to disengage from role relationships, and will experience greater satisfaction with aging and retirement if
they do so. It is assumed that they will be more satisfied with their lives if they disengage regardless of the historical, social and cultural factors affecting their lives. To the extent that propositions based on disengagement theory were not predictive in some instances the ahistorical, transcultural nature of disengagement theory was called into question.

In this sense the research was conclusive. The findings indicate that there are circumstances under which disengagement is not related to retirement transition and life satisfaction. For example, the theoretical perspective developed for this study assumed that for retired people in comfortable economic and social circumstances and good health, disengagement would not be related to satisfaction with life after retirement. Furthermore, for those retired people in a state of poverty and ill health disengagement would be most predictive for retirement transition and life satisfaction. Interpretation of the findings seems to call for the opposite conclusions: disengagement was most predictive for retirement transition and life satisfaction for the former group and least predictive for the latter.

One possible explanation for the findings might be that disengagement theory is not at all applicable to any group
of the aged. It was found that people in the sample in both the lowest SES category and lowest role loss category had high retirement transition and life satisfaction scores. People in the sample in both the highest SES category and highest role loss category also had high retirement transition and life satisfaction scores. Role loss score was based upon the losses and gains in relationships with friends, relatives, neighbors and voluntary associations. It might be that people in the highest SES categories have alternate sources of activities available to them which are more attractive than those resources and relationships listed above, resources middle class sociologists might not be aware of. If this were the case, disengagement theory would be more seriously called to question. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter VI, perhaps role loss scores for middle and upper class people, as computed in this study, do not reflect the weight that should be attached to participation in voluntary associations for middle and upper class people. Further research about the activities of such people might be called for in order to determine the validity of these speculations.

**Implications for Practical Application of Research**

One of the purposes of sociological research is to provide knowledge to those in positions of policy making in
order to bring about ameliorative social change. The recent proliferation of research projects addressed to the conditions of the aged in our society has caught the attention of the public as well as of legislatures. The result is seen in the development of community, federal and state funded programs designed to improve the quality of life of the elderly. But these programs have not been universally effective and the body of knowledge about human aging remains meager. One of the benefits of sociological studies in the area of aging is that the results of the research can be used to develop theory. Thus, the body of knowledge about human behaviour is increased. In this case a theoretical conceptualization was developed utilizing disengagement theory as a departure. The findings question the major tenet of disengagement theory, that elderly people, because of a maturational or developmental need, willingly disengage and are more satisfied with their lives after retirement if they have disengaged. The findings of this study fail to support disengagement as a cross-cultural, transhistoric phenomenon.

Should further research support the findings of this study, the entire institution of mandatory retirement practices could be questioned. Furthermore, educational
institutions might be encouraged to develop substantive offerings for retired people who still have the energy and motivation to remain active. In an economic age in which resources are being used up, and where there appears to be an increased need for social services of all types, perhaps social structures could be developed to utilize the talents and services of the elderly, which at the same time would minimize the need for social security or retirement pensions.
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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire
A Study of the Adjustment Patterns of the Aged and Retired in Louisiana

There is an increasing number of elderly and retired people in the United States and in Louisiana. At present one out of every ten persons is 65 years of age or older. Some of these individuals have made a better adjustment to the aged status then others. The purpose of this study is to determine what experiences and activities help individuals adjust to the changes that occur in their life patterns as they age.

We are interviewing a select number of retirees and people sixty-five years of age and older to obtain information needed for this research project. Your cooperation in answering the questions included in this questionnaire will be greatly appreciated.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. General Characteristics of the Respondent

1. Name and address of respondent:

   Name____________________________ Sample Area_______
   Address__________________________ Sample Segment_______
   _______________________________
   Telephone Number ______________

2. Birth Date_______________________

3. Education: What was the last year of school you successfully completed?__________
   Last degree completed?___________
4. **Occupation**
   
   a. Are you employed or unemployed? __________________________
   
   b. If yes, how many months do you work out of the year? ________________
   
   c. What type of work did you do before age 65 or retirement?
      
      Job Title _________________________________________
      Industry _________________________________________
      Duties __________________________________________

      If farm work, check one:
      
      Own farm / / Number of acres ___________
      Manage farm / / 
      Work(ed) on farm / / 

   d. If presently employed, what type of work do you do now?
      
      Job Title _________________________________________
      Industry _________________________________________
      Duties __________________________________________

   **II. Members of Household**

   1. Other than yourself, who lives in this house? What is/are their relation to you? How old are they? Are they married?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Social Activities

I have a list of activities that many people do in their leisure time. I'd like to read it to you, and have you tell me if you participate in these activities more now, less now, or the same amount of time now as compared to your habits before you retired (or reached age 65).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Less Time</th>
<th>More Time</th>
<th>About The Same</th>
<th>N/A*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Watch TV or listen to radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Housework or yard work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Visiting Friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shopping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Telephone Conversations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Taking Walks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Traveling out of the Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Gardening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Church Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Cards or other games with friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Parties or Celebrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Visiting Relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Outdoor Recreation (fishing, boating, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Hobbies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Going to Movies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N/A* - never participated in activity

18. Can you think of any other ways you used to spend your spare time that you don't do now that I haven't mentioned?  

_________________________________________________________________
19. Can you think of any other ways you now spend your spare time that you didn't do when you were younger, that I haven't mentioned?

___________________________________________________________

20. In your opinion what do you think are the three most difficult problems facing people who are retired or over 65 today?

___________________________________________________________

___________________________________________________________

21. Do you go to the doctor more now than when you were younger?

Yes /  No /

If yes, what do you go there for now that you didn't visit for before?

___________________________________________________________

22. Geographic mobility

a. How long have you lived in this house?________

b. How long have you lived in this community?_______

c. Have you moved since you retired (or became age 65)?

Yes /  No /

d. If so, why did you move?________________________
e. (If so,) how would you compare this home to your previous home? (Note to interviewer: lead to "better-worse").

IV. Social Interaction

1. How many living children do you have?
   a. How many of your children do you see weekly (or several times a week)?
   b. Monthly?
   c. Yearly?
   d. Have not seen in years?
   e. How many of your children do you talk with on the phone weekly?
   f. How many of your children live nearby (within 50 miles)?
   g. Are you in more frequent contact with your children since retirement (or age 65) than you were before?
      Less  The same  More

2. How many living brothers and sisters do you have?
   a. How many of your brothers and sisters do you see weekly (or several times a week)?
   b. Monthly?
   c. Yearly?
   d. Have not seen in years?
e. How many of your brothers or sisters do you talk with on the phone weekly? ____________

f. How many of your brothers and/or sisters live nearby (within 50 miles)? ____________

g. Are you in more frequent contact with your brothers and sisters since retirement (or age 65) that you were before?

Less / / The Same / / More / /  

3. Are there any other relatives that you visit regularly (at least five or six times a year)?

Yes / / No / /  
a. If yes, specify______________________________

b. Do you see or hear from them more now, less, or about the same since retirement or age 65?

More Now / / Less Now / / Same / /  

4. Is there a special friend or relative that you feel you can talk to about your problems and cares?

Yes / / No / /  

If yes, identify

a. spouse
b. relative (sister, brother, aunt, son, etc.)
c. other (Dr., Minister, etc.)

Why is this friend or relative so special to you? (What do you have in common, why do you respect their judgment, why do you confide in them, etc.)

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________
Do you have any of the following in common with this friend or relative?

Age___________
Sex___________
Occupation (before retirement, if retired)

___________________________________________

Area of Residence Urban_____ Rural Farm_____  
Small_____ Rural non-farm_____  

Marital Status___________
Family Size (no. of children)___________
Religion__________________________
Education attainment_________________
Philosophy of life (view of life: does this person see things the way you do?)

___________________________________________

V. Social Participation

1. Are you a member of a church? Yes \[\square\] No \[\square\]  
(if no, skip to no. 2)

a. About how many times a month do you go to church services?____________

b. Do you go to church more now, less, or about the same since retirement or reaching age 65?  
More Now \[\square\] Less Now \[\square\] Same \[\square\]

c. How many miles do you live from your church?___________
(Note to interviewer: if less than a mile, how many blocks?___________)

d. Do you see any of the people you go to church with away from the church?  
Yes \[\square\] No \[\square\]
2. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations other than church?

Yes  / /  No  / /  (If no, skip to no. 3)

a. If yes, will you please answer the following questions about these organizations?

| Organization (No. of Times Attended) Compared to before age 65 or retirement |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| Name                         | Name                         | Name                         | Name                         |
| Per Month                    | Per Year                     | Less Now                     | Same                         | More Now       |

b. Do you see any of the members of these organizations outside the meetings?

Yes  / /  No  / /  

3. Questions about fellow workers.

a. For retirees: do you see any of your former fellow workers frequently?

Yes  / /  No  / /  

b. For non-retirees: do you see any of your fellow workers often other than at work?

Yes  / /  No  / /  

c. If yes to a. or b., under what circumstances do you see them? _____________________________
4. How many people do you know in your neighborhood? (number)______________
   a. How many of your neighbors do you see frequently?______________
   b. Do you see them more now, less, or about the same since you retired or reached age 65?
      More Now /    Less Now /    Same /    
   c. How many of your neighbors do you consider to be friends?______________
   d. Are there other people you consider to be friends who have not already been mentioned?
      Yes /    No /    
      What is the nature of your relationship, if yes? (friend, doctor, minister, relative, neighbor, etc.)

   e. If yes, how frequently do you see this person?
      Often /    Occasionally /    Seldom/Never /    
   f. Do you see this person more now, less now or about the same since you've retired or reached age 65?
      More Now /    Less Now /    Same /    

VI. Feelings About Retirement

For retirees (If working, skip to question No. 4; if never worked, skip to question No. 6)

1. Have you enjoyed retirement? Yes /    No /    
If yes, what do you especially like about retirement?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

If no, what do you especially dislike about retirement?

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

2. Were you more satisfied with your life before you retired?  Yes [ ]  No [ ]

Explain: ____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

3.a. As you know, we all have to do things that are expected of us. Now that you are retired do you feel that more, the same, or less is expected of you?

More Now [ ]  Less Now [ ]  Same [ ]

How do you feel about this? (Note to interviewer: Probe: does this please you?; or is that the way you want it to be?)

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________
b. Also, we all have to conform to other peoples' ideas about what we should do. Now that you are retired, do you feel that you have to conform more, the same, or less to what others think you should do?

More Now  ☐ Less Now  ☐ Same  ☐

How do you feel about this? (Note to interviewer: probe: does this please you?; or is that the way you want it to be?)

4. For Non-Retirees: (If retired, skip to section VII)
Could you have retired if you had wanted to?

Yes  ☐ No  ☐
If yes, why didn't you?

5.a. As you know, we all have to do things that are expected of us. If and when you do retire, do you think that more, less or the same will be expected of you?

More then  ☐ Less then  ☐ The same  ☐

How do you feel about this? (Probe: does it please you? Do you want it that way?)


b. Also, we all have to conform to other peoples' ideas about what we should do. When you do retire, do you think that you will have to conform more, the same or less to what others think you should do?

More then □ Less then □ The same □

How do you feel about this? (Probe: does it please you; is that the way you want it to be?)

6.a. For those who have never worked (i.e., housewives):

As you know, we all have to do things that are expected of us. Now that you are past age 65 do you feel that more, the same, or less is expected of you?

More □ The same □ Less □

How do you feel about this? (Probe: does it please you; is that the way you want it to be?)

b. Also, we all have to conform to other peoples' ideas about what we should do. Now that you have reached age 65, do you feel you have to conform more, less or the same than you did before you became 65?

More Now □ Less □ The same □
How do you feel about this? (Probe: does it please you; is that the way you want it to be?)

Income: Please indicate which category describes your present income level per year, and your yearly income before retirement or age 65. (To interviewer: hand card to respondent).

Present                   Before retirement or age 65

(Note to interviewer: go to section VII)
VII. **Attitudes About Life**

I would like to read to you a set of statements referring to attitudes about life in general. Please tell me if you agree, strongly agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each statement.

\[ *SD = \text{strongly disagree} \quad SA = \text{strongly agree} \]
\[ D = \text{disagree} \quad A = \text{agree} \quad *SD \quad D \quad A \quad SA \]

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world. 
   ---
2. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like. 
   ---
3. Most people over 65 often feel lonely. 
   ---
4. Real friends are hard to find. 
   ---
5. People are basically unfriendly, especially to people over 65. 
   ---
6. Most people don't really care what happens to people over 65. 
   ---
7. People were happier in the old days when everyone knew just how he was expected to act. 
   ---
8. Nobody has any use for people once they've retired from work. 
   ---
9. There always will be a great lack of understanding between the older and younger generations. 
   ---
10. There are many retired people who don't know what to do with their lives. 
    ---
11. There is little people can do about improving the kinds of jobs open to them once they reach 65 or retire. 
    ---
12. New laws are not likely to make this a better place for retired people and those over 65. 
    ---
13. In spite of what people say, the life of the retired person over 65 is getting worse. ___ ___ ___ ___

14. Most people don't really care how people over 65 behave. ___ ___ ___ ___

15. People over 65 can do little to raise their standard of living. ___ ___ ___ ___

16. I am not as happy as when I was younger. ___ ___ ___ ___

17. I often feel uncomfortable with other people. ___ ___ ___ ___

18. I am not very satisfied with my life at present. ___ ___ ___ ___

VIII.

(Note to interviewer: check appropriate category; do not ask respondent)

1. Location of residence
   ___ 1. Open country
   ___farm
   ___non-farm
   ___ 2. Small town
   ________________Name of town
   ___ 3. Urban
   ________________Name of city

2. Type of residence
   ___ 1. Mobile home
   ___ 2. Single family dwelling
   _______size
3. Exterior appearance of dwelling
   ___1. In good repair
   ___2. In moderate repair
   ___3. In poor repair

   ___1. Lawn or grounds well kept
   ___2. Lawn or grounds moderately well kept.
   ___3. Lawn or grounds poorly kept

4. Type of road
   ___1. Paved (hard surface)
   ___2. Other _______________________

5. Physical mobility of respondent
   ___1. Ambulatory
   ___2. Non ambulatory

6. Race
   ___1. White
   ___2. Black
   ___3. Other, specify_____________________

7. Sex
   ___1. Male
   ___2. Female

Interviewer Comments:
VITA

The author was born in Dallas, Texas, January 11, 1942, and grew up in Long Beach, California, where she attended schools in the Long Beach Public School District. She took her baccalaureate in sociology at California State University in June of 1963. During 1963-65 the author was employed as a social worker with the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services. She studied music at the graduate level at Louisiana State University from 1965 to 1966. In 1968 she entered the Louisiana State University School of Social Work and took her Master of Social Work degree in 1970. From 1970 to 1972 she was employed as Instructor of Sociology at the Des Moines Area Community College in Ankeny, Iowa, while working part-time toward a doctorate in Sociology at Iowa State University in Ames. In 1972 she was employed as Assistant Professor of Sociology at Southeastern Louisiana University. The author re-entered Louisiana State University in the fall of 1973 as a research assistant. She is presently an Assistant Professor in the Sociology Department of the University of Texas at Arlington. The author is married to Terry W. Rombough.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Shirley Rombough

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Satisfaction With Retirement in Two Parishes in Louisiana: A Critical Inquiry Into Disengagement Theory

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

September 12, 1975