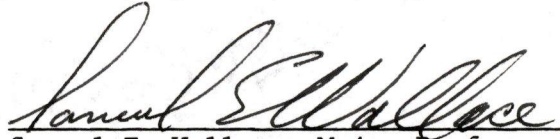
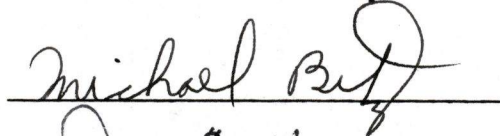


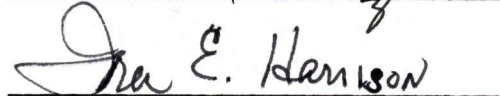
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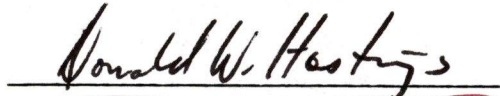
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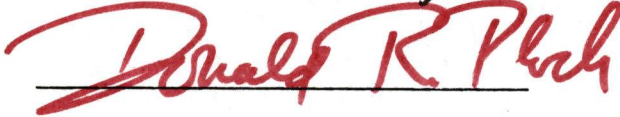

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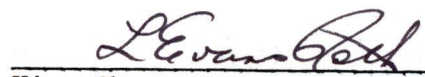








Accepted for the Council:


Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

A STUDY OF BLACK AGED PERSONS

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Roland A. Harris, Jr.

December, 1981

3055625

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Samuel E. Wallace for his guidance in the preparation of this dissertation and for his support through most of my graduate years. I am indebted to Drs. Michael Betz, Donald W. Hastings, and Donald R. Ploch, Department of Sociology; and Ira E. Harrison, Department of Anthropology, for their helpful criticisms of style and substance while serving as my committee members. Dr. Hastings has always stressed the tie of theory to research.

I give special thanks to the late Dr. William E. Cole in whose Sociology of Aging course the seminal idea for this study emerged. I also give special thanks to the older persons who consented to be interviewed and to the students at The University of Tennessee and Knoxville College who served as interviewers.

My past and present colleagues at Knoxville College are acknowledged for providing the support network from which I drew social and emotional support.

I give my greatest appreciation to my family for their help and endurance during these years of toil; first to my wife, Helen, then to our sons, Roland and Chris.

ABSTRACT

The consequences of age segregation and peoplehood segregation were examined for three subgroups of black aged persons. The term "peoplehood" rather than race was preferred for use in this study to reduce the extent of racial overtones. Contextual settings for the subgroups were A-age and peoplehood segregated; B-age segregated and peoplehood integrated; and C-age integrated and peoplehood segregated.

Demographic characteristics were very similar for the subgroups. Depth interviews were conducted with the 235 subjects who were ages fifty-five or older. They were low-income and not highly educated. Most had migrated to the small urban area of Knoxville and but had been residents over ten years.

The sample preferred being with their own age peers rather than those of mixed age. They did not engage in many activities but neither did they perceive life as boring. On a typical Sunday their primary activity was attending church among 12 activities listed. On a typical weekday their primary activity was shopping for groceries. Individuals were usually accompanied by a relative or friend when they participated in activities. Someone else's private car or a public bus was the transportation mode most often used.

The sample did not report widespread usage of 17 public and private service agencies. They were most often satisfied with the agencies' services although many agencies were unknown to them.

The sample thought that over the past ten years, public transportation to their neighborhood had remained the same but safety had become worse.

Variables for each subgroup were compared. Chi-square was used as a test of significance and phi-square used to measure the strength of association. When compared with peoplehood integrated subjects, peoplehood segregated subjects were more satisfied with their housing. Also, peoplehood segregated subjects compared with peoplehood integrated subjects walked more and used other transportation less on weekdays. Age segregated subjects were less familiar than age integrated subjects with public and private agencies.

The senior citizens center in the peoplehood segregated site promoted activities, interaction, and communications to a greater extent than those at the other two sites. The greater use of agencies by persons dwelling at site A was a possible consequence.

Agency awareness and use and income were cited as areas deserving special comment despite their failure in some instances to yield to statistically significant differences or strong associations.

Policy recommendations were made regarding housing, transportation, and service agency public relations and communications.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. SEGREGATION BY AGE AND PEOPLEHOOD: SOME CONSEQUENCES	
ON ACTIVITY AND INTERACTION	1
Introduction	1
Purpose of Research	5
Overview of Related Research Literature	5
Filling a Research Void	9
II. METHODS OF RESEARCH	13
Research Plan	13
Selected Sample Sites	16
The Interview Process	18
Total Persons Interviewed	23
The Sites	25
Interview Schedule Editing	26
Data Coding	27
III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE	30
General	30
Meaning of Retirement	35
Further Implications of Retirement	41
Income	41
Housing	43
Household Budget	44
Support From Others	45
Health	46
Summary	49

CHAPTER	PAGE
IV. INTERACTION AND ACTIVITY PATTERNS	51
Interaction Patterns	51
Relatives	51
Friends	55
Activity Patterns	58
Perceptions of Neighborhood Changes	69
Awareness and Use of Services Provided by	
Public and Private Agencies	71
Familiarity with Agencies	72
Contact with Agencies	74
Evaluation of Services	76
Familiarity with Agencies Versus Contact	78
Summary	81
V. THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATION BY PEOPLEHOOD	83
Demographic Characteristics	83
Perceptions of Neighborhood Change	94
Comparison of Peoplehood Activity Patterns	95
Activities Involving Agency Utilization by	
Peoplehood Segregation	105
Comparison of Peoplehood Interaction	
Patterns	112
VI. THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATION BY AGE	135
Perceptions of Neighborhood Change	147
Comparison of Age Segregation Activity	
Patterns	148

Activities Involving Agency Contact by	
Age Segregation	157
Comparison of Interaction Patterns by	
Age Segregation	164
VII. IMPLICATIONS OF SEGREGATION BY AGE AND PEOPLEHOOD	
FOR THE BLACK AGED, SERVICE AGENCIES, AND	
GOVERNMENT POLICY	184
Summary	184
Empirical Realities of Peoplehood	190
Significant Findings	197
Implication of Findings	197
Comments on Findings That Were Not Significant	
and That Had Weak Association	201
Agency Awareness and Contact	201
Income	202
BIBLIOGRAPHY	205
APPENDICES	212
I. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR A STUDY OF BLACK AGED	
PERSONS	213
II. LETTER OF CONSENT	226
VITA	227

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Subgroup Contextual Settings by Sample Sites	14
2. Interview Summary by Sample Sites	22
3. Sex by Sample, Knoxville, and United States, Blacks	
Aged 55 and Older	31
4. Age by Sample Sites	31
5. Education by Sample, Knoxville, and United States,	
Blacks Ages 55 and Older	32
6. Birthplace by Sample Sites	32
7. Number of Years Resident in Knoxville	
by Sample Sites	33
8. Number of Years Residing at Present Address	
by Sample Sites	34
9. Marital Status by Sample Sites and United States,	
Blacks Ages 55 and Older	36
10. Annual Median and Mean Income by Sample, Knoxville	
SMSA, and United States	42
11. Kind of Help Provided by Others by Sample Site	45
12. Source of Help Provided by Others by	
Sample Site	46
13. Rank Order of Health Problems Reported by	
Subjects by Frequency and Percentage	47
14. Relatives by Number and Percentage for Whom	
Closeness is Expressed	53

TABLE

PAGE

15. Relatives by Percentage Closest, Second Closest, Third Closest, Same Closeness, and No Closeness	54
16. Subject's Interaction with Closest Relative and Friend by Time of Last Contact with Relative And Friend	56
17. Places Visited on a Typical Sunday and Weekday by Frequency	59
18. Places Visited on a Typical Sunday by Percentage Who Went Alone, or With Relative, Friend, Agency Official, and Other Person	61
19. Places Visited on a Typical Sunday by Percentages of Transportation Used	63
20. Places Visited on a Typical Weekday by Percentage Who Went Alone, Went With Relative, Friend, Agency Official, and Other Person	65
21. Places Visited on a Typical Weekday by Percentages of Transportation Used	67
22. Neighborhood Changes in Public Transportation, Safety and Neighbors During the Last Ten Years by Percentages That Are the Same, Better, and Worse	70
23. Agency or Service by Total Responding and Number and Percentage Familiar	73
24. Agency or Service and Percentages Visited Last Month, Last Week, Yesterday, and Other	75
25. Time Between Contact with Agencies and Interview by Frequency and Mean Averages	76

TABLE

PAGE

26. Agency or Service by Percentage of Satisfaction with Services	77
27. Agency or Service by Number Familiar and Number and Percentage Never Visited	80
28. Sex by Peoplehood Segregation	84
29. Years of Education Completed by Peoplehood Segregation	86
30. Marital Status by Peoplehood Segregation	87
31. Total Monthly Income by Peoplehood Segregation	89
32. Health Problems by Peoplehood Segregation	92
33. Housing Satisfaction by Peoplehood Segregation	94
34. Sunday Church Attendance by Peoplehood Segregation	96
35. Frequency of Places Visited on Sunday and Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	97
36. Sunday Activities by Peoplehood Segregation	102
37. Weekday Activities by Peoplehood Segregation	103
38. Transportation Mode on Sunday by Peoplehood Segregation	104
39. Transportation Mode on Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	104
40. Familiarity and Contact of Subjects with Food Stamps Agency by Peoplehood Segregation	106
41. Familiarity and Contact of Subjects with Senior Citizens Centers by Peoplehood Segregation	110
42. Agency Awareness by Peoplehood Segregation	113

TABLE	PAGE
43. Agency Contact by Peoplehood Segregation	114
44. Company When Attending Church on a Typical Sunday by Peoplehood Segregation	114
45. Company When Visiting Relatives' Homes on a Typical Sunday by Peoplehood Segregation	115
46. Company When Visiting Friends' Homes on a Typical Sunday by Peoplehood Segregation	116
47. Company When Shopping for Groceries on a Typical Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	118
48. Company When Shopping Other Than for Groceries on a Typical Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	118
49. Company When Visiting Relatives' Homes on a Typical Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	120
50. Company When Visiting Friends' Homes on a Typical Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	120
51. Company When Visiting Senior Citizens Center on a Typical Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	121
52. Relative Felt Closest to by Peoplehood Segregation	122
53. Household Composition by Peoplehood	125
54. Sunday Activity Accompaniment by Peoplehood Segregation	126
55. Accompaniment on Weekday by Peoplehood Segregation	127
56. Age Peer Preference by Peoplehood Segregation	131
57. Feeling of Boredom or That Life is Empty by Peoplehood Segregation	132

TABLE	PAGE
58. Availability of Confidant by Peoplehood Segregation	133
59. Number of Relatives in Touch With by Peoplehood Segregation	133
60. Time Last Talked with Closest Relative by Peoplehood Segregation	134
61. Number of Friends in Contact With by Peoplehood Segregation	134
62. Sex by Age Segregation	136
63. Years of Education Completed by Age Segregation	137
64. Marital Status by Age Segregation	138
65. Household Composition by Age Segregation	140
66. Satisfaction with Housing by Age Segregation	141
67. Total Income by Age Segregation	143
68. Health Problems by Age Segregation	146
69. Sunday Church Attendance by Age Segregation	149
70. Frequency of Places Visited on Sunday and Weekday by Age Segregation	150
71. Sunday Activities by Age Segregation	151
72. Weekday Activities by Age Segregation	152
73. Sunday Transportation by Age Segregation	155
74. Weekday Transportation Mode by Age Segregation	157
75. Familiarity and Contact of Subjects With Food Stamps Agency by Age Segregation	159
76. Percentage of Familiarity and Contact of Subjects With Senior Citizens Centers by Age Segregation	161

TABLE	PAGE
77. Agency Awareness by Age Segregation	163
78. Agency Contact by Age	163
79. Company When Attending Church on Sunday by Age Segregation	165
80. Company When Visiting Friends' Homes on a Typical Sunday by Age Segregation	165
81. Company When Visiting Relatives' Homes on a Typical Sunday by Age Segregation	166
82. Company When Shopping for Groceries on a Typical Weekday by Age Segregation	168
83. Company When Shopping Other than for Groceries on a Typical Weekday by Age Segregation	169
84. Company When Visiting Friends' Homes on a Typical Weekday by Age Segregation	170
85. Company When Visiting Relatives' Homes on a Typical Weekday by Age Segregation	171
86. Company When Visiting Senior Citizens Centers on a Typical Weekday by Age Segregation	172
87. Relative to Whom Felt Closest to by Age Segregation	173
88. Company to Sunday Activities by Age Segregation	177
89. Company to Weekday Activities by Age Segregation	178
90. Number of Relatives in Touch With by Age Segregation	179
91. Time Last Talked With Closest Relative by Age Segregation	179

TABLE	PAGE
92. Number of Friends in Touch With By Age Segregation	180
93. Preference of Age Peers by Age Segregation	182
94. Feeling that Life Is Empty by Age Segregation	182
95. Feeling that There Is Someone to Talk With About Concerns by Age Segregation	183

CHAPTER I

SEGREGATION BY AGE AND PEOPLEHOOD: SOME CONSEQUENCES ON ACTIVITY AND INTERACTION

Introduction

Problems associated with aging and the aged are among the social problems receiving much attention in American society. Increases in the proportion of the aged population in the future will result from continued decreases in birth rates and already lowered death rates. Financial problems in social security and private pension programs threaten the meager and diminishing resources of many of the aged, adding to their survival difficulties.

While the aged comprise a distinct minority with severe problems, segregation by age and peoplehood compounds the problems of the aged. In the United States the black aged are the second largest subgroup of aged persons. Black aged life expectancy, employment opportunities, income, health, housing, and related retirement problems are reported to be more severe than those of the white aged. Black-white differentials by age show little promise of diminishing in the immediate future (Hill, 1978).

Given the severe problems of the aged, white or black, the issue of segregation becomes crucial as the following questions illustrate: Should the aged be concentrated in a specific area where specialized programs and services are provided more efficiently? What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of concentrated versus dispersed living arrangements for the aged?

Debate over segregation by age, of vital concern to gerontologists, should be intensified by the additional segregation by peoplehood. Should the black and white aged be concentrated in separate (but equal?) areas? Should they be integrated by peoplehood but not by age? Or should efforts be directed toward achieving integration by age and peoplehood? Although these questions may be answered ideologically, the first concern is to understand the consequences of segregation by age and peoplehood. It will then be possible to deal with the second concern; that is, the programmatic implications of this research.

The terms "people" and "peoplehood" are used in this study to refer to what some call "race" and others call "ethnicity" (Gordon, 1964). The term "peoplehood" is used in preference to the term "race" because it is futile to define races according to such observable characteristics as skin color, hair texture, eye shape, and body build. Physical anthropologists, and others have found variations in most biological characteristics to be as great, or greater, within races as between them, making it impossible to draw lines between one race and another (Plog and Bates, 1976). Today, the popular term "race" refers to a social rather than biological phenomenon, and most physical anthropologists are content to leave the subject to socio-cultural anthropologists. Nonetheless, biological--even genetic--assumptions usually attach to the term "race" and attempts to use the nomenclature without its "racial" overtones have been unsuccessful.

The term "ethnicity" is much closer to the empirical realities of peoplehood. In fact, peoplehood is a variant of the term ethnicity

which is derived from the Greek work word "ethnos," meaning people or nation (Gordon, 1964). The shared feeling of peoplehood delineates an ethnic group. Gordon contends that something has compelled man to "merge his lonely individual identity in some ancestral group of fellows smaller by far than the whole human race, smaller than the nation . . ." allowing the sense of ethnic belonging to survive. It has survived in various forms and with various names. According to Gordon, "it has not perished, and twentieth-century urban man is closer to his stone-age ancestors than he knows" (Gordon, 1964:25).

Common assumption of origin, however, is but one basis of peoplehood. Other bases include religion, nationality, life-style (e.g., swingers) and sexual preference (e.g., gays). Four characteristics attributed to the peoplehood group or ethnic collectivity are stated by Williams (1977):

1. social interaction among members,
2. a sense of common membership (e.g., shared fate),
3. norms governing interaction (both within the peoplehood and with outsiders),
4. some sense of obligation to support and defend the group and its symbols.

A people, therefore, are "those who so call themselves, whatever the basis for their assumed commonality and who are so regarded by others (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Wallace, 1980:136).

Peoplehood or ethnic groups vary from weak to strong in their identity based upon the characteristics assigned to the group. A group possessing only one of the above characteristics, for example, is a weak distinction, but a group possessing the four characteristics

is a strong distinction. Thus, in the weak sense, according to Williams, all socialized members of human societies have an ethnic (people) identity. This means that all persons are members of a "collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry; members of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood" (Schermerhorn, 1970: 12). Kinship patterns, physical contiguity, language, and religious affiliation are examples of such symbolic elements.

Blacks are a "people" within this conceptual framework. American blacks are drawn together through their unique historical past of slavery and civil rights struggles, through common African ancestry, and through culture accentuated and made indelible by various forms of segregation.

The strength and togetherness of peoplehood, however, depends upon degrees of interaction, sense of membership, group norms, and group support. The theoretical bases of peoplehood are identified by observing interaction and activity patterns in contextual settings wherein all members are (1) older persons segregated by peoplehood; (2) older persons integrated by peoplehood; and (3) older persons integrated by age but segregated by peoplehood.

A sense of peoplehood was assumed among all peoplehood groups because of their shared time in history, and the common sorrows and joys that they had experienced. On the one hand, the strength of peoplehood was assumed to be affected somewhat by the presence of persons of a different peoplehood, and on the other hand, by the presence

of younger persons. It was also assumed that these differences would be manifested in the interaction and activity patterns of the three groups.

Purpose of Research

This research describes characteristics, interaction and activity patterns of a group of aged blacks; analyzes their activity and interaction patterns; and assesses their use of public and private agencies. The study delineates commonalities and differences in activity and interaction patterns among aged blacks in three contextual settings: segregated by peoplehood; integrated by peoplehood; and integrated by age. Specific areas of need examined include: income, employment and retirement, health, nutrition, housing, education, and transportation. Recommendations are based on these research findings.

Overview of Related Research Literature

For many years gerontologists virtually ignored a significant subgroup of the aged (Jackson, 1974b): Aged black persons were generally excluded from governmental and academic efforts in gerontological planning and implementation. A review of the literature between 1950 and 1966 reveals that gerontologists knew almost nothing about blacks. This phenomenon remained valid, Jackson insists, as late as 1974. The National Caucus on the Black Aged (NCBA) was organized for the specific purpose of highlighting the plight of aged blacks and influencing the 1971 White House Conference on Aging. The National Center on Black Aged, as a special project of NCBA, was made possible by an Administration on Aging grant. The center opened in

Washington, D.C. in 1973 and it was established to "provide a comprehensive program of coordination, communication, information, and consultative services to meet the need for improving meaningful policies for and programs involving aged blacks" (Jackson, 1974b:194).

The White House Conference on Aging (1971:179) pointed to the number of black aged who were victimized by discrimination and poverty. The 1970 population contained 809,000 black females and 608,000 black males sixty-five years of age or older. Twice the number of black aged as white aged lived in poverty. (The low-income threshold for a nonfarm family of four, without regard to age or race, was \$2973 in 1959, \$4540 in 1973, and \$5038 in 1974; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975). In 1959, income of the white aged was \$1622 higher than that of black aged and in 1969, income of the white aged was \$1907 higher than that of the black aged (Jackson, 1973). The black aged, therefore, were relatively worse off than the white aged in 1969, and the disparity had grown since 1959. In 1970 one of every two black aged persons lived in poverty, and three of every four lived in substandard housing.

The Conference identified nine need areas for improving the life conditions of the aged: income, housing, health, nutrition, education, transportation, retirement roles and activities, spiritual well-being, and employment and retirement (Jackson, 1971b). These need areas are related to the kinds and extent of activities and interactions in which the aged participate. Income, for example, is one area that is affected in part by the awareness of resources available (i.e., social security, food stamps). Low interaction and

activity patterns are assumed to be related to low levels of program awareness. For many of the black aged, access to transportation is another area related to activity patterns. Health is a third area in which unawareness of availability of resources may limit the extent of activity and interaction patterns.

Available data indicate that low income, relative isolation, and poor health may contribute to shorter life expectancies among blacks. Blacks may move towards old age faster than whites and, on the average, may become "old" before they are chronologically eligible for old age financial assistance (Jackson, 1973). It is possible that a black woman at age fifty-five may actually resemble a seventy year old white woman in life chances (Cottrell, 1974). Jackson suggests that chronological limitations for old age benefits for blacks be adjusted to bring them in line with actual aging processes.

Although studies of segregation by age and peoplehood are many, only recently have they been concerned with aged blacks.* Research on the basis of age is often inconclusive. One study (Noland, 1978) expected to find that life satisfaction would be lower for blacks over age sixty-five than for those under sixty-five. The opposite was found to be true.

*For some of the references in this area, see: Lillian E. Troll, Sheila J. Miller, and Robert C. Atchley, Families in Later Life (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1979); also Jacquelyne J. Jackson, "NCBA, Black Aged, and Politics," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 415 (September): 138-159, 1974; Lenwood G. Davis, The Black Aged in the United States, An Annotated Bibliography (Westport, Conn., Greenwood), 1980.

Research on the basis of peoplehood is more often incomplete. Little attempt has been made to determine what differences exist among the various components of the aging population when segregated by peoplehood (Beattie, 1960). It is not clear whether health, welfare, and leisure-time services which are emerging for the general aging population have relevance for aging blacks and their families.

As peoplehood as used here includes special caring by family members, friends, and neighbors of aged persons, research in family patterns is instructive. Wylie (1971) offered the view that black Americans are more inclined than whites to include the elderly in the family structure and to regard the elderly with respect. Several sociologists have suggested blacks' wider acceptance of the extended family, including persons of older generations (Billingsley, 1968; Hill, 1972; Staples, 1971). Some research shows, however, that the elderly black is apt to live alone or in household situations without spouse, while the elderly white is apt to live with a spouse (Ruberstein, 1971). The presence or absence of spouse, relative, or friends is nevertheless likely to impact on activity patterns. For example, Moland (1978) found that when the household was comprised of three or more members, most activities took place in the household. When the household was comprised of one or two members, most activities occurred outside the household.

Recent literature has focused more on identification of racial similarities and differences than on identification of black sub-group similarities and differences (Jackson, 1971a; Lawton, 1969; Palmore, 1969; Weinstock and Bennett, 1968). In Jackson's view the perceived

differences are due in large measure to differences in samples, localities, and methodologies. According to Jackson, there are relatively few differences between aged blacks and whites, in marital status, health conditions, family and kinship patterns, when socioeconomic status is controlled.

There is little published literature, however, comparing aged blacks in different contextual settings in which they age. Further, there are almost no studies on retirement patterns of elderly blacks (Jackson, 1971a). This research helps fill the void as it examines the conditions of life for aged blacks in three contextual settings.

Filling a Research Void

To help fill the identified void, this study analyzes and compares activity and interaction patterns of subgroups on bases of segregation consequences. "Activity patterns" refer to the tendency for a number of persons in a given population to behave in similar ways; "interaction patterns" refer to exchanges made by the persons involved in forming these activity patterns (Chapin, 1974).

Given the ways in which a population may be segregated, the question is what consequences of segregation should be investigated in order to observe activity and interaction patterns. As the aged have been found to need specialized services, many of which are locality based, one series of consequences lies in the extent to which a given sample uses services available in the community at large (Atchley, 1977). That is, is one consequence of segregation and concentration of the aged a higher level of service use? Do those aged persons who live in sites scattered throughout the community experience difficulty

in receiving the services they need? Of course, residents in segregated facilities often differ in their need for specialized services; in fact, an increased need may have led the "needy" to locate in the segregated facility. Consequently, needs must be carefully assessed as noted in the interview schedule (Appendix I).

Program participation is but one type of activity and interaction. In addition to participation in formally organized programs, aged persons interact and involve themselves with family, friends, neighbors, and other associates. Such participation forms activity and interaction patterns (Chapin, 1974).

Activity and interaction patterns are assumed to differ by the kind of segregation. For example, the black aged living in peoplehood segregated facilities are assumed to differ in their interaction and activity patterns from the black aged who live in peoplehood integrated facilities. Although such differences are assumed, no assumptions are made about their nature or extent. Should no differences in activity and interaction patterns emerge from the research, the absence would be equally significant because of the knowledge gained about the black aged and their patterns.

Criteria for conducting this study on black aged include the following:

1. Who are the black aged? This research sets fifty-five as the minimum age of aged blacks for two reasons. Black life expectancy is shorter than white life expectancy and eligibility for several programs begins at age fifty-five. This definition, however, is not unambiguous. In some instances, the conventional age of sixty-five

for the aged has been reduced to age sixty and below depending on the type of government benefit. If the line of reasoning put forth by Jackson (1971a) were followed, black males would be eligible as primary beneficiaries of old age, survivors, disability, and health insurances eight years sooner than white males. In addition, Herman Brotman noted in 1967 that, on the average, non-whites lived fewer years than whites (as cited by Jackson, 1971b). Life expectancies at birth in 1900-1902, for example, showed that non-white males could expect to live 15.7 fewer years than white males; non-white females 16.0 fewer years than white females. For 1959-61, the corresponding data were 6.1 fewer years for non-white males than for white males and 7.7 fewer years for non-white females than for white females. By 1970, non-white males could expect to live 6.7 fewer years than white males and non-white females 5.4 years fewer than for white females (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1979). Primarily because age fifty-five conforms to the age requirement now common for many benefits, however, it is the minimum age used in the present research project.

2. What are the activities and interactions of the black aged and how are they related to age and peoplehood segregation? This research describes and analyzes the patterns of activities and interactions of aged blacks; that is, it discovers what they do and with whom. It is possible, further, that structural as well as individual forces are crucial in both the limitation and freedom of activities and interactions among aged blacks. Therefore, the availability, awareness, and quality of services as they relate to use

are pointed out, along with the ways in which they vary as a consequence of segregation by age and peoplehood.

3. What services are used by the black aged? The black aged in Knoxville, represent 8.8% of the area's total aged population. A large number of social services and organizations from both the private and public sectors are available for older persons in Knoxville. Among these are (a) home services--Senior Citizen's Home Aide Service, Knox County Health Department, Mobile Meals--Senior Nutrition Programs, Dial-A-Dietitian,* Arthritis Center,* Catholic Social Service Outreach;* (b) counseling services--Senior Citizen Information and Referral, Knox Area Pastoral Council,* Child and Family Services; and (c) senior citizen services--Senior Citizens Center, Office on Aging, Association for the Blind,* University of Tennessee Evening School, Food Stamps, and Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center.* The following are predominantly black organizations: Lonsdale Senior Citizens, College Homes Senior Citizens, Austin Homes Senior Citizens, and East Center--Chestnut Ridge. Western Heights--Beaumont and Golden Diners Clubs are predominantly white groups but they serve large numbers of blacks. The extent to which the black aged benefit from these facilities and services is unknown.

*Private agencies.

CHAPTER II

METHODS OF RESEARCH

Research Plan

It is assumed that observing aged blacks in subgroup contextual settings will reveal their life conditions. Further, their activity and interaction patterns are affected by their life conditions. The questions to be answered are how the patterns are so affected. The black aged may be scattered or concentrated in specific areas, or mixed with white aged and concentrated in specific areas. This research seeks to learn the conditions under which the black aged live. The research also seeks to examine the extent of their activities and their interactions with relatives, friends, and social agencies. The study proceeds in four phases.

1. Sampling Identification. Phase I entailed the identification and location of black aged subgroups within the larger population of the black aged. Homogeneous subgroups were constructed from the "contextual settings": A--peoplehood segregated, B--peoplehood integrated, and C--age integrated (Table 1). Analyses were made of their common activity and interaction patterns. Preliminary investigation revealed that there were fourteen public housing complexes in Knoxville, most of which had few or no black residents. Three complexes had adequate numbers of black residents and so were included in the sample. One complex was segregated by age and by peoplehood, the aged black residents being concentrated in a single housing area. Another complex was segregated by age and integrated by peoplehood.

In the third complex residents were segregated by peoplehood but not by age.

TABLE 1
SUBGROUP CONTEXTUAL SETTINGS
BY SAMPLE SITES

Site A	Site B	Site C
Peoplehood Segregated*	Peoplehood Integrated*	Age Integrated**
Age Segregated**	Age Segregated	Peoplehood Segregated
(All black aged living in a concentrated housing area)	(Black aged living in a high-rise building complex along with white aged)	(Black aged living in a housing area along with blacks of varying ages)

*Terms used to compare subgroups at sites A and B.

**Terms used to compare subgroups at sites A and C.

Census data indicate blacks' impoverished status and their segregation from the general population but little is known of their specific residential subgroupings (Jackson, 1971a; 1972; 1973). Even less is known about the difficulties they may have in securing shelter, the barriers they may face, and the possibility that they must appease larger society. The first phase of the proposed research, then, answered questions and provided the basis for further examination of activities and interaction patterns.

2. Data Collection. Three types of contextual settings of aged blacks having been identified, a census was taken of each setting, and an attempt was made to interview all elderly blacks living at the three sites. In addition to activity and interaction patterns, data collected through these interviews included demographic profiles in the areas of income, employment and retirement, education, health, nutrition, housing, and transportation. Some of the questions answered by the research included: In what religious, entertainment, commercial, and other activities are aged blacks engaged? Does the contextual setting facilitate or inhibit activity and interaction? What are the consequences of greater and lesser degrees of activity? What do aged blacks do with their time? Where do they go? With whom do they spend their time? How do they get to the places they go? Is most of their time spent at home or away from home? Who visits them and how frequently? With whom do they live?

3. Analysis. Data analysis began with the examination of the demographic characteristics of the aged black interviewees and the levels of satisfaction they expressed for their contextual settings. Activity and interaction profiles were analyzed as well as demographic profiles in the areas of income, employment and retirement, education, health, nutrition, housing, and transportation. Special attention was paid to the degree to which current programs and services met the self-perceived needs of aged blacks. These analyses were drawn from the total sample characteristics (CHAPTER III) and total sample interaction and activity patterns (CHAPTER IV). These analyses helped underscore the "sense" of peoplehood. Comparisons were also made of

subgroup contextual settings in relation to the impact of segregation by peoplehood (CHAPTER V) and the impact of segregation by age (CHAPTER VI). These comparisons helped underscore the "strength" of peoplehood.

4. Summary and Recommendations. Phase four summarized the research and recommended ways for more effective delivery of services. Some issues addressed included:

1. How dependent are the black aged upon public and private agencies and organizations?

2. What efforts are made by the black aged to secure available services? Are they aware of them? Would they qualify given current criteria of eligibility?

3. What efforts are made by agencies and organizations to reach those blacks needing services?

4. How can available services be more effectively delivered to aged blacks?

Selected Sample Sites

The three housing sites are under the direction of the Knoxville Community Development Corporation (KCDC), a city agency. The peoplehood integrated site is the newest of the three developments and presents a more appealing view to the observer than do the other two. All of the areas are attractive, however, when the grounds are properly maintained. Both the peoplehood segregated and peoplehood integrated sites consist of a large number of one room efficiency apartments that some residents criticized for the little space they provided.

A. The Peoplehood Segregated Site. A one- and two-storied housing complex of 500 units is located in East Knoxville where a large segment of Knoxville's black population dwells. Approximately 255 units are set aside for persons aged fifty-five and older. The complex was built in the 1960s for low-income persons and has been occupied chiefly by blacks.

The west section of the complex includes the Senior Citizens Center that is a beehive of activity. The west side also is characterized by relative quietude. The east side is not as quiet as the west side because of the presence of residents of mixed ages on the east side's periphery.

B. The Peoplehood Integrated Site. This site is a high-rise apartment complex located east of the central business district. The building is seven stories, has a two-storied wing, and is home for persons attracted by high-rise living. A recreation and activities room located downstairs is converted daily into a lunchroom. The outside area leading to the lobby is a favorite gathering place for some residents who occupy the several benches when the weather is pleasant. The 245 unit complex houses approximately 85 black residents and about 160 white residents.

C. The Age Integrated Site. About 112 black persons, aged fifty-five and older, live in this setting located in Northwest Knoxville. There are a total of 320 units. This housing development was constructed in the late 1930s but extensive renovations were made during the last three or four years. The buildings are well designed and are constructed upon hilly terrain. Young and old residents are

scattered throughout the complex, although many older persons choose to live in the row of apartments facing the street on the northwest side.

The Interview Process

KCDC approved the survey before the interviewing process began, the director and his assistant arranged entry into the housing complexes. The researcher and the assistant housing director composed the letter sent to black older persons living at the three sites (APPENDIX II). The letter was typed and reproduced in the housing office. The director then called a meeting of the housing managers so that the investigator could explain the survey to them and encourage their cooperation. The managers agreed to distribute the letter which introduced the researcher, briefly described the survey's purpose, and asked the resident's participation. Those who consented to be interviewed were to sign the consent form and return it to the office on or about the date when their rent was to be paid. Less than 3% of the residents returned the forms. The investigator and the interviewers therefore launched an intensive interview canvass. The consent forms were subsequently signed by all interviewees before the interviews began.

The previous 3% return rate of the consent forms was attributed to several factors. One fact was that two of the three managers were new in their jobs at their respective sites, having been transferred from other KCDC positions. At one complex it was found that some residents were displeased about the previous manager being fired and were unhappy with his replacement. While it is unknown how the management changes affected the early consent form return, displeasure

at the firing of a person who was sympathetic to their condition, coupled with the use of the KCDC letterhead on the consent form, might have reduced the number of forms returned to the office.

Another factor contributing to the low return rate was the mayor's replacement of a KCDC board member who had been in the forefront of the struggle for tenant rights and improvement of housing for persons of low income. The newly appointed member was a person unknown to the community. Several tenants felt that these actions meant that the mayor and the KCDC housing director did not have their interests at heart. It was possible that some residents, feeling powerless and even fearful about their future residency, chose not to participate in the survey. Others, however, felt that the interview provided them a forum in which to express their views about both matters. For example, the investigator was telephoned by four residents who had confused the purpose of the research with that of community action and were anxious to discuss the changes in board members and the firing of the manager.

The investigator used as interviewers thirty-one undergraduate students who were enrolled in a sociology course at The University of Tennessee. Three training sessions were conducted before students went to the field. The professor instructing the class began the training sessions and later invited the investigator to the class. The investigator informed the students of the purpose of the research, about their participation as interviewers, and about the process to be followed. He responded to their questions and reduced their apprehension about being "white" interviewers in predominantly black

neighborhoods. At least two concerns of the students required explanation: the possibility of response bias due to the interviewer-interviewee peoplehood differences and the possibility of unrest brought about by their presence in predominantly black neighborhoods. The students were informed that although earlier research had indicated bias in responses depending upon the interviewer's race, such differences were expected to be minimal in the present research because:

1. Older persons make up the sample and are likely to be less resentful than younger persons.

2. The questions on the interview schedule are emotional and uncharged.

3. The race of the investigator was known to be black by a number of residents. In the peoplehood segregated setting the investigator had conducted a pilot study to refine the interview schedule and had been in contact with several residents through interviews and in visits to the Senior Citizens Center. In the peoplehood integrated setting, the investigator made appointments with residents as they conducted business in the manager's office. They were told that a student would visit them in their apartment to conduct the interview.

The students were also told that the potential for unrest in the neighborhoods was lessened by the following exigencies:

1. The investigator would be present in the area with the students at all times. He would be responsible for the coordination

of the interviewers' field activities and keeping track of the entire process.

2. The investigator would provide transportation for students to and from the sites and the University.

3. The University students were to work in the peoplehood segregated housing development, where most contact had been made by the investigator, and in the peoplehood integrated complex.

For eight consecutive days teams of student interviewers ranging from two to six members worked at the peoplehood segregated and peoplehood integrated sites. Twenty-nine interviewers were white, one was black, and one was Oriental. Since the peoplehood segregated site was the area where by far the largest number of residents lived, the students interviews were conducted there and at the peoplehood integrated site. Interviews at the age integrated site were delayed until later in the summer when a few Knoxville College students would be available as interviewers.

At the peoplehood segregated site, both the researcher and student interviewers knocked on doors and approached persons sitting on porches, asking them to participate. Those who agreed to participate signed the consent forms and were interviewed. Many residents were anxious to be included in the survey, and interviews were conducted both inside and outside the apartments. Of the 131 total interviews conducted at the peoplehood segregated site, 78.0% were completed during this initial period (Table 2).

The same intensive procedure was used at the peoplehood integrated site, but since black and white residents were living

TABLE 2
INTERVIEW SUMMARY BY SAMPLE SITES

Interview Item	Peoplehood Segregated (A)	Peoplehood Integrated (B)	Age Integrated (C)	Total
Potentially eligible	255	112	85	452
Ineligible or incapacitated	39	10	8	57
Total eligible	216	102	77	395
Not home three times or more	36	10	18	64
Total contacted	180	92	59	331
Contacted but not participating	49	34	13	96
Chose not to participate	41	26	11	78
Appointment not kept	5	7	2	14
Interview not completed	3	1	0	4
Total interviewed	131	58	46	235
Percent interviewed of total eligible	60.6%	56.9%	59.7%	59.5%
Percent interviewed of total contacted	72.8%	63.0%	78.0%	71.0%

there, a list of names and apartment numbers of eligible persons was provided the researcher so that only the black residents would be contacted. During the early part of 1979, 70% of the 46 total interviews conducted at the peoplehood integrated site were completed.

In late June and early July, the investigator was aided at the age integrated site by six Knoxville College students, and by one University of Tennessee student, all of whom were black. Two training sessions were held to inform students about interviewing techniques and sensitivities of residents. In this period 69% of the 58 total interviews were conducted. Also in July, a student from the Spring term sociology class at the University of Tennessee completed seven interviews at the peoplehood segregated site.

In August and September, the researcher worked alone while conducting interviews at the three sites. Twelve interviews were completed at the peoplehood segregated site, eight at the peoplehood integrated site and seventeen at the age integrated site. In addition, the researcher distributed a packet to 26 residents at the age integrated site and to 22 residents at the peoplehood integrated site. Each packet contained an interview schedule, a stamped return envelope, and a letter asking the person to complete the form and giving instructions for its return. Six interview schedules from the peoplehood integrated site were returned, five were completed, one was not completed.

Total Persons Interviewed

Table 2 shows the total number of potentially eligible respondents living in the three housing developments. During the

interviewing process 57 persons were found to be ineligible to participate. Ineligible persons were white, under age fifty-five, or extremely ill. Exclusion of the ineligible individuals left 395 eligible persons. Among these, four interviews were not completed: one person interviewed sitting on the porch withdrew when it began to rain; one person became ill; another became tired; and the fourth left for work. Thus, 1.0% of the 395 eligibles did not complete their interviews.

On initial contact fourteen persons said they were busy, not feeling well, had company, or were otherwise engaged, but consented to be interviewed at another time. None of these 14 eligibles were found at home when interviewers attempted to reach them.

There were 64 persons who could not be found at home after three or more visits by interviewers. Neighbors reported reasons some persons were not at home: a few persons worked full or part time, others stayed with relatives when seriously ill, some were hospitalized, and some were out of town. It is also possible that a small percentage of persons were at home but chose not to answer the door. A hand written sign on the door of one apartment, for example, read, "No visitors, I don't want to buy anything." This again suggests that visitors are not necessarily eagerly welcomed. Twenty percent of the 395 persons eligible refused to be interviewed. Several residents reported previous participation in surveys conducted by professors, students, and various agencies. They also reported receiving no information about the research nor noticing subsequent improvement in their life situation.

Despite the uneasiness that some residents had about being interviewed, 59.5% of the 395 eligible were interviewed. As shown in Table 2, this percentage is increased to 71.0% when the number interviewed is figured as a percentage of total eligible contacted. The response rate was satisfactory and no particular difficulties in canvassing subjects were encountered subsequent to returning consent letters to the office.

The Sites

Some differences were obvious in the individual housing developments. The researcher had conducted a pilot study at the peoplehood segregated site by working with the director of the senior citizens center; therefore the researcher was recognized by many residents. This may have contributed to a rather high response rate particularly in the area near the center. At the peoplehood integrated site, however, any newcomer to the area tended to be looked upon with suspicion: salesmen, for example, familiar in the area, asked residents about the newcomer (researcher). One resident reported that a salesman had asked her to the window to view the researcher who was interviewing persons outside. He wanted to know who the researcher was and what he was doing there. The fact that the researcher was not well-known at the peoplehood integrated site possibly caused three likely interviewees not to participate.

At the age integrated site where a number of juveniles lived, a different kind of problem was confronted. Many persons did not open their doors in this area; some declined participation from as far away from the front door as the kitchen. Others talked from their

upstairs apartments because they possibly feared young strangers. At times, they did not come downstairs because of illness. In one instance, a reportedly mentally disturbed woman attempted to seize the researcher's papers because she felt intimidated by the papers and the researcher's presence. She later apologized for her actions.

The peoplehood segregated site had the highest number of those who after starting did not complete interviews. The age integrated site had the highest number of those who did not keep appointments and the greatest number of those who chose not to participate.

Of the three groups, the peoplehood integrated site had the highest percentage of persons who were not at home three times or more. The peoplehood integrated site also had the smallest percentage of persons choosing not to participate.

Interview Schedule Editing

As a step toward preparing the completed interview schedules for data coding and subsequent analysis, each schedule was thoroughly edited. The task was made easier due to the requirement that student interviewers turn in two copies of each interview schedule completed--a schedule done on the field, and an error free "clean" copy done at the student's leisure. Nevertheless, the researcher edited each interview schedule, checking to be sure that each question had an appropriate response and that each response was clear and readable. Although the task was laborious, the time was well spent in that it minimized the difficulties in computer data entry. Most of the responses could be made by a check because the questions were close

ended. When the questions were open ended further response specification was required.

Data Coding

Although the reader may refer to the appended interview schedule for details, a general description of the coding process is presented here. Construction of an interview schedule that grouped variables by subject area facilitated the coding process. The first group of variables was essentially demographic characteristics of the respondents but also included assignment of respondents code numbers, location of residential setting, and card numbers. Demographic characteristics included data on the respondents sex, migration, living arrangements, age, education, marital status, income, job experience, and health.

The respondents were less sensitive about income related questions than they were about sex related questions. When "other" was checked and the responses specified, such responses were manually categorized by the researcher. Examples of categorizations are: highest income ever per month (the lowest of which was less than \$100 and the highest over \$500); most important job ever held (the lowest of which was never held a job or had not worked in years; the highest of which was professional/technical); reason job was most important (the least of which was, "easy job," the greatest of which was "liked work"); and kind of job now held (the lowest of which was never held a job or hadn't worked in years, the highest of which was craftsman). Respondents were also asked to specify health problems

other than those listed. Heart disease was among a number of health problems that was sorted from the "other" category.

After demographic characteristics, the next subject area dealt with the activities and interactions of the respondents, first on a typical Sunday and then on a typical weekday. The following places were listed: bank, church, friend's home, grocery store, library, medical facility (i.e., clinic, hospital, doctor's office), movies, shopping places other grocery store, relative's home, restaurant, Senior Citizens Center, and other (any place not listed above). Respondents were asked if they went to any of these places, with whom they went, and the transportation mode used.

The next subject area concerned the number of relatives and friends and various kinds of interaction with them. Interviewees were asked about the frequency and types of contacts with their closest relative and/or friends.

Questions about nutrition focused on the number of meals per day, where eaten, and with whom. Another question asked whether there was any difficulty encountered, if any, in getting a balanced meal. Another subject area concerned the respondent's companionship, confidants, and boredom. Another subject area dealt with the respondent's perceptions of neighborhood changes over the past ten years about transportation, neighbors, and safety.

The final section for data coding sought the respondents' awareness and use of private and public agencies providing services to aged persons. Respondents were asked if they were familiar with a particular agency or program, when they had contact with the agency, and

whether or not they were satisfied with the services provided. One problem that surfaced was the extent to which many subjects were unfamiliar with the names of agencies. An agency was often recognized based upon a description of the kinds of services it provides rather than by its name. This explanation partly accounts for finding a greater number of subjects in some instances who reported greater contact with an agency than the number who reported familiarity with the same agency.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

General

A total of 235 persons was surveyed. Of these, 131 resided at the peoplehood segregated site (A); 46 resided at the peoplehood integrated site (B); and 58 resided at the age integrated site (C). Females outnumbered males almost two to one as they accounted for 150 of the sample while males accounted for 85. The ratio is not as great for either the Knoxville SMSA or for the United States (Table 3). The age of older persons in this study began at age fifty-five: 17% percent of those who were between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-one, 32% between sixty-two and sixty-eight, 29% between sixty-nine and seventy-five, and 22% seventy-six and over. The sites differ little by age (Table 4).

The sample was not highly educated. Over half of them completed less than eight years of school and only 5% completed thirteen or more years. The sample percentages compare favorably with percentages of Knoxville SMSA and the United States (Table 5).

Most of the subjects were migrants because only 23% of them were born in Knoxville, Tennessee. Over half of the sample was born outside the state of Tennessee, and the remainder, was born some place in Tennessee other than Knoxville (Table 6).

TABLE 3
SEX BY SAMPLE, KNOXVILLE, AND UNITED STATES, BLACKS
AGED 55 AND OLDER

Sex	Sample	Knoxville SMSA*	United States**
N	235	5277	3,210,078
male	36	42	45
female	64	58	55
	100%	100%	100%

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 44, Tennessee, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1973, 44-115. Knoxville SMSA includes Anderson, Blount, and Knox counties.

**U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, SUBJECT REPORTS, Final Report (PCC2)-1B, Negro Population, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1973, 2.

TABLE 4
AGE BY SAMPLE SITES

Ages	Site			Total
	A	B	C	
N	126	46	57	229
55-61	21	15	16	17
62-68	22	33	42	32
69-75	33	30	23	29
76 and over	24	22	19	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 5
EDUCATION BY SAMPLE, KNOXVILLE, AND UNITED STATES,
BLACKS AGES 55 AND OLDER

Education	Sample	Knoxville SMSA*	United States**
N	233	5546	2,412,783 ¹
less than eight	58	53	54
eight	11	15	12
nine to eleven	15	16	17
twelve	11	10	11
thirteen or more	5	6	6
	100%	100%	100%

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Tennessee, 1973, 44-508.

**U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, SUBJECT REPORT, Negro Population, 1973, p. 40.

¹Includes persons aged forty-five and older.

TABLE 6
BIRTHPLACE BY SAMPLE SITES

Birthplace	Site			Total
	A	B	C	
N	126	45	58	229
Knoxville	24	22	22	23
Other Tennessee city	22	33	42	32
Out of state	55	56	59	57
	100%	100%	100%	100%

For most of the sample who migrated to Knoxville, their migration took place more than ten years ago. Eighty-nine percent of the subjects had lived in Knoxville their entire lives or at least for over ten years (Table 7). Of 207 persons who had lived in Knoxville for ten years or more, 71% of them migrated to Knoxville while 29% had lived in Knoxville all of their lives. Only 23 persons in the total sample had lived in Knoxville for less than ten years; of these only four had lived in Knoxville for less than one year.

TABLE 7
NUMBER OF YEARS RESIDENT IN KNOXVILLE BY SAMPLE SITES

Number of years resident in Knoxville	Site			Total
	A	B	C	
N	130	44	58	232
less than 1	2	2	0	1
1 to 3	1	4	2	2
4 to 6	4	7	0	4
7 to 10	3	5	2	3
over 10	62	66	65	64
Entire life	28	16	31	25
	100%	100%	100%	99%*

*Less than 100% due to rounding

Even though most of the subjects had lived in Knoxville for a long term (ten years or more), they were less likely to have lived at their current address for a long term. Less than one-fourth of the subjects had lived at their current address for over ten years; over three-fourths had lived at their current address for ten years or less, out of which nearly half had lived there from four to ten years (Table 8). One of the possible reasons for shorter term residence at current addresses was that several subjects moved into public housing in the middle and late 1960s as a result of urban renewal programs. A possible life cycle factor for change of residence is that older persons prefer to live in their own homes but near their children (Troll, Miller, and Atchley, 1979).

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF YEARS RESIDING AT PRESENT ADDRESS BY SAMPLE SITES

Number of years resident at present address	Site			Total
	A	B	C	
N	131	45	58	234
less than 3	35	49	31	38
4 to 6	19	42	40	34
7 to 10	16	9	5	10
over 10	30	0	24	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Data that describe the marital status of the subjects reveal that widowed persons formed the largest marital status category (Table 9). When compared with national norms, the sample categories for married and widowed persons were clearly disproportionate. There were fewer married persons but more widowed persons found in the sample than found in the national census. One reason for this is that the sample included only persons living in public housing and not those living in private homes, nursing homes, "old folks homes," and other dwelling places. Few single subjects had marital aspirations. Many persons, for instance, preferred not to respond to the questions whether they would like to get married (41 subjects or 17%). Of the 194 subjects who did respond to the question, 19% preferred not to get married but could be persuaded by the "right" person; 69% ruled marriage out completely saying they would not marry under any circumstances. Only 9% of the respondents said they would like to get married; even then, the person they chose would have to be "just right." Lastly, only 3% would marry without placing certain qualifications on the marital circumstances.

Meaning of Retirement

Each person was asked: "Are you retired now?" Eighty-nine percent of the 218 subjects responded affirmatively. Their responses to additional questions on retirement indicated that most considered retirement to mean that they were no longer gainfully employed. Among the 194 persons who considered themselves retired, over half of them (56%) qualified what retirement meant to them by stating that they were not officially retired from a job from which they received

TABLE 9
MARITAL STATUS BY SAMPLE SITES AND UNITED STATES,
BLACKS AGES 55 AND OLDER

Marital Status	A	Site B	C	Total	United* States	United** States
N	131	46	57	234	5,170,383	1,546,811
single	9	26	5	14	7	7
married	14	4	7	8	55	40
widowed	60	50	65	58	24	44
divorced	11	11	18	14	6	4
separated	6	9	5	7	8	5
percent	100%	100%	100%	101% ¹	100%	100%

¹More than 100% due to rounding.

*U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, SUBJECT REPORTS, 1973: Included persons ages 45 and older.

**Included only persons ages 65 and older.

retirement income. Since 59% of the sample were widowed many received social security payments as a result of their previous dependent marital status and not necessarily from their own contributions to the system. However, 44% of the 194 subjects considered themselves retired in an unqualified sense in that they had contributed to the social security system while on their jobs. Although many persons in this group reported that they would work, either part time or full time, if work were available, the health of many of them would not permit employment. Eleven percent of the 218 subjects did not consider themselves retired. These were primarily persons who worked part time; only two persons reported working full time.

The meaning of retirement for the subjects is further explained by their financial status during pre-retirement years. The data indicate that most of the subjects were not earning much money in the years leading to retirement. In fact, 58% of the respondents chose not to answer the question about total income before retiring. This increases the likelihood that many of them did not retire directly from full time employment when they were drawing peak salaries. Since the majority of the sample engaged in service work, it is possible that many subjects went from full to part time work before they retired. Many of the 137 persons who did not respond to the question, therefore, might have earned little or no money at the time they became eligible for social security. Of the 98 persons who reported the amount of income they received in the year before retiring, 31% earned less than \$1000; 33% earned between \$1000 and \$2999; 32% earned between \$3000 and \$7999; and 5% earned \$8000 or more.

Income is an important factor in helping older persons handle their needs during retirement. If a person's income was meager prior to retirement, it also will be meager upon retirement. The majority of the respondents had been persons of low income most of their lives. When asked about their highest income per month, 30% of the subjects either did not know or did not respond. Some felt that the amount they had earned had been so little that it did not count, and others felt embarrassed by the smallness of the amount.

Of the 165 subjects reporting their highest income ever earned per month, 14% reported making \$500 or more; 22% reported making between \$300 and \$499; and 19% reported making between \$200 and \$299. Twenty-eight percent of the subjects had received between \$100 and \$199 as their highest income; 12% had received less than \$100; and 4% had received none. The latter group was primarily comprised of family farm workers who received no cash income.

Eighty-six percent of the 165 subjects reporting the highest income earned per month also knew the year in which it was received. Some of the rest commented that the amount was so small the year was not worth remembering. Among those who did remember, 70% received their highest income before 1970, while 30% received their high income in a year between 1970 and 1979. In many cases the highest income ever received was what they were currently receiving in social security and/or supplemental security income.

Subjects usually earned their highest incomes before 1970, when they were able to make their greatest contribution into social security. During pre-retirement years when income peaks in most jobs,

the income of many subjects declined because most of their jobs were service or service-related, the kind often filled by part time work. Low income during pre-retirement years is significant because it adds to the difficulty of making the transition into retirement.

Despite a pattern of low income from most of the jobs, many respondents attached importance to their previous jobs. Among the 190 subjects who named their most important job, the following occupational types were listed: private household worker (27%); service worker other than private household (34%); operative, including transport, laundry, and dry cleaning (15%); laborer, including farm laborer, (19%); and craftsman, clerk, and professional or technical worker (5%). Seven percent of the sample thought that no job had really been important to them, however, and four percent reported that they had never held a job or had not worked in many years. The comment heard most often from those who attached little or no importance to any job they had held was, "It was just a job." The prevailing attitude among this group seemed to be that the jobs they had held were of such low prestige and paid so little that they could not have been important.

Although most of the jobs that were important to the subjects did not provide them with financial resources to aid them substantially in retirement, 177 of them explained why their jobs were important. Among those 177 subjects 29% said it was because they liked their work, and 25% liked the people with whom they worked. Often, they stated combinations of liking the work, people, and employer. Money was the most important reason for only 30% of the subjects. Other

reasons given were fringe benefits (5%); sense of responsibility and control (6%); and security (3%). A very few (2%), gave "easy job" as a reason their jobs were important. Twenty percent of the sample, however, did not respond to the question and 4% stated that no job was important. Some persons in the latter group felt that all their previous jobs were about the same, and several felt they should have had better chances for jobs that paid more and provided better working conditions and opportunities for advancement.

One meaning of retirement for the subjects, as for most retired persons, was that their incomes were reduced at least by half. Many of the subjects in this sample were presently receiving as much or more income than they had received when working, however, as a result of the low paying jobs they had held. While 31 persons reported drawing no social security payments, 180 reported payments in the following amounts: less than \$100 a month for 3% of the subjects; \$100 to \$149 for 25% of them; \$150 to \$199 for 34%; and \$200 or more for 38%.

Without social security or supplemental security income, the subjects would most certainly have less than adequate income, for they reported little income from other sources. Whereas 30% of the subjects reported receiving \$200 or more per month in social security benefits, only 6% of the subjects reported receiving that much from income other than social security. In fact, about one-half of the subjects reported receiving no income other than social security. Thus, among the 101 subjects who reported receiving such income, 48% of them were receiving less than \$100 per month; 29% were receiving

between \$100 and \$149; 8% were receiving between \$150 and \$199; and 15% were receiving between \$200 and \$399.

Further Implications of Retirement

Retirement also means increased health concerns for the subjects. Although many of the respondents were in relatively good health, 30% of them could not remember what year their health had been the best, and 20% could not remember what year it had been the worst. Over one-half of the subjects thought their health had been best in a year before 1970 while less than one-fourth thought it had been best in a year between 1970 and 1979. Sixty percent of the subjects considered their health to be at its worse in a year during the present decade, while less than one-fourth (18%) considered it worse in a year before 1970.

Income

Most Americans assume that with retirement one's income will decrease. Most also assume that with a good income, reasonable health, and planning, the anticipated drop in income after retirement will be manageable. The size of the decrease depends on a variety of factors, such as income before retirement, age at retirement, occupation, and preretirement financial planning. Because the working and lower income classes lack many of the requisites considered essential for securing an adequate retirement income, the expectation is that the drop in income will be severe after retirement.

The retirement income of the aged blacks in the sample was small, with a mean of \$271 per month and a median \$5 higher. More than half

of all interviewees received income only from Social Security. Of the 48% who received income from sources other than Social Security, nearly half received less than \$100 monthly from all sources combined. Twenty-nine percent received between \$100 and \$149 monthly from all other sources, 8% received between \$150 and \$199 monthly, 12% received between \$200 and \$299, and 3% received \$300 or more. Table 10 shows a comparison of medians and means of sample annual income with Knoxville SMSA and United States norms.

TABLE 10
ANNUAL MEDIAN AND MEAN INCOME BY SAMPLE, KNOXVILLE SMSA,
AND UNITED STATES

Annual income	Total sample	Knoxville SMSA*	United States**
Median	3317	1777	2419
Mean	3257	2235	2903

*Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Tennessee, 1973, 44-893. Population includes persons ages 45 and older. (Income in 1969).

**Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, SUBJECT REPORT, Negro Population; 1973, p. 71. Population includes persons ages 45 and older. (Income in 1970).

Income from sources other than Social Security was meager. Less than 19% of the respondents reported that they were working, for example, and those who did so worked part time in private households or other service related jobs where the pay was usually low. Furthermore, the income received from other persons living with the

subjects was slight: of 35 persons who responded to the question about total income of others living with them, 23% had no additional income; 6% earned less than \$100; 29% had incomes from \$100 to \$199; 31% had incomes from \$200 to \$399; and 11% had incomes of \$400 or more.

The total retirement income of the aged blacks in the three contextual settings was meager. Small as it was, for them the retirement income was larger than the income received before retirement.

Housing

The low income received by the sample has led to their reliance on public housing. Government housing regulations require public housing residents to pay 25% of their monthly income for rent. Therefore, most of the subjects (94%) paid less than \$100 per month for housing, 4% paid between \$100 and \$149 per month, and 1% paid between \$150 and \$199. Since so many of the subjects opted to live in public housing, they had less living space than they might have had in private housing. The majority of the respondents (142 persons or 61%) had three rooms for their living quarters. Of the remaining 90 subjects responding, one-third had one room; nearly one-third, two rooms; and the other one-third, four rooms.

The need for additional living space and room for functional and sentimental furniture led several subjects to request larger apartments from the housing office. Most had little hope that their requests would be granted, however, and felt that further pursuit of the matter would be useless. Feeling powerless and hopeless, some said that they might as well be satisfied with their present housing

because nothing could persuade the housing officials to let them move to more spacious apartments. Several subjects had more possessions than would fit neatly into their apartments. A few had been asked to remove what was considered by the housing officials to be "extra things" within a certain time period or risk eviction. The majority (197 subjects or 85%) reported that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their housing. Several of these who were living on fixed income and who were blocked in their efforts to move to larger apartments by housing personnel may have expressed satisfaction with their housing because they saw no alternative for better or more spacious housing. Thirty-five subjects (15%), nevertheless, said they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their housing. Although 161, or over two-thirds, of the subjects preferred not to move to other housing accommodations, most of the remaining number (fewer than one-third) said they would like to move. In this group, 47 persons (20%) said they would like to move and 23 persons (10%) said they were undecided.

Household Budget

The impact of retirement upon the subjects also meant that little money was available in their budget for household needs. Over half of the sample (56%) said they had inadequate money for household needs while under half (44%) said that their household budget was adequate. Some of the subjects said that they survived by "stretching their money." What this often meant was a reduction in money spent for groceries or other essentials.

Support From Others

Although money was obviously a critical factor in the struggle to survive, it was not seen as the biggest help received from another person (Table 11). Only 13% said money was the most help provided. Companionship was the help named most often, "any kind of help needed" was named next, followed by transportation. Only one person said housing and no one named a job as the biggest help provided.

TABLE 11
KIND OF HELP PROVIDED BY OTHERS BY SAMPLE SITE

Kind of help provided by others	Site			Total
	A	B	C	
N	121	37	54	212
none	13	11	7	10
transportation	19	22	9	17
money	8	22	11	13
food	6	0	2	3
housing	1	0	0	1
job	0	0	0	0
companionship	33	24	41	33
other	20	21	30	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eleven percent of the respondents asserted their independence by saying that "no one" provided any help to them. Half of the subjects

responding however, said the most help they received was from a relative. A friend or neighbor provided the most help for over one-fourth of the subjects while those remaining gave credit to an agency official and "other." A few mentioned "God" (Table 12).

TABLE 12
SOURCE OF HELP PROVIDED BY OTHERS
BY SAMPLE SITE

Kind of support provided by others	Site			Total
	A	B	C	
N	122	38	55	215
no help provided	13	13	7	11
relative	44	53	58	52
friend	23	21	29	24
neighbor	6	3	2	4
agency official	2	3	0	2
other	12	7	4	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Health

Health problems such as falls or use of health aids were reported by the subjects. Although nearly one-third rated their health as either good or excellent the majority (over two-thirds) rated it as either poor or fair. An overriding concern of the subjects as they grappled with the problems of retirement was the percentage of

financial resources that went toward health support. In this respect the subjects were bothered by a number of diseases found among the general population. Table 13 presents these health problems and ranks them by number and distribution percentage in the sample.

TABLE 13
RANK ORDER OF HEALTH PROBLEMS REPORTED BY
SUBJECTS BY FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE

Rank order of health problems reported by subjects*	Frequency	Percentage of subjects
Arthritis or rheumatism	159	68
High blood pressure	137	59
Other**	105	47
Diabetes	37	16
Effect of stroke	26	11
Asthma	23	10
Glaucoma	22	10
Anemia	20	9
Emphysema	14	6
Liver Disease	9	4
Cancer	6	3
Tuberculosis	4	2
Parkinson's disease	3	1
Epilepsy	2	1

*More than one possibility may be checked.

**Mostly heart disease.

Some of the diseases in Table 13 are associated with poverty, inadequate diet, and hypertension. For example, arthritis is associated with poverty through inadequate clothing and shelter and consequently, poor protection from the elements; high blood pressure is associated with both inadequate diet and hypertension; and diabetes, once contacted, requires proper dieting, purchase and use of medicine for survival. The leading health problem reported by the subjects was either arthritis or rheumatism. High blood pressure was the second leading health problem. The third largest category was "Other," formed when subjects were asked if they were troubled by health problems other than those listed. Among these, heart disease and kidney disease predominated. Other problems mentioned were sinus allergies, nervous conditions, bad backs, cataracts, and blindness.

Some of the sample reported having problems with the effects of stroke. Since most stroke victims were left partially paralyzed, there was often a period of time in which they were aided by others in most of their activities. A small percentage were likewise afflicted by glaucoma, an eye disease that leads to sight impairment, often resulting in blindness. A few of the subjects were troubled by asthma, a disease that usually requires special medicine and often mechanical respiratory support. Other diseases associated with the respiratory system that plagued the subjects were emphysema, and tuberculosis, a disease virtually eliminated in (white) American society but from which 2% of the (black) subjects suffered.

Anemia was another noted ailment which presented a problem to the subjects, and others were stricken with liver disease. Cancer, a

health problem that is very slowly giving way to medical discoveries for prevention and cure, affected a few of the subjects as did Parkinson's disease and epilepsy.

There were several persons afflicted with diabetes, requiring regulated diets. Because of the relationship between diabetes and proper food, it is stated here that 17% of the respondents reported that they sometimes had problems getting a balanced meal; 5% (or 11 persons) said they had a problem most of the time; and over 1% (3 persons) had a problem all of the time. Seventy-five percent of the subjects, however, reported no problem in getting a balanced meal.

In addition to various problems with disease and nutrition, a large number had fallen over the past five years--at least 96. Among those who had fallen, 32% had suffered long-term effects. For this group retirement was complicated by restricted mobility.

Finally, although 64% of the subjects reported that they used no health aid, a large number (82 persons) used health aids as a result of various health problems. Among these, 35% used crutches or walkers and 48% used a canes. Wheelchairs were used by 12% of those who used health aids, while hearing aids were used by 5%.

Summary

The typical person in the sample was black, female, between the ages of sixty-two and seventy-five, and not well-educated. The typical subject was most likely an out-of-state migrant, and as likely to have been born in other areas of the state as to have been born in the Knoxville area.

The modal marital status was widowhood. The typical subject was retired on a fixed low-income and partly as a result of the low income, lived in public housing. She had usually worked in service jobs before retirement. The subject was not in generally good health and more often than not was stricken with arthritis or rheumatism. Even so, the typical subject was not likely to use a health aid.

CHAPTER IV

INTERACTION AND ACTIVITY PATTERNS

Interaction Patterns

Three factors associated with retirement that reportedly relate to interaction patterns are peer group ties, boredom, and loneliness: one finding suggests that the black aged feel major problems of being old are those of loneliness, lack of friends, and having nothing to do (Anderson, 1973). Of 223 sampled subjects 68% either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that they preferred being with people their own age. Also, 75% of the sample responding either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that they felt bored or that life was empty. When asked if they felt there was no one to talk with about what concerned them, 73% of the 224 subjects responded in the negative. Judging from these data then, most of the subjects appear to be reasonably adjusted to their age peer group, are generally not bored, and tend to feel they have someone with whom to talk about their concerns.

Relatives

The subjects' adjustment to their situation and their subsequent interaction patterns were influenced to some extent by the availability of relatives for whom they felt varying degrees of closeness. Among the relatives there were more sisters available for emotional support than any others, although there were nearly as many

daughters. The "Other" category ranked third as to availability of relatives and included a variety of relatives who were not as closely related by blood as the ones listed, but for whom close feelings were nevertheless expressed (Table 14).

Questions in Table 15 went beyond ascertaining availability of relatives, however, extending to the degrees of closeness that the subjects felt for their relatives. Table 15 shows by percentages 459 relatives to whom subjects felt closest, second closest, third closest, the same closeness (other), and no closeness at all. From the 247 relatives selected as being closest to the subjects, daughters were first, and sisters were second. Jackson (1976) found that most parents prefer assisting or being assisted by a daughter rather than a son. Sons were third among those to whom the subjects felt closest, however, while brothers were fourth. The subjects turned to their closest relative for companionship, which was identified as their greatest need from others. In addition, the majority of subjects responding credit a relative as providing them the most help.

These findings support those of Jackson (1972) in regard to both marital patterns and familial patterns available for black males and females. When the black aged have children, they turn toward them as the first line of resource, and most of their children respond. In the absence of children, they direct their needs towards other relatives, and those relatives respond as well.

TABLE 14
RELATIVES BY NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
FOR WHOM CLOSENESS IS EXPRESSED

Relative	Number Available	Percent of Total Available
Sister	87	19
Daughter	86	19
Other (aunt, uncle, niece, nephew, cousin, etc.)	72	16
Son	66	14
Brother	66	14
Grandchild	53	12
Mother	18	4
Father	11	2
Total	459	100%

TABLE 15

RELATIVES BY PERCENTAGE CLOSEST, SECOND CLOSEST, THIRD CLOSEST,
SAME CLOSENESS, AND NO CLOSENESS

Relative	Percentage Closest	Percentage Second Closest	Percentage Third Closest	Percentage Same Closeness	Percentage Do Not Feel Close
Daughter	26.7%	8.1%	8.1%	7.7%	12.7%
Sister	23.1%	18.6%	18.9%	7.7%	7.9%
Son	15.8%	19.8%	5.4%	11.5%	7.9%
Brother	12.1%	24.4%	10.8%	7.7%	14.3%
Other (aunt, uncle, nephew, niece, cousin, etc.)	10.9%	16.3%	21.6%	34.6%	22.2%
Grandchild	7.7%	9.3%	29.7%	26.9%	12.7%
Mother	3.2%	1.2%	5.4%	3.8%	9.5%
Father	0.4%	2.3%			12.7%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
N =	247	86	37	26	63

Most of the subjects lived relatively close to their relatives. Nearly one-fourth of their relatives lived in the same neighborhood as the subjects, and almost one-half lived in some other neighborhood in Knoxville. A very few (nine persons) were reported to live in another city in Tennessee, but one-fourth lived out of state. Staples (1976) found that most aged black parents desire to live independently of, but in close contact with, their children.

Friends

The impact of retirement upon interaction also affects the extent of the subjects' interaction with friends. In contrast with the less than one-fourth of the subjects' relatives who lived in the same neighborhood with them, nearly three-quarters of the subjects' friends lived in the same neighborhood with them. Moreover, only about one-fourth of the subjects' friends lived in another neighborhood in Knoxville, compared to about one-half of their relatives. Further, while 25% of the subjects' relatives lived out of state or in another city in Tennessee, only 4% of their friends did so.

On friendship patterns, it has been found that the numbers of local friends of widowed, black aged persons are directly related to residential concentration of like individuals. These findings suggest the possibility of greater interaction between the subjects and their friends than between the subjects and their relatives.

This thesis is further supported by comparing the time since the subjects last saw and talked with their friends and the time since their last contact with relatives (Table 16). The findings show that the subjects talked with friends at closer intervals than with

relatives. This is shown by the finding that a smaller percentage of the subjects went over a month without talking with their closest friend than did those who went over a month without talking with their closest relative. Also, more subjects responding had seen their closest friend on the day the interview took place than had seen their closest relative.

TABLE 16

SUBJECT'S INTERACTION WITH CLOSEST RELATIVE AND FRIEND
BY TIME OF LAST CONTACT WITH RELATIVE AND FRIEND

Subject's Interaction	Percentage Interacting From Day of Interview					Total N = ()
	Same Day	Day Before	3-7 Days Before	Week Plus to Month	Month Plus	
Last talked with relative	39	20	20	9	12	100% (213)
Last talked with friend	55	24	17	3	1	100% (213)
Last saw relative	25	20	24	9	22	100% (210)
Last saw friend	47	24	20	6	3	100% (193)

That subjects lived in close proximity to their closest friends reduced the need to write letters. Eighty-nine percent of 194 subjects, therefore, reported that they did not write to their closest friend, compared to 76% who did not write to their closest relative. In actual numbers, while 51 of the subjects corresponded

with their closest relatives only 21 wrote to their closest friends. Among the 21 subjects who did write to their closest friend, 7 had not written for over a month; 3 had written within a month; 4 had written within 3 days to a week; 3 had written the day before; and 4 had written the day of the interview.

The extent of the subjects' interaction with others inside the household was limited since most of the subjects (80% of 188 subjects) lived alone. Sixteen percent had one person living with them, 2% had two persons, and 1% had three persons living with them. The nature of the interactions between the subjects and those who lived with them was also influenced by the relationships of those present in the household. Of the 47 subjects who had persons living with them, for example, 49% were spouses; 32% were children; 9% were grandchildren; 2% were siblings; 4% were combinations of relatives; and 4% were nonrelatives.

Interaction of the subjects with others was not always impeded by living alone; even though 188 of the subjects lived alone, only 163 of them usually ate alone. Of the 62 subjects who reported that they ate with others, 50% of them ate with relatives; 17% ate with friends; 10% ate with groups; and 23% ate with their spouses.

Another type of interaction was the relationship that subjects had with persons of the opposite sex. It is recalled that roughly one in ten subjects was married. Of the 196 who were not married, 36% said they had close relationships with a person of the opposite sex. The term "close relationship" describes someone to confide in, a companion, friend, someone to trust.

Activity Patterns

It is common knowledge that some older persons engage in a large number of activities while others engage in only a few. Some of these activities take place outside the home; others take place inside the home. Although many persons are quite satisfied with their activities in both cases, an analysis of the subjects' activity patterns provides additional insight into some of the problems they face. The approach used to establish the subjects' activities involved learning about their activities on a typical Sunday and on a typical weekday. The subjects were asked to name the places they typically visited; whether they went alone or were accompanied by others; and how they usually got to the places they visited.

A check list of places visited was used to determine the activities occurring outside the home. This list, shown in Table 17, included the bank, church, friend's home, grocery store, library, medical facility (clinic, doctor's office, hospital, etc.), movie theater, shopping places other than grocery store, relative's home, restaurant, senior citizens center, and other places named by the subjects. Some activities occurring inside the home were determined through a list of things subjects usually like to do when alone and by assessing their eating patterns. It was also assumed that the subjects' perceptions of changes in the neighborhood were likely to have impact upon their activity patterns. Thus, they were asked how public transportation, safety, and their neighbors had changed over the past ten years.

TABLE 17
PLACES VISITED ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY AND WEEKDAY
BY FREQUENCY

Places Visited	Sunday Frequency	Weekday Frequency
Church	157	56
Relatives' home	95	80
Friends' home	92	95
Grocery store	67	152
Other Shopping places	38	72
Senior Citizens Center	32	65
Restaurant	28	16
Medical facility	12	60
Bank	4	43
Other (includes Library and Movies)	27	36

The mode of the distribution on a typical Sunday was church attendance (Table 17). Previous studies have indicated the greater participation of blacks in church-related groups (Hirsch, 1968; Hirsch, et al., 1972; Clemente, et al., 1975). One possible explanation is that the black church has shown a greater adaptability to the needs and desires of the aged (Hirsch, et al., 1972). Shopping for groceries was the mode of the distribution on a typical weekday. Visiting relatives and friends were the next most popular activities for both Sundays and weekdays. Visiting friends and relatives has

been consistently high on the list of activities engaged in by retired blacks (Lambing, 1972).

Subjects often went alone to places they visited on a typical Sunday (Table 18). They usually visited relatives' homes with other relatives or with friends. Although subjects went to shopping places other than the grocery store in smaller numbers, they were usually accompanied by relatives. Also, subjects who went to restaurants on a typical Sunday were accompanied more often by relatives than by others. In addition, when subjects went to "Other" places which they specified (e.g., to perform with singing groups), or to the movies, they usually went with friends.

When patterns of activities are analyzed in conjunction with interaction patterns, it is shown that relatives were the most frequent Sunday companions in 7 activities (church, relative's home, friend's home, grocery store, other shopping places, restaurant, and medical facility). In three activities (senior citizens center, "Other", and movies), friends were their most frequent companions; and in one activity (bank), friends and relatives were companions of equal frequency. This study consistently shows the subjects' greater dependency on relatives than on friends even though more friends are located nearby.

When activity patterns or interaction patterns are analyzed individually, however, it was shown that church was the place most frequented on Sundays. Subjects usually went to church with relatives or friends, rather than alone. However, when visiting their friends' homes, they usually did so alone. Also, subjects were almost as

TABLE 18

PLACES VISITED ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY BY PERCENTAGE WHO WENT ALONE,
OR WITH RELATIVE, FRIEND, AGENCY OFFICIAL, AND OTHER PERSON

Places Visited on Sunday	Percentage Went Alone	Percentage Went With Relative	Percentage Went With Friend	Percentage Went With Agency Official	Percentage Other	Total N = ()
Church	41	29	25	1	4	100 (157)
Relative's home	42	46	8		4	100 (95)
Friend's home	65	17	14		4	100 (92)
Grocery store	55	27	16		2	100 (67)
Other shopping places	37	50	11		2	100 (38)
Senior Citizens Home	66	3	25	3	3	100 (32)
Restaurant	36	46	18			100 (28)
Medical facility	42	33		17	8	100 (12)
Bank	50	25	25			100 (4)
Other (includes library, and movies)	54	4	4		1	100 (27)

likely to go to the grocery store with relatives, friends, or other persons as to go alone. The Senior Citizens Center, located nearby, was most frequently visited alone.

Mobility of the aged has been of foremost concern especially in the inner city where the fear of crime is high (Clark, 1971). The two primary transportation modes for the subjects on Sunday were riding in another person's automobile and walking. Table 19 shows that these two modes were heavily favored. The public bus was used very little on Sunday, partly because of reduced Sunday services. The agency bus was also seldom available for use on Sunday. A very few of the subjects owned automobiles. Taxicabs were used very little although several subjects paid persons with private automobiles for transportation, especially to and from the grocery store. When riding to church in other persons' automobiles, however, they ordinarily did not pay because they often traveled with friends or relatives who were fellow church members. The church was within walking distance for many subjects. Friends' and relatives' homes were also often within walking distance, as were Senior Citizens Centers and grocery stores. Walking from the grocery store, however, posed particular problems for subjects when they shopped for large supplies of groceries.

In summarizing Table 19, another person's automobile was the primary mode of transportation for participation in 7 activities: church, relative's home, grocery store, other shopping places, restaurant, bank, and "other." Walking was the primary mode of transportation used to participate in the following activities: friend's home and Senior Citizens Center.

TABLE 19

PLACES VISITED ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY BY PERCENTAGE OF TRANSPORTATION USED

Places Visited on Sunday	Percentage		Percentage Taxi	Percentage		Agency Bus	Walk	Percentage Other	Total N = ()
	Own Auto	Other's Auto		Public Bus	Agency Bus				
Church	7	42	3	9	5	31	3	100 (157)	
Relative's home	7	56		7	1	28	1	100 (95)	
Friend's home	7	29	1	9	1	49	4	100 (92)	
Grocery store	7	36	4	14	3	34	2	100 (70)	
Other shopping places	13	46	3	26	2	10		100 (39)	
Senior Citizens Home	3	13	3		3	78		100 (32)	
Restaurant	14	61		11		11	3	100 (28)	
Medical facility		10		10	50	30		100 (10)	
Bank		100						100 (1)	
Other (includes library and movies)	4	43	4	9		35	5	100 (24)	

As indicated earlier, the predominant activity that the subjects engaged in during the week was shopping for groceries. The procurement of food is an important activity for the aged (Clark, 1971). Table 20 reflects that nearly half of the persons who shopped for groceries on a typical weekday did so alone. Fully one-half of them, however, shopped for groceries with relatives or friends, and a few shopped with agency officials or others. Visiting a friend's home was another primary activity engaged in by the subjects and one which they usually did alone. Of the persons who visited their friend's home, most of them did so alone. While visiting a relative's home less than one-half of them did so alone, while more than half did so with relatives or friends. Well over half of the subjects, furthermore, went with someone else when shopping other than for groceries. The Senior Citizens Centers, however, being close at hand, were most frequently visited alone. The medical facilities, often located farther away, meant usually that subjects were accompanied. Also, nearly two-thirds of the subjects who went to church during the week did so in the company of friends, relatives, or agency officials. A likely reason for this is that most church activities during the week took place at night, a time in which most older persons preferred companions when moving about outside their homes. Thus, only one-fourth of the subjects doing banking business had company while engaging in this activity since banking usually took place during the daylight hours. Table 20 also shows few subjects who went to the library, movies, restaurants, and other specified places on a typical weekday, but it

TABLE 20

PLACES VISITED ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY PERCENTAGE
WHO WENT ALONE, WENT WITH RELATIVE, FRIEND, AGENCY OFFICIAL, AND OTHER PERSON

Place Visited on Weekday	Percentage Went Alone	Percentage Went With Relative	Percentage Went With Friend	Percentage Went With Agency Official	Percentage Went Other Person	Total N = ()
Grocery store	47	25	25	2	1	100 (152)
Friend's home	74	8	16		2	100 (95)
Relative's home	46	43	8		3	100 (80)
Other shopping places	42	26	22	6	4	100 (72)
Senior Citizens Center	65	3	17	11	4	100 (65)
Medical facility	48	20	12	20		100 (60)
Church	39	27	30	4		100 (56)
Bank	72	12	16			100 (43)
Restaurant	44	39	11		6	100 (18)
Other (includes library and movies)	63	3	30	1	3	100 (36)

is observed that when they did go, they most likely went with relatives, friends, or others.

If interaction and activity patterns are analyzed together by asking the subjects the identities of their companions on a typical weekday in the 12 activities mentioned, the following responses were given: In four activities (relative's home, other shopping places, medical facility, and restaurant), relatives were the most frequent companions; in seven activities (visiting friend's home, senior citizens center, church, bank, other, movies, and library) friends were the most frequent companions; in one activity (grocery store) relatives and friends were companions with equal frequency.

Table 21 illustrates how subjects usually arrived at the places they went on a typical weekday. As seen in the table, most of the persons who reported going to the grocery store usually went in another person's automobile. When they did not go by automobile, they were most apt to walk. Several subjects rode the bus when they went grocery shopping, and a few went in an agency bus or in their own automobiles. Walking was the chief means by which subjects went to their friends' homes, indicating again that they lived in close proximity to their friends. Thus, nearly two-thirds of the subjects who visited their friends' homes by walking, while most of the others rode in other peoples' cars. In contrast, more subjects who reported visiting their relatives' homes on a typical weekday rode in private cars while fewer walked, indicating again that relatives tended to live farther away from the subjects than did friends.

TABLE 21
PLACES VISITED ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY PERCENTAGES OF TRANSPORTATION USED

Places Visited on Weekday	Percentage Percentage		Percentage Percentage		Percentage Percentage		Total N = ()
	Own Auto	Other's Auto	Percentage Taxi	Public Bus	Agency Bus	Walk Other	
Grocery Store	5	39	3	12	6	33	2 100 (153)
Friend's home	4	23	1	6		62	4 100 (95)
Relative's home	6	49		9	1	33	2 100 (80)
Other shopping places	0	35	3	31	8	13	100 (72)
Senior Citizens Center	2	14	2	5	9	68	100 (65)
Medical facility Home	2	27	7	23	25	13	3 100 (60)
Church	4	41	4	13	5	30	100 (56)
Bank	9	30	7	42	2	9	1 100 (43)
Restaurant	17	150		11		22	100 (18)
Other (includes library and movies)	22	426	1	16	3	327	5 100 (36)

The subjects who reported shopping other than for groceries on a typical weekday just as readily went by public bus as in someone else's automobile. Subjects were given transportation help by an agency, however, when they went to medical facilities, about the same percentage went by agency bus as by public bus or private car. Most of the subjects walked to nearby places such as the Senior Citizens Center, usually located in their neighborhoods, but they were likely to go by bus to handle banking business. The banks were usually located farther away, making it necessary for several subjects to go by car rather than to walk. Trips to the library, movies, and restaurant were infrequent, but when they were taken, subjects most often went in the cars of others.

To summarize Table 21, of 12 activities in which subjects participated on a typical weekday, the automobile of others was the primary transportation mode for the following eight activities: grocery store, relative's home, other shopping places, medical facility, church, restaurant, movies, and other. Walking was the primary mode in the following three activities: friend's home, Senior Citizens Center, and library. The public bus was used as the primary transportation to the bank. The basic difference between Sunday and weekday activities was church attendance and shopping for groceries. Visiting a friend's home sometimes meant visiting a person of the opposite sex. Among the 71 subjects who reported that they had close relationships with persons of the opposite sex, about one-fourth visited their friends every day, about one-half visited one to

three times a week, and the rest visited once or twice a month, on special holidays, or hardly ever.

Eating took place on a more frequent and regular basis. About four-fifths of the subjects, for example, ate two or three meals a day, and about five percent ate four or more meals a day. Twelve percent of the subjects ate one meal or less than a full meal per day. The subjects were fortunate that their apartments had cooking facilities because the overwhelming majority ate most of their meals at home: only five percent ate most of their meals in restaurants or other places.

Perceptions of Neighborhood Changes

It is possible that changes over the past ten years in services provided the neighborhoods and in the behaviors of persons who live there might affect to some degree the activities in which the subjects engage. Table 22 shows the extent to which the subjects perceive public transportation, safety, and neighbors as being about the same, better or worse during the last ten years.

In one housing area, a few subjects complained about younger neighbors who often played their stereo sets too loud and too late at night. There were also complaints about a few teenagers and young adults who sometimes sat on sidewalk steps, blocking the way where older persons had to pass. In another housing area, one older person who claimed that he felt threatened by a group of young people, fired his pistol into the air in order to frighten them. According to this man, he was then asked by the management to move out of the public housing area.

TABLE 22

NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGES IN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, SAFETY AND
NEIGHBORS DURING THE LAST TEN YEARS BY PERCENTAGES
THAT ARE THE SAME, BETTER, AND WORSE

Neighborhood Changes Last Ten Years	Percentage About the Same	Percentage Gotten Better	Percentage Gotten Worse	Total N = ()
Public Transportation	43	35	23	101 (150)
Safety	36	19	45	100 (160)
Neighbors	63	19	18	100 (160)

Despite the fact that the public bus service has been reduced over the past few years, subjects felt that the service was about the same or had gotten better. Their positive feelings about public transportation might be explained partially by the observation that, for most, the bus stops were close to their homes and that the fare was reduced for persons sixty-five or over who produced proper identification.

Also, subjects felt that safety in their neighborhoods had become worse. Some said they limited their outside activities to daytime, and others were reluctant to open their doors at night.

Awareness and Use of Services Provided
By Public and Private Agencies

Participation in programs which offer services to the aged is a type of activity which might be influenced by segregation. Data on the utilization of services by the aged provided information for the aged's activity profile and provided the base on which areas of need could be identified.

The Knoxville area has a large number of agencies and programs, both public and private, whose primary goal is providing services to aged persons. It is not known the extent to which these services reach many of the persons for whom the organizations are designed to aid. There is an illusion, for example, that medical help in the inner city is closer than it really is (Clark, 1971): transportation is not readily available to get to clinics and other sources of medical help. In addition, blacks generally are undercounted in the census, possibly making them less accessible by agency and program personnel. The education level of many aged blacks, being lower than some aged whites, also may contribute to lack of awareness of some available programs. The subjects were therefore asked about whether they were aware of various agencies and programs serving the elderly. The interviewees were given the name of an agency or program and asked if they were familiar with it. Then they were asked the last time they had used the service and the degree of satisfaction with the service provided.

Familiarity With Agencies

Table 23 presents the number and percentage of subjects who were familiar with various agencies and programs. The Food Stamps Program, familiar to most of those responding, headed the list, while the Golden Diners Club, Catholic Social Service, and Pastoral Council were last on the list. The Food Stamps Program is federally sponsored and receives substantial public notice; the Golden Diners Club is not as well publicized. The Senior Citizens Center was second in familiarity. It is noted that a Center is located in each of the three areas, thus quite visible and accessible. Mobile Meals, a service which brings prepared meals to older persons was next in familiarity.

The County Health Department was fourth and the Senior Citizens Information and Referral Office, an arm of the central Senior Citizens Center, was ranked fifth in order of familiarity. The Association for the Blind, an organization providing a variety of services for blind persons, was sixth among the agencies listed, and the Senior Citizens Home Aide Service, an organization that helps disabled or partially disabled persons care for their homes, was next well-known. Only 38% of the subjects were familiar with the Arthritis Foundation despite the fact that subjects reported arthritis or rheumatism as their primary health problem (Table 13).

TABLE 23
 AGENCY OR SERVICE BY TOTAL RESPONDING
 AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE FAMILIAR

Agency or Service	Total Responding	Number and Percentage Familiar
Food Stamps Program	220	193 88%
Senior Citizens Center	221	179 81%
Mobile Meals	221	127 58%
County Health Department	220	126 57%
Senior Citizens Information & Referral	221	101 46%
Association for the Blind*	221	93 42%
Home Aide	220	89 41%
Arthritis Foundation*	220	84 38%
Senior Citizens Medical Center	222	76 34%
Child & Family Services	221	73 33%
Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center*	219	68 31%
Senior Citizens Nutrition Program	218	65 30%
Office on Aging	221	57 26%
Dial-A-Dietician*	219	54 25%
Pastoral Council*	221	49 22%
Catholic Social Service*	222	49 22%
Golden Diners Club	221	48 22%

*Private agencies.

Contact With Agencies

The respondents reported visiting the agencies or participating in the programs with respect to the time of the interview. Table 24 indicates that the majority of subjects, for example, had visited the Food Stamps Office within the last month, others had done so within the last week, and others on the day before the interview. Several had visited more than two months before the interview.

Subjects who had visited Senior Citizens Centers did so with slightly more regularity than those who had visited the Food Stamps Office. Most of the persons who had contact with Mobile Meals, had been in contact on the day before the interview. Visits to the County Health Department were not as recent. More evenly distributed were visits to the Senior Citizens Information and Referral Office. In this case about the same percentage had visited the office over a month preceding the interview as those who had done so a week before the interview. Among those agencies which were rarely visited were Child and Family Services and the Arthritis Foundation. The number of subjects who visited several agencies was rather scant. Among these were child and family services and the Arthritis Foundation.

Viewed collectively, a total of 508 contacts were made out of a possible total of 3,995, assuming that each subject was to make one contact each of 17 agencies. Thus, 13% of the total possible contacts were made. Since there were 235 persons included in the sample, the average number of contacts per individual was 2.2. The mean contact for the 17 agencies was 30.0. When the mean is computed on a

TABLE 24

AGENCY OR SERVICE AND PERCENTAGES VISITED LAST MONTH, LAST WEEK, YESTERDAY, AND OTHER

Agency or Service	Percent Visited Last Month	Percent Visited Last Week	Percent Visited Yesterday	Percent Other	Total N = ()
Food Stamps Program	56	12	3	29	100 (147)
Senior Citizens Center	22	30	17	31	100 (121)
Mobile Meals	18	11	45	26	100 (38)
County Health Department	22	14		64	100 (36)
Senior Citizens Information & Referral	22	30	19	29	100 (27)
Association for the Blind	42	8		50	100 (12)
Home Aide	24	20	4	52	100 (25)
Arthritis Foundation		17		83	100 (6)
Senior Citizens Medical Center	30	30	17	23	100 (23)
Child & Family Services	50			50	100 (2)
Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center	25	13		62	100 (8)
Office on Aging	13	27	20	40	100 (8)
Dial-A-Dietician	40			60	100 (5)
Pastoral Council	53	13	7	27	100 (15)
Catholic Social Service	17			83	100 (6)
Golden Diners Club	7	29	21	43	100 (14)

frequency of contact basis in the time period before the interview, the following distribution is made (Table 25).

TABLE 25
TIME BETWEEN CONTACT WITH AGENCIES AND INTERVIEW
BY FREQUENCY AND MEAN AVERAGES

Time Between Contact with Agencies and Interview	Frequency	Mean
Over one month prior	188	11.1
One month prior	165	9.7
One week prior	96	5.6
One day prior	59	3.5
Total	508	30.0

The fact that only 13% of the total possible contacts were made, assuming one contact per agency for each subject, and the fact that the greatest contact mean was for contacts occurring more than two months before the interview, possibly indicate a lack of communications between the agencies and black aged persons.

Evaluation of Services

Subjects who had received services from sixteen of seventeen agencies gave them favorable ratings (Table 26). A greater percentage of subjects rated the agencies' services as satisfactory or very satisfactory. Only in the case of the Food Stamps Program were the subjects split evenly in their satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Of

TABLE 26
AGENCY OR SERVICE BY PERCENTAGE OF SATISFACTION WITH SERVICES

Agency or Service	Percentage Very Satisfied	Percentage Satisfied	Percentage Dissatisfied	Percentage Very Dissatisfied	Total N = ()
Food Stamps Program	13	37	31	19	100 (147)
Senior Citizens Center	30	65	3	2	100 (122)
Mobile Meals	26	55	8	11	100 (38)
County Health Department	11	81	3	5	100 (38)
Senior Citizens Information & Referral	16	74	3	7	100 (31)
Association for the Blind	39	53		8	100 (13)
Home Aide	30	57	9	4	100 (23)
Arthritis Foundation	57	43			100 (7)
Senior Citizens Medical Center	27	69		4	100 (26)
Child & Family Services	33	67			100 (3)
Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center	22	67		11	100 (9)
Senior Citizens Nutrition Program	19	75		6	100 (16)
Office on Aging	71	29			100 (7)
Dial-A-Dietician		100			100 (5)
Pastoral Council	43	50	7		100 (14)
Catholic Social Service	67	33			100 (6)
Golden Diners Club	31	53	8	8	100 (13)

special note is the fact that subjects expressed no dissatisfaction, with five agencies: the Arthritis Foundation, the Office on Aging, the Catholic Social Service, the Dial-A-Dietician Office, and the Child and Family Services. Further, none of them expressed dissatisfaction with seven agencies in percentages that exceeded 10%: the Senior Citizens Center, the County Health Department, the Senior Citizens Information and Referral Office, the Senior Citizens Medical Center, the Senior Citizens Nutrition Program, the Pastoral Council, and the Association of the Blind. Also, with four other agencies, dissatisfaction hovered between 10% and 20% as evaluated by the subjects. These were the Mobile Meals service, the Home Aide service, the Golden Diners Club, and the Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center.

Most subjects were provided additional information about several agency services before they recognized them. A few subjects complained about services previously provided and were uncertain about such services now being available. For example, a service that periodically cleans homes for infirmed older persons was often cited.

On an individual agency basis the Food Stamps Program was used more than any other. Subjects using the service were as often negative in their evaluation of the program as they were positive.

Familiarity with Agencies Versus Contact

Although subjects were satisfied with services they receive, awareness of the agencies' existence and programs needs further attention. The number and percentages of subjects who were familiar

with the various agencies and services are shown in Table 27. The data reveal disparities between the numbers who were familiar with the agencies and services when compared to the numbers and percentages who had never visited the agencies or used their services. A relatively small percentage of persons actually used the services compared to the number reporting familiarity with the agencies.

It is my opinion that the subjects were quite candid in their answers regarding familiarity and use of agency services. Two agencies, for example, Food Stamps and Senior Citizens Center, had high levels of familiarity and use. These agencies are perhaps more visible than most of the others. The three agencies and services that were least familiar to the subjects were hardly ever visited. These were the Pastoral Council, the Catholic Social Service, and the Golden Diners Club.

Of seventeen agencies listed, there were only four with which over 50% of the subjects were familiar (Table 23). These were: Food Stamps Program, Senior Citizens Center, Mobile Meals, and County Health Department.

One implication of the lack of familiarity is an apparent weakness in the agencies' ability to make their identities and functions known to a larger number of persons. Another implication is the possibility that the low education level of many persons does not allow easy information acquisition concerning the agencies and their services. After talking with persons involved in providing social services, it is my opinion that most agencies do not have the resources available to exhaustively seek clientele. I also have the opinion

TABLE 27

AGENCY OR SERVICE BY NUMBER FAMILIAR
AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE NEVER VISITED

Agency or Service	Number Familiar	Number and Percentage Never Visited
Food Stamps Program	193	46 24%
Senior Citizens Center	179	58 32%
Mobile Meals	127	89 70%
County Health Department	126	90 71%
Senior Citizens Information & Referral	101	74 73%
Association for the Blind	93	81 87%
Home Aide	89	64 72%
Arthritis Foundation	84	78 93%
Senior Citizens Medical Center	76	53 70%
Child & Family Services	73	71 97%
Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center	68	60 88%
Senior Citizens Nutrition Program	65	60 77%
Office on Aging	57	49 86%
Dial-A-Dietician	54	49 91%
Pastoral Council	49	34 69%
Catholic Social Service	49	43 88%
Golden Diners Club	48	34 71%

that poor older blacks do not aggressively seek needed services. I believe that much of the verbal information they receive is incomplete and incorrect.

Summary

In summary, responses show that the typical interaction and activity pattern for the sample is a preference to be among their own age peers. They are not typically bored; they don't think that life is empty; and they feel they have someone with whom to discuss matters of concern. The subjects have a number of relatives and friends who live nearby and to whom they feel close. They have contact with them at reasonable time intervals.

The sample does not engage in a wide variety of activities either on a typical Sunday or weekday. Attending church is their primary activity on Sunday and shopping for groceries is their primary weekday activity. The subjects were likely to interact with others as they engaged in these activities. They usually rode rather than walked to the places where the activities were occurring.

This sample felt that of the three factors--public transportation, safety, and neighbors--public transportation had undergone the most positive change over the past ten years and safety had undergone the most negative change.

Public and private agencies that provide various services for the aged were not known by name by most of the sample, although a greater number reported having contact with the agencies once their services were described. Most subjects, furthermore, expressed satisfaction with the services provided rather than dissatisfaction. It is

apparent that communications are lacking between most of the agencies and black aged persons included in the study. For example, despite the fact that the Office on Aging Knoxville-Knox County Community Action Committee published a booklet, Directory of Services for Older Citizens of Knox County (undated), I did not find this valuable document well-placed among the black older persons.

CHAPTER V

THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATION BY PEOPLEHOOD

Two sites were used to analyze the impact of segregation by peoplehood. The first is a 500-unit housing complex of both one and two storied buildings. Approximately 256 of these units are set aside for older persons who dwell in a concentrated area. These units house primarily black persons; only a very few are white. This area constitutes the peoplehood segregated site. On one side of the housing development, there is a Senior Citizens Center, the hub of activity for many of the residents. Older persons residing on the other side of the housing development are separated from the Center by only a short distance.

The peoplehood integrated site is ideal to compare with the peoplehood segregated site. At the integrated site 85 residents were black and 160 were white. The peoplehood integrated site is a high-rise apartment complex of seven stories and a two-story wing. A recreation and activities room is located downstairs and functions as a Senior Citizens Center. Lunch is served there daily.

Demographic Characteristics

The population in the two settings differed slightly by sex, as no association was found between peoplehood segregation and the subjects' sex (Table 28).

TABLE 28
SEX BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Male	54	18	72
Female	77	28	105
	131	46	177

$\chi^2 = 0.147; \phi^2 = 0.0007$

In Chapters V and VI, in addition to the use of percentages, the statistics chi-square (χ^2) and phi-square (ϕ^2) are used to evaluate the association between peoplehood or age segregation and other variables or factors. Chi-square is a measure which tells whether or not the observed cell frequencies could be expected as chance fluctuations from a model which predicts no association. For example, in Table 28 the association between peoplehood segregation (row variable) and sex (column variable) the association may well be a result of sampling fluctuations. For this and all other 2 column and 2 row tables, χ^2 values equal to or larger than 3.841 indicate that a relationship is likely to be present in the population (technically that the probability of a relationship occurring by chance is equal to or less than .05).

Since X^2 has a variable upper limit and since its value is affected by the number of cases in the table, ϕ^2 is used as a standardized measure of strength of association between rows and columns. In Table 28, ϕ^2 of .0007 means that 0.07% of the variance in the sex of the residents can be "explained by," "attributed to," or "associated with" peoplehood segregation. For this and all other 2 column and 2 row tables, ϕ^2 values equal to or larger than .05 indicate that the magnitude of association is likely to have practical importance.

In sum, X^2 allows a judgment to be made on whether or not an apparent relationship could occur by chance. Once it has been decided that a relationship is not due to chance, ϕ^2 tells its importance.

The subjects also differ slightly by age as 15% of those in the peoplehood integrated setting were in the 55-61 age category, while 21% of those in the peoplehood segregated setting were in the corresponding category. However, 33% in the peoplehood integrated group were between the ages of 62 and 68 while only 22% of those in the peoplehood segregated group were between these ages.

Most of the subjects completed eight years or less of school, but those in the peoplehood integrated setting were more highly educated: 25% of them had completed twelve or more years of school compared to 14% of those in the peoplehood segregated setting who had completed as many years of education (Table 29).

TABLE 29
YEARS OF EDUCATION COMPLETED BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Years of Education Completed	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Less than eight	61	53
Eight	5	9
Nine to eleven	20	13
Twelve	11	16
Thirteen or more	3	9
	100%	100%
	N = 130	N = 45

A large percentage of the subjects in both settings were widowed but a greater percentage of those in the peoplehood integrated setting were single and/or never married, compared to those in the peoplehood segregated setting (Table 30). There were fewer of the subjects in the peoplehood integrated setting who were married, compared to those in the peoplehood segregated setting. Finally, only 14% of the subjects in either setting desired to marry.

The subjects in both groups were rather evenly distributed according to their place of birth as over 50% were born out of state and over 20% were been born in a city in Tennessee other than Knoxville. A larger percentage of subjects in the segregated setting

(26%) had always lived in Knoxville compared with 16% in the integrated setting. Segregated setting subjects had lived at their current addresses longer than those in the integrated setting. The primary reason for this finding was the relative newness of the high rise apartment building.

TABLE 30

MARITAL STATUS BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Marital Status	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Single and/or never married	9	26
Married	14	4
Widowed	60	50
Divorced	11	11
Separated	6	9
	100%	100%
	N = 131	N = 46

Most of the subjects in both settings lived alone. At least 4% of those in the peoplehood segregated group had two to four persons living with them while no subjects in the peoplehood integrated group had two or more persons living with them. Given the limited apartment space that the subjects had, there was little room for additional people. None of the subjects in the integrated setting had four or more rooms in their apartments and only 11% of those in the segregated

setting had over three rooms. Despite the space limitations, 82% of the subjects in both settings reported that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their housing. Very few persons had plans to move, 72% of those in the peoplehood segregated setting and 65% of those in the peoplehood integrated setting expressed no plans to move.

The decision not to move was due in part to the low, fixed incomes of most of the subjects. Differences between the two settings were very slight for those receiving social security income: 82% of the peoplehood segregated subjects drew social security payments ranging from less than \$100 to over \$200. Thirty-nine percent of the subjects in the segregated group were receiving over \$200 in social security while only 33% of those in the integrated group were receiving benefits in that amount. In addition, less than 50% of the subjects in either group reported that they received income from sources besides social security; among those who did, 33% received less than \$200 per month. However, in the segregated group, 3% reported that they received \$200 or more in income besides social security while 13% in the integrated group reported receiving that much.

Total income per month from other persons living in the household was negligible as 84% of the subjects in the segregated setting and 93% of those in the integrated setting reported no one else present. Of the few persons who lived in the subjects' household, eight persons in the segregated setting received income of \$200 or more, while three persons in the integrated setting did so. Eight of the persons living in the segregated setting, furthermore, received less than \$200 in income and two received none. When X^2 and ϕ^2 were calcu-

lated as to the total income using \$200 per month as a divider, absolutely no association was found between peoplehood segregation and total income (Table 31). Despite the generally low incomes of the subjects, 43% of those in the peoplehood segregated group and 53% of those in the peoplehood integrated group felt they had adequate money in their budgets for household needs.

TABLE 31
TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Total Income</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
\$100-\$199	56	16	72
\$200 and over	46	13	59
	102	29	131
$\chi^2 = 0; \phi^2 = 0$			

The fact that subjects reported adequacy of income was not surprising for most of them had been accustomed to low income throughout their entire lives: 36% of the sample reported \$3600 as the highest income ever earned per year. Nine percent of the peoplehood segregated group had once received \$500 or above per month while 18% of the peoplehood integrated group had received that much. This again

illustrates the slightly better income history of the integrated group than the segregated group. Sixty-seven percent of the peoplehood segregated group had received less than \$500 per month highest income, 30% of whom had received less than \$200 per month. Sixty-eight percent of the peoplehood integrated group had received less than \$500 per month, 27% of whom had received less than \$200 per month.

The most important jobs subjects reported that they had ever held were characterized by low pay and, again, were rather evenly divided by peoplehood group. Sixty-nine percent of the segregated group, for example, considered their most important jobs to have been private household worker, service worker, or laborer, and 72% in the integrated group were in these categories. Five percent of the peoplehood segregated subjects reported their most important jobs to have been craftsman, professional, or technical worker, and 6% of the peoplehood integrated subjects reported these job categories.

Money was the reason the job had been most important for 30% of the subjects in the segregated group, but this reason was given for only 17% of those in the integrated group. Other reasons given for thinking their job was important were liking their work (27% in the segregated setting; 31% in the integrated setting) or liking their fellow employees and/or employer (23% in the segregated setting; 31% in the integrated setting).

In both settings, 44% of the subjects considered themselves in unqualified retirement; that is, in addition to social security, they were drawing small retirement pensions. Fifty-three percent of those in the segregated setting and 43% of those in the integrated setting,

however, considered themselves in qualified retirement, receiving only social security. Also, 2% in the segregated setting said they were not retired compared to 13% in the integrated setting. Qualified retirement was indeed the status of a number of subjects because in both settings 25% had earned less than \$1000 the year before retirement; over 50% had earned at least \$1000 but less than \$4000. While 3% in the segregated group had earned \$8000 or more, 10% in the integrated group had done so. The meager income of the subjects was supplemented a little by income from current jobs because only 3% in the segregated setting reported holding part or full time jobs while 9% in the integrated setting did so. Those who did hold jobs were employed essentially as service workers except for the 3% in the integrated setting who worked as craftsmen.

The subjects were not troubled greatly by many of the health problems thought common among the elderly, and the responses concerning health were very similar in the two sites. Most of the subjects were not bothered much by anemia, asthma, cancer, stroke, emphysema, epilepsy, glaucoma, liver disease, Parkinson's disease, or tuberculosis. Health problems plaguing subjects were arthritis, high blood pressure, heart trouble, and to a lesser degree, diabetes.

There were greater percentages of certain ailments in the segregated group than in the integrated group. Arthritis or rheumatism troubled 72% of those in the "peoplehood segregated" group and 59% of those in the "peoplehood integrated" group. Similarly, 64% of the segregated group and 49% of those in the integrated group were

bothered by high blood pressure. Although the percentage spread was somewhat smaller between the two groups, one disease was more of a problem for those in the integrated group than in the segregated group: diabetes afflicted 13% of the subjects in the segregated group, but 22% of those in the integrated group.

Those in both groups who had health problems not listed (primarily heart trouble) were still several percentage points closer: forty-six percent of the segregated group and 53% of the integrated group suffered from heart disease. The differences between peoplehood groups were even more slight in regard to use of health aids, except that 21% of the segregated group used canes as compared to only 12% of those in the integrated group. Sixty-three percent of both groups, however, used no health aids at all. No association was found between peoplehood segregation and health problems when ϕ^2 was performed (Table 32).

TABLE 32
HEALTH PROBLEMS BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Health Problems</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No	1491	518	2009
Yes	320	124	444
	1817	642	2453
	$\chi^2 = 43.796$	$\phi^2 = .0004$	

Health problems were sufficient, nevertheless, for 73% in the segregated group to rate their health as poor or fair, and for 72% in the integrated group to so rate theirs. The remaining percentages of persons rated their health as good or excellent. Most of the subjects thought their health was best before 1969 and thought it worst in a year between 1970 to 1979. Finally, 31% of the subjects in each group had suffered falls during the last five years but only 14% who had fallen in the segregated group had suffered long term effects while 20% of those in the integrated group had been so affected.

The foregoing percentages form the profiles of aged blacks who are segregated by peoplehood compared to those who are integrated by peoplehood. In terms of the characteristics of the sample, neither age, education, income, health problems or marital status differed significantly between the two sites. There were significant differences, however, in the degree of satisfaction with their housing (Table 33). The segregated group was more satisfied with its housing than was the integrated group as 25% of the variance in housing satisfaction can be attributed to peoplehood segregation. The implication of this finding peoplehood will be discussed in CHAPTER 7.

The subjects in the integrated setting are somewhat similar to those in the study by Jackson (1972) of elderly blacks selected for tenancy in a desegregated public high-rise apartment complex. There was evidence in both studies that subjects exhibited slightly more economic security. Contrary to Jackson's experience, however, there was no direct evidence in the present study that persons who were

married, male, and in relatively good health had greater chances of being selected for occupancy in the integrated complex.

TABLE 33
HOUSING SATISFACTION BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Housing Satisfaction</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Satisfied/very satisfied	106	12	118
Dissatisfied/very dissatisfied	24	33	57
	130	45	175
$\chi^2 = 43.796; \phi^2 = .25$			

Perceptions of Neighborhood Change

To evaluate the influence of long term neighborhood residence on activity and interaction patterns, the subjects were asked their perceptions of changes that had occurred in public transportation, neighbors, and safety. Among the 88 subjects in the segregated group who had lived in their neighborhood for the last ten years, 48% thought that public transportation had remained the same, 33% thought it had improved, and 19% thought it had become worse; these percentages corresponded to the 17 subjects in the integrated group at 29.5%, 41%, and 29.5%, respectively.

A greater percentage in both groups thought the neighbors had remained about the same--61% in the segregated group and 65% in the integrated group. The distribution was not as even among those who thought the neighbors had become better: 18% in the segregated group and 30% in the integrated group. Furthermore, 21% in the segregated group thought their neighbors had become worse, but only 5% in the integrated group perceived such a change.

Among those who thought that safety in the neighborhood had become worse, however, somewhat different percentages prevailed. Fifty-five percent in the segregated group thought that safety had declined while 26% of those in the integrated group thought so. The subjects thus tended to feel safer in the high-rise complex than they did in the two-storied one.

Comparison of Peoplehood Activity Patterns

Activity patterns were established by learning the subjects' activities and movements both on Sunday and a typical day during the week. Over 60% of the subjects segregated by peoplehood and those integrated by peoplehood attended church most frequently on Sunday. There was no association, however, between peoplehood segregation and church attendance. A ϕ^2 value of 0.005 indicated that only 0.5% of the variance in church attendance could be explained by peoplehood segregation (Table 34). Over 30% of the subjects in both groups visited their friends' homes on Sunday. Similarly, 35% of the subjects in the segregated group visited the homes of relatives on Sunday, and 41% of those in the integrated group did so. Trips to the

grocery store on Sunday were made by 23% in the segregated group and by 30% in the integrated group.

TABLE 34
SUNDAY CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Sunday Church Attendance</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No	50	15	65
Yes	79	31	110
	129	46	175
$\chi^2 = 0.946; \phi^2 = 0.005$			

Nearly equal percentages of subjects went to a Senior Citizens Center on Sunday: 14% in the segregated group and 13% in the integrated group. Nearly equal percentages of subjects also found other places to visit on Sunday: this was true for 10% in the segregated group and 11% in the integrated group. Table 35 summarizes the frequencies of places visited on Sundays and weekdays.

There were some differences between the groups as to the mode of transportation used to participate in the major activities on Sundays. In the segregated group, 18% of the subjects walked to church while half that many in the integrated group did so; and while 44% of the

TABLE 35

FREQUENCY OF PLACES VISITED ON SUNDAY AND WEEKDAY
BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Places Visited	Sunday frequency		Weekday frequency	
	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Church	79	31	22	13
Relative's home	45	19	40	15
Friend's home	44	18	53	14
Grocery store	30	14	82	31
Senior Citizens Center	18	6	40	8
Other shopping places	15	10	36	19
Restaurant	12	9	6	7
Medical Facility	7	1	40	14
Bank	3	1	23	12
Other (includes Library and Movies)	18	8	16	8

subjects in the segregated group used transportation other than walking to get to church on Sunday, 59% in the integrated group did so.

There were also differences in transportation to the homes of friends: for instance, 13% of the subjects in the segregated group used transportation other than walking but twice that percentage (26%) in the integrated group used other transportation. Twenty percent of those in the segregated group walked to friends' homes, while only 13% in the integrated group did so.

When it came to transportation to homes of relatives, 27% in the segregated group used transportation other than walking to get there, while 33% in the integrated group did so. Only 9% in the segregated group walked compared to 7% in the integrated group.

No one in the integrated group reported walking to grocery stores on Sunday, but 8% in the segregated group did so. Nearly twice the percentage (31%) as in the segregated group (17%) used transportation other than walking to get to grocery stores. Also, no one in either group reported walking to other shopping places on Sunday, but 13% in the segregated setting used other transportation and 22% in the integrated group did so. Twenty percent of the subjects in the integrated group used transportation other than walking when they went to restaurants on Sunday while only 7% in the segregated setting did so. None of the subjects in the integrated group walked to restaurants and only 2% in the integrated group did so. Most of those who went to Senior Citizens Centers walked; 12% of the segregated group and 9% of the integrated group did so. Only 2% of the

segregated group and 4% of the integrated group used other means of transportation. The 9% in the integrated group who used transportation other than walking to places not specifically listed were nearly equalled by 8% in the segregated group.

Activities on a typical weekday reflected a somewhat different distribution of percentages. For example, there was negligible participation in only two weekday activities while there was negligible participation in four Sunday activities. The two places visited infrequently were the library and the movies. Visits to the bank, infrequent on Sundays, increased on a typical weekday: 27% of the integrated group made banking transactions while 18% of those in the segregated group made them. Although 29% of the subjects in the integrated group went to church during the week and 17% in the segregated group did so, visits to church during the week were not nearly as great as they were on Sunday.

The percentages of visits increased even more among those who visited homes of friends on a typical weekday. Forty-two percent of the subjects in the segregated group visited friends during the week while 31% of those in the integrated group did so. The largest percentages in both groups of a single activity, however, were in visits to the grocery store: 65% of the subjects in the segregated group and 69% of the integrated group frequented grocery stores. The percentages of those who went to medical facilities were divided equally at 31% while those who visited their relative's home were nearly divided equally as 32% of the segregated group visited their relatives while 33% from the integrated group did so.

Visits to shopping places other than grocery stores were made by 42% of subjects in the integrated setting but by only 28% in the segregated setting. The opposite relationship was found among subjects who visited Senior Citizens Centers: 32% in the segregated setting visited but only 18% in the integrated setting did so.

Although the percentages were smaller, it was found that three times as many in the integrated group (16%) visited restaurants on a typical weekday as did those in the segregated group (5%). Sixteen percent of the subjects in the integrated group, finally, visited "other places" on a weekday compared to 10% in the segregated group.

Not only were subjects queried about the places they visited, they were also asked about how they traveled there. The findings on transportation to homes of friends revealed that 27% of the segregated subjects walked, compared to 14% who used other means. Conversely, 13% of the integrated subjects walked, compared to 18% who went by other means. There was a similar finding in regard to transportation to Senior Citizens Centers, although the percentages were smaller. To visit these Centers, 27% of the segregated group walked, compared to 4% who went by other means. In an opposite pattern, 7% of the integrated group walked, compared to 11% who used other means.

Except for visiting friends and Senior Citizens Centers, however, most subjects used transportation other than walking. While subjects tended to walk to their friends' homes and to the Centers because of the proximity, only 3% of the segregated, and none of the integrated subjects, walked to banks. Fifteen percent of the segregated subjects used other modes of transportation to banks, while almost twice that

percentage of integrated subjects (27%) did so. The means of transportation to churches were very similar to transportation to banks with one exception: 4% of the integrated group walked to churches whereas no one walked to banks.

The percentages of those who did not walk to grocery stores were still higher. To shop for groceries, 23% of the segregated group walked to stores, while 42% used other means. The disparity was even greater within the integrated group: only 2% of this group walked while 67% used other means, indicating their greater access to motor transportation.

Likewise, no subjects in the integrated group walked to other shopping places, but 4% of the segregated group did so, whereas 42% of the integrated group used other means of transportation to other shopping places, only 24% of the segregated group did so. At least 4% of the integrated group, however, walked to their relatives' homes as did 9% of the segregated group. Twenty-nine percent of the integrated group and 21% of the segregated group used other transportation modes to go to their relatives' homes.

No subjects in the integrated group walked to restaurants although 16% used other means. Twenty-nine percent of the segregated group walked to restaurants, however, and 4% used other means. Subjects in both groups who visited other places were equally divided as to the percentages of those who walked there (2%), but the percentages of those in the integrated group who used other transportation means (13%) was over twice that of the segregated group (6%).

It is recalled here that there were twelve activity categories: bank, church, friend's home, grocery store, library, medical facility, movies, other shopping places, relative's home, restaurant, Senior Citizens Center, and other. Also, there were seven transportation categories: walking, own auto, other's auto, taxi, public bus, Agency bus, and other. The activities were combined to determine if relationships existed between peoplehood segregation and the summarized activities. Segregation by peoplehood is not related to activity patterns on a typical Sunday as only .1% of the variance in Sunday activities is explained by peoplehood segregation (Table 36).

When the sum of activity frequencies were compared for the two groups on a typical weekday the findings were the same (Table 37).

TABLE 36
SUNDAY ACTIVITIES BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Sunday Activities</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No activities	1306	437	1743
Activities	271	115	386
	1577	552	2129
$\chi^2 = 2.129; \phi^2 = .001$			

TABLE 37
WEEKDAY ACTIVITIES BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Weekday</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No activities	1165	398	1563
Activities	358	132	490
	1523	530	2053
$\chi^2 = 0.411; \phi^2 = .0002$			

No differences were found between peoplehood segregation and transportation modes used to get to the activities Sundays (Tables 38). Significant differences were found however, between peoplehood segregation and transportation modes on weekdays (Table 39).

The finding of .07 indicates that segregation by peoplehood is related to transportation modes. Segregated subjects walk more and use other transportation less than do integrated subjects.

Several of the sites of activities in which segregated groups participate are within walking distance of their homes: the Senior Citizens Center, grocery store, and church. As these places, except for the Center, are located somewhat farther away from the integrated group, the latter group must use transportation means other than walking.

TABLE 38

TRANSPORTATION MODE ON SUNDAY BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Transportation on Sunday</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Walk	89	19	108
All other means	175	95	270
	264	114	378

$\chi^2 = 11.34; \phi^2 = .03$

TABLE 39

TRANSPORTATION MODE ON WEEKDAY BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Transportation on Weekday</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Walk	135	16	151
All other means	219	126	345
	354	142	

$\chi^2 = 34.72; \phi^2 = .07$

Activities Involving Agency Utilization
By Peoplehood Segregation

The services of the various agencies involve almost every area of the lives of the elderly, providing individuals with nutritional, medical, emotional, and social benefits. Nutritional aid has the most direct bearing on the daily lives of the elderly subjects. An important source of nutritional aid, the Food Stamp program, was highly visible to both groups, familiar to most of the segregated and integrated groups (Table 40). A high percentage of both groups also reported personal contact with the agency. It is notable that nearly the same percentage of the segregated group familiar with food stamps also benefited from them. In the integrated group, however, there was nearly a 20% disparity between recognition and contact, despite the high percentage of those who have used food stamps.

Recognition of another source of nutritional aid, the Senior Citizens Nutrition program, was considerably less than for the federal Food Stamps program, especially among the segregated subjects. Twenty-seven percent of the subjects in the segregated group were familiar with the nutritional program. It was appreciated more for its services than its name, however: 85% of the segregated subjects reported contact with the program at some time. There was less variation between recognition and contact in the integrated group, as almost the same percentage that was familiar with the program (59%) had also been in some contact with the program (61%).

TABLE 40

FAMILIARITY AND CONTACT OF SUBJECTS
WITH FOOD STAMPS AGENCY BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Familiarity and Contact of Subjects with Food Stamps Agency	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Percent familiar	87	93
Not familiar	13	7
Contact	100%	100%
	N 131	46
	85	76
No contact	15	26
	100%	100%
	N 131	46

Parts of the services of the Senior Citizens Nutrition program are channeled through the Golden Diners' Club and Mobile Meals. The Golden Diners' Club has congregate dining facilities in sixteen Knox County locations. As with its parent agency, it was recognized by services rather than by name. Twenty percent of the segregated group and forty-six percent of the integrated group were familiar with the Golden Diners' Club. Yet, 88% of the segregated group reported some contact with the Club. Mobile Meals, a service which delivers meals to the homebound was more familiar to both groups: 55% of the segregated group and 67% of the integrated subjects were familiar with the name "Mobile Meals." Notably, Mobile Meals was one service which

benefited the integrated group proportionally more than the segregated group: 72% of the integrated group but 63% of the segregated group reported receiving "Mobile Meals."

Subjects in both groups knew somewhat less about the service called "Dial-A-Dietitian" which provides diet planning and nutritional information. The percentage of subjects in the integrated group who were familiar with Dial-A-Dietitian (48%) was over twice that of those in the segregated group (22%). The percentage of subjects in the segregated group who had contact with the agency (84%) nevertheless exceeded that of the integrated group (65%).

Agencies which provide health and medical services are significant to the elderly who suffer various health problems. The Knox County Health Department is one such agency, servicing general health needs including blood pressure and tuberculosis screening, diabetes education, immunizations, influenza shots, health cards for employment, and home nursing for the homebound. Blood pressure is also checked at neighborhood Health Department sites. Fifty-four percent of the subjects in the segregated group were familiar with the Health Department, and 66% reported receiving some of its services. Following a recognizable pattern, a greater percentage of the integrated group was familiar with the department (77%) but a lesser percentage (48%) reported receiving its services. The differences were only slight, however, between the 37% of the segregated subjects and the 42% of the integrated subjects who were familiar with the Senior Citizens Medical Center. The same was true of the 79% of the

segregated group who had been in contact with the agency compared to the 74% of the integrated group who had been in contact.

Other agencies address their services to specific health problems. The Arthritis Foundation is concerned with the proportionally greatest health problem among the subjects. Thirty-seven percent of the segregated subjects were familiar with the foundation by name, but 71% had contact with it. The percentage of those in the integrated group who were familiar with the agency (56%) and of those who had contact with it (54%) were nearly the same. Peoplehood relationship with the Association for the Blind, another agency concerned with a specific health problem, presented a contrast. Seventy-two percent of the integrated group reported familiarity with the association, compared to only 37% of the segregated group. True to pattern, however, only 50% of the integrated group had been in contact with the organization, compared to 78% of those in the segregated group.

The Senior Citizens Home Aide Service recognizes that the ill and infirm have needs that medical services do not reach. This organization provides light housekeeping, marketing, meal preparation, and other services on a sliding scale fee basis. Thirty-five percent of the subjects in the segregated setting and 44% of those in the integrated setting knew of the Home Aide Service. Yet, when the agency's services were described, 77% of the subjects in the segregated group reported having contact with Home Aide as did 67% of the integrated group. It is likely, however, that some subjects confused the services of Home Aide with those of components of the Office of

Aging: the Chore and Companionship component provides services for limited income elderly, and volunteers of the Friendly Visitor component visit the elderly in their homes. Since these services recently have been reduced in scale, complaints that home services were now difficult to get may have been in reference to those reductions rather than to the Senior Citizens Home Aide Services.

Other agencies design their services to meet the emotional and social needs of aged individuals. The Catholic Social Services is one of several that helps persons with problems ranging from daily living adjustment to severe emotional trouble. The agency was not well known, especially to the segregated group. Only 21% of the segregated subjects were familiar with the agency. Nearly twice that percentage in the integrated group (41%) recognized the agency by name. A rather high percentage in both groups, however, had some contact with the agency: 80% for the segregated group and 79% for the integrated group.

Child and Family Services provides similar counseling services, and 25% of the segregated group was familiar with that agency, compared to 63% in the integrated group. Eighty-one percent of the subjects in the segregated group, however, reported some contact with the agency compared to 50% in the integrated group.

A related personal service is provided by the Pastoral Council, an agency which was known to only 20% of the subjects in the segregated group but to 50% of the integrated group. When its services were described, however, contact with the Pastoral Council rose to 92% of the segregated group and to 70% for the integrated group. The high

percentage may be partly attributed to the possibility that some subjects mistakenly included counsel by their own pastors in the category.

The Senior Citizens Centers in both settings reached social needs of a high percentage of subjects. The extent of familiarity was high for both groups, and the extent of contact with the agency was about even (Table 41). The Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center was in its beginning stage in the summer of 1979 but was familiar to 29% of those in the segregated setting and to 48% of the subjects in the integrated setting. Further, 78% of the segregated group and 72% of the integrated group had some contact with the new center.

TABLE 41

FAMILIARITY AND CONTACT OF SUBJECTS
WITH SENIOR CITIZENS CENTERS
BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Familiarity and Contact of Subjects with Senior Citizens Center	Peoplehood	
	Segregated	Integrated
Percent familiar	82	76
Not familiar	18	24
Contact	100%	100%
	N 13	46
	79	76
No contact	21	24
	100%	100%
	N 131	46

At least two agencies provide information about and referral to the sources of assistance available to aged persons: the Office on Aging and Senior Citizens Information and Referral. The Office on Aging was familiar to 56% of subjects in the integrated setting but familiar to only 21% in the segregated setting. Eighty-seven percent of the segregated group, typically, reported some previous contact with the agency while 11% of the integrated group had done so. A larger percentage of those in the integrated group reported familiarity with the Senior Citizens Information and Referral Agency: 70% of the integrated group reported being familiar with the agency compared to 43% of the segregated group. Moreover, 74% of the segregated group had some experience with the Information and Referral office while 46% of those in the integrated had some experience with the office.

The findings therefore show that a higher percentage of the integrated group is likely to be familiar with a given agency but that a higher percentage of the segregated group is likely to benefit from the agency's services. Contact with the agencies, however, includes "any" contact, and most of the subjects' contacts were made months and even years prior to the interviews.

Does segregation by peoplehood make a difference in either awareness of existing agencies for the aged or in utilization of the services these agencies have available? Are the aged, when concentrated in one site, both more aware of agencies and more likely to avail themselves of their services? To answer these basic questions, summaries were compiled of agency awareness and utilization of services.

The summaries were compiled from the 17 public and private agencies included in the interview schedule. These are Home Aide, County Health Department, Mobile Meals, Dial-A-Dietician, Arthritis Foundation, Catholic Social Service, Senior Citizens Information and Referral, Pastoral Council, Child and Family Services, Senior Citizens Center, Senior Citizens Medical Center, Office on Aging, Association for the Blind, Food Stamp Program, Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center, Golden Diners Club, and Senior Citizens Nutrition Program.

Findings indicating the subjects' awareness of agencies are shown in Table 42. Analysis of phi-square indicated a weak association (0.03) between peoplehood segregation and the subjects awareness of public and private agencies that provide services for the aged. Phi-square was similar (0.025) for contact with agencies (Table 43). Agency contact as used here means any use of agency services, regardless of whether used the day before, the past week, the last month, or any other time. Both tables show high X^2 values, but ϕ^2 values indicate that the relationships are not important between peoplehood segregation and agency familiarity and contact.

Comparison of Peoplehood Interaction Patterns

The interaction between the subjects and others is another index of their use of time and space. The relationship that subjects have with others often influences the interaction that takes place. Thirty-eight percent of the subjects in the segregated group who had no spouse, for example, had a close relationship with a person of the opposite sex compared to only 18% of the subjects in the integrated group. Among the few subjects who had relatives living with them in

the segregated group (N = 24), 71% were spouses, compared to 40% in the integrated group (N = 5) who were spouses.

TABLE 42
AGENCY AWARENESS BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Agency Awareness</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Not familiar	1369	314	1683
Familiar	850	461	1311
	2219	775	2994
$\chi^2 = 89.82; \phi^2 = .03$			

Earlier in this chapter, it was shown that segregation by peoplehood had no importance, except for transportation modes during the week. In this section the extent to which older persons were accompanied in the activities is used as a measure of their interaction with others. Going to church on Sunday was an activity in which subjects participated frequently and in nearly equal percentages in both the segregated and integrated groups (Table 44). However, a larger percentage in the segregated group went with relatives and a smaller percentage in the segregated group went with friends than did those in the integrated group.

TABLE 43
AGENCY CONTACT BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Agency Contact</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No Contact	452	281	733
Some Contact	1775	501	2276
	2227	782	3009

$\chi^2 = 75.225; \phi^2 = .025$

TABLE 44
COMPANY WHEN ATTENDING CHURCH ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY
BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Church Attendance</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregated</u>	<u>Peoplehood Integrated</u>
Did not go	39	33
Went alone	24	26
Went with relative	21	13
Went with friend	13	28
Went with others	3	-0-
	100%	100%
	N = 128	N = 46

The difference by peoplehood were very slight for subjects who visited their relatives' homes on Sunday and who had company with them when they went (Table 45). The differences by peoplehood in this regard were also slight for subjects who visited their friends' homes on Sunday (Table 46).

TABLE 45

COMPANY WHEN VISITING RELATIVES' HOMES
ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Visiting Relatives' Home	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Did not go	65	60
Went alone	14	13
Went with relative	17	20
Went with friend	3	4
Went with others	1	3
	100%	100%
	N = 128	N = 45

Company to the grocery store did not show any wide differences between the two groups: 11% in the segregated group went alone and 16% in the integrated group did so. While 11% of the subjects in the segregated group were accompanied by relatives or friends, 13% in the integrated group had such company. A somewhat similar situation

existed among subjects who went to other shopping places. In this case, however, only 2% in the segregated group went alone compared to 7% in the integrated group, and while 9% in the segregated group were accompanied by relatives or friends, 13% in the integrated group had company.

TABLE 46

COMPANY WHEN VISITING FRIENDS' HOMES
ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Visiting Friends' Homes	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Did not go	66	62
Went alone	22	24
Went with relative	6	9
Went with friend	5	5
Went with others	1	-0-
	100%	100%
	N = 128	N = 46

Among those who went to restaurants on Sunday, 7% of the total 9% in the segregated group did so with a relative or friend, and 11% of the total 22% in the integrated group did so with a relative or friend. Of the 15% of subjects in the segregated group who went to the Senior Citizens Center on Sunday, 12% went alone while 3% went

with friends or agency officials. In the integrated group, of 11% of the integrated group who went, 2% went alone while 9% went with relatives or friends. Subjects usually did not have company while visiting other places, as 7% of the total 9% in the segregated group had the company of relative or friend while 2% of the total 13% in the integrated group had company.

Weekday interaction patterns of the groups were then compared. Visits to both the library and to the movies were very infrequent weekday activities and company to them was practically nonexistent. The foremost activity for the subjects on a typical weekday was the trip to the grocery store, and in this activity smaller percentage in the segregated group went alone compared to those in the integrated group (Table 47). More of the subjects in the segregated group were accompanied by friends than were those in the integrated group. When subjects went with "others," the persons were usually agency officials or persons who provided transportation for the subject, sometimes for a nominal fee.

A somewhat similar distribution was found among subjects who went to other shopping places on a typical weekday (Table 48). For these subjects, a smaller percentage in the segregated group went alone than did those in the integrated group. When accompanied by others, a larger percentage in the integrated group was accompanied by relatives than were those in the segregated group.

Subjects also made a number of visits to the homes of their friends and relatives. There was a tendency for a higher percentage of subjects in both groups to be accompanied more often when visiting

TABLE 47

COMPANY WHEN SHOPPING FOR GROCERIES
ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Grocery Store Shopping	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Did not go	35	31
Went alone	26	33
Went with relative	16	24
Went with friend	22	9
Went with others	1	3
	100%	100%
	N = 128	N = 45

TABLE 48

COMPANY WHEN SHOPPING OTHER THAN FOR GROCERIES
ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Other Shopping	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Did not go	73	58
Went alone	10	18
Went with relative	7	16
Went with friend	9	7
Went with others	1	1
	100%	100%
	N = 127	N = 45

their relatives' homes than when visiting their friends' home (Tables 49 and 50).

When subjects went to medical facilities, 14% in the segregated group went alone while 18% in the integrated group went alone. When accompanied, 9% in the segregated group went with relatives or friends and 7% went with agency officials; in the integrated group, 13% went with relatives or friends but only 2% went with agency officials. For banking activities 13% in the segregated group went alone and 18% in the integrated group did so and 4% in the segregated group went with relatives or friends while 8% in the integrated group did so.

More subjects in the segregated group frequented a Senior Citizens Center during the week than did those in the integrated group. Also, more persons in the segregated group went alone compared to those in the integrated group (Table 51). Among those who went to church on a typical weekday 6% in the segregated group went alone while 11% in the integrated group did so. Twelve percent in the segregated group went with relatives, friends, or agency officials, while 18% in the integrated group did so. The percentages of those who went to restaurants or to other places on a typical weekday were not large. Nevertheless, among the few who went to a restaurant, 3% in the segregated group went alone and the same percentage went in the company of relatives or friends. Seven percent in the integrated group, meanwhile, went alone and 11% went in the company of relatives or friends. For the subjects in the segregated group who went to places not listed, 2% went alone while 7% went in the company of

TABLE 49

COMPANY WHEN VISITING RELATIVE'S HOME
ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Visiting Relative's Home	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Did not go	70	67
Went alone	13	11
Went with relative	13	18
Went with friend	3	4
Went with others	1	-0-
	100%	100%
	N = 127	N = 45

TABLE 50

COMPANY WHEN VISITING FRIENDS' HOMES
ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY
PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Visiting Friends' Homes	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Did not go	58	69
Went alone	29	24
Went with relative	2	4
Went with friend	9	2
Went with others	2	1
	100%	100%
	N = 127	N = 45

relatives, friends, or other persons; and for those in the integrated group, 13% went alone and 2% went with friends.

TABLE 51

COMPANY WHEN VISITING SENIOR CITIZENS CENTER
ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Visiting Senior Citizens Center	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Did not go	68	84
Went alone	24	4
Went with relative	2	-0-
Went with friend	4	11
Went with others	2	1
	100%	100%
	N = 127	N = 45

Association with relatives and friends is another index of the subjects' interaction with others. In both groups subjects were in touch with many relatives and friends. It was found that 67% of the subjects in the segregated group were in touch with three or more relatives while this was the case for 63% in the integrated group. Similarly 29% of the subjects in the segregated group and 30% in the integrated group were in touch with either one or two relatives. Only 4% in the segregated group and 6% in the integrated group were not in touch with any relatives.

Subjects were asked to indicate their closeness to the following relatives: brother, daughter, father, grandchild, mother sister, son, and other. Due to the ages of the subjects most of their mothers and fathers were deceased. Both groups of subjects tended to be closer to their daughters than to other relatives; sisters were also a popular choice among the subjects (Table 52). A similar pattern developed for sons and brothers, although in lower percentages. "Other" relatives was another category of relatives for whom subjects expressed a degree of closeness. These included aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.

TABLE 52

RELATIVE FELT CLOSEST TO
BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Relative Felt Closest To	Peoplehood Segregated	Peoplehood Integrated
Brother	11	9
Daughter	25	32
Father	-0-	-0-
Grandchild	7	7
Mother	3	5
Sister	22	25
Son	16	11
Other	16	11
	100%	100%
	N = 124	N = 44

The responses indicated that subjects in this sample felt closer to their female relatives than they did to their male relatives. They felt closest in order to their daughters, sisters, sons, and brothers.

Closeness to relatives by proximity is a further indication of interaction. For example, 22% of the subjects in the segregated group lived in the same neighborhood with their closest relatives while only 9% of those in the integrated group lived as near. The subjects were nearly equally represented, however, in the percentage of those whose closest relatives lived in another neighborhood in Knoxville—50% for the segregated group and 49% for those in the integrated group. One percent of the subjects in the segregated group reported their closest relatives living in other cities in Tennessee, and 22% reported their closest relatives living out of state; in the integrated group this was true for 7% and 30%, respectively.

The proximity of the subjects' residences to their closest relatives was manifested further by the frequency of contacts. Thus, 69% of the subjects in the segregated group had talked with their closest relatives less than a week before the interview while it had been a week or more for 31%; 66% in the integrated group had talked with their closest relatives in less than a week while it had been a week or more for 34%.

The subjects had actually seen their closest relatives somewhat less than they had talked with their closest relatives. Fifty-nine percent of the subjects in the segregated group, for instance, had seen their closest relatives within a week of the interview while 48% in the integrated group had done so. It had been at least a week or

more since those remaining had been with their close relatives. The proximity of peoplehood segregated subjects to their closest relatives possibly contributes to this finding. Neither were the subjects habitual writers, as only 4% in the segregated group had written their closest relative less than a week before the interview while this was true for 2% in the integrated group. For 18% of the subjects in the segregated group, it had been a week or more since they had written, and in the integrated group, this was true for over twice that percentage (37%).

Do the aged who are segregated interact less than those who are integrated? Is association with one's own people related to higher levels of interaction than for those who are integrated with another people? Or is integration by peoplehood associated with higher levels of interaction? To examine this type of association, it was necessary to determine whether there was any significant difference between those segregated and those integrated by peoplehood according to presence or absence of spouse and others living in the household.

Computation of X^2 and ϕ^2 showed no significant difference between the two groups (Table 53). Having settled this question regarding differences in household composition the next step summarized the extent to which the subjects were accompanied in their activities, ignoring their relationship to their company.

When these phi-square computations were made, it was found that there was no association between whether the groups were peoplehood segregated or peoplehood integrated groups whether or not they went

alone or with others to engage in activities on Sunday or weekday.

Tables 54 and 55 reflect the findings.

TABLE 53
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY PEOPLEHOOD

<u>Household Composition</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Presence of spouse and/or others	24	5	29
Absence of spouse and/or others	107	41	148
	131	46	177
$\chi^2 = 1.873; \phi^2 = .016$			

Just as the subjects were in touch with a large number of relatives, they were also in touch with a large number of friends. Sixty-five percent of the subjects in the segregated group, for example, were in touch with three or more friends, and an even larger percentage (74%), in the integrated group were in touch with three or more friends. In addition, 12% in the segregated group were in touch with one friend while 14% were in touch with two friends; this compared to 13% in the integrated group who were in touch with one friend and 9% who were in touch with two. Further, 9% of the subjects in the

segregated group were not in touch with any of their friends compared to 4% in the integrated group.

TABLE 54

SUNDAY ACTIVITY ACCOMPANIMENT BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Sunday Activity Accompaniment	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Went alone	116	52	168
Went with company	147	62	209
	263	114	377

$$\chi^2 = .0377; \phi^2 = .0001$$

Unlike the subjects' closest relatives who usually lived in a different neighborhood, their closest friends most often lived in the same neighborhood as that of the subjects. Between the two groups the percentages were about even, as 76% of those in the segregated group reported their closest friend living in the same neighborhood and 24% living in another neighborhood in Knoxville; 77% of those in the integrated group reported their closest friend living in the same neighborhood and 23% living in another neighborhood in Knoxville.

None of the subjects reported a closest friend living in another city in Tennessee or living out of state.

TABLE 55
ACCOMPANIMENT ON WEEKDAY BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Weekday Activity Accompaniment	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Went alone	172	73	245
Went with company	172	70	242
	344	143	487

$$\chi^2 = .03896; \phi^2 = .00008$$

Both groups also had talked with their closest friends to a greater extent than they had talked with their closest relatives. Thus it had been less than a week since 92% of the subjects in the segregated group and 84% of those in the integrated group had talked with their closest friends. These figures left 8% in the segregated group who had gone a week or more since talking with their closest friend and 16% in the integrated group who had not talked to theirs.

Not only did both groups talk more frequently to their closest friends than they did to their closest relatives, they also saw their closest friends more often than they did their closest relatives.

Eighty-five percent of the subjects in the segregated group, therefore, had seen their closest friends within less than a week of the interview while this was true for 72% of those in the integrated group.

Since the subjects talked with and saw their closest friends more than they did their closest relatives, they tended to write less to their closest friends than they did to their closest relatives. Thus while 3% of the subjects in the segregated group had not written their closest friends within 6 days of the interview and 6% had written a week or more before the interview, 15% in the integrated group had written within a week and 15% had written a week or more before the interview.

Another form of the subjects' interaction with others is based upon the persons who provide them the most help. For both groups relatives provided the most help: in the segregated group 44% of the subjects received the most help from relatives compared to 53% for the integrated group. The next largest source of help came from the subjects' closest friends--23% for the segregated group, 21% for the integrated group. Six percent and 2% respectively, in the segregated group received the most help from neighbors or agency officials compared to 3% each for the integrated group. The "other" person category in the segregated group made up 12% who provided the most help, while that in the integrated group made up 8%. Thirteen percent in each group reported that no help was provided.

When asked the biggest help the person provided the subjects, 33% in the segregated group reported companionship while 24% in the

integrated group did so. A large percentage of the subjects reported transportation as being the biggest help provided--19% for the segregated group and 22% for the integrated group. Only 8% of the subjects in the segregated group reported money as the biggest help, even though 22% in the integrated group did so, thus indicating an additional source of income for the integrated group. Six percent in the segregated group cited food as the biggest help provided while none in the integrated group did so. One percent in the segregated group listed housing, but none in the integrated group did so. Furthermore, none of the subjects in either group listed a job as the biggest help provided. However, 20% in the segregated group and 22% in the integrated group cited "other" as the biggest help provided. This included comments such as "everything," and "all the help needed."

Very little between the subjects and others took place during mealtime. Despite the fact that about 85% of the subjects in both groups are two or more meals a day and over 90% of the meals took place at home, over 70% ate alone. Eleven percent in the segregated group had relatives as company while eating, as did 12% in the integrated group. Six percent in the segregated group had friends as company while eating, 1% ate with groups; and 10% ate with others. In the integrated group, none ate with friends, 10% ate with groups, and 2% ate with others. Although 74% of the subjects in the segregated group and 83% in the integrated group reported no difficulty in getting a balanced meal, none of the subjects in either group said eating was the thing they liked most to do when alone, and only 1% in

the segregated group and 2% in the integrated group said that cooking was their favorite solitary activity.

The largest single activity the subjects reported was watching television (45% in the segregated group and 33% in the integrated group). The next largest category was reading: here 18% in the segregated group and 28% in the integrated group preferred reading, perhaps reflecting their slightly higher education level. Also, in the segregated group 8% liked to listen to the radio and 9% would rather do housework, while in the integrated group 17% liked to listen to the radio and 2% would rather do housework. Seven percent in each group would rather sew.

On another level of interaction, 70% of the subjects in the segregated group agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that they preferred interacting with their own age group rather than with others; yet this was the case for only 54% of those in the integrated group. No association between peoplehood segregation and age peer preference, however, when X^2 and ϕ^2 were computed (Table 56).

Seventy-four percent of those in the segregated group and 83% in the integrated group either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that they felt bored or that life was empty. Again, X^2 and ϕ^2 values indicated no relationship between peoplehood segregation and feelings of boredom (Table 57). Further, 70% in the segregated group and 81% in the integrated group disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that they had no one to talk with about their concerns. (This finding is partially supported by the fact that in the segregated group 87% of the subjects visited others at least once

or twice a month, and some daily, while this was true for 67% of those in the integrated group.) Chi-square and ϕ^2 findings for this measure also showed no relationship (Table 58).

TABLE 56
AGE PEER PREFERENCE BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>			
<u>Prefer age peers</u>	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Strongly agree and agree	87	22	109
Disagree and strongly disagree	37	19	56
	124	41	165
$\chi^2 = 3.548; \phi = .02$			

The final summary of the subjects' activity and interaction concerns relatives and friends. No significant difference was found between the peoplehood segregation and the number of relatives with whom they were in touch. No association exists as to segregation by peoplehood and contact with relatives (Table 59).

The same finding held true for the last time subjects had talked with their closest relative, a primary interaction form (Table 60).

The finding related to friends was similar to that of relatives. Again, there was no significant difference between peoplehood segregation and the number of friends with whom they were in touch. This finding is shown in Table 61.

TABLE 57

FEELING OF BOREDOM OR THAT LIFE IS EMPTY
BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Feeling of boredom or that life is empty</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Strongly agree or disagree	92	35	127
Disagree strongly disagree	32	7	39
	124	42	166

$$\chi^2 = 1.586; \phi^2 = .01$$

TABLE 58

AVAILABILITY OF CONFIDANT BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Confidant is available</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Strongly agree or agree	87	34	121
Disagree or strongly disagree	37	8	45
	124	42	166
$\chi^2 = 1.473; \phi^2 = .01$			

TABLE 59

NUMBER OF RELATIVES IN TOUCH WITH
BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Number of relatives in touch with</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
1 - 2	38	14	52
3 or more	88	29	117
	126	43	169
$\chi^2 = 0.147; \phi^2 = .0001$			

TABLE 60

TIME LAST TALKED WITH CLOSEST RELATIVE BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

Time last talked with closest Relative	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Less than one week	79	27	106
Week or more	36	14	50
	115	41	156

$\chi^2 = 0.153; \phi^2 = .0001$

TABLE 61

NUMBER OF FRIENDS IN CONTACT WITH BY PEOPLEHOOD SEGREGATION

<u>Number of friends</u>	<u>Peoplehood Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
1 - 2	34	10	44
3 or more	85	34	119
	119	44	163

$\chi^2 = 0.629; \phi^2 = .004$

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATION BY AGE

The preceding chapter examined the relationship of segregation by peoplehood to activity and interaction patterns. This chapter seeks to determine whether the activity and interaction patterns of the black aged are related to segregation by age. For this comparison the site which contains a concentrated area for older persons (contextual setting A), described in the preceding chapter, is matched with one where the ages are integrated (contextual setting C).

The age integrated site is one that is predominantly black and one wherein 112 black persons live who are aged fifty-five and above. Persons under the age of fifty-five help fill the total number of 320 units: thus, approximately 208 persons under age fifty-five are mixed with 112 persons fifty-five years of age or older. Residents of all ages are scattered throughout the housing development area making it an ideal one with which to compare the age segregated site where the aged are concentrated in a specific area.

The age integrated site is the oldest of the three, being built during the 1930s. Many of the buildings have been renovated. The hilly terrain adds to the attractiveness of the area. Older persons and others hold meetings and luncheons in a facility adjacent to the main office. Recreational activities also occur here.

One of the first observations was that the age distribution between the two sites did not differ greatly except for the age category sixty-two to sixty-eight which had 22% of the subjects in the segregated age setting but had nearly twice that (42%) of those in the integrated age setting. In the next group, however, 33% of the subjects in the segregated age group were between the ages of sixty-nine and seventy-five while only 23% of those in the integrated age group were in that category. The two groups also differed in sex percentages: females predominated in the age integrated setting. Thus, while 59% of the subjects in the age segregated group were females 75% of those in the age integrated group were females.

When χ^2 and ϕ^2 were computed for the difference between age segregation and sex, no association was found (Table 62).

TABLE 62
SEX BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Age Segregation</u>			
<u>Sex</u>	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Male	54	14	68
Female	77	43	120
	131	57	188
$\chi^2 = 5.320; \phi^2 = .025$			

Other characteristics of the groups were compared. There were similarities in both groups at certain educational levels. Both groups, for example, were evenly matched in the percentage of their subjects with less than eight years of education (Table 63). The spread was a bit wider in other age categories. For instance, a smaller percentage in the segregated group had completed exactly eight years of schooling than had those in the integrated group. When the categories were collapsed for nine years of education or more, the segregated group was more highly educated than was the integrated group. Except that the number of married subjects in the segregated group was twice that of those in the integrated group, the marital status distribution was about even (Table 64).

TABLE 63
YEARS OF EDUCATION COMPLETED BY AGE SEGREGATION

Years of Education Completed	Age Segregated	Age Integrated
Less than eight	61	61
Eight	5	19
Nine to eleven	20	11
Twelve	11	7
Thirteen or more	3	2
	100%	100%
	N = 130	N = 57

TABLE 64
MARITAL STATUS BY AGE SEGREGATION

Marital Status	Age Segregated	Age Integrated
Single and/or never married	9	5
Married	14	7
Widowed	60	65
Divorced	11	18
Separated	6	5
	100%	100%
	N = 131	N = 57

Although most subjects in both groups were unmarried, they had no desire to marry. Seventy-seven percent of the subjects in the integrated group did not desire to marry, and they indicated that nothing would change their minds. This percentage compared to 63% in the segregated group who felt likewise. Only 13% in the age integrated group qualified their answers by saying, "Well, if the right person came along..." but 23% in the segregated group gave such qualifications.

Both groups were split rather evenly with regard to being indigenous to Knoxville as 24% of the subjects in the segregated group reported that they were born in Knoxville compared to 22% in the integrated group. For those who were born outside of Knoxville, 21%

in the segregated group were born in other cities in Tennessee while 55% were born out of state. In the integrated group, 19% were born in another cities in Tennessee and 59% were born out of state. Most of the subjects, however, were long term residents of Knoxville because in both groups 90% or more had lived in Knoxville for over ten years. Only 29% of the segregated group had lived at their present address for over ten years, however, and slightly fewer (24%) in the integrated group had done so. In addition, most of the subjects in both groups lived alone; 82% in the segregated group and 69% in the integrated group. Moreover, wherein only 18% of those in the segregated group had one or more persons living with them, nearly twice that many (31%) in the integrated group had one or more persons living with them. No significant difference was found between age segregation and household composition (Table 65).

Subjects in the integrated group also reported having more living space as 98% had three or more rooms compared to 79% of the subjects in the segregated group. It is observed here, however, that the apartment buildings in the integrated site were built before it was customary for builders to fashion one room efficiency apartments such as are available in both the age segregated (site A) and peoplehood integrated (site B) settings. The availability of space might be ample reason, therefore, that 91% of the subjects in the age integrated group were either very satisfied or satisfied with their housing compared to 82% in the age segregated group who expressed these feelings. No significant difference was found between age

segregation and housing satisfaction, unlike that found between peoplehood segregation and housing satisfaction (Table 66). Despite such feelings, 32% of the subjects in the integrated group either wanted to move or were uncertain as to whether they wanted to move compared to 28% in the segregated group.

TABLE 65
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Household Composition</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Live alone	107	40	147
Live with spouse and/or others	24	18	42
	131	58	189

$\chi^2 = 3.585; \phi^2 = .02$

Income is another important subject characteristic. Here it was seen that a larger percentage of integrated subjects (20%) than segregated subjects (12%) were not drawing social security payments. Also, while there were 18% in the integrated group who were receiving \$200 or more in social security income, over twice that percentage (39%) in the segregated group was receiving \$200 or more. In the \$100 to \$199 income range, while 60% of the subjects in the integrated group were included in that category, only 46% in the segregated were included.

When the individual's income other than social security was considered, a slightly higher percentage of subjects in the age integrated group were receiving such income: in fact, 12% were receiving \$200 or more compared to 3% in the segregated group. Furthermore, 25% in the integrated group were receiving between \$100 and \$199 per month in income other than social security compared to 15% in the segregated group. There were also subjects in both groups who received less than \$100 per month in other income--17% in the integrated group and 28% in the segregated group. No difference between age segregation and total income was found per month (Table 67).

TABLE 66

SATISFACTION WITH HOUSING BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Housing Satisfaction</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Satisfied/very satisfied	106	53	159
Dissatisfied/very dissatisfied	24	5	29
	130	58	188
$\chi^2 = 3.050; \phi^2 = .017$			

TABLE 67
TOTAL INCOME BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Total Income</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
\$100-\$199	56	26	82
\$200 and over	46	9	55
	102	36	137
$\chi^2 = 3.768; \phi^2 = .03$			

Among the subjects who had others living with them (74% in the integrated group had no one living with them compared to 84% in the segregated group), only 3 persons in the integrated group had incomes of \$200 or more per month compared to 8 persons in the segregated group. The income data indicate that most of the subjects were decidedly low income persons who qualify for low income housing. The greatest percentage in both groups, therefore, felt that they did not have adequate money to run their household. The percentages were very similar for both groups: 60% in the integrated group and 57% in the segregated group.

An inadequate supply of money was not strange to the subjects because 30% of the segregated subjects had earned less than \$200 per month, but an even greater percentage (49%) in the integrated group had earned less than that. Further, 37% of the segregated group had

earned between \$200 and less than \$500, while 28% of the integrated group had done so. Only 9% in the segregated group had ever earned over \$500 per month and only 14% in the integrated group had done so.

The generally low income received by the subjects was commensurate with the low level of jobs they had usually held. Based upon their reports of the most important job they had ever held, only 5% in the segregated group had worked as craftsmen or in professional or technical fields, and less than that (2%) in the integrated group had done so. Fifteen percent in the segregated group and 13% in the integrated group had worked as operatives of some type; but the majority, 71% and 72% respectively, reported that their most important jobs had been service worker, laborer, or farm laborer. Nine percent in the segregated group had never held a job or had not worked in years, compared to 13% in the integrated group.

When asked the reason that they thought the job mentioned was most important, subjects in both groups responded similarly. "Liked work, and liked "people and/or employer" were reasons given by 50% in the segregated group and by 44% in the integrated group; "money" and "fringe benefits" were given as reasons by 35% in each group; "a sense of responsibility and/or control over things" were reasons given by 4% in the segregated group and 13% in the integrated group. Only 5% in the segregated group gave "security" as the reason the jobs had been most important, compared to none in the integrated group; and only 1% and 2%, respectively, gave "easy job" as the most important reason.

Regardless of the previous job experiences, about the same percentage of subjects considered themselves retired in a qualified sense--53% in the segregated group and 48% in the integrated group; but 44% in the segregated group considered themselves retired in an unqualified sense compared to only 22% in the integrated group. A wider gap was evident among those who reported that they were not retired: 2% in the segregated group and 30% in the integrated group. In the year before retirement, nevertheless, 25% of the subjects responding in the segregated group had earned less than \$1000 per year and more than twice that percentage (53%) in the integrated group had earned less than \$1000. None of the subjects in the segregated group had earned \$12,000 or more in the year preceeding retirement although 5% in the integrated group had earned that much. At lower incomes 53% of the segregated group earned at least \$1000 but not as much as \$4000 while in the integrated group this range of income was earned by 31%. There were also 22% of the subjects in the segregated group who earned at least \$4000 but not as much as \$12,000 while in the integrated group only 10% did so.

On current job status, only a very small percentage of the subjects was holding a job: 3% in the segregated group had either a full or part time job compared to 13% in the integrated group. The kinds of jobs held by this small percentage of subjects were service type ones; that is, the same kind that they had held previously.

Among the diseases afflicting that 10% or less of the subjects in either group were anemia, cancer, emphysema, epilepsy, glaucoma, liver disease, Parkinson's disease, and tuberculosis. One of the diseases

that 10% or more of the subjects were troubled with was asthma. In this instance 10% in the segregated group were affected by asthma while 12% in the integrated group were so affected. Also, a small percentage of the subjects suffered from the effects of stroke: 11% in the segregated group and 7% in the integrated group. Somewhat higher percentages of the subjects suffered with diabetes, a disease present in 13% of the segregated group and 17% of the integrated group. Larger percentages of the subjects were affected by arthritis or rheumatism, however. Here 72% of the segregated group reported having one or both diseases compared to 65% in the integrated group. High blood pressure also presented medical problems for a high percentage of the subjects. In this case, 64% in the segregated group suffered from high blood pressure while 57% in the integrated group did so. Finally, a large percentage of the subjects suffered from "other" diseases, among which heart trouble predominated. Forty-six percent in the segregated group reported having "other" health problems compared to 43% in the integrated group.

A considerable percentage of subjects, furthermore, reported having fallen during the last five years--31% in the segregated group and 40% in the integrated group. Fourteen percent in the segregated group had suffered long-term effects of falls while 15% in the integrated group had realized long-term effects.

When all diseases and ailments are simply added for each group as a whole and phi-square computed for association between age segregation and health problems, no association is found (Table 68).

Despite suffering from a number of diseases, most of the subjects did not use health aids. None reported using a pacemaker, for example, and only 1% in the segregated group used a hearing aid compared to 4% in the integrated group. Four percent in each group used wheelchairs while 11% in the segregated group and 15% in the integrated group used crutches or walkers. A walking cane was foremost among health aids listed in the "other" category; 21% in the segregated group and 11% in the integrated group.

TABLE 68
HEALTH PROBLEMS BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Health Problems</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No	1491	668	2159
Yes	320	134	454
	1811	8026	2613
$\chi^2 = .261 \quad \phi^2 = .000$			

The health problems endured by the subjects were further reflected by the self-perceived health ratings. Consequently, while 27% in the segregated group and 32% in the integrated group rated their health as good or excellent, 73% in the segregated group and 68% in the integrated group rated theirs as fair or poor. Health

deterioration, moreover, occurred mostly during the past decade. To illustrate, 58% of the subjects in the segregated group reported their health as being at its worst during a year between 1970 and 1979 while a greater percentage (72%) in the integrated group reported theirs being at its worst during the same period. Only 19% in the segregated group and 7% in the integrated group reported their health as being at its worst in a year before 1969. Twenty-three percent and 21% respectively, did not know when their health was worst.

Perceptions of Neighborhood Change

The subjects were asked their perceptions of changes that had occurred over the past ten years as they related to transportation, neighbors, and safety in their neighborhoods. Of subjects in the segregated group, 48% thought transportation was about the same, 33% thought that it had improved and 19% thought that it had become worse. In the integrated group, 39% thought transportation was about the same, 35% thought it was improved, and a percentage larger than in the segregated group (26%), thought it had become worse.

Most of the subjects, however, thought their neighbors had been about the same over the past ten years. In the segregated group 61% perceived little change in neighbors, 18% thought their neighbors had improved, and 21% thought they had become worse. In the integrated group, 64% thought their neighbors were about the same, 17% thought they had improved, and 19% thought they had become worse.

A rather high percentage of the subjects thought that safety in the neighborhood had become worse over the past ten years. In the segregated group 31% felt neighborhood safety was about the same, 140%

felt it had improved and 55% felt it had declined. In the integrated group 45% felt that neighborhood safety was about the same, 21% thought that the neighborhood had become safer, and 31% felt the neighborhood was less safe.

Comparison of Age Segregation Activity Patterns

The impact of segregation by age extends beyond the subjects' characteristics and into the activities in which they are engaged. Their activities were reported as they occurred on Sundays and on weekdays by the age variable as they were reported by the peoplehood variable. On Sundays less than 10% in both the age segregated group and the age integrated group participated in the following activities: visits to the bank, library, medical facility, and the movies. Visits to church on Sunday were at the other extreme--61% of the subjects in the segregated group went to church but a higher percentage (81%) in the integrated group did so. No significant differences were found when chi-square and phi-square were computed (Table 69).

When subjects visited to their friends' and relatives' homes on Sunday, 34% in the segregated group visited their friends and 35% visited their relatives; in the integrated group 53% visited their friends and 52% visited their relatives home. The differences between groups were greater for those who went shopping, however. In the segregated group, 23% of the subjects went to grocery stores and 12% went to other shopping places; in the integrated group, 40% went to the grocery store and 22% went to other shopping places.

TABLE 69
SUNDAY CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY AGE SEGREGATION

		<u>Age Segregation</u>	
<u>Sunday Church Attendance</u>	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No	50	11	61
Yes	79	47	126
	129	58	187

$\chi^2 = 7.269; \phi^2 = .025$

Subjects who visited the Senior Citizens Center on Sunday were evenly divided with 14% in both the segregated and integrated groups while those who visited other places on Sunday were divided unevenly between groups: 10% in the segregated group and 2% in the integrated group. A summary of the frequency of all places visited on Sundays and weekdays is shown in Table 70.

When all Sunday activities were summarized for each group and χ^2 and ϕ^2 were computed, (Table 71) the ϕ^2 value of .004 indicated no association between age segregation and Sunday activities.

The subjects' activities during the week took on a somewhat different pattern from those that occurred on Sunday. The following activities were engaged in by fewer than 10% of the subjects in either group: visits to the library, movies, and to the restaurant. Visits to the bank on a typical weekday, however, were engaged in by 18% of

TABLE 70

FREQUENCY OF PLACES VISITED ON SUNDAY AND WEEKDAY
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Places Visited	Sunday frequency		Weekday frequency	
	Age Segregated	Age Integrated	Age Segregated	Age Integrated
Church	79	47	22	21
Relative's home	45	31	40	25
Friend's home	44	30	53	28
Grocery store	30	23	82	39
Senior Citizens Center	18	8	40	17
Other shopping places	15	13	36	17
Restaurant	12	7	6	3
Medical Facility	7	4	40	6
Bank	3	0	23	8
Other (includes Library and Movies)	18	3	16	11

the subjects in the segregated group and by 14% in the integrated group. Although not as many subjects in either group went to church during the week as on Sunday, the percentage in the integrated group who went (36%) was over twice that of those in the segregated group who went (17%).

TABLE 71
SUNDAY ACTIVITIES BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Sunday Activities</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No	1306	578	1884
Yes	271	166	437
	1577	744	2321
$\chi^2 = 9.284; \phi^2 = .004$			

Grocery shopping was the activity in which the highest percentage of subjects engaged: 65% in the segregated group and 68% in the integrated group visited the grocery store on a typical weekday. The subjects did not visit other shopping places nearly as much: 28% in the segregated group and 29% in the integrated group. Visits to friends' and relatives' homes were greater, as 42% of the subjects in the segregated group visited their friends homes on a typical weekday

compared to 32% who visited their relatives homes. The percentages were higher in the integrated group, however--48% visited their friends' homes compared to 43% who visited their relatives' homes.

Nearly three times the percentage of subjects in the segregated group reported going to medical facilities on a typical weekday than did those in the integrated group (31% versus 11%, respectively). Visits to one of the Senior Citizens Centers, however, were also dissimilar (32% in the segregated group and 19% in the integrated group). Visits to other places were about even--10% of the subjects in the segregated group and 13% in the integrated group visited other places.

When all typical weekday activities are summarized for each group, the phi-square value is .001. Table 72 shows no association between age segregation and weekday activities.

TABLE 72
WEEKDAY ACTIVITIES BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Weekday Activities</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No	1165	524	1689
Yes	358	137	495
	1523	661	
$\chi^2 = 2.184; \phi^2 = .001$			

For the subjects who went to church, the primary Sunday activity, twice the percentage in the integrated group (36%) walked than did those in the segregated group (18%). For those who used other modes of transportation to church, the percentages were about even for both groups (43% in the integrated group and 44% in the segregated group).

Transportation used to visit friends and relatives, another common Sunday activity, was somewhat dissimilar. While nearly the same percentage of subjects in both groups walked to their friends' homes (20% in the segregated group; 24% in the integrated group), over twice the percentage of subjects in the integrated group walked to their relatives' homes than did those in the segregated group (9% in the segregated group; 21% in the integrated group). Over twice the percentage of subjects in the integrated group also used other modes of transportation to visit their friends on Sunday than did those of the segregated group (13% in the segregated group; 28% in the integrated group). The percentages were about even, however, among subjects in both groups who used transportation modes other than walking to visit relatives (27% in the segregated group; 33% in the integrated group).

There were dissimilarities between the groups as to the percentages of those who walked to grocery stores and to other shopping places. When going to grocery stores, 8% of those in the segregated group walked while 24% in the integrated group did so. When doing other shopping, furthermore, none of the subjects in the segregated group walked while 7% in the integrated group did so. There were similarities between groups, however, with regard to transportation other than walking. To go grocery shopping, 17% in each group used

transportation modes other than walking and to do other shopping, 13% in the segregated group and 15% in the integrated group used transportation other than walking.

Most of the subjects in the segregated group who went to Senior Citizens Centers on Sunday did so by walking: sixteen persons walked while only two went by other means. For the integrated group, there was not as much difference: five persons walked to Centers and three used other means.

Among the small number of subjects who went to restaurants on Sunday, two in the segregated group walked while one in the integrated group did so, and nine in the segregated group and six in the integrated group used other means of transportation. None of the subjects reported walking to other places on Sunday although ten in the segregated group and one in the integrated group reported using other transportation means to go to places not specified in the survey.

Transportation requirements were minimal for the small percentages of subjects who on Sunday visited banks, libraries, medical facilities, and movies. When modes of transportation used on Sundays are summarized and phi-square computed, only a value of .01 was found, indicating no association between age segregation and modes of Sunday transportation (Table 73).

Subjects were also asked about the means of transportation used to engage in weekday activities. To shop for groceries, 23% of the subjects in the segregated group walked while 42% used other means; in the integrated group, 36% walked while 33% used other means. To shop at other places, only 4% of the subjects in the segregated group

walked, and only 7% in the integrated group did so. Twenty-four percent of the segregated group and 22% of the integrated group used other means of transportation.

TABLE 73

SUNDAY TRANSPORTATION BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Sunday Transportation Mode</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Walk	89	75	164
All other modes	175	91	266
	264	166	
	$\chi^2 = 4.3; \phi^2 = .01$		

The majority of the subjects walked rather than rode to their friends' homes. In the segregated group 27% walked to their friends' homes compared to 14% who used other means, and 33% in the integrated group walked to friends' homes compared to 14% who used other means. The majority of subjects rode rather than walked to visit relatives, however. Thus in the segregated group, 9% walked to their relatives' homes while 21% used other means. The difference was smaller for the integrated group: 21% walked to visit relatives, and 23% used other transportation.

Walking was again the primary means by which subjects went to Senior Citizens Centers. Twenty-seven percent in the segregated group walked while 4% used other means and 12% in the integrated group walked while 17% used other means. Subjects who walked to medical facilities, however, comprised rather small percentages: 5% in the segregated group and 4% in the integrated group. Nearly four times as many in the segregated group used other means to medical facilities than did those in the integrated group (27% versus 7%).

A large gap was evident between the groups with respect to walking to church: only 2% in the segregated group walked while 21% in the integrated group did so. Fifteen percent in each group used other transportation means to attend church. Among the subjects who did banking business on a typical weekday, only 3% in the segregated group walked while none in the integrated group did so. Again, fifteen percent in the segregated group used other transportation means as was true for 14% in the integrated group. To go to other places on a typical weekday, 2% of the subjects in each group walked while 6% in the segregated group and 10% in the integrated group used other means. Less than 10% of the subjects in either the segregated group or the integrated group visited libraries, movies, or restaurants on a typical weekday so transportation modes for them are not notable here.

When mode of transit on a typical weekday was summarized and a comparison made between the age segregated and age integrated groups, no association was found between the variables, the same as for Sunday transportation (Table 74).

TABLE 74

WEEKDAY TRANSPORTATION MODE BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Weekday Transportation Mode</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Walk	135	81	216
All other modes	219	94	313
	354	175	529
$\chi^2 = 3.703; \phi^2 = .007$			

Activities Involving Agency Contact
by Age Segregation

Earlier the question arose whether segregation by peoplehood was related to awareness of agencies for the aged or to use of their services. The question now arises whether there is any relationship between segregation by age and agency awareness and use.

Beginning with the nutritional services, the Food Stamps Program is more widely known and used than most of the others, partly because it fits the needs of the subjects and partly because of its publicity. The subjects' association with the Food Stamps program established a logical pattern: the percentages familiar with the Program exceed the percentages in contact with the Program (Table 75).

Although subjects were less familiar with other nutritional services, associations with them generally followed the pattern of

greater contact than recognition. Thus, 35% of the subjects in the integrated group reported being familiar with the Senior Citizens Nutrition Program while 72% acknowledged contact with it, and 27% in the segregation group reported being familiar with the Program while 85% acknowledged contact. The Golden Diners' Club, an arm of the Senior Citizens Nutrition Program, was familiar to 26% of the subjects in the integrated group, but 78% reported having experience with it. In the segregated group, 20% were familiar with the Club, but 88% reported having experience with it. Another part of the Senior Citizens Nutrition Program, the Mobile Meals service, was one with which 55% of the segregated group were familiar but 63% had been in contact. Somewhat aberrantly, however, 65% of the integrated group were familiar, but only 48% had been in contact. As to another food-related service, Dial-A-Dietitian, only 22% of the segregated group were familiar with the agency, but 84% reported some contact with it. With less extremes, 35% of the integrated group were familiar with the agency, and 69% reported some contact.

As to agencies providing health and medical services, a relatively high percentage of the subjects was familiar with the name of the Knox County Health Department. There was a smaller than usual percentage spread between recognition and contact. Fifty-four percent in the segregated group were familiar while 66% had been in contact; 62% of the integrated group were familiar while 55% had been in contact. The Senior Citizens Medical Center displayed different percentage distributions: a larger percentage of the segregated group (37%) was familiar with the agency than was that of the integrated group (35%).

The same pattern was followed in actual agency contact; that is, 79% of the subject of the segregated group had some prior experience with the agency and 71% of the integrated group had some experience with it.

TABLE 75

FAMILIARITY AND CONTACT OF SUBJECTS WITH
FOOD STAMPS AGENCY BY AGE SEGREGATION

Familiarity and Contact of Subjects with Food Stamps Agency	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Familiar	87	88
Not familiar	13 100%	12 100%
Contact	85	72
No contact	15 100%	28 100%
	N = 131	N = 58

The more familiar pattern was followed as to the Association for the Blind. Regarding this agency, it was found that 45% of the subjects in the integrated group were familiar with the agency compared to 37% in the segregated group. Even though 55% of the integrated group had prior contact with the agency, however, an even larger percentage of the segregated group (70%) had prior contact. Similarly, the Arthritis Foundation was familiar to 37% of the segregated group

and 43% of the integrated group while some contact had been made with the agency by 71% in the segregated group and 60% of the integrated group. Also according to the familiar pattern, the Senior Citizens Home Aide Service was found to be familiar to 35% of the segregated subjects and to 50% of the integrated subjects. Seventy-seven percent of the segregated subjects had in some way been in contact with the agency while a smaller percentage of the integrated subjects (64%) had been in contact.

Of the agencies designed to give counsel to the aged, Child and Family Services was the most familiar to the subjects. The agency was more familiar to subjects of the integrated group (43%) than to those in the segregated group (25%) but more subjects in the segregated group (81%) had been in contact than in the integrated group (55%). Familiarity with the Pastoral Council was also acknowledged by a higher percentage of the integrated group than was acknowledged by the segregated group--24% and 20% respectively. Actual contact had been made, however, by 81% of the integrated group and by 92% of the segregated group. Similarly, although the Catholic Social Service was familiar to only 21% of the segregated group and 26% of the integrated group, contact had been made by 85% of the segregated group and by 74% of the integrated group.

Designed to meet the social needs of the aged, the Senior Citizens Centers were highly familiar to the subjects. As in the case of the Food Stamps Program, the percentage of familiarity was higher than the percentage of contact due to the visibility and publicity of the Centers. Also, due to the Centers' services being tailored to the

social needs of the aged, contact with the agency was nearly as great as the familiarity (Table 76).

TABLE 76
PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIARITY AND CONTACT OF
SUBJECTS WITH SENIOR CITIZENS CENTERS
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Familiarity and Contact of Subjects with Senior Citizens Center	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Familiar	82	86
Not familiar	18 100%	14 100%
Contact	79	65
No contact	21 100%	35 100%
	N = 131	N = 58

Forty-one percent of the subjects in the integrated group were familiar with the newly-established Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center, but 62% reported having contact with it. Further, 24% of the segregated group were familiar with the Center, but 78% reported having contact with it.

Of the agencies which provide information about other programs and refer individuals to the agencies which provide the specific

services needed, the name of the Senior Citizens Information Referral Agency was more familiar to the subjects than was the name of the Office on Aging. Forty-seven percent of the integrated group and 43% of the segregated group were familiar with the Referral agency; 31% of the integrated subjects and 21% of the segregated subjects were familiar with the Office on Aging. Yet, subjects reported more contact with the Office on Aging than with the Referral agency: 67% of the integrated group and 88% of the segregated reported contact with the Office on Aging; 50% of the integrated group and 79% of the segregated group reported contact with the Referral agency.

Findings therefore indicate that subjects in both groups are more likely to have contact with an agency than to know the agency by name. Further, subjects in the integrated group are more likely to be familiar with an agency than are subjects in the segregated group, while segregated subjects are more likely to benefit from the agency's services than are integrated subjects. The reader is reminded, however, that agency contact means any contact, and that the greatest percentage of subjects had made contact with most agencies months and even years prior to the interview.

A summary was made of subjects' awareness and contact with agencies in each group by adding all frequencies as had been done with peoplehood segregation and integration (Tables 77 and 78). Chi-square and ϕ^2 were computed. A ϕ^2 value of 0.05 indicated that 5% of the variance in agency awareness could be explained by age segregation (Table 77), meaning an association between the variables. The same finding did not hold true for the relationship between age segregation

and agency contact when only 3% of the variance could be explained by age segregation (Table 78).

TABLE 77
AGENCY AWARENESS BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Agency Awareness</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Not familiar	1369	534	1903
Familiar	850	452	1302
	2219	986	
	$\chi^2 = 160.25; \phi^2 = .05$		

TABLE 78
AGENCY CONTACT BY AGE

<u>Agency Contact</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
No contact	452	352	804
Some contact	1775	644	2419
	2227	996	3223
	$\chi^2 = 96.69; \phi^2 = .03$		

Comparison of Interaction Patterns
By Age Segregation

Subjects in this study interacted with others in many different situations. Behavior patterns of the black aged are therefore analyzed as a consequence of certain relationships and interactions. For example, subjects who had no spouse were asked if they had close relationships with persons of the opposite sex. It was found that in the segregated group 48% said no, 38% said yes, and 14% thought the question irrelevant; in the integrated group, a larger percentage said no (63%), a smaller percentage said yes (30%), and an even smaller percentage thought the question irrelevant (7%). Further, among the few subjects who had relatives living with them in the segregated group, 71% were spouses, 13% were children, and 12% were siblings or a mix of relatives; in the integrated group, only 22% were spouses while 61% were children and 17% were grandchildren.

Another kind of interaction is going places with others. For example, not only were subjects in the integrated group more likely to go to church on Sunday but they were also more likely to be accompanied than were those in the segregated group (Table 79).

The subjects' company when visiting their friends or relatives on Sunday provided a contrast in behavior. More of the subjects went alone when visiting their friends' homes than did those who visited their relatives' homes (Tables 80 and 81). Moreover, a larger percentage in the integrated group had company when visiting relatives or friends than did those in the segregated group.

TABLE 79
COMPANY WHEN ATTENDING CHURCH ON SUNDAY
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Church Attendance	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	39	21
Went alone	24	36
Went with relative	21	22
Went with friend	13	19
Went with others	3	2
	100% N = 131	100% N = 58

TABLE 80
COMPANY WHEN VISITING FRIENDS' HOMES
ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Visiting Friends' Homes	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	66	48
Went alone	22	36
Went with relative	6	9
Went with friend	5	7
Went with others	1	7
	100% N = 128	100% N = 48

TABLE 81

COMPANY WHEN VISITING RELATIVES' HOMES ON A
TYPICAL SUNDAY BY AGE SEGREGATION

Visiting Relatives' Homes	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	65	47
Went alone	14	28
Went with relative	17	22
Went with friend	3	3
Went with others	1	
	100% N = 128	100% N = 58

When the subjects went to grocery stores on Sunday, 28% in the integrated group did go so alone and 14% did so in the company of relatives or friends. In the segregated group, 11% shopped for groceries alone, and the same percentage did so with relatives or friend. When going to other shopping places on Sunday, 14% of the subjects in the integrated group did so alone while 9% were in the company of relative. Only 2% in the segregated group went to other shopping places alone while 7% went with relatives and 2% went with friends.

Subjects did not often dine in restaurants on Sunday. When they did so, however, 3 subjects in the integrated group went alone while 4 went in the company of relatives or friends; in the segregated group, 2 subjects went alone while 9 went in the company of relatives or

friends. Among the slightly higher number of subjects who went to a Senior Citizens Center on Sunday, 5 in the integrated group went alone and 3 were accompanied by relatives. In the segregated group 15 went alone, 2 were accompanied by friends and 1 was accompanied by agency officials. When going to other places on Sunday, there were no subjects who went alone in the integrated group and only 1 who went with friends, while there were 2 who went alone in the segregated group, 2 who went with relatives and 7 who went with a friends. Percentages of Sunday visits to banks, libraries, medical facilities, and to the movies were very low and were therefore not analyzed.

During the week the pattern of accompaniment was similar although the rate of activity was greater. Trips to the grocery store were carried more frequent than were any of the other activities (Table 82). More of the subjects in the integrated group went grocery shopping alone than did those in the segregated group. Subjects in the segregated group most often had company when grocery shopping. Shopping in other places followed a similar pattern although in smaller percentages (Table 83). Further, more subjects in the integrated group went alone to other shopping places than those in the segregated group.

The number of visits to the homes of friends and relatives was also considerable. A greater percentage in both groups visited their friends alone than did those who visited their relatives alone (Tables 84 and 85). When accompanied, however, subjects in the segregated group visited their friends' homes most often in the company of

friends while they visited their relatives' homes most often in the company of relatives.

TABLE 82
COMPANY WHEN SHOPPING FOR GROCERIES ON A
TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY AGE SEGREGATION

Grocery Store Shopping	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	35	33
Went alone	26	42
Went with relative	16	12
Went with friend	22	11
Went with others	1	2
	100% N = 127	100% N = 57

Socializing at the Senior Citizens Centers was common during the week. Most of the subjects in both groups went to the Centers alone (Table 86). Subjects were more likely to attend church with others. Although 10 of the integrated subjects went to church alone, 4 went to with relatives and 7 went with friends. The numbers were somewhat similar for subjects in the segregated group wherein it was found that although 7 went to church alone, 8 went with relatives, 6 went with friends, and just 1 went with agency officials. There were visits to banks on a typical weekday in the integrated group, 6 of the subjects went alone and 2 went in the company of friends, in the

segregated group, 17 went alone, 3 went with freinds, and 3 went with relatives. Some subjects also visited medical facilities on weekdays. In the integrated group 3 subjects went alone, 1 went with a relative, and 2 went with an agency official. Eighteen subjects in the segregated group went to medical facilities alone, 7 went with relatives, 5 went with friends, and 9 went with agency officials.

TABLE 83

COMPANY WHEN SHOPPING OTHER THAN FOR
GROCERIES ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Other Shopping	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	73	70
Went alone	10	16
Went with relative	7	5
Went with friend	9	4
Went with others	1	5
	100% N = 127	100% N = 57

A few subjects made visits to other places on a typical weekday and when they did, 4 in the integrated group went alone, and a total of 3 went with a relative, agency official, or some other person. Those in the segregated group were distributed as follows: 3 went alone, 1 went with relative, 6 went with friends, and 1 went with

other persons. Three activities were not analyzed as the frequency of accompaniment was too slight: visits to libraries, restaurants, and movies.

TABLE 84

COMPANY WHEN VISITING FRIENDS' HOME ON A
TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY AGE SEGREGATION

Visiting Friends' Home	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	58	51
Went alone	29	39
Went with relative	2	5
Went with friend	9	3
Went with others	2	2
	100% N = 127	100% N = 57

Further measures of the subjects' interaction with others were the number and affinity of relatives with whom they were in touch and the frequency of contact with these relatives', the number of friends with whom they were in touch and the frequency of contact with these friends. Other measures were the kinds and extent of help these persons provided the subjects. With regard to the number of relatives with whom the subjects were in touch, the integrated subjects were in touch with more of their relatives than were those in the segregated

group: 86% of the integrated group were in touch with 3 or more of their relatives compared to 67% in the segregated group. Further, while 14% of the integrated group were in touch with only one or two relatives, 29% in the segregated group were in touch with only one or two of theirs. The segregated group also had 4% who were not in touch with any relatives.

TABLE 85

COMPANY WHEN VISITING RELATIVES' HOMES ON
A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY AGE SEGREGATION

Visiting Relatives' Homes	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	70	57
Went alone	13	26
Went with relative	13	15
Went with friend	3	0
Went with others	1	2
	100% N = 127	100% N = 58

Once the number of relatives with whom the subjects were in touch was known, the subjects were asked the degrees of affinity they felt toward them in terms of who was closest, second closest, third closest, and other. The analysis here includes the percentages of the following relatives who were chosen as closest: daughter, sister, son,

brother, grandchild, mother, father, and other relative (aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, cousins). Daughters and sisters were chosen most often as closest to the subjects (Table 87). Sons and brothers were next. Both groups were divided rather evenly in expressing the relatives to whom they felt closest.

TABLE 86

COMPANY WHEN VISITING SENIOR CITIZENS' CENTERS
ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY BY AGE SEGREGATION

Visiting Senior Citizens' Centers	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Did not go	68	71
Went alone	24	15
Went with relative	2	0
Went with friend	4	2
Went with others	2	12
	100% N = 127	100% N = 58

Percentages of places the closest relatives lived were distributed rather equally with one exception: while 9% of the integrated subjects' closest relatives lived in other cities in Tennessee, only 1% of those in the segregated group did so. Forty-six percent of the subjects in the integrated group, however, reported that their closest relative lived in other neighborhoods in Knoxville, while 25% lived in

the same neighborhood as the subjects and 20% lived out of state. These percentages were compatible with those in the segregated group, as 50% of them reported that their closest relatives lived in other neighborhoods in Knoxville while 22% lived in the same neighborhood as the subjects and 22% lived out of state.

TABLE 87
RELATIVE TO WHOM CLOSEST TO
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Relative to Whom Closest	Age Segregation	Age Integration
Brother	11	13
Daughter	25	27
Father	0	2
Grandchild	7	7
Mother	3	3
Sister	22	22
Son	16	15
Other	16	11
	100% N = 124	100% N = 56

Partly because their favorite relatives lived nearby, 85% of the subjects in the integrated group had talked with their closest relative within the week of the interview, 71% had seen their closest

relatives within the same time frame, but only 7% had written to their closest relatives. In the segregated group the percentages were smaller--69% had talked with their closest relatives, 59% had seen their closest relatives, and 4% had written.

The number of friends that the subjects were in touch with was also substantial. In the integrated group, 74% of the subjects were in touch with three or more friends, and 26% were in touch with one or two friends. In the segregated group, 65% were in touch with three or more friends, 26% were in touch with one or two, and 9% were not in touch with any friends. The closest friends of the subjects more often lived in the same neighborhood as the subjects than did their closest relatives. Thus in the integrated group, 80% of the subjects reported that their closest friends lived in the same neighborhood as they did, and 20% reported that their closest friends lived in other neighborhoods. Likewise, 76% of the subjects in the segregated group lived in the same neighborhood as their closest friends and 24% said their closest friends lived in other neighborhoods in Knoxville. Neither group reported that their closest friends lived in other cities in Tennessee or out of state.

The nearness in location of the subjects to their closest friends most likely led to greater frequency of contact with them than with their closest relatives. Ninety-two percent of the subjects in both the integrated and segregated groups, for example, had talked with their closest friends within a week of the interview. Eighty percent in the integrated group and 85% in the segregated group had seen their closest friend within the same time frame. Finally, 15% of the

integrated group had written within the week while 3% of the segregated group had done so.

Although the modal subject was in more frequent contact with a friend than with a relative, the subject reported that "the person who provided the most help" was a relative. In the integrated group, therefore, 58% of the subjects said that their relatives provided the most help while 29% considered their friends to have provided the most help; in the segregated group, 44% said their relatives provided the most help while 23% said their friends did so. Further, 2% in the integrated group thought their neighbors provided the most help, 4% named other persons, and 7% said no help was provided. In the segregated group, 6% said their neighbor provided the most help, 2% said an agency official, 12% named other persons, and 13% said that no help was provided.

The biggest help provided by the person so named was companionship, cited by 41% of the subjects in the integrated group and by 33% in the segregated group. Transportation was a big source of help for 19% in the segregated group and 9% in the integrated group. Other kinds of help noted by the integrated group were money (11%), food (2%), and other--i.e., all, everything--(30%). Other kinds of help noted by the segregated group were money (8%), food (6%), housing (1%), and other (20%).

Another approach to the subjects' interactions with others relates to food and events associated with food. The majority of the subjects ate two or more meals a day (95% in the integrated group and 85% in the segregated group), and most of their meals were eaten at home (96%

in the integrated group and 94% in the segregated group). Only 2% of the subjects in the integrated group ate most of their meals in restaurants and only 2% ate most of theirs at Senior Citizens functions. Two percent of the subjects in the segregated group ate most of their meals at Senior Citizens functions, 3% at other places, and 2% were uncertain just where they ate most of their meals. Nevertheless, 69% in the integrated group and 73% in the segregated group reported that they usually ate their meals alone. Thus in the integrated group, 21% of the subjects usually ate in the company of a relative, 7% ate with a friend, 2% usually ate with a group, and 2% ate with some other person. In the segregated group, 11% of the subjects usually ate with a relative, 6% ate with a friend, 1% ate with a group, and 10% ate with some other person.

When the subjects were alone, the greatest percentage of them liked to watch television: this was true for 37% in the integrated group and 45% in the segregated group. A large percentage also liked to read: 33% in the integrated group and 18% in the segregated group. Other favorite pastimes in the segregated group were listening to the radio (8%), sewing (7%), housework (9%), sitting and thinking (8%), playing solitaire (2%), fishing (3%), and cooking (1%).

Now a similar series of questions arises about age segregation as arose concerning peoplehood segregation. Is there a difference in interaction between those who live alone and those who live with spouses and/or others? Do the aged who are segregated by age interact less than those who are integrated? Is association with one's own age

peer group related to higher levels of interaction than is one's association with an integrated age group.

Computation of chi-square and phi-square, the results of which are shown in Table 65, found no significant difference between age segregation and household composition, although 31% of the integrated group lived with spouse compared to 18% in the segregated group.

Also, there was no difference between the groups in their being accompanied to activities both on a typical Sunday and a typical weekday. In both cases, Sunday and weekday, when χ^2 and ϕ^2 were computed, values of 0.02 and 0.01 respectively were found, indicating no association between the variables (Tables 88 and 89).

TABLE 88
COMPANY TO SUNDAY ACTIVITIES
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Sunday Activity Accompaniment	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Went alone	116	96	212
Went with company	147	71	218
	263	167	430
	$\chi^2 = 8.6; \phi^2 = .02$		

TABLE 89
COMPANY TO WEEKDAY ACTIVITIES
AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Weekday Activity</u> <u>Accompaniment</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Went alone	172	107	279
Went with others	172	68	240
	344	175	519
$\chi^2 = 5.19; \phi^2 = .01$			

The final summary of the subjects' activities and interactions deals with their contact with relatives and friends. Like the findings by peoplehood segregation wherein there was no association between peoplehood segregation and the number of relatives with whom the subjects were interacting, no association was found with regard to age segregation (Table 90).

There was no association between the peoplehood segregation and the last time subjects had talked with their closest relatives, and there was no association found with regard to age segregation (Table 91).

There were no significant differences found between the age segregation and the number of friends with whom the subjects were in touch (Table 92).

TABLE 90
NUMBER OF RELATIVES IN TOUCH WITH
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Number of Relatives in touch with	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
One-two	38	8	46
Three or more	88	50	138
	126	58	184
$\chi^2 = 4.775; \phi^2 = .026$			

TABLE 91
TIME LAST TALKED WITH CLOSEST RELATIVE
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Time Last Talked with Closest Relative	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Less than one week	79	49	128
Week or more	36	9	45
	115	58	173
$\chi^2 = 4.861; \phi^2 = .028$			

TABLE 92
NUMBER OF FRIENDS IN TOUCH WITH
BY AGE SEGREGATION

Number of Friends in Touch With	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
One-two	34	15	49
Three or more	85	43	128
	119	58	177
$\chi^2 = 0.129; \phi^2 = .0007$			

The final segment of this chapter deals with interaction at a different level from the foregoing; that is, the perceptions the subjects had in regard to age peer preference, degree of boredom, and the presence of a confidant. An important fact is that the majority of the subjects seemed adjusted to the people with whom they interacted. In regard to age peer preference, it was found that 76% of the subjects in the integrated group agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that they preferred to be with their age peers; in the segregated group, this was true for 70% of the subjects. Further, 71% in the integrated group and 74% in the segregated group disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that they felt bored or that life was empty. Finally, 76% of the subjects in the integrated group

and 70% in the segregated group disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that they had no one to talk with about their concerns.

With all three statements, however, there were considerable percentages of subjects who took the opposite view. To determine whether there was a significant difference between age segregation and the degree of satisfaction with life, chi-squares and phi-squares were computed from the subjects' perceptions. There was no significant difference found between age segregation and preference to be with peers: subjects basically preferred to be among their age peers rather than among those of other age groups (Table 93).

Subjects responded similarly with regard to whether their lives were boring or empty; no significant differences were found (Table 94).

Finally, no significant differences were found between age segregation and having someone to talk with about their concerns (Table 95).

TABLE 93
PREFERENCE OF AGE PEERS BY
AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Preference to to Age Peers</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Strongly agree and agree	87	44	131
Disagree and Strongly disagree	37	14	51
	124	58	182
$\chi^2 = 1.190; \phi^2 = .006$			

TABLE 94
FEELING THAT LIFE IS EMPTY
BY AGE SEGREGATION

<u>Preference to to Peers</u>	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Strongly agree and agree	92	41	133
Week or more	32	17	49
	124	58	182
$\chi^2 = 1.128; \phi^2 = .006$			

TABLE 95

FEELING THAT THERE IS SOMEONE TO TALK
WITH ABOUT CONCERNS BY AGE SEGREGATION

There is someone to talk with about concerns	<u>Age Segregation</u>		
	<u>Segregated</u>	<u>Integrated</u>	
Strongly agree and agree	87	44	131
Disagree and Strongly Disagree	37	14	51
	124	58	182
$\chi^2 = 0.504; 2 = .0027$			

CHAPTER VII

IMPLICATIONS OF SEGREGATION BY AGE AND PEOPLEHOOD FOR THE BLACK AGED, SERVICE AGENCIES, AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

Summary

The aged present social problems of great consequence for American society. The proportion of the aged population is expected to increase as medical research finds ways to extend life expectancy and as birth rates decrease. The resources of the aged are few and declining swiftly as inflation dwindles their fixed incomes. While life circumstances are unfavorable for many aged in general, they are often worse for black aged than for white aged.

There are indications that the economic gap between elderly blacks and whites narrowed somewhat after 1970. Even so, elderly blacks continue to pay a larger proportion of their income for food, shelter and other basic necessities than elderly whites due to the fact that the income of elderly blacks is only two-thirds that of elderly whites (Hill, 1978; Gillespie, 1975).

Other factors that complicate the lives of aged blacks are health, housing, unemployment, and related retirement problems. Attempts have been made to relieve the housing problem of the aged by placing them in various types of public housing. A subgroup of aged blacks was found concentrated in a housing area where aged blacks reside, another subgroup was located in an area mixed with aged whites,

and a third subgroup was in an area with blacks who are both young and old.

Given these types of contextual settings, questions were asked regarding the consequences of segregation by age and peoplehood for aged blacks. For example, what are the relative advantages and disadvantages of concentrated versus dispersed living arrangements for the aged? Should the aged be concentrated in a specific area where the provision of specialized programs and services is more efficient? Should the black and white aged be concentrated in separate (but equal) areas? Should they be integrated by peoplehood but not by age? Or should societal efforts be directed toward the integration of the aged within the total society, integrated to some extent by peoplehood?

The dearth of literature about the black aged added to the difficulty of answering the foregoing questions. Jackson (1971) surveyed and evaluated available research material on black aging and aged blacks. She found many research problems and areas in need of further study. Among the areas of high priority was the identification of black aged subgroups within the larger population of black aged. Once this was done, researchers would be better able to make comparisons of black aged subgroups with subgroups of other peoples with regard to commonalities and consequences of aging. Kent (1971) also called for more research on the black aged and suggested that they should be studied separately from the white aged.

This research was thus formulated upon two bases of segregation—age and peoplehood—and upon the theoretical perspective that the

activity and interaction patterns of the black aged would vary in relation to the three contextual settings in which they lived.

Activity and interaction patterns were derived from visits to selected places and contacts with selected persons. Certain need areas were identified from previous research that were of foremost concern to the aged and to policymakers: these were income, housing, health, nutrition, education, transportation, and employment and retirement. The presumption was made that the need areas were related to the extent and kinds of activities and interactions in which the black aged were engaged.

The methods used to carry out the research involved first identifying three black aged subgroups represented by those living in three different housing settings. These were: a peoplehood segregated subgroup concentrated in a single, defined residential area; a peoplehood integrated subgroup living in a high-rise apartment complex, and an age integrated subgroup.

The following three public housing sites were chosen from among fourteen in the city of Knoxville:

1. A housing complex of 500 units that had 255 units set aside as a concentrated area for the elderly (peoplehood segregated);
2. A high rise apartment complex of 245 units for the elderly (peoplehood integrated); and
3. A housing complex of 320 units that had no age restrictions (age integrated).

A census was used to collect data from a potential total of 452 subjects; 255 in the peoplehood segregated site; 85 in the peoplehood integrated site; and 112 in the age integrated site. When ineligible and incapacitated subjects were excluded, a total of 395 subjects were found eligible: 216 at the peoplehood segregated site; 77 at the peoplehood integrated site; and 102 at the age integrated site. Other persons were not included when they were not at home three or more times, chose not to participate, did not keep their appointments or failed to complete the interviews. When this adjustment was computed, a total of 235 subjects were interviewed: 131 in the peoplehood segregated site; 46 in the peoplehood integrated site; and 58 in the age integrated site.

University and college students were trained as interviewers, and along with the investigator, they conducted interviews of subjects at the sites during the summer of 1979. Once the interview schedules were collected, the next step entailed careful editing of each schedule. Variables were then grouped by subject areas; i.e., demographic characteristics, health problems, activities and interactions, and awareness and use of public and private agencies. Statistical analyses were limited to frequency distribution, measures of central tendency chi-square as a test of significance, and phi-square as a measure of association.

The 235 subjects sampled were all black and at least age fifty-five years of age or older. They were all persons of low income who resided in public housing. There were more female subjects than males (150 to 85, respectively), and most of them were widowed. Only 23% of the sample were Knoxvilleians; 23% were in-state migrants; and the

remainder came from out-of-state. Forty-one percent of the subjects had completed eight or more years of school, impressive because 52% were ages sixty-nine years of age and older. There were 194 subjects who considered themselves retired, but among these 109 had not retired from jobs from which they received retirement income; that is, they were not receiving retirement pensions. Over two-thirds of the subjects considered themselves in poor or fair health although 64% reported using no health aids.

Once the subjects' demographic profiles had been established, their activity and interaction patterns were examined as a whole; that is, all three sites combined. Most of the subjects preferred being among their age peers rather than with persons of mixed age. Although they did not engage in many activities, they did not think that life was empty nor did they feel bored most of the time. In addition, they had others with whom they could confide and discuss matters of concern. Most of the subjects had friends who lived in the same neighborhood with them, and most of their relatives lived within the city.

The subjects felt close to both relatives and friends, but they usually had more frequent contacts with their closest friends rather than with their closest relatives. Despite the more frequent contacts with close friends, relatives were the one upon whom subjects depended mostly for help. This help came primarily in the form of companionship.

From among twelve activities listed for participation on a typical Sunday or typical weekday, the data indicated that the subjects engaged in only a few activities on a regular basis. For many subjects, church was the primary activity engaged in on Sunday, and shopping for groceries was their primary activity on a weekday. In these activities, the subjects usually went in the company of a relative or friend rather than alone. Furthermore, the modes of transportation to activities were often private cars belonging to others or public busses. Although in several cases, walking was shown to be the least used transportation when compared to all other transportation modes consolidated, it is clear, that the subjects quite often walked to their destinations. (Table 32).

The subjects did not report widespread usage of 17 public and private agencies that provide services to the aged. Quite often they were not aware that a particular agency existed. When the services of some agencies were described, many subjects recalled some familiarity and/or contact with the agency. Once they had availed themselves of an agency's service most subjects reported satisfaction rather than dissatisfaction.

The subjects gave their perceptions of change over time. They felt that public transportation service to their neighborhood over the past ten years had remained the same, that their neighbors had remained about the same, and that safety in the neighborhood had declined. Subjects were somewhat satisfied with the public transportation because the public bus typically picked them up or dropped them off near their home. They expressed good will toward their neighbors

because quite often their neighbors were their friends. Rising crime rates attributed chiefly to the subjects' perception of worsening safety conditions in their neighborhoods.

Empirical Realities of Peoplehood

The concept of peoplehood undergirds the research project. The three sites--A, B, and C--all reveal the "sense of peoplehood" as a common thread. This is best seen in III and IV within which demographic characteristics and activity and interaction patterns are highlighted for the entire sample.

Work histories of low incomes, service or service related jobs, are common in all groups and the shared consequences of low-income are a reality. These are proud people, however. Rather than rely too heavily upon service organizations and various programs for assistance, these older persons rely mainly upon their own resources and upon those of relatives and friends.

The sense of peoplehood was also shown by the subjects' contacts with relatives and friends, the proximity with which they lived to them, and the extent to which they were accompanied in their activities. Because relatives and friends usually lived in the same neighborhood or in another neighborhood within the city, subjects were frequently in contact with people they cared about, and they often had company when they visited, shopped, or took care of business.

There were only a few subjects who were withdrawn to the point that their sense of peoplehood was regarded as minimal. These were usually persons whose experiences with others had been very

unpleasant. These few persons stated that they had no friends and wanted none. The majority of the subjects, however, had good relations with their peers. Their sense of peoplehood was reinforced by similarities in formal education levels, marital status, and health conditions.

Individuals at all sites were found whose informal educational experiences outweighed to some extent the values of their formal educations. Coping mechanisms had been developed to deal with the low-incomes that they received. These mechanisms varied greatly but they included "stretching" the dollar, and "stretching" food. Their coping mechanisms also included careful coordination of their network of relatives and friends to accomodate their needs for shopping, visiting, banking, procuring medical services, and recreation. That the black aged are able to satisfy basic needs to the extent that they do without greater reliance upon federal assistance and employment income is a credit to their ability to survive. Thus, although most of these aged blacks are decidedly of low income, they say that they are not poor. Here again, the sense of peoplehood helps provide the foundation for the interaction between subjects and others.

The strength of peoplehood, however, is better described through comparisons made of the people situated at sites A, B, and C. I found this strength greater exemplified at Site A, the peoplehood segregated site, than at the other two sites. Social interaction among residents appeared more meaningful and deliberate, and the sense of group membership appeared more certain. For example, at site A many activities

were organized at the Senior Citizens Center by group members, and participation was always encouraged. In addition, an informal normative structure seemed to operate which facilitated interaction among members and with others. There was also seen a sense of obligation to support and defend the group.

These peoplehood characteristics at site A were given substance by two factors: (1) the space within which the black aged were concentrated had clearly defined boundaries, (2) the Senior Citizens Center was located and played a vital role in their lives. The peoplehood segregated site thus promoted social interaction through the physical contiguity of its group members and the similarity of activities in which they were engaged.

Many of site A's residents engaged in activities that originated at the Senior Citizens Center. It was here that residents gathered for sewing and knitting; playing cards, pool, and other games; displaying various arts and crafts, (e.g., ceramics and leather work); writing, reading, and presenting poems and short stories. A variety of games were played at the Center. In addition, individual and group successes and failures were discussed. Often, dinners were planned and served at the Center. The social interaction that such activities engendered solidified the sense of common group membership. Nevertheless, visitors were treated well and were wisely encouraged by the director to mix freely with the Center regulars. I never felt like a stranger when visiting the Center. I also observed that others who visited were treated similarly: these included vendors, university students, and teachers. Group members were communicative and

talked freely about their participation in activities such as story-telling, competition, and short story and poetry writing contests sponsored by the Beck Cultural Exchange Center*

I believe that the treatment accorded persons who visited the peoplehood segregated site, as well as the treatment that residents accorded each other, has arisen from their norms governing interaction among themselves and others. Their normative structure suggests the basic tenet that people should be treated decently. In this respect, I marvelled at the sight of student interviewers making exchanges with interviewees on the steps of their porches. Time and information were freely given even when the interviewees were told that the study might not help them but would perhaps help those who one day would be old. A typical response was, "I want to do whatever I can to help young people."

The group also exhibited a sense of obligation to support and defend the group. For instance, while we were interviewing, there was fear among the residents that the Center would be closed because housing authorities felt that the facility was not being fully utilized. Residents therefore spoke to the news media and to the authorities stating what the Center meant to them. In addition, they expressed their appreciation for the director of the Center who kept them informed of services available, provided extra services for them (e.g., checking their apartments when regular Center attendees did not

*The Beck Cultural Exchange Center, a private Knoxville historical organization, has a rich collection of local black history and sponsors community activities, including ones for older persons.

show up, transporting them to pay bills, getting them to medical facilities, helping them with their tax forms, etc.). Fortunately, funds were found by the city to keep the Center open, at least for the present time.

Despite the fact that the Senior Citizens Center was of great value and service to site A residents, there were those who frequented the Center little or not at all: some were too ill, some were involved in other activities, and a few stated no reason. For many, the activities occurring at the Center got them out of their apartments almost daily and helped them to lead more active lives through their association with others.

These characteristics that strengthen the sense of peoplehood at the peoplehood segregated site were not found to the same extent at the peoplehood integrated site or at the age integrated site. One complaint lodged by the staff at the peoplehood integrated site, for example, was the difficulty of getting blacks into the recreation room to participate in sundry activities. The close-knit social interaction that I observed at the peoplehood segregated site was therefore not readily apparent at the peoplehood integrated site. There was some evidence of more alcohol consumption during the day, however, among both black and white males. As a result a kind of camaraderie was generated between them.

I did not detect at site B the existence of a normative structure governing the interaction of group members: the very absense of interaction meant the absense of norms to guide interaction. Although there was some gathering of tenants in the lobby and on the benches

outside the lobby, many of them were waiting to make contact with office personnel. When not away from the site, individuals tended to remain in their apartments rather than mix freely with other residents.

I also found it difficult to discover here a great sense of common group membership and a sense of obligation to support and defend the group. The low level of group participation and the preference of many persons to confine themselves to their apartments weakened the notion of peoplehood at site B. Black residents' leadership was also far more subtle than in the other sites and was likely to be exerted by a few persons who interacted with both black and white residents.

I believe that the strength of peoplehood was adversely affected by the peoplehood integration attempted at site B even though the peoplehood groups at sites A and B were demographically similar as well as similar in their feelings of peoplehood. The characteristics that contribute to peoplehood strength were not ostensibly as much of a force in the peoplehood integrated setting as they were in the peoplehood segregated setting.

Although lesser in degree, the differences between sites A and B were somewhat similar to those between sites A and C. Between the former the race variable made the greatest peoplehood difference, and between the latter, age made the greatest peoplehood difference. I did not observe social interaction at site C in the depth that I had observed at site A, and the smaller degree of group participation in activities decreased the extent of common group membership.

This is not to say that residents at site C did not engage in group activities. There was a Center where they sometimes met for

recreation and for dinner. This facility, however, was available to all residents, regardless of age. It was therefore necessary for the older persons' activities to be carefully scheduled.

While the norms governing interaction at site C were not formed with the relative ease that they were formed at site A, there was found a sense of group support. For instance, I attended one luncheon that older persons had invited housing authorities to attend so that their grievances could be stated. It was obvious that leadership was active among older persons at site C although it was not as pervasive as that found at site A.

Three major features distinguished the peoplehood segregated residents from the peoplehood integrated and age integrated residents.

1. The peoplehood segregated residents occupied a circumscribed space among people who were most like themselves in peoplehood and age characteristics.
2. The peoplehood segregated residents sensed a feeling of ownership of the Senior Citizens Center where social interaction and activities promoted leadership, communications, and normative behavior.
3. The leadership style of the Center director was characterized by a sense of caring.

These features served to strengthen peoplehood behavior observed at the peoplehood segregated site that was not as conspicuously observed at the peoplehood integrated and age integrated sites. This is the background with which I wish to make concluding statements relative to findings and implications of this research project.

Significant Findings

Peoplehood segregated subjects were more satisfied with their housing than were peoplehood integrated subjects.

Peoplehood subjects walked more and used other transportation means less on weekdays than did peoplehood integrated subjects.

Age segregated subjects were less familiar with public and private agencies than were age integrated subjects.

Implication of Findings

Having listed the significant findings, the final steps are to describe the findings in general, to explain and interpret their significance, and to indicate their possible policy implications. Most important is the paucity of significant differences between the groups. Although there are minor fluctuations among the groups, the overall finding is that residents of all three sites are basically similar in their interactions with family and friends, in their participation in activities, in available resources and in general life style. The following discussion of differences has to be seen against this background of similarity.

Housing satisfaction. With regard to housing satisfaction there was a relationship found between peoplehood and housing satisfaction. There were more subjects than expected in group A who were satisfied with their housing, and there were fewer subjects than expected in group B who were satisfied with their housing. This finding suggests that where the aged are concentrated by age and peoplehood they are more satisfied with their housing. This finding may also suggest

that the elderly may be more comfortable with more room and less convenience as they spread out in two-storied apartment buildings rather than centralize in a high-rise apartment building complex. In addition, it is possible that the subjects do not build relationships in the peoplehood integrated setting to the extent that they do in the peoplehood segregated setting where common interests and the strength of peoplehood are more prevalent. Dissatisfaction with relationships may express itself as dissatisfaction with housing.

I must state here the interest that many persons had in their environment was manifested at the three sites by neat, often fenced areas of flowers and/or small vegetable gardens.

In considering policy implications for the future, consideration should be made of the common complaint of persons in both settings who were dissatisfied with their housing--the small amount of space available in their apartments. Several subjects lived in efficiency apartments or one-bedroom apartments that limited their space. Policymakers might consider that the aged do not favor high-rise apartment buildings or, for that matter, small apartments whether located in high-rise or two-storied buildings.

If building meaningful relationships with neighbors and friends is related to housing satisfaction, it is quite possible that, in time, residents will discover their peoplehood commonalities and subsequently down-play their differences.

Weekday transportation. Persons living in the peoplehood segregated setting usually walked to activities in which they participated.

A grocery store was located within walking distance and they frequented the Senior Citizens Center in their area more than the peoplehood integrated persons frequented their Center. A grocery store was not located near the peoplehood integrated site and the subjects did not often go to the Senior Citizens Center in their building.

The total income of peoplehood segregated subjects was slightly less than peoplehood integrated subjects which has implications for money to pay for transportation: they had less access to private transportation than did the integrated subjects.

Policy regarding transportation for the elderly should focus on public transportation that would allow them to move inexpensively about the city because the aged often hire taxicab drivers and private automobile owners to go from place to place. Many of the peoplehood segregated persons are limited to shopping for groceries in their neighborhood because they lack means of transportation to shop elsewhere. A public transit system is needed that will enable them to frequent shopping centers where a wide variety of food and merchandise is available.

Age segregation agency awareness. The age segregated subjects were not as familiar with the 17 agencies' names as were the age integrated subjects. The greater awareness of the agencies by age integrated subjects might be attributed in part to the presence of younger persons who use many of the same services as do the aged. Some older persons might be informed by agencies' names by younger persons.

Similar to the analysis of segregation by peoplehood, these findings suggest communications problems between the agencies' offices and users. This communication deficiency again was illustrated with regard to agency use compared to agency awareness, although not found significant. The age segregated subjects had more contacts with the agencies than did the age integrated subjects even though they were less familiar with the agencies.

An underlying reason for greater agency contacts for the age segregated subjects is that the Senior Citizens' Center was a gathering place for many of the aged. (The reader should recall that the age segregated group is also peoplehood segregated). The director assures that the Center keeps the elderly informed verbally and through bulletin board announcements. It is believed that information is passed along through a range of activities that include card playing, television, handicrafts, pool games, checkers, dinners, and outings.

The communications problem between the black aged and the agencies might be eased by agencies making direct contact with the aged at their informal gathering places such as the Senior Citizens Center at the age segregated site (site A). In addition, since users are generally satisfied with agency services, persons receiving services should be encouraged to pass their favorable ratings on to other potential users. Dissatisfied users should be encouraged to inform the agencies of the reasons for their discontent. The agencies should be given time to evaluate grievances and to upgrade their services if necessary.

Comments on Findings that were not
Significant and that had Weak Association

Several findings did not meet statistical tests of significance and strengths of association. It is my opinion, however, that the following deserve comments on the bases of their importance to the well-being of older persons:

1. Agency awareness and contact
2. Income

Agency Awareness and Contact

Subjects in the peoplehood segregated setting were less aware of local public and private agencies that provide services for the aged than were subjects in the peoplehood integrated setting. The reason for less agency awareness among the peoplehood segregated subjects is not easily explained. One basic problem is communications between agencies and potential clientele. A program like the Food Stamps is well-known because of the great amount of publicity it receives. Programs that receive little publicity are less familiar to the subjects.

Even though older persons at the peoplehood segregated site were less familiar with agencies than were peoplehood integrated subjects, they used the agencies more. Although subjects in both settings knew the agencies more by services than by name, the higher actual use by the segregated group demonstrates the operation of a communications network in group interaction and activity participation.

The basis of the communications network is the Senior Citizens Center, the heart of the peoplehood segregated setting. Male and

female residents gather in the small Center to participate in a wide range of activities. The director has charismatic qualities that help generate a flow of communication and interaction. Information about the services offered by the various agencies is discussed in this setting.

The setting is in contrast to the one in the peoplehood integrated site. Here a staff person complained that it was difficult to get black aged residents to participate in recreational activities that were offered. It is not likely that agency information is passed on here as readily as it is in the peoplehood segregated setting. Thus, while posters and brochures may result in somewhat higher recognition of agency titles, interpersonal education and shared experiences may result in greater understanding of, and therefore greater benefit from, agency services.

If agencies are serious about providing services to this segment of the aged population, it seems that agencies must do a better job in public relations. This is true both in making persons aware of the agencies and in publicizing their services. Brochures are not enough: both formal and informal communications are needed to reach many persons who can benefit from such services. There is a need for information to penetrate tight little clusters of aged persons through cluster identification and agency participation.

Income

While income did not vary among the sites, it is a serious problem for most subjects. Low, fixed income limits activities in

which many subjects might engage. It is costly to frequent restaurants, movies, downtown stores and shopping centers. It is costly, as well, to shop for groceries and to pay for the transportation to supermarkets, other shopping places, and medical facilities. I observed sickly persons paying small fees to have their medicines brought from pharmacies. Fees are sometimes paid to have their apartments cleaned. Also, some older persons are set back financially by burglaries and robberies. In addition, the high costs of food, hospitalization and medical expenses eliminate meager savings and exhaust fixed income. Moreover, 25% of their incomes are required for public housing rent payments.

Only in rare instances were these persons able to supplement their incomes with full time or part time work. It is quite possible that the primary sustaining force in the lives of the elderly is that they are used to no material abundance. This is not to say that they have not had enjoyable and worthwhile lives: they have established families, built lasting relationships, and contributed towards community strength and their own survival through hard work, church participation, and the deep belief that things will get better.

Our sample depended upon themselves, their relatives, and friends, more than upon the services of public and private agencies. Indeed, most were not familiar with the names of several of the local agencies. Although they reported greater use of public and private agencies than familiarity, the data indicate that such use was marginal at best, as most agency contacts were made months and years ago.

Our sample developed coping mechanisms over the years in the struggle to survive. Although this was clear in the three settings, it was more evident at the site where they were segregated by both peoplehood and age and where a greater sense and strength of peoplehood prevailed. Although aged blacks at this site were in touch with fewer relatives and talked with their closest relatives less frequently than did those at the other two sites, they were accompanied more by others in the activities in which they engaged. They also benefited more from agency services. I suggest that this interaction and communication was given impetus through the workings of peoplehood. I further submit that the site's Senior Citizens Center, which serves as a focal point of interest and activity, helped generate the strength of peoplehood.

I believe that public housing developments throughout the country that have populations similar to those in our three settings will differ little in their activity and interaction patterns. I presume that their awareness and familiarity of public and private agencies will be marginal; their use of the agencies will be less than efficient. Further research is recommended to inform us more accurately in this regard.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR

A STUDY OF BLACK AGED PERSONS

We are asking you to volunteer for participation in a research project about the aged. The information you give may not benefit you personally but might help other older persons and hopefully will make things better for persons who are young now but will one day be old. Your name will not be placed on the interview form nor will you be identified in any publication. Please understand that you are free to refuse to participate or to answer any of the questions asked and that you may withdraw from participation at any time.

Date of interview _____ Time started _____ Time ended _____

Total time in minutes _____ Census tract _____

Address _____ Zip code _____
Sex _____ Male _____ Female _____

Q # Iden*

1 born WHERE WERE YOU BORN?

X _____ No response 1 _____ Knoxville 2 _____ Another city
in Tenn.
3 _____ Out of state 4 _____ Other (specify) _____

2 yr Kn HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN KNOXVILLE?

X _____ No response 1 _____ Less than one year
2 _____ One to three years 3 _____ Four to six years
4 _____ Seven to ten years 5 _____ Over ten
6 _____ All my life

3 yr ad HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED AT THIS ADDRESS?

X _____ No response 1 _____ Less than one year
2 _____ One to three years 3 _____ Four to six years
4 _____ Seven to ten years 5 _____ Over ten
6 _____ All my life

*Identifiers used by interviewers to quickly recall questions.

Q # Iden

4 own DO YOU OWN, RENT, OR PAY FOR YOUR LIVING QUARTERS IN
SOME OTHER WAY?

X No response 1 Own 2 Rent
3 Other (specify) _____

5 \$ h HOW MUCH IS THE AMOUNT YOU PAY FOR HOUSING?

X No response 0 Less than \$100 per month
1 \$100 - \$149 per month 2 \$150 - \$199 per month
3 \$200 - \$249 per month 4 over \$250 per month

6 rms HOW MANY ROOMS ARE THERE TO YOUR LIVING QUARTERS?

X No response 1 One 2 Two 3 Three
4 Four 5 Five 6 Six 7 Seven
8 Eight 9 Nine or more

7 liv HOW MANY PERSONS, IF ANY, LIVE WITH YOU?

X No response 0 Live alone (If checked, go to 8)
1 One 2 Two 3 Three 4 Four 5 Five
6 Six 7 Seven 8 Eight 9 Nine or more

7a rel WHAT RELATIONSHIPS, IF ANY, ARE THEY TO YOU?

X No response 0 No relationship
1 Child or children 2 Grandchild or grandchildren
3 Sibling(s) 4 In-law(s) 5 Parent(s)
6 Mixed relatives 7 Mixed relatives and
 nonrelatives
8 No relationship 9 Other (specify) _____

8 h sat HOW WELL ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR HOUSING?

X No response 1 Very satisfied 2 Satisfied
3 Dissatisfied 4 Very dissatisfied

9 mov WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE?

X No response 0 No 1 Yes 2 Uncertain

10 age HOW OLD ARE YOU?

X No response 1 55 - 61 2 62 - 68
3 69 - 75 4 76 and over

Q # Iden

16 inc DO YOU HAVE ADEQUATE MONEY IN YOUR BUDGET FOR
HOUSEHOLD NEEDS?

X No response 0 No 1 Yes

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCES WITH
JOBS AND THE CONDITION OF YOUR HEALTH

17 inc IF YOU THINK BACK, WHAT HAS BEEN YOUR HIGHEST INCOME
PER MONTH?

X No response 1 (Specify amount) _____

18 inc WHAT YEAR DID IT TAKE PLACE?

X No response 1 (Specify year) _____

19 job OF THE JOBS YOU'VE HELD, WHICH ONE WAS MOST IMPORTANT
TO YOU?

X No response 1 (Specify job) _____

20 job WHY WAS THIS JOB MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU?

X No response 1 (Specify reason) _____

21 ret ARE YOU RETIRED NOW?

X No response 0 No (If checked, go to 22)
1 Yes, qualified 2 Yes, unqualified

21a inc WHAT WAS YOUR TOTAL INCOME THE YEAR BEFORE YOU RETIRED?

X No response 0 Less than \$1000
1 \$1000 - \$1999 2 \$2000 - \$2999
3 \$3000 - \$3999 4 \$4000 - \$5999
5 \$6000 - \$7999 6 \$8000 - \$11999
7 \$12000 and over

22 job ARE YOU WORKING NOW?

X No response 0 No (If checked, go to 24)
1 Yes, part time 2 Yes, full time

23 job IF YES, WHAT KIND OF JOB DO YOU HAVE?

X No response 1 (Specify job) _____

Q # Iden

WE ARE INTERESTED IN LEARNING ABOUT YOUR TYPICAL ACTIVITIES ON WEEKDAYS AND WEEKENDS. FOR EXAMPLE, WHERE DID YOU GO? WHO DID YOU GO WITH, IF ANYONE? HOW DID YOU GET THERE? IF NOT AMBULATORY, OR AMBULATORY ONLY WITH ASSISTANCE, NOTE HERE).

31 pl sun TO WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING PLACES DO YOU GO ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY? (WITHIN THE PAST MONTH). CHECK ALL THAT APPLY

Bank	0	No	1	Yes
Church	0	No	1	Yes
Friend's home	0	No	1	Yes
Grocery store	0	No	1	Yes
Library	0	No	1	Yes
Medical (clinic, doctor, hospital)	0	No	1	Yes
Movies	0	No	1	Yes
Other shopping places	0	No	1	Yes
Relative's home	0	No	1	Yes
Restaurant	0	No	1	Yes
Senior Citizens Center	0	No	1	Yes
Other	0	No	1	Yes
(Specify) _____				

32 who WITH WHOM DO YOU USUALLY GO ON YOUR TYPICAL SUNDAY TO EACH PLACE YOU MENTIONED?

	Do not go	Go alone	With relative	With friend	With Agency official	Other (Specify)
Bank	0	1	2	3	4	5
Church	0	1	2	3	4	5
Friend's home	0	1	2	3	4	5
Grocery	0	1	2	3	4	5
Library	0	1	2	3	4	5
Medical (clinic dr.s' off., hosp.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Movies	0	1	2	3	4	5
Other shopping places	0	1	2	3	4	5
Relative's home	0	1	2	3	4	5
Restaurant	0	1	2	3	4	5
Senior Citizens Center	0	1	2	3	4	5
Other	0	1	2	3	4	5
(Specify) _____						

Q # Iden

NOW I'D ASK YOU THE SAME THREE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR TYPICAL WEEKDAY VISITS.

34 pl w FIRST, TO WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING PLACES DO YOU GO ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY? (WITHIN THE PAST WEEK). CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.

Bank	0	No	1	Yes
Church	0	No	1	Yes
Friend's home	0	No	1	Yes
Grocery store	0	No	1	Yes
Library	0	No	1	Yes
Medical (clinic, doctor, hospital)	0	No	1	Yes
Movies	0	No	1	Yes
Other shopping places	0	No	1	Yes
Relative's home	0	No	1	Yes
Restaurant	0	No	1	Yes
Senior Citizens Center	0	No	1	Yes
Other	0	No	1	Yes
(Specify)				

35 who WITH WHOM DO YOU USUALLY GO ON YOUR TYPICAL WEEKDAY PLACE YOU MENTIONED?

	Do not go	Go alone	With relative	With friend	With Agency official	Other (Specify)
Bank	0	1	2	3	4	5
Church	0	1	2	3	4	5
Friend's home	0	1	2	3	4	5
Grocery	0	1	2	3	4	5
Library	0	1	2	3	4	5
Medical (clinic dr.s' off., hosp.	0	1	2	3	4	5
Movies	0	1	2	3	4	5
Other shopping places	0	1	2	3	4	5
Relative's home	0	1	2	3	4	5
Restaurant	0	1	2	3	4	5
Senior Citizens Center	0	1	2	3	4	5
Other	0	1	2	3	4	5
(Specify)						

Q # Iden

36 how FINALLY, HOW DO YOU USUALLY GET TO THE PLACES YOU USUALLY GO ON A TYPICAL WEEKDAY?

	Do not go	Own auto	Other's auto	Taxi	Public bus	Agency bus	Walk	Other (Specify)
Bank	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Church	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Friend's home	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Grocery store	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Library	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Medical (clinic, dr.s' hosp.)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Movies	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other shopping places	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relative's home	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Restaurant	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Senior Citizens Center	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other (Specify)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR RELATIVES -
BROTHERS, SISTERS, CHILDREN, AND SO FORTH.

37 # rel HOW MANY OF THEM ARE YOU IN TOUCH WITH?

X No response 0 None 1 One 2 Two
3 Three 4 Four 5 Five 6 Six 7 Seven
8 Eight 9 Nine 10 Ten or more

38 clos WHICH OF YOUR RELATIVES DO YOU FEEL CLOSEST TO?

	Do not feel close	Closest	2d closest	3d closest	Other	Not relevant
Brother	0	1	2	3	4	5
Daughter	0	1	2	3	4	5
Father	0	1	2	3	4	5
Grandchild	0	1	2	3	4	5
Mother	0	1	2	3	4	5
Sister	0	1	2	3	4	5
Son	0	1	2	3	4	5
Other	0	1	2	3	4	5

Q # Iden

40b talk WHEN LAST TALKED WITH CLOSEST FRIEND? (INCLUDES BY PHONE).

0 <u> </u> Never talk	4 <u> </u> Week ago
1 <u> </u> Today	5 <u> </u> 2 weeks ago
2 <u> </u> Yesterday	6 <u> </u> Month ago
3 <u> </u> 3-6 days ago	7 <u> </u> Mo+
8 <u> </u> Other (specify) _____	

40c see WHEN LAST SEEN CLOSEST FRIEND?

0 <u> </u> Never see	4 <u> </u> Week ago
1 <u> </u> Today	5 <u> </u> 2 weeks ago
2 <u> </u> Yesterday	6 <u> </u> Month ago
3 <u> </u> 3-6 days ago	7 <u> </u> Mo+
8 <u> </u> Other (specify) _____	

40d wri WHEN LAST WROTE CLOSEST FRIEND?

0 <u> </u> Never wrote	4 <u> </u> Week ago
1 <u> </u> Today	5 <u> </u> 2 weeks ago
2 <u> </u> Yesterday	6 <u> </u> Month ago
3 <u> </u> 3-6 days ago	7 <u> </u> Mo+
8 <u> </u> Other (specify) _____	

41 help OF ALL THE PERSONS IN YOUR LIFE, WHICH ONE PROVIDES THE MOST HELP TO YOU?

X No response 0 No help provided (If check, skip to #42.)

1 Relative 2 Friend 3 Neighbor

4 Agency official 5 Other (specify) _____

41a WHAT IS THE BIGGEST HELP THIS PERSON GIVE YOU. CHECK ONLY ONE.

X No response 0 No help provided

1 Transportation 2 Money 3 Food

4 Housing 5 Job 6 Companionship

7 Other (specify) _____

42 meal HOW MANY MEALS A DAY DO YOU EAT?

X No response 0 Less than a full meal 1 One

2 Two 3 Three 4 Four or more

Q # Iden

43 meal WHERE DO YOU HAVE MOST OF YOUR MEALS?

X No response 0 Uncertain 1 At home
 2 Restaurants 3 Senior Citizens functions
 4 Other (specify) _____

44 eat WITH WHOM DO YOU USUALLY EAT?

X No response 0 Alone 1 Relative
 2 Friend 3 Group 4 Other (specify) _____

45 bal DO YOU HAVE PROBLEMS GETTING A BALANCED MEAL?

X No response 0 No 1 Yes, sometimes
 2 Yes, most of the time 3 Yes, all of the time

46 alone WHEN YOU ARE ALONE, WHAT DO YOU MOST LIKE TO DO?
Check only one.

X No response 0 Just sit and think 1 Read
 2 Listen to the radio 3 Eat 4 Play solitaire
 5 Hunt 6 Fish 7 Sew 8 Cook
 9 Housework A Other

NOW LET ME ASK YOU HOW MUCH YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE
 FOLLOWING STATEMENTS.

- | | | | AGREEMENT | | | |
|----|------|---|-----------|-----|-----|------|
| 47 | peer | PREFER BEING WITH PEOPLE
MY OWN AGE | 1 SA | 2 A | 3 D | 4 SD |
| 48 | bor | FEEL BORED OR THAT
LIFE IS EMPTY | 1 SA | 2 A | 3 D | 4 SD |
| 49 | alon | FEEL THERE'S NO ONE
TO TALK WITH ABOUT
WHAT CONCERNS ME | 1 SA | 2 A | 3 D | 4 SD |

NOW I'D LIKE YOU TO LOOK BACK OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS AND TELL ME
 IF YOU HAVE NOTED ANY OF THE FOLLOWING CHANGES.

- | | | Not lived here
ten years | About
the same | Gotten
better | Gotten
worse |
|----|------|--|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 50 | tran | PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION
IN NEIGHBORHOOD | 1 _____ | 2 _____ | 3 _____ 4 _____ |

Q #	Iden	Not lived here ten years				About the same				Gotten better				Gotten worse			
		1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
51	neig	NEIGHBORS		1		2		3		4							
52	safe	SAFETY		1		2		3		4							

AS YOU KNOW, THERE ARE SOME SERVICES AND PROGRAMS, SOME SPECIAL CENTERS FOR THE AGED, AND I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU WITH WHICH ONES YOU ARE FAMILIAR, WHEN YOU VISITED THEM, AND WHAT YOU THINK OF THEM.

Q #	FAMILIAR WITH		LAST VISIT						SATISFACTION			
			Never	Last Month	Last Week	Yesterday	Other (Specify)		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
			0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
53	Home Aide	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
54	Cty. Health Dept.	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
55	Mobile Meal	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
56	Dial-A Dietician	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
57	Arthritis Found.	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
58	Catholic Social Service	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
59	Senior Citizens Info and Referral	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
60	Pastoral Council	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
61	Child & Family Services	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
62	Senior Citizens Center	0 No 1 Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	

Q # FAMILIAR WITHLAST VISITSATISFACTION

				Never	Last Month	Last Week	Yesterday	Other (Specify)	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied		
				0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4		
63	Senior Citizens Med. Ctr.	0	No	1	Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
64	Office on Aging	0	No	1	Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
65	Association for the Blind	0	No	1	Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
66	Food Stamps Program	0	No	1	Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
67	Knoxville College Senior Citizens Center	0	No	1	Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
68	Golden Diners Clubs	0	No	1	Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
69	Senior Citizens Nutrition Program	0	No	1	Yes	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX II

LETTER OF CONSENT



An Equal Opportunity Employer

KNOXVILLE'S COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

P.O. BOX 3629

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37917

(615) 546-1560

May 25, 1979

Dear Resident:

Mr. Roland Harris Jr., a graduate student of U.T. School of Sociology is presently involved in a research effort, "A Study of Black Aged Persons," and is interested in having you participate. KCDC has agreed to contact you and provide Mr. Harris with a list of residents who agree to participate in this study. Your name will not be placed on the form, nor will you be identified in any way. You are free to refuse to answer any of the questions asked, and may withdraw from participation any time during the interview.

Mr. Harris will be located in the area while the students are doing the interviews. If you have any questions about this, please feel free to contact him at Knoxville College, phone number 546-0751, or at his home phone number, 637-2099.

If you are willing to participate in this study, to possibly benefit you and other senior citizens, please sign this form and return to your rental office no later than June 1st. The interviews should occur in the next few days.

Signature

Date

DR. L&E L. WILLIAMS, Chairman

HARRY W. ASQUITH, Vice-Chairman

CLAUDE K. ROBERTSON, Treasurer

VITA

Roland A. Harris, Jr. was born in Portsmouth, Virginia, July 25, 1930. He graduated from I. C. Norcom High School in 1947 and then entered Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, now Norfolk State University. In 1948 he enlisted in the United States Army where he served continuously until his retirement in 1968. In January 1969, he entered Paine College in Augusta, Georgia, and in May 1971 graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree in sociology. In September 1971 he entered The University of Georgia in Athens, Georgia as a graduate student in the Department of Social Science. He was awarded the Master of Education degree with a major in social science education and a minor in sociology in August 1972.

In September 1972 he became an instructor in the Department of Sociology at Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee. In the 1973 and 1974 summer sessions, he was a visiting lecturer in sociology at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee. In June 1974 he entered The University of Tennessee to begin study for the Ph.D. in sociology which was awarded in December 1981. He is an assistant professor in sociology at Knoxville College where he has been Director of Institutional Research, Director of Institutional Self-Study, and Director of Planning and Research. He currently serves as Title III Coordinator and Director of Planning.

He is a member of the American Sociological Association, the Southern Sociological Society, and the Mid-South Sociological Association, where he presented a paper at the 1979 annual meeting.

In the same year he had an article published in The Journal of Negro Education. The author is married to Helen Johnson, and they have two children, Roland III (1957) and Chris (1960).