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A study of recipients of old age assistance in Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News, Virginia

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A STUDY OF RECIPIENTS OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN NORFOLK,
PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

BY

ELBRIDGE KING REID

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to explore the living conditions, activities and attitudes of the recipients of Old Age Assistance in Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News, Virginia. It was believed that such an exploration, by means of a mailed schedule to be answered and returned anonymously, would reveal certain aspects of the personal lives of the dependent aged in these urban areas. The basic aim of the study is to advance the general understanding of the problems, the attitudes and the desires of the dependent aged.

The writer wishes to express appreciation to Dr. E. W. Gregory, Jr., Professor and Chairman of the Department of Sociology in the University of Richmond, under whose supervision the study was made; to the superintendents and staffs of the Social Service Bureaus of the Departments of Public Welfare in Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News, Virginia for their assistance in assembling data; and to the nine hundred and thirty-four recipients of Old Age Assistance who supplied the data for the study by completing the schedule.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problem of the aged in Virginia has received consideration of some sort almost from the first days of colonization. The first consideration was probably negative—certainly no company of gentlemen adventurers or explorers wished to be burdened by persons too elderly to be an asset to their enterprises. Captain John Smith is reported to have issued a decree stating that the unproductive would receive no provender, a "no work, no eat" manifesto. Although this order was doubtless aimed at those who considered work beneath their station in life, it is of a piece with the prevailing sentiments of various times and cultures.

Attitudes toward the aged have been as diverse as the cultures in which they lived. The Ancient Spartans and the Eskimos of recent times have cast out the weak and aged to perish in order that the main body of the group might be composed of strong members. At the other end of the scale have been such societal values attached to longevity that the very old have been accorded many special privileges. The Chinese culture has followed this pattern for centuries. Some Amerind tribes also honored their fathers and mothers. Chief Luther Standing Bear states in his autobiography, My Indian Boyhood, that the Sioux Indian boys looked forward

with great pleasure to the day when they would assume the responsibility for providing for their parents and aged relatives. Whether with pleasure or not, the aged were usually cared for by their children as a part of Anglo-Saxon tradition, or by their lords and masters in the case of old servants or feudal serfs.

Those unfortunates who had no ties of family or service must have had a difficult time, particularly in town and city, with successful begging the escape route from starvation. Perhaps because of the Crusades, with their emphasis on service to others, rather than self, the concept of charitable works became widely disseminated. The code of chivalry with its stress on protection of the weak and defenseless also contributed to the feeling that the strong must provide for the feeble.

The separation of many persons from their kith and kin, by rural migration to the growing towns, led to recognition of public responsibility, through the English Statutes of Laborers.¹ This action culminated about two centuries later in a fairly complete system for the local administration of public welfare, authorized by the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601 and later. These laws become "leading influences in the developing patterns of social work in this country."²

¹ Stroup, Herbert Hewitt, Social Work, p. 431-2

² Ibid.

The American colonies generally followed closely the established English pattern of welfare. The assumption of the regulation and administration by state governments of the local governing body's handling of public assistance received its first great impetus in this country during the Civil War.

The chief provisions made in the early days in this country were for the care of homeless children and the indigent. The administrator, called the Overseer of the Poor, usually relied on institutionalization in an almshouse, or "poor house", the popular name for the governmentally sponsored institutions. Some of the practices, however, were similar to present day application of public assistance. The overseer tried to enlist the aid of the relatives of the indigent in caring for their needs. The property of recipients of aid was taken over and administered for them by the overseer. This is rather more stringent than the present law's provisions for Old Age Assistance, whereby the state only acquires a claim against property of recipients in the amount of financial aid received.

The first serious attempt to organize public welfare on a state basis occurred in 1863 in Massachusetts....It was not until 1917 in Illinois that the first really integrative State Department of Welfare was initiated.³

The problem of Old Age Assistance had ample historical precedent insofar as local practice applied. It took the major economic catastrophe of the business depression of the nineteen

³ Ibid.

thirties, however, to effect the entry of the federal government into the granting of direct financial aid. Old Age Assistance was one of the categories of financial aid set up under provision of the Social Security Act of 1935. This act enabled the federal government to retire from direct relief giving by restoring the function to the state and localities. Autonomy in administrative matters was left to the states. Under terms of the act, the federal government would reimburse states for grants to the aged, provided certain standards and procedures were established and followed. The federal government originally assumed responsibility for three-fourths of the first \$20.00 and fifty per cent of the balance up to a total matching maximum of \$50.00 for each Old Age Assistance monthly grant. Approximately fifty per cent of the administrative cost were also borne by the federal government. The most recent amendment of the Social Security Act and the provisions for Old Age Assistance was enacted in 1950. Public Law 734 states that⁴

Section 302 (a) Section 3 (a) of the Social Security Act is amended to read as follows:

"(A) three fourths of such expenditures, not counting so much of any expenditure with respect to any month as exceeds the product of \$20 multiplied by the total number of such individuals who received old age assistance for such month; plus

"(B) one half of the amount by which such expenditures exceed the maximum which may be counted under clause (A).... and (3) in the case of any State, an amount equal to one-

⁴ Public Law 734, 81st Congress. Ch. 809- 2nd Session. (H. R. 6000). P.80.

half of the total of the sums expended during such quarter as found necessary by the Administrator for the proper and efficient administration of the State plan, which amount shall be used for paying the costs of administering the State plan or for old age assistance, or both, and for no other purpose."

The 82nd Congress is considering at present a bill which would increase the federal matching maximum from \$50.00 to \$53.00 for each monthly Old Age Assistance grant. No changes have been effected by Virginia law except that grants, since an act by the 1950 legislature, no longer are restricted to the federal matching maximum amount of \$50.00, if the real needs of the applicant are in excess of that sum. Compliance with standardized requirements of eligibility for granting Old Age Assistance is also a feature of the program.

The federal requirements for granting Old Age Assistance stipulate that the recipient must have attained the age of 65 years, and be in need of such assistance. The selection of 65 years as the required minimum age is explained on the grounds of lack of employment opportunity for persons of that age or older. For example, in 1947 only 3.1 per cent of the total number of workers in the United States were 65 years of age or over,⁵ although the percentage of the population above that age approximates three times the distribution of aged workers, or about ten per cent of the total population.⁶

⁵ Bureau of the Census, U.S. Statistical Abstract for 1950. Table 279. p. 234.

⁶ University of Virginia Extension, "People are Living Longer in Virginia," XXVII, October, 1949. pl 1.

Eligibility for Old Age Assistance in Virginia includes continuous residence in the State for at least one year immediately preceding the date of application for assistance. A person does not lose his residence, however, until he gains residence in another state. Thus a recipient of Old Age Assistance from North Carolina may continue to receive monthly awards from that state for a year before payment is undertaken by Virginia and discontinued by North Carolina. This provision has the benefit of providing for some mobility in the aged.

It must be established that the applicant is in necessitous circumstances and in need of public assistance. In this respect, children in Virginia are required to support their mother or aged or infirm father, if financially able to do so. The Code of Virginia (Section 1944a) requires that⁷

It shall be the duty of all persons sixteen years of age or over, of sufficient earning power or income, after reasonably providing for his own immediate family, to provide or assist in providing for the support and maintenance of his or her mother or aged or infirm father, he or she being then and there in destitute or necessitous circumstances.

A sum of money or securities, varying according to local regulations and sufficient only to provide for emergency medical or burial expenses is not deemed a bar to eligibility.

⁷ City of Richmond, "Report of the Committee on Public Welfare," 1948, Sec (8), p. 12, quoting The Public Welfare Laws of Virginia, Sec(48), p. 14.

This contingency sum was allowable in Norfolk in 1949-50 up to \$250.00. If a recipient acquires funds in excess of this amount his assistance grant is suspended, on the basis that he is no longer in need, until he has no more than \$250.00. Recipients are advised at the time of suspension that their funds are supposed to last them at the same rate their public assistance grants do. Actually disbursement of their private funds is usually greater and much more rapid than the standard monthly allowance schedule provides, owing chiefly to the very low allowances and the easily understood desire of the recipient to spend without having to deliberate thoroughly on each transaction. Under existing regulations and eligibility requirements little can be done except to reinstate the assistance award for those former recipients who spend their surplus funds very quickly.

An applicant for Old Age Assistance must not be an inmate of, nor be maintained by, a public institution, in order to be eligible for Old Age Assistance. The simple wisdom of this provision is apparent in that it prevents a waste of public money through duplication of services. This eligibility requirement does not, in effect, force those institutional inmates who so desire and who could manage elsewhere, with financial aid, to remain in the institution. All other eligibility requirements may be verified and a plan worked out with the applicant, possibly through the granting of

temporary aid by a private agency, so he may establish his own living arrangements and meet the non-institutional inmate requirement.

An applicant may not have made an assignment of property so as to render himself eligible for assistance within five years preceding the date of application.⁸ Ownership of property presents no impediment, per se, to receiving assistance but the total amount of aid paid constitutes a claim against the estate of a recipient. The claim is not enforceable while real estate is occupied by an unmarried surviving spouse or dependent children.

The aged in the cities of the study presumably are on the increase, both numerically and on a percentage basis, if the trends observed nationally and in the state of Virginia hold true for the area. The median age for all classes of the population of the United States in 1940 was 29.0 years. On a projected basis, the median age for 1951 is 29.9 years and for 1961 is 31.6 years.⁹

Here in Virginia.... the number of persons aged 65 or more in 1940 was equal to one person in 17. This compares with the 1880 figure of 1 person in 27 who lived to be 65 or older.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid.(b).

⁹ Bureau of the Census, op. cit., Table 8, p.9.

¹⁰ University of Virginia, loc. cit., p.1.

The actual proportion of the aged in the Norfolk-Portsmouth-Newport News Metropolitan District was 1 in 20 in 1940 and was estimated to be the same in 1947.¹¹ An increase in population in the metropolitan district of some forty-three per cent took place in the seven year period.¹² Many of the persons effecting the increase over the normal birth-death differential were war-workers or Naval personnel. The influx of these people, most of them fairly young and having children, has apparently retarded the increase in percentage of aged in the total population for the area. Aged females outnumbered males by approximately 8,400 to 7,600 in 1940 and by about 13,000 to 10,500 in 1947.¹³

The methodology for the study encompassed the use of a schedule of questions relating to seven aspects of life. Questions were subsumed under the headings, Personal Data, Living Arrangements, Economic Situation, Health, Religious Activity, Leisure, and Recreation and Personal Attitudes.¹⁴ The schedules were imprinted with an explanation that the requested information was to be used for a study made at the University of Richmond. Copies of the schedule were mailed to

¹¹ Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, p. 5, Series p-21.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Cf. post. Appendix A.

all Old Age Assistance recipients in Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News, Virginia in May and June 1950. Mailings were made by the Social Service Bureau staffs in the latter two cities and by the writer in Norfolk. For distinguishing data by cities, white paper was used for Norfolk distribution, pink for the Portsmouth and yellow for Newport News. Photo offset process printing was used on the schedule as being much easier to read than mimeographed copies, a consideration when dealing with aged persons with generally failing eyesight.¹⁵

A preliminary test of the general practicability of the schedule was made before the mailings. The writer interviewed twenty Old Age Assistance recipients, selected at random, with their full accord and permission. These comprised both white and non-white cases, as did the control group. Although the writer had handled a case load of approximately eighty-five Old Age Assistance cases for seven months, personal judgement was controlled by having twenty cases in Portsmouth interviewed by several of the social workers for both races. The forty schedules were correlated and the balance were mailed when no unexplainable discrepancies appeared. The personal interview schedules were retained and compared with the mailed responses, then incorporated with

¹⁵ Cf. post. Sight, Chapter V, Table VI.

them when positive similarities were found. Those recipients who were interviewed in person did not, of course, receive mailed questionnaires.

All responses to items on the schedule were tabulated in order as they appeared on the printed form. These tabulations appear in the form of frequency distributions as appendixes B to H of the study. Statistical tables were constructed of various responses to items which were deemed especially interesting or significant. The number and per cent of distribution of persons in the sample and the frequency of response was one of the results considered significant. Accordingly, these findings are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS POLLED AND RESPONSES,
 BY CITY OF RESIDENCE, IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH
 AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

City	Number Recipients	Number Responses	Per Cent Recipients	Per Cent Responses
Norfolk	1054	608	57.6	65.1
Portsmouth	428	226	52.8	24.2
Newport News	227	100	44.1	10.7
Totals	1709	934	54.7	100.0

CHAPTER II

SEX, AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

It was expected that more women than men, aged 65 years and over, would be found on Old Age Assistance rolls in the cities in the area under study. The general predominance of aged females over males in the Hampton Roads metropolitan district has been demonstrated in Chapter I. This preponderance of aged females over males is in keeping with the national trend. The average life expectancy of females in this country is now five years greater than that of males. This differential is largely the product of greater male mortality at all stages of life, from foetal development to senescence. A greatly reduced mortality rate during childbirth has been the main factor allowing women to demonstrate their superior chances for survival. Other factors may also be cited briefly as being partially responsible for the male-female death rate differential. Among them is the greater industrial employment of males, with much higher fatal accident rates than for typical female employments. The greater strain of competition in business is likewise reflected in the higher incidence of male deaths from hypertensive causes, including cardio-vascular ills and ulcer of the stomach.

The preponderance of female over male Old Age Assistance recipients in the study, as shown in Table II, is considerably

TABLE II
 AGE AND COLOR, BY SEX, OF RECIPIENTS OF
 OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN NORFOLK,
 PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS
 VIRGINIA

Age and color	Number			Per Cent		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
White total	80	149	229	100.0	100.0	100.0
65-69 years	20	43	63	25.0	28.9	27.5
70-74 years	23	45	68	28.8	30.2	29.7
75 years and over	37	61	98	46.2	40.9	42.8
Non-White total	255	450	705	100.0	100.0	100.0
65-69 years	71	150	221	27.9	33.3	31.3
70-74 years	84	155	239	32.9	34.5	33.9
75 years and over	100	145	245	39.2	32.2	34.8
Grand total*	335	599	934	35.9	64.1	100.0

* Total reporting, by sex.

greater than the proportional representation of aged females in the population. The percentage distribution for females and males in the population is 56.5% and 43.5%, respectively. The corresponding distribution for the Old Age Assistance recipients is 64.1% for females and 35.9% for males. The cause of the variation in percentage distribution is demonstrably not due to biological or ecological factors. Therefore, the causation must be sought in terms of the social and economic functions of males and females in the cities under consideration.

Opportunities for gainful employment are greater for males than for females, generally speaking, in our socio-economic order. This condition may not prevail in the cities of Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News as regards the non-white population, since large numbers of the women are employed in domestic service by the day. However, the types of employment in which women are engaged are not so likely to be covered by Social Security benefits or industrial or commercial pension plans. For example, 48 male respondents, or 14.3%, listed income from Social Security and Survivors' Benefits compared to 20 females, or 3.3%, checking the same item.¹⁶ A considerable proportion of the females may moreover have been receiving benefits accrued by husbands now deceased.

¹⁶ Cf. post. Appendix D, Section III, Economic Situation, Social Security.

The age groupings, 65-69 years, 70-74, and 75 years and over, were used to determine the proportionate increase or decrease in number of Old Age Assistance recipients with respect to longevity. It will be noted that Table II shows a fairly steady progression obtains with increased number and percentages of distribution in the successively higher age brackets. The sole exception is found in the non-white female group, aged 75 years and over. The percentage increases for each of the three classes amounts to 17.4% for white males, 10.7% for white females and 6.3% for non-white males. The negative difference for non-white females is 2.3%, which also represents the range of percentage changes in that group for the different age classes. The ranges in the other groups, all increases, are 21.2% for white males, 12.7% for white females and 11.7% for non-white males.

This portion of the study would indicate that dependency increases directly with age, since there are fewer persons in the successively higher age groupings in the general population. The causes of greater dependency may be advancing physical and mental disability, fewer surviving relations to provide aid, and the expenditure of savings. The non-white females provide the sole exception to the progressively greater number and percentage of Old Age Assistance recipients from age class to class. The probable reason for the even distribution of this group stems from the fact that most of

these people are employed in domestic work. At age 65 they have become largely unemployed or at least unable to obtain employment in domestic service.

A possible remedy for this situation might be found in increased diversity of employment. Training in the various handicraft skills might enable many of these women to enjoy an income when they are no longer employable. It will be noted from the activities listed in Table XI that only 1.8% of the non-white females knit, for example, compared to 11.4% of the white females. The matter was summed up by a school janitress' observation to the writer's wife. She remarked, "I wish I could sew and knit and crochet--we are the ones who really need to know those things but we don't have anybody to teach us. This is the only kind of work I can do."

An examination of the marital status of the Old Age Assistance recipients (Table III) shows at least one departure from the expected. The ratio of widowed to married females is 8 to 1 for white and approximately 13 to 1 for non-white. Widowed and married males exist in equal numbers for white and for non-white in a ratio of 1 to .9, almost equal proportions. One explanation which offers for the great variation between the male and female ratios of the widowed to the married is the standard death rate differential between males and females, or greater life expectancy of females. This factor alone would certainly not operate to produce such a disparate

TABLE III

MARITAL STATUS, BY SEX AND COLOR,
OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS
IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Color and Marital status	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White total	80	100.0	149	100.0	229	100.0
Single	13	16.2	19	12.8	32	14.0
Married	31	38.8	14	9.4	45	19.7
Widowed	31	38.8	112	75.2	143	62.4
Separated	4	5.0	2	1.3	6	2.6
Divorced	1	1.2	2	1.3	3	1.3
Non-White total	255	100.0	450	100.0	705	100.0
Single	29	11.4	36	8.0	65	9.2
Married	91	35.7	28	6.2	119	16.9
Widowed	104	40.8	367	81.6	471	66.8
Separated	23	9.0	13	2.9	36	5.1
Divorced	8	3.1	6	1.3	14	2.0
Grand totals *	335	35.9	599	64.1	934	100.0

* Total reporting, by sex.

set of ratios since it has already been pointed out that the ratio of aged females to males in the population is about 5.6 to 4.4 and in the survey respondents approximately 6.4 to 3.6. However, the biological factor of the death rate differential works in conjunction with the social factor of almost universal greater age of the male partner in the marriage. Thus, the chances are great that the spouse of an aged male would be several years younger than he, with consequently less probability of widowhood for the males in this study.

The possibility of a considerably greater number of remarriages for males was scrutinized but a perusal of Appendix B, Section I, will show that the average number of years duration for present or last marriage does not vary a great deal between males and females in each color category. The sole exception consists of white males in Newport News, with only two men reporting, one of them having married but recently.

CHAPTER III

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

The study reveals that obtaining satisfactory living quarters constitutes a major problem for the recipients of Old Age Assistance. This is complicated by the fact that they must live on a small budget in an urban area where extraordinary demands have been made on housing by a great influx of defense workers and armed service personnel.¹⁷ In order to preserve the integrity and objectivity of this section of the study, all questions relating to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with living arrangements were included under the consideration of personal attitudes.¹⁸

There are certain almost universal concomitants of low income. Among these are a low rate of home ownership and residence in low rental housing areas. The budgetary allowance for rent for Old Age Assistance recipients, a maximum of \$30.00 monthly for one person or \$35.00 for two,¹⁹ assures adherence to this general economic rule.

17 Cf. Appendix C, II. Living Arrangements.

18 Cf. Appendix H. VII. Personal Attitudes.

19 Public Assistance Manual, Vol. II, Form DPWI S-50;
210.3.

The rate of home ownership among the respondents to the questionnaire is very low, 1.3% of the total distribution, only 13 of 934 reporting that they owned the homes in which they lived.²⁰ It is possible that a large percentage may have been home owners and have transferred their real property to others more than five years before applying for Old Age Assistance.²¹ However, it is not likely that this has been the case in any appreciable number of instances. The amount of foresight and planning necessary to effect such circumvention of the eligibility requirements is rarely found in the near dependent. The very force of circumstances which causes them to live on a day-to-day, hand-to-mouth basis militates against any long range economic planning. The exigencies of the immediate needs almost preclude consideration of future needs.

The eligibility requirements for Old Age Assistance further make collusion indirectly unprofitable in the case of transfer of property from a parent to his child inasmuch as the Virginia Code requires any child "financially able to do so" to contribute to the support of his aged or infirm parents.²² The financial ability of the child to contribute is determined by the Local Board of Public Welfare according to a standard of

²⁰ Infra. Appendix C, II.

²¹ Cf. ante. Eligibility Requirements, p. 8.

²² Supra p. 6.

income scales prepared by the State Department of Welfare and Institutions.²³ These income scales fix the amount deemed necessary to support the immediate family of the child and all income in excess of that amount is considered as surplus. A varying percentage of the surplus is construed as being available for the support of dependent parents. The parent may have legal recourse to a court order to compel payment in the case of refusal of a child to contribute. However, an interpretation of the Supporting Law and the denial of Old Age Assistance, when circumstances warrant, are usually sufficient to awaken a child to his legal responsibility for his aged parents, if not to his moral obligation. As regards housing, therefore, we may assume that an Old Age Assistance recipient who is residing with his children must find himself in quite modest surroundings, at best.

Table IV shows that, of the 86.4% of the total respondents, the largest percentage of the distribution for each white and non-white live with their children. In Appendix C, II, it may be seen that the number of respondents sharing a room with others approximates the number living with their children, although no record was kept of those actually doing both.²⁴ Those living alone rank second in array. For non-

²³ Public Assistance Manual. op. cit., Alternate Income Scales, DPWI Form VLH 1026.

²⁴ Cf. post App. C.

TABLE IV

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS, BY SEX AND COLOR, OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS,
IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Living arrangement	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White total	80	100.0	149	100.0	229	100.0
Alone	16	20.0	25	16.8	41	17.9
With spouse	20	25.0	9	6.1	29	12.7
With children	14	17.5	51	34.2	65	28.4
With other relatives	5	6.3	27	18.1	32	14.1
With friends	6	7.5	12	8.1	18	7.8
With strangers	6	7.5	3	2.0	9	3.9
Not reporting	13	16.2	22	14.7	35	15.3
Non-White total	255	100.0	450	100.0	705	100.0
Alone	51	20.0	98	21.8	149	21.2
With spouse	64	25.1	27	6.0	91	12.9
With children	38	14.9	130	28.9	168	23.8
With other relatives	22	8.6	69	15.3	91	12.9
With friends	39	15.3	55	12.2	94	13.4
With strangers	12	4.7	8	1.8	20	2.8
Not reporting	29	11.4	63	14.0	92	13.0
Total reporting	293	87.4	514	85.8	807	86.4
Total not reporting	42	12.6	85	14.2	127	13.6
Grand totals	335	100.0	599	100.0	934	100.0

white the next category consists of those living with friends, 13.4% of the total number of non-white, followed by 12.9% each for those living with spouse or with other relatives. The order is somewhat different for white, showing 14.0% living with other relatives, 12.7% living with spouse and those living with friends amounting to only 7.8% of the total number of whites.

The number living with strangers, those not reporting and all categories except those living with friends are not very disproportionate as regards percentages of white and non-white recipients. There is a much greater percentage of non-white recipients living with friends, almost twice the relative number of whites so reporting. There is little reason to believe that this difference is occasioned by any semantic variation in the application of "friend". Rather, it would seem that the usage describes an amicable, personal relationship between the Old Age Assistance recipient and his landlord or landlady who inhabits the same house or apartment. Very probably the white recipients are more liable to rent from absentee landlords than are the non-white, at least insofar as pertains to non-white landlords. The restricted nature of non-white housing with its fairly well defined geographic bounds probably tends to limit absentee renting. Moreover, the generally lower economic status of non-white persons may militate toward more attempts by householders to augment income by taking in roomers.

The phenomenon of "limited" neighborhoods may well be responsible for the considerably lesser mobility among non-white recipients than appears in the white portion of the sample. According to the respondents, non-white women have the lowest rate of mobility, or greatest average number of years tenure in the present home, followed by non-white men, white women and white men in descending order.²⁵

The average number of persons per household is one of the usual criteria of desirability of living arrangements. The item checked with greatest frequency by respondents as most disliked about their living arrangements was "too crowded". Yet only 106 persons made this complaint as compared to 305 who checked the item of greatest frequency in the "most liked" category.²⁶ The unweighted average for number of persons per household would indicate three persons per household for non-white and four for white recipients. This is a somewhat surprising fact in light of the generally accepted view that non-whites live in more cramped quarters than whites. That generalization is no doubt true for the non-white population as a whole compared to the total number of whites. It apparently does not apply, however, to the Old Age Assistance recipients in the area under study.

²⁵ Cf. Appendix C. II. Living Arrangements.

²⁶ Cf. Appendix H. VII. Personal Attitudes.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC SITUATION

The principal means of support of the individuals and families included in this study is Old Age Assistance. Despite this fact, many appeared to be unaware of the name of the source of their daily bread. No count was kept on the number of those failing to check Old Age Assistance as a source of income but the figure would have constituted a considerable percentage of the distribution. Quite a few wrote in the words "City" or "Old Age Pension" on the schedule, thus showing an appreciation of the nature of Old Age Assistance, if not a thorough understanding of the program.

This apparent lack of comprehension is frequently encountered among recipients, even though the program is thoroughly explained on initial application for assistance and by the Social Worker making the investigation of eligibility, as well as subsequently at periodic reviews. The terms "On the City" or "On the County" of course antedate the Old Age Assistance program by many years. The characterization of Old Age Assistance as a pension apparently springs from faulty or partial interpretation by newspapers and radio or a confusion of Old Age Assistance with Social Security benefits.

A total of 14.2% of the Old Age Assistance recipients receive income from other sources. Over one-half this percentage, or 7.3% of the distribution, derives its other income from Old Age and Survivors Insurance. Almost five times the percentage of men receive such benefits as do women. The percentage of white persons receiving these benefits is approximately twice as great as for non-whites. This difference is attributable to the fact that a larger proportion of white workers are employed in covered occupations. It was anticipated that with the increased coverage and benefits provided under H. R. 6000, there would be a slight reduction in the number of Old Age Assistance recipients, followed by a gradual decline in numbers of applicants. No figures were available for the study area as to the number of recipients rendered ineligible by increased Social Security payments but the maximum for the sample could hardly exceed 68 persons, or 7.3% of the total distribution of respondents.

A reduction was noted in Old Age Assistance applications for the entire State of Virginia from September to October 1950. A difference was reported from 711 applications in the latter month to 608 in November 1950, "both traceable largely to recent increases in old age and survivors benefits under the Federal social security program."²⁷ This reduction

²⁷ Richmond Times Dispatch, Monday, December 25, 1950, p. 3, Col. 5.

in applications for Old Age Assistance is counter to the usual trend of increased applications during the winter months, according to the State Department of Welfare and Institutions. During the same months, October and November, general relief applications increased from 636 to 729, respectively.²⁸

Contributions from children rank next in order of incidence. In this category, the white recipients are disproportionately represented, particularly in the case of white males as compared to non-white males. The low proportion of non-white men receiving contributions from their children may well reflect the matriarchal type southern Negro family organization noted by E. Franklin Frazier in his study of the Negro in America.

Income from other relatives occupies third place in numerical and percentage strength for the non-white category. This item is reported by only one white recipient, as are the items of income from roomers, veteran's and survivors pension and industrial or commercial pension. The much larger percentage of the distribution represented by non-white recipients receiving contributions from relatives may be attributable to the comparative lack of mobility of the non-white segment of the sample. Proximity to relatives, rather than greater income, is probably the chief disposing factor in the matter of contributions.

²⁸ Ibid.

TABLE V

OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME FOR OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS, BY SEX AND COLOR, IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Income from:	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White total	80	100.0	149	100.0	229	100.0
OAA only	55	68.7	130	87.2	185	80.9
Veteran or veteran survivors	0	0	1	.7	1	.4
Social security	20	25.0	8	5.3	28	12.2
Children	5	6.3	7	4.7	12	5.3
Other relatives	0	0	1	.7	1	.4
Roomers	0	0	1	.7	1	.4
Wages	0	0	0	0	0	0
Industrial or commercial pension	0	0	1	.7	1	.4
Non-White total	255	100.0	450	100.0	705	100.0
OAA only	208	81.8	407	90.4	615	87.1
Veteran or veteran survivors	3	1.2	1	.2	4	.6
Social security	28	10.9	12	2.7	40	5.7
Children	5	1.9	16	3.6	21	3.0
Other relatives	3	1.2	8	1.8	11	1.6
Roomers	1	.4	1	.2	2	.3
Wages	5	1.9	0	0	5	.7
Industrial or commercial pension	2	.7	5	1.1	7	1.0
Total reporting income from other sources	72	21.5	62	10.4	134	14.2
Total reporting income from old age assistance solely	263	78.5	537	89.6	800	85.8
Grand total	335	100.0	599	100.0	934	100.0

The relative number of non-whites, especially females, checking the commercial or industrial pension item is suspect, particularly in view of the preponderance of whites receiving Social Security payments. It is possible, but not very probable, that this item was correctly checked. It is logical to assume that the word "Pension" was a symbol which evoked the response, "Industrial or Commercial" was probably imperfectly understood, while "Veteran or Veteran's Survivors" was eschewed because of its ready comprehension.

The present amount of monthly Old Age Assistance payments is not available for the study area, but it is presumed that the average of the payments is greater than the December, 1949, Virginia statewide average computed to be \$21.08 per Old Age Assistance recipient.²⁹

²⁹ Gregory, E. W., Jr. The University of Virginia News Letter, "Public Assistance in Virginia," XXVI, 18, June 15, 1950, p. 1. Col. 2.

CHAPTER V

HEALTH CONDITIONS

The "ills the flesh is heir to" naturally achieve a considerable representation among the aged. An interesting finding of this portion of the study is the fact that the incidence of certain defects or diseases closely follows the proportional representation for the recipients in particular categories. There are some notable exceptions to the even distribution. One of these deviations is contained in the responses for the item of digestion. The incidence of digestive troubles among the white recipients is approximately fifty per cent greater than that for the non-white. There is little reason to believe that the white persons in the sample have not as inherently good digestive systems as the non-whites.

The greater part of the digestive malfunctions in both races is probably due either to diet or to hypertensive stresses. Differences in the diet of whites and non-whites are almost certainly very slight. There is some foundation for the alternative possibility of greater susceptibility by the whites to hypertension with its related digestive defects. However, the greater percentage of white females over white males suffering from digestive troubles is counter to the prevailing national preponderance of males with digestive

malfunction. It may well be that the explanation of this anomaly inheres in the commonly accepted medical opinion that males, by and large, are subjected to greater competitive pressures and strains in daily life. The males in the sample are very probably better adjusted to the insecurity attendant upon attempting to manage on an inadequate budget and are practically entirely withdrawn from economic competition.

Respiratory ailments among the whites and non-whites follow an irregular pattern with over three and one-half times as great a percentage of white females represented in the group as there are white males. The incidence of breathing difficulties in non-white men almost equals the percentage of white women so afflicted and is almost one and one-half times the proportional representation of non-white women.

The percentages of non-white males and females suffering from circulatory impairments are practically equal, 18.8% for the men and 18.9% for women. The deviation is very marked in the whites with exactly five times as great a percentage of females represented as are males. One-third as great a percentage of white males and almost twice as large a proportion of white females are included in this group as are found in the non-whites. The variations are probably not caused by greater immunity among white males. Indeed, they have the highest incidence of circulatory ills in the general population. It is more reasonable to suppose that many of the white male

sufferers have already succumbed to cardio-vascular diseases and are not represented in the sample. The difference between white female rates and those for non-whites may be accounted for by the fact that whites are generally more prone to such diseases.

Of the ailments affecting a minor portion of the sample, arthritis is represented almost identically by sex in the two race groupings. White and non-white males have a lower incidence with 3.8% and 3.9%, respectively. White females have a representation of 4.7% and non-white females 4.4%. White and non-white males have almost the same incidence of hernia, 2.5% and 2.7%. Although 1.3% of white females reported hernia, no non-white females so reported. White males lead in percentage of sufferers from paralysis and kidney disease. They have no representation, however, under the heading "All other" defects or diseases. This category is led by non-white males, followed by white females and non-white females.

Those having defects of sight present the most even distribution in the range of physical ailments, some forty per cent of each sex and race group being represented. Defects in hearing also follow an even pattern with the exception of non-white females who appear to be less susceptible. With respect to defect or disease of the limbs, white males and females report an almost identical percentage of

persons so impaired, 37.5% and 37.6%. Non-white males and females indicate a greater percentage of sufferers, 42.4% and 46.2%, respectively. This difference, since apparently not due to circulatory ills, may result from employment by the non-whites in jobs which subject the limbs to greater strain.

It will be apparent from an examination of Table VI that the items are not mutually exclusive.³⁰ Some respondents reported suffering from almost all the items listed, while others enjoyed good health.

³⁰ Cf. post Appendix E, IV. Health Conditions

TABLE VI

PHYSICAL IMPAIRMENTS OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS, BY SEX AND COLOR, IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Defect or disease in:	White						Non-White						Totals	
	Number			Per Cent			Number			Per Cent			No.	Pct.
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female		
Sight	97	32	65	42.4	40.0	43.6	303	105	198	43.0	41.1	44.0	400	42.8
Hearing	76	29	47	33.2	36.5	31.5	190	86	104	27.0	33.7	23.1	266	28.5
Limbs	86	30	56	37.6	37.5	37.6	316	108	208	44.8	42.4	46.2	402	43.0
Digestion	57	17	40	24.9	21.3	26.8	116	36	80	16.5	14.1	17.8	173	18.5
Respiration	31	4	27	13.5	5.0	18.1	89	44	45	12.6	17.3	10.0	120	12.8
Circulation	52	5	47	22.7	6.3	31.5	133	48	85	18.9	18.8	18.9	185	19.8
Other:														
Arthritis	10	3	7	4.4	3.8	4.7	30	10	20	4.3	3.9	4.4	40	4.3
Hernia	4	2	2	1.7	2.5	1.3	7	7	0	1.0	2.7	0	11	1.2
Paralysis	6	3	3	2.6	3.8	2.0	13	6	7	1.8	2.4	1.6	19	2.0
Kidney	7	5	2	3.1	6.3	1.3	11	5	6	1.6	2.0	1.3	18	1.9
All other	6	0	6	2.6	0	4.0	18	15	3	2.6	5.9	.7	24	2.5
Grand total*	229	80	149	-----	-----	-----	705	255	450	-----	-----	-----	934	-----

* Total reporting, by sex and color.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

Membership in a church and attendance at religious services were considered important from the viewpoint of social participation as well as from the point of view of spiritual experience. Often a considerable part of a person's system of values, including his estimate of his own worth, comes from his identification with a religious body. The degree of his association with others of the religious group, both in the church and in the home, may give some indications of the importance of organized religion in the lives of the aged in this study.

Varying percentages of the sample, according to sex and color, indicated church membership ranging from a low of 65.0% for white males to 94.9% for non-white females. Membership of white females exceeded that of the white males by 23.9%, while for non-white, female membership was 14.9% greater than for the males.

Membership in church organizations, such as circles, altar guilds, missionary societies, and the like, displayed less variation percentagewise. The range was from 16.3% for white males to 40.2% for non-white females. White females and non-white males held the same relative positions as for church membership. White females exceeded white males in membership

TABLE VII

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RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS,
BY SEX AND COLOR, IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH
AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Religious activity	Male		Female		Totals	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White	80	100.0	149	100.0	229	100.0
Church member	52	65.0	132	88.6	184	80.3
Non-member	26	32.5	9	6.0	35	5.3
Not reporting	2	2.5	8	5.4	10	4.4
Church organization member	13	16.3	39	26.2	52	22.7
Non-member of church organization	48	60.0	77	51.7	125	54.6
Not reporting	19	23.7	33	22.1	52	22.7
Non-white	255	100.0	450	100.0	705	100.0
Church member	204	80.0	427	94.9	631	89.5
Non-member	45	17.6	18	4.0	63	8.9
Not reporting	6	2.4	5	1.1	11	1.6
Church organization member	64	25.1	181	40.2	245	34.8
Non-member of church organization	136	53.3	190	42.2	326	46.2
Not reporting	55	21.6	79	17.6	134	19.0
Total reporting on church membership	327	97.6	586	97.8	913	97.8
Total not reporting	8	2.4	13	2.2	21	2.2
Total reporting on church org. mem.	261	77.9	487	81.3	748	80.1
Total not reporting	74	22.1	112	18.7	186	19.9
Grand total*	335	-----	599	-----	934	-----

* Total reporting, by sex.

by 9.9%. Non-white female organizational representation was 15.1% greater than for the non-white males.

The lowest percentage of church membership group, the white males, exceeded the estimated percentage of membership in the total United States population by fifteen per cent. It would seem that the dependent aged population has more interest in religious activity than the general run of the population, if the results obtained from the sample are generally representative. (See Table VIII.)

Regular attendance at church services, as a measure of participation in religious and social activity, presents inconsistencies between the church membership of the classes in the sample and their attendance. Non-white females, with the greatest percentage of church members, are second in percentage of regular attendance and are tied for third place with the non-white males with regard to total attendance, regular, occasional and rare, at 77.2%. White females, second in church membership, are exceeded in regular attendance by white males, who rank last in membership. In total attendance, however, white females rank first with 88.6%, followed by white males in second place with 82.5%. The whites outrank non-whites in total attendance, 86.5% to 77.2%.

With respect to Sunday School attendance, further anomalies are presented, although the margin of percentage differences between groups is quite small. White females,

TABLE VIII

ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH FUNCTIONS BY OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS, BY
SEX AND COLOR, IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Attendance at:	White						Non-White						Totals	
	Number			Per Cent			Number			Per Cent			No.	Pct.
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female		
Church:														
Regular	55	21	34	24.0	26.0	22.8	238	87	151	33.8	34.1	33.6	293	31.4
Occasional	83	22	61	36.3	27.4	40.9	243	91	152	34.5	35.6	33.8	326	34.9
Rare	28	12	16	12.2	15.0	10.7	63	19	44	8.9	7.5	9.8	91	9.7
Never	32	11	21	14.0	13.8	14.2	55	17	38	7.8	6.7	8.4	87	9.3
Not reporting	31	14	17	13.5	17.5	11.4	106	41	65	15.0	16.1	14.4	137	14.7
Sunday school:														
Regular	28	11	17	12.2	13.7	11.4	65	25	40	9.2	9.8	8.9	93	10.0
Occasional	46	15	31	20.1	18.4	20.8	132	56	76	18.7	22.0	16.9	178	19.1
Rare	15	4	11	6.6	5.0	7.4	54	18	36	7.6	7.1	8.0	69	7.4
Never	63	25	38	27.5	31.3	25.5	222	72	150	31.5	28.2	33.3	285	30.5
Not reporting	77	25	52	33.6	31.3	34.9	232	84	148	33.0	32.9	32.9	209	33.0
Church organization:														
Regular	17	4	13	7.4	5.0	8.7	80	22	58	11.4	8.6	12.9	97	10.4
Occasional	52	20	32	22.7	25.0	21.5	196	73	123	27.8	28.6	27.3	48	26.6
Rare	14	4	10	6.1	5.0	6.7	68	14	54	9.6	5.5	12.0	82	8.8
Never	65	21	44	28.4	26.3	39.5	133	50	83	18.9	19.6	18.5	98	21.2
Not reporting	81	31	50	35.4	38.7	33.6	228	96	132	32.3	37.7	29.3	309	33.0
Grand total	229	80	149	100.0	100.0	100.0	705	255	450	100.0	100.0	100.0	934	100.0

second in regular attendance, lead in total attendance by a narrow margin over non-white males, 39.6% to 38.9%, respectively. Non-white females, fourth in regular attendance, are also last in total attendance with 33.8%, following the white males, 35.5% of whom attend Sunday School. The total Sunday School attendance for whites amounts to 38.9%, for non-whites 35.5%.

Attendance at various functions of organizations more nearly correlates with church membership. Two groups, non-white females and white males, occupy the same relative positions, namely, first and fourth. The white females and non-white males are juxtaposed in this respect. Non-white females are also in first position in percentage of regular attendance. White females barely exceed non-white males in this category. White males bring up the rear, as they do in church membership. The non-white groups show a considerably greater percentage of total attendance at church organization functions than do the whites, 45.8% to 36.2%.

It may be seen in Table VIII, that white females have the best relative record of percentage of attendance at all church functions, followed by non-white females, non-white males and white males. Non-white males and females tied in percentage of church attendance at 77.2% each, with the totals of the regular, rare and occasional church attendance figures in Table VIII. It is quite possible that the non-white segment

of the sample owe their superior showing in attendance at church organization functions to the fact that these provide a variety of social diversion to people largely lacking in opportunities for recreation and other outlets of self-expression. The comparatively poor showing of the non-white females in church and Sunday School attendance is surprising in view of their large percentage of church membership. The cause of this reversal of form may inhere in so simple an explanation as a lack of what is deemed proper clothing to wear to church or Sunday School, no such diffidence being felt regarding the less formal get-togethers. Many persons wrote on the schedule that they wished for decent attire so they might attend church.³¹

Table IX discloses that there is more consistency in percentage of persons receiving home visits than obtains in percentage of recipients attending church functions. That is not to say that the percentages are greater, in fact they are less, but there is not so much deviation in relative positions from item to item. Non-whites lead whites in percentage of total visits, weekly, monthly and occasional, with smaller percentages in the rarely or never visited categories.

Table IX shows the results of an attempt to ascertain the degree of social interchange between church members out-

³¹ Cf. Appendix H, VII, Personal Attitudes, Clothing.

TABLE IX

FREQUENCY OF VISITS BY NON-RELATIVE CHURCH MEMBERS TO
 OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS, BY SEX AND COLOR, IN
 NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Visited	Male		Female		Totals	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White total	80	100.0	149	100.0	229	100.0
Weekly	5	6.3	18	12.1	23	10.0
Monthly	6	7.5	6	4.0	12	5.3
Occasionally	20	25.0	62	41.6	82	35.8
Rarely	11	13.7	27	18.1	38	16.6
Never	24	30.0	23	15.5	47	20.5
Not reporting	14	17.5	13	8.7	27	11.8
Non-white total	255	100.0	450	100.0	705	100.0
Weekly	31	12.2	63	14.0	94	13.3
Monthly	15	5.9	35	7.8	50	7.1
Occasionally	98	38.4	183	40.6	281	39.9
Rarely	31	12.2	44	9.8	75	10.6
Never	46	18.0	40	8.9	86	12.2
Not reporting	34	13.3	85	18.9	119	16.9
Total reporting	287	85.7	501	83.6	788	84.4
Total not reporting	48	14.3	98	16.4	146	15.6
Grand total	335	100.0	599	100.0	934	100.0

side the auspices of the church. It is possible that some of the home visits were made because of church solicitations or for meetings of church societies but it is presumed that such visits would not account for more than a minor portion of this category. The fact that the non-whites are generally visited more frequently than the whites may arise from the limited neighborhoods previously mentioned.³² Friends and fellow church members of the non-white recipients are presumably not so likely to reside at a distance or in outlying residential districts, thereby facilitating the paying of calls or informal "dropping in".

³² Supra, Ch. III. Living Arrangements.

CHAPTER VII

RECREATION AND LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

There has recently been an increasing awareness of the importance of some interest, hobby, or occupation for the aged. Physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, and others concerned with human social behavior are almost universally in accord with the proposition that an aimless existence, or one containing few distractions, predisposes an individual or group toward poor mental and physical health.

... old age involves more than social isolation, physical infirmity, or economic dependency. It is a period when the lack of a task, called by Emerson a life preserver ... appears in a perspective unrealized by youth or middle age.³³

Table X presents findings regarding the amount of free time available to the aged persons of the sample, and provides information as to whether their free time is generally occupied or unoccupied. It was found that a majority of the recipients have all day free; presumably these persons have no duties to perform other than, in some instances, light household chores quickly done.³⁴ For example, over 50% of the non-white women responding stated that they had household duties, yet 65.1% indicated that they had all day free. A greater total per-

³³ Phelps, Harold A., Contemporary Social Problems, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1947, p. 390.

³⁴ Of. post. Appendix B, Household Duties.

TABLE X

AMOUNT OF LEISURE OR FREE TIME AVAILABLE TO RECIPIENTS
OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA, BY SEX AND COLOR, WITH
USE OF FREE TIME

Free time each day:	Male		Female		Totals	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
White total	80	100.0	149	100.0	229	100.0
All day	55	68.8	73	49.0	128	55.9
Half day	7	8.7	19	12.8	26	11.4
Few hours	9	11.2	23	15.4	32	14.0
Almost no time	3	3.8	9	6.0	12	5.2
Not reporting	6	7.5	25	16.8	31	13.5
Non-white total	255	100.0	450	100.0	705	100.0
All day	196	76.9	293	65.1	489	69.4
Half day	21	8.2	36	8.0	57	8.1
Few hours	14	5.5	62	13.8	76	10.8
Almost no time	7	2.7	24	5.3	31	4.4
Not reporting	17	6.7	35	7.8	52	7.3
Total reporting	312	93.1	539	90.0	851	91.1
Total not reporting	23	6.9	60	10.0	83	8.9
White total	80	100.0	149	100.0	229	100.0
Generally occupied	20	25.0	49	32.9	69	30.1
Generally unoccupied	42	52.5	49	32.9	91	39.8
Not reporting	18	22.5	51	34.2	69	30.1
Non-white total	255	100.0	450	100.0	705	100.0
Generally occupied	87	34.1	139	30.9	226	32.0
Generally unoccupied	124	48.6	191	42.4	315	44.7
Not reporting	44	17.3	120	26.7	164	23.3
Total reporting	273	81.5	428	71.5	701	75.1
Total not reporting	62	18.5	171	28.5	233	24.9
Grand total	335	100.0	599	100.0	934	100.0

centage of non-whites than whites have all day free. Non-white males lead in amount of leisure time available, followed by white males, non-white females and white females, in descending order. The rankings for a half day free are practically reversed with the white females leading in this category as they do in percentage having a few hours or almost no time free each day.

In order to determine whether constructive use was made of the free time available to the recipients, the question was asked, "Do you generally have nothing to do in your free time?" It is felt that a more accurate response could have been secured if the word "something" had been used instead of "nothing". The writer has since observed that the use of the double negative is so prevalent among persons of low educational attainment in the study areas as to preclude unequivocal acceptance of the negative or affirmative responses to the question. Such misgivings may not be justified, however, in light of the universally understood connotations of the phrase "nothing to do." Further, many of those in doubt as to the proper response may have failed to check either answer since the percentage replying is generally much lower than that for the amount of free time. The majority of white males responding claimed that they have nothing to do with their spare time, those unoccupied outnumbering the generally occupied by a ratio of 2 to 1. Non-white males, with a greater percentage of their

total number reporting, indicate the next highest percentage of those unoccupied, although reporting the greatest percentage of those generally occupied. Non-white women hold third place in relative position for those reporting occupied or unoccupied. With only about two-thirds of their number reporting, white women are evenly divided with respect to use or nonuse of their leisure time.

With a range of approximately one-half to three-fourths of the sample responses indicating all day available to use as they will and almost one-third to over one-half of the respondents having nothing to do, it would seem that they need more things to do. An examination of their recreational activities follows. (See Table XI)

There are five major recreational activities engaged in by the respondents. Listening to the radio is the favorite pastime. Reading is second in popularity. Sewing, probably indulged in for economic reasons rather than chiefly for its enjoyment, is in third place. Visiting is the next most popular pastime, followed by gardening.

It is possible that more of the sample now watch and audit television. At the time the schedule was mailed, the area was without a television station. A common complaint of the "tax payers" is the number of persons receiving public assistance who are possessed of radios, the inference being that public moneys have been spent for non-productive machines.

This is, of course, not true. However, in view of the large percentage of respondents citing radio as their chief diversion, it would seem that the radios are needed, for information as well as recreation, only one-fourth of the sample reporting reading as their recreation. The utilitarian pastimes of sewing and gardening should please the critics of radio listening. Visiting, the activity calling forth the most social interaction, is not strongly represented. If lack of acquaintanceship, rather than spatial distribution, is the cause of the comparative isolation of the respondents more attention might be given to the organization of special clubs for our older citizens and to providing ways of incorporating them into the normal streams of activities of the community.

TABLE XI

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS, BY SEX
AND COLOR, IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Recreational Activity	White						Non-White						Totals	
	Number			Per Cent			Number			Per Cent			No.	Pct.
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female		
Grand Total *	229	80	149	-----	-----	-----	705	255	450	-----	-----	-----	934	-----
Visiting	39	14	25	17.0	17.3	16.8	109	47	62	15.5	18.4	13.8	148	15.9
Reading	77	26	51	33.6	32.5	34.2	164	49	115	23.3	19.2	25.6	241	25.8
Sewing	60	5	55	26.2	6.3	36.9	139	3	136	19.7	1.2	30.2	199	21.3
Radio	100	34	66	43.7	42.5	44.3	238	97	141	33.8	38.0	31.3	338	36.2
Television	5	3	2	2.2	3.8	1.3	5	3	2	.7	1.2	.4	10	1.0
Gardening	30	18	12	13.1	22.5	8.1	63	35	28	8.9	13.7	6.2	93	9.9
Knitting	19	2	17	8.3	2.5	11.4	9	1	3	1.3	.4	1.8	28	3.0
Clubs	3		3	1.3		2.0	12	7	5	1.7	2.7	1.1	15	1.5
Movies	7	5	2	3.1	6.3	1.3	5	3	2	.7	1.2	.4	12	1.2
Theater, concerts	1		1	.4		.7	7	3	4	1.0	1.2	.9	8	.8
Cards, other games	6	4	2	2.6	5.0	1.3	7	5	2	1.0	2.0	.4	13	1.3
Household							11	2	9	1.6	.8	2.0	11	1.1
Prayer	1		1	.4		.7	8	2	6	1.1	.8	1.3	9	.9
Walking	1		1	.4		.7	2	2		.3	.8		3	.3
Resting	3	2	1	1.3	2.5	.7	1	1		.1	.4		4	.4
Sports	3	3		1.3	3.8		3	2	1	.4	.8	.2	6	.6
Tend grandchildren							2		2	.3		.4	2	.2
Tend animals							2	2		.3	.8		2	.2
Write poetry	1		1	.4		.7							1	.1

* Total reporting, by sex and color.

CHAPTER VIII

PERSONAL ATTITUDES

The quantitative aspects of personal attitudes may be compiled statistically with as great facility and fidelity as may most other data. The qualitative factors are not so amenable to measurement because of variation in intensity of feelings or beliefs. Personal attitudes were examined by means of certain questions in the schedule to secure some indications of the degree of satisfaction with living arrangements, as well as the numbers of persons involved. Recipients were requested to indicate their satisfaction with their living arrangements, very well satisfied, fairly well satisfied, or not at all satisfied.³⁵ Over four-fifths, or 86.7% of the sample, replied to this item. Of the 810 responses for the category, 68.3% of those reporting were very well or fairly well satisfied with their living arrangements.³⁶

Further proof that the satisfactions with living arrangements outweigh the dissatisfactions is shown in Table XII. Whereas only 10.3% of the sample did not report on the item they liked most about their living arrangements, almost six times as many, or 60.2% failed to check an item as the circumstance they disliked most.

³⁵ Infra Appendix H.

³⁶ Ibid.

TABLE XII

PERSONAL ATTITUDES OF OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS TOWARD LIVING ARRANGEMENTS,
BY SEX AND COLOR, IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Attitudes	White						Non-White						Totals	
	Number			Per Cent			Number			Per Cent			Pot.	
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	No.	Dist.
Grand Total	229	80	149	100.0	100.0	100.0	705	255	450	100.0	100.0	100.0	934	100.0
Like Most:														
Living near family	71	22	49	31.0	27.5	32.9	202	60	142	28.6	23.5	31.6	273	29.2
Living near friends	60	23	37	26.2	28.8	24.8	235	89	146	33.3	34.9	32.4	295	31.6
Neighborhood	18	7	11	7.9	8.7	7.4	100	44	56	14.2	17.3	12.5	118	12.6
Near transportation	15	7	8	6.6	8.7	5.4	28	15	13	4.0	5.9	2.9	43	4.6
Convenient location	26	9	17	11.3	11.3	11.4	83	32	51	11.8	12.5	11.3	109	11.7
Not reporting	39	12	27	17.0	15.0	18.1	57	15	42	8.1	5.9	9.3	96	10.3
Dislike Most:														
Not near relatives	26	8	18	11.4	10.0	12.0	74	32	42	10.5	12.5	9.3	100	10.7
Out of touch with friends	12	7	5	5.2	8.7	3.4	44	18	26	6.3	7.1	5.8	56	6.0
No neighborhood contacts	9	4	5	3.9	5.0	3.4	27	17	10	3.8	6.7	2.2	36	3.9
No transportation	3	1	2	1.3	1.3	1.3	22	7	15	3.1	2.7	3.3	25	2.7
Inconvenient location	14	4	10	6.1	5.0	6.7	35	10	25	5.0	3.9	5.6	49	5.2
Too crowded	19	5	14	8.3	6.2	9.4	87	26	61	12.3	10.2	13.6	106	11.3
Not reporting	146	51	95	63.8	63.8	63.8	416	145	271	59.0	56.9	60.2	562	60.2

The items checked with greatest frequency in the most liked section are those dealing primarily with persons rather than things. The total percentages of recipients liking most the fact of residence near family and friends is more than double the percentage for the next most satisfactory item, the neighborhood. The factor of convenient location is fourth in frequency; nearness to transportation is in last place with small representation. Transportation apparently does not occupy an important place in the considerations attached to living arrangements since "no transportation" is the least frequent cause of dissatisfaction among the respondents.

Females lead males in their respective race groups in percentage of those liking most nearness to their families in their living arrangements. The positions are reversed regarding living near friends. The total percentage of whites exceeds the non-white in the first category with a reversal of order for the second. The females occupy first place in approving nearness to family, the males first in citing nearness to friends as the condition most liked about living arrangements. The range of variations in satisfaction for the different items is not great, indicating that no one group is much happier than the others with respect to living arrangements. The general satisfaction with living arrangements speaks well for the personal adjustment of the aged in the

sample. This adjustment is even more impressive, viewed in light of the fact that 64.2% of the respondents for the item stated that their living arrangements were the result of necessity rather than choice.³⁷

³⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER IX

ESTIMATES OF ESSENTIAL NEEDS

The Old Age Assistance recipients' own estimate of their essential needs was considered in the schedule. Space was provided for them to list the five things they felt to be their most important or most pressing needs to make their lives comfortable and pleasant as they grow older.³⁸ It was believed that the responses would not only provide more insight into the nature of the problems of the aged, as the aged view them, but would also tend to increase the validity of the study by allowing for inclusion of items which might have been left out of the schedule. The array of the responses is in descending order of frequency, for simplicity, rather than according to schedule order as are all other responses to items.³⁹ There was, of course, no particular order for the item of pressing needs, there being twenty-three needs in all listed by the respondents.

It is interesting to note that the five most pressing needs, in order of frequency, are all minimal. In point of fact, only three of the twenty-three needs mentioned by respondents can be construed as lying outside the field of

³⁸ Cf. post Appendix A. VII.

³⁹ Cf. post Appendix H. VII and Table XIII.

necessity. An argument might even be advanced to show that a radio, travel and transportation and rest and recreation are little more than necessities today. Three other needs listed, religion, family and friends, may be considered as essential personal and affectional needs. Of the remaining seventeen needs, ten achieve a representation in the sample of more than ten per cent of the total distribution ranging upward to slightly more than fifty per cent. The ten most pressing needs are all in the realm of creature comforts with the exception of the items of religion and friends, seventh and tenth in order, respectively.

Income, or money, was the item occurring with greatest frequency in the responses. Over half the recipients, 51.2% of the total, indicated that their most pressing need is adequate finances. This response is not surprising since all the respondents are in needy circumstances. Money or income was mentioned by almost double the number of recipients listing the item of next greatest frequency. It may be concluded with some assurance, however, that the money wished for was merely a means to the end of attaining the security every normal person needs. Money appears to be the symbol of ability to cope with the many insecurities which beset the aged.

Neither Mammon nor acquisitiveness is reflected in the desire for a home, clothing and shoes, food, health, and medical care. These five needs follow the item of income in

descending order of frequency, ranging from 29.1% of the distribution down to 19.1%. The items of religion, household furnishings and conveniences, better living conditions, and friends round out the top ten, all cited by over ten per cent of the sample. Old Age Assistance, in eleventh position, is listed by nine per cent of the respondents as their most pressing need. Social security, a job, and "security" were also mentioned by small percentages of the sample. A summation of the economic items is impracticable, statistically, since they are not mutually exclusive. A sufficient emphasis on economic security is noted, however, to indicate that Old Age Assistance, although meliorative, has not removed the fear of want from a majority of the recipients.

The bare minimal nature of Old Age Assistance grants and frequent proportionate reductions to correspond to available funds have done less to extirpate the fear of want than to reduce the intensity of need in most situations. This fault is not occasioned by lack of appreciation by social workers of the psychological needs of the aged. Rather, Old Age Assistance is specifically a financial program. It would probably be unwise and inefficient to try to provide for the total needs of the aged. The fact that most of the recipients are able to manage their own affairs is pointed up by the often repeated remark common to public assistance workers, that ninety per cent of their work is occasioned by less than

TABLE XIII

MOST PRESSING NEEDS FOR A COMFORTABLE AND PLEASANT LIFE, INDICATED BY OLD AGE ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS IN NORFOLK, PORTSMOUTH AND NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA

Need:	White		Non-White		Totals	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	No.	Pct.
Income	34	60	152	232	478	51.2
Home	19	34	83	142	278	29.8
Food	25	25	66	133	249	26.7
Health	18	46	39	83	196	21.0
Medical care	10	30	55	83	178	19.1
Religion	10	17	40	81	148	15.8
Household furnishings and conveniences	10	22	29	76	137	14.7
Better living conditions	23	16	26	51	116	12.4
Friends	10	27	22	48	107	11.4
Old age assistance	12	14	19	39	84	9.0
Family	10	20	16	37	83	8.9
Fuel	5	1	15	45	66	7.1
Rest and recreation	4	9	16	35	64	6.9
Necessities	6	16	8	33	63	6.8
Travel and transportation	9	7	10	23	49	5.3
Eye glasses	5	7	10	23	45	4.9
Security	1	15	5	20	41	4.5
Radio	1	11	6	17	35	3.9
Job	5	5	10	9	29	3.1
Care, help	1	1	15	7	24	2.6
Prosthetic appliances	3	1	5	2	11	1.2
Social security	1	1	1		3	.3
Clothing, shoes	21	37	75	139	272	29.1

ten per cent of their clients. A large consideration in the original plan for establishing Old Age Assistance was the belief that the aged could manage their lives fairly well if given financial aid and economic guidance, when the latter is needed. This assumption seems to have proved true in actual practice.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Practically everyone nowadays is familiar with the composite type of "average", used for various descriptions from the average wage-earner to the average automobile. Arresting as this statistical device may be in advertisements and press releases, it would signify little to compound an average Old Age Assistance recipient from the findings of this study. The difficulties attendant on delineating such a person may be exemplified by the following excerpt from an article regarding Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing's appearance before the United States Senate to testify about the increasing public assistance load.

Mr. Ewing recalled one chart which showed that 508 out of every 1000 people over 65 in Mississippi were receiving some form of public assistance. The percentage in some other states was even larger, he said. ...⁴⁰

Thus in Mississippi the average recipient of Old Age Assistance is the average of over half the state's aged population. It has been demonstrated in Chapter I that Old Age Assistance population in the area under study is comparatively small.

One of the significant findings of the study is the existence of a greater proportional representation of aged females in the sample than obtains in the aged population of the area. Whereas the ratio of females to aged males per thousand persons aged 65 and over is 565 to 435 for the area population, it is 641 to 359 for the sample, or 599 to 335 in absolute numbers.⁴¹ The causes for the preponderance of females over male recipients above the normal life expectancy differential may be set forth as economic and social. The same causes are valid to a great degree for the simple fact of a man's or woman's being an Old Age Assistance recipient. Lack of education,⁴² the usual concomitant of reduced ability to avail oneself of opportunities, has played a considerable part in reducing these aged to public dependency.

Among the females in the sample, housewifery or domestic service has been the chief economic activity, "odd jobs" or unskilled labor the mainstay of the males. With no particular calling or skill, these persons are subject to job pressure and replacement by younger no less apt workers. More schooling, particularly of the vocational type and greater skills development may help prevent much of this non-technological unemployment. Extended social security coverage, as provided

⁴¹ Supra Table II.

⁴² Cf. post Appendix B, Average number of years in school.

in HR 6000, will no doubt eventually enable domestics and the casually employed to build up benefits against enforced retirement.

A leading social accompaniment of dependency in the aged females in the study is that of widowhood. Over seventy-five per cent of the white females and more than eighty per cent of the non-white ones are widowed. Comparable percentages in males are about forty per cent widowed for white and for non-white. This disparity between female and male widowhood is apparently caused by the biological factor of greater female life expectancy in conjunction with the social phenomenon of greater age of the male marriage partner. The latter cause is also greatly influenced by our economic system wherein a young man finds it difficult to provide for a wife until he has worked for several years. This has been the traditional American pattern, at least, with the coming of industrialization and the passing of the frontiers with their greater opportunities for the very young married couples. The persons in the sample came to young adulthood largely in the period when a man was expected to be a good provider for his family, which was usually not long in arriving after marriage, and the woman's place was in the home.

In late years this pattern seems to have changed. It is widely accepted that the wife will work for a few years or until the arrival of a child. With increased dissemination

of birth control media it appears that parenthood, rather than marriage, is postponed. Marriage partners seem to be more nearly of an age as a result of these changes. It is quite likely, therefore, that widowhood among the aged females will not maintain so great a margin over that prevailing in male segments of the population. Furthermore, increased research in the cardio-vascular ills holds out considerable promise for a greater male life expectancy.

The matter of living arrangements would seem to be influenced almost entirely by economic considerations. It is apparent, however, that the biological factor and resultant greater female widowhood also exert a marked influence on household composition. The percentage of females living with their children is approximately twice that of males living with children; only one fourth as large a proportion of females live with spouse. The percentage of females living with other relatives is roughly triple and double that of males for white and non-white, respectively. Approximately one out of five recipients in each class lives alone. The number of persons per household averages four for whites and three for non-whites. There is little doubt that the majority of these recipients receive considerable personal satisfaction from having someone to keep them company. Results of the questionnaire show general satisfaction with living arrangements although over ten per cent of the sample indicated their homes

were too crowded. Home ownership was represented by only a fraction of one per cent of the cases.

Economic dependency is, of course, found in every case in the sample since that condition and attainment of age 65 years are the principal eligibility requirements for Old Age Assistance. It was not possible to include within the scope of this survey the various personal experiences or histories of the recipients showing how they arrived at their states of dependency. Most assuredly not all of the recipients are of low educational attainment or poor economic background. The writer was professionally acquainted with several who had been very wealthy and had been well educated. Poor business management in the inheritors of wealth and alcoholic husbands were the prime causes of loss of fortune in some of those cases.

No doubt the great majority of the recipients made a much less dramatic entry into poverty. Many of them lived on a precarious financial basis for years before reaching the age of 65 years. Some of them were unemployable and had been on General Relief prior to meeting the age requirement for Old Age Assistance.

Those recipients for whom Old Age Assistance represents the sole source of income are in a great majority. Approximately seventy per cent of the white males, eighty per cent of the non-white males and ninety per cent of the females of both

aces are supported entirely by Old Age Assistance. Social security and survivor benefits account for the bulk of the income from other sources for males, some twenty-five per cent of the white males and ten per cent of the non-white males so benefitting. Twice as great a percentage of white females as non-white ones receive social security payments, 5.3% and 2.7% respectively.

Unlike the males, the female recipients obtain a larger cumulative percentage of income from other sources than from social security benefits. The extended coverage and greater proportionate payments of social security in the future may obviate the necessity for supplementing inadequate social security payments with Old Age Assistance funds, provided that inflation does not depreciate the value of social security benefits too greatly.

The health of the recipients in the sample was considered through the medium of having the respondents check items respecting physical or mental disease or defect or write a response in a blank space provided on the schedule.⁴³ There were six principal areas of physical defect, with the incidence ranging from over ten per cent of the sample to forty three per cent. Disease or defect in limbs and sight led by a wide percentage margin over hearing, circulation, digestion, and

⁴³ Cf. Appendix A and E, Section IV, Health.

respiration difficulties. Other afflictions did not achieve an incidence as great as five per cent of the sample.

It is probable that the health of the Old Age Recipients in the survey is not so good as that of aged persons in the general population. Near dependency or semi-privation may well have precluded the availability of funds for medical fees. The recipients of Old Age Assistance in Norfolk are eligible for clinical and hospitalization services, however, either through the Norfolk Hospital Association or the facilities of the Municipal Hospital. Comparable arrangements are provided in Portsmouth and Newport News. A part of the periodic review for determining continuing eligibility for Old Age Assistance is normally devoted to an inquiry regarding the health of the recipient. Facilities and eligibility for clinical care of specific ailments are usually mentioned in the reviews of cases and a bit of gentle urging or reassurance is added to overcome the fear that many persons have toward physical examination or treatment. Prescribed medicines may be furnished patients from City dispensary stocks or bought at discount rates from drug firms if unavailable at the dispensaries. The cost of medical items is calculated in the monthly budgetary allowance.

There is little doubt that many of the impairments suffered by the recipients could have been avoided or alleviated if early diagnosis and treatment had been provided.

Aside from the reluctance felt by many persons to seek qualified medical advice, there are certain disposing factors here. One of the anomalies of the present day is the economic strain attendant on the lower middle class to provide themselves with medical care. For the well-to-do there is not much of a problem. For the poor, there are many free services and clinical facilities. The near poor are supposed to pay but feel inordinately the subtraction of medical costs from a limited budget.

Unfortunately, it would appear, the solution of this medico-economic problem is not a simple one. England has recently joined several other European countries in providing so-called free medical services, the cost being defrayed from public tax funds. The vast majority of American doctors and others appear to oppose the inauguration of such a system here. The only alternatives appear to be compulsory health insurance, which seems to be equally as objectionable to various groups or a voluntary plan of pre-paid fees providing hospital, medical and surgical care. This system, although not inexpensive, has the advantage of endorsement by doctors and hospitals and their active cooperation. It would appear that much of the health and "hospitalization insurance", sold on the basis of a fixed cost for the entire family, provides only limited protection, there being many restrictive features in the policies.

Findings of the survey indicate that the Old Age Assistance recipients in the sample are more active in church membership and participation than the general run of the adult population. The white respondents were generally less active in church and religious affairs than were the non-white, with the females of both races apparently more religiously inclined than the males. It would appear that the establishment of aged church groups has almost as much to commend itself as the maintenance of youth activities from the spiritual standpoint and even more from the social.

Recreation and leisure-time activities were examined in some detail since it was believed that the use or non-use of spare time would provide a valuable index to the general personal satisfaction available to the recipients. That is to say, "doing nothing" is an occupation or preoccupation that doubtless has caused as much unhappiness and misery as have drudgery and unremitting toil. With time available, if not a surplus of funds, the aged in the sample should be able to participate in a great variety of recreational pursuits, their health permitting.

Actually, it was found that the recipients generally have a great deal of free time.⁴⁴ The principal pastimes, in descending order of popularity, are listening to the radio, reading, sewing, visiting and gardening. Radio auditing, the

⁴⁴ Cf. Ante Ch. VII, Table X.

most popular recreational activity, engrosses the attention of less than a third of the sample, however. Only slightly above six per cent of the sample engage in gardening. Although the items are not mutually exclusive, the possibility exists that up to two thirds of the recipients have no recreative activity. This paucity of recreational activity reflects a rather sad lack of inner resources if, indeed, the recipients actually feel a need for recreation. The presumption of need of something to do does not seem unreasonable for anyone outside a catatonic state of depression, so it would seem that the respondents are unable to satisfy that need. Perhaps we have all come to depend too much on being entertained or instructed rather than upon entertaining ourselves or on self-instruction. Commercialized recreation has almost no representation in the leisure time activities; possibly a large percentage of the recipients would have indicated such participation if they had sufficient means to pay for the movies, ballgames, hobbies and the like. Certain writers on the business depression of the thirties emphasized the seeming inability of the unemployed to engage in constructive recreational activities; rather, it appeared, they must work in order to "buy a vacation" or purchase entertainment. Aside from the general personality enrichment of an education, a few courses in how to live or, at least, spend one's time, might be included in school curricula, for future use as well as present practice.

The personal attitudes of the recipients indicate general satisfaction with their living arrangements. The personal gratifications of living near relatives and friends appear to mean more to the survey respondents than the creature comfort of living in a nice neighborhood or near transportation. This finding could hardly be used as an argument against slum clearance or the replacement of the sub-standard housing in which most of the recipients are forced to live. It is certain that they would all prefer to live near friends and relatives in a good neighborhood with adequate housing. Almost sixty-five per cent of the respondents for the item on satisfaction with living arrangements stated that their arrangements were the result of necessity rather than choice.

Their own estimates of their essential needs constitute an interesting part of the survey. The findings are of interest because they are nearly spontaneous and are prompted by no suggestion other than to list the things that would make life comfortable and pleasant. The five most pressing or important needs were requested. Twenty-three needs were mentioned, in all, by the respondents. Over fifty-one per cent of the recipients indicated that their most pressing need was adequate income or sufficient money to buy the necessities.

The present inflationary pressures must necessarily compound the difficulties of budgetary management for these

people and has no doubt caused much hardship among them. The recent upsurge in employment may have enabled some of them to secure a job but the numbers so disposed of must be very few because of their age and physical condition. The ten items of greatest frequency, in descending order, are as follows: income, a home, clothing and shoes, food, health, medical care, religion, household furnishings and conveniences, better living conditions, and friends. The emphasis is on economic needs. Religion, family and friends were the personal or affectional needs cited. Only three of the twenty-three items may be considered in any way nonessential, a radio, travel and transportation, and rest and recreation. Rest and recreation are doubtless very essential but only seven per cent expressed them as a need. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the majority of the recipients have a great deal of leisure time but little recreational resources or facilities.

Examination of Appendixes B to H may be of interest in gauging the response to questionnaire items other than those dealt with in table and text. In selecting material for detailed examination, much of interest may necessarily have been excluded from the statistical and textual analyses. This omission was not due to oversight but rather to the limitations of time and space imposed on a survey study. The relative and comparative numerical strengths of the non-tabulated responses may be ascertained by comparison with those items which have been analyzed.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULE

The information requested on this form is solely for a study being made for the University of Richmond and will be used impersonally. Only one copy of this form should be completed by each person 65 years of age or over who is contributing data for the study. No signature or other identification is desired. If you wish to make additional comments or remarks, please state them on the reverse side. Attach additional pages if required.

I. Personal Data. (Place an X in the appropriate space in each item)

1. Sex: (1) Male ___ (2) Female ___ 2. Race: (1) White ___
(2) Other ___
3. Age: (1) 65-69 ___ (2) 70-74 ___ (3) 75 and over ___
4. Marital status: (1) Single ___ (2) Married ___
(3) Widowed ___ (4) Divorced ___ (5) Separated ___
5. If now widowed, divorced, or separated, how many years? (State number) _____
6. Number of years duration of present or latest marriage (State number) _____
7. Number of children of all marriages (State number) _____
8. Number of children now living (State number) _____
9. Check last grade of school you finished: (1) Grades-
1) 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 ___ 5 ___ 6 ___ 7 ___ 8 ___
High School- 1 ___ 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 ___ (3) College-
1 ___ 2 ___ 3 ___ 4 ___ (4) Degree attained _____
(5) Post-graduate or professional studies (State number of years) _____

II. Living arrangements: (Place an X in the appropriate space)

1. Do you live in: (1) City ___ (2) Town ___ (3) Country ___
2. Do you own the home in which you live? (1) Yes ___
(2) No ___
3. Do you live in: (1) private home or apartment _____
(2) other type home _____
4. If you live in a private home, do you live: (1) alone ___
(2) With your husband or wife _____ (3) With your children _____
(4) With other relatives _____ (5) With friends _____
(6) With strangers _____ (7) In a home as housekeeper, nurse, or servant _____ (8) In a nurs-

APPENDIX A (continued)

SCHEDULE

- ing home _____
5. If you live in another type home, is it: (1) A church home _____ (2) Fraternal home _____ (3) City or County home _____ (4) other type (What) _____
 6. How many persons in the household (State number) _____
 7. Do you: (1) have a room to yourself _____ (2) share a room with one or more other persons _____
 8. Do you have regular household duties to perform? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
 9. How long have you lived in the present home? Number of years _____ Months _____
 10. How often do you average seeing close relatives (children, sisters, brothers, etc.) (1) Daily _____ (2) Weekly _____ (3) Monthly _____ (4) Occasionally _____ (5) Rarely _____ (6) Never _____

 III. Economic situation: (Place an X in the appropriate space)

1. Are you employed and receiving a salary or wage? (1) Part time _____ (2) Full time _____ (3) Not gainfully employed _____
2. What are the sources of your income? (1) Wages or salary _____ (2) Property and investments _____ (3) Savings _____ (4) Insurance _____ (5) Industrial or commercial pension _____ (6) Social Security and survivor's benefits _____ (7) Veterans pension or veteran's survivor benefits _____ (8) Old age assistance _____ (9) Your children _____ (10) Other relatives _____ (11) Other (What) _____
3. What types of property (if any) do you own? (1) Real property _____ (2) Stocks or bonds _____ (3) Other _____
4. Do you: (1) Have full charge of your money? _____ (2) Receive an allowance? _____ (3) Have to ask someone for money when you need it? _____

 IV. Health: (Place an X in the appropriate space)

1. Have you any permanent defect or disease in: (1) Sight _____ (2) Hearing _____ (3) Limbs _____ (4) Digestion _____ (5) Lungs or breathing _____ (6) Heart or circulation _____ (7) Other (what) _____

APPENDIX A (continued)

SCHEDULE

2. Does your physical condition require regular treatment by: (1) Physician _____ (2) Nurse _____ (3) Clinic _____
3. To what extent do you require by someone else (nurse, child, attendant, other)? (1) Daily care _____ (2) Occasional care _____ (3) Practically no care _____
4. Do you take care of your personal needs without assistance (dressing, bathing, feeding self, toilet, etc.)? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
5. Which of the following are you often troubled with?
 - (1) Sleeplessness _____ (2) Bad dreams _____
 - (3) Nervousness _____ (4) Forgetfulness _____
 - (5) Tiring easily _____ (6) Poor appetite _____
 - (7) Worry about health _____ (8) Feeling "blue" _____

V. Religious activity: (Place an X in the appropriate space)

1. Are you a church member? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
2. Church attendance: (1) Regular _____ (2) Occasional _____ (3) Rare _____ (4) Never _____
3. Sunday School attendance: (1) Regular _____ (2) Occasional _____ (3) Rare _____ (4) Never _____
4. Are you a member of a church organization? (circle, missionary society, guild, etc.) (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
5. Attendance at meetings of church organization: (1) Regular _____ (2) Occasional _____ (3) Rare _____ (4) Never _____
6. How often are you visited by some member (not related to you) of your church? (1) Weekly _____ (2) Monthly _____ (3) Occasionally _____ (4) Rarely _____ (5) Never _____

VI. Leisure and recreation: (Place an X in the appropriate space)

1. How much free or leisure time do you have each day to do as you like? (1) All day _____ (2) Half-day _____ (3) Few hours _____ (4) Almost no time _____
2. Which of the following do you regularly take part in?
 - (1) Visiting _____ (2) Clubs _____ (3) Reading _____
 - (4) Sewing _____ (5) Knitting _____ (6) Listening to radio _____ (7) Television _____ (8) Movies _____ (9) Theaters, lectures, concerts _____ (10) Playing cards or other games _____ (11) Gardening _____ (12) Sports _____

APPENDIX A (continued)

SCHEDULE

- (13) Other (what) _____
3. Do you generally have nothing to do in your free time? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____

VII. Personal attitudes: (Place an X in the appropriate spaces)

1. How well satisfied are you with your present living arrangements? (1) Very well _____ (2) Fairly well _____ (3) Not at all satisfied _____
 2. What do you like most about your living arrangements? (check one) (1) Living near family _____ (2) Near friends _____ (3) Neighborhood _____ (4) Near transportation _____ (5) Convenient location _____
 3. What do you dislike most about your living arrangements? (check one) (1) Out of touch with friends _____ (2) Not near relatives _____ (3) No neighborhood contacts _____ (4) Too crowded _____ (5) Inconvenient location _____ (6) No transportation _____
 4. Are your present living arrangements the result of: (1) Choice _____ (2) Necessity _____
 5. Do you feel that you have sufficient money for your essential needs? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
 6. If unemployed, would you like to be gainfully employed? (1) Yes _____ (2) No _____
 7. What type of work do you feel best suited for and able to perform, if any? (State) _____
 8. As you grow older what do you feel to be your most pressing needs, that is, the things that would make your life comfortable and pleasant? List below the five you consider most important.
 - (1) _____
 - (2) _____
 - (3) _____
 - (4) _____
 - (5) _____
-

IMPORTANT NOTE: Please do not destroy this form. Complete and mail to P.O. Box 1875, Norfolk, Virginia.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

I. PERSONAL DATA

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
No. Responses	56	16	8	94	42	13	158	64	33	300	104	46
Single	8	1	4	15	4	3	16	9	4	21	10	5
Married	21	7	3	7	7	0	62	20	9	20	8	0
Widowed	24	6	1	69	31	12	63	27	14	247	82	38
Divorced	0	1	0	2	0	0	4	3	1	4	1	1
Separated	3	1	0	1	0	1	13	5	5	8	3	2
Totals	56	16	8	94	42	13	158	64	33	300	104	46
Age 65-69	16	2	2	24	15	4	40	17	14	94	35	21
Age 70-74	12	8	3	32	9	4	53	21	10	112	30	13
Age 75 and over	28	6	3	38	18	5	65	26	9	94	39	12
Totals	56	16	8	94	42	13	158	64	33	300	104	46
Avg. No. of years wid. sep. or sep. or div.	11.17	21.00	27.00 [#]	18.06	16.38	15.00	10.81	20.04	18.50	19.95	19.00	19.12
Avg. No. years duration present or last marriage	35.54	30.58	4.25 ^x	32.02	31.65	37.20	29.74	26.20	29.75	29.83	25.07	24.16
Avg. No. children born	4.50	3.33 [*]	3.25	4.15	3.63	3.27 [*]	4.74	3.20	2.17	3.67	3.99	3.95
Avg. No. children living	3.47	3.60 [*]	3.50	3.02	2.65	3.67 [*]	4.07	2.40	1.74	3.17	1.94	2.40
Avg. No. school grades completed	3.94	4.12	4.00	4.60	4.64	4.91	2.25	2.45	2.33	3.31	2.49	3.02

[#]Only one reporting

^xTwo reporting

^{*}Not reporting children born but reporting number living

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C (continued)

II LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Avg. No. years in present home	5.58	9.24	6.82	6.31	9.14	5.82	9.98	9.73	9.17	13.39	13.40	9.26
See close relatives:												
Daily	16	7	2	37	18	5	40	8	11	120	41	18
Weekly	6	1	0	7	5	3	14	3	4	18	7	7
Monthly	1	0	1	2	2	1	5	8	1	9	0	0
Occasionally	18	3	0	22	10	1	43	12	5	80	19	14
Rarely	2	1	1	15	2	0	20	5	3	22	7	4
Never	9	3	2	7	2	2	28	25	8	30	20	5

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

III ECONOMIC SITUATION

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Employed:												
Part time	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	1	3	5	1
Full time	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 ^x	0	0
Not employed	40	12	6	67	23	9	132	49	27	183	66	30
Income source:												
Church	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Veterans pension or survivor benefits	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0
Ind. or com. pension	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	3	0	2
Social security	11	7	2	6	1	1	17	4	7	8	0	4
Children	4	0	1	3	3	1	5	0	0	14	0	2
Other relatives	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2 ^x	8	0	0
Roomers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1 [#]	1	0	0
Wages	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 [#]	0	0	0
% Old age assistance	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Property:												
Real	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	1	3	2	1
Stocks, bonds	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other personal	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Have full charge of money	37	10	7	62	29	6	130	44	24	214	73	33
Have to ask for money	11	6	4	17	11	3	37	22	8	68	34	8
Receive allowance	1	0	0	5	2	0	4	0	6	12	1	5

^xProvide free lodging

[#]Doubtful, no wage listed

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

IV HEALTH

Defect or disease in:	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Sight	19	8	5	40	21	4	65	31	9	121	48	20
Hearing	17	9	3	32	14	1	50	29	7	73	27	4
Limbs	21	6	3	34	17	5	59	34	15	136	50	22
Digestion	10	5	2	16	12	2	19	9	8	54	13	10
Respiration	0	2	2	18	9	0	25	13	6	34	7	4
Circulation	0	4	1	29	17	1	26	19	3	57	17	11
Other:												
Arthritis	2	0	1	3	3	1	8	1	1	17	3	1
Diabetes	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Head trouble*	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Hernia	0	2	0	1	1	0	5	1	1	0	0	0
Kidney	5	0	0	2	0	0	2	3	0	4	0	2
Neuritis	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0
Paralysis	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	2	1	1	5	1
Teeth bad	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Tumor	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Cancer	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parkinson's disease	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weak back	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Diarrhea	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Require treatment by:												
Physician	12	3	4	36	16	6	57	21	10	89	30	15
Nurse	3	0	0	7	0	0	3	2	2	7	3	1
Clinic	12	2	3	14	9	1	25	14	7	28	27	6

*Probably senile dementia

APPENDIX E (continued)

IV HEALTH

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Require care by someone else:												
Daily	4	1	2	15	6	0	18	7	3	41	17	2
Occasionally	14	2	0	22	9	2	44	13	14	47	22	16
Practically no care	21	5	4	33	6	3	60	24	9	64	20	9
Take care of own personal needs	42	10	7	74	36	13	133	49	22	210	75	37
Need assistance	7	1	1	16	2	0	16	12	3	43	20	3
Troubled often by:												
Insomnia	16	1	2	39	18	8	54	28	7	89	30	11
Bad dreams	7	2	3	9	5	2	23	18	5	26	12	1
Nervousness	19	8	4	59	26	8	69	31	15	160	54	27
Forgetfulness	20	6	1	38	19	5	23	80	31	128	47	23
Tiring easily	30	14	6	64	31	9	76	39	15	124	47	25
Poor appetite	12	2	3	22	14	0	42	18	8	67	23	8
Worry about health	18	6	3	23	14	4	48	24	10	49	23	13
Feeling blue	16	5	3	31	18	4	36	21	12	39	22	9

APPENDIX F

APPENDIX F

V RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Church member	36	12	4	82	38	12	134	46	24	285	98	44
Non-member	20	3	3	6	3	0	22	15	8	9	4	5
Church attendance:												
Regular	14	4	3	20	9	5	56	23	8	92	38	21
Occasional	16	6	0	41	16	4	68	23	10	94	41	17
Rare	6	3	3	8	5	3	12	4	7	35	4	5
Never	11	0	0	13	8	0	5	8	4	28	7	3
Sunday School attendance:												
Regular	6	3	2	10	4	3	14	8	3	30	7	3
Occasional	11	3	1	20	9	2	41	8	7	54	15	7
Rare	4	0	0	7	3	1	12	2	4	26	8	2
Never	17	5	3	21	13	4	39	21	12	91	40	19
Church organization member	9	3	1	20	11	8	37	20	7	122	42	17
Non-organization member	34	10	4	51	23	3	85	31	20	120	49	21
Organization attendance:												
Regular	3	0	1	3	5	5	11	10	1	42	10	6
Occasional	13	6	1	23	6	3	43	21	9	78	32	13
Rare	3	1	0	7	3	0	10	2	2	45	7	2
Never	13	6	2	28	14	2	24	15	11	48	20	15
Visited:												
Weekly	3	1	1	6	6	6	19	7	5	47	11	5
Monthly	3	2	1	2	3	1	5	8	2	24	9	2
Occasionally	15	5	0	37	20	5	68	21	9	109	48	26
Rarely	8	2	1	23	3	1	20	8	3	31	9	4
Never	17	5	2	17	6	0	23	12	11	26	8	6

APPENDIX G

APPENDIX G

VI LEISURE AND RECREATION

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Free time each day:												
All day	35	14	6	48	20	5	125	47	24	195	66	32
Half day	7	0	0	10	6	3	14	7	0	23	6	7
Few hours	6	2	1	15	6	2	11	1	2	43	14	5
Almost no time	3	0	0	3	4	2	1	5	1	14	9	1
Free time unoccupied, generally	27	9	6	33	11	5	66	35	23	126	47	18
Free time occupied, generally	16	4	0	28	14	7	64	16	7	95	25	19
Activities:												
Visiting	9	3	2	14	5	6	30	12	5	43	12	7
Clubs	0	0	0	1	2	0	6	0	1	4	0	1
Reading	16	6	4	29	17	5	34	8	7	77	27	11
Sewing	3	2	0	28	22	5	2	1	0	91	25	20
Knitting	2	0	0	9	4	4	0	1	0	5	1	2
Radio	22	9	3	40	21	5	65	19	13	102	27	12
Television	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	1
Movies	5	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	0
Theater, lectures, and concerts	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	2	2	0
Cards, other games	4	0	0	2	0	0	3	1	1	1	1	0
Sports	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Gardening	13	5	0	10	2	0	23	8	4	15	11	2

APPENDIX G (continued)

VI LEISURE AND RECREATION

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Other:												
Writes poetry	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Household	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	6	1	2
Walking	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prayer	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	0
Resting	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tend grandchildren	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tend animals	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX H

APPENDIX H

VII PERSONAL ATTITUDES

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Satisfied with living arrangements:												
Very well	21	3	3	42	16	6	54	18	5	129	28	20
Fairly well	26	11	2	32	20	3	60	30	15	107	45	22
Not at all	6	1	5	15	2	13	35	17	3	49	23	3
Like most:												
Near family	20	2	0	24	19	6	40	155	5	104	26	12
Near friends	15	6	2	24	11	2	54	20	15	95	37	14
Neighborhood	4	2	1	10	1	0	27	14	3	34	18	4
Near transportation	3	2	2	6	0	2	8	6	1	88	1	4
Convenient location	5	2	2	10	5	2	19	8	5	34	9	8
Dislike most:												
Out of touch with friends	3	2	2	3	1	1	11	6	1	20	5	1
Not near relatives	6	1	1	10	7	1	19	7	6	28	8	6
No neighborhood contacts	3	1	0	4	1	0	8	5	4	6	4	0
Too crowded	1	2	2	9	5	0	14	4	8	39	16	6
Inconvenient location	4	0	0	8	1	1	5	4	1	13	9	3
No transportation	0	0	1	0	0	2	6	1	0	10	3	2
Living arrangements result of:												
Choice	21	4	3	21	4	4	54	16	13	98	22	9
Necessity	22	19	4	58	30	7	67	41	16	130	56	32
Have enough money	6	0	1	13	5	1	10	2	3	49	7	9
Have not enough money	43	13	6	69	26	11	131	55	25	212	80	36

APPENDIX H (continued)

VII PERSONAL ATTITUDES

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Would like a job:												
Yes	20	6	3	11	8	1	38	26	21	51	17	8
No	14	2	2	23	12	8	67	17	9	120	34	18
Unable	13	4	1	25	5	1	45	11	4	60	20	10
Type of job able to do:												
None	20	6	4	37	10	4	19	30	16	138	50	22
Service occupations	0	0	0	5	0	1	4	0	1	3	1	0
Domestic service	0	1	0	4	3	0	1	1	3	33	9	6
Trades, crafts	4	4	1	2	2	1	5	3	4	6	2	0
Odd jobs, light work	7	0	1	1	1	0	4	10	1	0	0	0
Custodian	5	0	0	0	0	0	6		1	0	0	0
Most pressing needs for making life comfortable and pleasant:												
Income, money	26	7	1	41	12	7	98	37	17	149	56	27
Home	10	5	4	17	12	5	43	27	13	99	29	14
Food	18	4	1	16	6	3	37	22	7	92	29	12
Clothing, shoes	14	5	2	27	7	3	38	26	11	85	41	13
Health	14	3	1	30	10	6	27	7	5	61	22	10
Medical care	6	2	2	21	7	2	34	10	2	50	22	11
Religion	5	4	1	8	7	2	26	8	6	54	19	8
Family	8	2	0	12	6	2	10	1	5	25	7	5
Necessities	4	0	2	11	5	0	3	4	1	22	7	4
Job	3	2	0	5	0	0	9	1	0	15	1	3
Old age assistance	8	0	4	10	2	2	11	4	4	26	9	4

APPENDIX H (continued)

PERSONAL ATTITUDES

	White Males			White Females			Non-White Males			Non-White Females		
	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.	Nor.	Port.	N.N.
Care, help	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	14	1	0	5	2
Better living conditions	17	4	2	11	4	1	20	1	5	35	6	10
Friends	6	2	2	14	11	2	16	6	0	35	9	4
Social security	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fuel	5	1	0	0	0	0	10	5	0	30	15	0
Household furn. and conv.	6	4	0	19	2	1	15	8	2	55	15	6
Security	0	1	0	12	2	1	4	0	1	13	4	3
Travel, trans.	5	3	1	6	1	0	8	2	0	17	1	5
Rest, recreation	2	2	0	3	4	2	7	7	3	26	8	2
Eyeglasses	3	2	0	1	0	0	3	2	0	9	5	2
Radio	1	0	0	8	2	1	3	2	1	8	6	3
Prosthetic appliances	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	1	1	0	1

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- Richmond Times Dispatch, December 25, 1950.

VITA

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Born September 1, 1918 to William Grove and Miriam King Reid at Muscatine, Iowa. Was named Elbridge King for maternal grandfather. Was educated in public schools at Manly, Iowa and at Stephen Austin High School, El Paso, Texas. Was graduated from the State University of Iowa with degree of Bachelor of Arts (Sociology) in August 1948. Completed residence requirements for Master of Arts degree at University of Richmond 1948-49. Held position of social worker and child welfare worker with city of Norfolk Social Service Bureau 1949-50. Since August 1950 have been a teacher in Norfolk County Schools.

Served in United States Navy 1936-40 and 1942-45. Received official commendation for war services. Was insurance agent and railroad brakeman between naval enlistments. Expect to continue teaching.

Married Jacqueline Johnson, B. S. Ed. (Longwood College) September, 1945. A daughter, Miriam King, was born February 9, 1951.