A COMPARATIVE ADJUSTMENT STUDY OF OLDER
MEXICAN-AMERICAN AND ANGLO WOMEN

by
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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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ABSTRACT

Adjustment among older women of three cultural groups--a non-acculturated Mexican-American group, an acculturated Mexican-American group, and an Anglo group--living within the same neighborhood in Tucson was compared on several measures of adjustment. The Cornell Medical Index measured both physical and psychological pathology. The Life Satisfaction Rating Scale and two cards from the Thematic Apperception test yielded additional information. On all measures, the non-acculturated Mexican-American was the best adjusted. The adjustment of the Anglo group was second; the adjustment of the acculturated Mexican-American group was poorest. The data further suggest areas that may account for the superior adjustment of the non-acculturated Mexican-American.
ABSTRACT

Adjustment among older women of three cultural groups—a non-acculturated Mexican-American group, an acculturated Mexican-American group, and an Anglo group—living within the same neighborhood in Tucson was compared on several measures of adjustment. The Cornell Medical Index measured both physical and psychological pathology. The Life Satisfaction Rating Scale and two cards from the Thematic Apperception test yielded additional information. On all measures, the non-acculturated Mexican-American was the best adjusted. The adjustment of the Anglo group was second; the adjustment of the acculturated Mexican-American group was poorest. The data further suggest areas that may account for the superior adjustment of the non-acculturated Mexican-American.
INTRODUCTION

Older people represent a steadily increasing proportion of the composition of the world's population. This increase is dramatically illustrated by the comparison of the average life span for early Romans (22 years) with that of Americans today (slightly over 70 years). With fertility and mortality rates both declining, the trend for further increases in the percentage of people over 65 is expected to continue (Sauvy, 1963).

These increases in life expectancy do not come as an unmixed blessing, however. Accompanying this circumstance are problems of general social changes and the needs of the aged to adjust to these changes. These problems are reflected in the growing research interest in geriatrics and gerontology, as well as the increasing legislative interest in the health and welfare of the aged.

Hazell (1960) highlighted the problems of social interaction for the older segment of the population by this account of her patients by a student nurse:

It is an unhappy fact, but unfortunately a true one, that the dignified old patriarch revered by children and respected by grandchildren seldom penetrates the hospital ward. The geriatric is usually unwanted, a cumbersome burden handed from one member of his family to the other to be received with reluctance by each in his turn then thankfully passed along, until the family as a whole admit defeat and he is
received in the hospital ward. He may arrive both dirty and underfed. This is when a true nurse comes into her own. A warm bed, clean clothes, adequate food and a few kind words can do wonders for the average geriatric. He can be transformed in a matter of days from a defeated species of humanity to a companionable and even lovable individual (1960, p. 78).

The hospital problem also becomes more acute since those over 65 spend two-and-a-half times as much time in the hospital as those under 65 (Wolff, 1963). Hazell also vividly describes this problem which is as serious in Britain as in the United States:

Adverse home conditions are causing a pressure on the geriatric patients to go into any hospital where they can gain admission. Many of the beds in the formerly voluntary hospital and in the modernized local authority hospital, are being blocked by the presence in the wards of elderly patients who do not require hospital treatment, but cannot return home because of poor home conditions and lack of a home care programme. The National Health Service has spent enormous sums of money to give adequate treatment to the people, and every hospital is very expensive to run, but it is being overloaded by having to care for long stay patients who could be more properly dealt with by the local welfare authorities (1960, p. 38).

In spite of the fact that a great deal of money is being channeled into their care, the problem of the aged still exists. Hazell wonders "... whether the real key to good health is not primarily good social conditions. At any rate it appears that for the elderly, better social conditions are a necessary prerequisite to better health" (p. 39).

Only 40% of the aged are free of psychological problems, according to a study of 222 volunteers by Busse (1960). The most common of these are hypochondriasis and depression. Butler (1963)
believes that even psychiatrists have little understanding of the aging experience and its associated psycho-pathology.

While the nature and limitations of the psychotherapeutic method which Goldfarb (1953) uses are not clearly understood, his study produced interesting results. Particularly remarkable is the short length of time involved, the individual sessions being a maximum of 15 minutes with a limited number of sessions. The relationship is dependent; the patient is permitted to win over the potentially threatening therapist; his self-esteem is increased by controlling this powerful person. Ownership of the therapist allows for emotional gratification. This method has been successful in a wide range of patients, particularly those with brain damage. Wolff (1963) found Goldfarb's method of "brief therapy" to be effective in the raising of ego strength by way of increased self-esteem.

A study of mental health in the Midtown Manhattan area showed an increase of impairment both as social class lowered and as age increased (Srole et al., 1962). Does impairment of mental health have something to do with social rejection?

In dealing medically with older people, one pertinent problem is understanding. Do physicians view the health of the elderly in the same way that the elderly view their own health? One study (Friedsam and Martin, 1963) finds some relationship (although a low one) between self ratings and physician's ratings. Patients worry about their health,
happiness, dejection, and view the self as "old." Physicians are more concerned with specified items of behavior in their ratings. At least in this study of outpatients in a clinic, self ratings of health are lower than physician's ratings.

In western countries, one widely used method of dealing with old people has been simply to institutionalize them. Yet indications are that those "put away" in nursing homes, for example, are less happy and make a poorer adjustment than those who remain in their own homes (Pan, 1954; Hazell, 1960; Townsend, 1963). Bennett (1965) makes the distinction between services to the aged that are protective, those that are supportive, and those that are rehabilitative. He emphasized that in any work with the aged diagnostic labels are inadequate, that the incapacity must be seen as related to the needs of the individual, that incapacity is not static, and that the old can regain control and adjust to change. Townsend (1963) makes a plea for the gradual abandonment of communal homes for the elderly. People from diverse conditions are brought together who do not want to be there, much of the care is inadequate, and many persons are housed in these homes who are capable of caring for themselves. The question is raised as to whether these homes do not increase pathology.
Dual View of Age

The dualistic view of age is at least as old as the ancient Greeks. The Greeks saw old age as a misfortune. Middle Eastern peoples viewed age, however, as the summit of life. We have inherited both views. We feel that old age is depressing, and we are ashamed of this view and assume a pose of respect to cover our feelings in a dishonest way. This dishonesty increases the distance between persons. Since we cannot feel hostile to the aging parent, we project our own hostility onto this old person (Slater, 1963).

Riesman (1954) suggests that there are actually different adjustments possible to age and that this dual theory of age has a basis in the reality of the different possible adjustments to age. The first group he calls the autonomous: "... aging brings for them accretions of wisdom with no loss of spontaneity and ability to enjoy life, and they are relatively independent of the strictures and penalties imposed on the aged by culture" (p. 380). The second group is the adjusted:

"... Well-preserved, as if in creosote... lacks aliveness... new experience cannot get at him... he is borne along on the tide of cultural agendas... responsibility may be a substitute for maturity" (p. 380). His third group is the anomic: "Real decay sets in when the physiological vitality is lost and when the culture does not carry the individual onward but drops him" (p. 383).
The Disengagement Theory

Perhaps the most comprehensive and ingenious attempt at a theory is the theory of disengagement proposed by Elaine Cumming based on data from the Kansas City studies (Henry and Cumming, 1959; Cumming, 1959; Cumming, 1960). Middle age status is used as a model in our culture from which old age departs. As people depart from the norms of middle age, they feel more and more useless, and their morale drops. We urge the old to new activities, taking it for granted that this middle age value also applies to old age. The first step in Cumming's theory of aging is a change in time perception; time must not now be saved, and gratification must not be put off. Step 2 is a shift from the outer world to the inner world (religion?). In step 3, time seems to be running out and disengagement is practiced. Step 4 involves a reduction in object cathexis with a corresponding restructuring of the ego. Finally, step 5 culminates in curtailment of contact with people, less interest in deep family relationships, more response to comparative strangers. This inner turning results not in despair but in rewards. The two ends of the life continuum, childhood and age, are more carefree and more lenient. It is not necessary to adhere rigidly to society's demands. Decreasing interaction results in increased freedom and a shrinkage of life space. Their carefree egocentricity evolves toward a specific affective set that carries the expectation of short-run gratification and responsiveness to the
immediate environment. The aged are free to die because they are already withdrawn; they relive life without its demands. Lastly, extreme old age finds the individual completely withdrawn and interested in immediate gratifications such as meals or outings.

Cumming (1959) traced the course of value changes with age by means of TAT stories. The protocols of men in their 30's emphasized achievement and showed they were not inner directed. Stories from men in their 40's highlighted the resolution of conflict by means of inner resources, a re-examination of self. In the 50's conflict with the outer world continued, yet it found resolution in immediate experience. Cumming felt that aging "suggests a movement of energy into an internalized form of passive mastery of an ideal abstracted inner world—a world of their own creation, governed by their own rules" (p. 387). Persons move "from an active, combative, outer world orientation to an adaptive, conforming and abstract inner world orientation" (p. 387). Confirmation came from a study by Gutmann (1959) in his TAT blind study of 145 subjects between 40 and 71. From an outer combative orientation a shift takes place to an inner adaptive orientation.

Cumming later (1963) elaborated her theory with a study of 175 subjects between 50 and 90. She felt that there is a mutual withdrawal between the individual and society, and suggested a biological basis for the reduction of interest and reduction of involvement with the environment. Feedback comes from society about the correctness of the
response. Shift is away from achievement because achievement demands a future. A new set of values gives freedom from obligation. When withdrawal begins, contacts become more difficult, ideas are removed from the scene where they may be tested, and ideas become stereotyped. Those with skills are engaged longer. Since contacts are reduced, those remaining become more important. The older individual becomes more self-centered and less conforming.

Bortner (1963) offers some small support for this theory. He found that fantasies of success and realistic achievement generally decrease, and fantasies of impulse gratification generally rise.

Davis (1962) found that active emotions such as anger decrease with old age. The passive emotion of loneliness increased.

Needs and Roles of the Aged

"Social gerontology is emerging rapidly as a dominant aspect of the total field of gerontology" (Tibbits, 1963, p. 339). Our view of old age is the one prescribed by our culture. We are indulgent with the aged and force them into an old age role. We give advice to them rather than seeking advice from them. This role is closely linked to status and to concept of self. They are treated as though they are useless and can contribute nothing but must instead be helped. This is demonstrated in our society by a lack of any productive economic or social role. Many aged turn to religion; the satisfaction and security
it provides increase with age. In spite of the sharp shift in roles as age increases, old age is not isolated from the rest of life. The ability to face the problems of old age is best judged by the way in which the individual handled his past life. Dominant drives change with age, while the desires for security, for social recognition, and for relaxation and physical comfort may increase. Desires for sexual expression and for novel experience may lessen, although none seems to be lost completely. The changes involved are progressive and permanent (Cavan et al., 1949).

A study in Austria by Rosenmayr and Kackers (1963) on the relationship of the old with their family sounds remarkably familiar. Austria has a large proportion (16%) of its population over 65. They prefer "intimacy at a distance" and live alone but close to their family if possible. Those who are married are more likely to live alone. Those who are unmarried are more likely to live with their children and are more willing to live with their children. Desocialization takes place professionally but not within the family; family relations do not decrease. Emotional ties to their family are strong enough to overcome functional detachment, the first detachment from the family usually occurring at around 50.

The first change that the aging must make is the shift from a full to an empty home, from an ego-enhancing role of leadership as a parent to one of need. Secondly, if the marital relationship has been strained this new void brings with it new strain. Third, they must
become accustomed to the change from a culturally valued youth to a culturally devalued old age (Srole, 1962).

Wolff (1963) also stresses the emphasis on youth in our culture. Children who cannot identify with an older person may consider him as a burden. Combined with the attitude of those who fill the productive role in society is the economic insecurity that accompanies nonproductivity. However, Wolff feels that the old do want to be alone, that they are less socially oriented, but that they do not want to be excluded. Aloneness involves ambivalence.

In a penetrating report by the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health (Action for Mental Health, 1961), unhappiness and worry are compared as a function of age.

The meaning of "unhappiness" for Americans is not the same as the meaning of "worried". Unhappy people are pessimistic about the future and the possibilities of change; they are apathetic and have a deficit of psychological resources. The worrier, however, is likely to be more optimistic about the future, he believes things can change for the better and proceeds accordingly; he is active and positive in his approach to life. . . . Older people . . . are unhappier but worry less than the younger generation in spite of the association of economic insecurity with old age. . . . Older people seem to feel little self-doubt. Time rounds off the sharp corners. Things that appeared to be of vital importance to them when they were younger do not count so much as they grow older. Thus the survey found that older people give fewer negative self-appraisals; they are more satisfied about the way they have carried out their responsibilities as husbands, wives, and parents. It may be that, on the one hand, older husbands and wives have learned to compromise their differences; and on the other that their influence over their children has waned, and they feel less responsibility for them.
Yet older people do not feel happier with their marriages than younger people, and they evaluate their entire current life as less happy than do younger people. As in the findings that older people were generally more unhappy and yet worried less, these feelings toward marriage and parenthood seem to reflect a resignation, apathy, and passive acceptance of life and oneself (pp. 96-99).

Gurin (1960) supports this general distinction and expands this thesis. The older are more passive; the younger are more coping. The older people seek for solutions to their problems in prayer, while the young go for guidance to family and friends. As parents, older persons are more positive and mention fewer problems; they are less involved in personal relations with their child and less introspective about their roles. It would be interesting to investigate these findings in several cultures.

Nettler (1957) describes the concept of alienation, first suggested by Hegel and enlarged by Fromm, as an explanation of what happens to the socialized when he becomes detached from the world of nature including his own nature. He sees alienation as being related to creativity, mental and emotional disorder, altruism, suicide, chemical addictions, poor marriage risks, and criminal behavior. Using a scale of alienation designed to measure the tendency to powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation, Dean (1961) found a small positive correlation with age. Srole (1956) also found a relationship between social isolation and age on his anomie scale. He points to the suggestion by Fromm that anomie or aloneness may result in
authoritarianism or compulsive conformity. Brown (1960) raises the question as to whether it is social isolation that produces feelings of neglect. Lack of sensitivity to social expectations or inaccurate social cognition mediates between social isolation and social adjustment, according to Granick and Nahemow (Hoch and Zubin, 1960). They found that those with more social contacts made more accurate social cognitions.

In an attempt to test the hypothesis that as individuals become older, they have less contact with the environment, and that this in turn is responsible for lowered morale, Maddox administered two scales, one to tap contact with the environment, and one to tap satisfaction (Maddox, 1962; Maddox and Eisdorfer, 1962). He found that caution must be exercised in imputing a simple causal relationship between the amount of activity and morale. The two variables do correlate, but it was found that whereas activity decreases with age, morale does not. When health and self esteem are good, morale is likely to be good, even in the absence of social contact. Conversely, some hyperactive individuals may have low morale.

One study (David, 1962) attempted to examine some of the characteristics considered to be desirable among the aged by studying a group who were preferred by their contemporaries as compared to a nonpreferred group. He discovered that the preferred group was more positive in their general orientation and more decisive in their judgments of their own age status. The preferred group had complaints
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that were more of a physical and social nature, rather than psychological. Thus Davis believed that they accepted reality more than the non-preferred group.

Old people do view themselves as different from people-in-general, but the similarities between the old and people-in-general far outnumber the differences (Kogan and Shelton, 1962a). Conclusions were drawn from incomplete sentences collected from 200 old people. The elderly were more willing to accept friendship regardless of age than were people-in-general, according to the sentences collected from the old people. They stressed their need for gratification from interpersonal relationships, and considered people-in-general to be more shallow. They viewed life as unstimulating and death as a release. The old saw life for people-in-general as being more complex and challenging. The old were cited as needing more activities. They were perturbed at the view of the young that older people are more narrow-minded; yet they did see the younger as foolish and wild.

In another study, Kogan and Shelton (1962b) compared answers on incomplete sentences of an undergraduate group and an old-age group. Young people were more negative to age and gave more age-specific answers than did the aged. The aged resented this rejection by the young, but the young also saw themselves as resented by the elderly and were defensive. The younger group patronized the aged and felt that the aged needed assistance while the older group feared dependence.
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However, in most areas, there was agreement between the two groups and much positive sentiment expressed; no harsh statements were expressed.

As age increases, there are certain areas of stress which are especially related to important life changes. These are lack of security, loss of affection as their children become more involved in their own affairs, loss of recognition, financial dependency, sexual impotency, and loss of self-esteem (Leveen, 1963). It is suggested that these stresses can be subsumed under four areas; economic, familial, physical, and social, and that within each are specific roles, ones that must be changed with age. Some individuals are more successful in learning these new roles than others. Their adjustment depends on both outer (social) development and inner (personal) adjustment.

In our culture, too often the leisure imposed by work reduction is idleness that stands in the way of fulfillment through leisure. Hobbies tend to continue, and there is a relationship between participation before and after retirement. Primitive cultures often use their elderly until their death, but with our technology we seem duty-bound to earn the right to idleness and happiness. There is a striking similarity between the favorite pursuits of old and young; the old garden more; the young shop more and participate more in sports. Yet, in spite of this similarity between youth and age we expect the old to enjoy this enforced
leisure that a younger person would not enjoy (Dumazedier and Ripert, 1963).

China does not renounce her aged. Family intergenerational continuity is maintained, and new status is acquired with age (Belknap and Friedsam, 1949). Myrdal (1965) gives some indication that this is still true under communism. Linden and Courtney (1953) view life as a series of peak achievements. When one capacity has passed its prime, another develops to take its place. They believe that the function of the senescent is that of preserving the culture. The judgment of the old is developed, their outlook is broader and less selfish, and they can keep history alive and pass it on to succeeding generations.

Simmons (1945) presents a broad coverage of various anthropological material in connection with age. With declining physical vitality, Simmons feels that social relationships and the opportunities for prestige that these relationships involve become the strongest securities that the old have. Usually the opportunities for homage depend both on individual initiative and on the culture. Respect for the aged can be divided into four categories: general respect, social taboos, glorification of the aged in legends, and deification of them in religion. Property rights such as ownership, magic ownership of medicine, things, animals, family have been the salvation of old age. A particular asset that the aged individual possesses is usually the source of respect whether it be knowledge, skill, power or property
rights. For example, "Aged Ainu men and women, particularly very old persons with one foot in the invisible world which is inhabited by their ancestors, were regarded as the safest mediators between the living and the dead..." (p. 65).

Oscar Lewis (1951) presents a mixed picture of old age in Tepoztlán in Mexico.

The status of the aged is, theoretically, one of great respect. Old men and women can address anyone in the familiar tu and in return are to be addressed by Vd. But sometimes the more endearing ‘abuelito or papacito is used. To contradict an anciano and certainly to beat an old man is an outrage; "It is like beating your own father..." (p. 53).

In Tepoztlán a person is thought to be old when he can no longer do his customary work because of physical weakness or when he is obviously gray, wrinkled, and bent with age—not menopause in women... A useless old age is considered a sad thing, and many would prefer death. Chronic or lingering illness is not a serious problem because old people continue to work until their illness becomes acute, and death quickly follows... Old age is traditionally the time when a Tepoztecan receives greatest respect and consideration. Men over fifty are not required to do guard duty, and old people are permitted greater freedom of speech and behavior. They may even get drunk, insult others, use sexual terms, laugh and cry, and even urinate in public without censure, although younger people may find it embarrassing. On the whole, however, old people are as restrained in behavior as other adults... (p. 411).

The status of the aged, however, is by no means an enviable one, particularly when old people can no longer support themselves. Children are supposed to support aged parents but there are cases of extreme neglect and the theme, "I would rather die than depend upon my children" is frequently heard. The old people do not take part in politics and in general do not have positions of leadership. Because of the rapidly changing culture, the ancianos are
out of step with the times. Many speak Spanish poorly and have difficulty even in communicating with their grandchildren. In some cases the younger generation, particularly those who have been away to school, are embarrassed by the old-fashioned dress, speech, and manners of their grandparents... (p. 53).

It appears to be the consensus that less and less respect for old people is being shown. It is pointed out that many children now address their grandparents in the familiar tu and that some of the old customs of greeting elders, such as the kissing of the hand, have fallen into disuse. In addition to the disappearance of outward signs of respect, there are more sources of conflict between the older and younger generations because of recent social and economic changes. Also, the facts that old people do not usually take an active part in community life, that a large number of the aged are poverty stricken, and that their speech, dress, and manners are now viewed as old-fashioned have somewhat diminished their respect status. Despite the nostalgia of the older folk for the "good old days", however, they are treated with relative respect, and the grandparent-grandchild relations are often of an affectionate nature (pp. 411-414).

In her classic article on continuities and discontinuities, Ruth Benedict (1938) suggests that in our culture and in many cultures the roles of the child and those of the adult are discontinuous, particularly in the areas of occupation, sex, and responsibility. But in nonliterate cultures, the roles are often more continuous or at least the shifts are more clearly outlined and thus more easily made. The concept of discontinuity could be applied to the changed expectations of increasing age. Parsons (1942) pointed out the stress on youth in our culture and the forced retirement of the aged often results in psychosomatic complaints. Cottrell (1942) suggested that the degree of adjustment to social roles depends to some extent upon the clarity of these roles.
The roles changed as they are in age, are often not clearly understood. Davis (1962) found that the aged who were more popular were more clear in their roles.

Cumming (1963) found that from middle life to later life woman's roles change less than do men's. These roles, as might be expected, center around the family, and the mothers and daughters are the ones who keep the family together (Rosenmayr and Köckers, 1963). In spite of the fact that men have a lower life expectancy, women believe that their health is worse and report more illness than do men. With the lower life expectancy of men, there are a greater number of aged women. The satisfaction and security provided by religion increase with age, particularly among women. Women participate in more activities and feel more economically secure, but they are less happy and more frustrated with themselves (Cavan et al., 1949). Women are more sensitive to trouble, more negative, more self-questioning. Older women show more anxiety than younger women, an increase not shown by men. This indicates that the aging process may be harder psychologically on women in spite of the fact that they live longer. Again women are reported to score higher on all psychological and physical symptoms than do men (Action for Mental Health, 1961).
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Running through this discussion on the needs and roles of the aged is a thread of continuity, but there are areas of disagreement in which the data seem to conflict at least in our present state of knowledge. Much of the data here presented is data obtained in our own culture. Data obtained from other cultures show the vast range of roles that it is possible to assign to the aged. Yet comparative studies on adjustment of the aged are almost nonexistent.

Tucson contains a large percent of older people because the climate is considered both healthful and pleasant. It also contains a large Mexican-American population as well as an Anglo population. The Mexican-American population is not limited to one section of town but rather is spread in varying degrees throughout most sections of the city. The major aim of the present research is that of comparing the aged of three cultural groups—a non-acculturated Mexican-American group, an acculturated Mexican-American group, and an Anglo group—who live within the same neighborhood. Acculturation was operationally defined as an ability to speak the English language.

When Benedict (1938) presented the concept of discontinuity formulated on the basis of observations of different cultures, she suggested another possible way of viewing the changes that take place with
age. Benedict feels that discontinuity varies in different cultures. Lewis (1951) reports that in the Mexican culture as he sees it in Tepoztlán, old age is valued and respected and that people continue to play a role almost until their death. Although individuals may not live up to this cultural ideal and although this ideal may be changing, this is the traditional view of age. This view suggests that the lack of discontinuity between middle age and old age is part of the Mexican heritage. The more this traditional Mexican view of old age is reflected in the Mexican-American adjustment to age here in Tucson, the more acceptable and the better the adjustment might be expected to be. The present study is particularly interested in the specific areas that lead to this adjustment and areas of difficulty that still remain.

If our culture does have more discontinuity as Benedict suggests, and if this concept can be applied to change with age, the Anglo older woman would be expected to be less well adjusted than her non-acculturated Mexican contemporary. This study explores different modes of adjustment and the difficulties observable in this group.

Exposure to conflicting and overlapping networks of culture, might be expected to hinder adjustment as roles become less clear. Therefore, the acculturated Mexican-American is expected to be the least well adjusted of the three groups. This study is interested in the expression of this confusion and the mechanisms for handling it.
Particular attention to the possible applications of theories of age in this comparative study is attempted by use of a variety of measures.
METHOD AND SUBJECTS

Measures Utilized in This Study

Cornell Medical Index

The Cornell Medical Index (CMI) is a 195-item questionnaire divided into symptom syndrome groups such as eyes and ears, respiratory system, cardiovascular system, digestive tract, musculoskeletal system, etc. (Broadman et al., 1952, 1953). These scales can be grouped into a physical symptom group and into a psychological symptom group. Matarazzo, Matarazzo, and Saslow (1961) used the total number of "Yes" responses to successfully identify psychiatric patients from medical patients finding that the former group had consistently higher scores. The correlation between psychiatric and physical items was .59. This result supports a holistic approach to illness. Prediction studies of post operative recovery has met with limited but significant success (Bard and Warenberg, 1957; Knox, 1953a).

Broadman (1953) found that women had more complaints than men. Older people had more complaints than younger persons but not in the areas of mood and feeling. Broadman confirmed reliability by oral interview.

In the present study the CMI was used to glean information about the physical and mental health of the subject in a comprehensive
manner and in a manner that allowed comparison of physical and psychological scales.

**Life Satisfaction Rating Scales**

The Life Satisfaction Rating Scales (LSRS) were developed for use in the Kansas City Study of Adult Life and validated in this study (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961). They "sought to develop a measure . . . that would use the individual's own evaluations as the point of reference; and one that would be relatively independent of level of activity or social participation" (p. 135). *(Total scales are reported in Appendix A.)*

Five separate categories make up the LSRS, and the subject is to be rated from a low of 1 to a high of 5 in each of these categories:

A. **Zest vs. apathy.** To be rated here are enthusiasm of response and degree of ego-involvement in any of various activities, persons, or ideas, whether or not these are activities which involve R with other people, are "good" or "socially approved" or "status-giving." Thus, R who "just loves to sit home and knit" rates as high as R who "loves to get out and meet people." Although a low rating is given for listlessness and apathy, physical energy per se is not to be involved in this rating. Low ratings are given for being "bored with most things"; for "I have to force myself to do things"; and also for meaningless (and unenjoyed) hyperactivity.

B. **Resolution and fortitude.** The extent to which R accepts personal responsibility for his life; the opposite of feeling resigned, or of merely condoning or passively accepting that which life has brought him. The extent to which R accepts his life as meaningful and inevitable, and is relatively unafraid of death. Erikson's "integrity." Not to be confused with "autonomy" or the extent to which R's life has been self-propelled or characterized by initiative. R may not have been a person of high initiative, but yet he may accept resolutely
and relatively positively that which life has been for him. R may feel life was a series of hard knocks, but that he has stood up under them (this would be a high rating).

There are two types of low ratings; the highly intro-punitive, where R blames himself overly much; and the extra-punitive, where R blames others or the world in general for whatever failures or disappointments he has experienced. . . .

C. Congruence between desired and achieved goals. The extent to which R feels he has achieved his goals in life, whatever those goals might be; feels he has succeeded in accomplishing what he regards as important. High ratings go, for instance, to R who says, "I've managed to keep out of jail" just as to R who says, "I managed to send all my kids through college." Low ratings go to R who feels he's missed most of his opportunities, or who says, "I've never been suited to my work," or "I always wanted to be a doctor, but never could get there." Also to R who wants most to be "loved," but instead feels merely "approved." (Expressions of regret for lack of education are not counted because they are stereotyped responses among all but the group of highest social status.)

D. Self-concept. R's concept of self--physical as well as psychological and social attributes. High ratings go to R who is concerned with grooming and appearance; who thinks of himself as wise, mellow (and thus is comfortable in giving advice to others); who feels proud of his accomplishments; who feels he deserves whatever good breaks he has had; who feels he is important to someone else. Low ratings are given to R who feels "old," weak, sick, incompetent; who feels himself a burden to others; who speaks disparagingly of self or of old people.

E. Mood tone. High ratings for R who expresses happy, optimistic attitudes and mood; who uses spontaneous, positively-toned affective terms for people and things; who takes pleasure from life and expresses it. Low ratings for depression, "feel blue and lonely"; for feelings of bitterness; for frequent irritability and anger. (Here we consider not only R's verbalized attitudes in the interview; but make inferences from all we know of his interpersonal relationships, how others react toward him) (pp. 137-138).
Neugarten, Havighurst and Tobin (1961) report additional data for the scale. Reliability was obtained by two judges independently rating 177 cases. The correlation coefficient was .78, and with the Spearman-Brown formula, .87. Interjudge agreement was 97% for Zest; 96% for Resolution; 92% for Congruence; 96% for Self-concept; and 92% for Mood tone. Range was from 8 to 25; mean was 17.8; standard deviation was 4.6. There was a negligible correlation between Life Satisfaction and age and no significant sex difference.

Validity was checked in a separate interview with a clinical psychologist who also used this rating system. The correlation was .64. If the correlation were .76 it would have represented exact agreement or agreement within one step of the 5-step scale. Separate scales ranged from an agreement of 69% for Mood tone to 86% for Zest.

**Tat Cards**

Cards 6BM and 12F from the Thematic Apperception Test were utilized to elicit stories from subjects.

Adjustment is a general term that can mean different things to different people. As the term, adjustment, is used in this study, it is used simply in connection with the measures utilized and the answers given by respondents. Better adjustment means fewer yes answers on the CMI and higher ratings by interviewers on the LSRS. TAT stories contributed more to areas of difficulties rather than to amount of adjustment.
Subjects

In order to interview comparable groups, neighborhoods were selected for study that had a percentage of Mexican-Americans between 40% and 60% as listed by the U.S. census. Since older people were not distributed evenly throughout the tracts, interviewers inquired at several houses on each block until an older woman was located. She was then asked if she would talk to the interviewer for about an hour to learn more about the older people in Tucson for the Public Health Service. If it was not convenient at that time, the interviewer offered to come back. Any woman who spoke little or no English received an appointment with an interviewer who spoke excellent Spanish. Most women were most cooperative, and the writer feels indebted to these women who gave of their time and were willing to disclose personal information necessary for the study.

Interview Technique

There were 10 interviewers, graduate students and seniors, who were instructed in interview procedure and scoring of the LSRS. Of the 115 women interviewed, 9 were eliminated from the sample because they had some college education. All of these women were very well adjusted and did not seem to be comparable to the rest of the sample. Eight of these subjects were Anglos; one was an unacculturated Mexican-American who had received a college education in Mexico.
Remaining in the sample were interviews from 33 non-acculturated Mexican-Americans, 30 acculturated Mexican-Americans, and 41 Anglos.

The interview itself began with the CMI which is available in both Spanish and English. The whole interview was conducted orally since many of this sample could not read. The CMI was read to the subject and the Yes-No answers were circled. The interview continued with questions designed to tap as many areas as possible of the subject's life. Many of the questions were borrowed from the Kansas City studies of Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin (1961). (See Appendix B for complete questionnaire and answers.) Lastly, two TAT Cards were shown, and the woman was asked to tell a story about the picture; what might have happened to cause this situation and how it might turn out. Later, the total interview was scored by the interviewer on the LSRS.
RESULTS

General Adjustment

Table 1 describes the results of F test comparisons among the three cultural groups on the various CMI scales and the LSRS. Inspection of the table indicates that the mean adjustment scores of the non-acculturated Mexican-American group are better than the other two cultural groups on all measures of adjustment. The adjustment of the Anglo-American group is inferior to the Mexican-American unacculturated group on all scores and either is equal to or superior to the adjustment of the acculturated Mexican-American group. Significant at the .05 level were F test comparisons on the CMI total, CMI physical and LSRS measures.

An orthogonal comparisons method of analysis permits further comparisons among the various subgroups. Table 2 presents the results of these comparisons. Inspection of Table 2 indicates that the Mexican-American acculturated group has a greater amount of pathology than the Mexican-American unacculturated group on all measures of pathology. On these comparisons, the significance levels were smaller than .01 for all measures of pathology.

Table 3 presents the results of a Scheffé analysis of the differences between the non-acculturated Mexican-Americans and the Anglo-
Table 1

Differences in Pathology Among the Three Cultural Groups as Measured by F Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Nonacc. Mean</th>
<th>Acc. Mean</th>
<th>Anglo Mean</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Total Mean</th>
<th>Total SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMI(^a)</td>
<td>24.545</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>34.805</td>
<td>3.519</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>30.606</td>
<td>20.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMI(^a) Physical (A-K)</td>
<td>16.33</td>
<td>25.567</td>
<td>25.659</td>
<td>4.469</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>22.673</td>
<td>15.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMI(^a) Psychological (L-R)</td>
<td>8.212</td>
<td>12.633</td>
<td>9.146</td>
<td>2.133</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>9.856</td>
<td>8.997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSRS(^b)</td>
<td>19.455</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>18.854</td>
<td>3.048</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>18.51</td>
<td>4.165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)High scores indicate more pathology.

\(^b\)Low scores indicate more pathology.
Table 2
Orthogonal Comparisons of Differences among Cultural Groups on Measures of Adjustment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.545</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>34.805</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>6.282</td>
<td>.01</td>
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<td>CMI</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phys.</td>
<td>16.333</td>
<td>25.567</td>
<td>25.659</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>6.162</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
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<td>CMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psych.</td>
<td>8.212</td>
<td>12.633</td>
<td>9.146</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>6.227</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMI</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSRS</td>
<td>19.455</td>
<td>17.</td>
<td>18.854</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3
Scheffé Technique Comparing Differences Among Cultural Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24.545</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>34.805</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>.501</td>
<td>NS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phys.</td>
<td>16.333</td>
<td>25.567</td>
<td>25.659</td>
<td>9.92</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psych.</td>
<td>8.212</td>
<td>12.633</td>
<td>9.146</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>10.88</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSRS</td>
<td>19.455</td>
<td>17.</td>
<td>18.854</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>4.223</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
group and between the acculturated Mexican-American group and the Anglo group. For the first comparison, the Anglo group is shown to have significantly more pathology than the non-acculturated Mexican-American group on the physical CMI scale (P > .05). The comparison between the Anglo group and the acculturated Mexican-American group indicates a greater amount of pathology on the CMI psychological scale for the acculturated group. Other comparisons described in the table are not significant.

Further support for the relatively better adjustment and greater satisfaction of the non-acculturated Mexican-American group comes from the individual adjustment questionnaire items listed in Table 4. The percentage of subjects who gave answers in the direction of good adjustment is greater for the non-acculturated Mexican-Americans than for the other two cultural groups. The percentage of acculturated Mexican-Americans showing good adjustment is the lowest of the three groups. All questionnaire items and their percentages of positive answers are listed in Appendix B.

The correlation matrix, shown in Table 5, indicates that the total CMI, physical scale of the CMI, the psychological scale of the CMI and the LSRS correlate highly. Highest correlation among the measures used is that of the physical scale of the CMI with the total CMI (r = .729). Lowest is that of the total CMI with LSRS (r = -.379). This latter result indicates that high pathology on the CMI is positively
Table 4

$X^2$ Differences among Cultural Groups in Adjustment Questionnaire Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire item</th>
<th>Nonacc.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would be.</td>
<td>78.78%</td>
<td>60.00%</td>
<td>80.48%</td>
<td>4.305</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most of the people I know.</td>
<td>90.90%</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>78.04%</td>
<td>14.246</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I expect some interesting and pleasant things to happen to me in the future.</td>
<td>87.88%</td>
<td>46.67%</td>
<td>70.73%</td>
<td>12.598</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The things I do are as interesting to me as they ever were.</td>
<td>84.84%</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
<td>85.37%</td>
<td>4.519</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel my age, but it does not bother me.</td>
<td>84.84%</td>
<td>63.33%</td>
<td>82.93%</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As I look back on my life, I am fairly well satisfied.</td>
<td>96.97%</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>90.24%</td>
<td>3.326</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would not change my past life even if I could.</td>
<td>93.94%</td>
<td>60.00%</td>
<td>56.10%</td>
<td>13.975</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other people my age, I've made a lot of foolish decisions in my life.</td>
<td>6.06%</td>
<td>30.00%</td>
<td>46.34%</td>
<td>14.479</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other people my age, I make a good appearance.</td>
<td>93.94%</td>
<td>46.67%</td>
<td>68.29%</td>
<td>16.898</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I've gotten pretty much what I expected out of life.</td>
<td>93.94%</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
<td>85.37%</td>
<td>8.502</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you think you will be doing five years from now? How do you expect things to be different from the way they are now in your life? - better</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>34.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often do you feel there is no point in living? - never</td>
<td>81.82</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>85.37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5

Correlation among Measures of Pathology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CMI</th>
<th>Physical scores on CMI</th>
<th>Psychological scores on CMI</th>
<th>LSRS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical scores on CMI</td>
<td>0.729</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.637</td>
<td>-0.538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological scores on CMI</td>
<td>0.707</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.637</td>
<td>-0.534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSRS</td>
<td>-0.379</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.538</td>
<td>-0.534</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
correlated with poor adjustment on the LSRS.

Attitudes Toward Religion

All groups highly endorsed the item, "There are times when religion is a comfort to older people" (Appendix B). As depicted in Table 6, there does seem to be much greater satisfaction from religion within the non-acculturated Mexican-American group of women. This may be one area that contributes to the superior adjustment of the non-acculturated Mexican-American women.

Relation to Children

Another area of greater satisfaction for the non-acculturated Mexican-American older woman is her close relationship with her children and grandchildren. Inspection of Table 7 indicates significant differences among the three experimental groups for four out of five items testing attitudes in this area. A comparison of the means in Table 7 shows that the two Mexican-American groups have a closer relationship to children than the Anglo group on all five items. The non-acculturated Mexican-American either is closer to or is equal to the acculturated Mexican-American with respect to this variable.

Other data from this study lend some support to the value placed on childhood by the older Mexican-American woman in both acculturated and non-acculturated groups. Table 8 shows that
Table 6

$X^2$ Differences Among the Three Cultural Groups on Questionnaire "Religion Items"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire item</th>
<th>Nonacc. %</th>
<th>Acc. Mex. Am. %</th>
<th>Acc. Mex. Am. %</th>
<th>Anglo %</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage who do community or church work in their spare time.</td>
<td>81.81</td>
<td>36.66</td>
<td>36.58</td>
<td>18.413</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage who answer yes to the item, &quot;The major satisfaction in the lives of older people comes from religion.&quot;</td>
<td>87.87</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>63.41</td>
<td>6.368</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7

$X^2$ Differences among the Three Cultural Groups on "Relation to Children" Questionnaire Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire items</th>
<th>Nonacc. %</th>
<th>Acc. %</th>
<th>Mex. %</th>
<th>Am. %</th>
<th>Anglo %</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you live close to your children? - yes</td>
<td>63.63</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>39.02</td>
<td>5.98</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you see them as often as you'd like? - yes</td>
<td>58.06</td>
<td>32.14</td>
<td>24.32</td>
<td>8.975</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often do you see them? - daily</td>
<td>58.06</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>10.81</td>
<td>18.909</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When was the last time you saw them? - today</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>56.66</td>
<td>24.39</td>
<td>9.567</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you help with your grandchildren? - yes</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>40.54</td>
<td>4.233</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are your children in the habit of coming to you for advice? - yes</td>
<td>64.52</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>40.54</td>
<td>4.233</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37
Table 8

$X^2$ Differences among the Three Cultural Groups on "Happiest Period of Life" Questionnaire Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire item</th>
<th>Nonacc.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
<th>Mex.</th>
<th>Mex.</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which period is the most happy of your life?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>childhood, teens</td>
<td>36.36</td>
<td>36.66</td>
<td>7.31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.286</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>early married life</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>43.33</td>
<td>41.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.185</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>later married life</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.785</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.447</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>26.82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.074</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mexican-American women feel that their childhood was the happiest time of life more often than do Anglos.

Table 9 presents the results of an analysis of stories given to TAT card 6BM which is interpreted to represent the relationship between mother and son. Inspection of the table suggests that the non-acculturated Mexican-American women display less conflict with sons than the other two groups. One of these comparisons reaches the 5% level; the other does not attain the requisite level of significance. On the other hand, the acculturated Mexican-American group is shown to have the greatest conflicts.

Additional data relevant to the mother-son relationship are provided in Table 10. Inspection of this table indicates responses for the three experimental groups which may be interpreted as indicating a son rejecting a mother. A greater percentage of Anglo subjects produce rejecting mother themes than acculturated Mexican-Americans. In turn, there is a slightly larger percentage of acculturated Mexican-Americans who give these themes than non-acculturated Mexican-Americans.

It is noteworthy that with respect to this variable the order of groups is somewhat modified as compared to the previous analysis on other variables. In this case, it is the Anglos rather than the acculturated Mexican-American group who reflect more tension. The differences revealed by the table are large. It is noteworthy that over 21% of the Anglo women have themes depicting a son rejecting them or sending them to a home.
Table 9
Conflict with Children for the Three Cultural Groups (TAT Analysis)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother disapproves</td>
<td>12.12%</td>
<td>36.66%</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>5.382</td>
<td></td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>66.66%</td>
<td>41.46%</td>
<td>7.625</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother is anxious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about son's welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 12F</td>
<td>36.36%</td>
<td>46.66%</td>
<td>19.51%</td>
<td>10.447</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostility towards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10
Son's Rejection of Mother Indicated by TAT Analysis for the Three Cultural Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAT category</th>
<th>Nonacc.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Theme: Son rejects or sends to home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonacc. Mex. Am. %</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>9.996</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Cause of conflict: Son desires independence, leaves home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Cause of conflict: Mother is problem to son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonacc. Mex. Am. %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Mother's need: Need for love, assurance, or support</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonacc. Mex. Am. %</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>5.577</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spare Time Activities

Anglos have by far the greatest variety of spare time activities as shown in Table 11. They are less bored, less lonely, more interested. Acculturated Mexican-Americans have the fewest activities; they are most bored, most lonely, least interested. In a few activities, non-acculturated Mexican-Americans exceeded the Anglos: movies, dances, community or church work.

Cognitive Structure

Non-acculturated Mexican-Americans are more tentative and indefinite in their fantasies than are either of the other two groups as indicated by TAT analysis. Inspection of Table 12 shows that the non-acculturated group conforms less adequately to the instruction to produce a logically consistent complete story. Two out of seven items are statistically significant but the differences in the remaining items are in the same direction.

No Answer Responses

One possible index of emotional disturbance is a complete failure to answer an item on the questionnaire. Table 13 presents relevant data for the three experimental groups. Inspection of the table indicates that the non-acculturated Mexican-American has the least number of not-answered items, Anglos have more, and the acculturated Mexican-American has the most items not answered.
Table 11

**$X^2$ Differences among the Three Cultural Groups on "Use of Spare Time" Questionnaire Items**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire item</th>
<th>Nonacc. %</th>
<th>Acc. Mex. Am. %</th>
<th>Acc. Mex. Am. %</th>
<th>Anglo %</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hobby</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>19.51</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio or TV</td>
<td>87.87</td>
<td>76.66</td>
<td>95.12</td>
<td>5.401</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write letters</td>
<td>60.60</td>
<td>43.33</td>
<td>82.92</td>
<td>12.156</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>36.36</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>19.67</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dances</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>8.413</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures and/or concerts</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>24.39</td>
<td>11.445</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club or lodge</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>31.70</td>
<td>16.383</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community or church work</td>
<td>81.81</td>
<td>36.66</td>
<td>36.58</td>
<td>18.413</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>19.51</td>
<td>8.432</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cards or games</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>39.02</td>
<td>9.689</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile rides</td>
<td>57.57</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>60.97</td>
<td>7.497</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>72.72</td>
<td>53.33</td>
<td>78.04</td>
<td>5.245</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the things I do are boring or monotonous</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>36.67</td>
<td>7.32</td>
<td>9.638</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The things I do are as interesting to me as they ever were</td>
<td>84.84</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>85.37</td>
<td>4.519</td>
<td>NS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire item</th>
<th>Nonacc.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What are the best things about being the age you are now? - a positive answer</td>
<td>75.76</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>90.24</td>
<td>9.646</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often do you find yourself feeling lonely? - never</td>
<td>57.58</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>80.49</td>
<td>8.014</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12

$X^2$ Differences among the Three Cultural Groups on "Cognitive Structure" as Shown by TAT Stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAT Category</th>
<th>Nonacc. %</th>
<th>Acc. %</th>
<th>Anglo %</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Theme: Conflict, unresolved</td>
<td>30.30</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td>6.472</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Theme: no story; passive situation</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>26.66</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Cause of conflict: cause not indicated</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>3.835</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Mother's need: not indicated</td>
<td>39.39</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>12.19</td>
<td>9.526</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Outcome: positive, tentative</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>4.965</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Outcome: negative, tentative</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>3.613</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 12F - Outcome: indefinite, but good</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>3.084</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 13

Total N of "No Answers" for Questionnaire Items for the Three Cultural Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nonacc.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
<th>X^2</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mex. Am.</td>
<td>8.08</td>
<td>11.41</td>
<td>11.425</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mex. Am.</td>
<td>10.45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 14

Future Orientation as Indicated by TAT Analysis for the Three Cultural Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAT Category</th>
<th>Nonacc.</th>
<th>Acc.</th>
<th>X^2</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 12F:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This old woman is</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>4.855</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what young woman will be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 12F:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation, future</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>4.227</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Orientation to the Future

One of the distinctions between Mexican and Anglo culture frequently cited in the literature is that between a value orientation predominantly oriented towards the future and one oriented more to the present and/or the past. Table 14 presents a TAT coding designed to analyze this difference. Two overlapping categories were scored: "Younger person as protagonist looking forward to the future" and "Orientation: future."

Inspection of the table indicates that the means of the three groups do indeed confirm the hypothesized difference. The Anglo group shows most future orientation, the acculturated Mexican-American group is next in order, and the Mexican-American unacculturated is the least future oriented. An $X^2$ of 5.9 is required for the 5% level of significance. Although the obtained $X^2$'s of 4.855 and 4.227 do not quite meet the requisite level, they are sufficiently close to suggest that the hypothesis may be tenable.

Emotional Tone

Both questionnaire items and TAT analysis, as shown in Table 15, indicate that the non-acculturated Mexican-American expresses the most emotion. These categories include emotion of both a positive and negative type. The exception to this statement are the "sad emotions" expressed in stories to TAT card 6BM. Anglos expressed more
Table 15

X² Differences among the Three Cultural Groups on "Emotional Tone of Expression" Questionnaire Items and TAT Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire item of TAT Category</th>
<th>Nonacc. Mex. Am. %</th>
<th>Acc. Mex. Am. %</th>
<th>Anglo %</th>
<th>X²</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This is the dreariest time of my life</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>36.66</td>
<td>21.95</td>
<td>4.622</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel old and somewhat tired</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>39.02</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other people, I get down in the dumps too often</td>
<td>36.36</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>9.76</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Emotional tone of story: neutral to happy or not indicated</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td>2.073</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Emotional tone of story: unhappy, sad</td>
<td>21.21</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>56.09</td>
<td>10.575</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Emotional tone of story: worry</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td>7.561</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAT card 6BM - Emotional tone of story: anger</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>3.084</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
unhappiness in their stories to this card. The $X^2$ of 10.575 is significant beyond the .01 level.

Adjustment as Age Increases

A trend suggesting the effect of increasing age upon adjustment is depicted in Tables 17 and 19. There was a slight tendency in both the CMI and LSRS for the adjustment to decrease and pathology to increase with age for both Mexican-American groups. However, for the Anglo group the opposite trend appears; the younger Anglos have higher CMI scores and lower LSRS scores than do older Anglos.

Table 16 shows CMI scores for the three groups above and below the median age for the three cultural groups. Inspection of the table indicates that as age increases the non-acculturated Mexican-American group increase their pathology scores from a mean of 21 to a mean of 26; acculturated Mexican-Americans increased their pathology scores from a mean of 35 to a mean of 42. In contrast, as age increases scores of Anglo pathology dropped from a mean of 41 to a mean of 29.

Table 18 shows LSRS scores for the three cultural groups above and below the median age for the group. In the non-acculturated group, adjustment scores decrease slightly with age from 19.4 to 19.2; in the acculturated group, adjustment scores decrease from 18.5 to 14.7. Again in contrast, the Anglo group becomes more adjusted as age increases, raising their scores from 17.1 to 18.6.
Table 16
Mean Total CMI Scores of Younger and Older Women for the Three Cultural Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nonacc. Mex. Am. a</th>
<th>Acc. Mex. Am. b</th>
<th>Anglo c</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below medium age</td>
<td>21.313</td>
<td>35.429</td>
<td>41.318</td>
<td>98.060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above medium age</td>
<td>26.200</td>
<td>42.857</td>
<td>28.789</td>
<td>97.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47.513</td>
<td>78.286</td>
<td>70.107</td>
<td>195.906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Medium age is 65
b Medium age is 60
c Medium age is 66

Table 17
Analysis of Variance of Total CMI Scores by Age and Culture Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variance</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Among cultural groups</td>
<td>254.0604</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>127.0302</td>
<td>4.4275</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below the medium compared to above the medium</td>
<td>.0076</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0076</td>
<td>.0003</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>118.0093</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>59.0046</td>
<td>2.0453</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>372.0773</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>74.4155</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals within limits</td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18

Mean LSRS Scores of Younger and Older Women for the Three Cultural Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variance</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Among cultural groups</td>
<td>7.3699</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6850</td>
<td>3.6838</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below the medium compared to above the medium</td>
<td>1.1103</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1103</td>
<td>1.1099</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>8.2363</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1182</td>
<td>4.1168</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>15.6062</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.1212</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19

Analysis of Variance of LSRS Scores by Age and Culture Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variance</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Among cultural groups</td>
<td>7.3699</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6850</td>
<td>3.6838</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below the medium compared to above the medium</td>
<td>1.1103</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1103</td>
<td>1.1099</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>8.2363</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1182</td>
<td>4.1168</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>15.6062</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.1212</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The difference between the Mexican-American trend and the Anglo trend is not significant in the CMI scores as shown by the interaction F in Table 17. The difference between the Mexican-American trend and the Anglo trend is significant beyond the .05 level on the LSRS as shown in the interaction F as shown in Table 19. Anglo groups below the medium age of 66 were less adjusted than those above the medium age.
DISCUSSION

A comparison of three cultural groups in various areas of adjustment has indicated that the Mexican-American non-acculturated group has the best adjustment; the acculturated Mexican-American group has the worst adjustment and the Anglo group has an intermediate position. This conclusion is supported by the results utilizing the Cornell Medical Index, the Life Satisfaction Rating Scale, the Thematic Apperception Test (2 cards), and the Satisfaction Questionnaire.

If the failure to answer a questionnaire item is interpreted as a sign of maladjustment, the results of the comparison of the three cultural groups with respect to this factor may also be interpreted as supporting these results. Several factors may be hypothesized to account for these results. The first is that offered by Oscar Lewis, an anthropologist who has attempted to study the old age role in Mexican culture by participant observation methods. Lewis (1951) suggests that the traditional old age role in Mexican culture is positively valued; the prescriptions attached to the role are unambiguous and are not discordant with those of roles associated with earlier age levels.

Benedict (1938) proposes the concept of discontinuity when speaking of a difference in role expectations at an older age from that expected at a younger age. If this theory of discontinuity is utilized to
aid in explanation of confusion engendered by a difference in the old age role from that of a middle age role, the data from Tables 16 through 19 become particularly interesting. In contrast to data from the two Mexican-American groups, the Anglo pathology and dissatisfaction do not increase with age. Anglos show the greatest dissatisfaction and the greatest pathology at the beginnings of old age. If there is discontinuity between the role of the middle age Anglo and the old age Anglo, it would be expected that the greatest discontinuity would be during the shift from the middle age role to the old age role. This might be a possible reason for the poorer adjustment scores during the first part of old age shown in the Anglo group. These scores might suggest, further, that since this is not true in either Mexican group, that there is little or no role discontinuity between middle age and old age in both Mexican groups. These data might support Lewis in that there is little confusion upon entering the positively valued role of old age.

Several additional explanatory factors may account for the data which indicate a superior adjustment for the Mexican-American unacculturated group. These may be discussed under the headings of religion, closeness to children, and lack of conflict with children.

Eighty-eight percent of the non-acculturated Mexican-American subjects state that the major satisfaction of older people comes from religion. In contrast, only 63% of the Anglo women report that they derive their major satisfaction from religion. The proportion of
acculturated Mexican-Americans almost equals the proportion of non-
acculturated Mexican-Americans in response to the religious satisfac-
tion question (80%). However, in respect to the actual engagement in
community and church activities the acculturated group participates
much less than the non-acculturated group and is about equal to the
Anglo group. It would seem then that a large proportion of both
acculturated and non-acculturated Mexican-American groups state that
they derive their major satisfaction from religion, but their answers
to the question designed to evaluate their actual participation in church
activities suggest that they differ markedly in the degree to which they
implement their religious belief in actual behavior.

"Relationship with children" is another factor which may
possibly account for the better adjustment of the non-acculturated
group. The data indicate that both Mexican-American groups live
closer to their children and see them more often than do the Anglo
group (Table 7). Geographical propinquity appears to be supported
by a good psychological relationship. Table 9 indicates that the non-
acculturated Mexican-American group has less anxiety about its
children than the acculturated Mexican-American group. The Anglo
group again falls into the intermediate position.

A similar relationship is reflected by the TAT categories
which describe a subject's perception of a son as rejecting her. Table
10 indicates that the Anglo group feels more rejected by their sons than
the acculturated Mexican-American group. The latter group, in turn, feels more rejected than the non-acculturated Mexican-American group. In fact, this rejection was almost nonexistent in the latter group. For example, all stories about sending the mother to a rest home with one exception were told by Anglos.

The fact that the non-acculturated Mexican-American group expresses greater emotion in most questionnaire items and TAT stories (Table 15) may indicate a more active involvement with life.

Endorsement of items such as those depicted in Table 15 indicates the greater ease with which the non-acculturated Mexican-American expresses these sentiments. But most of these sentiments are negative and do indicate some dissatisfaction. They seem to display acceptance toward their role in life in most of their answers to questionnaire items, but this acceptance seems to include a fatalism that accepts dreariness and the negative side of their life. This negativism is expressed in the items included in Table 16 under emotional tone such as "Compared to other people, I get down in the dumps too often" (nonacc. Mex. Am. = 36%, acc. Mex. Am. = 30%, Anglos = 10%).

One area of negative effect is probably related to the non-acculturated group's position in the community, and may be a realistic appraisal of the fewer chances for improvement available to them. Thus answers to the item, "Community leaders are indifferent to my wants and needs" are positive 55% of the time in the non-acculturated
Mexican-American group, 40% of the time in the acculturated Mexican-American group, and 15% of the time in the Anglo group.

Less versatility among the Mexican-American women is suggested in two ways. First, Anglos cite the most spare time activities; non-acculturated Mexican-Americans report a lesser amount; acculturated Mexican-Americans report the least amount (Table 11). Both non-acculturated Mexican-Americans and Anglos more often endorse the item "The things I do are as interesting to me as they ever were" (nonacc. Mex. Am = 85%, acc. Mex Am. = 67%, Anglos = 85%). Second, the imagination of the non-acculturated Mexican-American group seems to be more limited than the other two groups, at least as measured by their capacity to construct TAT stories (Table 13). Analysis of those stories reveals the lack of plot and tentative outcome of their stories.

Clinical and experimental studies of the aged in Anglo culture have tended to emphasize the importance of a variety of activities and a good capacity for abstraction as a prerequisite for adjustment. The data of the present study raise some question as to the universality of these prerequisites in all cultures. The TAT results clearly indicate that the non-acculturated Mexican-American group as compared to the other two groups has an inferior capacity to produce TAT stories reflecting an intact capacity for abstraction, and yet this is the very group
which is indicated to be the best adjusted, at least as reflected by the measures employed in this study.

This paradox may be resolved by the hypothesis that an intact capacity for abstraction will be a positive factor in adjustment only in those cultural environments which demand it. The presumption is that the unacculturated Mexican-American woman lives in a culture which demands other personality characteristics for positive adjustment than intellectual capacity.

A similar consideration is relevant to the interpretation of the data on spare time activities. The extant literature again tends to view the older person with a greater variety of spare time activities as more adjusted than her counterpart with few spare time activities. Cumming also suggests the fallacy of this point of view (Cumming et al., 1958, 1960; Cumming, 1963; Henry and Cumming, 1959).

The present data indicate that the Anglo women have a greater variety of spare time activities than the non-acculturated Mexican-American women. The data again lead to a paradox, namely they indicate that the cultural group with the greater variety of spare time activities is the less well adjusted.

A gerontological theory which takes into account cultural differences provides an alternative interpretation of the adjustment impact of a "variety-of-activities" variable. Variety-of-activities is a positively cathected value in American culture. In contrast, the older
women in Mexico who devoted her time to a great variety of activities to the exclusion of concern with her family would be strongly criticized.

This consideration does not completely negate the utility of "variety-of-activities" as an important variable in the evaluation of adjustment in the aged. It is possible that within the same cultural context, poorer adjustment is indicated by a contraction of culturally prescribed activities. The present data, for example, indicate that the acculturated Mexican-American woman does indeed participate in a smaller variety of activities than her non-acculturated counterpart. The relationship between variety of activities and adjustment on old age should be evaluated in the context of cultural expectations.

Americans may take for granted that with increasing acculturation into our society, ethnic groups will become better able to cope with their surroundings. This study offers strong evidence that for the older Mexican-American woman this could not be further from the truth. On all measures, with one exception, the more acculturated Mexican-Americans show the poorest adjustment of our three cultural groups. The only exception is on the physical scale of the CMI where their pathology is similar to that of the Anglo group but is still much more pronounced than in the non-acculturated Mexican-American group.
SUMMARY

This study compared the adjustment of three cultural groups (non-acculturated Mexican-American group, acculturated Mexican-American group, Anglo group) living in Tucson within the same neighborhood. On all measures, the non-acculturated Mexican-American was the best adjusted. The adjustment of the Anglo group was second; the adjustment of the acculturated Mexican-American group was poorest. The data further suggest that reasons for the superior adjustment of the non-acculturated Mexican-American lies in the following areas: lack of discontinuity with earlier roles, more satisfaction with religion, a greater closeness to children, and lack of conflict with children.
APPENDIX A

LIFE SATISFACTION RATING SCALES

A. Zest vs. apathy. To be rated here are enthusiasm of responses and degree of ego-involvement—in any of various activities, persons, or ideas, whether or not these are activities which involve R with other people, are "good" or "socially approved" or "status-giving." Thus, R who "just loves to sit home and knit" rates as high as R who "loves to get out and meet people." Although a low rating is given for listlessness and apathy, physical energy per se is not to be involved in this rating. Low ratings are given for being "bored with most things"; for "I have to force myself to do things"; and also for meaningless (and unenjoyed) hyper-activity.

5... Speaks of several activities and relationships with enthusiasm. Feels that "now" is the best time of life. Loves to do things, even sitting at home. Takes up new activities; makes new friends readily, seeks self-improvement. Shows zest in several areas of life.

4... Shows zest, but it is limited to one or two special interests, or limited to certain periods of time. May show disappointment or anger when things go wrong, if they keep him from active enjoyment of life. Plans ahead, even though in small time units.

3... Has a bland approach to life. Does not seem to get much pleasure out of the things he does. Seeks relaxation and a limited degree of involvement. May be quite detached (aloof) from many activities, things, or people.

2... Thinks life is monotonous for the most part. May complain of fatigue.Feels bored with many things. If active, finds little meaning or enjoyment in the activity.

1... Lives on the basis of routine. Doesn't think anything worth doing.

B. Resolution and fortitude. The extent to which R accepts personal responsibility for his life; the opposite of feeling resigned, or of merely
condoning or passively accepting that which life has brought him. The extent to which R accepts his life as meaningful and inevitable, and is relatively unafraid of death. Erikson's "integrity." Not to be confused with "autonomy" or the extent to which R's life has been self-propelled or characterized by initiative. R may not have been a person of high initiative, but yet he may accept resolutely and relatively positively that which life has been for him. R may feel life was a series of hard knocks, but that he has stood up under them (this would be a high rating).

There are two types of low ratings; the highly intropunitive, where R blames himself overly much; and the extra-punitive, where R blames others or the world in general for whatever failures or disappointments he has experienced.

5...Try and try again attitude. Bloody but unbowed. Fights back; withstanding, not giving up. Active personal responsibility--take the bad and the good and make the most of it. Wouldn't change the past.

4...Can take life as it comes. "I have no complaint on the way life has treated me." Assumes responsibility readily. "If you look for the good side of life, you'll find it." Does not mind talking about difficulties in life, but does not dwell on them either. "You have to give up some things."

3...Says, "I've had my ups and downs; sometimes on top, sometimes on the bottom." Shows a trace of extrapunitiveness or intropunitiveness concerning his difficulties in life.

2...Feels he hasn't done better because he hasn't gotten the breaks. Feels great difference in life now as compared to age 45; the change has been for the worse. "I've worked hard but never got anywhere."

1...Talks of hard knocks which he has not mastered (extrapunitive). Feels helpless. Blames self a great deal (intropunitive). Overwhelmed by life.

C. Congruence between desired and achieved goals. The extent to which R feels he has achieved his goals in life, whatever those goals might be; feels he has succeeded in accomplishing what he regards as important. High ratings go, for instance, to R who says, "I've managed to keep out of jail" just as to R who says, "I managed to send all my kids through college." Low ratings go to R who feels he's missed most of his opportunities, or who says, "I've never been suited to my
work, "or "I always wanted to be a doctor, but never could get there." Also to R who wants most to be "loved," but instead feels merely "approved." (Expressions of regret for lack of education are not counted because they are stereotyped responses among all but the group of highest social status.)

5...Feels he has accomplished what he wanted to do. He has achieved or is achieving his own personal goals.

4...Regrets somewhat the chances missed during life. "Maybe I could have made more of certain opportunities." Nevertheless, feels that he has been fairly successful in accomplishing what he wanted to do in life.

3...Has a fifty-fifty record of opportunities taken and opportunities missed. Would have done some things differently, if he had his life to live over. Might have gotten more education.

2...Has regrets about major opportunities missed but feels good about accomplishment in one area (may be his avocation).

1...Feels he has missed most opportunities in life.

D. Self-concept. R's concept of self--physical as well as psychological and social attributes. High ratings go to R who is concerned with grooming and appearance; who thinks of himself as wise, mellow (and thus is comfortable in giving advice to others); who feels proud of his accomplishments; who feels he deserves whatever good breaks he has had; who feels he is important to someone else. Low ratings are given to R who feels "old," weak, sick, incompetent; who feels himself a burden to others; who speaks disparagingly of self or of old people.

5...Feels at his best. "I do better work now than ever before." "There was never any better time." Thinks of self as wise, mellow; physically able or attractive; feels important to others. Feels he has the right to indulge himself.

4...Feels more fortunate than the average. Is sure that he can meet the exigencies of life. "When I retire, I'll just substitute other activities." Compensates well for any difficulty of health. Feels worthy of being indulged. "Things I want to do, I can do, but I'll not overexert myself." Feels in control of self in relation to the situation.
3... Sees self as competent in at least one area, e.g., work; but has doubts about self in other areas. Acknowledges loss of youthful vigor, but accepts it in a realistic way. Feels relatively unimportant, but doesn't mind. Feels he takes, but also gives. Senses a general, but not extreme, loss of status as he grows older. Reports health better than average.

2... Feels that other people look down on him. Tends to speak disparagingly of older people. Is defensive about what the years are doing to him.

1... Feels old. Feels in the way, or worthless. Makes self-disparaging remarks. "I'm endured by others."

E. Mood tone. High ratings for R who expresses happy, optimistic attitudes and mood; who uses spontaneous, positively-toned affective terms for people and things; who takes pleasure from life and expresses it. Low ratings for depression, "feel blue and lonely"; for feelings of bitterness; for frequent irritability and anger. (Here we consider not only R's verbalized attitudes in the interview; but make inferences from all we know of his interpersonal relationships, how others react toward him.)

5... "This is the best time of my life." Is nearly always cheerful, optimistic. Cheerfulness may seem unrealistic to an observer, but R shows no sign of "putting up a bold front."

4... Gets pleasure out of life, knows it and shows it. There is enough restraint to seem appropriate to a younger person. Usually feels positive affect. Optimistic.

3... Seems to move along on an even temperamental keel. Any depressions are neutralized by positive mood swings. Generally neutral-to-positive affect. May show some irritability.

2... Wants things quiet and peaceful. General neutral-to-negative affect. Some depression.

### APPENDIX B

**PERCENTAGE OF Ss IN EACH CULTURAL GROUP**

ANSWERING SEPARATE QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Item</th>
<th>NAM %</th>
<th>AM %</th>
<th>A %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you live close to your children? yes</td>
<td>63.63</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>39.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you see them as often as you'd like? yes</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>39.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you live close to your children? yes</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you see them as often as you'd like? no</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you live close to your children? no</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>4.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you see them as often as you'd like? yes</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you live close to your children? no</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>34.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you see them as often as you'd like? no</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>34.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No children</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often would you like to see them? a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>58.06</td>
<td>32.14</td>
<td>24.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More frequently</td>
<td>12.90</td>
<td>21.43</td>
<td>37.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once in several months</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>18.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>25.81</td>
<td>42.86</td>
<td>18.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When was the last time you saw them? a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today</td>
<td>58.06</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This week--recently</td>
<td>9.68</td>
<td>21.43</td>
<td>37.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Months ago</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>10.71</td>
<td>35.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year or more</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>22.58</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>5.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you help with your grandchildren? yes</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>24.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you enjoy this? yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have none</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not help</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>51.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aOf those with children*
APPENDIX B--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Item</th>
<th>NAM %</th>
<th>AM %</th>
<th>A %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are your children in the habit of coming to you for advice?&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>64.52</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>40.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do your children treat you as well as you did your parents?&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>90.32</td>
<td>89.29</td>
<td>86.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the advantages to your living arrangements?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own home or have lived here a long time</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>12.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenient to church, stores, work</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>21.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near friends--like neighborhood</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>2.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near family</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>7.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions good--like it--climate</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>13.33</td>
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<td>Disadvantages?</td>
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<td>None</td>
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<td>36.58</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location, etc.</td>
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<td>Inconveniences or miscellaneous</td>
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<td>What do you do in your free time?</td>
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<td>House work?</td>
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<td>Yard or garden work?</td>
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<td>53.65</td>
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<td>Hobby?</td>
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<td>19.51</td>
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<td>Radio or TV?</td>
<td>87.87</td>
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<td>Write letters?</td>
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<td>Movies?</td>
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<td>Dances?</td>
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<td>Lectures and/or concerts?</td>
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<td>3.33</td>
<td>24.39</td>
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<td>Club or lodge?</td>
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<td>3.33</td>
<td>31.70</td>
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<td>Do your shopping?</td>
<td>81.81</td>
<td>73.33</td>
<td>90.24</td>
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<td>Community or church work?</td>
<td>81.81</td>
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<td>36.58</td>
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<td>Sports?</td>
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<td>19.51</td>
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<td>Cards or games?</td>
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<td>Automobile rides?</td>
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<td>Visit or entertain friends?</td>
<td>72.72</td>
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<td>75.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sew, knit, or crochet?</td>
<td>81.81</td>
<td>56.66</td>
<td>73.17</td>
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<td>Read?</td>
<td>72.72</td>
<td>53.33</td>
<td>78.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sit and think?</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>46.34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other?</td>
<td>12.12</td>
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APPENDIX B—Continued

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Questionnaire Item</th>
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<th>AM %</th>
<th>A %</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>What do you plan to do?</strong></td>
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<td>Trips?</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>34.14</td>
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<td>Redecorate?</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>7.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Visit friends and family?</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other?</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Which period is the most happy of your life?</strong></td>
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<td>Early childhood or teens</td>
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<td>36.66</td>
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<td>Early married life—when children were small</td>
<td>27.27</td>
<td>43.33</td>
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<td>Later married life</td>
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<td>9.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Now</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>14.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite or not stated</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>26.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Which period the least happy?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early childhood or teens</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>12.19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early marriage</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>19.51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Later marriage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Now</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>14.63</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indefinite or not stated</td>
<td>24.24</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>29.26</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Would you rather live now or in the good old days?</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Now</td>
<td>42.42</td>
<td>46.66</td>
<td>70.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old days</td>
<td>48.48</td>
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<td>17.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
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<td>20.00</td>
<td>12.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>There are times when religion is a comfort to older people.</strong></td>
<td>90.90</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>97.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community leaders are indifferent to my wants and needs.</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>14.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no sense in trying to accomplish anything, because I probably wouldn't succeed if I did try.</td>
<td>30.30</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>17.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The things I once valued very highly no longer seem as important.</td>
<td>60.60</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>46.34</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX B--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Items</th>
<th>NAM %</th>
<th>AM %</th>
<th>A %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The major satisfaction in the lives of older people comes from religion.</td>
<td>87.87</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>63.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would be.</td>
<td>78.78</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>80.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most of the people I know.</td>
<td>90.90</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>78.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This is the dreariest time of my life.</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td>36.66</td>
<td>21.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am just as happy as when I was younger.</td>
<td>63.63</td>
<td>56.66</td>
<td>63.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My life could be happier than it is now.</td>
<td>57.57</td>
<td>53.33</td>
<td>48.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These are the best years of my life.</td>
<td>51.52</td>
<td>46.67</td>
<td>39.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the things I do are boring or monotonous.</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>36.67</td>
<td>7.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I expect some interesting and pleasant things to happen to me in the future.</td>
<td>87.88</td>
<td>46.67</td>
<td>70.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The things I do are as interesting to me as they ever were.</td>
<td>84.84</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>85.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel old and somewhat tired.</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>39.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel my age, but it does not bother me.</td>
<td>84.84</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>82.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As I look back on my life, I am fairly well satisfied.</td>
<td>96.97</td>
<td>83.33</td>
<td>90.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would not change my past life even if I could.</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>56.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other people my age, I've made a lot of foolish decisions in my life.</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>46.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other people my age, I make a good appearance.</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td>46.67</td>
<td>68.29</td>
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</table>
### APPENDIX B --Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Item</th>
<th>NAM %</th>
<th>AM %</th>
<th>A %</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I have made plans for things I'll be doing a month or a year from now.</td>
<td>51.52</td>
<td>43.33</td>
<td>43.90</td>
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<tr>
<td>When I think back over my life, I didn't get most of the important things I wanted.</td>
<td>42.42</td>
<td>56.67</td>
<td>39.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compared to other people, I get down in the dumps too often.</td>
<td>36.36</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>9.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I've gotten pretty much what I expected out of life.</td>
<td>93.94</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>85.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>56.67</td>
<td>31.71</td>
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<tr>
<td>What are the best things about being the age you are now? a positive answer</td>
<td>75.76</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>90.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>What do you think you will be doing five years from now? How do you expect things will be different from the way they are now, in your life? better, or no change</td>
<td>54.54</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>34.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How happy would you say you are right now, compared with the earlier periods in your life? this is the happiest time; all have been happy; or, hard to make a choice</td>
<td>60.60</td>
<td>56.67</td>
<td>65.85</td>
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<tr>
<td>What is the most important thing in your life right now? anything outside of self, or pleasant interpretation of future</td>
<td>75.76</td>
<td>73.33</td>
<td>60.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do you ever worry about your ability to do what people expect of you--to meet demands that people make on you? no</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>70.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>If you could do anything you pleased, in what part of ______ would you like to live? present location</td>
<td>69.70</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>60.98</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Item</th>
<th>NAM %</th>
<th>AM %</th>
<th>A %</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How often do you find yourself feeling lonely? never; hardly ever</td>
<td>57.58</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>80.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How often do you feel there is no point in living never; hardly ever</td>
<td>81.82</td>
<td>63.33</td>
<td>85.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you wish you could see more of your close friends than you do, or would you like more time to yourself; O.K. as is</td>
<td>62.01</td>
<td>45.83</td>
<td>41.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>How much unhappiness would you say you find in your life today? almost none</td>
<td>58.62</td>
<td>41.67</td>
<td>66.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>As you get older, would you say things seem to be better or worse than you thought they would be? better</td>
<td>58.62</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>53.85</td>
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<tr>
<td>How satisfied would you say you are with your way of life? very satisfied</td>
<td>68.97</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>56.41</td>
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APPENDIX C

TAT ANALYSIS

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<th>% of A</th>
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<td>Identification(^a) figure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>68.75</td>
<td>83.33</td>
<td>97.44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.07</td>
<td>.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>No identification figure</td>
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<td>6.446</td>
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<td><strong>Theme</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict--no change</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>1.48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict--son changes</td>
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<td>.867</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict--unresolved</td>
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<td>6.66</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td>6.472</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother disapproves of son</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>36.66</td>
<td>21.95</td>
<td>5.382</td>
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<tr>
<td>Son rejects or sends to home</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>21.95</td>
<td>9.996</td>
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<td>No story--passive situation</td>
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<td>26.66</td>
<td>14.63</td>
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<td><strong>Cause of conflict</strong></td>
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<td>No conflict</td>
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<td>4.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Son desires independ-ence--leaves home</td>
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<td>Mother doesn't approve of son's girl</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>13.33</td>
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<td>Son does something mother doesn't like</td>
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<td>20.00</td>
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<td>.614</td>
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<td>Mother is problem to son</td>
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<td>21.95</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mother's need</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother is anxious about son's welfare</td>
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<td>66.66</td>
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\(^a\)Of stories given
### APPENDIX C--Continued

<table>
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<th>Analysis Categories</th>
<th>% of NAM</th>
<th>% of AM</th>
<th>% of A</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>sig. level</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Need to dominate or possess</td>
<td>21.21</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>19.51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Need for love--assurance or support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Need not indicated</td>
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<td>Emotional tone of story</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neutral to happy or not indicated</td>
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<td>Unhappy--sad</td>
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<td>Worry</td>
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<td>Anger</td>
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<td>9.75</td>
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<td>Outcome</td>
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<td>Positive--definite</td>
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<td>Positive--tentative</td>
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<td>9.75</td>
<td>4.965</td>
<td>NS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative--definite</td>
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<td>17.07</td>
<td>3.966</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative--tentative</td>
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<td>2.978</td>
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**Card 12F**

| Identification (older figure)    |          |         |         |      |            |
| Mother                           | 36.36    | 40.00   | 26.82   | 1.464| NS         |
| This old woman is what younger woman will be | 9.09 | 13.33 | 24.39 | 4.855| NS         |
| Supernatural being or intangible something | 9.09 | 16.66 | 17.07 | 1.116| NS         |

| Orientation                      |          |         |         |      |            |
| Past                             | 9.09     | 3.33    | 9.75    | 1.140| NS         |
| Present                          | 75.75    | 83.33   | 60.97   | 4.625| NS         |
| Future                           | 9.09     | 10.00   | 24.39   | 4.227| NS         |

| Dominant figure                  |          |         |         |      |            |
| Older                            | 45.45    | 30.00   | 36.58   | 1.626| NS         |
| Younger                          | 9.09     | 10.00   | 7.31    | .169 | NS         |
APPENDIX C--Continued

<table>
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<th>% of AM</th>
<th>% of A</th>
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REFERENCES


