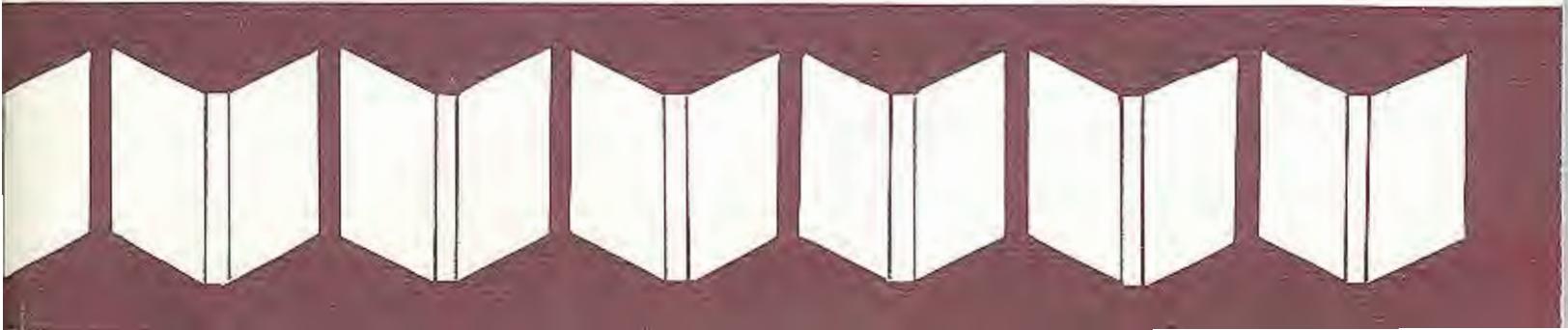fall
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Viewpoint

Education in older America

The "graying of America" is a phrase increasingly used by researchers, educators, social service and health professionals, politicians, and policy makers at all levels of government. It is also becoming familiar in the popular literature and appearing, if not explicitly, at least by inference, in the mass media. The graying of America refers to the demographic fact that older Americans are becoming a larger and proportionately more significant segment of American society.

Whereas in 1900 persons 65 years of age and older numbered three million and comprised only 4.1 percent of the population, today slightly more than one of every ten Americans, or nearly 22½ million persons fall into that age category. By the year 2000 the number of older Americans will have grown to 30.6 million, or one of every eight persons. When the year 2036 arrives, it is estimated that nearly 17 percent of the American population will be 65 years and older. Within that age bracket, the fastest growing group are those persons aged 75 years and older. By the year 1990 the "old-old," or persons 75 years and older, will comprise nearly 4.7 percent of the total population. That figure is roughly the same as that for the total aged population in 1900. Functional old-age has crept well into the seventh decade while our attitudes and policies have clung to a chronological anachronism. Thus, as American society ages, it is becoming increasingly necessary to alter our views of the aged and the meaning of growing older.

These demographic shifts are dramatic since they will potentially impact every major American institution. We are on the threshold of change which the United States will and must move from being a "youth-oriented" society to one which balances the needs, preferences, and well-being of its dependent young and old while reckoning the costs such changes incur for those in their middle years. Institutional changes which take into account the needs of the older population and the issues of aging are now emerging. They are most observable in the health and social services sectors which, under the mandates of the Older Americans Act and related legislation, are addressing many of the problems of older Americans. Educational institutions are only now recognizing the fact that they too will be affected by the graying of America.

Perhaps no American institution has been so oriented to the young by design and purpose as educational institutions. Because of the need for preparing the young to enter the world of work and to participate as responsible, informed, and productive citizens, institutions of higher education particularly have focused attention upon the young. That need will continue, but the necessity for responding to the educational needs of an older population will become more prevalent. For colleges and universities, education in an older America presents a twofold problem. First, the demand for training relevant to working with aged persons in a variety of contexts and settings will increase. Universities and colleges will be looked to to provide such training. Second, it will be necessary to find an appropriate fit between the educational demands of an older population and existing educational programs.

The demands upon colleges and universities will not simply mean a shift in the age structure of the classroom. Rather, they will involve more fundamental changes in the mode and delivery of education and training. It will become increasingly necessary to develop non-traditional modes of education and training which give greater emphasis to the priorities, schedules, and geographical limitations of an older population. It may be necessary to move more frequently outside the ivy halls if the educational needs of an older population and the on-going training needs of those serving the elderly are to be met effectively. A wider and more diverse range of motivations for seeking education and training will have to be accommodated. Hard decisions about whether to create special educational programs for the aged or to develop programs which integrate all ages into the learning process will have to be made. In some cases the physical facilities which house educational activities will require modification. In short, the tacit assumption that education and training mainly entails a four-to-five year stay on a campus where the student enrolls in, moves through, and graduates from a fairly structured program of study in preparation for entering the adult world will no longer simply apply.

It is unlikely that a graying of the campus will occur in the near future, if at all. However, if universities and colleges are to be responsible to their missions, they must recognize the value and reality of the silver strands among the gold, red, and brown, whether they be found on the campus or in the community.

George R. Peters
Guest editor

educational considerations

EDPRESS

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The question of whether gerontology is an emerging new discipline or a variation of older ones is being debated.

Tracing the historical growth of gerontology

By David B. Oliver,
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This paper traces the development of gerontology as a field of study. Although increasing evidence of the convergence of writing and thought into a collective body of knowledge currently exists, the question of whether gerontology is an emerging new discipline or a variation of older ones is still being debated. However, the proliferation of research and training efforts under the banner of "gerontology," the formation of a number and variety of "Centers for Aging" and "Gerontology Institutes," the establishment of national, regional and state professional societies, and the publication of a significant number of journals related directly or indirectly to the field of aging

cannot be questioned. Researchers and service providers, regardless of their academic backgrounds and experience have special significant and mutual concerns which tend to suggest that gerontology may indeed qualify as a new branch of knowledge. Some of these underlying thema include an examination of variables which contribute to or hinder the quality of an individual's life in old age, a concern for the social environment and its impact on persons who are increasingly being separated from it, the psychological consequences of retirement as one of the last major rites of passage, the social world of widows and widowers who after a lifetime of sharing now face life as singles in a couple-oriented culture, changes in health (physical and mental) which may not diminish one's ability to function normally in old age, and so on. Yet as these developing interests and concerns parallel the demographic explosion of more and more older persons in our population, there are those who would argue that, in spite of the exponential growth of professional societies, research studies, gerontology centers, and publications, a new discipline is not destined to emerge. They suggest that each discipline—be it sociology, psychology, biology, social work, economics or political science—will continue to explore the dimensions of aging from its own perspective and approaches, and that a well defined field cutting across disciplines is theoretically and organizationally unlikely.

This debate over gerontology's current and future development provides the basis for this paper. By examining some of the historical events which have influenced the growth of gerontology within the framework of certain sociology of knowledge considerations, perhaps we can understand more clearly the circumstances under which gerontology's future will be decided.

Sociology of Knowledge Considerations

The sociology of knowledge may be useful in aiding our understanding of the growth of gerontology. The production, distribution, and consumption of knowledge about aging are processes that are influenced by the social and historical conditions under which they occur. Therefore, we would expect social factors, in general, and political and economic conditions, in particular, to shape the course of the development of gerontology. For example, changes in the demographic composition of a society will bring into play new political and economic interests. As the aged gain greater demographic representation they can be expected to gain political and economic significance. In part, this involves a demand for new knowledge about the place of the older person in contemporary society. Comparable demands by blacks and women in the last two decades have led to the growth of a considerable amount of new knowledge about race and sex role stratification. In all likelihood the political and economic enfranchisement of the aged will stimulate demands for greater knowledge about aging in all its aspects.

The demand for new gerontological knowledge having been established, social forces continue to condition the kinds of scientific and scholarly questions that are raised and the kinds of research that are sponsored. The representation of various disciplines within gerontology clearly illustrates this principle. Scientific labor in gerontology is divided among biologists, physicians, sociologists, psychologists, economists, and political scientists among others. As Karl Mannheim (1936) in-

FIG. 1

PIONEER EFFORTS

Pre-1940

EVENTS		CONTRIBUTORS		PUBLICATIONS
International Health Exhibition in London	1884	B. Franklin	E. Metchnikoff	1645—*History of Life and Death*/Bacon
Nasher coins "geriatrics"	1909	A. Quetelet	Pavlov	1835—*On the Nature of Man and the Development of His Faculties*/Quetelet
Pavlov's Studies in classic conditioning	1920s	Sir Francis Galton	G.S. Hall	
		C. Minot	R. Pearl	1869—*Hereditary Genius*/Galton
Lillian Martin established first old age counseling center in San Francisco	Late 20s	I.L. Nasher	E.V. Cowdry	1908—*The Prolongation of Life*/Metchnikoff
Rybnikov coins "gerontology"	1929			1908—*The Problems of Age, Growth and Death*/Minot
Townsend Movement	1930			1922—*Senescence*/Hall
The Depression	Early 30s			1922—*Biology of Death*/Pearl
Stanford/Later Maturity Research Project (Miles and Associates)	Early 30s			1929—*The Problem of the Psychology of Age*/Rybnikov
Social Security Act	1935			1933—*Arteriosclerosis: A Survey of the Problem*/Cowdry
Club for Research in Aging (Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation)	1939			1939—*Problems of Aging*/Cowdry

structed, each discipline represents a particular "perspective," a point of view on the problem at hand. Each discipline brings to gerontology its chosen assumptions, vocabularies, and methods—in short, its traditions. As physicians may ponder the vulnerabilities of the aged to certain diseases, sociologists may note the privileged exemptions that upper class aged enjoy from such diseases, while the psychologist focuses on problems of personal adjustment that these diseases may bring. In this case, the same issue (disease) is conceived very differently depending on where one stands in the division of scientific labor. In principle, gerontologists could take heart from this diversity, whatever communication and "territorial" problems it may introduce. Mannheim himself championed the epistemological advantages of converging on a phenomenon from a number of vantage points or perspectives. In fact, Mannheim argued that only by adducing evidence from several perspectives (in this case disciplines) can we hope to gain a more comprehensive view of any "object" (phenomenon). This is because the mental horizons of any **one** perspective are always delimited by social and historical boundaries. In a more recent statement Robert Wuthnow (1976) suggests that cultural and intellectual creativity are directly dependent on discourse among thinkers who represent different perspectives. If this is true, the very diversity of the disciplines that comprise gerontology should serve this new science of aging well.

If general societal conditions of a political and economic nature and disciplinary traditions shape the quest for gerontological knowledge, the biographical idiosyncrasies of any given researcher will also imprint themselves on his or her work. The experiences that accompany the responsibility of caring for an aging and dependent parent, the recollection of a rich childhood

with a vigorous grandparent, or the anticipation of one's own old age in a youth-oriented society often help inspire career commitments to the study of aging. Perhaps less poignantly but equally effective, one's mentor, one's graduate or professional institution, or even one's areas of early research may establish the path along which a career moves. Gerontologists, as any other scientists, are not immune to such biographical influences on their work. In summary, the growth and development of gerontological knowledge does not take place in a social vacuum. Rather, the questions gerontology faces, the methods and research strategies gerontologists employ, and the research conclusions gerontologists draw will always be constrained by the social context within which the research is conducted. The growth and nature of gerontological knowledge, like the rest of culture, stands in dialectical relation to the society from which it emerges. Thus, in order to obtain an understanding of the "state of the art" in gerontology, it is necessary to examine the various aspects of its growth to the present time.

Tracing the Growth

A number of gerontologists (Birren, 1959; Streib and Orbach, 1967; Birren and Clayton, 1975; Hendricks and Hendricks, 1977; Maddox and Wiley, 1976; Schwartz and Peterson, 1979; Reigel, 1977) have examined various facets of historical development in the field of aging. In this paper the contributions of these authors are combined into: 1) Pre-1940, Pioneer Efforts; 2) 1940-1954, Early Development; 3) 1955-1964, Research and Organization; 4) 1965-1974, Education; and 5) 1975 to the Present, an Emerging Discipline. From its inception as a field of study, gerontology has assumed a distinctly multidisciplinary nature. The disciplines of biology, psychology, and sociology have been, and remain, major sources of geron-

FIG. 2

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

1940-1954

EVENTS	CONTRIBUTORS		PUBLICATIONS
Unit on gerontology established in NIH (later became the NIA) 1940	E. Steiglitz	O. Pollack	1945—"Size, Shape and Age"/Medawar
Conferences on Aging held by:	L.K. Frank	R.S. Cavan	1945—*The Role of the Aged in Primitive Societies*/Simmons
American Osteopsychiatric Assoc.	L.S. Cottrel	A.I. Lansing	
Medical Clinics of North America	P.B. Medawar	R. Havighurst	1946—*Social Adjustment in Old Age*/Pollack
American Chemical Society	L. Simmons	R. Albrecht	
NIH .... Early 40s			1946—*Personal Adjustment in Old Age*/Cavan
Social Science Research Council established the "Committee on Social Adjustment in Old Age" 1943			1952—"General Physiology"/Lansing
Gerontological Society established 1945			1953—*Older People*/Havighurst
Journal of Gerontology published. 1945			1954—*Geriatric Medicine*/Steiglitz
Establishment of the International Association of Gerontology in Liege, Belgium 1948			
Division of Psychological and Social Sciences established in the Gerontological Society 1952			

tological research, and knowledge. As will be seen, the disciplinary and educational interests and needs of gerontology have expanded to include other disciplines as well. An examination of historical events and contributions provide evidence for the emergence of gerontology as a respected and needed field of study. Figures 1 through 5 depict, within each growth period, major examples of contributors, publications and important social and historical events which converged into a growing body of knowledge.

Pioneer Efforts

Francis Bacon's "History of Life and Death," published in 1645, is often cited as one of the first scientific attempts to explore processes of aging (Streib and Orbach, 1967). Some scholars have cited evidence from Greek literature and epitaphs as indicative of the first systematic concerns with aging as a phenomenon (Hendricks and Hendricks, 1977), and given the early development of the major sciences it is not surprising that physics and biology were among the first disciplines to consider issues of aging. Biologists in particular contributed much of the early research in gerontology.

Early into the twentieth century, psychologists became active in aging research and writing. In 1922 the "Biology of Death" and "Senescence" became the basis for future work, and a Russian psychologist, Rybnikov, coined the term "gerontology" in his 1927 book "The Problem of the Psychology of Age" (Streib and Orbach, 1967). In 1928, Miles and Associates initiated psychological studies of aging in connection with the Stanford Later Maturity Research Project (Reigel, 1977).

The medical community, too, was instrumental in addressing gerontological issues in the early part of this

century. Ignatz L. Nascher coined the term "geriatrics" in 1909 and thus pioneered the development of this new field. Nascher was also interested in the social conditions of the aged and was one of the first physicians to become actively involved in social medicine. Cowdry's "Arteriosclerosis: A Survey of the Problem" (1933), and "Problems of Ageing" (1939) followed this tradition and became classics.

Although a number of important historical events are identified in Figure 1, The Townsend Movement and the Social Security Act of 1935 are perhaps the most notable. In partial response to the Great Depression, the Social Security legislation both acknowledged a major problem of aging individuals and community survival in America and later served to place older persons into a cohort of "retired" citizens who began to assume an identity which, for the first time, was not linked to occupation or "calling." Subsequently, this cohort and the many subgroups within it became the object of intense study from a number of disciplinary perspectives.

Early Development

While the pioneers influenced the early growth of gerontology as a field of study, extensions of their efforts and the emergence of new directions occurred in the 1940s with the establishment of a number of important committees, research groups and associations. Edward J. Steiglitz, a physician, became the head of the newly established "Unit in Gerontology" in the National Institute of Health in 1940. The year prior, the Club for Research in Ageing was formed which was supported by the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation. Lawerence K. Frank provided leadership and direction to research programs emphasizing the

area of social medicine and which later encouraged the development of "social gerontology." Stieglitz used the term "social gerontology" in a 1948 paper which later became a major part of his 1954 book "Geriatric Medicine." By the 1950s "gerontology" was a term appearing with regularity and frequency in scientific and popular journals.

In 1943 the Social Science Research Council established the "Committee on Social Adjustment in Old Age" which in 1948 published a "Research and Planning Report" (Birren, 1959). In 1945, the Gerontological Society was established and the first issue of the "Journal of Gerontology," the official journal of the society, was published. A year later the Gerontological Unit of the National Institute of Health and the Nuffield Unit for Research into the Problems of Aging at the University of Cambridge each attracted a number of scientists who later influenced the field of aging (Birren and Clayton, 1975). In 1948 the International Association of Gerontology was founded in Liege, Belgium. And finally, in the early 1950s President Truman expressed great concern about the problems of older persons in America. His concerns led to a series of issue meetings which were precursors to the later 1961 and 1971 White House Conferences on Aging.

Adding to the work and interests in aging manifested in the fields of biology, physiology and medicine, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists began to show a keen interest in aging studies as reflected by such classic works as "The Role of the Aged in Primitive Societies" (1945), "Personal Adjustment to Old Age" (1948), and "Older People" (1953).

Research and Organization

Research in the field of aging gained increasing momentum in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Efforts were made to consolidate the findings of researchers into single publications in order to achieve greater use and visibility. Additionally, a number of major universities and institutes initiated inter-university training programs in order to systematically address issues of aging, to increase the number of scientists in the field, to encourage course offerings in aging, to attract students to pursue careers in aging, and to publish systematic summaries of existing studies on various dimensions of aging.

The Michigan Inter-University Training Institute in Social Gerontology, the Langely Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, the University of California Medical School, the University of Chicago, Duke University, University of Southern California, the Institute for Community Studies (Midwest Council for Social Research in Aging), Cornell University, and Penn State University were among the institutions developing early research projects and training programs in gerontology. These institutions, with a growing number of additional ones, continue to influence the growth of gerontological studies in the United States.

Five major edited works emerged around 1960 which became baseline books in the field: "Handbook of Aging and the Individual" (1959), "Handbook of Social Gerontology" (1960), "Aging in Western Society" (1960), and "Processes of Aging" (two volumes, 1963). These volumes consolidated research papers and findings into single collections which identified the state of the art, became fundamental training resources and served as catalysts for future research in the field. In 1961 "The Geron-

FIG. 3

RESEARCH AND ORGANIZATION

1955-1964

EVENTS	CONTRIBUTORS		PUBLICATIONS
Kansas City Study of Adult Life ... 1956	Z. Blau	R. Habenstein	1956—*The Biology of Senescence*/Comfort
Midwest Council for Social Research in Aging/Institute for Community Studies............	A. Comfort	J. Krebs	1956—*Psychological Aspects of Aging*/Anderson
	J.E. Anderson	M.F. Lowenthal	
	B. Kutner	H. Orbach	
University of Chicago..............	L. Cain	G. Streib	1956—*500 Over Sixty*/Kutner
University of California Medical	C. Tibbits	W. Donahue	1959—"The Sociology of Aging"/Cain
Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute........	J. Birren	N. Shock	1959—*Handbook of Aging and the Individual*/Birren
Duke University	E. Burgess	C.B. Vedders	1960—*Handbook of Social Gerontology*/Tibbits
University of Michigan........	E. Cumming	R.H. Williams	
Cornell.	W. Henry	R. Kleemeier	1960—*Aging in Western Society*/Burgess
Penn State	A. Rose	G. Maddox	
The Gerontologist published... ... 1961	W. Peterson	C. Eisdorfer	1961—*Growing Old*/Cumming and Henry
White House Conference on Aging............ ... 1961			1962—*Aging Around the World/Proceeding of the Fifth Congress of the International Association of Gerontology*/Tibbits and Donahue
Early 60s****Late 60s			1963—*Gerontology*/Vedders
			1963—*Processes of Aging*/Williams, Tibbits, and Donahue

FIG. 4

EDUCATION

1965-1974

EVENTS		CONTRIBUTORS		PUBLICATIONS
Older Americans Act	1965	M. Clark	M. Johnson	1965—*Older People and Their Social World*/Rose and Peterson
Medicare/Medicaid Legislation	1966	B.G. Anderson	A. Foner	
Proliferation of M.A. and B.A. programs	Late 60s	J. Rosow	E. Palmore	1967—*Culture and Aging*/Clark
Maggie Kuhn organizes the Gray Panthers	1969	D. Kent	R. Binstock	1967—*Social Integration of the Aged*/Rosow
White House Conference on Aging	1971	B. Neugarten	D. Cowgill	1967—*Older Rural Americans*/Youmans
National Institute on Aging formed	1974	T. Pihlblad	J. Britton	1968—*Aging and Society*/Riley
		E.W. Busse	M.W. Riley	1968—*Older People in Three Industrial Societies*/Shanas, et. al.
		R.C. Atchley	E. Shanas	1969—*Aging and the Professions*/Riley
		V.L. Bengston	G. Youmans	1970—*A Sociology of Age Stratification*/Riley
		J. Botwinick	M. Kuhn	1970—*Normal Aging*/Palmore
				1972—*The Social Forces in Later Life*/Atchley
				1972—*Aging and Society Vol. 3*/Riley
				1972—*Aging and Modernization*/Cowgill and Holmes
				1973—*Aging and Behavior*/Botwinick
				1974—*Normal Aging II*/Palmore

tologist" became the second journal to be published by the Gerontological Society providing an additional training and research resource for social and behavioral scientists.

In 1962, the proceedings of the 5th Congress of the International Association of Gerontology (held in San Francisco in 1960) were published in a series entitled "Aging Around the World." These four edited volumes demonstrated the growing diversity of the field and the collective interest of scientists from a range of disciplines around the world. The diverse disciplinary contributions are reflected in the titles: "Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging," "Social Welfare of the Aging," "Biological Aspects of Aging," and "Medical and Clinical Aspects of Aging." These volumes also became training materials for the students and faculty participating in the growing number of gerontological training programs around the country.

The public sector formally and politically expressed increasing concern around issues of aging through the 1961 White House Conference on Aging. This conference produced a number of recommendations to Congress which ultimately influenced the passing of the Older Americans Act of 1965. With the formation of the Administration of Aging within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the mandating of state units on aging and the subsequent (1973) establishment of a network of regional Area Agencies on Aging in every state, the need for applied training in aging as well as academic concerns grew to be a major issue of the '70s. Most importantly, the provision of training funds became available in large and fairly dependable amounts.

Education

In the late 1960s most training funds from the Administration on Aging, the National Institute of Health, National Institute of Mental Health, and others, were awarded primarily to university and to inter-university training programs in aging. A few early professional master's degree programs with an emphasis in aging surfaced during this time (University of South Florida, North Texas State University, etc.), but training was primarily oriented to Ph.D. programs with an emphasis upon multidisciplinary training. Sociologists, psychologists, biologists, social workers, anthropologists, public administrators, political scientists, economists, and others sought the available funds which would allow them to specialize their studies and areas of interest in aging.

With the establishment of Area Agencies on Aging (AAA) in the early '70s, and a large number of other agencies oriented to service delivery, problems in funding and training became manifest. Available training in gerontology was largely oriented to academic and research interests in aging and not yet developed in terms of focus and programs to supply the growing demand for the new occupational niches created by the AAA and similar aging networks. Consequently, positions were filled by persons with limited experience in working with or understanding older persons. To meet this problem the Administration on Aging divided training dollars between short and long-term training (primarily for Ph.D. programs training professional gerontologists). However, during this time a number of undergraduate and master's degree programs emerged and the number of course offerings in aging grew rapidly across the country.

As the short-term training concept evolved, Area Agencies on Aging and other service delivery agencies turned to local universities and colleges for training resources in gerontology—often with disappointing results. Unfortunately, the demand was too great. Many local educational institutions which tried to assist agencies were themselves lacking the knowledge required. The image of educational institutions suffered and a reluctance to employ academics for training purposes became prevalent. Some of this hostility toward academic gerontologists still exists. The gap is slowly being bridged as trainers and recipients of training experience successes, but some agencies remain apprehensive about hiring university-trained persons in aging—especially if key positions are already filled by persons who acquired their training through experience rather than through traditional academic channels.

Resource materials for research and training in aging continued to emphasize multidisciplinary approaches. "Old People in Three Industrial Societies" and "Older Rural Americans" focused gerontological interest at the international and rural levels respectively while cross-cultural perspectives were revitalized in "Culture and Aging." Results from the Duke Longitudinal Studies began to be published, and the Russell Sage Foundation funded four major edited volumes in 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1972 which provided an inventory of research findings on aging and society, age stratification and aging and the professions. All of these works served to further organize a set of training materials for students in aging.

Closing out this ten-year period of growth was the establishment of the National Institute of Aging with Robert Butler, a physician, as its first director. The funding activities of the Institute have clearly reflected the multidimensional aspects of the aging process with medical schools, universities and public institutions receiving funds to further unravel the questions created by the large numbers of older persons in our population.

An Emerging Field of Study

The academic and public sectors concerned with aging individuals in modern society were equally impressed with Robert Butler's (1975) award winning publication "Why Survive?" Indeed, as we began to understand the problems and dilemmas of the aging person and the issues of aging as portrayed in this book, advocacy for the aged gained great momentum. Within the academic community, the Association for Gerontology in Higher Education was formed (1975) to provide leadership and direction for training programs in aging as well as a sounding board for funding priorities in Washington. Within the public community the Gray Panthers, the NRTA-AARP (National Retired Teachers Association/American Association of Retired Persons), the National Senior Citizens Organization, the National Council on Aging, the Black Caucus on Aging and other groups have served as strong, effective, and frequently vocal advocates on behalf of the older population. The formation and activities of a variety of other groups of older persons began to appear in the form of groups organized in a variety of congregate settings such as senior centers, churches, nutrition sites, and living groups. Terms such as "aging," "gerontology," "elderly," "senior citizens," "old age," "the later years," etc., became part of the vocabulary of researchers and the public alike.

As increasing numbers of courses in gerontology were offered by colleges and universities, so also were landmark collections of research studies and articles published in major journals and edited volumes. A series of three works are particularly noteworthy: "Handbook of

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FIG. 5

AN EMERGING FIELD OF STUDY

1975 to present

EVENTS		CONTRIBUTORS		PUBLICATIONS
Association for Gerontology in Education established	1975	V. Clayton	E. Pfeiffer	1975—"History of Gerontology"/Birren and Clayton
Older Americans Act Revisions	1978	D. Woodruff	J. Peterson	1975—*Aging: Scientific Perspectives and Social Issues*/Woodruff and Birren
		C. Finch	J. Hendricks	
		L. Hayflick	C.D. Hendricks	1975—*Why Survive*/Butler
		K.W. Schaie	R. Butler	1976—*Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*/Binstock and Shanas
				1977—*Handbook of the Psychology of Aging*/Birren and Schaie
				1977—*Handbook of the Biology of Aging*/Finch and Hayflick
				1977—*Aging in Mass Society*/Hendricks and Hendricks
				1979—*Introduction to Gerontology*/Schwartz and Peterson

Aging and the Social Sciences" (1976), "Handbook of the Psychology of Aging" (1977), and "Handbook of the Biology of Aging" (1977). Perhaps more than any other single development, these three volumes again reaffirmed that the aging phenomenon must be addressed from several perspectives—biological, psychological and social. Moreover, as the interaction effects of variables across disciplines are examined, the need to understand theories and methodologies in a variety of fields becomes apparent.

Introductory textbooks published in the 1970s clearly reflected the need for a multidisciplinary approach to aging. Exemplary of such works were: "The Social Forces in Later Life" (1972), "Aging in Mass Society" (1977), and "Introduction to Gerontology" (1979). These contributions, given their multidisciplinary approach, assure that students are exposed to the concepts and procedures of several perspectives. Through these works teachers and researchers were encouraged at least to consider, if not incorporate into their approach to aging, variables from fields outside their chosen discipline.

Conclusion

What has happened during the past twenty years has been the gradual integration of a variety of perspectives into a common core of training for persons in the aging field, particularly at the undergraduate and master's degree levels and to a lesser degree at the Ph.D. level. The undergraduate and master's training typically involves a generalist approach, while the doctoral level focuses upon specialized disciplinary training with research emphases. Ordinarily the Ph.D. candidate is selective in the kinds of aging courses which are incorporated into his or her course of study. Increasingly, however, students at more advanced levels find that a broader base of knowledge is necessary to seriously examine the processes of aging. Treating aging as a dependent variable inevitably requires the consideration of a number and variety of independent variables—many of which may typically be found outside one's chosen discipline. Currently, gerontology students, whether majoring or specializing in the field, must be aware that oldness, to be fully understood, should incorporate several perspectives, especially those taken by biology, sociology, and psychology. Anything less than a comprehensive approach is coming to be seen as inadequate in terms of the formulation of research designs and the interpretation of findings as well as in program planning and development.

One of the most important outcomes of an interdisciplinary approach has been the exciting research conducted in the field. Particularly noteworthy has been the study of various interaction effects between variables which, until recently, have been analyzed within the parameters of a single discipline. That loss of hearing may be related to paranoid tendencies, or psychological stress related to cancer, or sudden changes in environment to a number and variety of brain syndromes, illustrates the value of looking at the aging process across disciplines. Ideally, this approach will give rise to more solid theoretical constructs and research foundations which will provide a more viable base for training and education in gerontology.

It is unreasonable to assume that a student of aging could incorporate all the theoretical assumptions and paradigms characterizing the many disciplines which have contributed to the growth of gerontology. If one restricted the analysis to age-related frameworks only, he or she would discover the task to be much simpler. A more difficult bridge to cross, however, is that from the natural sciences to the social sciences and vice versa. Increasingly, collegial interchange and team approaches to research problems of community development plans are showing the value of cross-fertilization in attacking issues of aging.

Bureaucratic structures, physical plant limitations, and traditional beliefs about academic organization and work continue to hinder more fruitful collaborations between disciplines. Nevertheless, government funding of cooperative programs, centers, and departments has played a major role and will continue to influence the growth of gerontology. As more colleges and universities adopt curricula in aging and commit their own funds toward the establishment of gerontological studies, continued growth and progress will be realized. The debate of whether gerontology is in fact a separate, well-defined discipline or rather a number of perspectives, approaches, and points of view, drawn from a variety of disciplines will ultimately be decided by students—the recipients of current gerontological training and education—and by all the historical, societal and biographical factors involved in the development of any field of study.

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Contrary to widely held impressions, Americans do not contemplate retirement with doubts and fears.

Academics and the changing nature of retirement

By Eugene A. Friedmann
and William Lane

The Emergence of Retirement

Retirement is a creation of modern industrial society, an emerging pattern of social life without historical precedent. The advent of industrial society moved work from the setting of the home and the family enterprise into the factory and office. In the ensuing "employee society," the pace of work activity, work time, and entry and exit from work activities were no longer under the worker's control. These conditions were set by the employer, typically without regard to individual abilities or preferences.

The forced withdrawal of older workers from the labor force through industry's development of retirement practices was accompanied by the growth of pension systems which offered varying degrees of economic provisions for retirement. In the United States, public supported pension systems developed during the 19th century. These initially applied to police, firemen and others in hazardous occupations; and in the middle and later parts of the century public pension systems were extended to public school teachers, judges and civil service employees. Industrial workers' pensions also had their origins in the late 19th century in the United States, but it was not until the 1950s—a decade after the introduction of our national social security system—that we developed widespread systems of company and union-related pensions which supplemented the federal social security benefits. Currently over 90 percent of all American workers are covered under the Social Security system and 46 percent receive additional employment-related pensions.

The development of a national social security system and private pension plans has been accompanied by the spread of aged-based compulsory retirement practices, the accelerated withdrawal of the older worker from the labor force, and a shift in workers' attitudes toward retirement. During this century retirement has been transformed from a catastrophic event which befalls the worker to an expected and often preferred period of leisure at the end of the work life and for which society has established economic provisions.

Along with the institutionalization of retirement have been advances in medicine and public health which have increased life expectancies and delayed the onset of physical deterioration. Thus, retirement has created not only an entirely new stage in the life cycle of industrial man, but also, in all probability, history's first mass leisure class.

Workers Response to Retirement

The past two decades have produced rapid changes in establishing retirement as a normative expectation and its acceptance by the worker. Studies in the early 1950s indicated that more than half of all retired workers regarded retirement as an involuntary decision, and they gave physical disability or compulsory retirement requirements as the major reasons for withdrawal from the labor force. One survey of auto and steel workers in the Detroit and Pittsburgh area in 1950 indicated that 60 percent of those eligible for retirement were unwilling to accept retirement at age 65. Other studies conducted in the United States and Great Britain indicated a widespread dissatisfaction with retirement at age 65.

Further analyses of worker attitudes toward retirement showed sharp variations depending upon their perceptions of adequacy of retirement income. Prior to the 1950s, workers viewed retirement as an undesirable period of life characterized by economic hardships. As retirement benefits increased in the 1960s and 1970s, a marked change in degree of acceptance of retirement emerged. A 1965 Harris poll concluded that "contrary to widely held impressions, Americans do not contemplate retirement with deep doubts and fears. Instead of thinking that retirement means being put on a shelf, the majority of Americans see it as a chance to lead a different and not unpleasant life." Approximately 61 percent of the respondents stated that retirement met their expectations of a "good life" (as the question was phrased). Only 33 percent

found retirement less than satisfactory, usually for reasons of financial hardship or poor health; and seven percent indicated that they missed working (1965).

By the end of the 1960s studies consistently reported a favorable outlook toward retirement among manual workers and many categories of white collar workers, provided they had an adequate income (e.g. Simpson, Bach and McKinney, 1966; Streib and Schneider, 1971). Although studies of managerial, executive and professional personnel in this decade indicated that they preferred to continue at their jobs beyond age 65, research showed that such workers made a highly satisfactory adjustment once they retired (Streib and Schneider, 1971).

The Growth of Early Retirement

A particularly powerful indicator of the institutionalization of retirement as an expected phase of the life cycle is retirement behavior in recent years. There has been a progressive and dramatic increase in the number of workers leaving the labor force at or before age 65. In 1900, 63 percent of men 65 years and over were in the labor force; this proportion declined to 47 percent in 1950, 32 percent in 1960, 27 percent in 1970, and 20 percent in 1977. Undoubtedly, the application of age compulsory practices in the 1940s and 1950s had much to do with the declines, but over the past 20 years the rate of decline has far exceeded the growth rate of compulsory retirement practices.

Adjustment Processes: Contrasting Views

Along with the increasing acceptance of the institutionalization of retirement over the past two decades, conceptions of the process of adjustment to retirement have also changed. The literature of the 1950s and the 1960s typically portrayed transition to retirement as a crisis point in the life cycle and produced debate over two alternative prescriptions for resolving the crisis. Advocates of the "activity prescription," who based their argument on the work of Havighurst and Albrecht (1953), contended that satisfactory adjustment depended upon maintaining undiminished levels of activity and social participation during the transition to retirement and old age. Conversely, advocates of the "disengagement prescription," drawing upon the work of Cumming and Henry (1961), argued that old age is a period of diminishing energy and activity levels accompanied by a shrinking of lifespace. Successful adjustment to retirement and old age, in this view, consisted of recognizing and accepting changes that are inevitable with age and withdrawing gracefully into the twilight of life. Both sides of the debate drew upon inconclusive evidence represented either by selected clinical case studies or survey data lacking a longitudinal dimension.

A more conclusive, adequate, and balanced study of retirement was the longitudinal Cornell Study of Occupational Retirement conducted during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s. Drawing upon their researches,

Table 1. Labor Force Participation of Persons 65 and Over, 1950-1977

Percent Distributions	1950		1960		1970		1977	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employed	45.5	16.5	30.9	9.9	26.2	10.0	18.0	8.1
Unemployed	1.8	.3	1.7	.4	1.0	.3	1.3	.4
Not in Labor Force	52.7	83.2	67.3	89.7	72.8	89.7	80.6	91.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, **Current Population Reports**, Series P-20 and earlier reports.

There are a growing number of "early retirees" from the work force. An "early retiree" is one who has elected to retire before mandatory retirement age, often receiving retirement benefits to do so. While the numbers cannot be determined with precision, it is estimated that as much as 80 percent of the labor force has retired by age 65. A substantial proportion of these are early retirees. The rapid improvement in pension benefits over the past 20 years has accelerated the trend toward early retirement. This phenomenon has been explored for only a few occupational groups, most notably automobile workers (Pollman, 1971; Barfield, 1978). Barfield stated a case for retirement rather strongly: ". . . it does not seem possible that expressions of satisfaction in retirement on the part of most automobile workers derive primarily from simple relief at having escaped a bad situation. We remain convinced that for many people the satisfaction of a life free from the demands of work are both pervasive and abiding." Nor is the trend confined to blue collar workers alone, as various studies report. A rising trend in early retirement has been reported among civil service employees, teachers and clerical employees (Friedmann and Orbach, 1974).

Streib and Schneider (1971) addressed the issues raised above as follows:

". . . the assertion that retirement results in a sharp decline in social lifespace is not tenable for persons in many occupations. Work is . . . (not) an interesting and stimulating social experience for many persons who may tolerate the social side of work . . . but consider it unimportant in the long run . . . It seems questionable whether the loss of work role may lead to a crisis for most older workers. Our longitudinal studies of the impact year point to the fact that retirement is usually not a crisis . . . Cessation of work does not necessarily result in automatic disengagement in familiar, friendship, neighborhood and other role spheres. It has been assumed by those who view retirement as a crisis that retirement was the precipitant for a series of retrenchments in role activities. This may occur in some instances—indeed, it may be the only kind which comes to the attention of physicians, social workers, psychiatrists, clergymen and other therapists—but these dramatic instances should not be used as the modal pattern (pp. 177-179).

Streib and Schneider found that retirement is not experienced as a major crisis for most workers nor is it a "roleless role" as it has often been depicted. Rather, they indicated that work roles were often replaced by family, friendship, community and other role spheres. Similar conclusions have been reached in comparative studies contrasting retirement experiences in England, Denmark and the United States (Shanas, et al., 1968).

What is clear from the extant literature is that the effect of retirement on individual activity patterns is complex and varied and depends critically upon personal health, socio-economic and marital status, ecological and social environment, and previous life-time pattern of adaptation. Life-styles and adjustment patterns may be as heterogenous in retirement as they are in the period of adult life that precedes it. Broadly generalizing current attitudes toward retirement we could suggest that:

1) Most persons today hold a generally positive attitude toward retirement.

2) They are more likely to exhibit this attitude under conditions of higher retirement income, better health, higher educational and occupational level and attainment, and to the extent that work is not their only source of satisfaction in life.

The Retirement of Academics

The criteria discussed above suggest that academics might be expected to make good adjustments to retirement. This proposition is largely confirmed by research. Even the earliest studies of academic retirement have shown a high degree of satisfaction with retirement within this group. Moore's early study (1951) of 359 TIAA recipients found that 75 percent of those professors responding were very satisfied or satisfied with retirement. Level of satisfaction was positively associated with the degree of eagerness to retire, the number of hobbies and other interests, and general level of life satisfaction. Few respondents reported problems of remaining active or with declining energy and health. Loss of contact with former social groups was the most frequently mentioned problem. A more recent study by Ingraham (1974) of a national sample of 2,269 retired American college professors found that their median retirement age was 65 and that 47 percent had retired before reaching mandatory age in their institution. He reported that 75 percent of the respondents said they were satisfied or very satisfied with their retirement. Inadequate retirement income was the most frequently given reason for dissatisfaction. Health was the second most frequently cited reason; and inability to adjust to the loss of work was a distant third.

A growing number of studies of academic retirement have shown that retirees are satisfied and have established meaningful retirement roles and activity patterns. Academics have reported that retirement from the job provided opportunities and freedom to pursue a range of activities established prior to retirement which are meaningful and desired. Still others report increased freedom to pursue scholarly and professional commitments with even greater satisfaction once retired from the obligations from the job.

These observations have been developed further in recent studies which, while dealing with the retirement of educators, have relevance for understanding retirement adjustment among other professional workers. In a study of the retirement of academic scientists, Rowe reports

that, "even though they generally do not plan for retirement, [it] does not appear to be particularly disruptive for many of them. They tend to accept retirement as part of the life cycle and not especially disruptive to their happiness. [They view] their retirement situation as a relatively contented and independent time with the opportunity to engage in science" (1972, pg. 118). These retired scientists continued a fairly active level of reading in their fields, some continued research, and many attended professional society meetings. In interpreting his findings, Rowe developed a picture of two patterns of adaptation to retirement. First, he identified academic scientists who had achieved eminence in their careers and for whom continuation of professional activity remained a central theme in retirement. Rowe's studies as well as others suggest that for such people release from the requirements of the job may enhance the freedom to pursue scholarly and professional commitments and intellectual interests with less distraction. A second pattern of adaptation to retirement occurs for scientists who had not achieved academic or professional eminence. Such scientists, too, made satisfactory adjustments to retirement, but their retirement activities and commitments were built around family, community, church and other non-work related aspects of their lives. Differences between these two groups were not found so much in the quality of their adjustment, since both groups report satisfaction, but rather with their life style in retirement.

Patton's (1977) study of University of California faculty retiring between 1968 and 1976 revealed that 86 percent of all retirees indicated satisfaction with their decision. Early retirees reported even higher levels of satisfaction than those retiring at the mandatory retirement age, with a somewhat higher level of satisfaction among females than males. A trend towards increasing frequency of early retirement among University of California faculty was reported. Reasons cited for early retirement included desires to develop interest outside the University, poor health, not enjoying one's job, or retiring to relieve the pressure from a superior or colleague. The most common reason cited, however, was that recent improvements in the retirement annuity system had now made it possible for them to afford early retirement.

An in-depth study of early academic retirees from large universities by Kell and Patton (1978) indicated that 38 or 40 of the early retirees studied were very satisfied with their decision to retire; only two would have retired later if they could have made the decision again. The reasons given for early retirement were varied, including all the reasons cited in Patton's 1977 study as well as an additional motivation for some who simply felt they had worked long enough and had earned a change. One additional study of early retirement (Gernant, 1972) based on a sample of 814 retired academics (569 male and 245 female) in Michigan concluded that the trend toward early retirement will continue in higher education and that the age of retirement will probably continue to decrease. The author also noted that 80 percent of his sample reported that they felt they had retired at "the right time" and, except in the area of increases in cost of living, there were very few negative comments about the retirement experience.

Retirement Life Styles: Maintainers and Transformers

A recent study by Snow and Havighurst (1977) of retired college presidents elaborated on the two approaches to retirement suggested in the Rowe studies. They identified two retirement life styles which they called "Maintainers" and "Transformers."

The Maintainers "held onto professional activity successfully, generally pursuing part-time assignments after formal retirement and supplementing this with other activities in order to fill their time" (pg. 548). In contrast, the Transformers "changed their life style by reducing their professional activity through choice and creating for themselves a new and enjoyable life style." All of these retirees chose some non-work activities such as hobbies or community involvement for their major retirement participation. Seldom did they report retirement as an opportunity just to relax or to do nothing.

The Maintainers seemed to be committed to work not only as a major life focus but also as a pre-emptive one. They selected retirement activities which were consistent with the work themes that had dominated their adult lives. Transformers, on the other hand, while indicating an equally high level of commitment to their professional work prior to retirement, had not made work their exclusive life commitment. Rather, they had developed areas of participation and activity themes throughout their adult life in addition to work itself; these non-work commitments not only were sufficient to carry them into retirement, but also provided a welcomed avenue of pursuit in retirement.

The Future of Retirement: Implications and Concerns

These studies of academic retirement represent important inquiries into the retirement experience of white collar and professional occupational groups. They provide valuable insight into the changing nature of the retirement experience and suggest useful guidelines to assist in planning for retirement.

First, it seems possible to reject earlier pervasive notions found both in popular and professional opinions about retirement, i.e., that retirement is a major life "crisis." That retirement is a major change in roles and patterns of participation does not preclude its being anticipated with a sense of satisfaction. This new phase in the life cycle has challenges and gratifications all of its own.

Many of the above studies question the validity of earlier debates as to levels of desirable activity in retirement and the significance of separation from roles. They point to the significance which non-work activities assume in adult life, both in retirement and middle age as well. The different life styles of retirees that have been described may well also be different life styles for the working adults in the later stages of their careers. They speak profoundly about the changing relationship between work and non-work spheres of participation in the life cycle of the worker.

Such studies may also be of value for teachers, other academics and their institutions and organizations in considering retirement planning. In particular, the following observations derived from these studies may be relevant.

1) The economic factor

While on the whole, coupling of Social Security with a supplemental pension provides a modest but relatively secure financial base for retirement for academics when contrasted with most other workers, economic anxieties are still prominent in this group. In the various studies reported, between 70 and 80 percent of the respondents regarded their current income level as satisfactory for their needs; at the same time, most of them also listed financial concerns as a source of their current worries. They were, of course, referring to fears of the effects of inflation upon their ability to make ends meet in retirement. Beyond that concern, however, they were also reflecting the particular vulnerability to which the retired person is subjected by drastic changes in the economy. Institutional retirement provisions should be carefully reviewed both as to their adequacy when retirement begins and their ability to sustain a given standard of living over a period of years.

2) Pre-retirement planning

While it is a truism that pre-retirement planning is important, the few available empirical studies show mixed evidence as to its effectiveness. The experiences of retired academics may provide insight into the apparent contradictions which exist in this area. Paradoxically retired teachers and academics have made a favorable adjustment to retirement, well above the average of most groups; they indicate that they received practically no pre-retirement preparation, and they have fairly frequently recommended pre-retirement preparation as a service which their institutions can render. This is a well educated group who are able to obtain and analyze needed information for themselves, and apparently have done so with some degree of success. At the same time they feel they could have benefited from some systematic program of information which would have helped them in making their preparations. It may be that retired academics while able to adjust successfully to retirement better than most without preparation programs, might also benefit more than most from such programs.

3) Continuation of professional identity and association

For both the Transformers and the Maintainers, loss of contact with their former colleagues and institutions was an undesirable aspect of retirement. There are steps that academic institutions could take with relatively little cost to include retired members in their communication networks and enable them to feel that they are still associated with the academic enterprise. These are people who have had strong professional commitments, and may of them still wish to be identified with their former institutions, even though they are now retired.

4) Partial retirement

The evidence seems to suggest that the Transformers welcome retirement and make the transition to it without difficulty, often electing to retire early if they can afford it. The Maintainers are a proportionately smaller group for whom loss of work activity itself creates adjustment problems. This group tends to work until mandatory retirement age. A system of partial retirement prior to mandatory retirement age, where pension provisions permit part-time work activity, may be most helpful in providing a bridge to retirement for this group.

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**Good programming requires
a firm conceptual
and evaluative framework.**

Non-traditional programs:
An academic perspective

By Tom Hickey

Continuing education and short-term training programs have typically been viewed as "different" from traditional university instruction. This view continues, despite an emerging trend towards education throughout the life span. The priorities of faculty members, and the related academic reward structures, remain with the more traditional research and resident instruction roles. At the same time, however, those involved in developing and delivering continuing education programs can be expected to forge ahead—with or without their academic counterparts. Evidence of the failure of each side to attempt an integration of the two educational modes is found both in the lack of sound theroretical and methodological bases underlying much of the literature on adult and continuing education programs, and in the dearth of research information about adults as learners, especially when compared with what is known about the learning processes of children.

This paper is based on the premise that, although continuing education and short-term training programs have assumed a major role in higher education, their future success is highly dependent upon increased integration of various educational modes into the overall mission of colleges and universities. This is likely to come about as these so-called **non-traditional educational** formats acquire more of a conceptual base than has been evident in the past; and as the projected decreases in enrollments and research dollars for the 1980s become a reality, traditional academic faculty members are forced to extend their teaching efforts and investigative expertise away from the traditional college student and beyond the laboratory.

The issues discussed in this paper reflect experiences gained in the formation and development of a university's continuing education program for gerontology in the 1970s. This program emphasized the creation of an educational model built on the existing strengths of a university—keeping in mind both the goals of the non-traditional, community-based student, and the research and teaching interests of participating faculty. The issues presented here show clearly that it is a difficult—although not impossible—task to integrate the two.

Coming from an academically-based perspective, we felt, from the very outset of our program, that continuing education and short-term training—when provided solely as a service—run counter to the knowledge-building role of a university. At a point in time when universities are pressed to get multiple uses from the same dollars, the integration of basic functions and programs is vital to the universities' future. Therefore, **instruction** via a continuing education mode simply cannot afford to provide only a service. It must also generate and disseminate new knowledge—be it about program development, evaluation of service effectiveness, or knowledge about how certain types of individuals learn specific kinds of things. At a minimum, such non-traditional education programs need to serve as an important function for resident students—typically, as either a laboratory for studying and comparing adult learning techniques, or as a contact-point for learning professional behaviors related to future career objectives. The **evaluation** of continuing education programs must also provide more than a service. Evaluation is a legitimate research and education mission for faculty and students, and a necessity for measuring a university's effectivenss in the real world. Moreover, its legitimacy is heightened by the apparent lack of existing precedents for continuing education evaluation technology and the increasing need for quantification and accountability.

With the preceding thoughts as guidelines, program development commenced by defining the target populations and the education programs they needed, theoretical frameworks both for the programs and for the learning process, and a methodology for program assessment.

Education for Gerontology Services

The education program was defined as short-term training for the providers of health care and social services to older adults (see Hickey, 1974; 1975). Although it is outside the scope of this paper to describe in detail the rationale for selecting this particular target population, let me indicate briefly our practical reasons for doing so. In the early 1970s, significant needs existed in the local

aging network for gerontology personnel at the practitioner level—that is, individuals working in the human services field with competencies based on educational backgrounds ranging from high school graduate to masters degree. The lower end of this range included aides and other service workers who would provide direct care and service to the elderly—experience showing that such individuals, due to frequency of contact, have the greatest impact (positive or negative) on the client population. The end of this range included, for the most part, human services professionals, who having made career shifts (e.g., the social worker moving from a county's adoption service to its program for the elderly) had an urgent need for retraining in order to work specifically with older people. Thus, our program focused on the development of both continuing education courses and short-term training experiences for the target population.

The program substance or content was determined in two ways. First of all, the gerontological literature and research findings were reviewed for valid and important topics which were also relevant to gerontological practice. A large sampling of gerontological researchers and service providers were then asked to rate these topics according to importance and training need. The results of this survey led to the establishment of program development priorities which included the following: basic information about aging; environmental and related treatment issues in working with institutionalized elderly; understanding and dealing with sensory impairment problems; communication skills; autonomy for the older person and development of self-maintenance skills; management of grief and understanding role loss; and such specific issues as advocacy, consumerism, preretirement planning, and outreach program development.[1]

Training programs and short courses pertaining to these areas were developed cooperatively, at the university and in a service agency context, where they were tested and refined. This joint effort allowed for the development of programs generic in nature—such as the functional roles of nurse supervisors, aides, and volunteers in building self-maintenance skills—with application to a specific agency or service context. For example, functional staff roles in a state hospital will differ significantly from those in a home health agency in a rural community.

Where possible, most training took place in the setting where service providers were interacting with older clients. The choice of this work setting was based on a view of the continuing education process as involving the interaction of an individual with his/her changing environment through the medium of some sort of content or experience. By contrast, it did not represent an individual, in quasi-isolation, absorbing or assimilating a catalog of new facts. The provider of service interacts with the client population, with fellow providers, and with the context in which service is delivered.

To provide a conceptual basis from which to operationalize this interaction of content and context, the traditional definition of learning—as a form of behavioral change—was made more specific. We defined the learning process, delivered through the mechanism of continuing education, as a modification through experience of various work-related behaviors in a social context. Evaluation then became a systematic process of determining the value, effectiveness, and adequacy of the training experience according to specific contextual criteria and objectives. Thus, the training experience implied:

1) A specific content, applied or demonstrated in the context or site where the training occurred;

2) The interaction of the trainees as a team, functioning together in the provision of a set of specific services.

The evaluation of this type of training involved the assessment of both content and social and work interactions in terms of service effectiveness criteria. This resulted in a reasonable determination of the degree of congruence between the collective performance of staff and the overall objectives of the services. This is in contrast to the more typical short-term programs, where perhaps one or two key individuals from several different service contexts travel to a campus setting to be trained. Since the evaluation of such programs necessarily lacks applicability to the participants' work settings, little is learned beyond how well the participants "liked" the program and the instructor.

Theoretical Basis for the Programs and the Learning Process

The starting point for program development rested on a value judgment about the client population of older Americans requiring health care and/or social services—i.e., that individuals (of all ages) have a basic civil right to maximum self-determination of life style. In a society that values autonomy, independence, and responsible adult behavior, those individuals requiring compensatory care or supportive services due to illness, disability, aging, or socio-economic dependency, should receive these in a way which least compromises their personal choice and autonomy.

Consequently, the fundamental principle underlying the development of all training materials was to maximize the vestiges of independence and self-determination of the clients served. In **environmental therapy** training, for example, the conceptual strategy was to develop a more precise understanding of the concepts and dynamics required to operationalize the assumption of patient independence, so that it becomes a measurable objective.

Beyond this initial strategy, the empirical validity and reliability of the fundamental concepts in each program were carefully examined by various gerontological researchers.

The next step in the development of a theoretical framework was to review different theories of learning for their applicability to the short-term educational process. Two traditional approaches often found in the literature on learning revolve around organismic theories and cognitive theories.

1) An **organismic** theory views learning as a process by which a particular stimulus elicits a predictable response. For educators, this is operationalized by encouraging the development of desired stimulus-response bonds. Questions of motivation, learning environment, and life experience—this latter an important variable with adults—are considered much less important.

2) The **cognitive** theorist focuses more on the organism. The learner takes an active role in organizing the stimuli in a meaningful way—rather than being passively exposed to it; the process by which material is learned and mastered is less observable and important than its meaning to the learner.

Although many programs have built upon these two general approaches, neither seemed satisfactory as an underlying framework for continuing education. The implications of **interactionist**, or field theories, seemed more useful, however. In contrast to the organism-centered theories, learning is viewed by interactionists as a very active process. Consequently, motivation is seen as an important variable, determining the number and kind of situations encountered, and one's perception of them. The organism-centered proponents dismiss internal motivation as relatively insignificant, acknowledging only the importance of the motivation of others who might control cues and reinforcements. And the sole determinant of learning for behaviorists and cognitivists is an end-result or product. The key to learning for field theorists, however, is the process of exposure to a new situation and the reworking of one's perceptions until ambiguities are eliminated.

In an interactionist, or experiential approach, there are at least four dominant forces in learning: the world or context in which concepts are applied; one's own behavior; one's internal cognitive and emotional structure; and self-awareness, or a sense of what one is "doing" with what is known and experienced. It is consistent with this approach to suggest that experiential learning will take place only to the extent that an individual maintains contact with all four levels, and can experience more than one level at a time. In developing the **basic aging** and **grief management** programs, for example, we found it essential to deal simultaneously with the learners' personal sense of aging and feelings toward death, and with the meaning of these concepts in the work context.

The interaction framework adopted here also encompassed the critical environmental experiences affecting individual responses. This approach provided a theoretical basis for learning to take place (and to be measured) through the interaction of content, individual learners, and work context.

Evaluating the Program

The above theoretical framework led to specific concerns about program evaluation. The conspicuous absence of good evaluative data on adult instructional programs was a concern from the outset: it seems to be one of those things that everyone talks about, but no one really does. We began by looking for a relationship between learning theory and basic evaluation models. Two general approaches to evaluation were found. Product, or summative evaluation, deals with program effects which have been operationally defined, and implies a rather rigorous scientific approach. Process, or formative evaluation, on the other hand, is more qualitative and descriptive, as it refers to the interaction of subject with content and context. We needed to employ both, yet found them treated independently in the literature.

The analogy between organism-centered learning theories and product evaluation should be apparent. Theories of learning which focus on the individual alone place great importance on observable behavior and on the measurable products of learning, ignoring the role of the individual's interaction with the environment. Product evaluators are frequently disdainful of attempts to measure the "process" of learning, choosing a safer path of ignoring concepts not easily operationalized. As a result, few efforts are made to measure interactional or process phenomena.

A parallel analogy exists between field theorists and process evaluators. Just as the interaction of the learner and the environment constitutes the central element of learning for these theorists, so are process evaluators concerned with the dynamics of the learning situation itself, rather than with information handling and content mastery on the part of the learner.

The inadequacies found in applying behavioral and cognitive theories to adult education have additional ramifications in the area of evaluation. If such theoretical approaches fail to look at the learning adult from a developmental and contextual view, then similar failures will occur with the evaluative measures, which will also ignore those developmental components of prime importance to the adult learner. The fact that such concepts are difficult to quantify would preclude their assessment by the product evaluator and behaviorist alike. However, when such concepts are central to the phenomenon being measured, such difficulties must then be confronted directly, rather than ignored in the research design.

Since evaluating non-traditional education programs is unquestionably complex, the inclination to deal only with readily operationalized concepts is understandable. However, even given a set of measurable concepts, the evaluative process is further complicated by a number of characteristics intrinsic to adult education programs. For example, most programs are both informal and of short duration, making assessment of change more difficult. Also, the goals of a given program are usually multidimensional and tend to vary among the students, whose goals in turn may be different from those of the teacher. Moreover, these goals will often change over time, and in some cases will be relatively unspecified, thus complicating the decision of when and how often to attempt to identify them.

The easiest recommendation here, in terms of evaluative methods, is to take the best of both worlds. Quasi-experimental designs which account for process and interaction effects must be selected over other, more rigorous alternatives. However, process evaluation **per se** is an incomplete alternative to the classical experimental paradigm—especially when the former yields only subjective or descriptive data. Thus, until our empirical understanding of adult learners becomes more sophisticated, a certain amount of internal validity, which would come from subjective data, must be sacrificed. Similarly, decisions regarding the marketability of results must be related to confidence limits, rather than to levels of significance/non-significance.

In evaluating our **environmental therapy** program, for example, a logical step would have been to compare program effectiveness (according to a number of criteria) at each of three state hospitals. Common sense, however, urged that the three contexts be rated according to different criteria, and that the interaction of trainee-by-content be carefully measured. Despite the state certification and civil service ratings which suggested that these three sites were almost interchangeable in terms of personnel, client population, and type of service delivered, our ratings indicated wide diversity among the three environments, resulting in no real basis for between-group comparisons.

Educational Implications

Our programs used a new approach to continuing education, and initial testing indicated successful results.

This raised serious questions regarding the value of a typical continuing education approach, where the training of a small number of select service providers (usually administrators with minimal client contact) is conducted at a campus or otherwise neutral site. This type of training, although providing new content and information, does not include one of the central variables in the learning process, that of the service or job context itself. It is in this context that the content learned moves from the realm of the abstract to being directly applicable to important other people—i.e., clients and fellow workers. Successful continuing education, as defined here, requires an influencing and interacting environment, rather than either a controlled laboratory or a neutral instructional site.

An example of this was seen in the **sensory impairment** training program where the success of simulated empathy exercises hinged largely on the degree of social and working familiarity among the trainees. A more complex illustration of this emerged from the **environmental therapy** training program, which was conducted for all staff members in the geriatric units of three hospitals—a predominantly custodial environment. Although the attitudinal data—including longitudinal measurements—apparently yielded no significant results, some interesting things did occur in one of the three hospitals several months after the training program was conducted. Rates of staff turnover declined sharply—especially at the non-professional levels; the number of patients returned to the community increased significantly; and, perhaps of greatest importance, the hospital environment itself was subtly modified to reflect program goals and objectives (Hickey, 1974).

Although the direct relationship between these results and the training program is difficult to assess, much weight must be assigned to two things: the interaction process (content-by-people-by-context) generated by training an entire staff over a short period of time in principles highly relevant to their work roles and environment; and involvement of the lowest staff level personnel in all phases of the training. Measurements of effectiveness of content showed that this latter group—i.e., the ones with greatest patient contact—benefited most from the program. Thus, the contextual training technique as a continuing education methodology seems a valid one to be recommended.

Our experiences in developing and conducting programs pointed to the necessity for inter-relating academic research and resident instruction with the continuing education process. No amount of personal interaction or contextual support will salvage a program that is irrelevant to the goals and functions of the trainees and their work setting. Admittedly, the priorities of the service provider will not always parallel those of the traditional researcher. However, the needs of the practitioner can help to formulate research questions; and the research findings can provide answers for existing service problems. Thus, there is an important knowledge linking process that serves to integrate traditional and non-traditional education into a college or university's central mission of knowledge building.

As examples, the **sensory impairment** and **environmental therapy** curricula represented a translation of numerous relevant research results. In journal state, however, these findings lacked the necessary modifications and adaptations to practice settings. Similarly, development of the curriculum that focused on **basic issues in aging** involved some rethinking of similar resident instruction courses, and the degree of relevance of various subject topics to the service delivery system. As a result of this project, the perspective of the campus-based courses seemed to shift from reflecting solely the academician's view of what constitutes basic knowledge in this field, to including knowledge and competencies required of our young resident students for their future professional roles.

Conclusion

An important first step in the process of integrating non-traditional educational programs and formats into the mainstream of higher education is an attitudinal one. Such programs must be viewed as central to the educational mission of the institution, rather than merely as a service, or a "second" level of instruction. To accomplish this, the substantive focus of short-term training and continuing education should be determined by the strengths and resources of participating academic departments. The generation of new knowledge should be seen as an important goal of such programs, as they provide laboratories for refining what we know about the adult learning process. At the same time, it is important to realize that this approach can have important cost-benefits in the deployment of academic resources.

Finally, it should be said that these issues do not begin to comprise either a complete definition of continuing education, or a technology of instruction. However, at a time when institutions of higher education need to consider both new educational formats and the expanded use of existing expertise, initial efforts at model-building seem to be in order. Hopefully, the reflections contained in this paper will continue that direction by emphasizing the integration of new programs into the traditional goal structure of higher education.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Training manuals and materials in several of these areas have been developed and published; additional information can be obtained by writing to the author.

Integration of gerontology, while needed, has been minimal.

Professional training in gerontology: The case of nursing

By Dana C. Hughes

The health care professions in the United States are currently being chastised by many groups including governmental officials about their lack of interest and involvement in meeting the health needs of the aged population. Such criticisms are understandable given the increasing size of the aged group, particularly in the "old-old" high risk group; the aged's disproportionately high use of health care services (Institute for Medicine, 1978); and the rapidly rising health care costs. Undoubtedly pressures directed toward the health care professions will increase due to the continued growth of the aged group,[1] the changing expectations of persons now approaching old age,[2] and the growing body of knowledge which demonstrates that many of the aged's health problems and accompanying disabilities can be prevented or alleviated.

Gerontology education has grown in institutions of higher education as evidenced by the emergence and growth of the Association for Gerontology in Higher Education (Hickey, 1978). However, the integration of gerontology into professional education programs including medicine, dentistry, social work and nursing has been minimal (Gunter and Estes, 1979; Hirschfield, 1979; Institute of Medicine, 1978; Lindsay, 1979). Although professional health schools are gradually responding to pressures to prepare their students to care for the aged, much needs to be done.

The purpose of this paper is to examine issues related to the integration of gerontology and geriatrics into nursing curricula. First, the importance of nurses becoming involved in helping meet the health needs of the aged population is examined.[3] A brief history of the profession's involvement in geriatrics and gerontological nursing follows. Then the focus of gerontological nursing is presented. The importance of preparing generalists or specialists in gerontological nursing is examined next, and then questions faculty should consider in planning a nursing gerontology program are raised. Finally, the importance of continuing education in gerontological nursing is discussed. Although the focus of the paper is directed toward the nursing profession, many of the issues raised are applicable to other health disciplines.

Nurses and the Aged

The nursing profession's involvement in helping to meet the health needs of the aged is important in that nurses comprise the largest professional health manpower group. In 1977, more than 978,000 registered nurses were employed in nursing positions through the United States (Moses and Roth, 1979). With adequate knowledge of the aged population's health needs and a commitment to serving the elderly, nurses could play a vital role in the development and implementation of health policies and services directed toward this group. Unfortunately, this potential is not being met, for few nurses have this knowledge and are committed to serving the aged (Gunter and Estes, 1979; Lindsay, 1979).

According to Davis (1968), geriatric nursing became a reality in the United States in 1935 when retired and widowed nurses opened boarding homes for the aged following passage of the Social Security Act. The American Nurses Association's (ANA) interest in care of the aged began in 1962 with the initiation of a Conference Group in Geriatric Nurse Practice (Burnside, 1976). In 1966, ANA recognized geriatrics as one of five specialty areas and formed the Geriatric Division of Nursing Practice.[4] A growing concern for all aged persons and not just the sick aged resulted in the division being retitled Division on Gerontological Nursing Practice in 1976.

As stated by ANA in its "Standards of Gerontological Practice,"

gerontological nursing is concerned with assessment of the health needs of older adults, planning, and implementing health care to meet these needs, and evaluating the effectiveness of such care. Emphasis is placed on maximizing independence in the activities of everyday living and promoting, maintaining, and restoring health . . . (Burnside, 1976:615).

Burnside (1976), Gunter and Estes (1979) and Tuck (1972) contend that nursing care of the aged is a distinct area of nursing practice which merits the same in-depth

focus that has been given to the other designated specialty practice areas. However, as illustrated by the limited courses or programs in gerontological nursing and the absences of questions concerning the aged on state nursing licensure examinations, this has not happened (Gunter and Estes, 1979). Gerontological nursing is a low priority specialty area at this time. Two factors may account for this: society's discrimination toward the aged and the health profession's acceptance of the medical model of health care and its emphasis upon curing illness (Coe, 1967). A related factor is the extreme shortage of nurses qualified to assume leadership roles in the development of nursing gerontology curriculums.

Responding to pressures from societal groups and to the availabilities of monies allocated to training programs for geriatric/gerontology nurses through the Nurse Training Act of 1979 (Schechter, 1979), more and more schools of nursing are planning or modifying curricula focused on care of the aged. As faculty design and implement courses and programs, a multitude of questions need to addressed. Many of these are addressed below.

Should Nursing Schools Prepare Nurse Generalists or Specialists to Care for the Aged?

The controversy concerning the importance of preparing generalists at the basic level or specialists at the graduate level is irrelevant in the nursing profession. Both generalists and specialists in gerontological nursing are needed if the profession is to play an important role in meeting the health needs of the elderly.

Introduction of gerontology into basic nursing education programs is imperative since 95 percent or more of all nurses will complete their formal nurse training in a diploma, associate or baccalaureate school of nursing (USDHEW, 1979).[5] If nurses are to develop a commitment toward the aged, increase their knowledge of the aged and their health needs, and develop skills in caring for them, gerontological nursing must be introduced at the basic level.

Specialists in gerontological nursing are also needed to serve as educators, researchers, nurse practitioners, and clinicians. They should be prepared to work in a variety of health care settings and in the community. According to Gunter and Estes (1979), nurse gerontologists employed as specialists are needed to work in the subareas of health promotion as well as in primary care and long-term care.

"Health nursing emphasizes the promotion of health and healthy development, . . . and encompasses primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention" (p. 107). Primary care refers to initial patient health assessment, management of health, evaluation and management of symptoms and appropriate referrals.

"Long-term care consists of those services designed to provide symptomatic treatment, maintenance, and rehabilitative services . . . in a variety of health care settings" (p. 109). Due to the depth and breadth of materials covered, preparation for specialists roles must follow the basic nurse training program.

Several nursing schools now offer graduate programs in gerontological nursing. In 1979, 22 schools of nursing (21 percent of the master's level nursing programs accredited by the National League for Nursing) offered a geriatric and/or gerontological nursing program (NLN, 1979a).[6] Only one of the 21 doctoral nursing programs offered a gerontological focus (NLN, 1979b).[7] Since fewer

than 400 nurses had graduated from or were enrolled in graduate gerontological nursing programs in 1978 (Shields, 1978), and fewer than five percent of the working nurses will earn a masters or doctoral degree in nursing during the 1980s, the supply of specialists in gerontological nursing will not begin to meet the needs of nursing schools and other health care agencies and institutions. This suggests the importance of faculty development programs in gerontological nursing so that curricula at all levels can be planned and implemented. Faculty in basic education programs cannot wait for the specialists to design and implement curricula for students as suggested by Seigel (1979).

What Questions Should Faculty Consider in Planning a Nursing Gerontology Program?

Several sets of questions should be addressed by faculty planning a nursing gerontology program.[8] They include questions related to program philosophy and goals, curriculum content and format, faculty responsible for program, and nature of support for program. Some of the questions are applicable to all nursing curricula, while others are specific to gerontological nursing. The questions are relevant to both basic and graduate nursing programs.

Several questions concern the philosophy and goals of the program. What philosophy concerning the aged and their health needs underlies the program goals? What are the program goals? What are the minimal competencies that program graduates are expected to master? In what settings are graduates prepared for and expected to work? What roles are they expected to perform according to faculty, to employers, and to consumers?

Five questions focus on program content. Should the program reflect an emphasis upon application of knowledge or the development of gerontological nursing techniques and theory? How much emphasis should be placed upon the normative and/or pathological processes of aging? Should students be taught to promote health of the aged, to assess and treat the aged ill in the community, and/or to care for the aged in long-term care institutions? Finally, should aging issues be viewed from the perspective(s) of the individual, family, community, and/or society?

Four questions focus on program format. Should the gerontology courses be segregated, or should the program materials be integrated into other courses? How much time should be devoted to increasing knowledge, changing attitudes, and developing skills? In what settings should students do their clinical assignments? Should students have experiences with the well aged, the sick aged, or both?

Several questions are related to faculty resources and support for a nursing gerontology program. Should the gerontology courses comprising the program be taught by nursing faculty or by an interdisciplinary faculty group? How much and what types of support are available to faculty both within the school of nursing and the community? How many qualified and committed faculty members are able and willing to help implement the program? Are funds available to hire needed faculty and/or consultants? Are funds adequate to support faculty development? Finally, are staff in the clinical settings utilized by the students knowledgeable about needs of the aged and supportive to the students' learning needs?

Answers to the above and related questions will assist faculty in determining the nature and scope of a gerontology nursing program that they are capable of implementing within their school of nursing. Schools with limited faculty resources and funds for bringing in additional faculty will need to limit their program or seek additional resources. A faculty development program may be the first step to initiating a nursing gerontology program. By contrast, schools with qualifed faculty, resources and adequate support from administration may choose to implement gerontological nursing in both their basic and graduate porgrams. See Gunter and Estes (1979) for specific suggestions concerning the design of gerontological nursing curriculums.

What Role Should Continuing Education Play in Preparing Nurses to Care for the Aged?

Since a majority of working nurses did not receive gerontological nursing in their basic nurse training program (Gunter and Estes, 1979), continuing education can and must play a significant role in helping nurses increase their knowledge and skills in caring for the aged. Continuing education can also play an important role in disseminating new knowledge and techniques to gerontological nurses prepared as generalists and specialists. In short, program activities are needed for all levels of nursing personnel beginning with the nurse aide and continuing through the nurse prepared at the doctoral level.

Program goals, format, and content of specific programs must be directed to the target student population, as student needs and interests will vary. Although space limits prohibit a discussion concerning who is capable of conducting continuing education programs, planning groups should uphold professional ANA standards for such programs. Furthermore, they should do their utmost to provide a stimulating informative program. Nurses can be seduced into gerontological nursing by positive educational experiences.

Conclusions

Available data demonstrates that the nursing profession's commitment to meeting the health needs of the aged population is far from adequate. Although all the health professions will need to work together to resolve the health concerns and problems of this rapidly growing group, nursing can play a vital role in the development and provision of quality health services. Nursing's unique contribution can lie in its simultaneous concerns with health and illness factors as they interact with the biological, psychological and sociological dimensions of aged persons and their families.

However, before the nursing profession can reach its potential in serving the aged population, there must be a cadre of nurses prepared as generalists and specialists in gerontological nursing. Knowledge of basic nursing skills is necessary but insufficient for meeting the frequently complex and multiple needs of the aged. The integration of gerontology into nursing curricula in basic and graduate programs is an important step. However, continuing education programs in gerontological nursing must also be developed in that a majority of working nurses graduated from educational programs lacking a gerontological focus. Furthermore, few of these nurses will have or take the opportunity to enter graduate nursing programs.

Schools of nursing have the responsibility for preparing nurses to meet the health needs of society. Thus, they must accept the responsibility for preparing gerontological nurses. The time to move forward is now.

FOOTNOTES

1. By 2030 the U.S. Bureau of Census has estimated that the number of elderly 65 and over will increase from 23 million (10.9 percent of population) to almost 55 million (14-22 percent of population depending on future fertility levels) **Changes—research on aging and the aged,** USDHEW Pub. No. (NIH 78-85, 1978, 5).

2. In general, the future elderly will be better educated, more affluent, and they will be more apt to regard health and social services as "rights" rather than privileges **(USDHEW, Changes—research on aging and the aged).**

3. Nurse, unless specified otherwise, refers to registered nurse.

4. The four other specialty areas designated by the American Nurses Association are pediatrics, mental health/psychiatric nursing, community nursing, and obstetrical/gynecological nursing.

5. Currently there are 3 types of nursing programs that prepare students to take the state nursing licensure examination. Diploma school, the oldest type, is generally associated with a hospital and requires about 3 years of study and service. The graduate is prepared to do bedside nursing. The associate degree program, the newest type, is currently growing faster than the others. Through 2 years of nursing and supporting coursework, students are prepared for staff nursing positions which involve direct patient care (NLN, **Associate Degree Education for Nurses, 1979-80,** 1979, Pub. No. 1309). The baccalaureate program offers the first professional degree in nursing and is associated with a college or university. Nursing theory and practice courses as well as supporting courses in the humanities, behavorial, biological and physical sciences comprise the 4 year program. Graduates are qualified to work in a variety of settings giving care to patients and their families, and directing care given by other nursing staff (NLN, **Baccalaureate Education in Nursing Key to a Professional Career in Nursing, 1979-80,** 1979, Pub. No. 15-1311).

6. One program on family nursing included a focus on aging. In addition to the geriatric/gerontology courses, 19 schools offered a masters in adult health. Although the assumption could be made that the aged adult was covered in the program, the time devoted to the aged would necessarily be limited. There was some data that suggested that the programs were entirely separate in that 5 of these 19 schools also offered programs in geriatrics or gerontological nursing.

7. One doctoral program offered a focus in adult health.

8. Many of these questions are similar to those posed by C.J. Cooney, "Functions of Academic Gerontology" (Undergraduate Level) in Seltzer, et al., **Gerontology in Higher Education: Perspectives and Issues,** Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.: Belmont, California, 1978, p. 80-85.

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Despite barriers, a pattern of increasing participation among older people is expected.

Educational interest and enrollment among older people

By Marshall J. Graney

Social scientists concerned with aging have often noted that American society does little to develop and support feelings of importance and self-worth among older people. Recognition is growing, however, that older people are a heterogeneous but distinct age category who can profit from further education. Traditionally, and in very broad terms, three phases of life have been recognized: the young, who are being educated; the middle-aged, who work; and the old, who are retired (Timmerman, 1978). In keeping with this stereotype, elementary and secondary education have received substantial and continued support, while at the same time adult education has often been overlooked. Timmerman (1978) has found little evidence of federal commitment in support of adult education programs, but public attitudes toward adult education in general, and education for older people in particular, may be undergoing a process of change. Among evidence of change and increasing public attention are such proposals as the 1976 Mondale Bill of Lifelong Learning, and further changes are likely to be evident if our society succeeds in dismissing the notion that formal education ends at age 21 (Spinetta & Hickey, 1975). Lawton (1976) and Timmerman (1978) have argued that learning should be considered to be a lifelong process, and our present system of education needs changes to accommodate this fact.

Research has established many "facts of aging" which are available to formal education, and it is the purpose of this article to consider what is now known. By collecting and systematically reviewing the established parameters and confirmed correlations related to older people's educational interests and enrollments, we move research closer to understanding and meeting the needs of this segment of the population.

Many factors are involved in recent developments related to the educational needs and interests of older people. Publications concerned with education for older people frequently mention such trends as continuous demographic changes in the American population (an ever-increasing proportion of older people), changes in public attitude and policy regarding education, older people's participation in education programs (or its lack), new programs for older people that colleges and universities are offering, and problems that these new programs are encountering.

Some of the recent developments in education for older people can be traced to demographic changes that have been (and will continue to be) occurring. By the year 2030, one of every six Americans will be age 65 or over, assuming that current trends will continue. The numbers of young people aged 18 to 24 years enrolling in universities and colleges are projected to decline in future decades, so planners for educational institutions may choose to adjust their programs so as to preserve organizational function in the community by being of service to age categories that are older than their traditional constituencies of the past (Timmerman, 1978; Weinstock, 1978). In fact, adult students aged 22 years of age or older now make up 48 percent of the total student enrollment, and projections for 1980 anticipate 11 million adults aged 25 or older enrolled in institutions of higher education (Lenz & Shaevitz, 1977). According to Weinstock (1978), today's universities accommodate 1.7 million students aged 55 years or older, which accounts for three percent of all students.

Thus, for self-preservation (if not for more altruistic reasons) institutions of higher education seem to be faced with a forced choice of either loss of function or seeking increased participation from non-traditional age-category constituencies (Spinetta & Hickey, 1975). One such constituency is older people. More and more people are reaching older age categories, and many retire early, so increasing numbers of older people may have the time and continued interest needed to seek further education.

Interest and Participation

Estimates of the proportion of older populations who express interest in further education have ranged from a low of 1% (Hendrickson & Barnes, 1967) to a high of 75%

(Central Bureau for the Jewish Aged, 1971). These early estimates were biased because their samples had unusually low or high average educational attainments, and more recent estimates of 26% (Graney & Hays, 1976) and 22% (Phelps, Endreson, & Peterson, 1976) are more consistent with each other and more likely to be characteristic of general populations of older people. Even so, questionnaire and interview situations may encourage older people to exaggerate their interest in further education, so these results must be interpreted with caution.

Interest that is validly expressed cannot be automatically translated into enrollment and participation, but there are at least two ways in which research on interest can be useful. First, past research has provided the best information we now have about the potential size of the constituency among older people that educational institutions may have; and, second, something has been learned about topics in education which seem to be of most interest to older people in the community (whether or not they are currently enrolled in studies).

Older people are a heterogeneous category in many respects, and when they are offered a wide variety of choices, their selections represent diverse interests ranging from the practical to the metaphysical (Hendrickson & Barnes, 1967). Program developers and service providers might prefer that the topics in education of greatest interest to older people would be practical and directly useful, but Sarvis (1973) found little evidence of interest in basic education and coping skills. However, this finding may not be generally valid. For example, Uphaus (1972) has found evidence of strong interest among older people in special problems of aging such as finances (e.g.: social security, pensions, insurance, wills, and taxes) and health concerns (e.g.: keeping fit, diet). Of special interest to programs of colleges and universities, almost one out of every two older people have expressed some degree of interest in courses in the traditional liberal arts curriculum, and approximately one of three would like to improve crafts skills (Graney & Hays, 1976). Academic courses are the most important part of educational programs for older people in less than half of the institutions that have such programs, and a variety of other kinds of courses are presently available (DeCrow, 1978).

In translating interest into enrollment we can expect to observe an historical trend toward increasing participation in further education among older people. Percent enrollment is a decreasing function of age (Grabowski & Mason, 1974), and no special sex or race differences are evidently related to this difference. When recent enrollments among older people have been considered it has been found that eight percent had been enrolled within the past two years (Racine, 1978) and fifteen percent within the past five years (Michigan, 1975). Peterson (1974) reviewed data that showed only one and six-tenths percent of people aged 65 years or older were involved in some form of further education in the 1960s, but later data estimated this percent as two percent (Harris, 1975). The likelihood of increased future enrollments among better-educated new cohorts of older people is suggested by evidence that 71 percent of a sample of college-educated people aged 60 years old or older had been active in some form of further education since retirement. Another reason why increased enrollment among older people is expected is that educational programs newly-developed for this constituency are ex-

pected to be more attractive to them than past offerings (Calhoun, 1978). Recruitment of older people to help in planning education programs may boost participation, because if older people feel that they have more control of their learning experiences they may be more likely to become involved (Grabowski & Mason, 1974; DeCrow, 1978).

By 1977 one-third of the nation's universities and colleges offered some form of education program for older people (Timmerman, 1978). Because older people have a variety of interests, a mixture of kinds of programs and classes is needed to serve their educational needs (Weinstock, 1978). The somewhat self-serving effort of colleges and universities to recruit older students into the classroom has encouraged other organizations such as churches, libraries, and museums to turn their attention to older students also; and data collected by Louis Harris and Associates (1975) show that three-fourths of older people's participation in education is at levels below the college or university—with the most common site being a church (these have the advantage of dispersed location and ease of access by automobile without long walks). It can be expected that community colleges will also have enrollment advantages in comparison to universities and metropolitan-based colleges because, like churches, they have the advantage of being better dispersed into residential locations.

Once education programs for older people have been developed and implemented they are seldom trouble-free. Program problems such as financial burdens, lack of organizational support, staff shortages, and lack of interest are often encountered (DeCrow, 1978). DeCrow's analysis of an Adult Education Association National Inventory of 350 colleges and universities found the following problem incidence reports: 71 percent listed finances as a major hindrance to further development of education programs to benefit older people; 23 percent listed lack of interest among older people; 37 percent listed staff shortages; nine percent listed inadequacy of facilities; 28 percent listed inadequacy of supportive services; 41 percent felt that potential participants could not afford the costs of program participation; 15 percent mentioned inadequacy of educational materials for older people; and 25 percent listed location of, or communication with, older people as potential participants as a major problem hindering educational programs developed to serve older people.

Many traditional sociological factors have been studied to determine their effects on older people's interest and participation in further education, including age, sex, race, prior educational attainment, rural/urban residence, health, and financial status. Declining interest and participation in association with increasing age has been documented by Uphaus (1972); Carp et al. (1974); Harris and Associates (1975); Graney & Hays (1976); and Graney (1980). However, age itself is much less important than prior education attainment as an explanation for low levels of participation among older people, according to statistics presented by Graney (1980).

Past Experience

The single most important factor in explaining further participation in educational endeavors is, without doubt, past accomplishment. Graney (1980); Graney & Hays (1976); Harris and Associates (1975); Hiemstra (1972); and Uphaus (1971) all provide documentation in support of the

importance of past educational attainment, and Harris and Associates find that older college graduates are more than twice as likely to pursue further education than older high school graduates.

Race

Findings with regard to race are unclear: Jackson & Wood (1976) found greater interest and participation among older blacks in comparison to older whites, but Graney's (1980) analysis of national random sample data does not support the finding of any significant racial difference. However, Graney (1980) does find evidence in support of the finding that older urban residents are more likely to be participants than older rural residents, established earlier by Carp et al. (1974). The rural-urban difference is probably spurious, however, because it is likely that it can be explained by differences in past educational attainments, different availability of educational institutions, and transportation problems.

Health

Health status has been established as a correlate of enrollments among older people by Graney (1980) and Racine (1978). It is this factor of health, in combination with age-cohort differences in educational attainments and limited financial resources among people living on fixed incomes that may explain much of the age-related differences in enrollments after age fifty-five. Even with free or reduced tuition that is offered by many programs, financial ability is consistently found to be a significant correlate of interest and participation in further education (Graney, 1980; Graney & Hays, 1976; Hiemstra, 1972; Phelps et al., 1976; Racine, 1978). This problem is due to the costs of additional clothing, transportation, textbooks, notebooks, and other material needs that represent real costs even when tuition is free.

Barriers to Participation

Many things can be barriers to interest in further education or to enrollments and actual participation in educational endeavors among older people. For example, many educational organizations offer programs for older people that are restricted on a "space available" basis. Although the intent of encouraging participation is good, it is unfortunate that this restriction implies a kind of "second-class citizens" status for older people (Weinstock, 1978). Older people often feel out of place in academic settings, and one in four mentions this is a problem and a barrier to interest and participation (Graney & Hays, 1976). The average older person has less formal educational attainment than the national norm, amounting to less than nine years among persons aged 65 or older (Timmerman, 1978). Often the classroom experience of older people is a distant memory, so both lack of experience and lack of recent contact are factors which may increase anxiety and lower enrollments among older people. Thus, the conventional classroom style of teaching, with lectures, term papers, and written examinations discourages participation because older people are often unfamiliar and uncomfortable with this format. DeCrow (1978) found that the prevalent formats used in existing programs for older people tend to be short courses offered as lecture classes or seminars. Although most older people prefer at-home courses (Weinstock, 1978), only 17 percent of the programs for older people made this kind of format available to them (DeCrow, 1978).

The stereotypic concept of the life of an older person as normally being one of retirement or social disengagement is a view that is sometimes held by older people themselves. A result can be the prejudice that any new endeavors or activities on their part are inappropriate and perhaps doomed to failure. Fear of failure, either expressed directly or through the indirect statement that one is "too old to learn" has consistently been found to be a major barrier to interest in education—and hence to enrollment and participation also—among older people. No fewer than one in four, and sometimes almost one of every two older persons surveyed have cited this factor as a personal barrier (Graney & Hays, 1976; Phelps et al., 1976).

Uses and Gratifications

The reason that most older people give for non-participation in further education is simple lack of interest (Graney & Hays, 1976; National Council on Aging, 1978; Racine, 1978). This may be a factor that is relatively independent of fear of failure or negative self-concept—reflecting, instead, the older person's perception that the content of course offerings is irrelevant to his or her personal interests and/or experience. Because such a wide variety of course offerings is already available it is likely that either problems in communication have prevented educational institutions from creating broader public awareness of what is available or else there are some among those surveyed who cannot find much of interest in anything that could be offered by an educational institution.

Lack of interest may also signal psychological disengagement among some older people, and improved communication efforts on the part of educational institutions are unlikely to affect this pattern.

Havighurst (1964) conceptualized "basic kinds of competence areas as instrumental," and Londoner (1971) introduced an instrumental/expressive dichotomy into the literature on aging and education. Hiemstra (1973, 1976) has explored this dichotomy in depth, establishing that among older people as well as younger ones it is instrumental motives that are prevalent in the pursuit of further education. Graney (1980) has studied life cycle differences in motive and found that although instrumental motives are prevalent overall, it is among the younger (age 18-24) and older (age 55 or older) people that mixed motives are especially important.

Discussion

Although there is always risk of somehow reinforcing stereotypes about older people, some generalizations from the literature on aging and education can be proposed. I offer these generalizations in the form of a classification of older people's responses on the question of further education into three types of positive response and two types of negative response.

Core Participant

The older Core Participant in further education tends to have above-average resources of vigor and health, financial ability, and educational attainment. As a result, this person is mobile, socially active, and strongly motivated by either expressive or instrumental needs. The Core Participant chooses either courses in the traditional liberal arts curriculum, for expressive reasons of self-

fulfillment and the pleasure of the pursuit of knowledge in the company of other, like-minded, people, or is interested in arts and crafts courses primarily for the instrumental purpose of building and maintaining useful skills.

Marginal (Potential) Participant

The older Marginal Participant is, at present, a potential participant who tends to have average resources of health, finances, and education for a member of his or her age cohort. This person's educational activity is often bound by age-related restrictions of time (daylight classes only), place (conveniently near home in community learning centers), curriculum (age-relevant) and format (brief presentations—trigger films, etc.—followed by class discussion moderated by the instructor). Failure of meeting any one of these qualifications may be sufficient sooner or later to alienate the older person from the educational system. The potential Marginal Participant is not singularly motivated by either salient instrumental or expressive needs, as would be necessary to overcome these restrictions, but does have a mixture of both instrumental and expressive needs that could motivate participation in further education when the restrictive qualifications regarding time, place, curriculum, and format have been met satisfactorily. The Marginal Participant is most likely to be recruited to participation through expressive relationships with older friends, neighbors, or relatives who are Core Participants.

Non-Traditional (Potential) Participant

The Non-Traditional Participant is, at present, usually a person with instrumental needs that could potentially be served by educational institutions. Although mentally alert, better-educated than average, and possessing health and activity levels sufficient for independent living, the Non-Traditional Participant tends to be advanced in years ("old-old") and socially disengaged due to the effects of declining vigor, limited financial resources, vision or hearing losses, or transportation problems. Although virtually unreachable through the traditional teaching medium of the classroom, the Non-Traditional Participant's extensive use of television, radio, and newspaper presentations to satisfy instrumental information-seeking needs could potentially be mobilized, rationalized, and implemented in a public service education program in a manner parallel to the Children's Television Workshop contributions to education among younger people. People in this category may often pursue self-education programs outside traditional auspices.

Uninterested Non-Participant

The Uninterested Non-Participant tends to have below-average formal educational attainments for his or her age cohort, and has always placed little value on education (beyond the minimum conventional lip service required for social acceptability in our society) for people of any age. The Uninterested Non-Participant attributes his or her non-participation to the irrelevance on contemporary curriculum, or lack of meaningful or interesting courses currently offered. However, because this person is fundamentally disinterested in education, both hard-won knowledge and difficult-to-attain skills are written-off as miraculous gifts or else as mere "technical details" unworthy of serious consideration: efforts expended on educational endeavors are hard to justify from this point of view. It is easy to understand why no course or curriculum is likely to appeal to the Uninterested Non-Participant of any age category.

Disengaged Non-Participant

The Disengaged Non-Participant could be, at heart, any of the four types already described. He or she has, however, accepted the stereotype that older people are "too old to learn," and has disengaged from the world of intellect and skills. The psychological disengagement of the Disengaged Non-Participant is significantly different from the social disengagement of the Non-Traditional Participant in that the Non-Traditional Participant recognizes some expressive and/or instrumental needs that could, potentially, be satisfied through educational materials presented through the appropriate format/medium, whereas the Disengaged Non-Participant lacks this inner motivation and is psychologically disengaged from concern with new experiences and personal growth.

"Socialization" in the sociological sense is normally an activity that occupies a lifetime from birth to death. Effectively coping with changing community, home, and inner-personal environments requires information acquisition, processing, and organization so that mastery of one's status as a fully functioning member of society can be preserved, and so that competence in personal affairs and planning for future contingencies can be maintained at an optimum level.

Many studies of limited scope and generalizability have explored age differences in interest and enrollment in further education, and these findings have generally been supported in analysis of large-scale national random sample data. Time and again the strongest single predictor of participation in further education has been found to be past educational attainment, although among older people this activity is diminished because of declines in health and wealth associated with aging. Increased enrollments of older people in future years may be experienced due to improved health and financial resources, but the chief factor in increased participation is likely to be the greater educational attainments of new cohorts of older people.

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Age-segregated programs perpetuate artificial separation from the general citizenry.

Education programs for older adults: A critique

By Nancy Lerner Intermill

In recent years the literature has suggested the value of increasing educational opportunities for older adults. Covey (1980) points out that older people constitute a viable pool of potential students at a time when many colleges are faced with declining enrollments as well as severe financial cutbacks. Furthermore, institutions of higher education—particularly public institutions and community colleges—recognize the growing numbers of older persons in our society and are looking to serve the educational needs of this population (Chelsvig & Timmerman, 1979). The literature also suggests that education can be of value to the older adult in a variety of ways. This paper will explore the potential benefits that can be derived by older students when they attend courses provided by college institutions. The paper will also explore the value of special programming for this population versus "mainstreaming" them into the regular student body. Finally, it will address the utilization of education programs by senior adults—who actually participates? While advocates tout the advantages to both student and institution of drawing more older people into institutions of higher education, it does not appear that the great majority of older persons are availing themselves of the educational opportunities offered to them.

The Benefit of Education to The Older Adult

It is generally acknowledged that people encounter a series of social and physical changes as they age. Death of spouse and friends, retirement, and relocation are developmental events which are likely to be experienced by the older person. These changes may be viewed as potentially stressful, leaving the older person vulnerable to stress-related diseases and disabilities. These same events, however, can lead to a period of personal growth and fulfillment, marked by new relationships and social roles (Boren et al., 1979). Regardless of the point of view with which one chooses to view the aging process, there is agreement among psychologists that individuals in their later years often review their lives, acknowledging successes and failures in an effort to reconcile their life experiences (Butler & Lewis 1973; Erickson, 1959; Neugarten, 1968). While education cannot be viewed as an antidote to the stresses of late life, it can be used as a vehicle for encouraging personal growth and productivity. Alpaugh et al. (1976) note that "an educational system involving these [older] people in creative thinking, new interests, and novel projects would lead to leisure-time accomplishments that would enhance their self concept and increase life satisfaction." In fact, in a 1979 study, Boren et al. reported that participants in a career transition program experienced a lessening of depression, a growing sense of independence, and a heightening sense of their potential for undertaking new ventures.

Some researchers have taken this argument one step further: the notion is that education not only provides a pastime for the older adult faced with a greater number of leisure hours—it can actually contribute to mental and physical well-being. Cross & Florio (1978) claim that continued education, mental stimulation, and cultural pursuits not only keep older people happy, but they also enhance a sense of well-being and, perhaps, even contribute to increased longevity. Furthermore they cite a study of some 900 adults conducted in 1958 by the Duke University Center for the Study of Aging and Human Development which reported that better educated people live longer than others.

It is a large and far too tenuous step to argue, much less conclude, that continued participation in educational activities in later years is directly related to increased life expectancy. Educational participation tends to be selective—involving those with higher socioeconomic status and better health, and those whose past life experiences have facilitated the knowledge to use the available services systems, including education. Any apparent direct relationship between educational participation and life expectancy actually reflects the complex interaction of a number of variables such as these. Although it is undoubtedly true that education can increase a sense of meaning and provide a mechanism for coping with life ex-

periences, regardless of age, it is yet unclear to what degree and in what specific ways education is of benefit to the older adult. That it is a valuable activity is acknowledged by educators and older people alike. Whether education can become of greater value to a broader range of older people remains to be seen. In this paper, several issues related to this broader question are addressed.

How to Best Serve The Older Student: Mainstreaming or Special Programming?

Currently program planners for the aging are grappling with the question of generic versus categorical services. Generic services imply a sense of equality and universality whereby older people are served by a system simply by virtue of their being citizens or adults—not because they are old or poor or vulnerable. Categorical services, on the other hand, are specially designed with one interest group in mind, and the assumption is made that needs can best be met in these "special programs." The educational opportunities available to older adults today reflect this dilemma of generic versus categorical programs.

A number of categorical educational programs have been created over the last several years in order to appeal to the older student. Some institutions of higher education offer programs on campus while others invite the older student to attend college courses in vacation-like settings away from home. Course offerings vary, but they typically include the liberal arts, self-awareness courses, and arts and crafts. Courses such as these are generally offered on a no-credit basis. Probably the best-known program of this type is the Elderhostel program. Formed in the summer of 1975, the intent of the program was to provide a residential educational experience for older persons. Three one-week courses were offered at each of five institutions; special activities and events were promoted as part of the program. The institutionalization and universal spread of the Elderhostel concept indicates its success. In the summer of 1980, all 50 states will have programs; some 300 colleges will be offering courses and it's expected that 25,000 older persons will participate. Another categorical program of a slightly different nature is described by Boren et al. (1979) in which a second career program was designed to help older adults cope constructively with midlife and midcareer changes. Proponents of specialized programs such as these note that they lessen the "culture shock" of the educational system and may provide an entry for the older person into mainstream programs.

While different in intent these programs are similar in that, by virtue of their categorical nature, they are age-segregated. There are disadvantages to age-segregated programs of all types which cannot be ignored. In our ageist society, categorical programs perpetuate the artificial separation of older people from the general citizenry. This is particularly ironic in educational settings where gerontology centers advocate for the rights of elders to participate fully in our society. On a more pragmatic level it should be noted that federal funding of categorical programs is beginning to decline, and it is likely that this trend will continue in view of our faltering economy. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of these programs is that with the separation of generations, a great deal of wisdom and tradition disappears over time. Older people carry with them the personal experiences of

their lifetimes. In total, these experiences create a context for the history of our nation. As we continue to support programs (from social service to education) which promote age segregation, we are inadvertently losing an invaluable resource. In his recent study of older college students, Covey (1980) concludes " . . . that specialized college curricula and programs may, in the long run, be a disservice to older people because it isolates them from standardized college course work and the general student population."

If it is the responsibility of gerontological program planners to encourage a realistic presentation of the aging process in our society, it may be argued that age-integrated programs provide an opportunity for the practice of this precept. Through age-integrated programs in which persons of various ages work and play together, the mutual contact of these age groups are more likely to foster their viewing each other realistically rather than stereotypically. There are educational programs available to older persons which are of an age-integrated nature. For the most part these programs take the form of policies in colleges and universities which offer older people the opportunity to audit regular courses on a free or reduced tuition basis. As of 1979 one out of three institutions of higher education offered such programs for older persons (Chelsvig & Timmerman, 1979). Free and reduced-fee audit programs not only provide an opportunity for intergenerational exchange, but they have another advantage over categorical programs as well: they offer a range of courses to the older person which are not available through special programs. Self-actualization and arts and crafts classes have traditionally been offered by special program planners to meet the assumed needs of this population. Current evidence shows that planners may have misread the educational concerns of the elderly; older people are also interested in pursuing courses related to second or late entry career interests (Boren et al., 1979; Jones, 1979). Through the "mainstreaming" approach, the older student can choose to participate in virtually any course offered by the institution; thus he or she can fulfill individual educational desires and needs.

Utilization of Educational Programs by Older Adults

It has been shown that education is a valuable tool in assisting the older person to adjust to the aging process. Nationwide, institutions of higher education are offering a variety of programs such as those described above to meet the diverse educational needs of this population. It appears likely, however, that the vast majority of these programs are not reaching the older persons in greatest need (Chelsvig & Timmerman, 1979). While documentation of the numbers of older persons participating in educational programs is scant (Chelsvig & Timmerman, 1979; Covey, 1980), a study conducted by the National Center for Education Studies indicated that as of May 1975, only 4 percent of those 55 years and over were participating in educational opportunities. Furthermore, this group comprised only 9 percent of the total number of adult participants in educational activities.

It has been suggested that those elders who do participate in college programs are actually a select group, well-educated, and of relatively secure financial means (Chelsvig & Timmerman, 1979; Covey, 1980). A brief analysis of demographic profiles in the Elderhostel program indicates that this program serves senior adults who have been involved with the educational system

throughout their lifespans (Elderhostel Annual Report, 1978). In 1978, 83 percent of all Elderhostel participants had previously attended some college; 30 percent of the participants had completed graduate school. Covey (1980) surveyed participants in age-integrated free and reduced-fee tuition programs; he reports that " ... every older student had been involved in formal or informal education throughout their lives and were cognizant of this ongoing relationship with education." Furthermore the Elderhostel literature shows that fully 50 percent of all their participants have an annual family income of at least $12,000, yet 84 percent of these same participants indicated that they were retired (Elderhostel Annual Report, 1978). Again, Covey (1980) concurs: " .... older students reported significantly higher incomes than nonstudents." Given the current cohort of older persons in our society today, these student populations appear to be a very select group, indeed.

Conclusion

All older people can benefit from the advantages of continuing education including productivity, increased self-esteem, a sense of well-being and additional knowledge. It appears, furthermore, that educational institutions are attempting to attract older students. There are gaps in this process, however, which need to be addressed. At a minimum, further research and understanding is needed in the following areas:

-Motivational studies to identify ways in which educational planners can successfully and widely appeal to all persons in the older generation;
Evaluation research to look at the appropriateness and effectiveness of age-segregated versus age-integrated educational programs;
-Accurate demographic tracking systems to identify the types and numbers of older students in various educational settings.

It is the responsibility of our higher education system not only to make programs available to older people, but also to encourage and facilitate their participation. If the colleges and universities are truly going to be responsive to the communities they serve, we can look forward to seeing the gray heads of all types of older people on our campuses—regardless of previous education level or socioeconomic status. The older student is here to stay—what remains is the challenge to provide him or her with the education that best suits his or her needs.

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Physical design issues affect accessibility, safety, and usability.

Educational environments for the elderly

By Thomas O. Byerts

In recent years, interest in continuing education and public service activities for adults has expanded at a modest rate. Serious concentration on the special education needs of the elderly is, however, growing rapidly on some university and community college campuses across the country. This interest is prompted by a number of factors which include recent realization of the broad education and services needs of older people, recognition of new (and needed) sources of revenue, and development of good will for institutions of higher learning. From the consumer point of view, rising levels of education achieved by "newer" cohorts of older people, coupled with higher expectations for learning, leisure activities, earlier retirement, second careers, and economic necessity for new job skills caused by rising costs of living, are leading to new levels of interest. This does not mean that large numbers of older people are expected to arrive on campuses, though the numbers should increase in general. As relevant programs are developed on campuses and at extension sites, the increases could be dramatic.

Beyond some traditional and non-traditional institutions actively marketing educational services to alumni and broadening their definition of "older" adult students

to include the middle aged and the elderly, few examples of sustained programs for older people on campuses (that have clear housing or environmental implications) could be cited. Examples include:

1) Tommey Abbott Public Housing, Syracuse, NY: a three tower complex (one for the elderly and the other two for men and women students, joined by public areas used by both younger and older people) sited at the foot of Syracuse University's campus, adjacent to and administered by the All-University Gerontology Center in cooperation with the Public Housing Department;

2) Fairhaven College, Bellingham, WA: Features an age integrated approach to married student housing and classes; and

3) The Elderhostel Program: A growing national network of educational institutions that develop short-term stay, residential campus (summer) programs for older people.

In addition, campuses such as the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, are major state campus models for accessibility to the handicapped. The University of Illinois program began over 25 years ago and has attracted a number of disabled students. It has a pioneering rehabilitation institute that spearheaded the design standards for the campus and provides a focal point for enabling a large population of physically handicapped students to obtain a high quality education.

In another direction, some educational institutions —particularly community colleges—have assumed responsibility for sponsoring and housing senior center programs, adult day care centers and other recreation, social and health hospital clinics and special diagnostic programs for older people. Other educational institutions offer alumni college programs where alumni of all ages are invited to participate in special educational opportunities on campus. Some programs require overnight accommodations.

Physical Design Issues

Serious physical design issues affecting security, safety, and usability must be addressed, lest inappropriate and unfortunate situations develop on campus—be they campus residential, commuter, or extension located in the community. In fact, if dealt with properly, a re-design of most campuses would improve the environment for students, staff and visitors of all ages and conditions. Action along this line is being spurred forward by the Federal pressure of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 as summarized from an excerpt of an HEW Fact Sheet, March 1978, detailed below:

In colleges and other post-secondary institutions, recruitment, admissions, and the treatment of students must be free of discrimination.

Quotas for admission of handicapped persons are ruled out, as are pre-admission inquiries as to whether an applicant is handicapped. However, voluntary post-admission inquiries may be made in advance of enrollment concerning handicapping conditions to enable an institution to provide necessary services.

Higher education institutions must assure accessibility of programs and activities to handi-

capped students and employees. Architectural barriers must be removed where the program is not made accessible by other means. A university, however, is not expected to make all its classroom buildings accessible buildings, or take other steps to open the program to handicapped students. Handicapped persons should have the same options available to others in selecting courses.

The balance of this paper focuses on physical design issues and their implications for the relatively new and potentially broad-based "aging of the campus."

Motivation

A serious look at motivation is in order. In the mid-70s, as many higher education programs began to face cutbacks in funding, reduced operating income from declining enrollments and endowments, inflationary pressures and empty dormitories (students preferring to live in the community), some institutions began a (desperate) search for student "bodies."

Are the empty classrooms and dormitories a result of the declining quality of education or the institution's lack of relevance to society? Were the dormitories vacant due to poor design, management, or maintenance? Is the motivation for encouraging older students a result of a sincere desire to expand the age mix and challenge the faculty and "traditional" student body with the wisdom and experience that maturity brings? Is there a commitment to develop a support unit to facilitate older students returning to the campus? As these questions are answered, an evaluation of the existing physical plant/equipment followed by a plan with a goal of developing a more age-integrated program of learning, is clearly in order.

It must be recognized that campuses (as is the case with most cities or buildings) were not built to accommodate permanently or temporarily disabled or frail elderly persons or even children or disoriented visitors for that matter. Campuses have recently come under steady federal pressure and regulatory controls in this area. These standards for assessing usability of public buildings insist that programs that take place in buildings must be accessible and usable by the handicapped and elderly. They include: 1) incorporation of reserved parking with dignified entrance/egress (not through loading dock at rear); and, 2) free movement through and use of facilities (e.g., bathrooms, drinking fountains, and cafeterias as well as laboratories/libraries, recreational facilities and classroom spaces). For residential campuses, the regulations often apply to campus housing such as married student apartments, single student dormitories, hotels, apartments, and boarding homes in the neighborhood.

Circulation

Whether they are large, sprawling rural campuses, dense inner city campuses or modest extension sites in churches, libraries or shopping areas, most campuses rely on "student power" to get up to the next classroom or over to the next building. Few campuses take real control of conditions like weather, distance, and security. Campuses tend to be under-equipped relative to elevators or escalators since they were designed for active 18-24 year olds who were expected to walk up and down stairs. Parking lots are usually expensive, require passes, and are often located on the periphery of campuses. At a minimum, handicapped student parking spaces close in proximity to major buildings must be provided. Some older people may not have the physical stamina to make it from one class to the next across campus in the few minutes allotted between classes. Reorganization of schedules, circulation patterns and location may be appropriate. Is there a campus shuttle bus? Is it accessible? Is it reliable?

Security is difficult on university campuses since there are usually many entrances and exits, and many campuses are spread out in "park-like" settings. Students and non-students blend easily together. There are landscaped grounds for beauty and contemplation by day. They also, however, provide places to hide or escape at night. Evening classes can be dangerous if lighting is inadequate and student traffic is sporadic, since classes are let out at designated times.

Building signage or clear images suggesting function are typically poor or non-existent. Most campuses were built over a period of years. Some maintain a particular architectural style while others collect various architectural styles, contemporary to the time of construction. Rarely is there a uniform (or even clear) graphic system. Campus maps are traditionally hard to find and hard to read. Many buildings are named after benefactors—not activities or units contained therein and often multiple functions are contained in one building. Street addresses are rarely used. People who are out walking may have memorized their route, are familiar with a portion of the campus, or they too are lost!

Entry

The next issue to consider is the building entrance. Many college buildings were built with classical styles in mind. Thus, there are often several formal entrances on axis with the building. The entrances are usually approached by stairs to set them off on a formal platform. Which entrance is the most direct route to the classroom, the office, or lab in question? Buildings must now have at least one entrance on grade or ramped for handicapped wheelchair students, staff, and visitors. The typical heavy single or double doors (or in more modern buildings, revolving doors), must be negotiated to enter buildings. Safe, power-assisted doors should be considered.

Interior

The next area of concern is the need for clear, wide hallways in heavy traffic areas. Hopefully, excess glare is reduced by dark glass or a canopy over the exterior windows. Interior task lighting, matte finishes on floors and lever handle hardware should be used in both new or remodeled construction. Quality of signage is often a critical and overlooked interior design issue.

Are the elevators and laboratory facilities clearly marked? Are the classrooms easily identified? Can a wheelchair-bound person use the public telephone and drinking fountains? Are the elevators limited only for faculty use? Can the controls be reached from a seated position? Is it easy to tell what floor a person is on? Do the elevator doors close slowly and retract easily if blocked? Is there braille and raised lettering on the controls?

Can a hard-of-hearing student communicate over the background noise of the corridor or in the classrooms/offices? Are there places to sit and rest that are out of the flow of traffic? Classrooms are often among the most ineffective and inefficient environments for communication.

Too many classrooms have acoustical, lighting and ventilating problems. The chairs are often uncomfortable and fixed in rows with table arms that get in the way. The larger theater settings are often cold and impersonal and the seminar rooms are often congested. Are the faculty offices suitable for scholarly discussion, writing and conducting research?

Due to the tight budgets, many campus administrations have had to cut back on maintenance and cleaning. Graffiti, posters, and debris crowd out directional signs and passageways. Are the exits clearly marked and hardware workable? Do faculty and staff take full advantage of whatever inherent flexibility there is in the use of space and equipment?

Living Arrangements

For campuses interested in attracting temporary or full time older students into campus housing or housing in the community, the "quality" and appropriateness of student housing can become a critical issue. Typical student dormitories featuring two-person "efficiency" rooms, a small lounge on each floor with gang bathrooms down the hall are not appropriate for extended, or in some cases, even for short-term stays. As duration of stay shifts from short-term to long-term, housing should meet and potentially exceed the HUD Minimum Property Standards for Multi-Family Facilities.

Demand for more amenities or special features increases with duration of stay and degree of disability presented by older students, alumni or retired faculty members. New construction of conventional or subsidized apartments designed for the elderly and handicapped would provide year-round dwellings for older students, spouses or others. Rehabilitating existing structures can provide space to meet new standards of usage.

Accessible and functional apartment houses or boarding homes on or near the campus which are located in safe neighborhoods should be considered. Married student housing with several bedrooms may be more appropriate than dormitories, but large numbers of unsupervised children could be a detriment. A set of policies would have to be worked out before various groups of older people occupy the facilities.

A key element is the design of the dwelling unit. Single rooms or suites with private bathrooms and an emphasis on showers with a seat and sprayer as well as the inclusion of grab bars throughout are a growing priority for most people. Space and privacy should be adequate for conducting the activities of daily living. Fittings and hardware should be simple and easily operated. Telephones and emergency communication systems in each unit are strongly recommended. If cooking is permitted in the unit or in the common space on each floor, electric stoves are indicated and task lighting in these areas should be increased. Background noise should be minimized throughout these facilities.

On balance, construction of new apartments or renovation of existing buildings truly designed for the elderly and handicapped are the first priority. Serious conversion of dormitories or community housing for long-term stay is a second and perhaps more feasible alternative. A motel or transient hotel/apartment type of arrangement or well-designed dormitory for short term stays may be adequate.

Conclusion

The physical environment plays a much stronger role in people's lives than is commonly realized. This role increases in importance as people grow older and experience age-related loss of perceptual acuity, reaction time, strength, dexterity, social and familial ties, and confidence of youth. Appropriate responses to the growing needs and demands of older people for education services will take a major commitment from campus administration, whether educational offerings are traditional or non-traditional in design. This applies to both new and old campuses and buildings. For programs to be successful, an environment developed with a knowledgeable, sensitive approach is required. Without this, only minor gains will be made in education programs for older adults.

Institutions of higher learning need to increase work-related training and support services.

Community colleges and career education for older adults

By Jeanne B. Aronson
and Margaret Eccles

In an address delivered at the 1979 National Adult Education Conference, Arthur S. Flemming, former commissioner of the Administration on Aging, stated:

Colleges and universities must develop more career programs to meet the needs of growing numbers of older Americans who are not leaving the work force at the traditional retirement age. . . . Because older persons will not always think about the campus as a place that offers help, educational institutions have a responsibility to locate people who are retiring and tell them about educational opportunities. . . . Higher education institutions are confronted with a tremendous opportunity to respond to the needs of older Americans for career programs, but so far this is largely a missed opportunity [1]

While figures indicate that adults 55 years of age and older form about 7.7 percent of the total enrollment at postsecondary institutions,[2] it is difficult to assess how many career-related training opportunities are being offered to older adults nationwide at colleges and universities, or how many adults are taking advantage of them. In 1977 the American Council on Education surveyed public and private two- and four-year institutions of higher education to assess the extent of instructional programs and community services being offered adults 55 years and older.[3] Although over half of the 556 institutions responding offered no programs designed specifically for older adults, 58 percent of the public two-year colleges and 52 percent of the public universities did have such programs—mainly for self-improvement, use of leisure time, and pre-retirement. Courses geared toward second career training composed 17.5 percent of the programs at public two-year colleges and 20 percent at public universities.

Community colleges, serving over one third of all postsecondary students in the country, have through both philosophy and statute adopted a role and mission that is closely conversant with and responsive to the expressed educational needs of their communities. During the past decade community colleges have recognized the emerging needs of more diverse groups of adult learners and have incorporated the concept of lifelong education into their mission statements and program offerings. Between 1974 and 1976 enrollment of students 35 and over at two-year colleges jumped 30 percent; total enrollment for this group in fall 1977 was 1.3 million. The average age of the community college student is now over 29.[4]

In a recent publication of the College Board's Future Directions for a Learning Society project, Howard Bowen attributes the success of the community colleges in attracting adult learners to this responsive stance:

It is only a slight exaggeration to say that they offered virtually any subject for which a demand existed or could be created and for anyone who wished to learn part-time or full-time. They offered courses on any schedule and at any place that seemed convenient to the learners.[5]

In addition, the community college offers relatively low tuition.

Part of the community colleges' thrust toward the adult learner has been to specifically design programs and services for older adults, although it is difficult to provide exact numbers because of the way enrollment data are kept. Most older adults, at least initially, enroll for non-credit activities, which are estimated by the U.S. Office of Education to have increased 500 percent in community colleges between 1968 and 1978.[6] The state of Maryland is one of the few that keeps detailed records by age, and these show that in fiscal year 1978 there were 25,123 adults over 60 years of age enrolled in non-credit courses specifically designed for them, and 800 persons over 60 enrolled in special credit courses.[7] Even here, however, the exact number of persons over 60 enrolled in courses open to all students cannot be ascertained, although it is estimated as "thousands."

Career-related programs have provided a small percentage of course offerings in comparison to liberal arts, recreational, and coping skills activities. However, in the belief that community colleges need to increase work-

related training and support services for older adults, the Older Americans Program of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC), under a grant from the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, is working with colleges to identify and encourage effective career programs.

The program's first publication in 1978 stated its basic view that:

Community colleges have many resources poten-tially useful in bringing the mature talents of older people more fully into play in a changing work world: a community base; ... established relations with local employers in a variety of occupational training programs; placement service, job counseling and means of verifying skills; forms for organizing, ad-ministering and publicizing new programs; ex-perience with adults in large numbers and, in recent years, with older adults. ... Present mechanisms for bringing workers and jobs together are inefficient for serving older job seekers and the "suddenly old" displaced middle-aged applicants; ... seldom are the special counseling and placement problems of older workers addressed."

In the interim, the Older Americans Program has worked with many colleges offering such programs as senior employment services, specialized training courses to fill an identified need in the community (e.g. home-maker and home health aides), self-employment training and support such as assistance to a handicraft coopera-tive, and peer counseling programs. Adults served include both those near retirement and those already retired.

Although complete data on enrollments and numbers of programs offered are not available, two AACJC surveys provide an indication of the status of career education for older adults at community colleges.

In 1977 the Older Americans Program surveyed com-munity colleges concerning work-related offerings for older adults.[9] Of the 547 respondents, 140, or 25 percent, indicated they had courses or workshops related to im-provement or acquisition of job skills. Special counseling services for older adults were indicated by 139 colleges; 12 senior employment services were identified, with 16 other colleges having closely related services such as job-seeking clinics. Many colleges indicated an integra-tion of services for all students, with no specific older adult components.

An in-depth survey of career education in community colleges was undertaken by AACJC in 1978,[10] based on the U.S. Office of Education's Career Education Office definition of "helping individuals acquire and utilize the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for each to make work a meaningful, productive, and satisfying part of his or her way of living."

Eight specific components were studied, with over 65 percent of the colleges having all eight in place. Those most relevant to the adult learner included career re-source centers (77 percent), services for adults in career transition (86 percent), work experience opportunities (85 percent), and collaboration with the community (92 percent). Of the colleges surveyed, 43 percent indi-cated offering career services to senior citizens, although 65 percent of them indicated a need for assistance in this area. Senior citizens were in fact among those least well served, whereas adults in career transition and women were among the populations best served.

How strong is the interest of older adults in remain-ing active in paid employment? The well-documented "graying of America," in which the percentage of the population 55 years and over will rise from 20 percent today to a projected 27 percent by 2030 while younger age groups remain stable or shrink,[11] is having many effects on American social and economic life. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the controversy over the Social Security System and the increasing demand on a com-paratively shrinking younger work force to support a burgeoning number of retired persons. While four workers supported a beneficiary a few years ago, the projected ratio for 2025 is two workers supporting one beneficiary.[12] It is currently being debated whether the system can even remain afloat as its reserves dwindle, and four out of five of today's employees have indicated less than full con-fidence that Social Security will be able to pay them the benefits owed.[13] Lack of confidence in future income benefits, coupled with steep inflation and expectations of a relatively healthy and long lifespan, are leading many Americans to question the wisdom of giving up all involve-ment in productive employment. Many others who have al-ready retired are also finding economic, social, and psychological reasons to consider a return to paid em-ployment.

The 1979 Louis Harris survey of "American Attitudes toward Pensions and Retirement" found that:

Significant percentages (of employees) would prefer to work—either full-time or part-time, at the same job or at a less demanding job. ... A total of 51 percent say they would prefer to continue with some type of employment. ... Of those 50-64, 48 percent say they intend to continue working instead of retiring, as do an almost equal percentage of younger workers. ... Among those already retired ... 46 percent would prefer to be working ... and 53 percent would have preferred to continue working instead of retiring.[14]

The feasibility of older workers continuing or reen-tering paid employment will be greatly influenced by em-ployer attitudes toward older workers' capabilities, the existence of alternative work patterns such as part-time or shared jobs, the expansion of job development efforts to identify occupations especially suited to older adults' skills and experience, and the general employment pic-ture. The 1978 Age Discrimination in Employment Amend-ments raising the mandatory retirement age to 70, and the 1975 Age Discrimination Act both have strong potential for influencing retirement patterns, although it is too early to judge their effects.

The issue of whether continued older worker par-ticipation in the labor force denies entrance or promotion to younger workers requires a careful consideration of the factors which influence job openings across the economy. Obsolescence, technology, and changing work patterns all influence employment opportunities, so that younger workers do not necessarily move directly into slots left by retirees. Use of experienced older workers as short-term consultants, as trainers for younger workers, or as part-time workers in community service are all exam-ples of non-conflicting alternatives. Many older adults do not want to work full-time and many are interested in self-employment. Also to be considered is the right of older persons to maintain themselves in productive capacities in the face of changing demographics, where it is not un-common for a 65-year-old to be financially responsible for an infirm parent.

It cannot be realistically maintained that continuance or reentry of older persons in the job market will suddenly become easy, when workers over 45 presently form one of the largest groups of "discouraged" workers, i.e., those who give up seeking employment after repeated failure.[15] Community colleges and other educational institutions will not likely be able merely to include more older adults in training programs established for younger persons without some modifications or provision of facilitating mechanisms. Heavy reliance on cooperative arrangements with business and industry, government, non-profit organizations, and other educational institutions is often necessary to fashion training opportunities and support services that are effective in placement of older workers, as indicated by a number of ongoing programs:

Through intensive community outreach, the Los Angeles Valley College Senior Adult Program was able to place 101 men and women in part-time jobs during its first year of operation. Project HIRE at Middlesex Community College in Massachusetts placed 90 older persons in jobs in 1979.

The Second Careers Institute at Catonsville Community College in Maryland works with senior employment agencies and businesses in Baltimore to provide short-term training and supportive counseling for identified full and part-time positions. In one instance the Institute developed a 10-hour "pre-teller" training course in response to local banks' needs for additional peak period tellers. Upon completion of the pre-training, qualified older adults are referred to the banks for intensive teller training and then hired on a full or part-time basis.

Thornton Community College near Chicago cooperates with the South Suburban Council on Aging to enhance older adults' employability in unsubsidized positions. The college's Career Guidance Center provides technical assistance, short-term training, and staff development to the Council and its clients, who include retired blue collar workers, highly skilled professionals, and minimally skilled homemakers.

Older women seeking to enter the job market are actively recruited by senior aides and media outreach in the San Diego Community College District's Emeriti Women's Council peer counseling program. In addition to job counseling and skill preparation, applicants receive individualized guidance from a mentor selected from a network of business and professional women who volunteer their services.

Through these programs and many others, community colleges have shown that they are well equipped to accept the challenge posed by Dr. Flemming—the challenge to include career education for older adults in the broad mission of the institution, an inclusive stance well expressed by the chancellor of the California Community Colleges, writing in **Change** magazine:

Our success can no longer be measured by our transfer record. . . . Other criteria are more indicative of our goals and missions; namely, what we can do to improve low-income, racial, and ethnic opportunity; our contribution to the labor force; what community colleges are doing to reduce unemployment, to provide needed skills, and to respond to the manpower needs of a rapidly changing industrial technology; our assistance and service to community human service and how we meet the requirements of the adult learner; how successful we are in promoting the concept of lifelong learning.[16]

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted in Beverly T. Watkins, "Improve Programs for Older Adults, Colleges Are Urged," **The Chronicle of Higher Education** (November 26, 1979), p. 7.

2. National Center for Education Statistics, quoted in **American Association of Community and Junior Colleges Fact Sheet,** "The Adult Lifelong Learner in Two-Year Colleges" (Washington, D.C., May 1979).

3. Frank J. Atelsek and Irene L. Gomberg, **College and University Services for Older Adults** (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1977), p. 2.

4. National Center for Education Statistics, quoted in **American Association of Community and Junior Colleges Fact Sheets,** "Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges" and "Learners in Two-Year Colleges" (Washington, D.C., May 1979).

5. Howard R. Bowen, **Adult Learning, Higher Education, and the Economics of Unused Capacity** (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1980), p. 16.

6. U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Postsecondary Education, quoted in **American Association of Community and Junior Colleges Fact Sheet** "Enrollment in Two-Year Colleges" (Washington, D.C., May 1979).

7. Brent M. Johnson, "The Vitality of Age," **Maryland State Board for Community Colleges Bulletin** (December 1978), p. 2.

8. Roger DeCrow, **Older Americans: New Uses of Mature Ability** (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, 1978), p. 7.

9. Ibid., pp. 4-8, 15.

10. American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, **Career Education in Community Colleges: Sourcebook II** (Washington, D.C., 1979), pp. 3-8.

11. **Newsweek,** "The Graying of America" (February 28, 1977), p. 52.

12. Frederick H. Lawson, "Private Enterprise and the Older Worker: What Are the Issues?" **Aging and Work** (Winter 1979), p. 8.

13. Louis Harris & Associates, **1979 Study of American Attitudes Toward Pensions and Retirement: A Nationwide Survey of Employees, Retirees, and Business Leaders** (February 1979), p. viii.

14. Ibid., pp. v-vi.

15. U.S. Department of Labor, based on a study by Harold L. Sheppard, **Employment-Related Problems of Older Workers: A Research Strategy** (Washington, D.C.: R&D Monograph 73, 1979), p. 17.

16. Arthur M. Cohen and John Lombardi, "Can the Community Colleges Survive Success?" **Change** (November-December 1979), p. 27.

Community-based education provides a learning alternative.

Education and the elderly

By Jim Killacky

University for Man serves the Manhattan, Kan. community of some 47,000 which includes the student population of Kansas State University. Since its founding in 1968, UFM has grown from a small campus-based free university to a complex organization with the following major components:

1) **The Campus-Community Program** offers approximately 250 course offerings three times per year, and some 12,000 participants engage in these learning experiences. Courses are led by volunteers; they are free from grades, tuition, credit or exams, and fall into the general areas of crafts, fine arts, skills, foods, appropriate technology, environment, self, play, and community. In addition, the Campus-Community program sponsors a variety of other projects such as evening child care, community gardens, a speaker series, workshops and conferences. In the past it was a catalyst for a successful food co-op, a crisis center, a women's center and a number of other community programs. Participants in these courses and other projects are about evenly divided between the campus and community and include a significant number of senior citizens.

2) **The Outreach Program** has over the past six years been instrumental in the effective establishment of free university/community education programs in over 35 locations in Kansas. Most of these programs are in smaller more rural places where there is little or no form of community-based or adult education available. The response to this process has been significant and was highlighted in the spring of 1979 with the passage of the Community Resource Act (CRA) in the Kansas Legislature. The CRA provides small amounts of start-up funds for community groups (such as Senior Centers) to establish their own community resource programs. The importance of this legislation was that the time from introduction to final appropriation was a nearly unprecedented brief 10 weeks. During the 1978-79 year, there were an estimated 32,000 participants in programs across the state of Kansas. The Outreach Program is currently working with groups in four other states on the dissemination of this rural community education model.

In its 12-year history UFM, as an organization, has been keenly aware of both the value and the obligation to involve people who are elderly fully in our programs. Older people serve on the staff. UFM also works very closely with service and planning agencies for the aged to insure that aging needs, issues and desires are addressed in programmatic efforts.

Method

This paper draws primarily from in-depth interviews with eight people who are closely associated with University for Man and its Outreach effort.[3] These individuals are agency heads, course leaders, project directors or course takers. The majority of those interviewed are elderly. The interviews, which were conducted in early 1980, were not scientifically structured research-type meetings. Rather, each session, lasting an average of two hours, began with a question on the interviewees' perceptions of community-based education and the elderly and followed in a free-flowing discussion format thereafter.

Results

Joe de la Torre is the Director of the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) in Manhattan and cautions that UFM should not identify specific courses for the "elderly." To pigeonhole older people perpetuates ageism. We must, he argues, recognize that older people do not want to be closeted with their peers all of the time, but do want and need to mix with other age groups in the community. Bert Franklin, a retired career diplomat, professor and longtime Yoga teacher for UFM echoes this sentiment and suggests that UFM's (and therefore community-based education's) greatest asset is that it provides a unique mechanism to tap the wisdom of the elderly for sharing with others of all ages. It provides many members of the elderly population a program around which they can order their lives and take a major step out of the isolation which can be a critical issue for many of them. Franklin continues, "many older people are tired of reading magazines and want to be somebody, whether as a student or teacher. The most satisfying courses I teach are those for older people, because they are more highly motivated and less distracted by other demands on their time." This sentiment was echoed by a very old person in one western Kansas community who noted that "this community education is good because it gets all ages working together, and for those of us who do not belong to a bunch of clubs and organizations or do not believe in that sort of thing, then community education fills an important gap in our lives."

Another perspective on the relationship between community based education and the elderly comes from

Helen Hanson. She lives in the small rural community of Olsburg (population 169) to which she retired a few years ago after 33 years as a teacher in a major city. In Olsburg, about the time Helen moved in with her retired widowed sister, a group of people were forming a community-based education program with the assistance of the UFM Outreach staff. Helen viewed the development of a free university community education program in her town as an excellent means for her reintroduction to the community in which she grew up. Each term (fall, spring, and summer) this local program offers between 15 and 25 courses on a wide range of issues. Helen and her sister led a History of the Bible course in their home, and it met on several occasions for about one and one-half hours. Coffee, tea and cake were served afterwards, so that the meeting served not only an education function but provided an important series of social interactions as well. This retired teacher took another course in blacksmithing—so that she could learn how to fix her grinder. Through these and many other unusual combinations of subjects and students, older people are getting to know younger folks; skills are being shared and learned; and the segregation of senior citizens, so tragically prevalent in our country today, is slowly declining. Helen Hanson and her sister Vera do not accept the notion that their small town is dying. They argue, with knowledge, authority and conviction, that the town is very much alive and well, and that their community-based education program is a major contributing factor. "Perhaps the most important contribution of the program," they conclude, "is that as a result of the interaction of all classes and ages with one another **people hereabouts are now showing more concern for each other as human beings.**"

Down the street in another house from which there comes an always warm welcome live Gerry and Lois Westling. Gerry recently retired as a rural mail carrier; Lois is the local postmaster. Both have been active in the community education program since its inception in 1977. Their experience brings into focus another important phase of this concept of community education. Gerry and Lois have always been interested in local history, and in one of the early series of courses they convened a meeting on this topic. As an added, and indeed unique touch, the panel of five "teachers" were all over 80 years of age. Plans to hold the first session in their livingroom were dropped when they realized the degree of interest they had aroused. On a cold winter Sunday afternoon, 57 people showed up at the local school to hear what these senior members of this community of 169 had to say.

The results of and response to that "course" were phenomenal. First, the panelists were elated by the opportunity to share so much of their living past with other community members. Second, community members were hungry for that type of knowledge. Each of the panelists and many others have been interviewed at length; old records/papers/archives have been brushed off and read—all pointing towards the publication of a book on the history of Olsburg in conjunction with the community's centennial celebration in 1980. The beauty of this venture is that it provides local elders with a superb opportunity to share their past knowledge and experience while simultaneously drawing people together around common interests who otherwise would have lacked access to one another. The entire preparation of a book (with the exception of printing) is being completed as a com-

munity project. Gerry Westling notes, "if that class had not taken place, then we might only not be engaged in this project, but we might not have had a centennial celebration. Now the whole town is pulling together, as we expect around 2,000 folks here on the big day, including the Governor. Olsburg, Kansas is very much alive and well."

Pat Embers and Barb Nelson who are co-coordinators of the Olsburg project note that such efforts make their lives more affable. They and their young families moved to Olsburg over the past six years. Townspeople, especially older citizens, appreciate their efforts to facilitate and assist in the development of such courses and related events even when they choose not to participate in each event. Pat and Barb contend that the barriers between age groups are disappearing and that, in addition to learning, the greatest reward has been increased social interaction formed around common interests and mutual concerns rather than age or socio-economic status. In an era of decreasing material resources, coupled with a growing need for greater personal and social interdependence for survival, such trends may become a more and more critical facet of social existence in the coming years.

Discussion

These and activities like them are common to community-based free university projects across Kansas. In small rural places where schools are closed due to unification, where there is no passenger railroad, doctor, cinema or theatre, such projects provide a means of filling the void created by such absences. There are scores of anecdotes about the involvement of the elderly in community-based education such as the free university model. Of course, not all persons over 55 years of age in every community desire high levels of involvement in such projects. Many older people choose to spend their time otherwise, and often do so very rewardingly. However, there are in Kansas and elsewhere, thousands of people over 55 who are gifted, talented, eager to learn and to share and who sadly are forgotten or neglected. The vision of community-based education is that it provides a forum which can:

a) facilitate elderly participation in non-threatening learning and social environments;

b) encourage community awareness of the vast reservoir of knowledge and talent which is found in its elderly population;

c) provide elderly people an opportunity to take important leader and advisory roles in community-wide projects;

d) provide a mechanism to utilize and share that knowledge and talent;

e) offer an opportunity to break down segregation and ageism which often exists with respect to older citizens;

f) provide the younger members of a community with opportunities for learning from their elders which are not available through public means;

g) provide creative and innovative programmatic opportunities for senior centers, nutrition sites and other places used by the elderly.

Such activities can be conceptualized, designed and implemented on a very cost-effective basis. The Olsburg, Kansas budget is less than $400.00 per year, and on a statewide basis in Kansas, the per capita cost of par-

ticipation is under $8 per year. As stated by Sue Maes in response to the question "Why does the UFM model work?", "I think it is because we do not go out and build a large institution from bricks and mortar, hire expensive instructors and charge large fees; rather we work **with** the people in a town, identify community needs and interests, and create networks for people to learn." The role of the elderly in this process as teachers, learners, organizers and followers cannot be overemphasized.

Conclusion

In a recent visit with UFM staffers, Gray Panther Leader Maggie Kuhn noted that "by emphasizing the problems of the young and old, the confluence of liberating forces can effect social change. Age is a universalizing experience and it should be shared and then together we can change the world."* Another saying, from a source unknown to this author, notes, "Ours will be a great society when the dreams of the old are valued as the visions of the young."

This paper has sought to demonstrate through community-based education, a confluence of old and young energies, talents and skills can take place and change the world. And if this is overly ambitious, one may conclude that the implementation of a community-based education program will at least provide the elderly in your community the opportunity of a better place in which to live.

FOOTNOTES

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These quotations are taken from a report of Ms. Kuhn's visit to UFM in **The Learning Connection,** Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 1980, pp. 4-5.

Whether education, work and leisure must come in that order may be seriously questioned.

Education and the allocating time in the future

By Edith L. Stunkel

Writing a futuristic article is somewhat akin to describing an amoeba—the nucleus is there, but the potential configurations of the perimeter seem to increase exponentially with the length and scope of the projection. To continue the metaphor, the nucleus of this paper is future cohorts of older adults, and the amoebic perimeter is the nature and distribution of educational opportunity in U.S. society.

At the lowest common denominator, education is a way individuals expend their time. In industrial society, time has been reified into a resource which is allocable much in the way that labor, capital, and natural resources are. Thus, to state that education is one use of time implies that there are alternative uses. The role of education, then, cannot be separated from its coexistent alternatives—namely, work and leisure. Currently in the United

States, where we appear to be in a transitional period from industrial society to what has been variously described as post-industrial, post-affluent, and post-macho society,[1] education is still defined mostly in its relation to work. Education is an activity primarily designed for the young, with the expectation that the educated young will become productive members of the labor force. Out of a total federal education budget request of $16.5 billion for fiscal year 1981, only $120 million or .7% has been requested for adult education.[2] This focus on instrumental education, oriented toward future gratification as through payment for work, relegates education to a secondary role in a society where the primary orientation for adults is toward work. For youth, education is accepted as a major component of living; for adults, however, education is either considered just one of many alternative uses of discretionary time after work obligations are completed or it is viewed as a means to improve one's position in work. What type of society we are "posting" into will determine whether education will emerge as a primary delimitor of time or whether it will remain secondary or even tertiary in its claim on how societal time is structured.

Viewpoints about the future are often dichotomized into polarities such as optimists vs. pessimists, centralists vs. decentralists, or individualists vs. collectivists. More useful scenarios might be those characterized by the philosophies of Thomas Hobbes and Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Hobbesian future would entail such attributes as:

- heightened individual and group competition for income, wealth, position and power;
- increased inequality and concomitant social tension;
- economic crises in employment; and
- an expanding urban underclass.

The Emersonian future, on the other hand, depicts:

- societal and cultural growth with the human potential movement in the lead;
- alternatives to traditional work patterns;
- rejection or intolerance of excess consumption; and
- increased citizen participation, collective consumption and broadened educational opportunities.

In the Hobbesian future, values would revolve around economic power and leverage; constraint, control and exploitation would be widespread; and relative deprivation would be acutely felt. Values in the Emersonian future would be noneconomic or transcendant to economic want; friendship, leisure, education and cultural activities would provide substantial grist for the mill of nonmarket consumption.

Education will be a factor in either scenario, and its possible roles include creator or reflector of these emerging futures. Another way to describe the metaphorical amoeba introduced above is to contain in its nucleus the four basic components of society: population; technology, resources and values. The perimeter, then, will be shaped by the forces of these four components. A fifth major societal component into which education falls has been identified by Gappert as "the institutional and organizational arrangements of our society." This fifth component is the amoebic perimeter—its pseudopods. "These pervasive structures are subject to instability and impermanence, and their form and nature are plastic in relation to the other four components. The organizations and insti-

tutions of the society . . . are not only vulnerable to the variables of population, technology, resources, and values; they are also subject to social purpose, the public interest, and planned innovations."[3]

The Hobbesian future is positioned on the assumption of scarcity—scarcity of natural resources, jobs and positions at the top of the pyramid. In this future, education, and particularly post-secondary education, would have a dual thrust: to prepare those who will vie for the scarce positions at the top with the mental tools necessary for fierce competition, and to provide vocational training to the masses of individuals who will be spread along the base of the pyramid. In the Hobbesian future, there may also be a role for "progressive" education which, according to Entwistle "is still to think in terms of how to help the masses, slaves to the conveyor belt, to come to terms with their experience."[4]

Inasmuch as the Hobbesian future is essentially a projection of current economic rigidities, educational innovations would be unlikely. The relationship between education and work would become exaggerated, and the discrepancy between the knowledge-demands from work and knowledge-supply through education would increase, thus exacerbating the social tensions projected to occur. "It is one task of education to enable man to live by and with work, and to derive self-fulfillment in the process. One of the difficulties is that **work, ever changing, is orientated to the present and future, while education gets its cues mainly from the past.**"[5] (emphasis added)

The impact of the Hobbesian future on cohorts of older adults is dolorous to ponder. The linear life pattern of education, work and retirement would become more rigid; scarcity of jobs, real or imagined, would create competition between young cohorts entering the labor force and older ones leaving it.

Trends in lifetime distribution of education, work and leisure for men are shown in Chart I. Since 1900, a decreasing percentage of time spent in work throughout life

CHART I

Estimated Lifetime Distribution of Education, Work and Leisure
(U.S. Males, by Primary Activity)*

Pre-School	Formal Education	Work		Retirement & Other	
10.0%	16.6%	Average Work Week	66.6%	6.5%	
5 yrs.	8 yrs.	53.2 hrs.	32.1 yrs.	3.1 yrs.	1900
		Life Expectancy: 48.2 yrs.			

Pre-School	Formal Education	Work		Retirement & Other	
8.3%	14.0%	Average Work Week:	65.5%	15.0%	
5 yrs.	8.6 yrs.	43.9 hrs.	38.3 yrs.	9.3 yrs.	1940
		Life Expectancy: 61.2 yrs.		Est. Retirement: 5.7 yrs.	

Pre-School	Formal Education	Work		Retirement & Other	
7.6%	15.5%	Average Work Week: 40.5 hrs.	62.3%	14.6%	
5 yrs.	10.5 yrs.	Average Vacation: 1.3 wks.	41.4 yrs.	9.7 yrs.	1960
		Life Expectancy: 66.6 yrs.		Est. Retirement: 6.9 yrs.	

Pre-School	Formal Education	Work		Retirement & Other	
7.4%	18.0%	Average Work Week: 39.1 hrs.	59.7%	14.8%	
5 yrs.	12.1 yrs.	Average Vacation: 1.7 wks.	40.1 yrs.	9.9 yrs.	1970
		Life Expectancy: 67.1 yrs.		Est. Retirement: 7.7 yrs.	

* "Primary Activity" designates the main activity of a person during normal working hours.

From: Fred Best and Barry Stern, *Lifetime Distribution of Education, Work and Leisure: Research Speculations and Policy Implication of Changing Life Patterns,* 1976, Washington, D.C., Institute for Educational Leadership.

has been shifted to increasing years of education prior to entering the labor force and increasing years in retirement. The decrease in percentage of lifetime education between 1900 and 1940 was the result of a dramatic increase in life expectancy. Since 1940, however, life expectancy has remained relatively constant and the trends in lifetime allocations of work, education and leisure for men have been consistent. If current income transfer policies prevail, the demand for increasingly scarce jobs predicted in the Hobbesian technologically oriented scenario will widen the economic gap between workers concentrated in the middle and nonworkers at either end of the lifespan. An additional pressure on both young and old will be created by the demographics of an aging population and the resultant economic demands of a growing retired sector. An ironic result of eliminating mandatory retirement[6] may be the emergence of mandatory work for those who would have otherwise opted for leisure. Palliative measures to mitigate some of these tensions might include programs along the lines of Entwistle's "progressive" education, that is, educational programs which are expressive rather than instrumental, but which would lose their innovative character in light of their reactive origins.

Although the role of education in the constraints of a Hobbesian future might be best represented by the cell wall of a paramecium, education in the Emersonian future returns us to the amoeba. Unlike the Hobbesian future, where the form and location of education is assumed not to vary from present modal structures, education in the Emersonian future is expected to be innovative and diverse. The table of contents of this journal gives but a small sample of the diversity anticipated with the Emersonian scenario.

In the Emersonian future, a balance of expressive and instrumental education would emerge, and both types would be respected and valued for their unique contributions to social goals. Instrumental education would still primarily occur during the pre-labor force years of youth, although flexibility in the linear life pattern would increase educational opportunities for adults of all ages. The prototypal linear life pattern is characterized in Chart II; one alternative to this pattern, called the cyclic life plan by Best and Stern, is represented in Chart III.[7]

One point on which futurists generally agree is that lifespan leisure time will continue to increase. The differences revolve around how that leisure will be distributed. As discussed above, Hobbesian-type futurists predict a compression of work into the middle years, for a linear variation of Chart II; Emersonian-type futurists are open to such arrangements as depicted in Chart III, as well as shortened work weeks, shortened work years (longer vacations, job sharing, a growing permanent part-time labor force, sabbatical plans, and phased or gradual retirement). This author has elsewhere proposed the abolishment of the term retirement[8] on the basis that the terms disability, unemployment, earned or unearned leave better describe the conditions of post-work leisure for older persons. Semantic discrimination is a subtle barrier to increasing options not only for older adults but for younger ones as well. Instrumental educational opportunities are essentially nonexistent for the person whose social status does not entail the possibility of employment. Conversely, expressive education is virtually denied younger adults in a society which does not value leisure coequally with work for those cohorts.

Yet another Emersonian-type future allocates the increases in lifetime leisure in such a way that two distinct classes of citizens emerge: "a small elite of cybernetic engineers would be responsible for the production and distribution of goods, and the remainder of the population would be limited to consumption. 'The life styles of the majority would be oriented toward a highly diversified form of expressive behavior—a veritable greening of America.' "[9] Within this scenario, demand for innovative expressive educational opportunities would lead to a wide variety of alternative structures and methods and the interface of the cyberneticists and the consumers could lead to innovative educational technologies. The locus of instrumental education might be shifted to the workplace itself, leaving the institutions of education as we now know them to cater to the expressive consumers. In this scenario, a clear distinction is made between production of **goods** and delivery of **services**. While a number of variations are possible in delineating the economic and social differences among goods and services, education might be a leader in the shift of the current service "industry" from an instrumental orientation to an expressive one. Such a transformation would offset such critics as John McKnight who pointed out the irony of an economy based on services: "Full employment in a serving society depends upon more people who are understood as lacking, disabled, deficient . . . A society of fully employed servers needs more people in need . . . Increasingly, a serving society depends on young and old people who can be defined as problems rather than productive participants. The young and the old have become the raw material of a serving economy."[10]

These are just a few of the alternative futures which can be contemplated, based on past and current trends in education, work and leisure. While it may seem we have been comparing apples and oranges, it is just as likely we are dealing with paramecia and amoebae. In the Hobbesian futures, alternatives emerge as "either/or": independence or dependence, wealth or poverty, understanding or ignorance. In the Emersonian futures the scenarios are inclusive, representing "both/and": interdependence, sufficiency, and responsibility. While it is enjoyable to create these scenarios, it is important to realize that what we do now as individuals and collectively will create these futures.

FOOTNOTES

1 Gary Gappert, Post-Affluent America: **The Social Economy of the Future**, New York, New Viewpoints, 1979.

2 U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging **Memorandum**, Vol. XII, No. 1, Feb. 4, 1980.

3 Gappert, op. cit., p. 11

4 Harold Entwistle, **Education, Work and Leisure**, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970, p. 7

5 Nels Anderson, **Man's Work and Leisure**, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1974, p. 77

6 The 1978 Amendment to the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1977 removed the age ceiling for practically all federal employees and raised the protected age to 70 for nearly all other workers. It is generally anticipated that the age-70 ceiling will ultimately be removed also.

7 Fred Best and Barry Stern, "Education, Work and Leisure: Must They Come In That Order?" **Monthly Labor Review**, Vol. 100, No. 7, July 1977, p. 8.

8 Edith Stunkel, "Let's Abolish Retirement," **The Futurist**, Vol. XIII, No. 5, pp. 325-8.

9. James F. Murphy, "The Future of Time, Work and Leisure," Leisure-Sharing, Sacramento, California Legislature, Nov. 1, 1977, p. 3.

10. John McKnight, "Valuable Deficiencies," Flint, March 1978, pp. 12-13.

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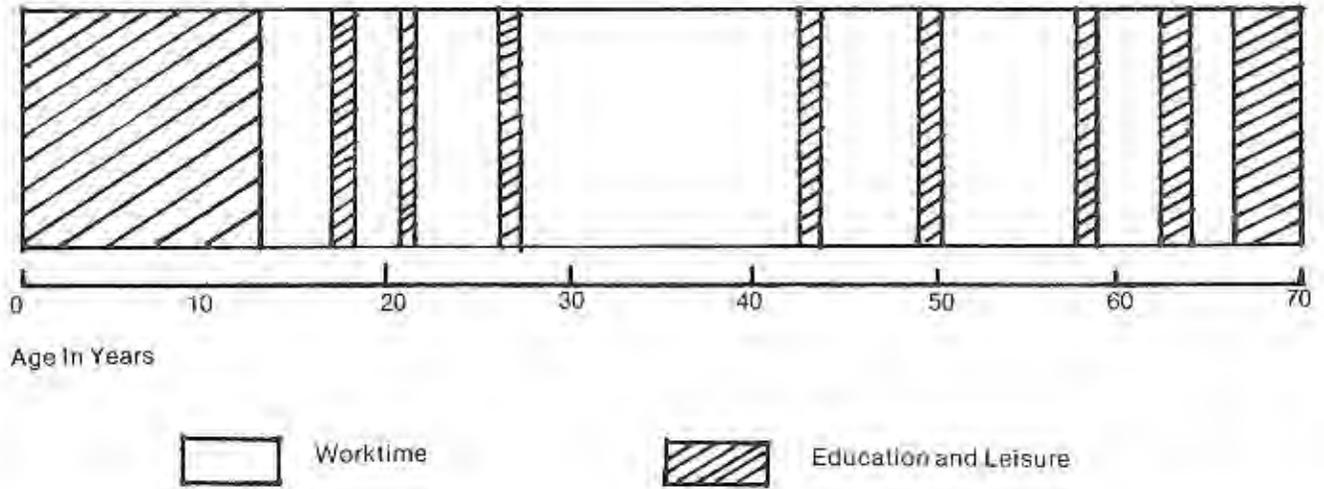
CHART II

Linear Life Plan
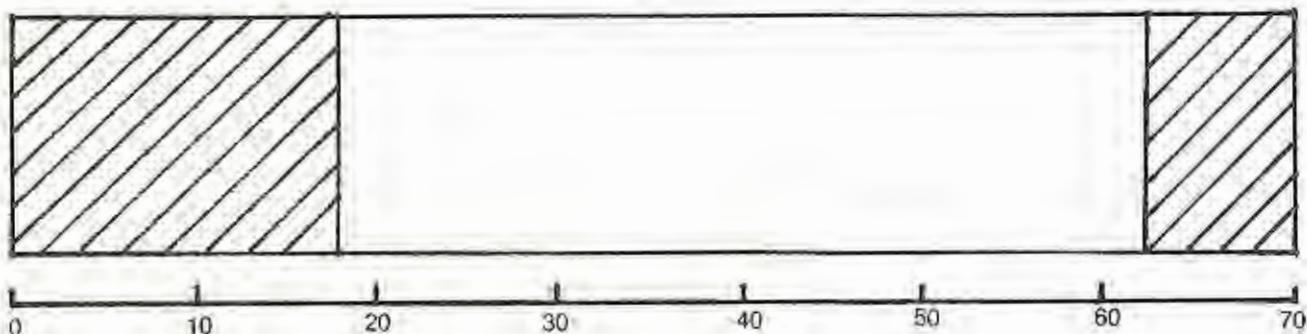
Age in Years

Worktime

Education and Leisure

From: Fred Best and Barry Stern, "Education, Work and Leisure: Must They Come In That Order?" Monthly Labor Review, 100: 7, July 1977, p. 8.

CHART III

Cyclic Life Plan

Age In Years

☐ Worktime   ▨ Education and Leisure

From: Fred Best and Barry Stern, "Education, Work and Leisure: Must They Come In That Order?" *Monthly Labor Review*, 100: 7, July 1977, p. 8.

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