INTRODUCTION

Scientific interest in social adjustment in old age, in terms of determining the correlates of good adjustment, began with the earliest period of modern gerontology. Since then, it has remained a matter of great concern, particularly in the Western countries, owing to the compelling pressures of the social problem of old age (Rosow, 1963: 195). The problem of old age is becoming a social problem, though gradually, in Indian society also. Consequently, the need for finding out the correlates of 'good adjustment' in old age in the Indian background is being increasingly felt. The present investigation is a step in this direction.

A problem is considered social when difficulties met by a group of people, (a) result from the functioning, organization or structure of society, (b) may endanger society at large, and (c) can and should be solved through social policies and political initiative (Philibert, 1968:23).

The problem of old age has emerged as a social one, to some extent, owing to the rising proportion of the aged people in the population, but, to the large extent, owing to the declining roles and status of the aged people in the industrial society of the present world (Burgess, 1951:7-8;
Advance in medical science, improvement in living conditions and public health facilities have prevented epidemics and brought the general diseases under control. This has increased the life expectancy of people all over the world (Woltereck, 1960:3; Burgess, 1960:3; Tibbits, 1954:301; Burns, 1954:385). As Aggrawal (1972:5) has cited, the population projections made by the United Nations indicate that the proportion of the people aged above 65 years in the world will increase from 5 per cent in 1965 to 5.5 per cent in 1985. In the more developed regions it will increase from 8.9 per cent to 10.4 per cent and in the less developed regions from 3.3 per cent to 3.8 per cent. Pathak (1973:35-42) has given detailed information on the increase of various age groups in the U.S.A. and India. It shows that the percentage of people aged 65 years and above has increased from 4.1 in 1900 to 9.8 in 1970 in the United States and in India the percentage of people above 65 years has increased from 2.35 in 1911 to 3.52 in 1971**.

In addition to the rise in the percentage of old people, the more important factor is that the roles and status of the old people are declining in the present society. It deprives them of the satisfaction of their

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* No date of publication given.
** The information presented by Pathak has been given in detail in Appendix A.
physical and socio-psychological needs. The drives or needs of the old people listed by some gerontologists (Kaplan, 1960:49; Arthur, 1954:33-34; Bortz, 1963:172; Burgess, 1951:15-17; Simmons, 1959:4; Havighurst, 1956:22 and 1959:440) may be summed up as: financial and physical security, recognition as useful and significant persons in their own world, association and relation with others, social and creative activities, passing the leisure time in satisfying ways, etc.

In the pre-industrial society the old people used to get enough opportunities to satisfy their various needs. In the societies dominated by agricultural and handicraft economics they participated in the productive activities as specialists (Simmons, 1960:72-77), directly or indirectly, depending on their physical health, and remained financially independent. Until 1900 there was no widespread practice of compulsory retirement at a set age and people used to continue their occupational activity till they were physically unfit or incapacitated (Burns, 1954:384). Moreover, it was regarded as a moral duty of the children to provide financial and physical security to their parents in old age. The children were the 'eyes, ears, hands and feet' to the aged parents (Simmons, 1960:81). As such, even the deteriorating health was not an obstacle in leading a comfortable life in old age. They were given
the leadership roles and powerful positions of decision-makers and advisers in the joint family and community because their knowledge and experience were considered to be of great value in the proper functioning of society (Simmons, 1945:16, Tibbits, 1960:3). Thus, the pre-industrial social order provided full opportunities to its aged members for the satisfaction of their various needs. But the present society does not provide opportunities to its aged members to lead a comfortable, respectful and socially useful life. With the modernization and industrialization of society the roles and status of the old people decrease (Kooy, 1963:59). The knowledge and experience of the old people lose significance in the proper functioning of society. The younger generation replaces the aged people in their powerful positions, leaving them in a weakened and functionless situation (Simmons, 1959:7).

Aging becomes more disturbing in a society whose culture provokes irreverence toward the aged and where the economic competition works to their disadvantages (Barron, Streb, and Suchman, 1952:479-482). Owing to the rapid advance in industrial technology for the expansion of productivity through high energy system, in the 20th century the American society restricted the participation of older employees in the labour market
And it is only for the last few decades that the retired people are being regarded as a new category of persons in society (Donahue et al., 1960: 334). In the present society the aged people are ascribed to the terminal sick role (Limman and Sterne, 1969: 200) and low status (Francher, 1969: 29-36; Burgess, 1951: 10-13; Palmore and Whittington, 1971: 90). They do not get higher status even in the family (Talmon, 1961: 284-295). With the emergence of the nuclear family system in the present society, the roles played by them in the family during the joint family system of the pre-industrial society have been transferred to various institutions (Kooy, 1963: 58, Baumert, 1960: 210). They do not get proper care and protection from their children (Burgess, 1960: 276; Kurian, 1972: 226; Gordon, 1963: 209). They have become relatively an independent generation (Tibbitts, 1963: 345), having an 'extra familial' status in the nuclear family system, which is the obstacle in satisfying even the consumatory needs of the aged people (Messer, 1968: 277-278). Thus, the environment of the present industrial society is not conducive to the old people to get satisfaction of their physical and socio-psychological needs. Since they have to depend on their own capacity and resources they are exposed to the vulnerability of the aging process. So aging has become a complex and challenging proposition for
the individuals to face it personally. As Talmon (1961: 284–295) has found out, growing old is not a smooth process but a difficult, sad and painful one in the modern industrial society. Quite a few of the aged, therefore, suffer in the process of growing old and become overwhelmed by the threatening environment when they find themselves unable to solve their problems of financial and physical security, utilization of leisure, loneliness, isolation, etc. Owing to the absence of norms and lack of socializing facilities for the old people, they do not find any guideline for their actions and thereby experience the lost feeling. (Bengston, 1973: 24–31; Orbach, 1962: 62). In this situation, these people become the 'social problem cases' because the burden of looking after their interests and taking care of them falls on society. With the industrialization and modernization, the proportion of such socially problematic people increases. Therefore, in the highly industrialized countries like America the problem of old people has become a big social problem (Desai and Naik, n.d.: 21).

In the pre-industrial agrarian Indian society also most of the old people used to remain financially independent till they lived. They retained ownership of landholdings and other occupational establishments and participated in productive activities according to their physical fitness.
The traditional social and cultural values did not permit the grown-up children to leave their financially or physically insecure old parents alone. Moreover, the prevailing economic, political and value systems of the pre-industrial social order, which were based on the preservation of inherited inequality, enabled the aged people to enjoy leadership roles and powerful positions of decision-makers and advisers in the joint family, caste group and the village community (D'Souza, 1971: 302, Bhatia, 1964: 5).

With the advent of industrialization, urbanization and modernization in Indian society the education and employment opportunities have been extended to all levels of people in society. Consequently, the spreading practice of compulsory retirement from services at a fixed age has also affected a growing group of aged people in terms of loss of income, activity, social interaction, social status, etc. Owing to the changing Indian social structure, the old people have been dislodged from the leadership positions in the family, caste group and community (D'Souza, 1971: 303; Bhatia, 1964: 6; Singh, 1969: 118-124). With the growth of new economic, political and value systems the integrity and compactness of the joint family and caste group have been weakened and for the leadership in the community achieved properties like wealth or education.
have become more important than the ascribed properties like age and seniority in the modern society. Information available in some studies indicates that the status of the old people is declining gradually, creating many problems for them (Marula Siddiaiah, 1966: 180; Kurian, 1972: 225; Jagjit Singh, 1962: 40-42; Narang, 1968: 102; Indra, 1963: 70; Gursharan Kaur, 1964: 73). The old people have become aware of the greater significance of the acquired rather than ascribed attributes to get status in the new industrial social order based on the equalitarian ideals (D'Souza, 1971: 303). This is confirmed by the fact that wherever older persons are in the positions of leadership it is mainly due to their education and wealth rather than their age (Jagjit Singh, 1962: 40-42).

The emergence of new forces affecting the roles and status of the older people has become a source of utter frustration and thereby maladjustment for an ever larger group of socially problematic older people in the present Indian society too. It is because, as Kuhlen (1959: 853) has said, the adjustment of the aging person depends upon the degree to which his personal and environmental circumstances offer opportunities or pose as threats to the satisfaction of his needs. As discussed earlier, the present technological society creates such an environment for the aged people, which compared to that of the
primitive society, provides less opportunities of need satisfaction and, therefore, as Simmons (1959:7) has pointed out, is less conducive to good adjustment in old age. Since they have to depend on their own resources for the same purpose, many unresourceful old people become maladjusted. As Havighurst (1956:22) has cited Buhler's statement, that the time, when an individual feels that the fundamental motive or drive of life, that is 'continued expansion' or 'ongoingness' with regard to his various needs has ceased, represents a critical time with respect to his adjustment.

The term 'adjustment' in gerontological literature tantamounts to the internal and external equilibrium of human organism (Rosow, 1963:197). It has been used mostly to refer to the state of harmony not only within itself but also with its environment (Kuhlen, 1959:852). Whereas Havighurst (1957:172) has said that there is no difference between these two harmonies and the meaning of the word 'adjustment' should be obtained as a state of harmonious living. The concept of adjustment has been used in the context of the practical purpose of gerontology. The practical purpose of gerontology is to help people in leading a better life in later years (Verzer, 1969:98; Havighurst, 1963:299). Speaking about the importance and requirement of the studies regarding adjustment in old age, Havighurst (1957:173) has stated that for making the
welfare policies and programmes of social assistance to the aged people the knowledge about the symptoms of good living and the determining conditions of good living is necessary. Therefore, we find that a great deal of research interest has been devoted especially by the Western gerontologists to identifying some operational criteria for the evaluation of the quality of adjustment and finding out the correlates of good adjustment in old age.

Review of the Studies on Adjustment:

A practical difficulty in presenting a review of the studies on adjustment in old age, conducted in the Western countries, is the lack of such gerontological literature in India. This is because the research interest in the field of gerontology has gained importance in India only recently. Owing to the non-availability of the first-hand sources of information regarding adjustment in old age, very often their citations in secondary sources of information have also been utilized in the short review of the studies regarding adjustment in old age in the following pages.

According to Donahue, Orbach and Pollak (1960: 379), the first major studies of adjustment in old age were those of Folsom and Morgan in 1937 and Landis in 1942. Folsom and Morgan (1937: 223-229) have used the present life happiness as the index of adjustment and reported that factors like good health, freedom from liabilities, pleasant
social and emotional relations with friends and family members, hobbies, work-like activities and independent living in own homes are positively associated with good adjustment of the recipients of old age assistance in New York. Landis (1942: 468-70) by emphasizing the factors from the past life and using the activities and attitudes of the aging individuals for the measurement of adjustment, has found that economic independence, high education, marriage at the right time, small family, low death rate of children, infrequent residence and job changes, life insurance, good health, employment, hobby, visits to friends and church and preference for living with children are the variables corresponding positively with the adjustment of the aged people.

While reviewing the findings of the studies, conducted between 1950 and 1958 on adjustment in old age, Donahue et al. (1960: 379) have cited that in the studies of Burgess and his associates in 1950 at the University of Chicago using the scale "your activities and attitudes" prepared by Cavan et al. in 1949, it is found that the factors, positively associated with good adjustment in old age are: satisfactory health, married life, good family relationships and friendships, participation in leisure time and other activities, membership of an organization, absence of unhappy experience, self-concept of being middle aged,
feeling of permanent security, social status equal to that held previously, plans for future, religiosity and belief in rebirth. Further, they have mentioned that by employing the Chicago scale Shanas in 1950, Britton and Britton in 1951, Albrecht in 1951, Britton in 1951, Havighurst in 1953 and Morrison and Kristjanson in 1958, by using a scale of morale Kutner et al. in 1956 and by employing a scale of fantasy escape from non-rewarding role Phillips in 1957, all have found with a little variation, more or less the same type of factors as the correlates of adjustment as identified by the studies of Burgess et al. in 1950. Shanas (1958: 55) has also isolated a complex of items associated with a high adjustment score on the basis of the findings of the studies conducted till 1953 which include most of the above mentioned factors.

Pan (1951: 379–81) and Schmidt (1951: 33–42) using the Chicago scale have also reported more or less the same set of factors as the correlates of adjustment. By the evaluation of adjustment of the retired people through the measures of happiness and usefulness taken from the attitude index of the Chicago scale prepared by Cavan et al. in 1949, Burgess (1954: 352–360) has found positive association between group activities and adjustment. And by the application of the dejection scale and the life satisfaction scale for the measurement of adjustment Estréib and Thompson (1958: 180–197) have found health condition, financial condition
and pre-retirement positive attitudes towards retirement as the correlates of adjustment after retirement. Havighurst (1957: 152-162) has also found that people getting the higher adjustment score from the attitude inventory tended in their leisure to be autonomous, creative, active and gregarious to seek new experience and to find ego integration. In a longitudinal study using the activity and attitude inventories of the Chicago scale separately as the indicators of activeness and morale, respectively, a positive association has been found between the activity and adjustment of the non-institutionalized people both the times (Maddox and Elsdorfer, 1962: 254-260; Maddox, 1963: 195-204). However, another longitudinal study of older people measuring the adjustment through morale has showed that the positive association of social interaction with adjustment diminishes in the later years of life (Cumming and Henry, 1961: 209). Yet another intensive study of retired urban men measuring adjustment to aging and retirement through the indices of life satisfaction and well-being has established that passivity, inactivity and low interaction, i.e. the "rocking chair pattern" may be perfectly consistent with satisfactory psychological adjustment (Reichard et al., 1962). Recently in one study of the adjustment of the retired university faculty members, applying the happiness index of adjustment, it has been found that factors like a long period of
retirement, living in family, better education, higher income and good health are positively associated with good adjustment (Skrabanek, 1969: 65-69). But Poorkaj (1972: 289-300) measuring adjustment through life satisfaction has found no relationship between the factors like health condition, educational status, degree of religiosity and attitude towards death on the one hand and the level of adjustment on the other. It has also been noticed in the same study that a low level of activity does not necessarily cause lower level of morale.

The review of these studies concerning adjustment in old age indicates two important facts. Firstly, it shows, as Rosow (1963: 198) has also pointed out, that for the measurement of adjustment in old age, activities or social participation and life satisfaction or happiness have dominated the gerontological literature. It is so because the attitudinal definition of successful adjustment leads to the measurement of adjustment through the inner feelings of happiness and satisfaction with the present life and the functional definition of successful adjustment puts stress upon the competent behaviour of individual which most nearly conforms to the norms and expectations of society to which he belongs (Eaton, 1947: 77). Havighurst (1963: 300) has also expressed the same reasons for the selection of these two criteria, with a little variation for measurement of successful aging. Secondly, it shows that the old
people's socio-economic status, health status, their relationship and interaction with various groups of people and their activities related to occupation, hobbies, religion, etc. are the most popular and frequently-selected factors to determine their relationship with the level of adjustment in later years. For convenience these factors may be divided into two broad categories and termed as the situational and behavioural factors. The situational factors are those which indicate the social, economic and physical situation of the old people. With the increasing importance of achieved properties like education, income, etc. the study of these factors with regard to adjustment in old age becomes more important. As cited by Estreib and Thompson (1957 : 191) there seems to be a fairly wide agreement in gerontological literature that there are two very important variables related to adjustment and they are socio-economic status and physical health. Therefore, they should be regarded as basic variables in any analysis. On account of their importance we find that in most of the studies of adjustment, the gerontologists have studied these factors to find out their relationship with adjustment in old age.

The behavioural factors are those which are concerned with the behaviour of the aged people such as their interaction and relationship with different groups of people
and various other activities. Great importance has been
given in the gerontological literature to two types of
'life style' of the aged people, i.e. 'active' and
'disengaged' with respect to adjustment. So much so that
on the basis of the contradictory findings about the
association of various activities with the adjustment of
the old people, the gerontologists have developed two
opposite theories of successful aging. They are the
activity theory and the disengagement theory. As cited
by Rosow (1967 : 106), while the first one emphasizes
the desirability of high activity and high interaction, the
latter suggests low activity and low interaction to lead a
satisfactory life in old age.

As far as the interest on the problem of old age
in India is concerned, it is only in the last few years
that this problem has attracted the attention of social
reformers, social scientists and the State and Central
Governments. The need for scientific studies on old age,
as Saxena and Bose (1964 : 33-39) have said, is being
increasingly felt these days because such information is an
important pre-requisite for social and economic planning.
But the studies on old age in India are still in an infant
stage and in most of the studies efforts have been confined
to the exploration of the problems of the old people. No
systematic study has been conducted so far on the adjustment of the old people to the knowledge of researcher at least. Whereas it appears very necessary that information about various factors, positively related to the adjustment of the old people in Indian society, be gathered so that some social assistance may be provided for the maladjusted or socially problematic categories of older people to lead a more satisfying life. The present study makes an attempt in this direction.

The main objective of the investigation is to study the correlates of 'good adjustment' of the retired Government employees living in Chandigarh. The retired people have been chosen because compulsory retirement, which is becoming increasingly common in the modern society, brings most of the problems of old age suddenly and earlier in the life of the retirees. Hence the problem of the retired people may be expected to be more severe in nature thereby creating more 'social problem cases' among them than the self-employed people who can keep themselves financially independent and socially active as long as they have the will and physical fitness to do it.

The term 'adjustment', as used in the present study, refers to a state of harmonious living of the retired people. It includes the internal as well as the external
harmony of an aged person. The assumption here is that the attainment of the inner harmony is not possible without maintaining the external harmony. As a matter of fact, the inner harmony shows the effects which the harmony with the environment produces in the internal state of mind of an individual.

The adjustment of the retirees has been called social adjustment because it refers to their harmonious living in the social situation in which society places them by giving the 'terminal sick role of old age'. The concept of successful adjustment, i.e. the harmonious living in old age, has been operationally defined in the present study as the state of personal happiness and satisfaction with the present life. In other words, it can be said, as suggested by Cottrell (1942: 617), that the amount of frustration, tension and anxiety created by playing a given social role of a retired person has been considered as an index of the individual's adjustment to his role.

It is thought desirable to measure the adjustment through satisfaction because in the absence of systematic knowledge of specific social norms regarding the expected activities or behaviour of the aged people in the changing society like India, it becomes difficult to measure social acceptability of their behaviour correctly. Moreover, it
is observed that people find pleasure and displeasure within the normative structure of behaviour. Therefore, happiness has been used quite often directly or indirectly as the indicator of adjustment in the field of sociology (Wright, 1942: 414) and gerontology (Donahue et al., 1960: 379).

For the evaluation of the quality of adjustment of the retirees an index measuring their present life satisfaction has been developed with the help of the life satisfaction indices of successful aging (Havighurst, 1963: 305-320)*. Regarding the correlates of 'good adjustment' in old age, positive indications, which would have served as the sources of hypotheses for the present study, are not available due to the absence of any systematically conducted research work in this field in India.

In these circumstances it is not possible to derive hypotheses to be tested in the present study. Therefore, the most popular and frequently-tested situational and behavioural factors in the studies of the Western countries regarding the adjustment in old age have been selected to examine their relationship with the level of adjustment of the retired Government employees of Indian society. Apart from these factors, considering the changing

* The symptoms of harmonious living which have been used as the basis of the measurement of adjustment of the retirees will be described in detail while discussing the research methodology.
values, norms and thereby the social structure of Indian society some attitudinal factors, such as attitudes towards various social changes, non-interference in the personal affairs of grown-up children and popular religious beliefs, have also been examined against the adjustment of the retired people.

The factors like attitudes towards social changes and non-interference have not been tested in the studies of adjustment in old age conducted in the Western societies. The reason may be understood well by keeping in view the fact that the earliest studies on the subject commenced around 1900 and by this time the impact of industrialization, which took place in the 19th century, had already stabilized in the new social order. These factors have special significance for the Indian aged people because here industrialization is a very recent process and society is passing through a transitional period. In any changing society aging becomes more problematic because it becomes very difficult for the aged people to depart from the traditional values and norms and adopt the modern values and norms. In this condition their attitudes towards new functions and structure of society in terms of acceptance or rejection of the new values and norms reflect their reactions to the new situation in which they are placed and become relevant
to their adjustment. Their attitudes toward popular religious beliefs are also taken into consideration because religion may also play a very important role for adjustment in later years of life, especially in the context of the changing attitudes of younger generation towards the elder generation in the present society.

Thus, the factors taken into consideration to examine their relationship with the level of adjustment of the retired people may be divided, for the sake of convenience, into three broad categories viz, situational, attitudinal and behavioural factors. The situational factors include the retirees' educational qualification, pre-retirement occupational status, present financial condition, physical condition and age. The attitudinal factors consist of their attitudes towards various social changes, non-interference in the personal affairs of the grown-up children and religious beliefs. The behavioural factors include the retirees' relationship and interaction with the family members living in the same house-hold and the children living separately, with relatives, friends, neighbours, and members of voluntary organizations, their involvement in occupational activities, hobbies, religious activities, overall activeness and interaction with non-family members, etc.
The present study is an exploratory one which attempts to find out 'what exists' rather than to predict the relationships that will be found, though the findings may bring the knowledge about the important relationships between the variables (Katz, 1953 : 74).

This study is significant because apart from adding to the knowledge in gerontological literature about the correlates of good adjustment in old age in the Indian urban society, it also provides some valuable information that may help the Government and social service organizations to plan their welfare policies and programmes for the old people. On the basis of the findings regarding the correlates of adjustment in old age, some suggestions have also been given for the social assistance to the aged people.